

Copyright Warning & Restrictions

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be “used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research.” If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of “fair use” that user may be liable for copyright infringement,

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

Please Note: The author retains the copyright while the New Jersey Institute of Technology reserves the right to distribute this thesis or dissertation

Printing note: If you do not wish to print this page, then select “Pages from: first page # to: last page #” on the print dialog screen

The Van Houten library has removed some of the personal information and all signatures from the approval page and biographical sketches of theses and dissertations in order to protect the identity of NJIT graduates and faculty.

ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN FABRIC IN SIENA DURING FASCISM: SVENTRAMENTO AND RISANAMENTO OF SALICOTTO, FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE JEWISH GHETTO

by
Joanna Szymanska

The subject of this thesis is the transformation of the urban fabric in Siena at the time of early 20th century Italian Fascism. The investigation focuses on the transformation of the neighborhood of Salicotto, formerly known as the Jewish Ghetto, that began with the removal of inhabitants to the periphery of the city, the neighborhoods of Ravacciano and Valli, and subsequent *Sventramento*, ‘disembowelment’, demolition of housing and urban fabric. The rubble from the demolished housing was transported to Campo del Rastrello and used as fill for a new stadium. The process continued with the replacement of the original housing with new, stylized reconstruction, *Risanamento*. The argument focuses on the historical, political, and cultural influences shaping this transformation; a comparative analysis of the concurrent transformations undertaken in Rome is used to substantiate the argument.

The thesis seeks to illustrate that this intervention reflects and expresses the ideology of the Italian Fascist regime, influenced by the ‘myth of palingenesis’, adoration of strength, and rejection of weakness. It argues that during *Sventramento* and *Risanamento* the Fascist leadership, at local and national level, incorporated the language developed by 19th century hygienists as a justification for this intervention. The neighborhood was treated as an entity that could be destroyed and regenerated in a way that emphasized heroism. At the same time the reconstruction served as a mnemonic device creating idealized version of the past.

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN FABRIC IN SIENA DURING FASCISM:
SVENTRAMENTO AND RISANAMENTO OF SALICOTTO, FORMERLY
KNOWN AS THE JEWISH GHETTO**

by
Joanna Szymanska

**A Master's Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of
The New Jersey Institute of Technology
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Architecture**

School of Architecture

May, 2000

Blank Page

APPROVAL PAGE

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN FABRIC IN SIENA DURING FASCISM:
SVENTRAMENTO AND RISANAMENTO OF SALICOTTO, FORMERLY
KNOWN AS THE JEWISH GHETTO**

Joanna Szymanska

Dr. Peter Lang, Thesis Advisor Date
Adjunct Professor of Architecture, NJIT

Dr. Irene E. Ayad, Committee Member Date
Visiting Professor of Architecture, NJIT

Antonio de Souza Santos, Committee Member Date
Professor of Architecture and Director of
Master in Infrastructure Planning (M.I.P.)
Program, NJIT

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Author: Joanna Szymanska
Degree: Master of Architecture
Date: May 2000

Undergraduate and Graduate Education:

- Master of Architecture
New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, NJ, 2000
- Bachelor of Arts in Italian
Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 1993

Major: Architecture

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her sincere gratitude to her supervisor, Professor Peter Lang, for his guidance during this research and for conducting the Summer Studio in Siena focused on the destruction of the Jewish Ghetto, which led to the investigation of this topic and to the discovery of the new archival materials.

The author is grateful to Professors Irene Ayad and Tony Santos for serving as members of the committee and for helpful suggestions.

The author appreciates the assistance of Dr. Laura Vigni from the Archivio Comunale di Siena, of the staff of the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati in Siena, the members of Contrada della Torre, and professor Balocchi of the University of Siena.

The author wishes to thank NJIT and Professor Peter Papademetriou for the Litwack Travel Grant, which permitted research to be conducted in Italy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. HISTORICAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF SIENA: FASCIST INTERPRETATION.....	13
2.1 Regeneration of Golden Age of the Commune and the Myth of Palingenesis.....	15
2.2 The Ghetto and the Age of Decay.....	24
3. HYGIENE AND THE 19 TH CENTURY CITY: PRECEDENTS FOR SIENA.....	45
3.1 Tuberculosis Epidemic in Siena.....	52
4. FASCISM AND CULTURAL CLIMATE OF THE EARLY 20 TH CENTURY.....	64
5. URBAN DESTRUCTION AND CLEANSING UNDER FASCISM: SIENA AND ROME.....	73
5.1 <i>Ripristino</i> : The Purification and Restoration of Monuments in Siena and Rome.....	74
5.2 <i>Sventramento</i> : The Destruction of the Urban Fabric in Siena and Rome.....	88
5.3 Displaced Population in Siena and Rome.....	102
6. REGENERATION OF A NEW CITY.....	109
6.1 Regeneration of Salicotto in Siena.....	109
6.2 Construction of Stadiums in Siena and Rome.....	124
7. CONCLUSION.....	133
REFERENCES.....	139

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 View of the Duomo in Siena.....	4
2 Aerial view of the Campo.....	4
3 Map of Siena indicating the location of Salicotto, Ravacciano and Campo del Rastrello.....	5
4 <i>Risanamento</i> proposal prepared by Professor Vittorio Mariani at the request of the city of Siena. From E. Baggiani. “Il Risanamento edilizio della città”, <i>La Balzana</i> n.4 (1929): 47.....	8
5 Photograph of a ceremony in the Piazza del Campo, in occasion of the nomination of Saint Catherine to be the patron of Italy on 18 June 1939. From Luca Betti, <i>Com'era Siena</i> (Siena: Betti Editrice, 1993), 27.....	18
6 Photographs of the film <i>Palio</i> by Blasetti from <i>La Rivoluzione Fascista</i>	21
7 Painting of the Familia Norsa by an unknown painter from <i>Basilica di Sant'Andrea</i> in Mantova in memory of the dedication of the church of <i>Santa Maria della Vittoria</i> . From Cecil Roth, <i>The History of the Jews of Italy</i> (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America (1969), 174.....	27
8 An outfit of a Jewish doctor worn when victims of the plague were treated. From Grevembroch, <i>Customs of the Venetians</i> ; Museo Civico Correr, <i>Venice</i> in Richard Sennett, <i>Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization</i> (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994), 226.....	31
9 The map of Venice indicating the location of the Jewish Ghetto.....	33
10 Map of the Ghetto in Venice indicating the growth of the ghetto and the entrances to the ghetto.....	34
11 View of the Old Ghetto in Venice from the <i>Ghetto Nuovo</i> . From Roberta Curiel and Bernard Dov, <i>The Venetian Ghetto</i> (New York: Rizzoli, 1990). Photograph by Graziano Arici.....	35
12 Section of a house in Ghetto Nuovo, XVIII century. From Archivio di Stato, Venice. In Concina, Ennio, <i>La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanistica</i> (Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991).....	35

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
13 View of one of the Streets in the Ghetto in Venice. From Roberta Curiel and Bernard Dov, <i>The Venetian Ghetto</i> (New York: Rizzoli, 1990). Photograph by Graziano Arici.....	36
14 Map of Siena indicating the location of the Jewish Ghetto.....	39
15 View of Salicotto from <i>Torre del Mangia</i> . From Luca Betti, <i>Com'era Siena</i> (Siena: Betti Editrice, 1993), 51.....	42
16 Model of the Ghetto in Siena. Photo from Comune di Siena. From Alfredo Barbacci, "La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena", <i>La Diana</i> (1933) 254-267.....	43
17 Siena Vicolo delle Scotte (upper part) Photograph by A. Bennoli. From Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto degli ebrei", <i>La Diana</i> (1927) 193-199.....	43
18 Vicolo delle Scotte in Siena (from below). Photograph by A. Bennoli. From Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto degli ebrei", <i>La Diana</i> (1927) 193-199.....	43
19 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. From <i>L'Archivio Comunale di Siena</i> , Italy.....	44
20. Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. From <i>L'Archivio Comunale di Siena</i> , Italy.....	57
21 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. From <i>L'Archivio Comunale di Siena</i> , Italy.....	57
22 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. From <i>L'Archivio Comunale di Siena</i> , Italy.....	57
23 Cover page of the book titled <i>Igiene: Difesa e Salute della Razza</i> (<i>Hygiene: Defense and Health of the Race</i>) edited on the occasion of the Ninth National Anti-tuberculosis Campaign of the Italian National Fascist Federation for the Fight against Tuberculosis. From Mazzoni Collection at Duke University, North Carolina.....	59

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
24 Illustration from the book titled <i>Igiene: Difesa e Salute della Razza</i> (<i>Hygiene: Defense and Health of the Race</i>) edited on the occasion of the Ninth National Anti-tuberculosis Campaign of the Italian National Fascist Federation for the Fight against Tuberculosis. From Mazzoni Collection at Duke University, North Carolina.....	60
25 Illustration from the book titled <i>Igiene: Difesa e Salute della Razza</i> (<i>Hygiene: Defense and Health of the Race</i>) edited on the occasion of the Ninth National Anti-tuberculosis Campaign of the Italian National Fascist Federation for the Fight against Tuberculosis. From Mazzoni Collection at Duke University, North Carolina.....	60
26 Illustration from the book titled <i>Igiene: Difesa e Salute della Razza</i> (<i>Hygiene: Defense and Health of the Race</i>) edited on the occasion of the Ninth National Anti-tuberculosis Campaign of the Italian National Fascist Federation for the Fight against Tuberculosis. From Mazzoni Collection at Duke University, North Carolina.....	61
27 Illustration from the book titled <i>Igiene: Difesa e Salute della Razza</i> (<i>Hygiene: Defense and Health of the Race</i>) edited on the occasion of the Ninth National Anti-tuberculosis Campaign of the Italian National Fascist Federation for the Fight against Tuberculosis. From Mazzoni Collection at Duke University, North Carolina.....	61
28 Page from anti-tuberculosis informational booklet. From Federazione Nazionale Fascista per la lotta contro la tubercolosi Roma. <i>Sole, Aria, Acqua, Salute</i> . Milano: Edizioni Luigi Alfieri.....	62
29 Page from anti-tuberculosis informational booklet. From Federazione Nazionale Fascista per la lotta contro la tubercolosi Roma. <i>Sole, Aria, Acqua, Salute</i> . Milano: Edizioni Luigi Alfieri.....	63
30 Uncompleted Nave of the Duomo and Museo della opera dell’Duomo. From an article by Margherita Sarfatti, “Per la bellezza di Siena: una proposta,” <i>La Diana</i> , no. 3 (1927): 211.....	76
31 View of the uncompleted Nave of the Duomo according to the project of Ripristino proposed by Margherita Sarfatti. From an article by Margherita Sarfatti, “Per la bellezza di Siena: una proposta,” <i>La Diana</i> , no. 3 (1927): 213.....	76

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
32 View of the <i>Cortile del Podestà</i> after <i>Ripristino</i> . From <i>La Rivoluzione Fascista</i>	77
33 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, <i>Effects of Good Government on the City</i> , 1338-40, Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.....	79
34 The area of the Mausoleum of Augustus prior to 1934. From Kostof, Spiro. <i>The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory</i> . An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973.....	84
35 Mussolini gives the first strike with a pick ax on October 22, 1934. From Anna Maria Riccomini, <i>La Ruina di sì bela cosa: Vicende e trasformazioni del mausoleo di Augusto</i> (Milano: Electa, 1996), 192.....	84
36 Demolition of the modern structures of the Augusteo. In the back stands the fountain of the courtyard of palazzo Valdambri. From Anna Maria Riccomini, <i>La Ruina di sì bela cosa: Vicende e trasformazioni del mausoleo di Augusto</i> (Milano: Electa, 1996), 194.....	85
37 Temple of <i>Fortuna Virile</i> in 1890. Photograph by Moscioni. From Antonio Muñoz. <i>Il Restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile</i> (Roma: Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata, 1925).....	86
38 Temple of <i>Fortuna Virile</i> after <i>Ripristino</i> . From Antonio Muñoz. <i>Il Restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile</i> . (Roma: Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata, 1925).....	86
39 Demolition of housing in Salicotto. From Giovanni Curti, "Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto" (<i>La Balzana</i> , n. 4 1931).....	95
40 Demolition of housing in Salicotto. From Giovanni Curti, "Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto" (<i>La Balzana</i> , n. 4 1931).....	95

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
41 The York and Company Project, 1857. From Archivio di Stato di Roma, Disegni e Mappe I, Cartella 82, no. 369 in Spiro Kostof. The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973.....	96
42 <u>The Archeologists</u> by Giorgio de Chirico.....	97
43 Courtyard of a tenement building before demolition ca. 1930. From Museo di Roma C/2231 in Spiro Kostof, <i>The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory</i> , An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome (Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973).....	98
44 Exterior of Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum. From Gullini, Giorgio. <i>Via dei fori imperiali</i> . Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983.....	100
45 Interior of Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum. From Gullini, Giorgio. <i>Via dei fori imperiali</i> . Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983.....	100
46 The Arco dei Pantani seen from via Baccina at the end of 19 th century. From Gullini, Giorgio. <i>Via dei fori imperiali</i> (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983), 166.....	101
47 Demolitions in the area of future <i>Via dei Fori-Imperiali</i> . From Gullini, Giorgio. <i>Via dei fori imperiali</i> (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983).....	101
48 Construction of new housing in Ravacciano. From <i>Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 1o Marzo 1930. Comune Di Siena</i> . L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.....	103
49 Construction of new housing in Ravacciano. From <i>Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 1o Marzo 1930. Comune Di Siena</i> . L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.....	103
50 Housing in Valli. From <i>Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 1o Marzo 1930. Comune Di Siena</i> . L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.....	103

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
51 Housing in Valli. From <i>Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 1o Marzo 1930. Comune Di Siena. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena</i>	103
52 Plan of new housing in Ravacciano. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.....	104
53 Plan of Rome with the location of the borgate relative to the city center. From Trabalzi, Ferruccio. "Primavelle: Urban Reservation in Rome." <i>Journal of Architectural Education</i> v.42, n. 3 (1989).....	106
54 Giorgio Guidi, Plan of Primavelle, first version, 1937. Photo: Istituto Autonomo delle Case Popolari, Rome. From Trabalzi, Ferruccio. "Primavelle: Urban Reservation in Rome." <i>Journal of Architectural Education</i> v.42, n. 3 (1989).....	107
55 An opening in the urban fabric after the demolition of housing in Salicotto. The space serves as a parking lot rather than as a garden. Photograph by the author.....	113
56 Plans for Risanamento of one of the buildings in Salicotto. The staircase and the hallway is moved to the center of the building creating rooms with windows. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.....	114
57 Plans for <i>Risanamento</i> of the buildings belonging to <i>Comunita Israelitica</i> in Salicotto. The drawing indicates the plans for restructuring of the complex. This group of buildings was subsequently destroyed. From <i>L'Archivio Comunale di Siena</i> , Siena, Italy.....	115
58 Facade of the project of a building adjacent to Palazzo Comunale. The buildings in that area were to be destroyed and reconstructed. The housing was never destroyed and the building was never built. From <i>La Balzana</i>	115
59 Project for the isolation of the buildings of the Contrada della Torre. The Church of <i>San Giacomo</i> , oratory of the Contrada is located in the center. From Curti, Giovanni "Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto" (<i>La Balzana</i> n. 4 1931).....	117

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
60 Project for the isolation of the buildings of the Contrada della Torre. The Church of <i>San Giacomo</i> , oratory of the Contrada is located in the center. From Curti, Giovanni “Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto” (La Balzana n. 4 1931).....	117
61 Project for <i>Risanamento</i> of the building of the Contrada della Torre. Hatched line indicates the new building while the white lines indicate the old walls. From <i>L’Archivio Comunale di Siena</i> , Siena, Italy.....	118
62 Samples of <i>Ferri Batuti</i> . From the Archive of the Contrada della Torre, Siena, Italy.....	119
63 View of one of the streets in Salicotto before Risanamento. From <i>La Diana</i>	120
64 View in Salicotto after Risanamento. From <i>La Rivoluzione Fascista</i>	120
65 View of Casa Pozzuloi in Salicotto after <i>Risanamento</i> . From Barbacci, Alfredo “La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena” (La Diana, 1933) 254-267.....	123
66 View of casa Bastianini in Salicotto after <i>Risanamento</i> . Photograph from <i>Comune di Siena</i> . From Barbacci, Alfredo “La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena” (La Diana, 1933) 254-267.....	123
67 Risanamento of Casa Manetti in Salicotto. Photograph by Bellini. From Barbacci, Alfredo “La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena” (La Diana, 1933) 254-267.....	123
68 Plan of the stadium in <i>Campo del Rastrello</i> . From Baggiani, E. “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla” (La Balzana, 1931 n.5 pg. 133-141).....	125
69 The leveling of the ground for the <i>Campo del Rastrello</i> . From Baggiani, E. “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla” (La Balzana, 1931 n.5 pg. 133-141).....	126
70 Photomontage from the <i>Festa Nazionale Ginnastica</i> held in the Campo del Rastrello. From <i>La Rivoluzione Fascista</i>	128

LIST OF FIGURES
(continued)

Figure	Page
71 View of Enrico Del Debbio's <i>Stadio dei Marmi</i> in Rome, 1928.....	130

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The complete eradication of the Sienese ghetto from history during Italian Fascism at the beginning of the 20th century and its replacement with stylized reconstruction, seemingly a simple act, actually derives from the multifaceted political and economic structures of the time and forms part of a complex puzzle. Until recently, lack of documentation was a major factor in limiting the possibility of deciphering this event in terms of urban design and its rationale. New, previously un-catalogued archival materials, transferred from the Ufficio Tecnico del Comune di Siena to L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, have opened up the field by providing drawings and photographs of the changes that occurred in the ghetto neighborhood during the period between First and Second World Wars.

Morphological analysis of the urban transformations based on these new materials must be accompanied by a parallel analysis of the ideological influence exerted by the Italian Fascist regime at local and national level. Architecture and urban design were (and still are) used by the sovereign elites to express and impose their ideology on society and to communicate their dominance over the subjects. In Siena, during the medieval period, the powerful feudal families (*consorterie*) attached towers to their *palazzi* to express their political and territorial control. In turn, the destruction of such tower by the Commune to punish the rebellious and unruly nobles was a direct attack on the influence of these medieval associations.¹ Another example is the royal palace at Versailles built by Louis le Vau and Jules Hardouin Mansart for Louis XIV between 1661 and 1708. With its

¹ Judith Hook, *Siena, a city and its history* (London: H. Hamilton, 1979), 11.

overwhelming scale and unending vistas, it is the ultimate expression of absolutism.² The domination of political power over architecture evolved to an important instrument in the hands of the totalitarian regimes that emerged after World War One in Europe. The term ‘totalitarian’ appeared first in Italy when it was used by Giovanni Amendola, a leader of the fascist opposition. He interpreted fascism as a political system that sought to establish a new authoritarian and all encompassing order embodied in the state.³ The term was soon adopted by Benito Mussolini to describe the creation of a Fascist nation:

The goal that is defined as our ferocious totalitarian will be pursued with even greater ferociousness: it will truly become the dominant thought and preoccupation of our activity we want, finally to fascistize the nation.⁴

The total and complete involvement of the government in shaping all aspects of life also applies to Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. These regimes and the ideologies they conveyed through ‘totalitarian’ involvement in the life of these nations in turn were shaped by historical events and intellectual thought of the early 20th century.

This thesis will look at the urban and architectural production in a political, historical, and intellectual context. The event analyzed - the destruction of the ghetto in Siena – raises multifaceted questions. Was this event an anomaly or was there a pattern of

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1967, s. v. “Versailles” and “Louis XIV.”

³ “Truly, the most salient characteristic of the fascist movement will be for those who will study in the future, the ‘totalitarian’ spirit of fascism, a spirit which does not allow the future to have dawns that will not be saluted with the Roman gesture, and does not allow the present to feed the souls that are not bent to the confession: ‘I believe’”(cited in Petersen, op. cit., p. 157, from an article in *Il Mondo* of November 2, 1923) quoted in Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U. of Cal. Press, 1997), 27.

⁴ Benito Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, vol. XXI, p. 362 (June 22, 1925) quoted in Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U. of Cal. Press, 1997), 27.

similar urban transformations in Italy? If there is a pattern, what are its characteristics? To what extent was this urban transformation influenced by political imperatives? Why was the ghetto, only to be recreated? Are the changes in the urban fabric driven mainly by the ideology of the regime? How do the changes in urban fabric during Italian Fascism differ from the changes in industrial cities of 19th century Europe? To answer these questions an overview of the history and urban development of Siena must be presented.

The Jewish ghetto was located in the town of Siena, which lies in the agricultural region of Central Tuscany, Italy. The idyllic countryside and provinciality barely suggest the importance of Siena as a city-state in Europe during Middle Ages. Siena, a town of Etruscan origins, is located on three converging hills. It is possible that it obtained Roman citizenship on the basis of Lex Julia de Civitate already in 90 B.C. Its location on the Via Cassia, a consular highway, led to the development of the city; subsequently its location on the Via Francigena, a major route from France to Rome during the Middle Ages made it grow further. Between the 12th and 14th century, the city was one of the most important banking and commercial centers in Europe. In its heyday, the population reached 100,000 inhabitants, making it one of the largest cities in Europe. High population density exposed the citizens to periodic famines and caused excessive mortality. Consequently, the city relied on constant immigration of bankers, businessmen, and freed-serfs. In 1348, the Black Death diminished Siena's population to 20,000, foretelling the ensuing decline of the town. Subsequent conquest by the republic of Florence was the final blow to prosperity and political importance of Siena, permanently removing the city as an influential player in European history.⁵ Many accounts of Sieneese history, such as the

⁵ Lando Bortolotti, *Siena* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1988), 1-2.

book by Judith Hook titled *Siena: A City and its History*⁶, end with the fall of Sienese Commune in 1555 after the one-year siege by the Republic of Florence. Even today, Siena is presented as a medieval city ‘frozen in time’.⁷ Although the urban fabric of the medieval city remains mostly intact and preserved, it must not be forgotten that it was constantly altered during the course of history.

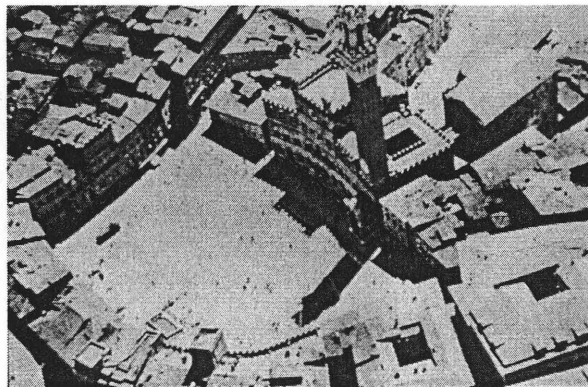


Figure 1 View of the Duomo in Siena.

Figure 2 Aerial view of the Campo.

The medieval tightly woven urban fabric of Siena has two focal points. The first one is the Duomo (*Figure 1*) and the surrounding piazza, located on the highest point in the city; the second one is the Campo (*Figure 2*), a public square focused on the Palazzo Pubblico. It is the symbol of secular government, whose tower, Torre di Mangia, reaches the same height as the cathedral, the symbol of ecclesiastical influence, reflecting the separation between the ecclesiastical and secular powers at the time of the Sienese Commune.⁸ Salicotto, containing the Jewish ghetto, lies in close proximity to the Campo and the Market, located behind the Palazzo Pubblico (*Figure 3*).

⁶ Judith Hook, *Siena, a city and its history* (London: H. Hamilton, 1979).

⁷ Tourist guidebooks present this point of view and dismiss any later development. See Christopher Catling, *Florence & Tuscany* (New York,: Dorling Kindersley, 1995), 203.

⁸ Judith Hook, *Siena, a city and its history* (London: H. Hamilton, 1979), 3.

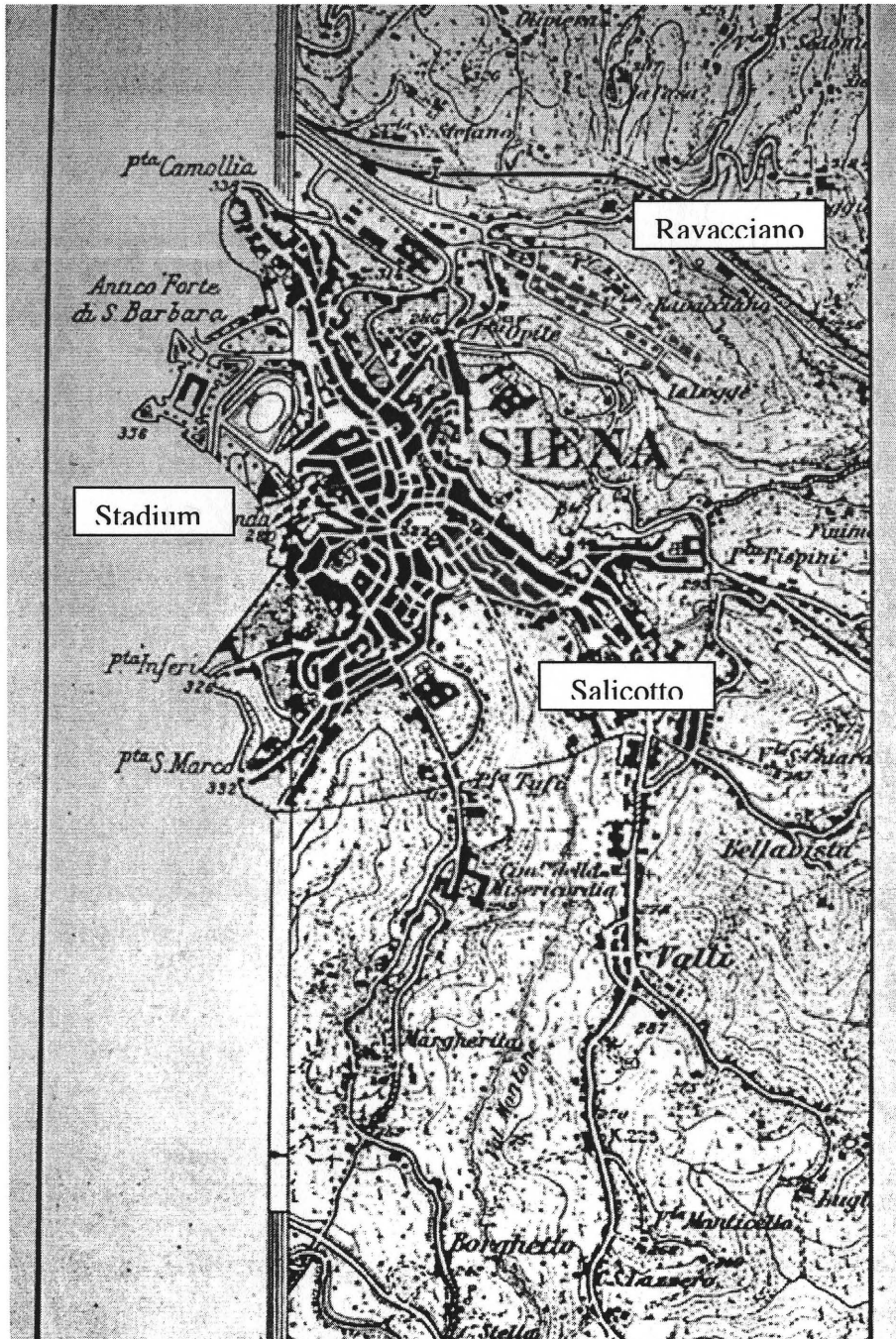


Figure 3 Map of Siena indicating the location of Salicotto, Ravacciano and Campo del Rastrello.

The Christian section of Salicotto contains the seat of Contrada della Torre, the organization representing the neighborhood at the festival of Palio, a yearly horse race around the Campo. The second section of the neighborhood contains the remains of the

Jewish ghetto. Between 1570 and 1571, Cosimo I, the Florentine Prince, established the Sieneese and Florentine ghettos, where the Jewish population in Tuscany was required to live from then on.⁹ The location of a ghetto in proximity to the market and civic structures was a natural choice, because of the engagement of the Jewish population in money lending, one of the few permitted occupations, and because of the ease to control the Jewish population by the government. A secondary reason was the move of the power elite away from the center of the city, creating vacant space and permitting the establishment of the ghetto.¹⁰

The ghetto in Siena maintained its urban exclusionary nature until the entrance gates, blocking access to the ghetto at night, were destroyed by the invading French army under Napoleon Bonaparte. During the establishment of the Kingdom of Etruria (1801-1807), the National French Assembly in Paris based the emancipation of the Jewish population in Siena on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, signed on September 27 1791. During the years prior to the entrance of Napoleon's army, the suspicions by the Italian population of Jewish conspiracy with the French cause created increased tension and were propagated by the anti-Semitic movement "Viva Maria". In 1799, the members of the movement entered the ghetto in Siena, looted it and the Synagogue, and killed thirteen people including a pregnant woman. The anger of the crowd was so vehement that some people were dragged out into the Campo, only to be burned alive.¹¹ After the

⁹ Roberto G. Salvadori, *Breve storia degli ebrei toscani: IX-XX secolo* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1995), 45-46.

¹⁰ Roberto Bonfil, *Gli ebrei in Italia nell'epoca del Rinascimento* (Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1991), 61.

¹¹ Roberto G. Salvadori, *Breve storia degli ebrei toscani: IX-XX secolo* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1995), 90-95.

fall of Napoleon, equal rights were again revoked and only in 1848 were the gates of the ghetto permanently destroyed.¹²

The destruction and rebuilding of the urban fabric of the Jewish ghetto and Salicotto was physically initiated in May 1931 at the initiative of the Fascist Government in Siena and Rome.¹³ However, the proposals for intervention into the urban fabric originated at the end of 19th century and beginning of the 20th. At that time, professor Filippo Neri from the Istituto d' Igiene observed that the majority of the people, who died from tuberculosis between 1898 and 1913, lived in the area of Salicotto. As a response to the health crisis, the city of Siena commissioned Professore Ingegnere Vittorio Mariani to investigate an urban solution to the problem in 1918. His proposal, well received by the city administration, focused on a radical intervention that included the destruction of the old urban fabric, *Sventramento*, and construction of modern housing, *Risanamento* (Figure 4).¹⁴

¹² Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei" *La Diana* (1927): 197.

¹³ Ossana Fantozzi Micali, "Interventi Nelle Citta Toscane," in ed. Piero Roselli *Fascismo e centri storici in Toscana*, (Firenze: Alinea, 1985), 132.

¹⁴ E. Baggiani, "Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città," *La Balzana* 3 (1929): 46.

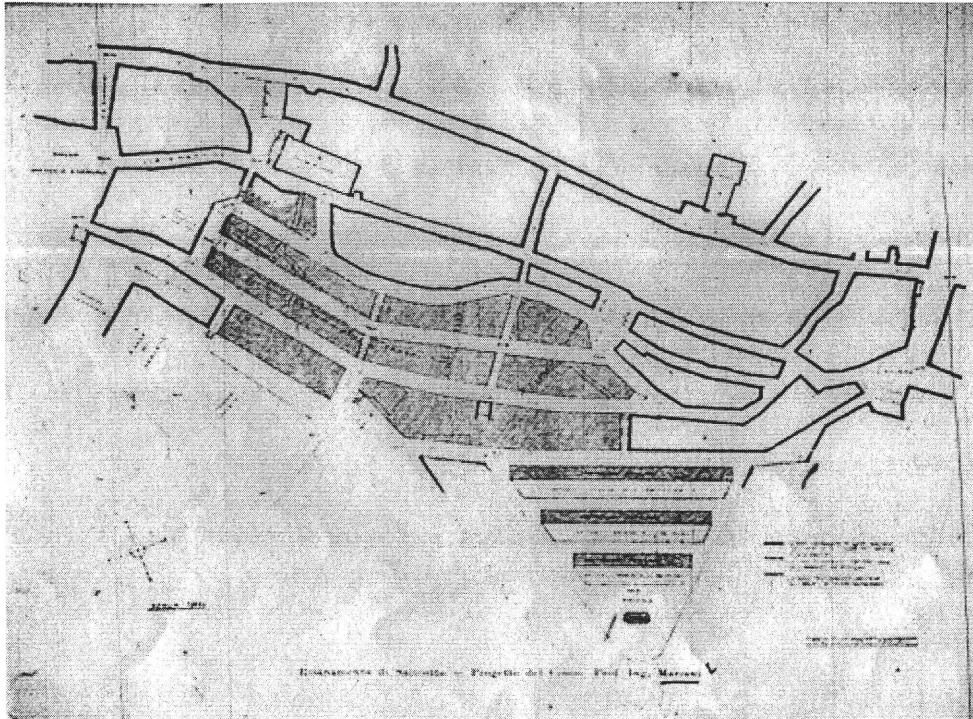


Figure 4 *Risanamento* proposal prepared by Professor Vittorio Mariani at the request of the city of Siena. From E. Baggiani, “Il Risanamento edilizio della città”, *La Balzana* n. 4 (1929): 47.

The plans of Vittorio Mariani for *Sventramento* were put aside by the administration of the city until Conte Bargali Petrucci took over the office of Podestà, the Fascist version of the Mayor, in 1926. In 1927 the Sienese authorities were granted an audience with Benito Mussolini. During the meeting, they requested support for the project. Only one year later, a special law for Siena (L. 21 giugno 1928, n. 1582) was approved by the Italian Parliament.¹⁵ After it was passed, afraid of rampant destruction of the urban fabric and faced with a strong opposition to the project, the Podestà requested the Ministero dell’Istruzione to place the areas of Salicotto and Ovile, at that point in time included in the plans for *Risanamento*, under its protection. The Ministry issued a

¹⁵ E. Baggiani, “Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città (Continuazione, pedasi numero precedente),” *La Balzana* 4 (1929): 71-79.

Decree declaring the two neighborhoods as ‘monuments’ and placing them under the protection of the Legge 20 giugno 1909, n. 364. This meant that no changes could be made to the urban fabric without authorization of the Reggia Soprintendeza all’Arte Medioevale e Moderna per la Toscana, the Royal Institute for Medieval and Modern Art in Tuscany. Immediately, a commission including Gustavo Giovannoni, Senator Corrado Ricci, and Count Luigi Gamba was delegated by the Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti, Council of Antiquities and Art, to assess the project and to give advice pertaining to the localities of Ravacciano and Valli where new housing for the displaced population was planned (*Figure 3*). A second commission, named by the Podestà, reevaluated the *Sventramento* and *Risanamento* of Salicotto. After completion of the studies, the first phase of work was finally approved with the Reggio Decreto 24 ottobre 1929, n. 2008. It included construction of housing in the areas of Ravacciano and Valli, located outside of the city, for the people that were to be expropriated from Salicotto.¹⁶ The second phase of work included demolition and reconstruction of Salicotto. The project included restructuring of a portion of the housing, renovation of the facades in Gothic and Renaissance style, and isolation of the buildings of Contrada della Torre.¹⁷ The demolition of housing in Salicotto culminated with the transportation of the rubble as infill material to the Campo del Rastrello, valley of Rastrello, where a new stadium, another public works project sponsored by the Fascist government, was to be built (*Figure 3*).¹⁸

¹⁶ E. Baggiani, “Risanamento Edilizio della Città,” *La Balzana* 6 (1929): 131-142.

¹⁷ Ing. Giovanni Curti, “Il Risanamento Edilizio nel quartiere di Salicotto,” *La Balzana* 4 (1931): 107-115.

¹⁸ E. Baggiani, “Campo Sprotivo e Casa del Balilla,” *La Balzana* 5 (1931): 141.

The time period of these public projects coincides with the arrival of the Great Depression, whose effects were felt in Europe. By 1930, unemployment in Italy became a serious problem. Exports decreased by 20%, the deficit skyrocketed, grain production fell, and working hours of 20% of the employed decreased.¹⁹ Public unrest developed among the industrial and agricultural workers. Forced to respond, the Fascist government focused on the full employment of the population as a response to this crisis. Italy concentrated on housing and public construction, indicators of economic prosperity, to avert the depression. The yearly reports to the camera dei deputati, House of Representatives, by the Undersecretary of the State for Public Works, Araldo di Crollanza, demonstrate the vast sums of money spent. These projects included: land reclamation, maritime construction, government construction, public housing, train stations, archeological excavations, and improvement of roads.²⁰ Other government publications, such as the monthly publication *Opere Pubbliche*²¹, documented these works. The economic imperative is irrefutable and possibly points to a plausible interpretation of the transformation of the Jewish ghetto in Siena. However, purely economic approach provides a narrow and specialized interpretation of events. It misses the influence of politics, ideology, history, and culture.

¹⁹ Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 9.

²⁰ See annual fascist government publications regarding public works: Araldo Crollanza, *La Politica dei Lavori Pubblici in Regime Fascista* (Roma: Tipografia della Camera dei deputati, 1929); Araldo Crollanza, *Le Opere Pubbliche nell'Anno VIII* (Roma: Tipografia della Camera dei deputati, 1930); Araldo Crollanza, *Aspetti Dell'Italia Nuova: Le Opere Pubbliche* (Roma: Tipografia della Camera dei deputati, 1931).

²¹ *Opere pubbliche: edilizia, idraulica, strade, ferrovie, porti, archeologia: rassegna mensile illustrata*, Rome (1931-1942).

The investigation of the *Sventramento* and *Risanamento* of Salicotto in this paper begins with an analysis of the interpretation of Sienese history in the two local Fascist newspapers, *Il Popolo Senese* and *La Rivoluzione Fascista*²². This chapter provides an overview of the Fascist attitudes towards Siena and helps in deciphering the logic behind destruction and recreation of Salicotto. Particular attention is paid to the ‘Age of the Commune’ and to the discussion of the Sienese governmental institutions, artistic heritage, and Palio in the Sienese press. Particular attention is given to the interpretation of the chivalric values relived during the yearly ritual of Palio. The ‘Age of the Decline’ of Siena and its symbolism represented by the institution of follows next. In Chapter 3, the discussion shifts to the 19th century Industrial City, problems of hygiene, and urban design solutions. These precedents shaped the attitude of the local Fascist government towards the ghetto and shaped the process of *Sventramento* and *Risanamento*. Before further analysis of the actual urban transformation of Salicotto, another factor influencing this process - the ideology of Fascism – is considered in Chapter 4. Particular topics include: the focus on the heroic past; the desire to regenerate a new strong man through the elimination of the weak one; the emphasis on action and disdain of passivity; the adaptation of violence and of ‘myth of palingenesis’ into the concept of action; the perception of Christian and Jewish Morality as weak and passive; the expression of dichotomy of weakness and strength in work of early 20th century intellectuals. Up to this point in the thesis, the arguments focus on the political and intellectual thought as well as the urban design precedents to the transformation of the Jewish ghetto in Siena. Chapter 5

²² The two fascist biweekly periodicals were published in Siena during the interwar period. *Il Popolo Senese: Bisettimanale Fascista* (1925-1929) became *La Rivoluzione Fascista: Organo della Federazione provinciale fascista senese* (1929-1943).

looks at the urban transformations in Siena proper beginning in 1926. First of all, the phenomenon of *Ripristino*, 'cleansing', in Siena is addressed and compared to *Ripristino* in Rome. Subsequently, the analysis moves to a larger scale event similar to *Ripristino*, the *Sventramento* in Salicotto, 'disembowelment', or the phase of destruction. These urban transformations are analyzed within the framework of the fascist ideology, the 'myth of palingenesis', and the approach towards the city developed during the 19th century. After this analysis, the displacement of the population from the destroyed part of the city and a comparative analysis to a parallel displacement in Rome is presented. Chapter 6 discusses the aspects of regeneration of a new city characterizing *Risanamento* of Salicotto. These include the analysis of the transformation of the urban fabric, the reconstruction of the facades, and isolation of the buildings of the Contrada della Torre. In the second part of this chapter, the significance of the transfer of the earth from the destroyed area to the Campo del Rastrello and the discussion of the new Siena characterized by the power of the body are presented. Comparative analysis of Campo del Rastrello and Foro Mussolini follows. The thesis ends with a synthesis and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF SIENA: FASCIST INTERPRETATION

At first glance, the Italian Fascist understanding of the urban as well as historical, political, and social development of Siena appears to be similar to the present interpretation of history by writers such as Judith Hook, who pay attention to the period of the Commune and overlook the subsequent history of the city. However, a quick glance at the Sienese newspaper Il Popolo Senese, later named La Rivoluzione Fascista, published by a local Fascist party, reveals a slightly different interpretation of history during the interwar period. For example, in one of the articles, Alfredo Petrucci described Siena as:

...singolarissima fra le città che servano ancor quasi intatto il loro volto antico...Storia, leggenda, arte, fede si mescolano in codesta bellezza, con colori che digradano dal rosso vivo delle passioni politiche al candore delle più dolci aspirazioni spirituali.

...unique among the cities that still preserve their antique appearance...History, legend, art, faith blend in this beauty, with colors that range from vibrant red of the political passions to the sincerity of the most sweet spiritual aspirations.¹

Like the post World War Two historians, the author reaffirms that the city is unique because it maintained its medieval urban form. However, in the Fascist interpretation Siena becomes the city-symbol. It represents the peak of the spiritual, intellectual, and artistic development of the city-state. In yet another article from Il Popolo Senese, the author described Siena as, “un'oasi di riposo spirituale...dolce vita dei sognatori, la leggiadra ispiratrice dei poeti, la maga che dai suoi palagi trinati e dalle torri lanciate

verso il cielo dice la parola della pace e della serenità.”² (“...an oasis of spiritual calm...sweet life of dreamers, light inspiration of the poets, sorceress that from the laced palaces and towers thrust towards the sky tells the words of peace and serenity”) Here the idealization of the Commune, constantly appropriated within historical interpretation at the time of Fascism, includes not only an image of a peaceful spiritual and intellectual oasis but also an image of a chivalric society as symbol of the Commune. The image of the towers rising against the sky defines the independence, strength, and competition of the medieval society.

While the more recent accounts mostly tend to ignore the history of Siena subsequent to the fall of the Commune, the Fascists newspapers presented the history of the Commune as marred and by the subsequent historical periods. In their description of the Jewish ghetto, the idyllic image of Siena was shattered by later urban interventions:

Ma ecco I periodi neri. Primo, quel periodo di quella gente bestiale che si rivolto furente contro la bellezza di Siena come se ne fosse soffocata, e mozzo torri, abbasso palazzi, chiuse cortili, imbianco pareti decorate, pianto in qualche punto di respiro scatoloni di case come carceri, appicio in cima a qualche spigolo della città delle murature in bianco come tumori che ne succhiassero la vita, diminuì il valore della città, dette la sgorbiata del disprezzo al meraviglioso ornamento.

But here are the dark ages. First, the age of these bestial people that revolted with fury against the beauty of Siena to suffocate it, severed the towers, took down the palaces, closed the courtyards, whitened the decorated walls, placed houses like prisons in any point of respiration, added in every corner of the city white stucco that sucked out life

¹ Alfredo Petrucci, “Il fascino sempre vivo e nuovo delle contrade senesi,” *Il Popolo Senese*, Aug. 26 Aug. 1927.

² “Chronache Senesi: Per Siena,” *Il Popolo Senese* 16 (1925): 2.

like a tumor, diminished the value of the city, gave stain of disdain of beautiful ornament.³

The during the period after the fall of the Commune, when Siena lost its independence, the role of the city diminished in the international arena leading to the disappearance of artistic and intellectual production in the city and finally to stagnation. That period could be easily symbolized by the ghetto instituted in Siena at the request of the conqueror, the Florentine Republic. It is logical that the ghetto described in La Rivoluzione Fascista became the symbol of the decay of Siena. The transformation of the urban fabric in form of accretions was most common in the ghetto and could easily be utilized as a metaphor for the 'degradation' of society during the period following the fall of the Commune. The invented but vivid image of the destroyed medieval towers, symbol of the virile Commune, attacked and stifled by the subsequent 'cancerous' additions to the buildings became the focus of the attack on Salicotto. The characteristic particular to the Fascist interpretation of history is the antithetic and symbolic description of these two time periods.

2.1 Regeneration of Golden Age of the Commune and the Myth of Palingenesis

The representative of the symbolic, artistic, and historical Siena was Conte Bargagli Petrucci, nominated to be the Podestà⁴ of Siena during the Fascist Regime. He was a

³ Francesco Giunti, "In Città: Siena e il suo risanamento edilizio," *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 28 Feb. 1930, p. 4.

⁴ In local politics the Fascist Government sought to establish a link between the present government and the medieval Commune. The first step towards that was the law of 4 February 1926 substituting the local government: *consiglio comunale*, *giunta*, and *sindaco* with the office of Podestà. Initially this law applied to towns of less than 5,000 people but was soon extended to all towns with R.D.L. n. 1910 on the 3 September 1926,

professor of the Art History in Parma who founded the Società “Amici dei Monumenti”, Society of the Friends of Monuments, and started the edition of journals: Bolletini Rassegna d’Arte Senese, Siena Monumentale, Vita d’Arte.⁵ He was responsible for the creation of the Museo Civico, City Museum, in Siena and for the foundation of the Istituto Comunale d’Arte e di Storia, Communal Institute for the Study of Art and History, whose statute was to, “*promuovere e secondare in accordo colle Gerarchie Fasciste e seguendo le direttive del Governo nella materia, lo studio e la cultura delle Arti Belle e delle Storiche Discipline...*”⁶ (“To promote and comply in agreement with the Fascist Hierarchies and following the directives of the Government in the subject, the study and culture of Fine Arts and History...”) The publication of the Art History Journal, La Diana, was also linked to Conte Bargagli Petrucci and to the importance attached to the celebration of medieval art by the Fascist Regime. The choice of title was explained in Il Popolo Senese as follows:

and became law n. 957 on 2 June 1927. See E. Rotelli, “Le trasformazioni dell’ordinamento comunale e provinciale durante il regime fascista,” *Storia contemporanea* 1 (1973): 57-121, quoted in Loreto Di Nucci, *Fascismo e Spazio urbano: Le città storiche dell’umbria* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1992), 82. The Fascist Podestà was appointed by the central government just as in many cases the Medieval Podestà would be appointed by the Emperor. The office of the Podestà, concentrating the executive authority in hands of one individual, substituted the rule of the consuls in 1199 and was created as a response to the factional rivalry ever present among the nobility of the city. The life in Siena was dominated by the system of family allegiance and patronage, which focused on the noble *consorterie* - family power groups controlling fortified quarters of the city. The city lacked control and authority over areas of the city. Since the Commune represented an idea of the corporate body to which the individual was subjected, the office of the Podestà sought to alleviate factional warfare and sought to gain control over the civic life in Siena. After 1211 the Podestà in Siena was a foreign noble, above factional rivalry and therefore accepted as impartial source of justice and order. See Judith Hook, *Siena: A City and its History* (London: H. Hamilton, 1979), Chapter 2. Count Bargagli Petrucci symbolized qualities similar to the ones desired in the time of the Commune.

⁵ “Chronache Senesi: Fabio Bargagli Petrucci” *Il Popolo Senese*, 18 Dec. 1926, p. 2.

Il titolo si potrebbe interpretare come squillo di tromba per la nuova vita moderna, ma è invece l'insegna del culto alle glorie nobilissime della nostra Siena Medioevale e del rinascimento ... la quale era rimasta circondata di glorie eccelse del suo passato.⁷

The title could be interpreted as the ringing of a trumpet for a new modern life, but instead it refers to the worship of the noble glories of our medieval and Renaissance Siena ... which remained surrounded by the sublime glory of her past.

During Fascism the chivalric glory of the medieval past was regenerated through the ritualized and theatrical reinterpretation of the festival of Palio, a yearly horse race around the Campo. The idealized and heroic view of the Palio was reinforced through the creation of the a-temporal and abstracted qualities of the newly redesigned medieval costumes. The colors of the costumes derived from the colors of the flag of each Contrada, section of the city, and associated each member with the specific neighborhood (*Figure 5*). The uniform-like costumes created the atmosphere of synchronized performance during Palio, rather than true representation of the 'medieval spirit'. The Local Fascist government played a major role in support for the redesign of the costumes as seen in a letter written by Priore Nobile Giuglio Grisaldi Del Tala to Mussolini in 1927. He asked for money to renew the historical costumes by reproducing the ones from the second half of the fifteenth century, the time when, according to the letter, Contrade began. These costumes, the author writes, "costituiranno per lo stile e le stoffe una superba visione medioevale in tutto concorde alla splendida cornice del "Campo", ove si

⁶ E. Baggiani, "L'Istituto Comunale Senese d'Arte e di Storia," *La Balzana* 3 (1929): 4.

⁷ Prof. Barduzzi, "Cronache Letterarie: La Rivista 'La Diana'" *Il Popolo Senese*, 36 (1926).

svolge l'antico spettacolo senese così celebre in Italia.”⁸ (“...will create through their style a superb medieval vision in concordance to the splendid framing of the Campo, where the ancient Siennese spectacle renowned in all of Italy is performed.”)



Figure 5 Photograph of a ceremony in the Piazza del Campo, in occasion of the nomination of Saint Catherine to be the patron of Italy on 18 June 1939. The members of the Contrade are in medieval costumes. From Luca Betti, *Com'era Siena* (Siena: Betti Editrice, 1993), 27.

The reinterpretation of Palio through the use of stylized medieval costumes was not unusual in Italy during the inter-war period. The revival of Calcio Fiorentino in Florence showed many parallels to the Palio. According to the Fascist Hierarchies the sport of Calcio was the true predecessor of soccer, but the first game of Calcio Fiorentino in medieval costume was held on May 4, 1930. According to an article from La

⁸ Letter from Contrada del Drago to Benito Mussolini, 25 July 1927, (Gabinetto Prefettura, Anno 1927, n. 209, Archivio dello Stato a Siena, photocopy).

Rivoluzione Fascista the festival dates back to the 15th century, but was last held in Florence in 1738. The participating teams in the new recreation were organized and instructed by the Circoli Rionali Fascisti, Regional Fascist Circle. Like in Siena, the costumes were scrupulously 'reconstructed' by Professor A. Lensi.⁹

Although the continuity of Palio's celebration was never broken as in Florence, during Fascism the festival became a 'historical reconstruction'. The glorifying portrayal of the Palio was very far away from the reality of the *tournees* played out in the Campo during the time of the Commune. The Campo, a semi-circular space located at the point where the three hills in Siena converge, was a focus of civic activity and fulfilled a role of neutral territory and public area. It lay where the three *terzi* converged, but belonged to none of them. The factional rivalry, stimulated by the allegiance to the noble *consorterie* and by the constant state of war with Florence, was resolved in the space of the Campo, where the violence was ritualized in the form of *tournees* and games.¹⁰

In 1260, sixty Contrade, or military companies, participated in various games and *tournees*. After the black plague of 1348, the number of the Contrade was reduced to 42. During the fourteenth century, that number was further reduced to 23. The early form of public festivals included games such as Elmora and Pugliato. Afterwards, a game of Pallone, antecedent of soccer, was introduced in the piazza del Campo. The ball was thrown from the tower and the young men played the game. Only in 1500 begun the bull runs with the participation of the representatives from all the Contrade. By 1599, these

⁹ Unsigned, "Il giuoco del Calcio in costume medioevale," *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 16 February 1930, p. 3.

¹⁰ Judith Hook, *Siena, a city and its history* (London: H. Hamilton, 1979), 10-11.

were deemed to be dangerous, were suspended, and substituted by horse races. Between 1650 and 1655, the races were conducted around the Campo and along the city streets.¹¹

During Fascism the return to the pseudo-medieval abstracted costumes and the continuation of the 17th century tradition of the horse races around the Campo significantly altered the nature of the festival. A new, abstracted, and idealized version of the past emerged. It represented the time between 12th and 14th century when the development of powerful city-states occurred. It was a successful and glorious period in the Italian history and shared some similarities to the Fascist regime. The medieval society, through its political struggles for domination over other city-states, exhibited militaristic and chivalric qualities, easily attracting the attention of militaristic and body oriented Fascist leaders.

Through a cinematographic interpretation in A. Blasetti's film Palio di Siena, 1931-2, this altered festival of Palio was used as a propaganda tool to portray the regeneration of the heroic figure of a medieval knight to the public in Italy (*Figure 6*). In the film the spirit of Palio was described as, "combattivo ed eroico." ("combative and heroic") During the premiere the director, A. Blasetti, explained to the public that the movie was intended for the Italian Public, rather than specifically for the Sieneese population. This, he admitted, was the cause of the purposeful errors in the film, in order to portray the architectural ambience of the old city. The Contrade, represented the Lupa and Civetta (two of the 12 Contrade) were chosen because of their, "carattere fotogenico." ("photogenic character"). The movie intended to present the architectural beauty of Siena and costumes of the

¹¹ "Le origini storiche del Palio di Siena," *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 5 Aug. 1929, p. 4.

Contrade, which created visions, “piene di una grazia squisita e di una forza guerriera.”¹²

(“full of exquisite grace and warrior force”).



Figure 6 Photographs of the film *Palio* by Blasetti from *La Rivoluzione Fascista*.

¹² “Palio’ di A. Blasetti”, *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 20 March, 1932, p. 3.

This interpretation of the history of the Commune, through the yearly regeneration of the past and heroic male in the festival of Palio, exhibits elements of the 'myth of national regeneration', which played an important role in Italian cultural and political history from the time of Risorgimento. According to this myth, culture and politics held palingenetic function in creation of unified state and new Italian nation.

Emilio Gentile writes:

...national generation can often be messianic, assuming an apocalyptic character when the myth is conceptualized as a collective sacrificial experience, through a palingenetic catastrophe – war or revolution – destroying the old world and the 'old man,' and creating the new world and the 'new man'.¹³

The American and French revolutions and the 'sacralization of politics' – adaptation of ritual and myth for political ends - had great impact on the expression of the Fascist ideology focused on the heroic aspects of a citizen. In the case of Palio, the new man was regenerated in the figure of the heroic medieval knight with the collective participation of the crowds of the observers and the groups of participants belonging to the Contrade.

The Fascist preoccupation with the regeneration of medieval virtues may come as a surprise, especially in the view of statements by historians such as Dennis Mack Smith according to whom Fascism, "was not interested in Medieval."¹⁴ The myth of palingenesis developed by Giuseppe Mazzini during Risorgimento, a foundation for the Fascist interpretation of history, from the beginning held up the notion of Rome's

¹³ Emilio Gentile, "The Myth of National Regeneration in Italy: From Modernist Avant-Garde to Fascism" in *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy*, ed. Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1997), 26.

¹⁴ D. Mack Smith, "Manipolazione della storia" in *Il fascismo e gli storici oggi* (Roma-Bari: J. Jacobelli 1988), 80-81. Quoted in Loretto Di Nucci, *Fascismo e Spazio Urbano, Le Città Storiche dell'Umbria* (Bologna: Il Mulino Ricerca, 1992), 11.

regeneration in the civilization of the Rome of unified Italy through sacrifice, struggle and palingenetic experience.¹⁵ Consequently, it is taken for granted that during Fascism a new vision of the new Italian citizen was modeled on the heroic aspects of the Roman “citizen-soldier”.

In spite of the focus on Rome, Mussolini himself noted in an epigraph to the book Interamna dei Naharti. Storia di Terni nel Medioevo that, “Non è vero che tutti I secoli che si sono susseguiti allo sfacelo del mondo romano siano di oscurità e di barbarie.”¹⁶ (“It is not true that all the ages that followed the dissolution of the Roman world are of obscurity and barbarism”) The nationalistic aspect of the medieval culture grew out of the ‘critical’ rereading of the histories of the Italian city-states. The heroic interpretation of the medieval Commune developed in during the 19th century Romantic Movement. The books written at that time ranged from historical accounts such as of Storia delle Repubbliche Italiane del Medioevo¹⁷ of 20 volumes by Sismondi, published in 1809, to the historical novels of F.D. Guerrazzi.¹⁸

This reinterpretation the medieval Commune’s history persisted under Fascism along the Roman ‘myth of palingenesis’. The focus on these two periods excluded the historical developments between the 5th and 10th centuries, as well as the period between 16th century and Risorgimento, prior to the unification of Italy. During the first time

¹⁵ Emilio Gentile, “The Myth of National Regeneration in Italy: From Modernist Avant-Garde to Fascism” in *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy*, ed. Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1997), 28.

¹⁶ E. Rossi Passavanti, *Interamna dei Naharti: Storia di Terni nel Medioevo*, vol. II, (Orvieto, 1933). Quoted in Loreto Di Nucci, *Fascismo e Spazio Urbano: Le città storiche dell’Umbria* (Bologna: Il Mulino Ricerca, 1992), 12.

¹⁷ Jean Charles Léonard Sismonde, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen age* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1832).

interval the 'Barbarians' dominated Italy. The Baroque period, the second neglected time interval, which followed Renaissance, symbolized divided Italy under Ecclesiastical, Spanish, French, or Austrian influence. The disdain it during 19th and 20th centuries was exhibited in the dismissal of Baroque Architecture and Art, a Counterreformation movement, synonymous with 'decadence' and 'lack of style'.¹⁹ The architecture of Borromini, for instance, was referred to as 'minor architecture' at that time.

2.2 The Ghetto and the Age of Decay

The refuted period of the Sienese history, which begun in 1555, was characterized by the institution of the Jewish ghetto by Florentine Prince, Cosimo I, between 1570 and 1571. From 1560 to 1570 the attitude of the Florentine government turned away from its tolerant and benevolent stance towards the Jews to a controlling oppression. Many times, Cosimo I unsuccessfully solicited a Royal title from the emperor. Therefore, he turned to the ecclesiastical authority, the Pope Pio V, who was eager to listen to his requests. In exchange for the title, the Pope requested from Cosimo I that he demonstrates his allegiance to the Catholic faith by distancing himself from the 'enemies of the cross'. In 1567 Cosimo I introduced the law requiring Jews to wear a sign distinguishing them from Catholics and by 1569 Cosimo I was bestowed a title of Granduca. The following year, he ordered a census of all the Jews in Tuscany, revoked all the previously granted

¹⁸ Ossana Fantozzi Micali, "Interventi Nelle Città Toscane" in *Fascismo e centri storici in Toscana*, ed. Piero Roselli (Firenze: Alinea, 1985).

¹⁹ Loreto Di Nucci, *Fascismo e Spazio urbano: Le città storiche dell'umbria*. (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1992), 13.

banking privileges, and decreed the institution of two ghettos in Florence and Siena, based on the model of the ghettos in Venice and in Rome.²⁰

The radicalized stance towards the Jewish population was exacerbated by the threat to the Holy See posed by the Protestant Reformation. The position of the Church changed during the tenure of the Pope Paolo IV (1555-1559). Only two months after becoming a Pope, on the 14th of July 1555, Paolo IV published the Papal bull Cum nimis absurdum. The bull prohibited Jews to participate in any form of usury and constrained them to live in a ghetto in Rome.²¹ The roots of the exclusion of the Jewish population from society reach further back than the papal bull from 1555. Already at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the first piece of Canon legislation regarding the Jews was concerned with their influence over Christians. The logic of this law, prohibiting Jews to serve as public officials, derived from the belief that, “since it is quite absurd that any who blaspheme against Christ should have power over Christians, we...forbid that Jews be given preferment in public office since this offers them the pretext to vent their wrath against the Christians.”²² Looking even further back, Canon 69 was a restatement of the Theodosian Code of 438 that forbade Jews to hold positions in the Imperial Service.²³

²⁰ Roberto G. Salvadori, *Breve storia degli ebrei toscani: IX-XX secolo* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1995), 45-46.

²¹ Ibid. 62.

²² Solomon Grayzel, *Church and the Jews in the XIIIth century* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary in America; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 311. Quoted in Mark Cohen, Mark R. *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 38.

²³ It was written in the Theodosian Code: “For we consider it impious, that the enemies of the Supreme Majesty and of the Roman laws shall be considered as avengers of our laws by seizing stolen jurisdiction, and armed with the authority of an ill-gotten dignity shall have the power to judge and pronounce sentence against Christians, very often even against priests of the sacred religion, to the insult of our faith.” NTh 3.2. Quoted in Amnon Linder, *Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit and Michigan: Wayne State

Similar to the Papal bull of 1555, the Canon 69 of the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that in places where external signs fail to differentiate Jews and Saracens from the Christians, the clothing of Jews would have to distinguish them from Christians. However, the type of clothing or mark required to wear was not specified.²⁴ A remainder of how a Jewish person may have been distinguished from a Christian exists in the painting from the end of the 14th century, by an unknown painter, in the basilica of Sant'Andrea in Mantova (*Figure 7*). It was customary for the person who donated money to the church or to commission the painting to be depicted at the bottom. In this case, a family of bankers, Familia Norsa, wearing signs that distinguish them as Jewish, is portrayed. During the medieval period there was a proliferation of laws that restricted the liberties of the Jewish population. These prohibited the Jews to appear in public during Easter, prevented backsliding, forbade blasphemy against Christ, and sometimes prohibited heavy and immoderate usury.²⁵ Nevertheless, the exclusion of the Jewish population from the rest of the society did not have a physical manifestation within the architecture and structure of the cities until the Counterreformation. Although the earlier

University Press, 1987), 328. Quoted in Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 35.

²⁴ See Solomon Grayzel, *Church and the Jews in the XIIIth century* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary in America; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 309 and Guido Kisch, "The Yellow Badge in History" in *Forschungen sur Rechts-, Wirtschafts- und Socialgeschichte der Juden*, ed. Guido Kisch, (Sigmaringen, 1979), 2:115-64. Quoted in Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 38.

²⁵ Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 39.

ecclesiastical laws, such as the laws passed in the Lateran Council of 1179, sought to isolate the Jewish population within a ghetto, the edicts were very difficult to enforce.²⁶



Figure 7 Painting of the Familia Norsa by an unknown painter from *Basilica di Sant'Andrea* in Mantova in memory of the dedication of the church of *Santa Maria della Vittoria*. From Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America (1969), 174.

In Siena, attempts to separate the Jewish Population occurred already in 1385, when the officials of Biccherna declared that the Jews should not be permitted to live in houses facing and in the vicinity of the Piazza del Campo.²⁷ In Venice, prior to the creation of

²⁶ Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 216.

²⁷ The prohibition for the Jews to live in the vicinity of the Piazza del Campo was described: “tutti I ciptadini della cipta di Siena erano veri Cristiani e amatory de la fede di

the ghetto, the Jewish population was dispersed in the commercial center of Venice encompassing the areas of San Boldo, Sant'Agostin, Santa Maria Mater Domini, San Sastian, and San Polo.²⁸

One reason for the rejection and isolation of the Jewish population is the religious conflict. Since Christianity started out as a radical and messianic movement within Judaism and since it proposed innovative, but socially subversive interpretations of the fundamental tenets of Judaism, it was a threat to the Jewish leaders. As Christianity fought to survive facing the Roman administration and established religion of Judaism, the tensions increased. Another religious source of the tension was the Christianity's challenge to the Jewish claim of divine election. Furthermore, the tendency of early Christians to celebrate festivals such as Sabbath and Easter on Jewish dates and in Jewish manner was controversial within the early church hierarchy. Pseudo-Cyprian wrote, "It should never be possible for Christians to stray from the way of truth and to trail like ignorant people after the blind and stupid Jews as to the correct day for Easter".²⁹ Christianity accepted the existence of the Jewish faith through the development of the doctrine of "witness" by Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. It maintained that the Jews were

Xpto e fedegli servidori e acomandati de la gloriosissima e beatissima Vergine Maria" riconoscevano "iniqua e sconvenevole cosa che I Giudei dispregiatori de la fede di Xpto e de la gloriosissima Vergine Maria fossero veduti stare et abitare da ciptadini e forestieri ne luochi pubblici e ne piu begli de la cipta di Siena..." e quindi ordinavano " che niuno Giudeio potesse stare ne abitare in neuna casa overo palagio el quale confinasse col Campo de la cipta di Siena, e colle strade overo vie ivi adacianti..." Quoted in "Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena e le Aziende in essa riunite" Vol I, Chap. II (Siena, 1891). Quoted in Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei," *La Diana* (1927): 193-199.

²⁸ Ennio Concina, *La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanisti*, (Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991).

²⁹ Simon, *Verus Israel*, 286, 513. Quoted in Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 20.

expelled from their own kingdom so that they would, “become witnesses to the faith which they hated.”³⁰

Although the religious differences clearly had the biggest impact on the attempts to separate and isolate the Christian and Jewish population, these laws also attempted to prevent “polluting sexual contact” as well as association between Christians and the members of other ‘infidel’ religions.³¹ This purpose was most visible in the precedent that influenced the establishment of the Florentine and Sienese ghettos - the institution of the Jewish ghetto in Venice in 1515. The ghetto was a Venetian invention and although the term ‘ghetto’ became a customary name for the area where the Jewish population was confined, the origins of the term are purely circumstantial meaning simply ‘foundry’.³²

The establishment of the ghetto in Venice was not specifically linked to the religious differences and conflict. In 1494 the new deadly disease, Syphilis, appeared in Italy. The name, treatment, and diagnosis of the disease did not exist, but it was

³⁰ St. Augustine, Sermon no. 201. Quoted in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 38, *Saint Augustine, Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*, trans. Sister Mary Sarah Muldowney (New York, 1959), 70-71. Quoted in Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 21.

³¹ Guido Kisch, “The Yellow Badge in History” in *Forschungen sur Rechts-, Wirtschafts- und Socialgeschichte der Juden*, ed. Guido Kisch, (Sigmaringen, 1979), 2:115-64. Quoted in Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

³² The toponymy of the word Ghetto is linked to the territorial use of the area prior to the establishment of the Ghetto proper. The area of the Ghetto was occupied in fact by a complex of public buildings called “*Geto de rame del nostro Comun*” – The Copper Foundry of the Commune. The initial activity of the foundry involved production of copper rods whose quality was guaranteed by the impressed sign of San Marco under surveillance of one of the Signori del Ghetto. APSM, Scrittura, Testimony of Felice Bon, 9.3.1458: “et plures dum ipse testis ut faciunt pueri i visset illuc et videret platinas eris fusas et affinatas ipse (uno dei domini del Ghetto) accipiebat unum martellum cum sigillo Sancti Marci et sigillabat dictas platinas eris” quoted in Ennio Concina, *La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanistica* (Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991).

recognized as a sexually transmitted. Initially, the quick spread of Syphilis was linked to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1494. Theories that the Jewish population was especially prone to disease, Syphilis and Leprosy in particular, were attributed to the religious practices. In 1512 Sigismondo de'Contida Foligno wrote that first of all, "the Jews, because they abstain from pork, are subject to leprosy more than other peoples" and secondly, "Sacred Scripture...makes clear that leprosy was a sign that revealed an even more vile incontinence: in fact, it began to manifest itself in the genitals", therefore "this illness (Syphilis) derived...from the Marrani" – the Jews from Spain.³³ Since medicine was among the few professions allowed for Jews, they were also the ones that treated the disease and consequently were associated with it (*Figure 8*). In 1520 Paracelsus, the father of modern medicine, attacked the practices of the Jewish doctors who, "purge (syphilitics), smear them, wash them, and perform all manner of impious deceptions" and who, "were more subject to (leprosy) than any other people...because they had neither linen, nor domestic baths. These people were so negligent of cleanliness and the decencies of life that their legislators were obliged to make a law to compel them even to wash their hands."³⁴ The statements of Paracelsus display the tension between the medical practices brought by the Jewish doctors from the Ottoman Empire and

³³ Sigismondo de'Contida Foligno, *Le Storie dei suoi tempi dal 1475 al 1510: ora la prima volta pubblicate nel testo latino con versione italiana a fronte*, vol. 2 (Firenze, Rome: G. Barbera, 1883), 271-272. Quoted in Anna Foa, "The new and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis, 1494-1530." in *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspectives*, eds. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University press, 1990), 36. Quoted in Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 223-224.



Figure 8 An outfit of a Jewish doctor worn when victims of the plague were treated. From Grevembroch, *Customs of the Venetians*; Museo Civico Correr, Venice in Sennett, Richard, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994), 226.

Paracelsus' novel idea that disease can be fought by intake of chemical substances - drugs. His recognition of the connection between lack of cleanliness and the spread of disease was a prototypical notion of the role of hygiene as an effort to limit the spread of disease. The linkage of disease and cleanliness to religious beliefs and morality, however irrational, became part of the reasoning linked to the exclusionary practices and contributed to the creation of a ghetto.

³⁴ Sander Gilman, *Sexuality* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989), 86-87. Quoted in Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 225-6.

The time when the ghetto in Venice was created coincided with the decline of the power of the Venetian Republic. In 1501, the Venetians were confronted with the establishment of a new sea route to India around the southern tip of Africa by the Portuguese. The power of Venice as a middleman in the spice trade was challenged. The news came at a time when the Ottoman Empire was strong enough to challenge the Venetians in the Adriatic. In addition, the land controlled in Veneto was lost to the French in 1509.³⁵ The decline of Venice was not viewed simply derived from extraneous circumstances by the public, but rather as a result of moral corruption.³⁶ The sexual morality in the port city of Venice, known for affluence, was relaxed with a flourishing prostitution and open homosexual subculture. Therefore, the coincidence of the surge in Jewish Sephardim population, in 1492, and the rise of syphilis induced a transfer fears of onto the foreigners. According to Mary Douglass, an anthropologist, the fears of a society can be projected on a specific population representing those fears.³⁷ In the case of Venice these were the Jews.

The solution to the threat posed by the Sephardim Jewish population, which was later adopted in Rome, Florence and Siena, was the institution of the ghetto. The proposal for the Jews to be removed to the area of the ghetto came at the instigation of Zacaria Dolfín in 1515:

Bisognerà mandarli tutti a star in Geto nuovo, ch'e come un castello, e far ponti levatori et serar di muro; abino solo una

³⁵ Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 221.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 223.

³⁷ Mary Douglass, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978). Quoted in Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 227.

porta la qual etiam la serano e stagino li do di esse la notte

³⁸
...

Send all of them to live in the *Ghetto Nuovo* which is like a castle and make drawbridges and close it with a wall; they should have only one gate, which would enclose them there and they would stay there at night ...³⁹

The location of the ghetto on the periphery of the contemporary city and away from the commercial center (*Figure 9*) intended to remove the population from the view of the Venetian populace. It was located on a small island, facilitating the separation between the ghetto and the city of Venice (*Figure 10*).

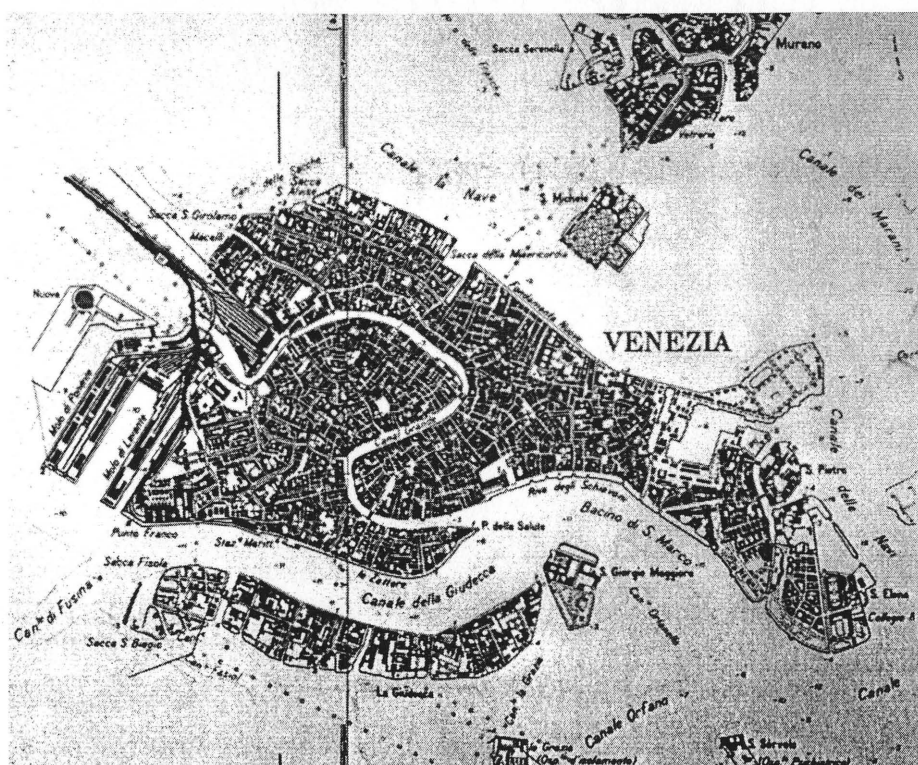


Figure 9 The map of Venice indicating the location of the Jewish ghetto.

³⁸ M. Sanudo, *I Diarii*, XXII, coll. 72-73. Quoted in Ennio Concina, *La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanistica*, (Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991).

³⁹ Translation from Benjamin Ravid, "The Religious, Economic, and Social Background and Context of the Establishment of the Ghetti of Venice," *Gli ebrei e Venezia*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milano: Edizioni di Comunita, 1987), 215. Quoted in Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 234.

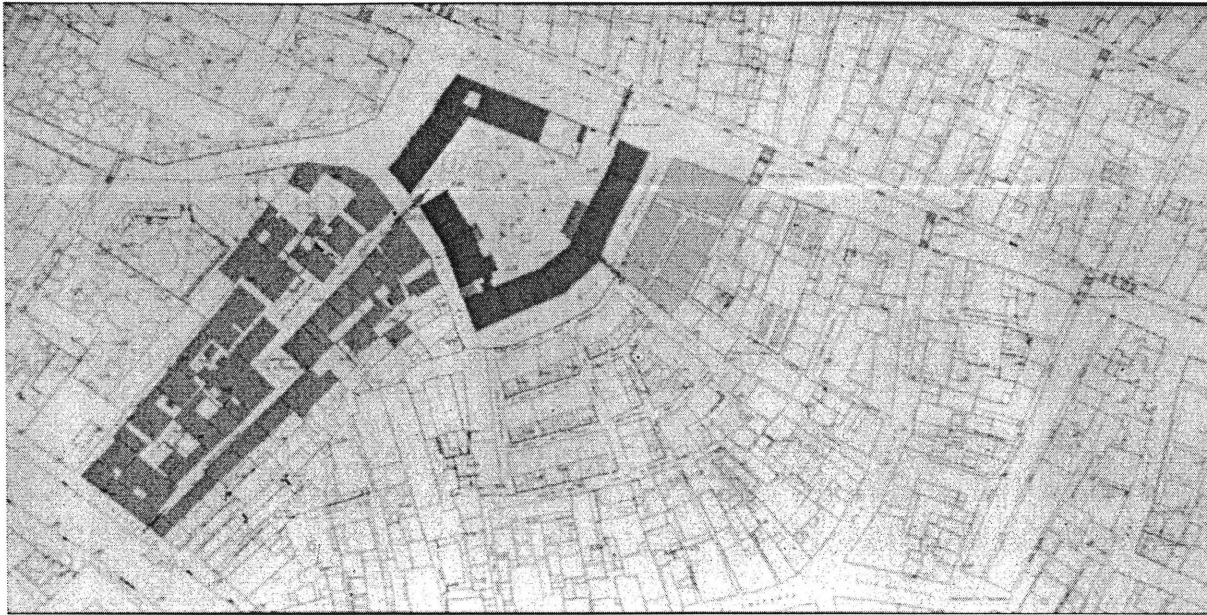


Figure 10 Map of the ghetto in Venice indicating the growth of the ghetto and the entrances to the ghetto.

The immediate result of the institution of the ghetto was the subdivision of housing into smaller units and construction of additional units superimposed over the existing housing and reaching up to seven flights in height (*Figures 11 and 12*). In this situation, the construction of the religious institutions was superimposed over the preexisting urban fabric. Excessive upward construction created the need for the housing to be buttressed from the sides and contributed to the phenomenon of unbearably narrow streets.⁴⁰ The limitation of space and the large numbers of people inhabiting a limited area led to the degraded sanitary conditions, reinforcing the stereotypical views of the Jewish population. Although information pertaining to the occurrence of disease within the

⁴⁰ Roberta Curriel and Bernard Dov, *The Venetian Ghetto* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

ghetto is not readily available, it can be inferred that the contagious diseases were most probably more frequent within the ghetto due to the high density of the inhabitants.⁴¹



Figure 11 View of the Old ghetto in Venice from the Ghetto Nuovo. From Roberta Curiel and Bernard Dov, *The Venetian Ghetto* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990). Photograph by Graziano Arici.

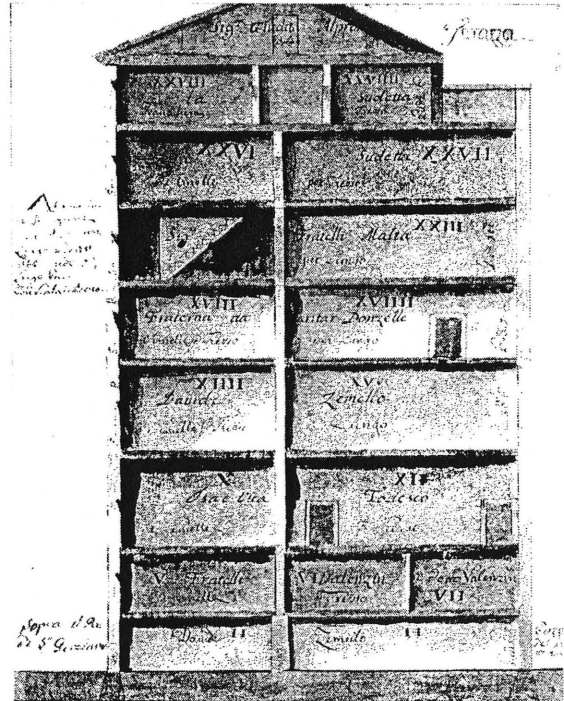


Figure 12 Section of a house in Ghetto Nuovo, XVIII century. From Archivio di Stato, Venice. In Ennio Concina, *La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanistica* (Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991).

The unsanitary conditions of living are reflected in the names of the streets in the Venetian ghetto such as Calle Sporca, literally translated as ‘the dirty street’, in the Ghetto Vecchio (*Figure 13*).

⁴¹ See James Dickson Murray, *Mathematical Biology* (Berlin, New York: Springer Verlag, 1989).

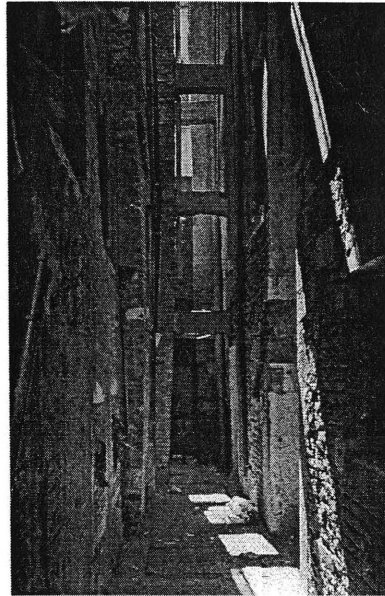


Figure 13 View of Calle Sporca in the ghetto in Venice. From Roberta Curiel and Bernard Dov, *The Venetian Ghetto* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990). Photograph by Graziano Arici.

The descriptions of the ghetto in Florence also indicate similar conditions. In

Firenze Vecchia, Giuseppe Conti left a description of the Florentine ghetto:

L'interno del ghetto era sudicio e perciò quanto mai si può dire. Il Comune non vi faceva i lavori necessari, le fogne non si spurgavano, nessuno sorvegliava la pulizia né l'igiene; e tutti facevano quello che volevano. C'erano delle case perfino di undici piani: quelle costruite sul muraglione del Gran Postribolo, difaccia alla Palla....

In Ghetto ci stavano anche famiglie ricche; ma si vedevano tra la classe più miserabile, faccie gialle di gente che respirava aria malsana; ragazze sciatte, in ciabatte, tutte arruffate coi capelli senza pettinare, neri cresputi, che nell'insieme rivelavano la loro origine orientale... E ragazzi mezzo ignudi che facevano il chiasso per le piazze, per le scale, con una poltiglia ner sugli scalini alta tre dita, formata da centinaia di anni di mota e di letame. Alle finestre di tutte le case cenci tesi, calze, sottane, lenzuoli pieni di toppe, ma tutto bigio e quasi sudicio, benché fosse roba lavata d'allora!

The interior of the ghetto was dirty and therefore what can one say more. The city did not make necessary works, the drains did not empty, nobody watched over cleanliness or hygiene, and everybody did what they wanted. There were

houses up to eleven floors; these constructed above the Great Brothel, facing the Palla...In the ghetto there were also rich families, but they were seen among the lowest classes, yellow faces of the people that breathed fetid air; slovenly girls, all tangled with uncombed hair, black braids, that all together revealed their eastern origins... And the half-naked boys made noise in the piazzas, on the stairs, with caked mud three-fingers-high on the stairs, formed throughout hundreds of years by the mire and litter. At the windows of all the houses stretched rags, socks, cassocks, sheets full of stains, but everything gray and dusty, even when the clothes were washed a moment ago.⁴²

The narration attests to the negligence of the city officials in respect to the maintenance of the area of the ghetto and to the poverty into which the Jewish population fell after the institution of the ghetto. The morphological appearance of the Florentine was analogous to the situation in Venice. Overcrowding, excessive construction, and lack of interest on the part of the government characterized the living conditions in the ghetto.

In Siena, the first recorded mention of the ghetto occurred on 26 February 1569, when the Collegio di Balìa in Siena was charged with finding the place its location:

...trovar 'l luogo ed habitatione deli Ebrei... ristretto a poche decine di case tutte riunite in poche vie comunicanti, denominandolo il Ghetto, a somiglianza di quanto si era già praticato, primieramente, in Bologna fino dal 1366 e più tardi in Firenze e Venezia e presso la stessa Curia Romana, che sotto il pontificato di Pio V decreto la loro completa espulsione da tutti gli Stati della Chiesa, pena severissime sanzioni d'ordine personale e pecuniario.

...find a location and housing for the Jews...restricted to a few dozens of houses all united with few roads going through, and name it the ghetto, similarly to when it was already practiced, first of all in Bologna since 1366 and later in Florence and Venice and in papal Rome, that under the pontificate of Pio V decreed their complete expulsion

⁴² Giuseppe Conti, *Firenze vecchia. Storia-Cronaca-Aneddotta-Costumi (1799-1859)* (Firenze: R. Bemporad e Figlio, 1900), VIII 702. Quoted in Roberto G. Salvatori, *Breve storia degli ebrei toscani* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1995), 46-47.

from all the states of the Church, through imposition of severe personal and financial sanctions.⁴³

Since the ghetto was to be modeled on the earlier examples of ghettos established in Bologna, Venice, and Rome, it is logical to conclude that all the ghettos would have similar urban structures and derived from analogous cultural origins. The response of the Colegio di Balia to Granduca da Federigo dei Conti di Montauto, in charge of the government of the city, indicated that the Balia, after consulting with four representatives of the Jewish community and after examining the opinion of the citizens of Siena, named three possible locations for the ghetto: one in Terzo di San Martino close to the Campo, second one in a section of the Via di Salicotto behind Palazzo Pubblico; and the third one in the street of Calzoleria in the area of sito delle Donzelle. The Jewish representatives indicated that the area in Terzo di San Martino was the most adequate one because it would not cost much, it would not inconvenience citizens that would have to leave, and there was a source of water in the center of the piazza (*Figure 14*).⁴⁴ Reversing the earlier Sienese prohibitions for the Jewish population to live close to the Campo, the ghetto was established between the Via Salicotto and the Church of San Martino on December 9, 1572. The edict issued on that date stipulated that all the Jews in the territory of the state move and find permanent residence within the ghetto from which they would not be permitted to exit at night.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Deliberazioni di Balia del 17 Marzo 1571*, Archivio di Stato di Siena. Quoted in Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei," *La Diana* (1927): 195.

⁴⁴ A.S.F. Mediceo, Carteggio Universale, Filza N. 572. Quoted in Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei," *La Diana* (1927): 193-199.

⁴⁵ The description of the establishment of the Ghetto in Siena indicates that, "sapendo quanto differenti sieno li Statuti et abominevoli I costumi delli ebrei da quelli che desiderano, et esser devono I veri cristiani, et quanto facilmente per la continua

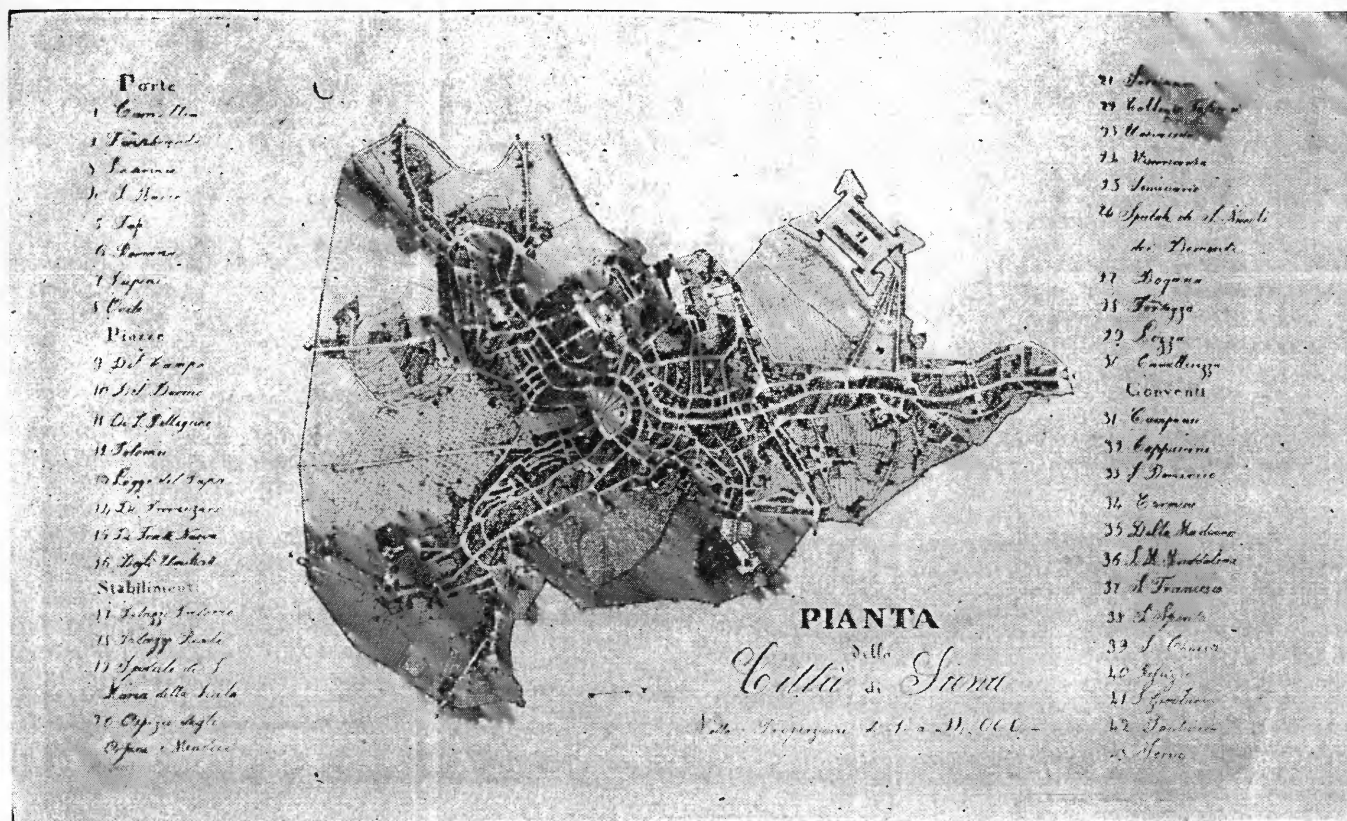


Figure 14 Location of the Jewish ghetto in Siena.

The urban conditions specific to the ghetto in Siena are much more difficult to reconstruct due to its destruction between 1929 and 1942 and limited documentation of pre-existing buildings. In *Rassegna Mensile Israel* Nello Pavoncello described the ghetto:

Una parte del Ghetto fu abbattuta nel 1935 ed ora non ci rimangono che i nomi delle strade, che attraversavano in lungo e in largo tutto il quartiere ebraico. Le vie principali, o meglio le arterie, che a mo' di parallele racchiudevano il Ghetto erano: la Via Salicotto e S. Martino ed in questo Claustro si intersecavano altrettante vie. L'ubicazione del

conversatione et assidue familiarita essi potrebbero tirare gli animi de' semplici cristiani nella lor vana superstizione et esecranda perfidia, il che passerebbe con grandissimo disonor d'Iddio...et volendo quanto piu possibile sia levare queste pericolose conversazioni anco notturne e celate a esempio della citta di Roma, Fiorenza ed altri luoghi..." si faceva stretto obbligo a tutti gli ebrei soggiornati nel territorio dello Stato di giungere a Siena e trovare fissa dimora nel Ghetto, dal quale non avrebbero dovuto uscire per "alcuna si sia cagione" dopo le due ore di notte, "non altrove potendo tenere botteghe e treffici." *Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena e le aziende in esso riunite*, Vol II, Cap. XI (Siena, 1891). Quoted in Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei," *La Diana* (1927): 193-199.

ghetto infatti era la seguente: la prima via, cioè via delle archi, Vicolo della Fortuna, Vicolo della Manna, Vicolo della Coda e Vicolo del Vannello. Tutte queste vie si portavano in Via Salicotto (...) Al pari degli altri Ghetti italiani, anche a Siena vi erano I cancelli che racchiudevano questa parte angusta della città facendone un vero chiazzer, nel senso di cortile, luogo chiuso denominazione ancora vigente per indicare il ghetto. A Siena I cancelli erano posti precisamente all'inizio della Pescheria, voltando in Via Salicotto, dove era il portone di sotto. Merita aggiungere che nella attuale Via degli Arditi (di fronte al palazzo del Tempio) esiste una Fonte appellate ancora oggi della gente del luogo con il nome Fonte del Ghetto.

One part of the ghetto was torn down in 1935 and now nothing more remains but the street names that crossed the length and width of the Jewish neighborhood. The major streets, or better to say the arteries, that enclosed the ghetto in the longitudinal way were Via Salicotto and S. Martino. The enclosed urban fabric was crossed by perpendicular streets. The placement these was as follows: Vicolo della Fortuna, Vicolo della Manna, Vicolo della Coda and Vicolo del Vannello. All these streets were connected to Via Salicotto (...) Similar to other italian ghettos, also in Siena this anguished part of the city was a true chiazzer, in the sense of a courtyard, a terminology still used to indicate a ghetto. In Siena there were gates at the beginning of the Pescheria, turning into Via Salicotto, where the bottom gate was located. It is worth to add that in the present Via delgi Arditi (in front of the synagogue) there is still a fountain called by the people from the area as the Fountain of the Ghetto.⁴⁶

The courtyard nature of the ghetto is impossible to perceive today, but its image was preserved in a photograph taken from the Torre del Mangia prior to the *Sventramento* (Figure 15). Information concerning the physical state of the ghetto is available from three other new sources produced during the Fascist period. The first one is the model of Salicotto commissioned by the Commune of Siena to study the effects of proposed

changes (*Figure 16*). The second source, presenting a positive viewpoint of the ghetto, is an article from the Sieneese Art History Journal, La Diana.⁴⁷ Finally, there are the photographs of Salicotto commissioned by the Commune depicting the ghetto as a slum. The model of the ghetto and the existing pre-*Sventramento* maps of Siena, as well as the remaining parts of the ghetto, offer the most impartial view of the conditions within the ghetto with regard to the location of the pre-existing urban fabric. The photographs of the ghetto from La Diana emphasize the picturesque quality of the ghetto, focusing on the narrow, arched, and romantic alleyways (*Figures 17 and 18*). On the other hand, the photographs of the Commune of Siena emphasize the uncontrolled additions to the urban fabric (*Figure 19*).

⁴⁶ Nello Pavoncello, "Notizie storiche sulla Comunità ebraica di Siena e la sua Sinagoga," *Rassegna Mensile Israel* XXXVI (1970): 299-30. Quoted in Roberto G. Salvatori, *Breve storia degli ebrei toscani* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1995), 48.

⁴⁷ *La Diana: Rassegna d'arte e vita Senese* (Siena: Casa Editrice Italiana, 1926-34).



Figure 15 View of Salicotto from *Torre del Mangia*. From Luca Betti, *Com'era Siena* (Siena: Betti Editrice, 1993), 51.

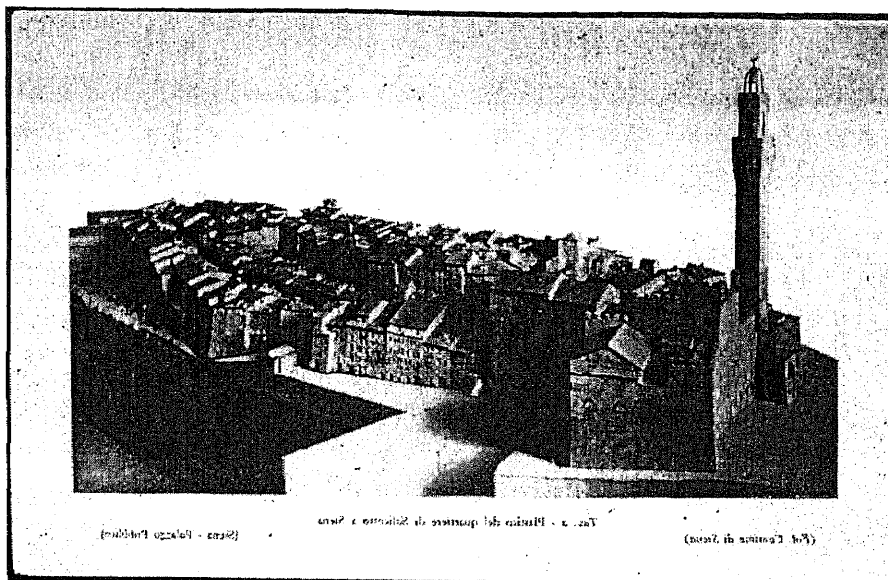
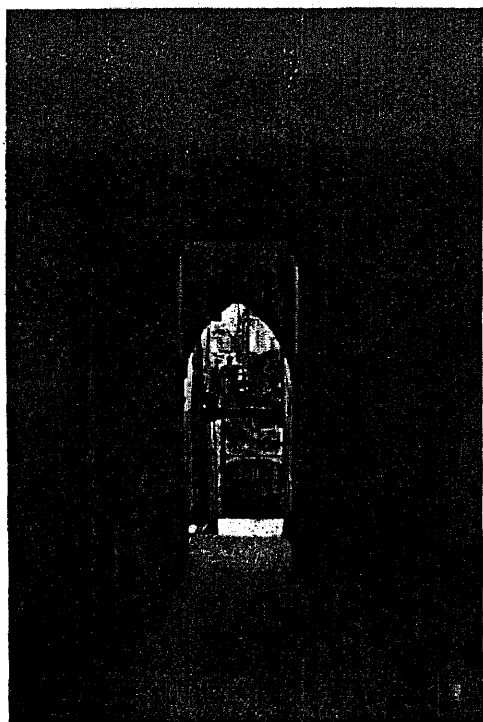


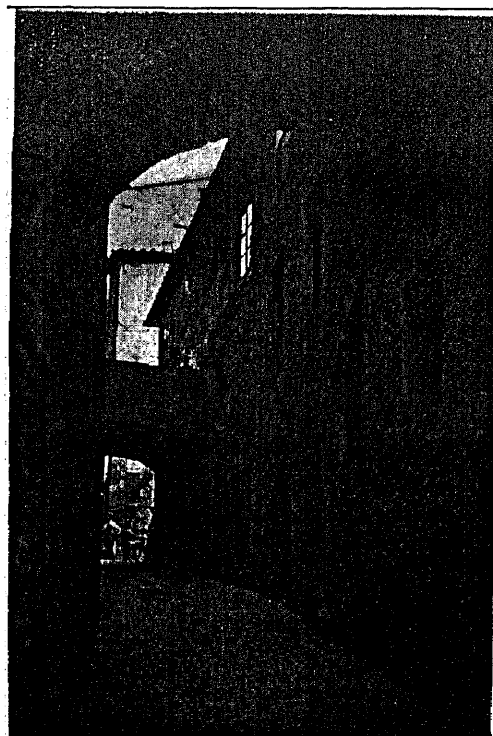
Figure 16 Model of the ghetto in Siena. Photograph from the *Comune di Siena*. In Alfredo Barbacci, “La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena”, *La Diana* (1933), 254-267.



SIENA - Vicolo delle Scotte (Parte superiore)

(Fot. A. Bennoli)

Figure 17 Vicolo delle Scotte in Siena (upper part). Photograph by A. Bennoli. From Aldo Lusini, “Il Ghetto degli ebrei”, *La Diana* (1927), 193-199.



SIENA - Vicolo delle Scotte (Parte inferiore)

(Fot. A. Bennoli)

Figure 18 Vicolo delle Scotte in Siena (from below). Photograph by A. Bennoli. From Aldo Lusini, “Il Ghetto degli ebrei”, *La Diana* (1927), 193-199.



Figure 19 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. From L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

CHAPTER 3

HYGIENE AND THE 19TH CENTURY CITY: PRECEDENTS FOR SIENA

The institution of the Jewish ghetto remained uninterrupted in Siena until the middle of 19th century. Likewise, Siena, which remained a provincial city, was spared the new atmosphere of anxiety created by rapid influx of population into urban centers during the Industrial Revolution. While the population of cities such as Paris, Berlin, and London increased exponentially, with the exception of Turin and Milan, Italy still lagged behind in industrial development even under Mussolini's rule. The increased pressures within rapidly industrializing cities stimulated solutions to the overcrowding such as slum clearance and with a time-lag indirectly influenced the policies shaping *Sventramento* and *Risanamento* of the ghetto in Siena by the local Fascist government.

In 19th century the population in Paris increased from one million to two. Berlin increased from 150,000 to 1,300,000 inhabitants and the population in London doubled from two million to four million between 1830 and 1900. In some cases, as in London, the city expanded outward and in other cases, where medieval city walls were present, the population density increased within the city centers.¹ The unprecedented rate of the population growth caused air and water pollution as well as the increased virulence of contagious diseases. The scientific study of smells, air pollution, water pollution, and fears of social corruption became central issue in those cities. C. Lachaise, a French doctor, wrote about the situation in Paris at the beginning of 19th century in a treatise titled Medical Topography of Paris, or a general examination of the causes that could have a significant influence on the sanity of housing in this city, the character of their

diseases, and the choice of the applicable hygienic precautions: “L’experience de tous les siecles n’atteste-t-elle pas, en effet, que c’est dans les grandes villes que les agents de destruction s’accumulent, se multiplient et déploient toute leur funeste activite.”² (“The experience of all ages testifies that it is within the large cities that the agents of destruction accumulate, multiply, and display their fatal activities.”) The title of the book indicates the shift in professional expertise of the doctor from the treatment of a human being to the treatment of disease within a scope of the city. The new terminology for the disease of the city utilized newly generated terms such as ‘Medical Topography’, ‘Sanity’, and ‘Hygiene’. The word ‘sanity’ derives from the Latin word *sanus* meaning ‘healthy’ but also indicates both mental and physical state of being, while the word ‘hygiene’ comes from Greek word *hygienine*, ‘of health’. The emergence of the culture of ‘public hygiene’ occurred between 1820 and 1840 in France. The catchwords of the day were: *topographie physique et medicale, statistique industrielle et morale, salubritè, interets moraux et materiels, bien-etre, etat physique et moral*. (“*physical and medical topography, industrial and moral statistics, salubrity, material and moral interests, well being, physical and moral state*”)

It is interesting to observe that morality was always closely connected to the physical state of being. The immorality and unsanitary physical conditions of the

¹ Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th century* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 15.

² C. Lachaise, *Topographie medicale de Paris, ou examen general des causes qui peuvent avoir une influence marquee sur la sante des habitations de cette ville, le caractere de leurs maladies, et le choix des precautions hygieniques qui leur sont applicables* (Paris: J.B. Bailliere, 1822), 11. Quoted in Luigi Lacche, “Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratique urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei logements insalubres,” *Storia urbana* v. 17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

environment where the proletariat lived were interpreted as analogous to both mental and physical 'degeneration' of the human body, blurring the distinction between a sick patient and a city. The examiners of the surface of the city, 'the topographers', were the doctors and the administrators. The distinction between human body and the city was obscured in the literary work of the time. For example, Emile Zola's novel Le ventre de Paris (1873) assigned qualities of a human body to the city. The perception of a city as a sick body persisted in the Italian word *Sventramento*, 'disembowelment', referring to clearance of slums. In France, the doctor treating the human body became the hygienist treating the city:

La médecine n'a pas seulement pour objet d'étudier et de guérir les maladies, elle a des rapports intimes avec l'organisation sociale; quelquefois elle aide le législateur dans la confection des lois, souvent elle éclaire le magistrat dans leur application, et toujours elle veille, avec l'administration, au maintien de la santé publique...³

The medicine doesn't only have as its object the study and cure of the diseases, it has intimate relationship with the social organization, sometimes it helps the legislature in the creation of laws, often it explains to the magistrates its application, and always it watches with the administration over the maintenance of public sanity.

The role of the doctor as a hygienist was evermore enhanced when the epidemic of Cholera Morbus, Asiatic Cholera, brought to Northern England from India broke out in 1831 and soon spread to the continent. The central board of health in England described the symptoms of the disease in the following way:

³ "Annales d'hygiène publique et de médecine légale," 1829, pg. V. Quoted in Luigi Lacche, "Hygiène publique, harmonie, pratiche urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*," *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

The attack of the disease in extreme cases is so sudden, that, from a state of apparent good health...an individual sustains as rapid a loss of bodily power as if he were suddenly struck down or poisoned; the countenance assuming a death-like appearance, the skin becoming cold...The pulse is either feeble, intermitting, fluttering or lost; a livid circle is observed round the eyelids...Vomiting soon succeeds; first some of the usual contents of the stomach, next a turbid fluid like whey...or water gruel...Spasms, beginning at the toes and fingers soon follow...The next severe symptoms are, an intolerable sense of weight, and constriction felt upon the chest...a leaden or bluish appearance of the countenance...the palms of the hands and soles becoming shriveled...At length a calm succeeds and death...The powers of the constitution often yield to such an attack at the end of four hours, and seldom sustain longer than eight.⁴

Like the epidemic of Syphilis, this disease came from another continent, its diffusion was facilitated in the high-density areas, and since the population was not exposed to it before, it was especially deadly. This time, the spread of the disease was not attributed to the Jewish population but rather to the urban poor. The theory was put forward that the physical and moral habits of the poor, as well as the environment, actively stimulated the disease.

The debate as to the origins of infection was driven by three theories. The first two, the germ theory of infection, which dismissed the moral and social environment as a cause, and the theory that cholera was produced by a spontaneous chemical combustion in the patient's blood, were both dismissed for lack of proof. The prevailing theory was the 'atmospheric' approach proposed by English sanitarians and doctors. This theory postulated that under some circumstances the atmosphere became charged with epidemic

⁴ Lords of HM Privy Council, *Papers Relating to the Disease called Cholera Spasmodica in India now prevailing in the North of Europe* (1831), PRO pCI/105. Quoted in Frank

influence that became malignant when combined with the effluvia of organic decomposition from earth. The environmentalist logic followed that the effluvia were the unsanitary and immoral conditions in which the working classes lived.⁵ The solution to control the spread of the disease was the isolation of the human source of infection and instruction of the urban poor about cleanliness and morality. This logically led to proposals for the destruction of the environment affecting the health of the proletariat. In the Treatise on Fever written in 1830, Southwood Smith described the living conditions of the urban poor, focusing on the material conditions and habits:

The room of a fever patient, in a small and heated apartment of London, with no perflation of fresh air, is perfectly analogous to a stagnant pool in Ethiopia full of bodies of dead locusts. The poison generated in both cases is the same; the difference is merely in the degree of its potency. Nature, with her burning sun, her stilled and pent-up wind, her stagnant and teeming marsh, manufactures plague on a large and fearful scale. Poverty in her hut, covered with her rags, surrounded by her filth, striving with all her might to keep out the pure air and to increase the heat, imitates Nature but too successfully; the process and the product are the same...penury and ignorance can thus, at any time in any place, create a mortal plague.⁶

The assessment of the situation not only focused on the standard of living of the proletariat, but also expressed a judgment about the nature of the people that came down with the plague. The proletariat was perceived as primitive, animalistic, and uncivilized by medical professionals and ruling classes.

*

Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: medico-moral politics in England since 1830* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 13.

⁵ Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: medico-moral politics in England since 1830*, (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 28.

⁶ T. Southwood Smith, *Treatise on Fever*, (1820): 324. Quoted in Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: medico-moral politics in England since 1830* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 29.

In Paris, already by 1832, two engineers Stephane Flachet and Michel Chevalier proposed expropriation as an instrument of urban development and as solution to the cholera epidemic.⁷ In 1848, the issue of provision of *habitations salubres*, ‘sanitary housing’,⁸ for the working classes was discussed in the National Assembly and only two years *la loi du 13 avril 1850 sur les logements insalubres*, ‘the law of 13 april 1850 concerning unhygienic housing’, was passed. The law required the municipal council to nominate a commission, which would conduct research and propose measures to reform the unsanitary housing. The commission had to have between five and nine members and was to be presided over by the mayor. It was to include a doctor, an architect, a member of the office of charity, and a member of the *conseil des prud’hommes*, ‘city council’. The commission was required to visit the unsanitary housing, determine the state of the housing, indicate causes, possible remedies, and decide which housing was not possible to renovate.⁹ Article 13 of the law introduced a new mechanism of public expropriation: “expropriation, comme moyen suprême et exceptionnel de pourvoir a l’assainissement

⁷ Stephane Mony-Flachat, “Le cholera. Assainissement de Paris,” *Le Globe. Journal de la religion sain-simonienne*, 2 April 1832, p: 370. The author of the article was a civil engineer designed railroads and canals. Michel Chevalier, “Fin du cholera par un coup d’etat”, *Le Globe*, 11 April 1832, p. 405. Quoted in Luigi Lacche, “Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratiche urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*,” *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

⁸ Loi des 19 janvier, 7 mars et 13 avril 1850. Affaires diverses, Vœu de la chambre de commerce de Lille. Délibérations du Conseil général du Nord, 1848-1849. Quoted in Luigi Lacche, “Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratiche urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*,” *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

⁹ Circolare 11 august 1850, pg. 19-20, quoted in Luigi Lacche, *Hygiene Publique, Harmonie, Pratiche Urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei Logements Insalubres* in Luigi Lacche, “Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratiche urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo.

des logements condamnés comme insalubres.”¹⁰ (“expropriation, as the best supreme and exceptional means to restore the housing condemned as unhygienic”)

The law of 1850 influenced and allowed the urban transformation and reorganization of Paris during the years 1853-1870 when Baron Georges Haussman was the Prefect of the Seine. The most important aspect of his scheme was to view city as a unified whole in space and time and to achieve efficient working of the city in terms of the movement of traffic, creating new lines of communication by destroying the old medieval fabric of the city. The system was meant to function like the “general circulatory system” – indicating a clear analogy to the circulatory system of a human body. The sanitary concerns, for which the law of 1850 was intended, played a secondary role and were addressed by creation of voids within the city to provide ventilation – analogous to a removal of diseased elements from a human body by means of surgery.¹¹

During 19th century, the perception of the evil and degenerated city badly in need of a surgery was counterbalanced by the idyllic view of the countryside. In the book by L.G. A. De Bonald titled De la famille agricole, de la famille industrielle, et du droit d'ainesse, the author describes the contrast between the city and the countryside praising the virtues of the countryside. He writes that agriculture feeds people that are born of it, while the industry brings to the world those that it cannot feed, creates needs, produces

Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*,” *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

¹⁰ J.C. De Peyronny and L. Delamarre, *Commentaire*, cit. pp. 712-713. Quoted in Luigi Lacche, “Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratiche urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*.” *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

¹¹ Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*. (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 15-19.

for consumption, and consumes for production.¹² The idyllic belief that the life in the countryside would transform the morale of the working classes was later expressed in the Garden City movement and in the creation of the suburbs. More importantly, these beliefs led to the phenomenon of Pseudourbia and Reduced Behavior – a precedent that was mimicked in the later transformation of Salicotto and the Jewish ghetto – defined for the first time by Françoise Choay in her book Modern City: Planning in the 19th century.

Choay writes about the Pseudourbia:

While the big city of the industrial era became a pole of attraction and fascination, it also began as early as the 1850's, to provoke reactions of escape. While it inspired regularization on the one hand, on the other it gave rise to the creation outside city limits of new agglomerations which were reduced in size and function and which corresponded to a new value in industrial society: housing. Two different and representative types of accretions occurred: 1) residential communities designed for wealthy or middle-class residents and 2) workers' colonies (or villages or towns). All of them we shall call *pseudourbias*.¹³

3.1 Tuberculosis Epidemic in Siena

Many Italian cities, with the exception of Milan and Turin, did not undergo industrialization during 19th century. Even Rome, which expanded after Risorgimento, never developed to be a rapidly growing industrial center. The concerns about hygiene in

¹² De Bonald, L.G.A., *De la famille agricole, de la famille industrielle, et du droit d'ainesse* (Paris: Imprimerie de Beauce-Rusand, 1826). Quoted in Luigi Lacche, "Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratiche urbanistiche nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*," *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993): 111-150.

¹³ Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*. (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 27.

the Siena arose only after the end of the First World War, whose effect on the health of Italian population was significant. The inflation and hunger weakened the population, aiding in the spread of Malaria and Tuberculosis.¹⁴ A significant increase of Malaria has been recorded between the years of 1912 and 1917, growing from 167,008 cases in 1912 to 353,057 cases in 1917.¹⁵ The contribution of the war to the diffusion of the disease, rather than of the housing conditions, was acknowledged in a Red Cross pamphlet, which called for the international Conference in Geneva 30 days after the end of the World War One. It was intended as a forum for the study of, “misure atte a combattere la **tuberculosi** e la **malaria**, che la guerra ha contribuito ad estendere...”¹⁶ (“appropriate means to fight against tuberculosis and malaria that the war contributed to spread”)

The first study of Tuberculosis in Siena, done by Professor Filippo Neri from the Istituto d'Igiene between 1898 and 1913, indicated that during those years 1269 Tuberculosis deaths occurred in the province of Siena. Of those, 1039 were in the city with a large percentage in Salicotto. In a talk given to Società Toscana d'Igiene on January 8, 1915, he concluded that:

Dall'insieme dei fatti esposti, risulta affermato il concetto che le malattie tubercolari hanno nella città di Siena una diffusione molto rilevante tanto da uguagliare quella dei nostri maggiori centri urbani. Esiste un evidente rapporto tra diffusione della tubercolosi e insalubrità delle abitazioni, che per Siena e l'unica ben dimostrabile condizione locale che permetta di spiegare ed intendere le

¹⁴ Riccardo Mariani, *Fascismo e 'città nuove'* (Milano: Feltrinelli Editore, 1976), 11.

¹⁵ Alfredo Pino-Branca, *Cinquant'anni di economia sociale in Italia*, (Bari: Laterza, 1922), 111. Quoted in Riccardo Mariani, *Fascismo e 'città nuove'* (Milano: Feltrinelli Editore, 1976), 11.

¹⁶ Edoardo Naville, “La nuova Crociata Contro La Miseria La Tubercolosi e le epidemie” Pamphlet, *Lettera del Comitato Internazionale di Ginevra Per La convocazione di un congresso Mondiale delle croci Rosse a Ginevra 30 giorni dopo la conclusione della pace*, (27 November, 1918), Mazzone Collection, Duke University.

proposizioni assunte dall'epidemia tubercolare. A Siena più che altrove la tubercolosi è veramente un'infezione legata all'abitazione insalubre. Perciò la lotta antitubercolare e per Siena essenzialmente un problema di risanamento edilizio.¹⁷

From all the exposed facts, it can be concluded that the tuberculosis has spread in Siena on the level equal to some of our major urban centers. There is evidence that the relationship between tuberculosis and insalubrious housing exists, and that in Siena there are unique, visible local conditions that allow to explain and understand the position taken by the tuberculosis epidemic. In Siena, more than elsewhere, the tuberculosis is an infection connected to insalubrious housing. Because of that, the fight against tuberculosis in Siena is essentially a problem of housing renovation.

Like his predecessors in France, professor Neri placed the highest priority on the transformation of the unsanitary conditions of living and proposed to renovate the neighborhood. In June of 1918 Professor Architetto Ingegnere Vittorio Mariani, commissioned by the city of Siena, completed an urban project calling for the *Sventramento* of Salicotto. His opinion concerning the problems of the neighborhood also included immorality as a source of disease:

Abbiamo dei quartieri nella Città nei quali non dovrebbe essere permesso di abitare; veri focolai d'infezione e d'immoralità che urtano col sentimento civile dei nostri tempi.

In the city we have neighborhoods where it shouldn't be permitted to live; true hotbeds of infection and immorality that clash with the civility of our times.¹⁸

Vittorio Mariani proposed to make a *Risanamento*, renovation, beginning with *Sventramento*, disembowelment, and with subsequent reconstruction of all buildings and streets (*Figure 4*). The city administration, presided by Conte Emanuello Pannocchieschi

¹⁷ E. Baggiani, "Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città," *La Balzana* 4 (1929), 73.

¹⁸ E Baggiani, "Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città," *La Balzana* n. 3 (1929): 46.

D'Elci, promised not to remove the project from its agenda and created a special commission composed of Technical staff and Hygienists to examine the project and to present concrete conclusions.¹⁹ These actions mimic the law of 1850, *la lois du 13 avril 1850 sur les logements insalubres*.

Since the local government was occupied with other projects focused on the improvement the hygiene in the city, the project of *Risanamento* was delayed. These included work on the water supply system, sewers, and reservoirs. The Directors of the Fascio in Siena took up the question of *Risanamento* in 1925 and directed a Commission of Experts to complete new studies concerning Salicotto, but the project only came to the forefront of the city agenda when Conte Bargagli Petrucci became the Podestà in Siena.²⁰ The interest in the fight against Tuberculosis continued not only on the local level, but also on the national one. The Italian government showed preoccupation with this disease, since its impact on the health of citizens was one of the problems the whole country faced. In a speech about public health in 1929, Senator Edoardo Margliano affirmed the importance of the health of the country for the State and in the first place the importance of fight against Tuberculosis. In the militaristic sounding speech, he enumerated, “punti strategici della lotta.” (“strategic points of the fight”) One of these points was the creation of Sanatoriums isolating the sick population in order to decrease the contagion in the cities.²¹ A sanatorium outside of the city was also built in Siena as part of the public works projects.

¹⁹ Ibid. 46.

²⁰ E Baggiani, “Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città,” *La Balzana* 3 (May-June 1929): 75.

²¹ Edoardo Margliano, *L'Opera del Regime per la difesa della pubblica salute: Discorso del Senatore Edoardo Margliano, pronunciato nella seduta del 15 giugno 1929* (Rome: Tipografia Del Senato, 1929) from Mazzoni Collection, Duke University.

In Siena, still by 1935 the situation in Salicotto was described by A. Londini, who studied the spread of the disease, with emphasis the influence of the environment and immorality on the spread of the disease:

Ivi, la mancanza di aria e di luce, la distribuzione impropria degli ambienti, l'agglomeramento degli individui, in una immorale promiscuità, formavano condizioni di ambiente impossibili, in contrasto stridente con ogni moderna regola di sano vivere civile.

There the lack of air and light, the improper distribution of the rooms, the agglomeration of people in immoral promiscuity formed impossible environmental conditions, in striking contrast with all modern rules of sane civil living.²²

A. Londini recognized the density of the population as a contributing factor to the spread of the disease, today scientifically accepted theory, and did not dismiss the impoverished economic situation of the population as one of the causes, but did not consider these as crucial factors. Londini's comments about the series of photographs commissioned by the Fascist administration of Siena to illustrate the deteriorated living conditions in Salicotto and Ovile reflect a similar approach. He described one of photographs (*Figure 20*) as follows:

Nel giaciglio, accanto al focolare trovava riposo il bacillifero, tubercoloso cronico; nel letto matrimoniale, illuminato... dal lampo di magnesio, per la fotografia, dormivano I coniugi con tre bambini; uno in mezzo e gli altri due, per trasverso, ai piedi.²³

In the cot, next to the furnace, the sick person infected with tuberculosis was resting; in the matrimonial bed, illuminated by magnesium lamp for the photograph, slept the married couple with three children; one in the middle and the other two, across in the feet of the bed.

²² A. Londini, "La Tuberculosis nel commune di Siena (periodo 1921-1935)," pg. 293, Archive of the Contrada della Torre.

²³ Ibid. 294.

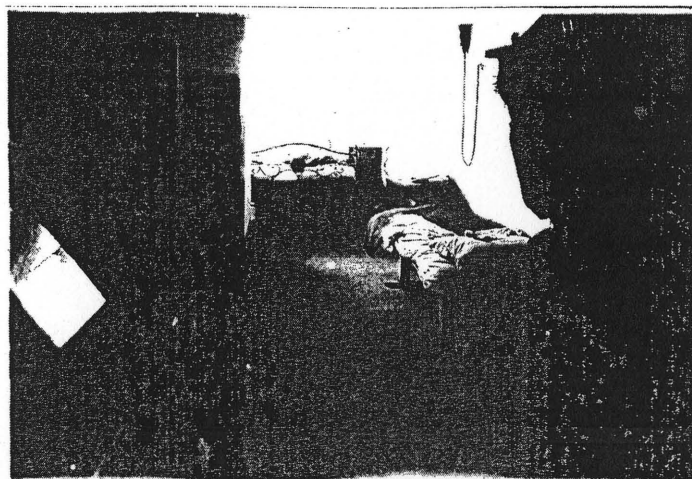


Figure 20 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. Description of the photograph reads: “Via Salicotto – Locale unico Camera e Cucina. Luce indiretta dalle scale. (Fotografia a luce artificiale)” (“Via Salicotto – Single room containing sleeping and kitchen areas. Indirect light from the stairs. (Photograph with artificial light)”. From L’Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

Other photographs commissioned by the city of Siena show similar conditions of living of the population in Salicotto (*Figures 21 and 22*).

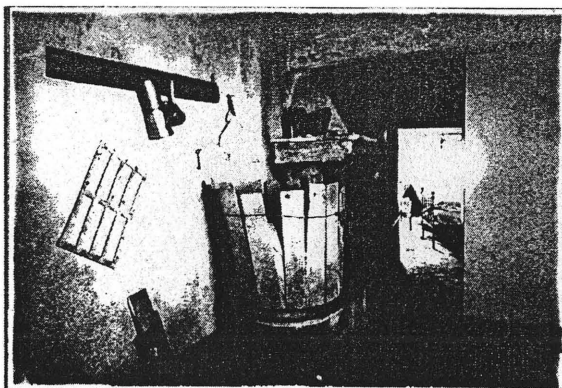


Figure 21 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. Description of the photograph reads: “Via Salicotto – Quartiere 2 Vani – Cucina interna oscura. Camera con piccola finestra (Fotografia a luce artificiale)” (“Via Salicotto – Apartment of 2 rooms – interior kitchen without windows. Room with a small window (Photograph with artificial light)”. From L’Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

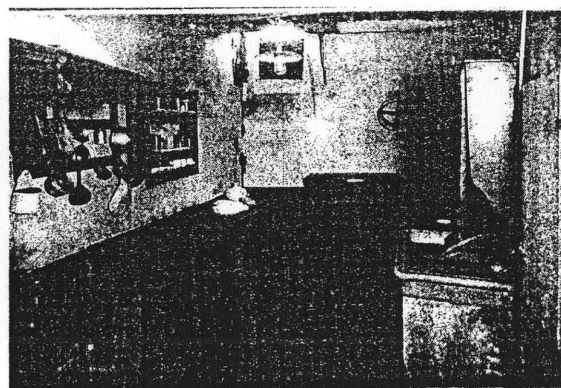


Figure 22 Photograph commissioned by the City of Siena in the neighborhood of Salicotto. Description of the photograph reads: “Via Salicotto – Cucina con piccola finestra sulle scale. Camera interna oscura (Fotografia a luce artificiale)” (“Via Salicotto – Kitchen with a small window onto the stairs. Interior room without window (Photograph with artificial light)”. From l’Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

The projects for *Sventramento* and *Risanamento* of Salicotto in Siena occurred against the backdrop of the VII Congresso dell'Associazione Italiana fascista per l'Igiene, VII Conference of the Italian Fascist Organization for Hygiene, 29 September – 2 October 1929. During the conference the city of Siena put on a display, *Mostra delle Opere Igieniche Comunali*, Show of the Communal Hygienic Works, to demonstrate the practical application of the science of Hygiene in the city of Siena. The show displayed projects such as the installation of the aqueduct and sewage system in Siena, the plans for *Risanamento* of Salicotto, and the model of Salicotto proper.²⁴

On the surface, it appears that the Fascist government took the precedents set up during the 19th century and simply continued the development of the ways of dealing with sanitary conditions and contagious disease. For instance, the descriptions of the photographs, commissioned by the Fascist City government, are similar to the description of the room of the Cholera patient in England. It must be recognized that a strong continuity of the 19th century urban approach persisted well into the 20th century. However, the difference in the Fascist approach to hygiene is present in the anti-Tuberculosis propaganda pamphlets and books published during the interwar period.

²⁴ A. Londini, "La Mostra delle Opere Igieniche Comunali," *La Balzana* 4 (1929): 100-103.



Figure 23 Cover page of the book titled *Igiene: Difesa e Salute della Razza* (*Hygiene: Defense and Health of the Race*) edited on the occasion of the Ninth National Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign of the Italian National Fascist Federation for the Fight against Tuberculosis, 1930. From Mazzoni Collection at Duke University, North Carolina.

One such educational book, *Igiene: Difesa e salute della Razza*²⁵, (*Figure 23*) marks the shift in attitudes linking health and hygiene to the concept of the race. It opens the door for ideological incursions into the topic of hygiene. On one hand, the book uses the 19th century metaphor blurring the distinctions between body and city. The author, Professor Gianni Petragani, focuses on the human body and the way it functions, concluding that if one part of the body does not work, neither will the entire organism. The housing conditions in the book are a metaphor for the health of the body, “specchio

²⁵ Gianni Petragani, *Igiene: Difesa e salute della Razza*, pg. 25 from Mazzoni Collection, Duke University.

della vostra salute fisica e della vostra serenità sia la vostra casa.”²⁶ (“your house should be a mirror of your physical and mental health”)

Focusing on housing conditions, the book provides examples of the hygienic standards of living to combat tuberculosis (*Figure 24*) such as the model of a sanitary house, outside of the city, removed from the urban fabric, and set within a garden. The image presented recalls the idyllic concepts of the countryside developed in France, a type of *Pseudourbia*, as defined by Françoise Choay. The idealization of the countryside is further reinforced by another illustration informing the reader about proper ventilation as a means of elimination of the disease (*Figure 25*).

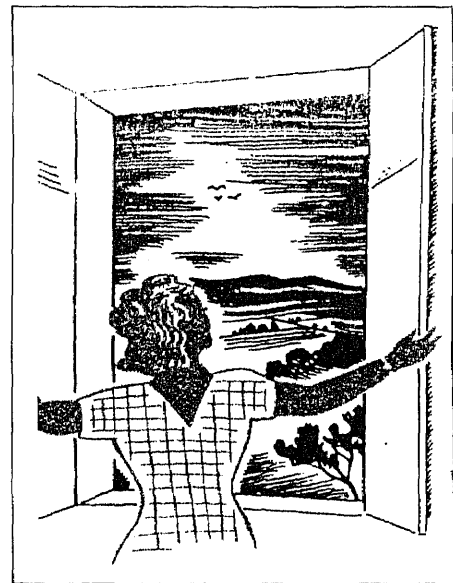
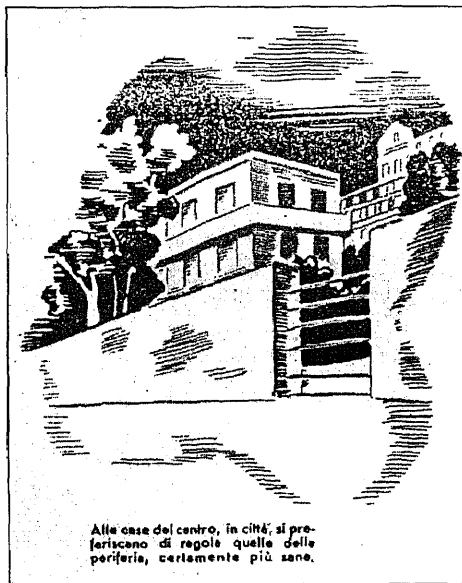


Figure 24 Illustration with caption: “Usually houses in the periphery of the city, certainly more hygienic, are preferred to the houses in the center of the city”. From Gianni Petragani. *Igiene: difesa e salute della razza*. From Mazzone Collection, Duke University.

Figure 25 Illustration with caption: “To ventilate the closed environments means to liberate them from stale air and flood them with good air”. From Gianni Petragani. *Igiene: difesa e salute della razza*. From Mazzone Collection, Duke University.

²⁶ Ibid.

In the book, the cause of the disease is still attributed to moral and physical corruption, but one that can be combated through the Fascist public works programs. These provided work to alleviate “La disoccupazione involontaria, che portava alla miseria, alla denutrizione e quindi all’impoverimento delle energie fisiche e morali dei lavoratori... La limitano I grandiosi lavori pubblici, che occupano migliaia e migliaia di operai....”²⁷ (“the involuntary unemployment, that brought to the misery, to the undernourishment, and therefore to impoverishment of physical and moral energies of the workers.... It (the unemployment) is limited by the great public works that employ thousands and thousands of workers”) In this book a further emphasis is on the dichotomy between the weak, diseased, and old Italian citizen and the new, young, healthy, and reproductive Fascist family (*Figures 26 and 27*).

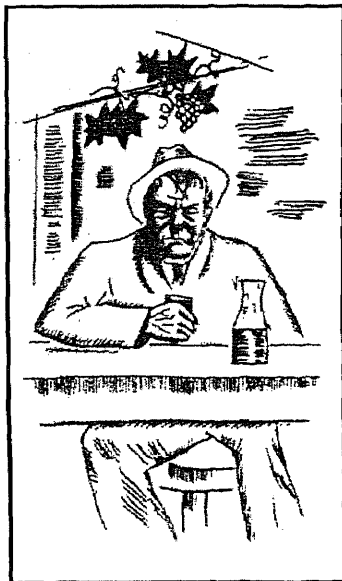


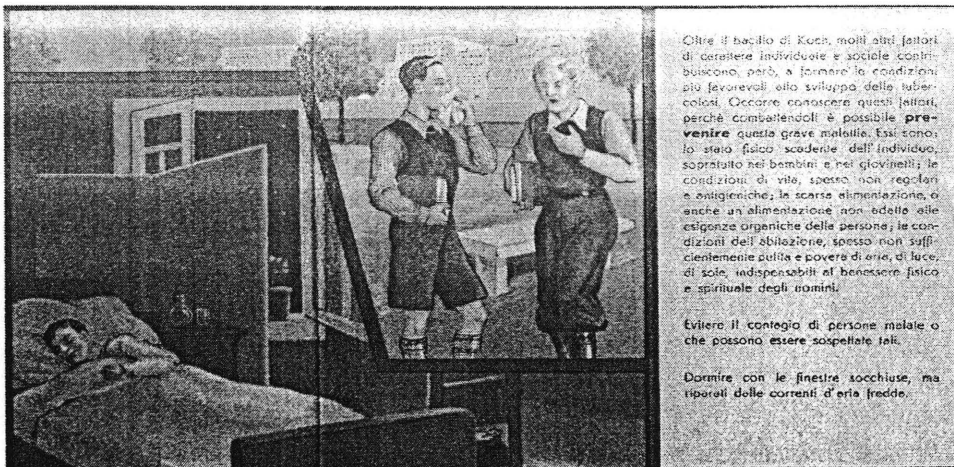
Figure 26 Illustration with caption: “Alcoholism is a plague that is decreasing: let’s continue to eliminate it.” From Gianni Petraghani, *Igiene: difesa e salute della razza*. From Mazzone Collection, Duke University.



Figure 27 Illustration with caption: “The Fascist Social Legislation provides for well being of working classes.” From Gianni Petraghani, *Igiene: difesa e salute della razza*. From Mazzone Collection, Duke University.

²⁷ Ibid. 90.

Such dichotomy is even more stressed in illustrations to another anti-Tuberculosis publication titled Sole, Aria, Acqua, Salute (*Figures 28 and 29*). The first illustration shows two young men set against a city, characterized by dense urban fabric. The text attributes the spread of the disease to physical and moral health of the individual as well as to the unhygienic housing conditions. However, a subsequent illustration provides a Fascist solution to the problem of the deterioration of the young men's health. The solution lies in the group participation in the physical activities organized by the Fascist regime. The pamphlet illustrates the contrast between the old and weak human being and the new strong Fascist soldier.



Oltre il bacillo di Koch, molti altri fattori di carattere individuale e sociale contribuiscono, però, a formare le condizioni più favorevoli allo sviluppo della tubercolosi. Occorre conoscere questi fattori, perché combattendoli è possibile **prevenire** questa grave malattia. Essi sono: lo stato fisico scadente dell'individuo, soprattutto nei bambini e nei giovanetti; le condizioni di vita, spesso non regolari e igieniche; la scarsa alimentazione, o anche un'alimentazione non adatta alle esigenze organiche della persona; le condizioni dell'abitazione, spesso non sufficientemente pulite e povere di aria, di luce, di sole, indispensabili al benessere fisico e spirituale degli uomini.

Evitare il contegno di persone malsane o che possono essere sospettate tali.

Dormire con le finestre socchiusse, ma riparate dalle correnti d'aria fredda.

Figure 28 Page from anti-tuberculosis informational booklet stating: “Besides the bacillus of Koch, many other influences of individual character contribute to create favorable conditions for the development of tuberculosis...These are: the weak physical state of the individual, especially of children and teenagers, the conditions of life, often unregulated and unhygienic; lack of proper or inappropriate food for the needs of the person; the conditions of housing, often not sufficiently clean and lacking air, light, and sun, indispensable for physical and spiritual well being of men.” From Federazione Nazionale Fascista per la lotta contro la tubercolosi Roma. *Sole, Aria, Acqua, Salute*. (Milano: Edizioni Luigi Alfieri, 1927). From Mazzoni Collection, Duke University.

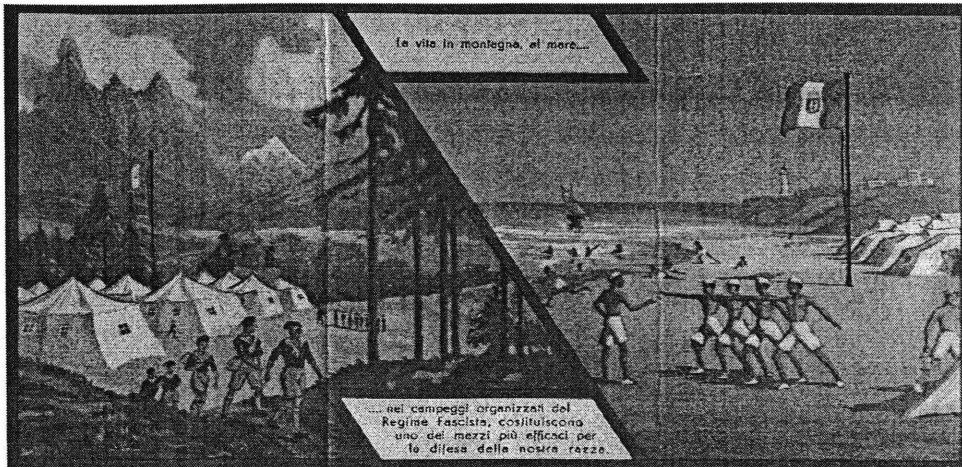


Figure 29 Page from anti-tuberculosis informational booklet stating: “Life in the mountains, at the sea...in the camps organized by the Fascist Regime, constitute one of the most efficient means of defense of our race.” From Federazione Nazionale Fascista per la lotta contro la tubercolosi Roma. *Sole, Aria, Acqua, Salute* (Milano: Edizioni Luigi Alfieri, 1927). From Mazzoni Collection, Duke University.

CHAPTER 4

FASCISM AND CULTURAL CLIMATE OF THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The Italian Fascist approach to the problem of Tuberculosis, where a 'new' Fascist men and women were created through physical exercise and participation in group sports paralleled the regeneration of the heroic aspects of the past through festivals such as Palio. In both cases, perception of the world in terms of dichotomy is present. In the case of hygiene, the Fascist view of the world relied on the opposition between the sick and the healthy. In case of the history of Siena, the division occurred between the heroic epoch of the Commune and the epoch decline, the period of the ghetto.

This polarity focused on the heroic qualities of a citizen and depreciation for weak qualities – derived from the *milieu* during the early 20th century that influenced the development of Fascism. In a book titled The Body Ascendant: Modernism and Physical Imperative¹, Harold Segel argues that the preoccupation with physicality developed in a context of disenchantment with the intellectual culture of 19th century. In the early years of the 20th century, rationalism was challenged in philosophy, while the conscious was challenged arts and psychology. The campaign against tradition sought to subordinate the rationality of the mind to the intuition, dynamism, activism of the human body. The dichotomy between passivity and activism, rational and irrational, conscious and the unconscious, emerged.

¹ Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

In a book The Fascist Experience in Italy², John Pollard writes that the Italian Fascism has been often accused of lack of ideology and political philosophy. In 1932, Benito Mussolini published his 'Doctrine of Fascism' in the Enciclopedia Italiana, a summary of Fascist ideas. He wrote that action rather than philosophy was the driving force of Fascism:

The years which preceded the March on Rome were ones in which the overriding need for action did not allow us the possibility of profound philosophical enquiries or complete doctrinal elaborations.³

The ideology of the Fascist regime reflected the government that sought to present itself to the public as progressive and active force set against the decaying, static, and weak post World War One regime. The urgency of action over philosophical thought and the dichotomy set between these two phenomena was a Fascist interpretation of the philosophical thought of Henri Bergson, who became famous with the publication in 1907 of a philosophical treatise, L'Evolution creatrice.⁴ The main theme of the book is the inability of reason to fully explain natural phenomena. Bergson wrote, "The intellect is characterized by the natural inability to comprehend life."⁵ Only unconsciously, through instinct, and intuition does a human being experience life.⁶

² John Pollard, *The Fascist Experience in Italy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

³ Benito Mussolini, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XIV (1932) pg. 849. Quoted in John Pollard *The Fascist Experience in Italy*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 119.

⁴ Henri Bergson, *L'évolution créatrice*, (Paris: Félix Alcony, 1907).

⁵ Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975; original ed., New York: Random House, 1944), 186. Quoted in Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 186.

⁶ Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 186.

Bergson's conclusion is that the *élan vital*, the creative impulse, is at the heart of the creation of the universe and remains as such a continuing process. On the other hand, inert matter opposes this process:

The impetus of life... consists in a need of creation. It cannot create absolutely, because it is confronted with matter, that is, to say with the movement that is the inverse of its own. But it seizes upon this matter, which is necessity itself, and strives to introduce into it the largest possible amount of indetermination and liberty.⁷

At the time of its publication, the book became a call for creativity, freedom, and liberation from the past. At the same time it established a dichotomy between creative action and matter.

Before the wide spread impact of Bergson's Creative Evolution, the call for spontaneity, intuition, and action was initiated by Friedrich Nietzsche. In the book The Will To Power, a collection of notes used to write his other books, gathered and published posthumously by his sister between 1895 and 1904, he came to a conclusion that human behaviour could be reduced to 'will to power'. Connected to the idea of power was the human desire to become a creator rather than a creature. These ideas found fertile ground for an interpretation in Benito Mussolini's manifesto of the first *fascio* of March 1919:

I have the impression that the present regime in Italy is finished...If the present regime really is going to be superseded, we must take its place...it is we who have the right of succession because we are the ones who pushed the country into war and led it to victory...

⁷ Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975; original ed., New York: Random House, 1944), 274. Quoted in Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 186.

We are strongly against all forms of dictatorship, whether they be of the sword or the cocked hat, of money or numbers. We will accept only one dictatorship of will and intelligence.

...Majorities are fated to be static, whereas minorities are dynamic. We wish to be an active minority, to draw the proletariat away from the Socialist Party.⁸

This early definition of Fascist goals clarified dichotomy between dynamism of the new minority, willful and intelligent ruling elite, and its opposite the passive majority. Coexisting within this structure was the catalyst of transformation – violence. The legitimization of the political use of violence as axiomatic to the concept of ‘Action’ derived from Sorel who adapted, transferred, and transformed Bergson’s concept of *élan vital* to the sociopolitical arena, incorporating the ‘myth of palingenesis’ or the ‘myth of national regeneration’, into his theory. In fact, Benito Mussolini was well aware of the sociopolitical thought of Sorel since he incorporated it into the Fascist ideology. In several articles he praised Sorel’s book Reflexions sur la violence. One of them was a review of the book published on June 25, 1909 in Il Popolo d’Italia. Mussolini wrote that Sorel taught people that, “life is struggle, sacrifice, conquest, a continuous ‘overcoming of one’s self.’”⁹ Sorel himself equated heroism and violence:

Proletarian violence, carried on as a pure and simple manifestation of the sentiment of class war, appears thus as a very fine and very heroic thing; it is at the service of the immemorial interests of civilization; it is not perhaps the most appropriate method of obtaining immediate

⁸ Benito Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, XII, 326. Quoted in John Pollard, *The Fascist Experience in Italy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 120.

⁹ Benito Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, vol. II, 164. Quoted in Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U. of Cal. Press, 1997), 31.

material advantages but it may save the world from barbarism.¹⁰

In the case of the early Italian Fascism, its enemy, the unpatriotic Socialists and Communists, paralleled Nietzsche's enemy of the creative energy, Christianity and its progenitor Judaism. These two religious systems were attacked in Der Antichrist, meaning 'The Antichrist' or 'Anti-Christian', published in 1895. In this book he reaffirms that everything that is good is, "Everything that heightens the feeling of power in man, the will to power, power itself" and that, "Everything that is born of weakness" is bad. Following this argument, Nietzsche asks, "What is more harmful than any vice?" and answers, "Active pity for all the failures and the weak: Christianity."¹¹ The attack on Christian morality also meant contempt for debilitated bourgeois society, closely allied with the house of worship. According to Nietzsche, Christianity denied the existence to a strong man:

Christianity...has waged deadly war against this higher type of man; it has placed all the basic instincts of this type under the ban; and out of these instincts it has distilled evil and Evil One: the strong man as the typically reprehensible man, the "reprobate." Christianity has sided with all that is weak and base, with all failures; it has made an ideal of whatever contradicts the instinct of the strong life to preserve itself...¹²

¹⁰ Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, trans. T.E. Hulme (London: Allen and Unwin, 1916), 99. Quoted in Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U. of Cal. Press, 1997), 30.

¹¹ Walter Kaufmann, *The Portable Nietzsche* (New York: Viking Press, 1968), 570. Quoted in Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 221.

¹² Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufman and R.J. Holingdale (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 571-72. Quoted in Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 222.

This view of Christianity, espousing the virtue of weakness, logically led to an attack on Judaism, from which Christianity developed:

The Jews are the strangest people in the world history because, confronted with the question whether to be or not to be, they chose, with a perfectly uncanny deliberateness, to be at any price: this price was the radical falsification of all nature, all naturalness, all reality, of the whole inner world as well as the outer. They defined themselves sharply against all the conditions under which a people had hitherto been able to live, been allowed to live; out of themselves they created a counter-concept to natural conditions; they turned religion, cult, morality, history, psychology, one after the other, into an incurable contradiction to their natural values. We encounter this same phenomenon once again and in immeasurably enlarged proportions, yet merely as a copy: the Christian church cannot make the slightest claim to originality when compared with the "holy people." That precisely is why the Jews are the most catastrophic people of world history: by their aftereffect they have made mankind so thoroughly false that even today the Christian can feel anti-Jewish without realizing that he himself is the ultimate Jewish consequence.¹³

Nietzsche's description of Judaism and Christianity is certainly not objective and it was in fact Christianity rather than Judaism, which promoted compassion for the weak. Although Nietzsche's attack focused on Christianity and to a much smaller extent Judaism, subsequently it was Judaism that became the symbol of bourgeois weakness, set in opposition to strength and power. Within the proliferation of anti-Semitic literature Jews were feminized, presented as intellectuals, portrayed as sickly, and prone to disease.

These views resonate in Otto Weninger's book Geschlecht und Charakter, 'Sex and Character', written in 1903. It is a provocative, but misogynistic analysis of human

¹³ Ibid. 592-3.

sexuality. The main theme of the book is the sexual differentiation where masculinity and femininity exist at the opposite ends of the spectrum. The female is presented as completely lacking in social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual value. She is further reduced to an object and a subspecies. In the book, one chapter is to the Jews. In it he writes, “The Jew, like a woman, has no ego and hence no intrinsic value.”¹⁴

The view of the Jewish population as sickly and immoral certainly dates back to the Counterreformation and to the transference of the fears of diseases such as leprosy and syphilis onto a minority. At the beginning of the 20th century, the qualities added to these prejudices were the ‘weakness’ and ‘passivity’ of the Jewish population. These sentiments came right down to Sienese culture and were reflected in opinions about Salicotto expressed in a regional Sienese newspaper Il Teregrafo:

E il cadavere del fu “Ghetto” verra cosi definitivamente sepolto e con esso dovra scomparire dall’anima della gente Senese una incrostazione parassitaria di luoghi comuni, senza piu scopo ne base, una forma di denominazioni preconette per alcuni angoli dell’edilizia che da tempo non ha piu scopo di essere.

Non per questo Siena perdera la sua caratteristica, anzi la accrescera di prestigio e sempre piu verra a congiungersi con la sua tradizionale tipicita, e con la sua arte mondiale, allo spirito superiore dell’unita morale e materiale dell’Italia fascista.¹⁵

And the cadaver of what was the ‘ghetto’ will definitely be buried and with this should disappear, from the spirit of the Sienese, a parasitical growth in the city, without the scope or basis, a form of preconceived notions about parts of the city that should not exist any more.

¹⁴ Otto Weninger, *Geschlecht und Character* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumuller Universitats-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922), 24th Edition, 408. Quoted in Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 230.

¹⁵ “Il Ghetto” *Il Telegrafo*, pg. 4, Archivio del Comune di Siena.

The description of the ghetto as a cadaver implies that it lacked vitality, or life force. Like *Woman or a Jew*, the ghetto was seen as a passive subject, whose opposite was the moral superiority of Fascism, characterized by force and action.

The dichotomy between ‘strength’ and ‘weakness’ was present in a variety of sources from which Mussolini and the Fascists drew their ideas and manifested itself within art, drama, dance, and in the popular physical culture movement. The Futurist Movement initiated by Filippo Tomasso Marinetti on February 20th, 1909, with the publication of the *Manifesto of Futurism*, wrote, “love of danger, the habit of energy and fearlessness”, exaltation of, “aggressive action, a feverish insomnia”, desire “to glorify war” and the desire to “destroy the museums, libraries, academies of every kind, and to fight moralism, feminism.” The Futurists also named the opposite of action as “pensive immobility, ecstasy, and sleep.”¹⁶ Futurist painters such as Boccioni depicted dynamic scenes full of tension such as the painting titled *Dynamics of a football player* (*Figure 31*). People joined mass sports organizations in hopes of mastering and perfecting their bodies. And finally, Hugo Ball performed ‘sound poems’ at the Cabaret Voltaire.

The process of the transformation of the Jewish ghetto in Siena during Fascism did not occur in a cultural vacuum. In fact, a pre-Fascist trend in urbanism of slum clearance was adapted and transformed during the Fascist period by the ruling elite as a means of display of strength and action of the government. The central directive overcame the local administrative resistance and the focus of the destruction of the ghetto, viewed with emphasis on ‘hygiene’ and racial character, expressed the

elimination of weakness. In turn, the recreation of Salicotto expressed action and strength.

¹⁶ Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 137.

CHAPTER 5

URBAN DESTRUCTION AND CLEANSING UNDER FASCISM: SIENA AND ROME

Influenced by the Fascist Ideology, which viewed the world in terms of strength and weakness and the terms of the 'Myth of Palingenesis', the transformation of the city during Fascism was distinctly different from the clearance of the city slums in France or England. In Siena, the influx of population, in the wake of World War One, was stimulated by the economic hardships and by the lack of opportunities of Emigration to the United States for the peasants, who enjoyed extremely low status of *braccianti*, 'day workers' or 'share-croppers'. The newcomers from the countryside settled in the most degraded neighborhoods of the city and flocked to the Communist party, opposed by the Fascist government.

In the case of Rome, one could argue that the destruction of the urban fabric had similar causes as in the industrial cities. It is undeniable that population of the city did increase. When the city of Rome became the capital of Unified Italy on September 20, 1870, it was a prestigious but a backward town of 230,000 people. The establishment of national government drew bureaucrats, working people, bankers, and speculators to the city rather than factory workers. By 1900, the city reached half a million inhabitants.¹ The influx was not as drastic as in Paris or London, where the population reached 4 million inhabitants at the same time. The transfer of power in Rome from the Catholic Church to the Italian Risorgimento Government produced widening and straightening

¹ Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (Rome, Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973), 10.

of the streets by the means of *Sventramenti*, razing of sections of the medieval fabric, to ease the transportation. The motivations of these destructions parallel the transformation of Paris under Baron Hausmann.² The destroyed sections of town included the older and run down tenements along the Tiber, the Jewish Ghetto, the west and south slopes of the Capitoline. In Rome, from the beginning the demolitions were also shaped by the ‘myth of palingenesis’ expressed in destruction of the urban fabric for the sole purpose of Monument construction. For instance, in 1911, the medieval urban fabric and a cloister surrounding the Capitoline Hill were displaced by monument to Vittorio Emmanuele II. In 1913 further destruction of the medieval fabric in that area served as a means to create the *Paseggiata Archeologica*.³

5.1 Ripristino: The Purification and Restoration of the Monuments Siena and Rome

The phenomenon of *Ripristino*, literally meaning ‘purification’, stands out as one of the most important examples of the demolition of urban fabric and removal of urban stratification by the Fascist government in both Rome and Siena. It was a precursor to the *Sventramenti* carried out by the regime. The restoration of Siena, city-symbol of noble artistic and military glory, to its archetypical medieval self was achieved by this process defined at that time as ‘restoration of the building to its original style’. Setting

² For explanation of the importance of traffic in transformation of Rome during Risorgimento see Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome (Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973). For transformation of Paris under Baron Haussman see Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century* (George Braziller: New York, 1969).

³ Ciucci, Giorgio, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: architettura e città, 1922-1944* (Torino: Einaudi, 1989), 77.

the *Ripristino* of the incomplete nave of the Duomo as a model of the genuine restoration of Siena, Margherita Sarfatti, an Art Critic and a lover of Mussolini, wrote in the Sieneese Art History publication, La Diana: “Un esempio di 'restauro' genuino e schietto, ecco, io vorrei che partisse dalla città Italiana, la quale dopo Roma, meglio potrebbe aggiungere alle sue glorie questo nuovo titolo di modello esemplare. Parlo a Siena.”⁴ (“One example of a genuine and frank ‘restoration’, here, I would like that it would come from an Italian city, which after Rome, the best could reach to the glories of this new title of exemplary model. I speak of Siena.”) Exalting the ingenuity of the project, which would rival the Duomo of Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore, Sarfatti wrote that it would be, “il più grandioso e perfetto monumento d'Italia intera.”⁵ (“the greatest and most perfect monument of the entire Italy”) The desired intervention would consist of removal of the, “casetaccia scipita e brutta”⁶ (insipid and ugly house), the building inserted into the left nave which holds the museo della opera dell’Duomo, in order to isolate the monument in its glory (*Figures 30 and 31*).

⁴ Margherita Sarfatti, “Per la Belleza di Siena: Una Proposta,” *La Diana* 3 (1927): 211.

⁵ *Ibid.* 214.

⁶ *Ibid.* 214.

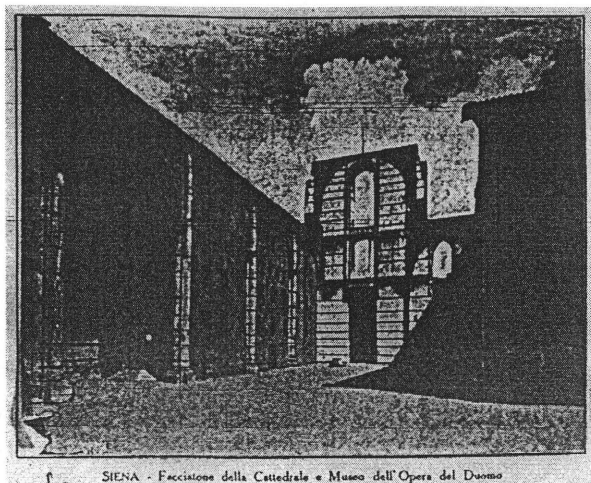


Figure 30 Uncompleted Nave of the Duomo and the Museo della opera dell’Duomo. From an article by Margherita Sarfatti, “Per la bellezza di Siena: una proposta,” *La Diana*, no. 3 (1927): 211.

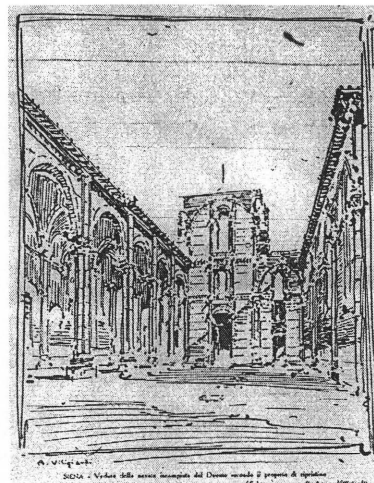


Figure 31 View of the uncompleted Nave of the Duomo according to the project of Ripristino proposed by Margherita Sarfatti. From an article by Margherita Sarfatti, “Per la bellezza di Siena: una proposta,” *La Diana*, no. 3 (1927): 213.

The motivation for the *Ripristino* was the desire to regenerate the past through return to the ‘authentic’ and ‘original’ state producing monumentalization similar to the effects achieved in restoration of the Theater of Marcellus, the Forum of Augustus, the temple of Fortuna Virile, and the proposals for the liberation of the Capitoline Hill in Rome under Mussolini. Sarfatti herself points out that these are the prototypical examples for the isolation of monuments and *Ripristino* for Siena. The method to achieve the return was similar to the 19th century urban design approach, namely the elimination of built material through demolition.

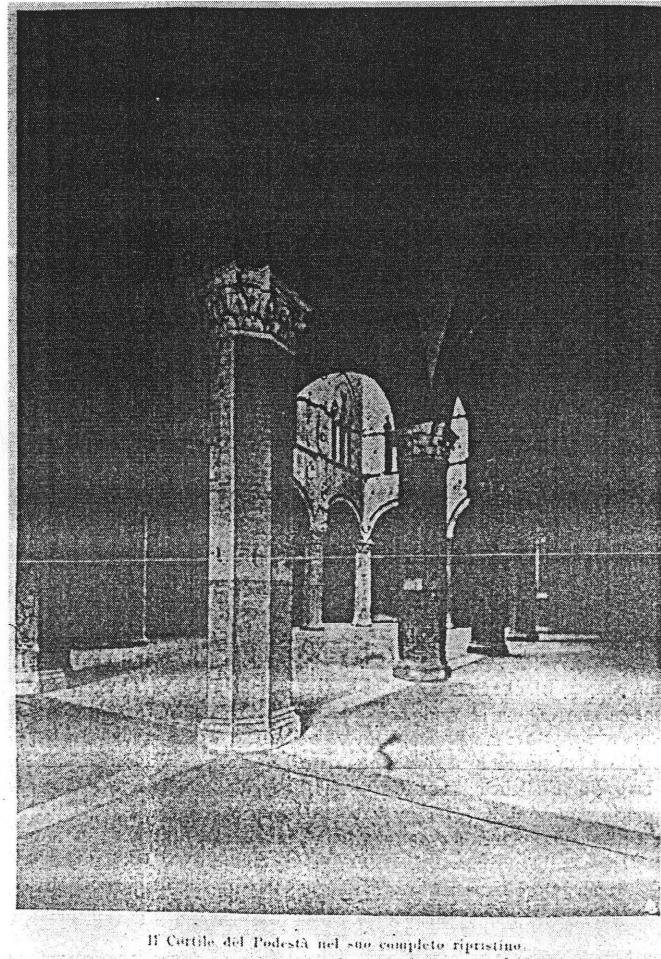


Figure 32 View of the Cortile del Podestà after *Ripristino*. From *La Rivoluzione Fascista*.

The Ripristino of the nave of the Duomo proposed by Sarfatti was never accomplished, but in 1929 the restorations of the Cortile del Podestà, courtyard in the Palazzo Civico, were accomplished (*Figure 32*). Just like the reinterpretation of the chivalric medieval society in the festival of Palio, the *Ripristino* in Siena focused on the reconstruction of idealized medieval city. “Era necessario togliere dunque il senso di oppressione e dare invece larga libertà di spazio e respiro al tutto architettonico,

liberando le robuste arcade, e riformando a pristina e vetusta bellezza il cortile”⁷ (“It was necessary to take away therefore the sense of oppression and give instead large architectural liberty of space and breath, liberating the robust arcade and recreating pristine and ancient beauty of the courtyard”) wrote Adalberto Luigi Giusti in an article published in a weekly Fascist newspaper La Rivoluzione Fascista. The restoration included the destruction of walls placed in the arcade of the courtyard in order to restore the true nature of the gothic form and to evoke “passato eterno” (“eternal past”). As in the earlier case, the removal of the built material was utilized as a means of abstract and a-temporalize the past. The focus on the *Ripristino* of Cortile del Podestà was generated by the connection sought between the medieval civic institutions, such as the institution of the Podestà, and its Fascist interpretation. As mentioned earlier, the function of Podestà was reintroduced by the Fascist Central Government in 1926 as a substitution for the local government: consiglio comunale, giunta, and Sindaco.

The *Ripristino* was also adapted by the entire city of Siena in form of deletion of the plaster covering the medieval facades. In an article in the Fascist Weekly Il Popolo Senese, the author happily announced the progress made in the works of restoration carried out by the citizens of Siena at the Request of the Regime:

E con gioia perciò che si nota il fervore che in molte parti di Siena, nelle vie centralissime e per le piagge di contrada, ha preso molti proprietari nel lavoro di rifacimento e di rivelazione di opere nascoste dal tempo e dall'incuria degli uomini.⁸

And with joy one observes the fervor that in many parts of Siena, in the central streets, and in the streets of the *Contrada*, many owners show in the work of cleansing of

⁷ Adalberto Luigi Giusti, “I restauri del Cortile del Podestà,” *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 26 September 1929.

⁸ “Cronache Senesi: I restauri alle case,” *Il Popolo Senese* 14 (1925): 2.

the facades and in the unveiling of works hidden by the time and by the carelessness of people.

When the frescoes of Good and Bad government by *Lorenzetti* depicting Medieval Siena are examined, the authenticity produced by the deletion of the plaster is questionable. In the frescoes the houses show different intonations of plaster applied to the facades, rather than the naked brick (*Figure 33*).

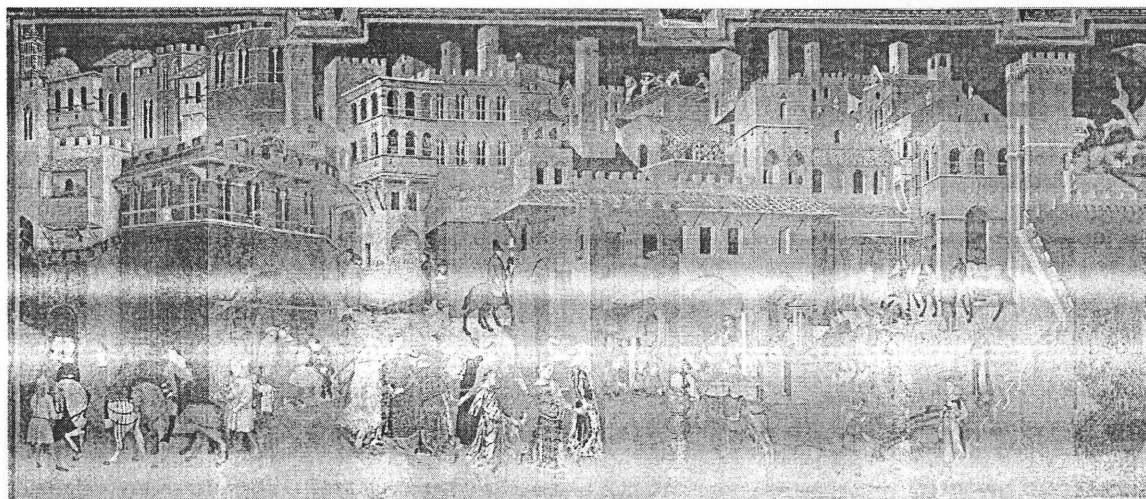


Figure 33 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Effects of Good Government on the City*, 1338-40, Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

The erasure aptly represented the spirit of Fascism: “E sentiamo anche qui il fascismo ricostruttore e purificatore...” (“...also here we feel the reconstructive and purifying Fascism”)⁹, which restored the city to the original Gothic and Renaissance form. The restorations’ aim to regenerate the feeling of Siena as a, “gioiello di bellezza” (“jewel of beauty”) was justified in the following way: “Siena, città dalle espressioni più pure e più salienti di arte, era ingiusto e soprattutto antiestetico avesse nelle sue vie scure e mistiche, accanto a palazzi magnifici, casette di nessun valore artistico in apparenza.”¹⁰

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

(Siena, city of the most pure expressions of art, it was unjust and above all anti esthetic to have in her dark and mystical streets, next to magnificent palaces, houses whose exterior appearance indicated artistic worthlessness.”) The removal of the accumulated strata, similar to the removal of the accretions in the restoration of the Cortile del Podestà, created a falsified and untrue to its original form interpretation of history. The purifying effect achieved by the process of removal of the stucco created a unity within the form of the city fabric where the individual houses did not compete with one another, but were abstracted and removed from the temporal space by the exposed red brick. This process was similar to the removal of the festival of Palio from temporal and historical space through the abstraction of the costumes.

In other Italian cities, which preserved the medieval urban fabric, the *Ripristino* also played a major role in the transformation of the city, but it was taken further than simply removal or erasure of the successive Baroque or Neoclassical stratification. The buildings or urban spaces were usually redone or simply built in a style that could be termed ‘neo-romantic’ or ‘neo-gothic’, to create a new idealized version of the correct past that represented the heroic aspects of medievalism. Such restorations were done in cities such as Milan, Mantova, and Emilia Romagna. One example of such restoration can be found in Arezzo. In an article “Visioni medievali Aretine Attraverso I recenti Restauri”, “Medieval Aretine Visions through the Recent Restorations”, C. Verani described the restorations of Arezzo as embodying, “il medioevo piu tipico, il medioevo santo e guerriero, fazioso e pietoso, umile e superbo, geniale e primitivo.”¹¹

¹¹ C. Verani, “Visioni medievali Aretine Attraverso i Recenti Restauri”, *Le Vie d’Italia* (n. 2, 1934): 135-142. Quoted in Loreto Di Nucci, *Fascismo e Spazio urbano: Le città storiche dell’umbria* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1992), 79.

(“the most typical medieval epoch, holy and heroic, factious and merciful, humble and proud, ingenious and primitive.”) The Brigata Aretina degli Amici dei Monumenti, Aretine Brigade of Friends of Monuments, and the Fascist Authorities, as usual sponsored the restoration work. The project consisted of rebuilding a tower in the central piazza and the replacement of the pavement with the ‘correct’ medieval version of brick laid out in the form of *spina di pesce*, ‘fish scale’. In the region of Siena, it is essential to mention that such restorations also occurred in the town of Montereggioni, on the border of Florence and Siena. Dante described the city, “... Come in su la cerchia tonda Monteriggion di torri si corona.”¹² (“As the round circle, Montereggioni is crowned with towers.”) The thirteen towers were destroyed and the decision of the Fascist regime to redo them was intended to, “inalzare I valori spirituali e più nobili del nostro popolo”¹³ (“To raise the spiritual and most noble values of our people”)

The justification for *Ripristino* and *Sventramento* in terms of hygiene was more evident in the case of Rome. Benito Mussolini defined his perception of Rome as early as 1910:

Roma, città parassitaria di affittacamere, di lustrascarpe, di prostitute, di preti e di burocrati, Roma - città senza proletario degno di questo nome - non e il centro della vita politica nazionale, ma sibbene il centro e il focolare d'infezione della vita politica nazionale.

Rome, parasitical city of rooms for rent, of shoe-shine boys, of prostitutes, of priests and beaurocrats, Rome – city without proletariat worthy of that name – it is not the center of life of national politics, but rather a center and the focus of infection of national politics.¹⁴

¹² “I Restauri di Monteriggioni,” *Il Popolo Senese* (1929), pg. 3.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ciucci, Giorgio, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: architettura e città, 1922-1944* (Torino: Einaudi, 1989): 79.

In Mussolini's perspective, the focus of infection shifted from the poor unhygienic proletarian neighborhoods to the entire city. The pathogen wasn't a clearly defined disease such as Cholera or Syphilis, but rather moral corruption and stagnation of the city under Ecclesiastical and Rinascimento rule. This speech reflected similar to the ones of Futurists such as Marinetti, who staged an attack on Venice dispersing leaflets titled Contro Venezia passatista, 'Against past loving Venice', from the Clock Tower in 1910.¹⁵ In Rome, the medieval and Baroque 'parasitical construction', inferior to the architecture of classical Rome and designated for destruction, represented the decadence on the physical level:

Voi continuerete a liberare il tronco della grande quercia da tutto ciò che ancora la intralcia. Voi libererete anche dalle costruzioni parassitarie. Farete dei varchi intorno al teatro Marcello, al Campidoglio, al Pantheon; tutto ciò che crebbe attorno nei secoli della decadenza deve scomparire. Entro cinque anni, da Piazza Colonna per un grande varco deve essere visibile la mole del Pantheon...e profane I templi maestosi della Roma cristiana. I monumenti millenari della nostra storia devono giganteggiare nella necessaria solitudine.

You will continue to liberate the trunk of the great oak from everything that still suffocates it. You will also liberate it from the parasitical constructions. You will make openings around theater of Marcellus, Capitoline Hill, Pantheon; everything that grew around during the centuries of decadence should disappear. During five years, from the piazza Colonna through a great gap

¹⁵ The leaflets denounced Venice as, "enfeebled and undone by worldly luxury...The Venice of foreigners, market for counterfeiting antiquarians, magnet for snobbery and universal imbecility, bed unsprung by caravans of lovers, jeweled bathtub for cosmopolitan courtesans, the great cesspit of passeism." The solution to this problem was the replacement of the weak and decadent Venice with military and industrial Venice dominating the Adriatic Sea and embodying strength and Power. See in F. T. Marinetti, "Let's Murder the Moonshine," *Selected Writings*, ed. R. W. Flint, trans. R. W. Flint and Arthur A. Coppoptelli (Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Classics, 1991). Quoted in Harold B. Segel, *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 137.

should be visible the mass of Pantheon...and profaned temples of Christian Rome. The millennial monuments of our history must tower in the necessary solitude.¹⁶

In this process, the liberated monuments of Roman glory would tower over the city in solitude, establishing a new hierarchy between monument and the city fabric. Fortunately, the large scope of this proposal to isolate many buildings, the Pantheon included, was never executed. The most significant project accomplished in Rome was the isolation of the Mausoleum of Augustus. Since his rule included many reforms and was characterized by improvements of the roads and housing conditions, the Fascist regime focused on equating the persona of Benito Mussolini, *Duce* or ‘the leader’, with Augustus, the first Roman Emperor named *imperator*, ‘commander’ or ‘leader’, by the senate in 29 BC.¹⁷ In this urban intervention, The Mausoleum of Augustus, utilized as a theater at the time (*Figure 34*), was liberated from the medieval accretions and the Ara Pacis, the altar of peace, was reconstructed across from the Mausoleum. Augustus built the Ara Pacis, a monument to peace secured through military campaigns in Spain and Gaul, in 9 B.C. Under Mussolini’s rule, it was reconstructed by archeologists from fragments found 20 feet underground.¹⁸ The initiation of the demolition was propagandized through photographs of Benito Mussolini as he violently attacked the decayed accretions with a *piccione*, ‘pick ax’ (*Figure 35*). By the end of the transformation, the Mausoleum had no other function than the one of a ruin – a focal point of the square carved out around it (*Figure 36*).

¹⁶ Benito Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, XX, (Firenze: La Fenice, 1951), 234. Quoted in Ellen Ruth Shapiro, *Building Under Mussolini: Volume I*, Photocopy, Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1988), 155.

¹⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1967, s. v. “Augustus.”



Figure 34 The area of the Mausoleum of Augustus prior to 1934. From Kostof, Spiro. *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973.

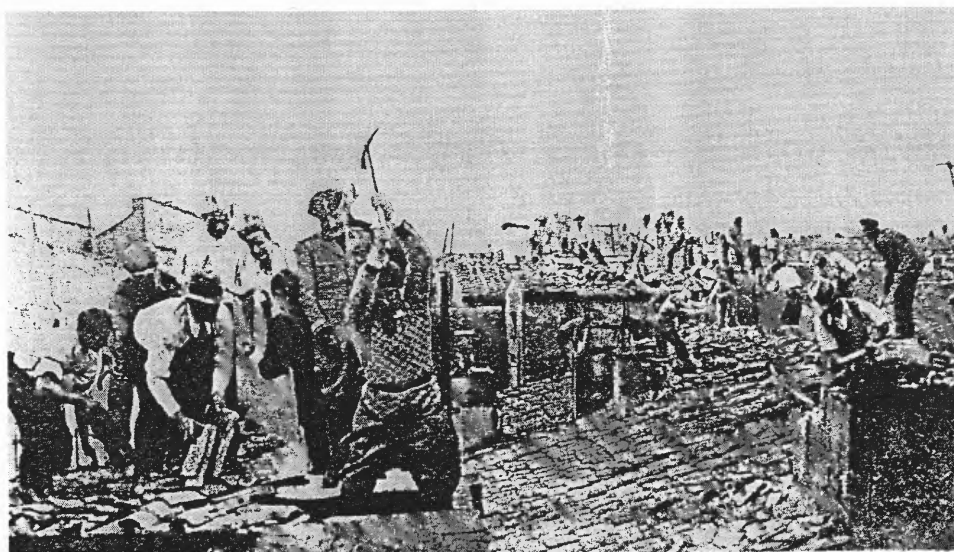


Figure 35 Mussolini gives the first strike with a pick ax on October 22, 1934. From Anna Maria Riccomini, *La Ruina di sì bela cosa: Vicende e trasformazioni del mausoleo di Augusto* (Milano: Electa, 1996), 192.

¹⁸ Ellen Ruth Shapiro, *Building Under Mussolini: Volume I*, Photocopy, Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1988), 173.



Figure 36 Demolition of the modern structures of the Augusteo. In the back stands the fountain of the courtyard of palazzo Valdambriani. From Anna Maria Riccomini, *La Ruina di sì bela cosa: Vicende e trasformazioni del mausoleo di Augusto* (Milano: Electa, 1996), 194.

In the hierarchy established by separation of the monument and fabric, the former became more important than the latter. At this point, an analogy between this urban intervention and the Crowd theory of Gustave Le Bon, with which Mussolini was well acquainted, is warranted.¹⁹ In the book *Psychologie des Foules*, Le Bon argued that political leaders could control irrational crowds through the use of mythology and images. The interest in the phenomenon of the crowd developed at the end of the 19th century in France with the rise of proletariat and workers movements, perceived as

¹⁹ Mussolini wrote: “I have read all the work of Gustave Le Bon; and I don’t know how many times I have re-read his *Psychologie des Foules*. It is a capital work to which, to this day, I frequently refer.” See Benito Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, 36 vols. (Florence: La Fenice, 1951-1963), Vol. XXII, 156. Quoted in Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist*

potentially disruptive elements by the bourgeoisie. The masses were seen as composed of illogical, emotional, irrational, and instinctive, “beings belonging to inferior forms of evolution” – in other words women, children, and savages.²⁰ The masses consisted of the weakest elements of society, while the leadership formed strong element. Similarly, the superimposed, unregulated layers of growth over the Roman buildings represent irrational, and instinctive, in contrast to the geometrical and rational Roman Monument. Even the names of other isolated monuments such as the so-called temple of Fortuna Virilis, temple of Heroic Fate, indicated strength (*Figures 37 and 38*).



Figure 37 Temple of *Fortuna Virile* in 1890. Photograph by Moscioni. From Antonio Mu oz. *Il Restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile* (Roma: Società Editrice d’Arte Illustrata, 1925).

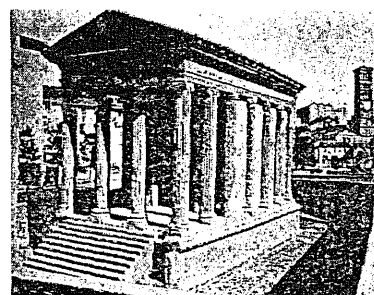


Figure 38 Temple of *Fortuna Virile* after Ripristino. From Antonio Mu oz. *Il Restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile*. (Roma: Società Editrice d’Arte Illustrata, 1925).

The new location of the Mausoleum, now a geometrical shape of a circle, in the center of an open square surrounded by traffic arteries, amounted to the erasure of the monument from temporal living space within dense urban fabric and from its function of a theater. At the present time, this monument is placed within a permanent abstracted

Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997), 21.

²⁰ Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (New York: Viking, 1960), 36 Quoted in Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997), 18.

space, to reinforce the a-temporal qualities of mythologized Augustan. According to Roland Barthes, the function of mythology is to normalize and naturalize meanings within a space that appears permanent.²¹ In the case of the Mausoleum, the urban intervention, *Ripristino*, reinforced mythology by abstracting, normalizing, and atemporalizing the Mausoleum. The isolation of the Mausoleum did not retrieve and revert to the original condition at the time of its construction, but rather produced an idealized, reinvented, or abstracted version of the past. It is easy to compare the isolated Fascist monuments such as the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Theater of Marcellus, or the so called, because then identity remained suspect, Temples of Fortuna Virilis and Vesta to the model of Augustan Rome produced during the Fascist regime. At that time, Rome did not function in terms of isolated monuments, but rather formed a complex urban fabric. Furthermore, by the time of Augustus, the city underwent a series of accretions beginning with the Etruscan settlements, continuing with the buildings of the Republican Rome, and ending with the Augustan construction. In contrast to the ruins retrieved during Fascism, the public buildings formed grandiose complex and functioned as living architecture.

²¹ See “Le Mythe aujourd’hui” in Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Seuil, 1970). It is possible to argue that the usage of ‘myth’ by Roland Barthes is synonymous to ‘ideology’. Terry Eagleton explains ‘ideology’ in the following way: “A dominant power may legitimate itself by *promoting* beliefs and values congenial to it; *naturalizing* and *universalizing* such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; *denigrating* ideas which might challenge it; *excluding* rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and *obscuring* social reality in ways convenient to itself. Such ‘mystification’, as it is commonly known, frequently takes the form of masking or suppressing social conflicts, from which arises the conception of ideology as an imaginary resolution of real contradictions.” See T. Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 5-6.

5.2 Sventramento: The Destruction of the Urban Fabric in Siena and Rome

The means required for the invention of medieval or Augustan heroic past exceeded mere isolation of monuments, reconstruction of medieval towers, replacement of pavement, or the removal of stucco. The cleansing and purification were transferred to the larger scale, substantially affecting the city fabric. Throughout Italy, cities were cleansed through the removal of entire neighborhoods by the means of *Sventramento*, literally translated as ‘disembowelment’. The justification for the *Sventramento* derived from the 19th century urban approach, but again the focus was on the regeneration of the heroic past or the deletion of the past which was considered contradictory to the Fascist interpretation.

In Siena, the *Sventramento* was focused on Salicotto, a proletariat neighborhood, former Jewish ghetto. The intervention of the local Fascist party in this project was first reported in Il Popolo Senese in March of 1926. At that time the Fascio di Siena, convened at a preliminary session, unanimously approved project for the neighborhood by Professore Ingegnere Vittorio Mariani. The problem with the neighborhood was declared to be one of hygiene, sanitation and morality. In the article titled “Per Risanamento edilizio”, the neighborhood was called:

...vivaio di miserie e di brutture ove in triste promiscuità vivono decine e decine di persone...Il lavoratore che dall'alba alla sera suda pel pane della sua famiglia ha il sacrosanto diritto di avere una casa arrecciata e pulita ove i suoi bimbi possano vivere senza sentire la necessita di fuggirne per l'infezione che vi alberga.²²
 ...hatchery of misery and ugliness, where in sad promiscuity live dozens and dozens of people...The worker

²² “Cronache Senesi: Pel risanamento edilizio,” *Il Popolo Senese* n.29 (1926): 2.

that from morning until night sweats for his family's bread has a sacrosanct right to have a furnished, clean house where his children can live without the necessity to flee from the infection that permeates the house.

Only one year later, on April 7th 1927, when Benito Mussolini met with the representatives from Siena, who voiced their concerns about the city, the project took on a new meaning. The representatives included Prefetto Ciofi, Podestà Fabbio Bargagli Petrucci, and Segretario Federale Fascista Adolfo Baiocchi. The problems discussed were: *risanamento edilizio*, housing renewal, and *valorizzazione artistica e culturale della città*, cultural and artistic value of the city. During the meeting, the importance of Siena as an artistic town with medieval Commune roots was emphasized. Subsequently, Conte Bargagli Petrucci presented to Mussolini his book titled Le Fonti di Siena, The origins of Siena.²³ During the closing statement the Podestà asked Mussolini for support of the project:

Perciò invoco, per questa volta, e per quest'unica opera di tanto generale interesse, il consenso vostro, Eccellenza, ed aspetto con fiducia e con gratitudine profonda il Vostro cenno di assenso e di consenso, per uno di quei gesti generosi e grandi di cui il Vostro cuore e così spesso capace e che Vi faranno benedire dal popolo Italiano. Because of this I invoke, this time, and for this unique work of such general interest, your consensus, Excellency, and I await with faith and with profound gratitude for a sign of agreement and consensus, for one of these generous and great gestures of which your heart is so much capable and for which people of Italy will bless you.²⁴

Benito Mussolini was reported to have undertaken the cause with great enthusiasm as he said: "Se non dovessimo riuscire dovremmo nasconderci dietro l'ombra di un

²³ Unsigned, "Il Duce per Siena Fascista," *Il Popolo Senese*, 8 April 1927, p. 1.

²⁴ E. Baggiani, "Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città," *La Balzana* 3 (1929), 79.

dito!”²⁵ (“If we would not succeed we shall hide ourselves behind a shadow of a finger!”) and requested the city of Siena to prepare financial, technical, and administrative proposals for the project. The city of Siena prepared a detailed project for the first part of the endeavor, which included the construction of new housing outside of the city. By March 28, 1928, the Consiglio dei Ministri, Council of Ministers, approved the design of the law. On June 21, 1928 the law n. 1582 titled “Provvedimenti per le opere di risanamento della città di Siena”, Provisions for the works of Renovation of the city of Siena, was passed by the Parliament. This law placed Siena under the Law of January 15, 1885, n. 2892, “sul risanamento id Napoli”, which permitted expropriation in Siena. The work on the first phase of the project began on October 28, 1928, the anniversary of the March on Rome and a predictable moment to announce this event.²⁶

The desire of the government to destroy the neighborhood of Salicotto, only to reconstruct it, stirred a controversy in Siena. The government’s intent to manipulate the depiction of the ghetto as immoral, unhygienic slum, worthy of destruction and elimination from the Sieneese history emerges from an article by Aldo Lusini defending the ghetto, which presents a contrary point of view. The photographs commissioned by the city of Siena showed uncontrolled additions to the housing and focused on the unsanitary conditions of living within the interiors of the housing (*Figures 20, 21 and 22*).

Attacking the view that the late medieval construction in Siena arose stone over stone without any discipline and rules, Aldo Lusini argued in the montly publication,

²⁵ Ibid. 79.

La Diana, that the neighborhood of Salicotto represented the spirit of the medieval Siena. According to him, the harmony of medieval city came from the arrangement of gray and weathered bricks connected to arches curved over the street. Even when defending Salicotto, the argument focused on the harmony and medieval heroic nature of the neighborhood.²⁷ Just as the portrayal of Salicotto in the Fascist newspapers was inaccurate, so was Lusini's misrepresentation of the ghetto. The ghetto was established in the period of Counterreformation and its narrow winding streets did not represent the aspects of medieval Siena, as argued by Lusini. He described the life within the walls as proud and defiant, simple and patriarchal and wrote that one could imagine the flower of Sieneese youth passing through such streets, in contrast to the Campo where San Bernardino preached and taught the humanity.²⁸ The paradox lies in the fact that the author used even San Bernardino, an avid preacher of anti-Semitism, to evoke the image of medieval, heroic Siena. The photographs used in the defense of the ghetto emphasized the romantic winding alleyways and the sense of strong community present (Figure 63).

²⁶ Ibid. 79.

²⁷ Aldo Lusini writes: "Le vie qui da noi figurate rendono un preciso aspetto della Siena del Due e Trecento, e in relazione all'architettura e allo spirito elementare del popolo che quasi sempre mute nell'ombra, e dove – se d'improvviso s'apre un limbo di chiaro sole – la severità del luogo sembra debba avviarsi a sorridere." Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei," *La Diana* (1927): 197-8.

²⁸ "In queste vie non ci sono e non contano se non le penombre degli archi, fra le quali tu puoi aggirarti in pensiero di storia e di leggende, scuriosando con l'occhio chiaro fra porta e porta di quest'abitato povero e non esigente, come forse dove passarvi in gaia lietizia il fior fiore della scapigliatura senese del tempo antico, in intimo contrasto con gli spiriti di quei santi e beati, che per la bocca di San Bernardino, non molto lungi da questo luogo, predicarono e insegnarono all'umanità." Aldo Lusini, "Il Ghetto Degli Ebrei," *La Diana* (1927): 197-8.

The controversy stirred enough attention that the local government in Siena began to understand the extent of the damage that would be caused:

Ma non si poteva neppur concepire come, uscendo ad esempio dal Campo meraviglioso ove il turista è costretto a fermarsi estasiato, si dovesse imboccare di colpo in una strada moderna piena di quelle brutte costruzioni a serie che purtroppo sono sorte in moltissime città.

But one could not even understand how, exiting for example from the beautiful Campo where the tourist is constrained to stop in ecstasy, one should suddenly enter into a modern street full of these ugly serial houses that unfortunately exist in many cities.²⁹

However, the lawmakers in Rome, who supported total destruction, appear not to have understood the problem in Siena. In the discussion of the Camera dei deputati, Bruno Bresciani stated that grave damage was produced, “dall’agglomerato della popolazione meno abiente in quartieri ristretti, malsani, chiusi dalla vecchia cinta medievale”³⁰ (“...by the agglomeration of the poor population in confined neighborhoods, unhealthy, closed by the old medieval wall”). In view that a lot of vacant land existed between the wall and the city, the lack of understanding in this statement of the conditions characterizing urban fabric in Siena is undeniable.

Subsequently, the Podestà of Siena turned to the Ministero dell’Istruzione to protect the areas within the city that were to undergo *Risanamento*. The Ministro dell’Istruzione placed two neighborhoods Salicotto and Ovile, at that time projected to be destroyed, under the Law of 20 June 1909, which declared the neighborhoods to constitute an urban monument:

²⁹ E. Baggiani, “Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città,” *La Balzana* 6 (1929): 137.

³⁰ See Atti Parlamentari, Senato del Regno, Legislazione XXVII, I sess. 1924-1928, Discussioni, vol. 9, tornata del 7 giugno 1928. Quoted in Lando Bortolotti, *Siena* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1988): 198.

Attesoché è intendimento dell'Amministrazione di servirsi della facoltà di cui alle disposizioni menzionate perché la caratteristica bellezza dei quartieri suddetti non venga diminuita e d'altra parte, è interesse degli abitanti delle dette zone che di tale proposito siano pubblicamente informati affinché la prevista legittima azione governativa non sia da essi prevenuta con opere che per essere eseguite in dispregio della Legge dovrebbero poi essere abbattute:

Decreta - Art. 1 - Gli interi quartieri di Salicotto e di Oville, quali risultano dagli uniti grafici, che formano parte integrante del presente Decreto sono sottoposti alle disposizioni di cui alla Legge 20 Giugno 1909 N. 364. Nessuna costruzione si può modificare né eseguire nella zona vincolata senza la prescritta autorizzazione della R. Soprintendenza all'Arte Medioevale e Moderna per la Toscana II.

Art. 2 Il Soprintendente all'Arte Medioevale e Moderna per la Toscana II è autorizzato a dare quelle disposizioni che nell'ambito delle leggi vigenti si dimostrino necessarie per mantenere all'antica città il suo particolare carattere storico ed artistico.

Art. 3 Il presente Decreto sarà a cura di S.E. il Prefetto della Provincia notificato al Podestà di Siena, il quale provvederà a farlo venire nelle forme di legge a conoscenza dei proprietari interessati quali risultano dall'unito elenco e a pubblicarlo nell'albo pretorio del Comune per mesi sei consecutivi.

Il Ministro f. FEDELE³¹

In spite of this recourse, a commission was delegated by the Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti, Superior Council of Antiquities and Fine Arts, to examine the areas of Ravacciano and Valli and to prepare assessment of the proposed project. It was composed of Senatore Corrado Ricci, Conte Luigi Gamba and Gustavo Giovannoni. A second commission that included Consultore Municipale Sinore Ingegnere Arnaldo Paolocci, Engineers Guido Bonci Casuccini and Giovanni Curti, Sanitary official Cavaliere Professore Aristide Londini, Reggio Soprintendente all'Arte Comm.

³¹ E. Baggiani, "Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città," *La Balzana* 6 (1929), 139.

Professore Peleo Bacci, and Professore Cavalliere Umberto Giunti from the Reggio Istituto di Belle Arti, analyzed the second phase of the work. This phase was to include the *Risanamento*, renovation, of Salicotto proper. According to the article in La Balzana³² The most influential person, Gustavo Giovannoni, an inventor of the theory of *Diradamento*,³³ was removed from the crucial decisions made about *Risanamento* after the assessment phase of the project. The commission studied the project with the help of a model made by Professors Pedano Pedani and Vittorio Zani (*Figure 16*). The two commissions concluded that many demolitions were required in order to facilitate ventilation in the neighborhood. Some of the demolished urban fabric was to be reconstructed and private enterprises, such as Istituto per le Case Popolari, Institute for Public Housing, or the City administration were to take care of the destruction and reconstruction. After the assessment by the commission, R. Decreto of October 24, 1929 N. 2008 approved the first group of works and the destruction could not be halted.³⁴

The demolition of the urban fabric recorded in the photographs commissioned by the city of Siena as a documentary material (*Figures 39 and 40*). The photographs are similar to the ones of the *Ripristino* of the Mausoleum of Augustus. They show the urban fabric violently reduced to rubble, disclosing the disemboweled interiors of the neighborhood. In both cases, the photographs document the achievements and progress of the regime in elimination of the 'decayed' and 'diseased' urban fabric. The process

³²Ibid. 140.

³³ The theory of *Diradamento* held that destruction of the urban fabric in historical districts should be minimal and limited to demolitions necessary to accommodate the traffic and provide enough fresh air. For further explanation of this theory see Chapter 6.

of *sventramento* destroyed not only the enclosed courtyard nature of the Ghetto, but also historical buildings such as a church and a remaining pre-industrial factory. Unfortunately, these buildings were not well documented prior to the destruction.

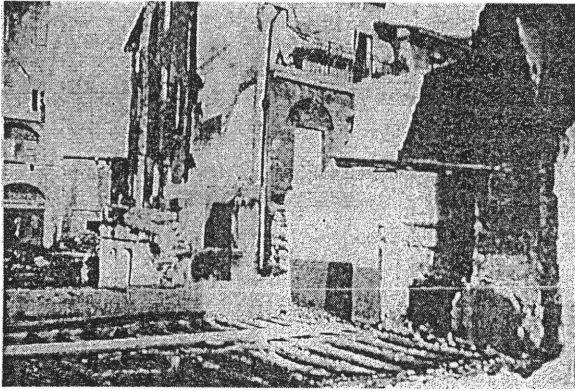


Figure 39 Demolition of housing in Salicotto. From Giovanni Curti, “Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto” (La Balzana, n. 4 1931).

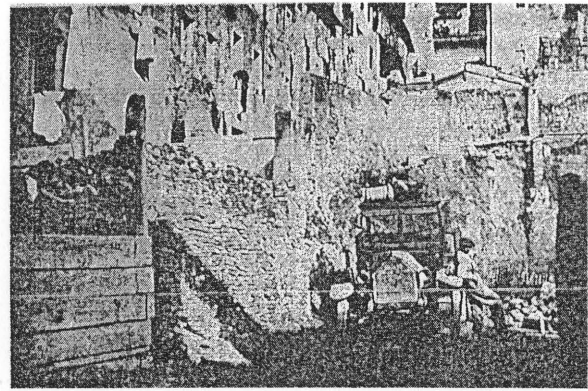


Figure 40 Demolition of housing in Salicotto. From Giovanni Curti, “Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto” (La Balzana, n. 4 1931).

The *Sventramento* of Salicotto in Siena was not a unique event in Italy. In Rome, the most prominent example of *Sventramento* was the demolition of the medieval fabric in the archeological area of the Roman Fora and subsequent creation of Via dell’Impero, a physical link between Mussolini and the Rome of Augustus. In the book *The Third Rome: Traffic and Glory*, Spiro Kostof attributes the *Sventramento* and construction of the Via dell’Impero partially to the traffic exigencies placed upon Rome when it became the capital of Italy. It is true that the first plans to create a street through the dense fabric came in 1857 during reign of the Pope, Pius IX, who engaged a French-Anglo firm, York and Company, to design a road connecting the Via del Corso and the Colloseum. This strategy followed earlier planning approaches where streets connecting Christian monuments were carved out of the medieval fabric. The project

³⁴ Ibid. 140-142.

for the area included a superimposition of a straight road, cutting through the medieval fabric, but otherwise leaving it unaffected (*Figure 41*). The subsequent proposals of 1873 and 1883 endorsed enlargement of the Via Cremona and extension of the Via Salaria Vecchia to merge with Via Cavour. An offshoot of the street would have been directed towards the Colosseum. The traffic exigencies stimulated the proposed transformations, which were similar to the regularization of Paris under Baron Georges Hausmann.

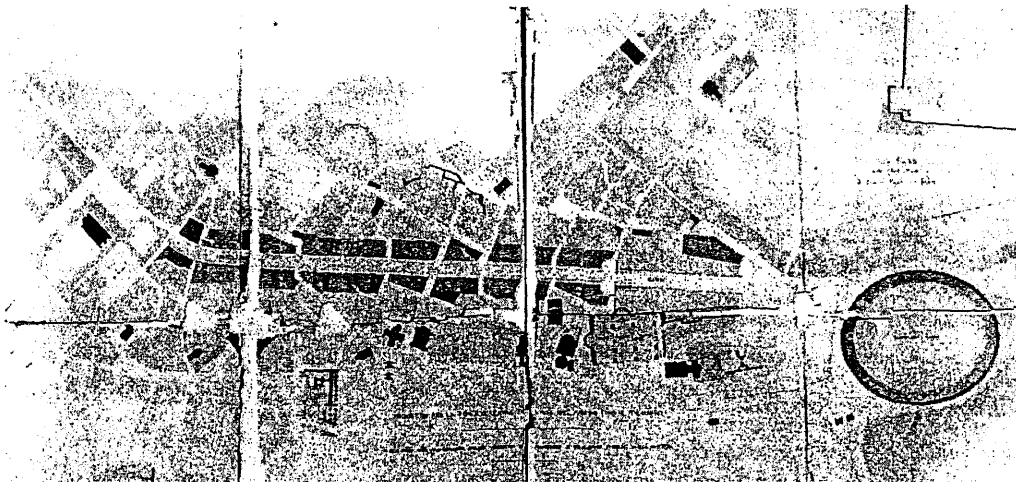


Figure 41 The York and Company Project, 1857. From Archivio di Stato di Roma, Disegni e Mappe I, Cartella 82, no. 369 in Spiro Kostof. *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973.

The transfer of this project to the Fascist regime marked a shift in the approach towards the project. The motivation can be traced back to the archeological digs dating back to 1810, when under Napoleon's rule the Commissione per gli Abbellimenti di Roma was created. In 1811, excavations begun in the area of the Trajan's Forum and the remains of the Basilica Ulpia were discovered. These discoveries were followed in 1828 by unearthing the markets of Trajan. However, the existing urban fabric located

between the Roman Forum, Piazza Venezia, Via Maganapoli, and Basilica of Maxentius soon prevented further excavations.³⁵ During 1924, at the beginning of Fascist rule in Italy, the excavations of the Fora were reinitiated and headed by an archeologist, Corrado Ricci. The contemporary fascination with the Roman past and the fascination with the figure of the archeologist permeated the culture and even played a significant role even in painting by Giorgio di Chirico titled the Archeologists (Figure 42).

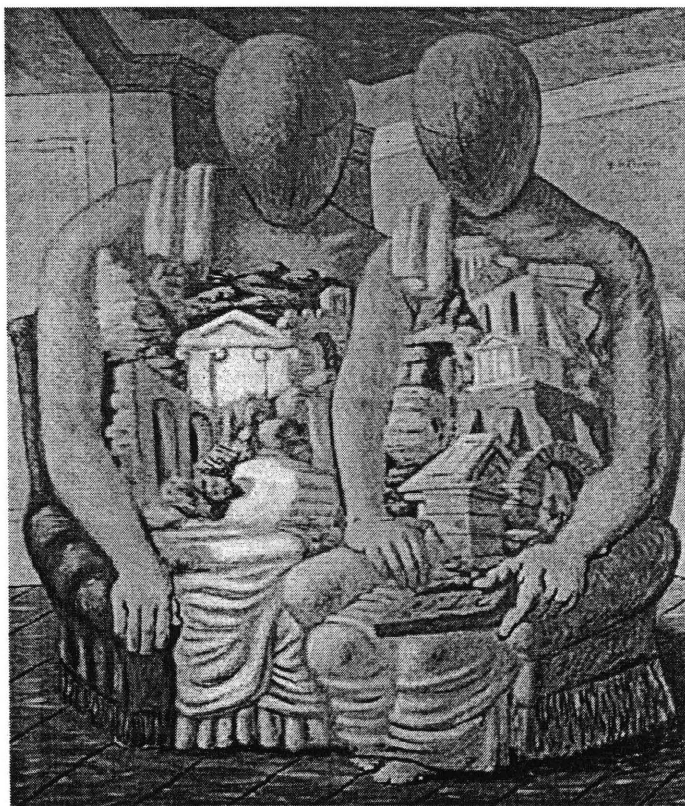


Figure 42 The Archeologists by de Chirico.

The justification of *Sventramento*'s hygienic basis was ever present during the project. Benito Mussolini defended the project in the following way:

³⁵ Sprio Kostof, *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. (Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973), 60.

Quanto alle case che si demoliscono esse rappresentano un arretrato gravissimo in fatto d'igiene. Ho ordinato che siano raccolte in grandi album moltissime fotografie degli esterni e degli interni da demolire, fotografie da dedicare eventualmente a qualche raro superstite nostalgico del colore locale.

Referring to all the houses that are demolished, these represent a grave problem of hygiene. I have ordered that many photographs of the interiors and exteriors of the houses to be demolished are gathered, photographs to be dedicated eventually to some singular nostalgic survivor that loves the local colors (*Figure 43*).³⁶

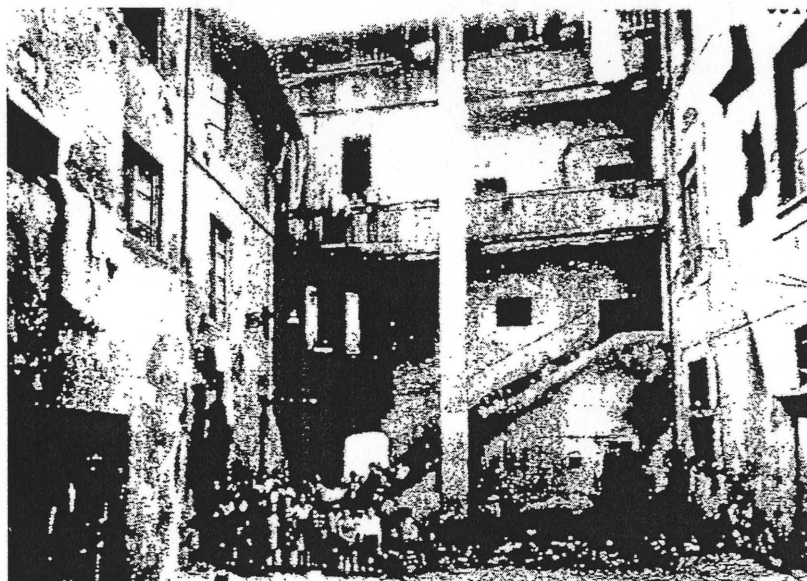


Figure 43 Courtyard in a tenement before demolition ca. 1930. From Museo di Roma, C/2231 in Spiro Kostof. *The third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973.

In 1934, at a lecture given at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in London, Guido Calza defended the demolitions.³⁷ Other influential people such as

³⁶ Leonardo Di Mauro and Maria Teresa Perone, "Gli Interventi nei centri Storici: Le Direttive di Mussolini e le responsabilità della cultura" in *Il razionalismo e l'architettura in Italia durante il fascismo*, ed. Silvia Danesi and Luciano Patetta, (Venice: Edizioni La Biennale di Venezia, 1976), 39.

³⁷ Guido Calza wrote that, "The demolition of a district composed of small dilapidated dwellings, having no historic or aesthetic value whatsoever, has transformed this center of the city into a beautiful monumental zone...No one ... will regret the disappearance

Antonio Muñoz, in charge of planning in Rome, dismissed the buildings in the area as having no inherent value. He argued that all that could have been saved from the baroque construction was saved.³⁸ However three notable Baroque structures were destroyed: 17th century church of Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum (*Figures 44 and 45*), 18th century church of Sant'Urbano dei Pantani, and 19th century church of San Lorenzo ai Monti. In the book titled Via dei fori imperiali³⁹, an image of the demolished city contradictory to the one presented by the supporters of *Sventramento* emerges. The complexity of the superimposition of the urban fabric from different time periods (*Figure 46*) was substituted by a monstrous ruin (*Figure 47*). The demolition of 5,500 units of housing had biggest impact during the *Sventramento* on the population in the area.

of this labyrinth of small streets, with little air and less light ... As compared with that loss, what a tremendous gain we have made ...” Guido Calza, “The Via dell’Imperio and the Imperial Fora,” *Journal of the RIBA* (March 10, 1934). Quoted in Ellen Ruth Shapiro, *Building Under Mussolini: Volume I.*, Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1985 Photocopy (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1988), 504.

³⁸ Muñoz wrote: “Le molte case abbattute non avevano il minimo pregio; tuttavia qualche portoncino barocco che vi esisteva e stato scrupolosamente messo in salvo...” See Antonio Muñoz, *Roma di Mussolini*, (Milano: Treves, 1935) quoted in Ellen Ruth Shapiro, *Building Under Mussolini: Volume I.*, Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1985 Photocopy (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1988), 166.

³⁹ Giorgio Guillini, *Via dei fori imperiali* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983).



Figure 44 Exterior of *Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum*. From Giorgio Guillini. *Via dei fori imperiali*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983.



Figure 45 Interior of *Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum*. From Giorgio Guillini. *Via dei fori imperiali*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983.

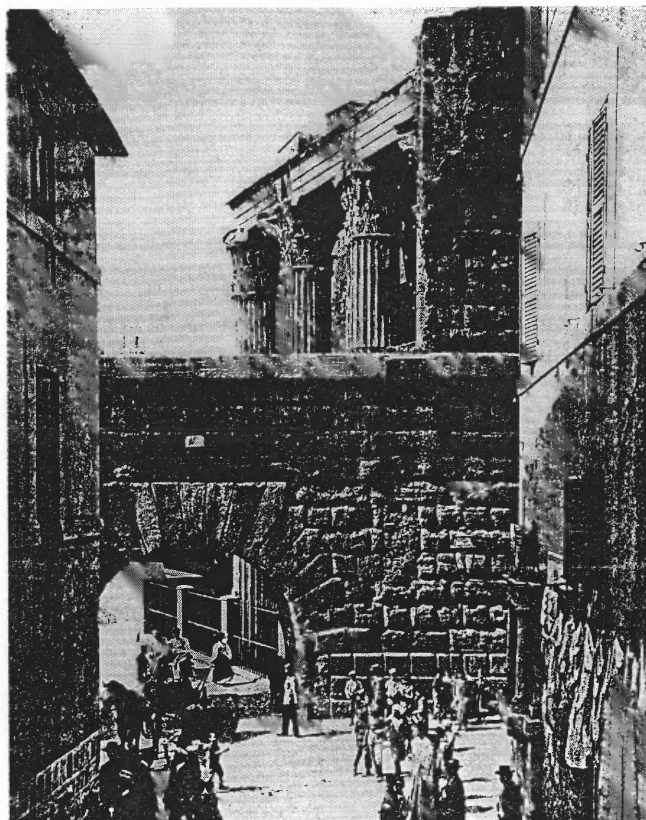


Figure 46 The Arco dei Pantani seen from via Baccina at the end of 19th century. From Giorgio Guillini. *Via dei fori imperiali* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983), 166.



Figure 47 Demolitions in the area of future *Via dei Fori Imperiali*. From Giorgio Guillini. *Via dei fori imperiali* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983), 166.

5.3 Displaced Population in Siena and Rome

The rhetoric of hygiene as a strategy to remove and control the undesired low-income proletariat, including the individuals suspected of undesirable political affiliations, was adapted both in Siena and Rome. While in Rome 5,500 housing units were destroyed, in Siena 200 families were forced to leave Salicotto. The populations inhabiting these neighborhoods were removed to the periphery of the city.

In 1926, the Tribunale Speciale was created by the Fascist central government to carry out also surveillance, internal exile, or limitations on personal liberty. In Siena, during the interwar period, the Communist activity was concentrated among day laborers, sharecroppers, craftsmen, blue-collar workers as well as intellectuals. Although the majority of them lived in the Val di Chiana, Val d'Elsa, and Val di Merse, in Siena 98 people were reported to be anti-fascists.⁴⁰ In spite of the fact that specific information does not indicate that these individuals lived in Salicotto, the profile of the inhabitants matches with the descriptions of people that participated in the Communist and 'subversive' activities.

The first part of *Risanamento Edilizio della città* in Siena consisted of expropriations in Valli and Ravacciano, followed by construction of housing in those areas.⁴¹ Removed from the city, this housing had a limited function of a bedroom community and conformed to the definition of Françoise Choay's Pseudourbia (*Figures 48, 49, 50, and 51*). The three floor public housing units were arranged along two main Roads connecting the neighborhood to the city by a single artery. The dispersed did not

⁴⁰ Rineo Cirri, *L'Antifascismo Senese nei documenti della Polizia e del Tribunale Speciale (1926-1943)* (Siena: Nuova imagine editrice, 1993), 14-24.

⁴¹ "Risanamento edilizio della città" *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 28 Nov. 1929, p. 2.

form an urban fabric, but conformed to the requirements of the Fascist government that had as its purpose isolation and control over the population. The futile link of the neighborhood to the city's medieval past relied on the naming of the streets after painters of the Sienese school such as Duccio di Buoninsegna and Jacopo della Quercia (Figure 52).

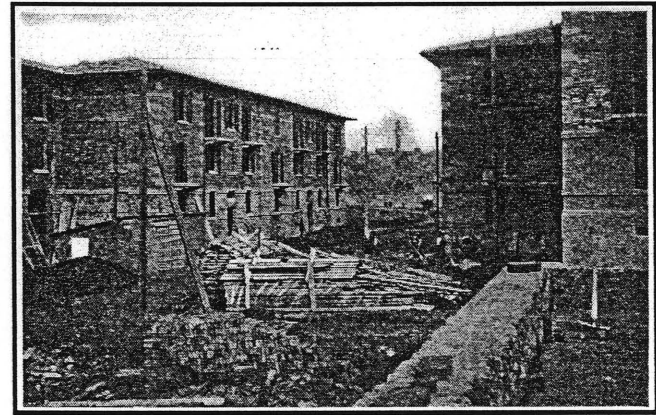


Figure 48 Construction of new housing in Ravacciano. From *Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 10 Marzo 1930*. Comune Di Siena. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

Figure 49 Construction of new housing in Ravacciano. From *Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 10 Marzo 1930*. Comune Di Siena. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

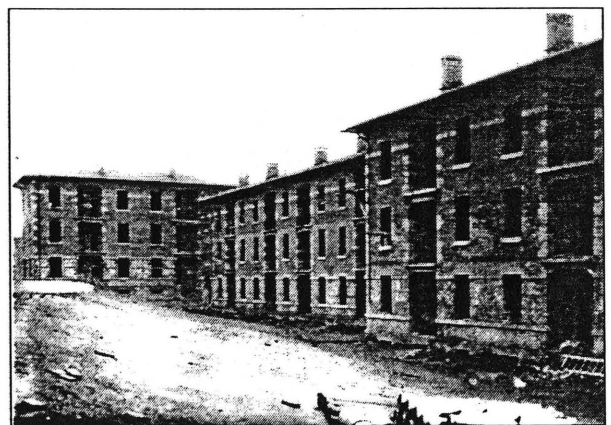
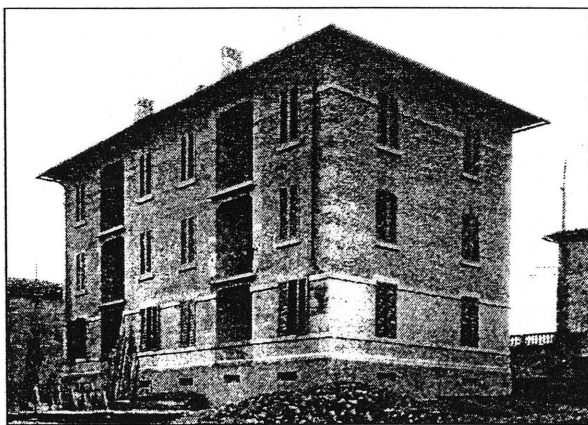


Figure 50 Housing in Valli. From *Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 10 Marzo 1930*. Comune Di Siena. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.

Figure 51 Housing in Valli. From *Piani Regolatori di Valli e Ravacciano: Stato dei Lavori al 10 Marzo 1930*. Comune Di Siena. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.

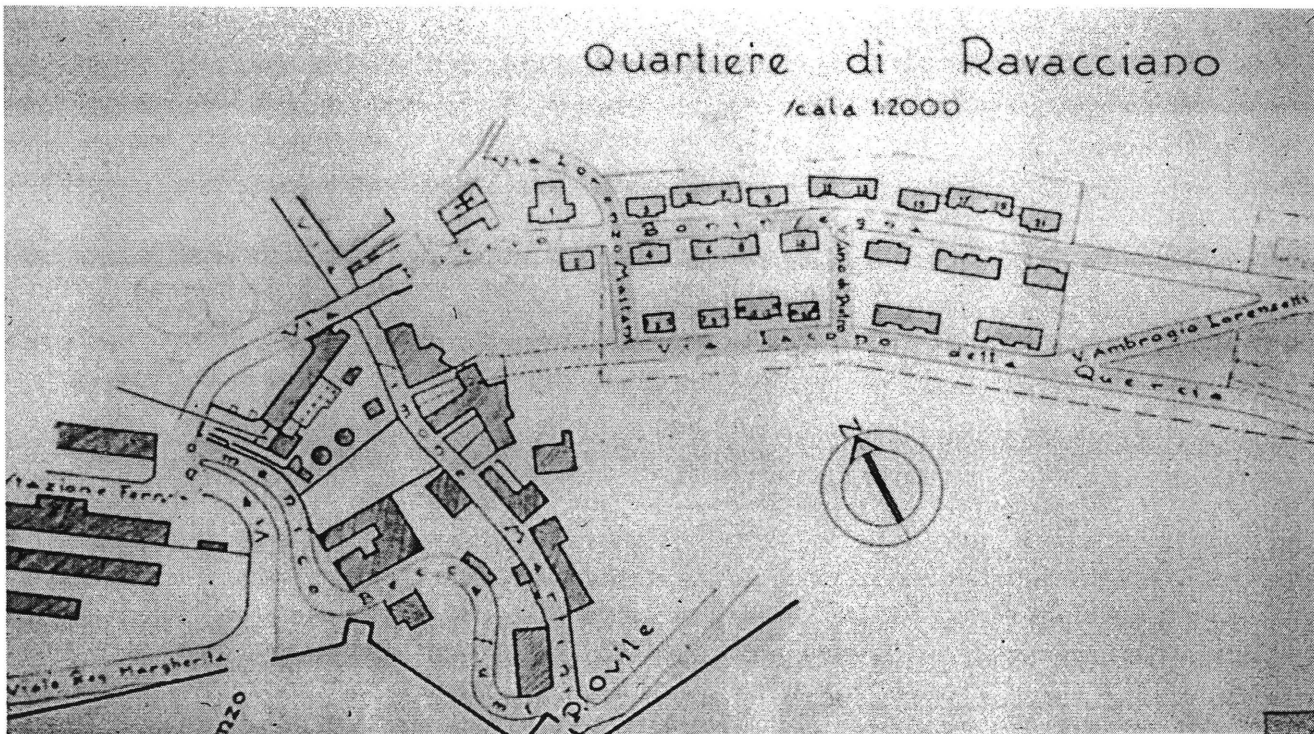


Figure 52 Plan of new housing in Ravacciano. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena.

When the population moved into the new buildings, it was forbidden to bring any furniture to the new housing to prevent the spread of Tuberculosis. The unhappiness of the population was expressed in the following description of the forced expropriation:

Ma la sera, dai nuovi ed accoglienti quartieri di Valli e Ravacciano, era triste vedere la Torre del Mangia da lontano, non sentire i rintocchi di Sunto e dover compiere percorsi allora considerati lunghissimi per tornare a respirare aria di casa. Alcuni sarebbero riusciti a tornare nel rione natio, mentre per altri quel distacco sarebbe stato definitivo, anche perché i lavori durarono a lungo, inframmezzati da notevoli difficoltà economiche da parte delle istituzioni, da avvenimenti razziali (non dimentichiamo che in Salicotto si trovava il Ghetto degli ebrei) e dulcis in fundo, dalla guerra.

...per molti fu triste veder scomparire letteralmente le proprie case o i vicoli nei quali avevano trascorso gran parte della propria esistenza ed ai quali erano legati anche da ricordi piacevoli.

But at night, from the new and hospitable neighborhoods of Valli and Ravacciano, it was sad to see the Tower of Mangia from far, not to feel the smell of the neighborhood and to be constrained to go far to return to breath the air of home. Some would return to their place of birth, while for others this distancing would be definitive, also because the works lasted for a long time, hindered by economic difficulties by the public institutions, by racial discrimination (lets not forget that in Salicotto the Jewish Ghetto was located) and finally, by the war.

...for many it was sad to literally see the disappearance of their own houses and alleyways where they have passed large part of their own existence and to which they were connected by pleasant memories.⁴²

In Rome, the population inhabiting the center of the city was removed to the 12 *borgate*, suburbs, built by Istituto per le Case Popolari on the outskirts of the city. The *borgate* were located outside of the limits of the Piano Regolatore of 1931 on agricultural land, which permitted closer control over the cultural and social life of the population by the Fascist government (*Figure 53*).⁴³ During the interwar period, the Socialist party was active in the working class neighborhoods of Rome such as San Lorenzo and Testaccio. The removal of the population from the destroyed center of Rome permitted the Fascist party to become the sole provider of social activities in the working class districts, removed from each other and the city.⁴⁴

⁴² Luca Luchini, "Ricordi in Cartolina: Quando Salicotto fu rivestito di nuovo," *Il Vespro: periodico mensile*, Archive of the Contrada della Torre.

⁴³ Ferruccio Trabalzi, "Primavalle: Urban Reservation in Rome," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 42/3 (Spring 1989), 38-46. Quoted in Diane Ghirardo, "From Reality to Myth: Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome," *Modulus 21* (1991): 25.

⁴⁴ Lidia Piccioni, *San Lorenzo: un quartiere Romano durante il fascismo* (Rome: Sittuto Studi Romani, 1984). Quoted in Diane Ghirardo, "From Reality to Myth: Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome," *Modulus 21* (1991): 25.

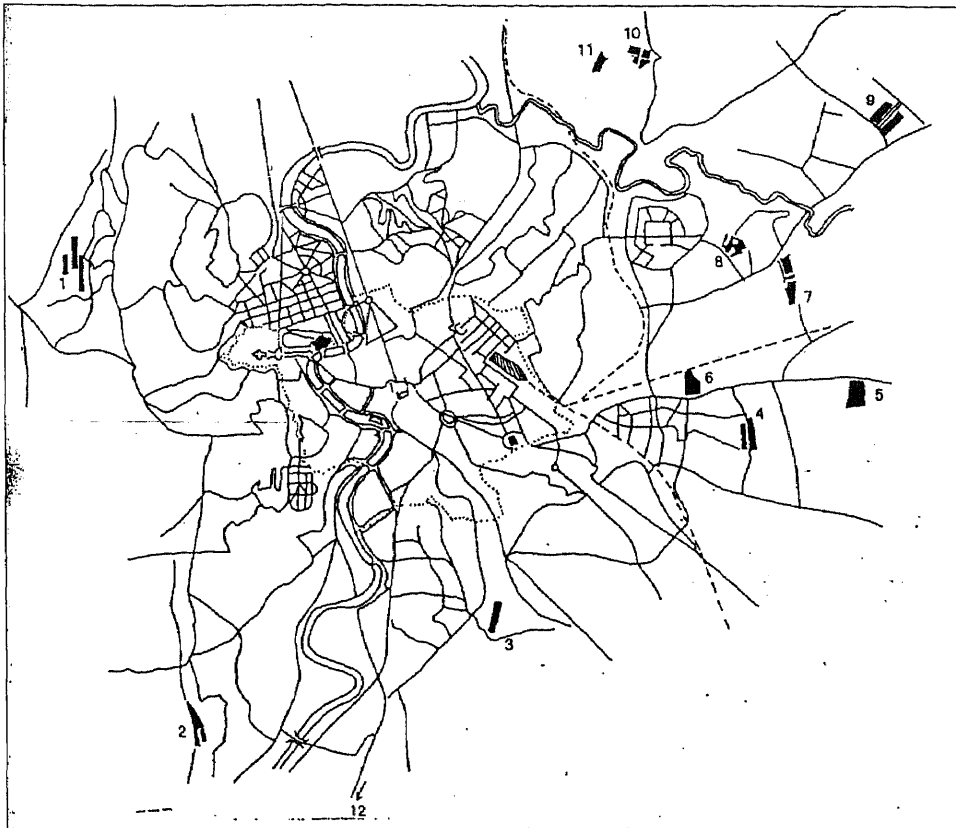


Figure 53 Plan of Rome with the location of the borgate relative to the city center. From Ferruccio Trabaldi. "Primavelle: Urban Reservation in Rome." *Journal of Architectural Education* v. 42, n. 3 (1989).

One example of the *borgate* was Primavelle, located six kilometers northwest of the city, with limited bus connections back to the city or to other *borgate*. The *borgate* were located close to militia and police. The Fascist Party, Police and the Church were the only things present in town. In Primavelle the apartment buildings were located along a central axis joining two squares, where retail and religious structures were located (*Figure 54*). The height of the buildings varied from two to four stories with diversity in mass orientation and elevation. The buildings enclosed spacious playgrounds, gardens and places to hang laundry. The *Borgate* were planned as small suburban centers, self-sufficient communities, but the residents worked in Rome. In

Primavelle, the construction begun in 1937, but the was halted by the war. The planned buildings such as additional schools, post office, police station, cinema, covered market and athletic field, were not constructed before the Second World War.⁴⁵

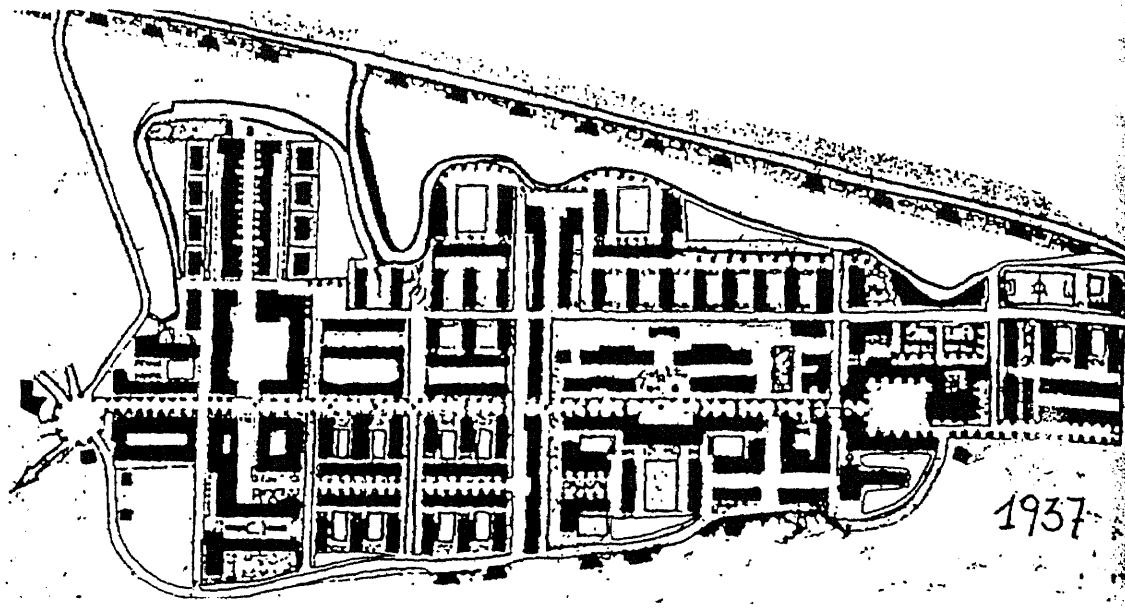


Figure 54 Giorgio Guidi, Plan of Primavelle, first version, 1937. Photo: Istituto Autonomo delle Case Popolari, Rome. From Ferruccio Trabalzi. "Primavelle: Urban Reservation in Rome." *Journal of Architectural Education* v. 42, n. 3 (1989).

In the case of Siena and Rome the new neighborhoods shared similar characteristics. They were located outside of the city limits, their size, social activities, and function were limited. Therefore, they can be classified as Pseudourbias. The ideological control What is particular to the phenomenon of these neighborhoods during Fascism is the element of ideological control as a fundamental cause for the existence of these neighborhoods rather than escape from the city. Again in this case

⁴⁵ Ferruccio Trabalzi, "Primavelle: Urban Reservation in Rome," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 42/3 (Spring 1989), 38-46. Quoted in Diane Ghirardo, "From Reality to Myth: Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome," *Modulus* 21 (1991): 25.

the Fascists utilized the urban approach of the 19th century hygienists for their own purposes.

CHAPTER 6

REGENERATION OF A NEW CITY

The purification of the city by removal of the urban stratification unrepresentative of the heroic Fascist ideal, was the first phase of the generation of a new city. While in Rome the deleted medieval and Baroque stratification revealed the Augustan Rome, in Siena the area of the Jewish ghetto was demolished to reveal the 'original' nature of medieval heroic Commune. In both cases, the destruction was propagandized as a sign of progress. The demolitions left entire areas of the city literally disemboweled. The exposed private interiors of the housing were a testimony of the new scarred, punctured city. If a point of view is taken that the transformation of the city occurred within the framework of the 'myth of palingenesis,' then a violent destruction would generate a new city. In fact, the second phase consisted of the city's reconstruction. In Rome, the new city was created through the construction of new Fora. In Siena, the transformation of the fabric in Salicotto to create an idealized version of the medieval past and the construction of a stadium that symbolized the new physically fit Fascist citizen were a part of this process.

6.1 Regeneration of Salicotto in Siena

In 1946 Gustavo Giovannoni wrote about the lack of attention given to his advice regarding *Risanamento* of Salicotto: "A Siena si e avuto abbastanza felice il rinnovamento, presso il palazzo pubblico, del quartiere del Salicotto, un po'alterato tuttavia dalla aggiunta non richiesta di nuove facciate in finto gotico."¹ ("In Siena there was sufficiently satisfying renovation, next to the Palazzo Pubblico, in the neighborhood

of Salicotto, a little bit altered by the addition of unrequested new facades in neo-Gothic style.”) Gustavo Giovannoni advised the city of Siena in regard to the project, but the final decision concerning the *Risanamento* of Salicotto lay in the hands of a commission nominated by the Podestà in Siena. It included engineers, municipal advisors, sanitary officials, university professors of fine arts, and representatives of the Fine Arts Conservation Chamber in Tuscany.² Therefore, Giovannoni lacked control over the transformation of the ghetto and was able to give only general advice.

Gustavo Giovannoni was a proponent of minimal intervention and destruction of the old buildings and urban fabric – a theory of *Diradamento*. He recognized that transformation was necessary in cities because the new transportation systems, such as cars and tramways, were not able to function within the medieval city. Siena, where narrow streets hindered movement of buses and cars, also struggled with the traffic problem until car traffic was forbidden in the center of the city. Giovannoni’s proposed changes would have included:

...demolizione qua e la di una casa o di un gruppo di case e creazione in lor vece di una piazzetta e di un giardino in essa, piccolo polmone nel vecchio quartiere; poi la via si restringa per ampliarsi di nuovo tra poco, aggiungendo varietà di movimento, associando effetti di contrasto al tipo originario edilizio che permarra così in tutto il suo carattere d’Arte e di ambiente. Solo vi si farà strada qualche raggio di sole, si aprirà qualche nuova visuale e respireranno le vecchie case troppo strette tra loro.

...demolition here and there of one house or a group of houses and creation of a little plaza and a little garden in it, little lung in the old neighborhood; then the road should narrow down to widen again soon, adding a variety of movement, and associating the effects of contrast to the

¹ Gustavo Giovannoni, “Il Quartiere Romano Del Rinascimento,” (Roma, 1946), 5-7. Quoted in Guido Zucconi, *Dal Capitello alla città* (Milano: Jaca Book, 1997), 165-6.

² E. Baggiani, “Il Risanamento Edilizio della Città,” *La Balzana*, 6 (1929): 140.

originality of buildings that would retain almost all its character of art and original environment. Only there a ray of light will reach the street, a new view will open and the old narrow houses will breath.³

The concerns expressed by Giovannoni mirror two most important preoccupations of the times – traffic and Tuberculosis. As discussed earlier, the anti-Tuberculosis informational materials portrayed the densely populated cities as the foci of infection, advocated that housing should be surrounded by trees, and advised that each room should have access to sun and ventilation. The theory of *Diradamento*, concerned with historical preservation, argued that the city should maintain its ‘historical physiognomy’ with minimum of demolitions. Although the changes should be minimized, according to this theory, cleansing of buildings to its ‘primitive aspects’ was seen as positive. When new buildings were to be built Giovannoni advocated that these should maintain the artistic atmosphere of the city through the use of proportion, colors and forms.⁴ The theory of *Diradamento* was similar to the culturalist model of Camillo Sitte’s urbanism and perhaps influenced by it. Sitte studied the classical, medieval, and baroque spatial organization during his frequent travels. He argued that buildings have meaning only when they are related to each other. In contrast to popularity of the monument construction under the sponsorship of Risorgimento government in Italy, he condemned isolated monuments. The importance of connecting element in the urban fabric – voids – was central to the culturalist theory of

³ Gustavo Giovannoni, “Il Diradamento edilizio nei vecchi centri,” *Nuova Antologia*. Quoted in Guido Zucconi, *Dal Capitello alla città* (Milano: Jaca Book, 1997), 154.

⁴ Ibid. 153-5.

urbanism. Irregularity, imagination, and asymmetry guided the design of solids and voids.⁵

When the plan for *Risanamento* was drawn up, the commission nominated by the city of Siena followed the rules of *Diradamento*. It divided the buildings into different categories. The first group was to be demolished without rebuilding, second was to be demolished and redone, the third was to be restored and given new facades, and finally the rest of the buildings were to undergo *Ripristino*. The design foresaw the enlargement of the streets as well as the creation of small piazzas and gardens.⁶ The commission set up rules requiring the designers not to destroy the physiognomy of the neighborhood. The conservation at the level of the street of the perimeter of the buildings in order to maintain the general lines of the old streets, was one of the most important guiding rules.

It is true that the executed design maintained the layout of the streets according to the set rules, but the excessive demolitions altered the physiognomy of the neighborhood. First of all, rather than to create a connection, the changes to the urban fabric, characterized by many voids, destroyed the continuity of medieval fabric in Salicotto. At the present time, these voids are dead spaces that serve as paved parking (Figure 55). The forseen gardens, as lined out by the theory of *Diradamento*, failed to appear. The design failed to recognize the prior existence of orchards within the ghetto. These formed a central courtyard of the ghetto and demolition of the fabric erased their memory. The complex nature of the ghetto characterized by the superimposition of additions to the buildings also disappeared.

⁵ Choay, Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 104-105.



Figure 55 An opening in the urban fabric after the demolition of housing in Salicotto. The space serves as a parking lot rather than as a garden. Photograph by the author.

The fragmentary rebuilding that followed the massive demolition of buildings included construction of new housing or the renovation of the old housing (*Figure 56*). The interior renovation of the housing included regularization of the living spaces. The new renovations eliminated rooms without windows and moved the circulation into the core of the building. The successive variants of the project drawn up by the city of Siena, shaped the transformation of the neighborhood. For instance the buildings belonging to the *Comunità Israelitica* were to be renovated, but subsequently were simply destroyed (*Figure 57*). (Unfortunately, information about the buildings owned by *Comunità*

⁶ Alfredo Barbacci, “La Sistemazione Edilizia del Quartiere di Salicotto a Siena” *La Diana* (1933), 257.

Isrealitica is limited because the archives are closed to the public.⁷⁾ Similarly, the demolition of a church located between Vicolo dell'Oro and Vicolo delle Scalette was not planned. On the other hand, some planned changes were not implemented and the fabric remained untouched. By 1933, the city planned to destroy and rebuild the buildings adjacent to Palazzo Pubblico. However, they were never touched (*Figure 58*). Another planned and never executed demolition was in the area between Via del Rialto and Vicolo della Fortuna.

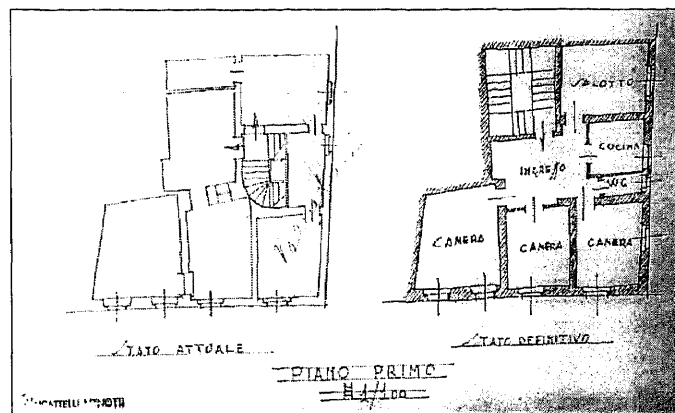


Figure 56 Plans for *Risanamento* of one of the buildings in Salicotto. The staircase and the hallway were moved to the center of the building creating rooms with windows. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy.

⁷ The archives will be catalogued and donated to the Archivio del Comune di Siena in the fall of 1999.

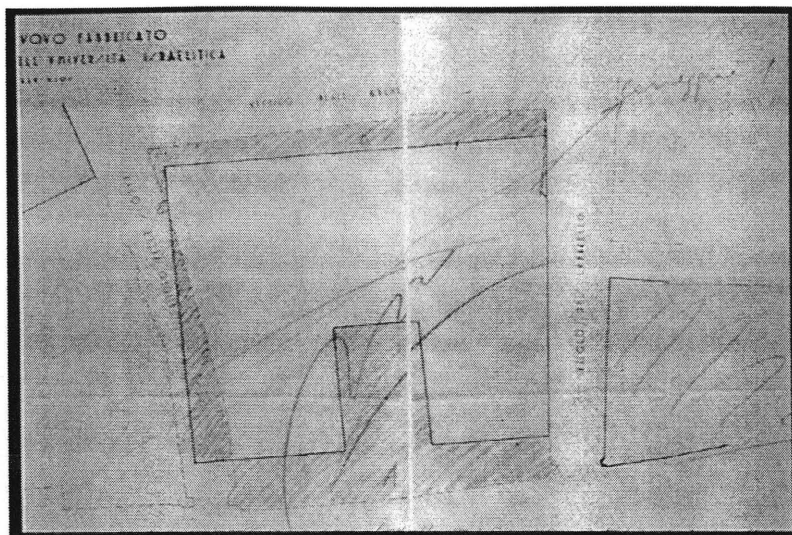
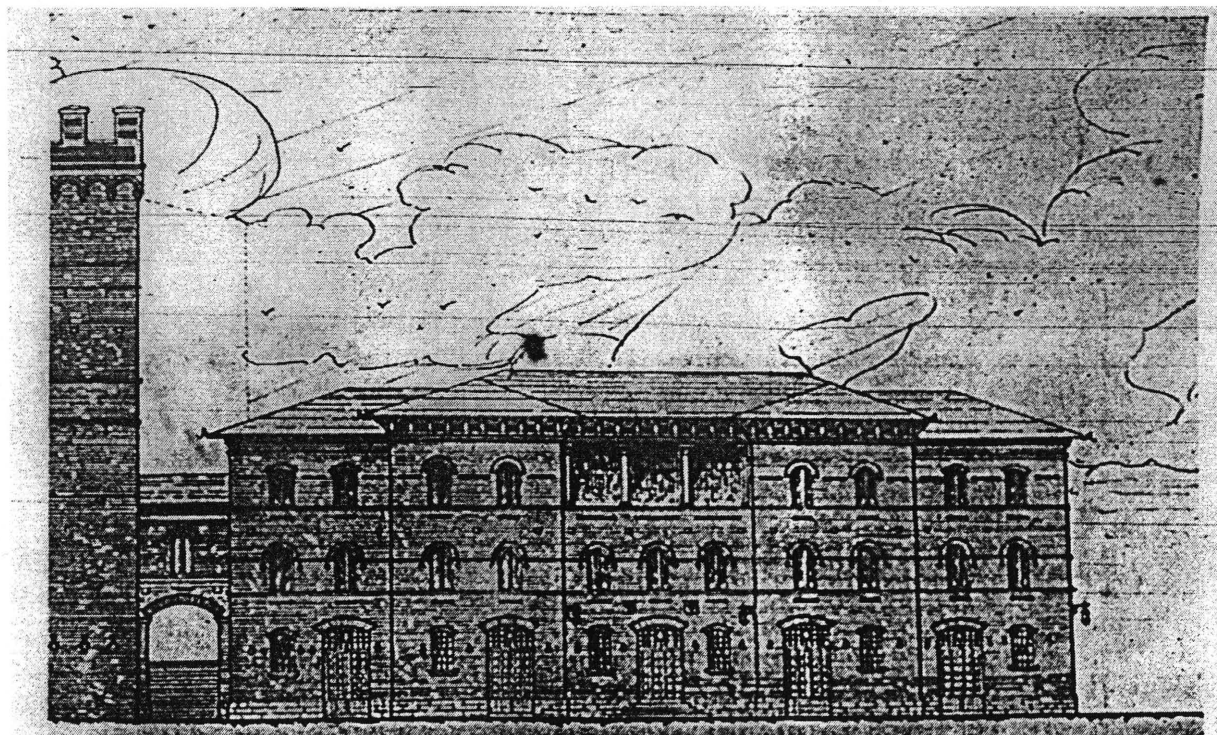


Figure 57 Plans for *Risanamento* of the buildings belonging to *Comunità Israelitica* in Salicotto. The drawing indicates the plans for restructuring of the complex. This group of buildings was subsequently destroyed. From *L'Archivio Comunale di Siena*, Italy.



Progetto di massima di uno stabile in Via Salicotto per gli uffici Comunali ora aventi sede nel Palazzo Patrizi.
(Fronte sulla Piazza del Mercato)

Figure 58 Facade of the project of a building adjacent to Palazzo Comunale. The buildings in that area were to be destroyed and reconstructed. The housing was never destroyed and the building was never built. From *La Balzana*.

In Salicotto, the creation of voids through demolition resulted in isolated clusters of urban fabric such as buildings of the Contrada della Torre, which include the church of San Giacomo and are located between Via Salicotto and Via del Sole (*Figures 59 and 60*). The process of demolition created two openings flanking the buildings. Presently, on one side, the buildings face a terrace and on the other the staircase that connects the two streets. The isolated monumental cluster reinforced the medieval origins of the neighborhood and its linkage to the Commune. The church of San Giacomo, erected in the XVI century on the occasion of the victory of Sienese army on 25 July 1526 against the papal forces of Clement VII in the battle of Camollia, served as the Oratory of the Contrada della Torre.⁸ Because of their historical significance, just as the Mausoleum of Augustus, the buildings of the Contrada della Torre became an isolated monument to symbolize the regeneration of the medieval Siena. During *Risanamento*, the city ordered the property of the Contrada to be internally reconstructed at its expense (*Figure 61*).⁹ After restructuring, the 6 housing units contained in the building complex were assigned to the members of the organization.¹⁰

⁸ “Per chi non lo sapesse: Salicotto,” *La Nazione*, Dec. 11 Dec. 1942, from the Archive of Contrada della Torre.

⁹ “Festeggiamenti nella ‘Torre’,” *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 9 June 1933, from the Archive of Contrada della Torre.

¹⁰ Unsigned, “Per l’assegnazione dei quartieri della Contrada della Torre,” *Il Telegrafo*, 16 April 1933, from the Archive of Contrada della Torre.

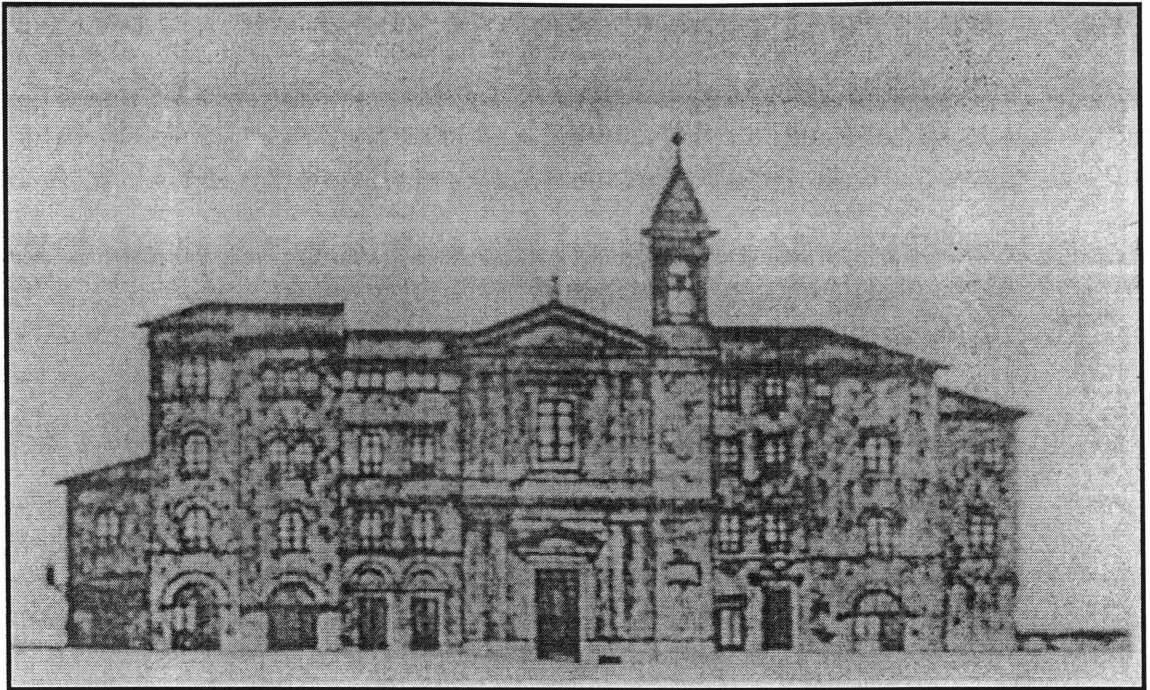


Figure 59 Project for the isolation of the buildings of the Contrada della Torre. The Church of San Giacomo, oratory of the Contrada, is located in the center. From Giovanni Curti, “Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto” (La Balzana n. 4 1931).

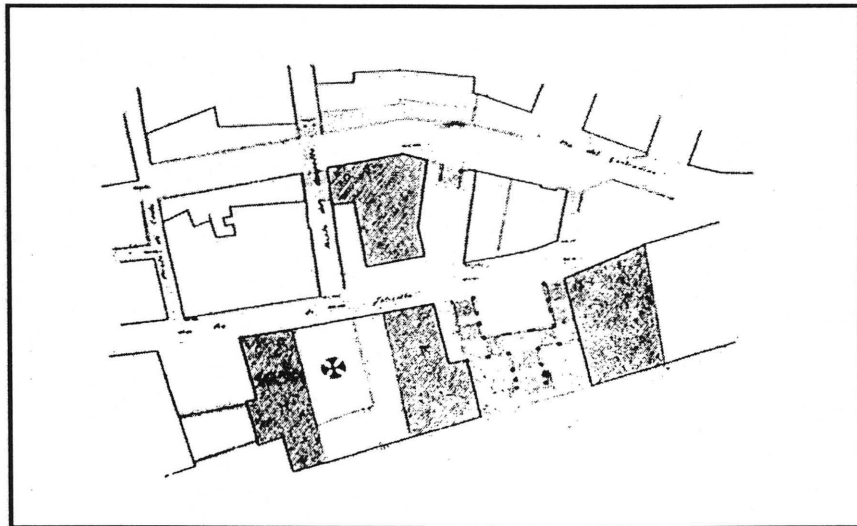


Figure 60 Plans for the isolation of the buildings of the Contrada della Torre. The Church of San Giacomo, oratory of the Contrada is located in the center. From Giovanni Curti “Il Risanamento Edilizio nel Quartiere di Salicotto” (La Balzana n. 4, 1931).

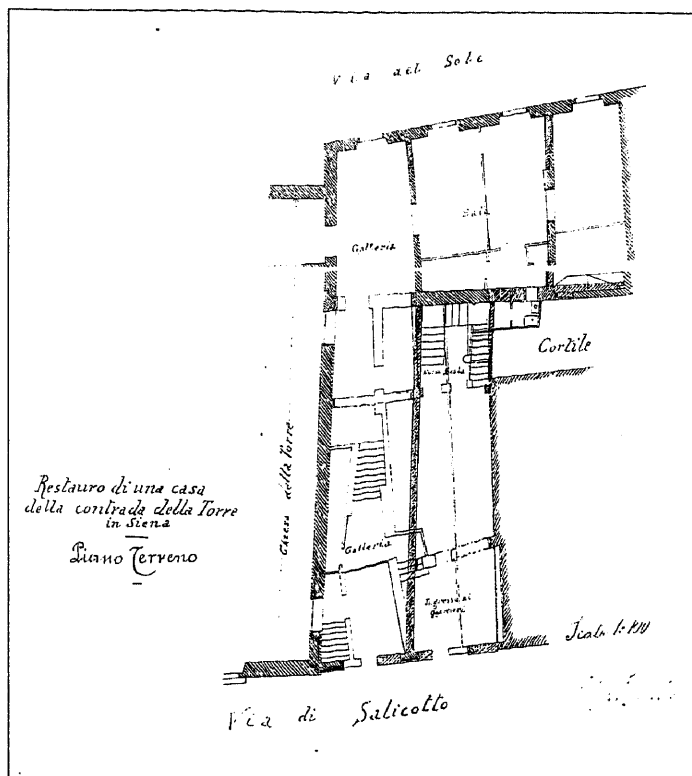


Figure 61 Project for *Risanamento* of the building of the Contrada della Torre. Hatched line indicates the new building while the white lines indicate the old walls. From *L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Italy*.

To embellish the neighborhood, the Contrada sponsored ornamental steel decorations to be placed on the buildings in Salicotto. The members of the contrada ordered and had their names inscribed on the ornaments such as *ferri battuti ornamentali*, ornamental iron decorations, *campanelle*, bells, *portabandiere*, flag holders, and *gabbie portaluca*, lamp holders (Figure 62).¹¹ The limited styles of the ornaments indicated that they were abstracted symbols of the medieval city that mimicked the pre-existing situation. Their presence and uniformity is pervasive throughout the neighborhood. To further enhance the connection between the new Salicotto and the medieval commune,

¹¹ "Per l'abbellimento di Salicotto," *Il Telegrafo*, 22 Jan. 1932, and "Per l'abbellimento di Salicotto," *Il Telegrafo*, 4 Dec. 1932, from the Archive of Contrada della Torre.

the inauguration of the first group of buildings on June 4, 1933 at the Contrada was carried out in medieval costumes and with accompaniment of medieval music.¹²

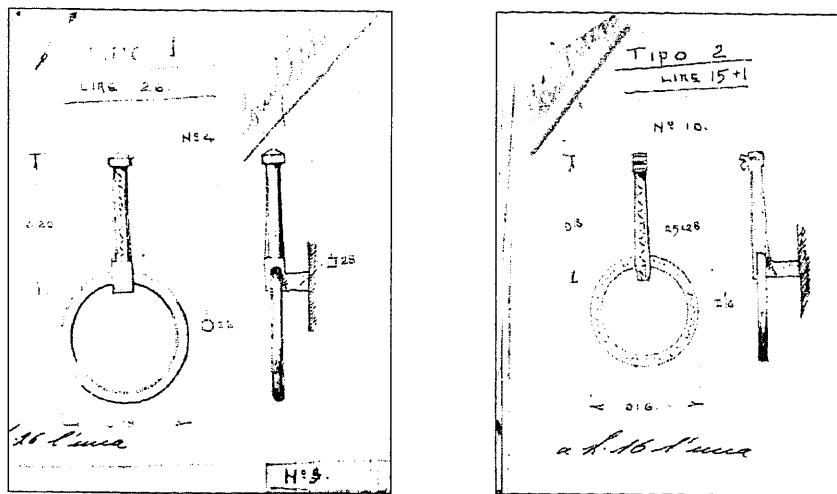


Figure 62 Samples of Ferri Batuti. From the Archive of the Contrada della Torre, Siena, Italy.

In concurrence with the internal reorganization of the buildings of the Contrada, the city of Siena required the external redesign of the facades. The new facades poorly simulated simulate the Sienese Gothic construction. The new ground floor of the Contrada della Torre was resurfaced in concrete, while the upper floors were redone in brick. According to Alfredo Barbacci, who strongly criticized the reconstruction for the excessive variety of form and incorrect use and arrangement of false stones, actually made out of concrete, this was rarely done in medieval buildings.¹³

Like the façade of the building of Contrada della Torre, the new façades and building forms were modeled on the Gothic and Renaissance style. The result was a picturesque mix of elements evoking the past accompanied by the loss of Sienese

¹² "Festeggiamenti nella Contrada della Torre," 30 May 1933, from Archive of the Contrada della Torre.

architecture's spirit.¹⁴ Beginning in October 1933, La Rivoluzione Fascista ran a series of drawings illustrating public projects in Siena. One of the illustrations was a drawing titled, "Un angolo scenografico del nuovo Rione di Salicotto", a scenographic view of the new neighborhood of Salicotto. It depicted an under-passage that provides picturesque view into the distance of the Sienese countryside (*Figure 63*). In the illustration, the opening between the buildings is very wide with a semicircular arch supporting the weight of the building above. On the other hand, the pre-*Risanamento* photograph illustrates a narrow passageway within tall winding alley (*Figure 64*). The new picturesque reality clumsily mimics the preexisting condition.

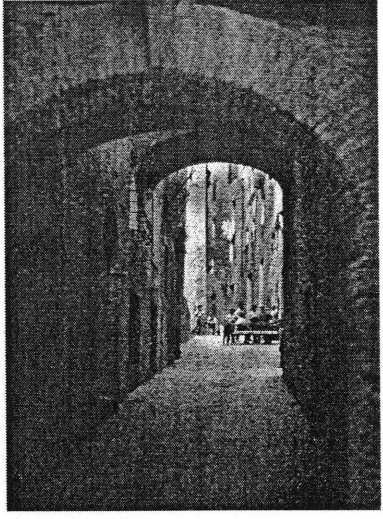


Figure 63 View of one of the streets in Salicotto before *Risanamento*. From *La Diana*.



Figure 64 View of Salicotto after *Risanamento*. From *La Rivoluzione Fascista*.

Reviving the past through the use of generic neo-medieval windows differing in size and style at each level of the building, the facades of new neo-Gothic buildings show similar mnemonic condition. Contrary to the new interpretation of the past, the Sienese

¹³ Alfredo Barbacci, "La sistematizzazione edilizia del Quartiere di Salicotto a Siena," *La Diana* (1933): 254-267.

gothic Architecture utilized one kind of opening on the ground floor above which were located openings of equal size and style. Examples of such facades are found in the Palazzo's of Tolomei, Sansedoni, Buonsignori, Marsili, Chigi-Saracini, and Petroni. Other mistakes during the reconstruction included the incorrect proportions and height of the newly constructed buildings. These had excessive height, in spite of the recommendation of the commission nominated by the city of Siena that specifically pointed out that the height should be maintained or reduced.¹⁵ The regulation that local materials should be used was disregarded. For instance, the constant use of concrete in place of stone for the cornices, window jambs, detailing, and facades attributed to a falsified replica of the past.

Since originally the *Risanamento* was to be made according to Gustavo Giovannoni's theory of *Diradamento*, a commission nominated by the city of Siena established many other rules that were disregarded by the contractors and designers. Besides the emphasis on the appropriate massing and height of buildings and the utilization of local materials such as brick and stone, the buildings were to maintain the local character: "Il carattere artistico e libero, ma dovranno di norma seguirsi nelle decorazioni esterne le forme piu semplici, cercando di raggiungere un'intonazione ambientale, se non di stile almeno di carattere."¹⁶ (The artistic character is free, but in the exterior decorations, the most simple forms should be applied, to fit into the neighborhood, if not in style, at least in character.")

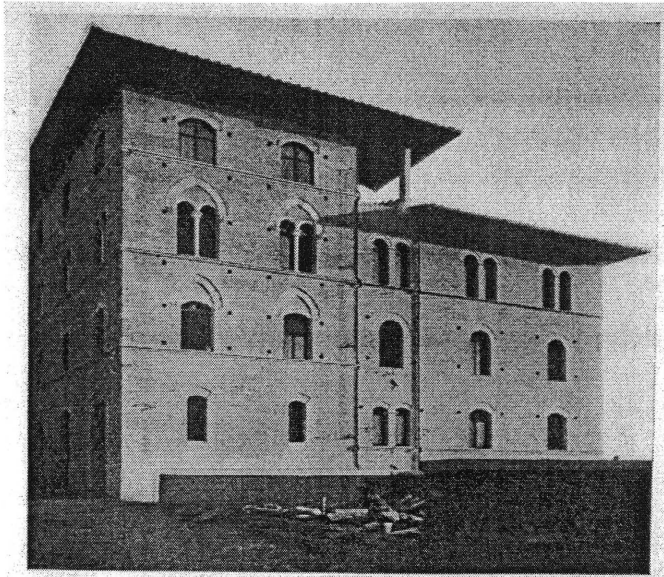
¹⁴ Ibid. 257.

¹⁵ Ibid. 257.

¹⁶ Ibid. 257.

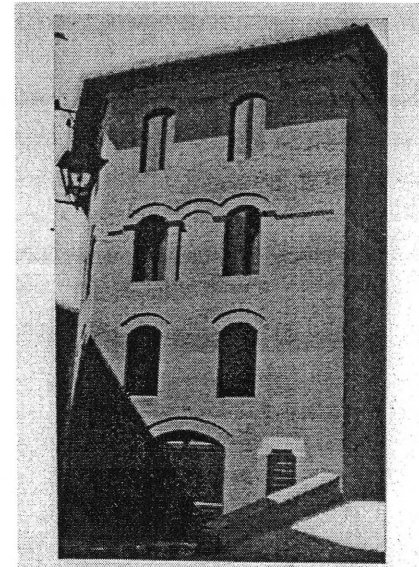
To that end, the neo-Gothic and neo-Renaissance style was adapted. An example of a neo-gothic reconstruction is Casa Pozzuoli, a large building located in the Via di Salicotto (*Figure 65*). The side of the building faces a staircase, an opening created during the destruction of the urban fabric, which joins two streets Via di Salicotto and Via del Sole. According to Alfredo Barbacci, the division of the building into two levels, as a strategy dealing with the changed height of the street, works, but the reconstruction is again characterized by many mistakes such as excessive variety of window styles that change form on every level and the introduction of double mullioned windows with round arches framed by the Sienese style arch. An example of a building that was not destroyed but renovated is Casa Bastianini located in the Via Salicotto and Vicolo dell'Oro (*Figures 66*). Again according to Barbacci, the building is an imitation of the Gothic style from the 14th century, but adds early Gothic elements such as small windows and architrave doors on the ground floor. The third floor windows connected with three arches are unproportional and too elongated. The arch in the middle looks as if it held a window prior to some later intervention, but again this detail does not occur in Siena. The Casa Manetti on Via Salicotto in front of Via Dei Malcontenti is an example of the excessive replacement of stone by concrete (*Figure 67*). It is divided in two parts, the side on the right has false towers and concrete pilasters connected by arches. The spaces in the facade framed by the concrete are characterized by utilization of brick. The concrete armature superimposed over the brick is too heavy.¹⁷

¹⁷ Ibid. 264.



SIENA - Quartiere di Salicotto: Casa Pozzuoli

Figure 65 View of Casa Pozzuoli in Salicotto after *Risanamento*. From Alfredo Barbacci "La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena: (La Diana, 1933)254-267.



Tav. 3 - SIENA - Quartiere di Salicotto: Casa Bastianini (Fot. Comune di Siena)

Figure 66 View of casa Bastianini in Salicotto after *Risanamento*. Photograph from Comune di Siena. From Alfredo Barbacci "La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena: (La Diana, 1933)254-267.



Tav. 8 - SIENA - Quartiere di Salicotto: Casa Manetti (Fot. Bellini)

Figure 67 *Risanamento* of Casa Manetti in Salicotto. Photograph by Bellini. From Alfredo Barbacci "La Sistemazione edilizia del quartiere di Salicotto a Siena" (La Diana, 1933) 254-267.

The New Salicotto presents an image of an invented, abstracted, and a-temporal copy, or a prosthesis, as a substitute for the pre-existing Salicotto. The essence of the medieval neighborhood is reduced to elicit a minimal instinctual response required to recognize the neighborhood as ‘medieval.’ Through the a-temporalization and reduction, an image of the idealized, abstracted version of the Commune’s past easily permeates the consciousness of visitors, an important element of Sienese economy, and inhabitants of the city.

6.2 Construction of Stadiums in Siena and Rome

The massive urban projects of the Fascist Regime in cities such as Rome and Siena irreversibly changed the shape of the urban fabric and were focused on the regeneration of the past glory through abstracted and idealized image of the past. Another aspect of this regeneration was the massive construction of sports stadiums in every Italian city, endorsed by Mussolini in 1927.¹⁸ In Siena, the construction of the Campo Sportivo in Conca del Rastrello, valley of Rastrello, begun in February of 1930 with the removal of earth to provide access to the future stadium.¹⁹ The Engineer of the City of Siena, Giovanni Curti, designed the stadium to hold 20,000 spectators. His proposal included eighty-five meter racetrack and a football field in the center of the stadium (*Figure 68*). Since the location for the project was in one of the valleys adjacent to the old medieval city, the project involved movement of earth to fill the basin – the most costly aspect of the enterprise. Some of the fill material was to be from the *Sventramento* of Salicotto and

¹⁸ “Per la creazione di campi sportive in tutti I comuni,” *Il Popolo Senese*, 1 Sept. 1927.

¹⁹ E. Baggiani, “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla,” *La Balzana* 3 (1931): 101.

the from another public works projects in the area of Camollia (*Figure 69*).²⁰ The connection between the Campo del Rastrello and Salicotto was first noted in the research for the Siena studio conducted by Peter Lang for NJIT in 1997-8. On a symbolic level this act was the ultimate death and burial of the ghetto necessary for the creation of new Siena characterized by heroic medieval past and physical culture.

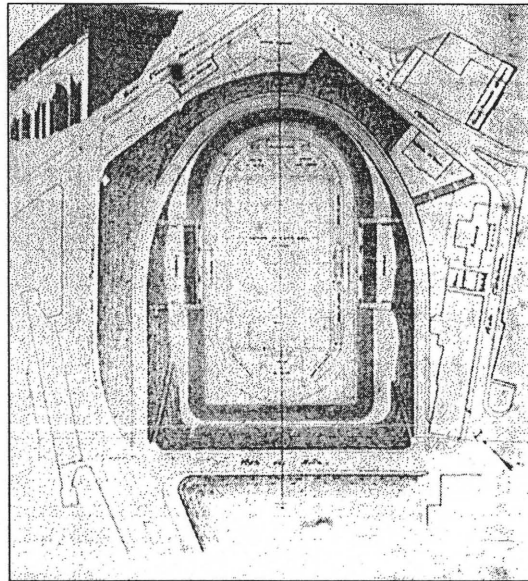


Figure 68 Plan of the stadium in Campo del Rastrello. From Baggiani, E. “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla” (*La Balzana*, 1931 n.5 pg. 133-141).

²⁰ E. Baggiani, “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla,” *La Balzana* 5 (1931): 141.

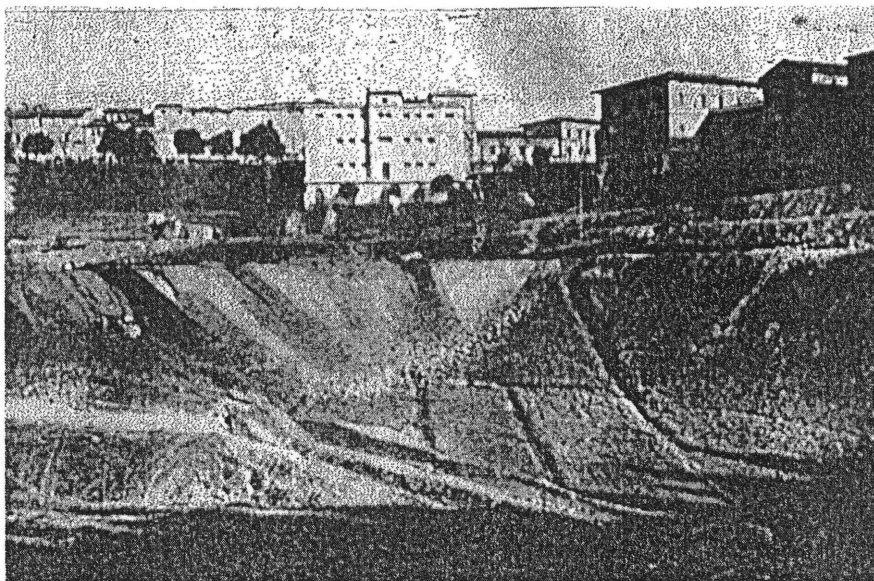


Figure 69 The leveling of the ground for the Campo del Rastrello. From Baggiani, E. “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla” (*La Balzana*, 1931 n. 5 pg. 133-141).

The issue of the need for new stadium in Siena was undertaken for the first time in 1923 by Giunta Municipale, municipal council, presided by Conte Fabio Bargagli Petrucci, the future Podestà of Siena. The favored location for the stadium was Campo del Rastrello. After the resignation of Conte Bargagli Petrucci in 1923, the project did not receive attention until his nomination for the office of Podestà in 1926. With the support of Political Secretary of Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF), Adolfo Baiocchi, the project resurfaced and by 1930 was in the initial stages of feasibility.²¹

The impetus of the project came from the Fascist party and its subdivisions such as Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) that supported the physical education of Italian youth. The program of national regeneration included enormous emphasis on physical strength of the citizens:

Frattanto, coll'avvenuto del Fascismo al potere,
l'educazione fisica della gioventù opportunamente elevata

²¹ E. Baggiani, “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla,” *La Balzana* 4 (1931): 101.

ad importantissima parte del programma di restaurazione nazionale prendeva in Italia immenso sviluppo e la passione per gli Sports, prima ristretta a limitati nuclei, veniva a diffondersi largamente nelle masse.

Meanwhile, with the arrival of Fascism to power, the physical education of the youth, elevated to be an important part of the program of national restoration, developed immensely in Italy and the passion for sports, first restrained to limited circles, diffused among the masses.²²

The culture of athleticism and sport was a major element of the Fascist youth organizations:

Cultura importantissima è – quella sportive ed atletica. Essa, infatti, suscitando nel giovane un equilibrio e un invigorimento fisico, compone nei suoi sensi, e nella sua mente una solida armonia che smonta tutte le avversità autosuggestive dei fisicamente deboli e mostra quindi soltanto quelle reali nelle loro esatte proporzioni.

The most important culture is the culture of sports and athletics. This one, in fact, stimulates in a young person an equilibrium and physical vigor, it composes the youth's senses, and in the youth's mind a solid harmony eliminates all the autosuggestive adversities of the physically weak and shows only the real ones in their exact proportions.²³

By October 8, 1930, there were 5459 members of Fascio Giovanile in the Province of Siena. These included elementary and middle school children that participated in festivals such as Festa Nazionale Ginnastica held in the Campo del Rastrello.²⁴ The photomontage composed in the Fascist Newspaper, and accompanying the article about this event on May 24, 1930, shows 2,500 students performing choreographed gymnastic

²² Ibid. 101.

²³ “Il IV annuale della Fondazione dei Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento,” *La Rivoluzione Fascista* (1936): 3-4.

²⁴ “24 Maggio, IV Festa Nazionale Ginnastica,” *La Rivoluzione Fascista*, 30 May 1934, p. 2.

movements (*Figure 70*).²⁵ The geometrical arrangement of a large crowd of boys performing the same synchronized was an attempt to master and channel the irrational, explosive ‘creative energy’ in an effort to change and improve their physical bodies. It was an effort to become the creator rather than the creature. The Italian mass sports movements incorporated into the Fascist totalitarian regime through the creation of Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) in 1921, which was to provide the youth groups with civil education and physical readiness.²⁶ In Siena, the first initiative in support of a new sports stadium came from a pre-Fascist association, Siense gymnastics association, Mens Sana in Corpore Sano, established in 1871. Società Sportiva Robur founded in 1904 whose stadium was located in Piazza d’Armi supported the effort.²⁷

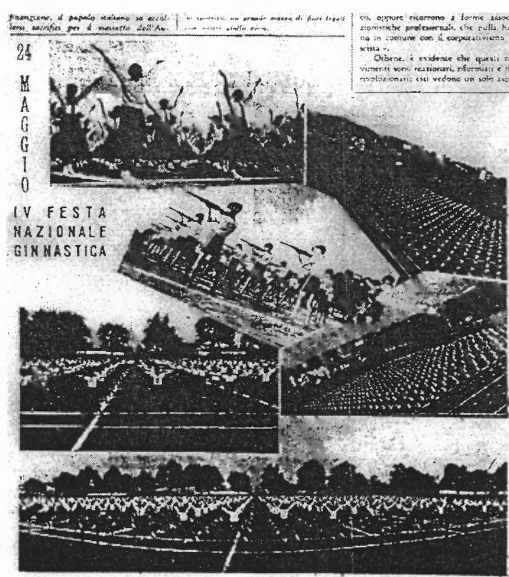


Figure 70 Photomontage from the *Festa Nazionale Ginnastica* held in the Campo del Rastrello. From *La Rivoluzione Fascista*.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass organization of leisure in fascist Italy* (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 34.

²⁷ E. Baggiani, “Campo Sportivo e Casa del Balilla,” *La Balzana* 4 (1931): 101.

The Fascist regime propagated the spirit of the body culture as a means to regenerate the idealized Roman hero. Benito Mussolini was quoted La Rivoluzione Fascista, titled “Gli Atleti italiani sulla Via del Circo Massimo” (“The Italian Athletes on the Via Circo Massimo”):

Dopo tanti secoli, il fior fiore della razza, I campioni di quella vigoria fisica che sa fremere le folle, sono ancora presso il Circo Massimo, gladiatori della Quarta Roma. After so many centuries, the flower of the race, the champions of this physical vigor that petrifies the crowds, are still close to the Colloseum, the gladiators of the fourth Rome.²⁸

The same spirit of body culture and return to the past was present in the creation of the New Rome – the construction of the new Fora outside of the city center. The first urban addition was Foro Mussolini, a sports complex in the north of the city. The construction of the Fora continued a Roman tradition, present in Papal Rome and during Risorgimento, for an emperor to build a new forum or to add basilicas and temples to an old one. The other Fora built in Rome during Fascism were Città Universitaria, University Campus, in the west part of Rome and Esposizione Universale Roma (EUR), World Exposition in Rome, new governmental and cultural center in the south.²⁹

After Mussolini took power in 1922, the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF) and the city administration in Rome were freed to develop their own programs.³⁰ The first project was Foro Mussolini, located at the foot of Monte Mario designed by Enrico Del Debbio, who worked on the project from 1926 to 1935, and Luigi Moretti, who took over in 1936. The Forum included stadiums, cultural and administrative buildings focused on a large

²⁸ “Gli Atleti italiani sulla Via del Circo Massimo,” *La Rivoluzione Fascista* (1936): 2.

²⁹ Diane Ghirardo, “From Reality to Myth: Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome,” *Modulus* 21 (1991): 14.

obelisk.³¹ The layout consisted of two administrative buildings flanking a central axis, which culminated with central obelisk. The axis extended to a circular plaza where radial avenues led to Stadio dei Marmi and Stadio dei Cipressi. The buildings designed by Del Debbio were characterized by a modified version of barocchetto romano a style popular in Rome at the beginning of the century. The buildings had red stucco walls, windows with broken tympana, grand marble niches for statues, and chamfered windows. The Stadio dei Marmi, designed by Del Debbio for parades and spectacles, was partially sunken and had seating of travertine marble. Around the perimeter of the stadium statues of 60 young men represented the Italian provinces (*Figure 71*). The other stadium, Stadio dei Cipressi designed by Luigi Moretti served for sporting events.³² Additional facilities included dormitories, tennis courts, outdoor pool, and indoor courts.

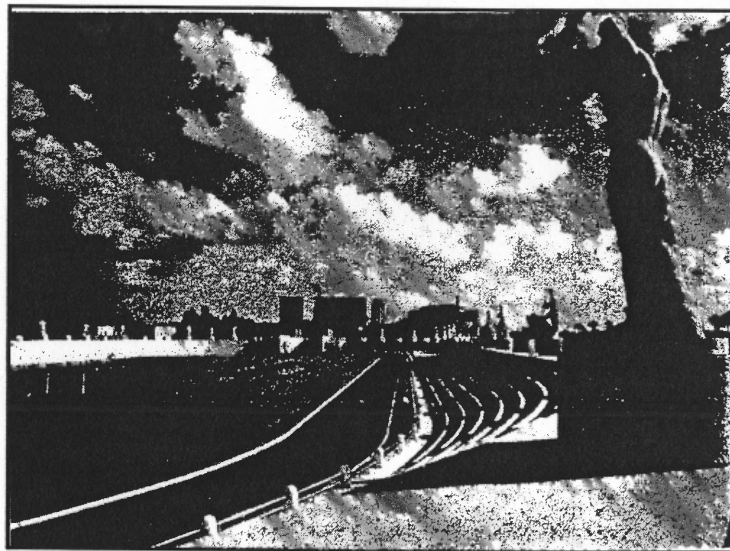


Figure 72 View of Enrico Del Debbio's *Stadio dei Marmi* in Rome, 1928. From Valriani, Enrico Del Debbio (Rome: Editalia 1976).

³⁰ Ibid. 14.

³¹ Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome (Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973): 37.

³² Diane Ghirardo, "From Reality to Myth: Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome," *Modulus 21* (1991): 14.

The construction of the Foro Mussolini is a reflection of the physical culture movement, originating at the end of 19th century and embraced during the inter-war period by countries ranging from the United States to Germany. The Stadio dei Marmi expresses both the body culture and the return to the idealized Roman past. Archeological excavations conducted between 1924 and 1925 in the center of Rome, during which the archeologists interpreted the reconstruction of the ruins, influenced the historical and mythological references used by Del Debbio in the design of the stadium. The excavations in the center of Rome initiated the view of Rome as 'Augustan' and a focus of the New Empire and influenced the proposal of Brasini to conduct further excavations to create a gigantic forum where the monuments would be isolated.³³ The marble statues, whose design was influenced by the archeological excavations, represented the heroic Fascist youth symbolizing the culture of war, masculinity, and aggression. The features of the statues were idealized and abstracted, therefore timeless. The muscular, tense, naked bodies prepared to fight for a leader did not represent individuals and were not merely copies of Roman statues. The abstraction and uniformity of the statues gave them an a-temporal dimension, which mythologized them.

This Fascist representation of the Roman soldier, which paralleled the chivalric depiction of the medieval knight in Siena during the festival of Palio, points to the fact that the medieval time was considered to be as legitimate by the Fascist government as the era of Roman imperial conquest. In fact both of these references were utilized because they represented a time period characterized by military strength emulated by the

Fascist regime. However, this point is not well recognized by contemporary historians who tend to focus on the Fascist allusions to Rome. The fascination with Sienese style is all the more compelling in view of the cleansing and depreciation of the medieval fabric of Rome.

³³ Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: architettura e città, 1922-1944* (Torino: Einaudi, 1989): 89.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Before making a formal analysis of the urban transformation of Salicotto, also known as the Jewish ghetto, it was essential to look at the distorted interpretation of Sienese history during Fascism. While certain historical periods were idealized, others were perceived as worthless. In terms of the resulting dichotomy, the greatness of the Medieval Commune (1125-1555) was elevated to mythical proportions by the regime, while the period of the ghetto (1571-1850), vilified as representative of decay and weakness, needed to be eliminated.

Siena became a city-symbol and attention was lavished on the study and interpretation of history and art of the Commune. The yearly Palio became a vehicle for abstraction and a-temporalization of the heroic and combative elements of medieval knighthood. Irreversibly altering the nature of the yearly reenactment, the new pseudo-medieval costumes reinforced the abstraction. This idealization and abstraction was also present in the Fascist propaganda film version of the Palio, seen in movie theaters across Italy. It is hard not to notice that the Fascist Government sought a link to a specific aspect of the past – chivalry – through regeneration of the festival. In this way Palio became a ritual reinforcing of the ‘myth of national regeneration’, present in European intellectual thought since the French revolution.

The rejected time period of the ghetto was characterized in Fascist newspapers as *periodo nero* or ‘dark period’ - the time representing the Sienese loss of independence, economic inferiority, and decay of culture. The institution of ghetto was a result of the external forces and ambitions of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence. The period

of Counterreformation, accompanied by institutionalization of ghettos throughout Italy, was a period of anxiety and fear of Protestant Reformation. Like in Siena, the establishment of the ghetto in Venice (1515), the prototype and model for all other ghettos, occurred during a period of economic decline. The establishment of ghetto in Venice did not only derive from a religious conflict, but rather was a result of a projection of the fears and anxieties of Venetian society at that particular moment. The decline in Venetian military and economic influence coincided with the inquisition in Spain and with the exile of the Sephardic population in 1492 and with the rapid expansion of Syphilis, a new sexually transmitted disease. The Venetians feared that the moral decay in the city brought on the economic misfortunes and punishment in form of this disease. These fears were of course transferred on the minority of newcomers. A solution was 'cleansing' through isolation of the 'diseased' element of the population within the walls of the enclosed ghetto.

This event proved to be far from an odd and singular. Another period characterized by anxiety and transformation occurred during the industrial revolution in the 19th century when the epidemic of Cholera struck in the rapidly expanding cities. This time, the fears of moral and physical corruption were transferred onto another segment of the population – the proletariat. The central issues confronted by the doctors, who became specialists in Medical Topography and Hygiene, were overcrowding, pollution, and suspected moral decay. Consequently, they approached the city as an organism or as a sick body. By 1850 a new strategy of expropriation and destruction of the 'decayed' and 'polluted' city fabric was adopted in Paris as an instrument of urban development and as a treatment of this organism. Simultaneously,

driven by idyllic view of the countryside, a new phenomenon of isolated settlements outside of the city, Pseudourbia, not much different in nature from a ghetto emerged. The cities in Italy did not undergo industrialization to the same extent as cities in England and France (with the exception of Turin and Milan) and the issues of hygiene became increasingly important only when epidemics of Tuberculosis, Malaria, and Influenza broke out in the wake of World War One among the malnourished population. In Siena, impoverished population from the countryside moved into the area of the ghetto. As a result an increase in population density and Tuberculosis deaths was recorded in the neighborhood. The problem of Tuberculosis was studied in Siena in as early as 1898. By 1918 ,a solution, which included the destruction of the urban fabric and construction of modern housing, was put forward. Although by the end of World War One the bacteria causing Tuberculosis was isolated the Doctors and Hygienists still linked the disease to promiscuity, decay, and immorality.

A sharp contrast and dichotomy between the heroic Siena of the Commune and diseased and decaying Siena of the ghetto, symbolizing the decay of the city, emerged. During Fascism, the ghetto was viewed as a 'cadaver' lacking vitality and as a 'tumor', sucking life out of the city, in opposition to the age of the Commune, characterized by strength. This polarity focused on heroic aspects of a citizen in contrast to the weak aspects of society emerged from the disenchantment with the intellectual culture of 19th century and from an effort to subordinate the rationality of the mind to the intuition, dynamism, and activism of the human body. This dichotomy was present in a variety of sources from which Fascism drew its ideology. It was embraced by Philosophers, Artists, Writers, and within mass sports movements. The polarity between weakness

and strength was adapted into the Fascist ideology and framework of the 'myth of national palingenesis'.

The expression of this Fascist ideology is observed in the urban interventions called *Ripristino*, restoration of buildings to their original form. In Siena, buildings representative of the Commune were restored, while in Rome, buildings representative of the Roman Empire were isolated for to reinforce the myth of national regeneration. The language developed by the 19th century hygienists was utilized as a justification for the necessity of *Ripristino*. The buildings were described as 'infected' and 'suffocated' by the accretions of the unheroic periods. The result of *Ripristino* was isolation, abstraction, and a-temporalization of the monument. Like in the transformation of the festival of Palio, through the transformation of the urban fabric, the past was changed, reinvented, and adapted to the ideology emphasizing division between strong and weak. The monument became a focal and dominating point while the fabric became the subservient element.

The Fascist ideology expressed itself within larger urban transformation, the *Sventramento*, literally translated as 'disembowelment', the demolition of the urban fabric in cities. In Siena, Salicotto, the neighborhood containing the Jewish ghetto, was demolished and in Rome the archeological center of Rome was destroyed to uncover the remains of the Augustan Rome. In the process, the urban fabric was demolished and the 'diseased' and 'weak' elements of society, such as the proletariat inhabiting these areas, were removed and isolated at the fringes of the city. The process of *Sventramento* was followed by the regeneration of the city. In Siena, the new city was created in place of the destroyed neighborhood of Salicotto and in the area of Campo del Rastrello. The

stadium built on the rubble from the demolition served as a symbol of power and strength. In Rome, the new city consisted of the new archeological area crowned with the Via dell Impero and of the new Fora. The *Sventramento* of the center of Rome was justified on the basis of hygienic necessity but the motivation derived from the fascination with the Roman past, specifically with the time of Augustan Rome. The destruction was followed by monumentalization of the Roman Fora and by creation of the New Fora. The most significant one was the Foro Mussolini. In this complex the Roman typology was adapted in the creation of marble stadiums and statues expressing a new spirit – the spirit of the body culture. Stadio dei Marmi, in the complex, contained the statues of 60 men representing the provinces portraying the new reborn roman citizens – symbolizing culture of war, masculinity, and aggression. In Siena the new stadium in Campo del Rastrello also embodied the spirit of the physical culture and the regeneration of the neighborhood of Salicotto was marked by abstracted and a-temporalized reconstruction of the medieval heroic Siena. While the pre-existing condition of the ghetto was erased, the symbols of the medieval Commune such as the buildings of the Contrada della Torre were monumentalized. The rebuilt housing clumsily mimicked the characteristics of the gothic construction reducing it to a bare abstracted minimum.

During the 19th century the Hygienists blurred the distinction between the city and a human body. The epidemic diseases and deteriorated health of the proletariat were associated with the environment of the slums. The solution proposed by the hygienist included expropriation and razing of neighborhoods that would eliminate the foci of disease from the city. In Italy during Fascism the image of the city was

manipulated to represent decay and degeneration in need of rebirth. Through the 'palingenetic' catastrophe the urban fabric was destroyed and violently demolished, only to be regenerated with a-temporalized, abstracted, and reduced substitutions mimicking the past glory either of the Roman Empire or the Medieval Commune – mnemonic prosthesis. These in turn contained the minimalized information to associate them with strength, heroism and glory.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

1. Affron, Matthew and Antliff, Mark. *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
2. Betti, Luca. *Com era Siena*. Siena: Betti Editrice, 1993.
3. Bonfil, Roberto. *Gli ebrei in Italia nell'epoca del Rinascimento*. Sansoni Editore, 1991.
4. Bortolotti, Lando. *Siena*. Bari: Editori Laterza, 1988.
5. Brunetti, Fabrizio. *Architetti e Fascismo*. Alinea Editrice, 1993.
6. Choay, Françoise. *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*. George Braziller: New York, 1969.
7. Cirri, Rineo. *L'Antifascismo Senese nei documenti della Polizia e del Tribunale Speciale (1926-1943.)* Siena: Nuova imagine editrice, 1993.
8. Ciucci, Giorgio. *Gli architetti e il fascismo: architettura e città, 1922-1944*. Torino: Einaudi, 1989.
9. Cohen, Mark R. *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
10. Concina, Ennio. *La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanistica*. Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991.
11. Curiel, Roberta and Dov, Bernard, *The Venetian Ghetto* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990). Photograph by Graziano Arici.
11. Danesi, Silvia and Patetta, Luciano. *Il Razionalismo e L'Architettura in Italia Durante il Fascismo*. Venezia: La Biennale di Venezia, 1976.
12. De Grand, Alexander. *Italian Fascism: Its Origins & Development*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.
13. De Grazia, Victoria. *The Culture of Consent: Mass organization of leisure in fascist Italy*. Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
14. Di Crollanza, Araldo. *La Politica dei Lavori Pubblici in regime fascista*. Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei deputati, 1929.

15. Di Crollanza, Araldo. *Le opere pubbliche nel anno VIII*. Rome: Tipografia della camera dei deputati, 1930.
16. Di Nucci, Loretto. *Fascismo e Spazio urbano: Le città storiche dell'umbria*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1992.
17. Falasca-Zamponi, Simonetta. *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997.
18. Federazione Nazionale Fascista per la lotta contro la tubercolosi Roma. *Sole, Aria, Acqua, Salute*. Milano: Edizioni Luigi Alfieri, 1927.
19. Gentile, Emilio. *Il culto del littorio: La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*. Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1995.
20. Giovannoni, Gustavo, *Il restauro dei monumenti*. Roma: Cremonese, 1946.
21. Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989),
22. Gullini, Giorgio. *Via dei fori imperiali*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1983.
23. Hall, Peter. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
24. Hook, Judith. *Siena, a city and its history*. London : H. Hamilton, 1979.
25. Jephson, Henry. *The Sanitary Evolution of London*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907.
26. Kostof, Spiro. *The third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. An exhibition organized by the University Art Museum, Berkley, in collaboration with the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973.
27. Maragliano, Edoardo. *L'opera per la difesa della pubblica salute: Discorso del Senatore Edoardo Maragliano pronunciato nella tornata del 21 marzo 1931-IX*. Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1931.
28. Mioni, Alberto. *Urbanistica fascista: ricerche e saggi sulle città e il territorio e sulle politiche urbane in Italia tra le due guerre*. Milano : F. Angeli, 1980.
29. Mort, Frank. *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral politics in England since 1830*. London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
30. Muñoz, Antonio. *Il Restauro del Tempio della Tortuna Virile*. Roma: Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata, 1925

31. Naville, Edoardo. *La nuova crociata contro la miseria la tubercolosi e le epidemie*. Lettera del Comitato Internazionale di Ginevra per la convocazione di un congresso mondiale delle croci rosse a ginevra, 30 giorni dopo la conclusione della pace. 1918.
32. Olschki, Leo. *Gli Ebrei in Toscana dal Medioevo al Risorgimento: fatti e momenti*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1980.
33. Pasquinucci, Daniele. *Società e politica a Siena nella Transizione Verso il Fascismo (1918-1926)*. Siena: Nuova immagine editrice, 1995.
34. Perego Francesco. *Anastilosi: L'antico, il restauro, la città*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 1987.
35. Petraghani, Gianni. *Igiene: difesa e salute della razza*. No publisher, 1930. From Mazzoni Collection, Duke University.
36. Pollard, John. *The Fascist Experience in Italy*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
37. Riccomini, Anna Maria. *La ruina di sì bela cosa: Vicende e trasformazioni del mausoleo di Augusto*. Milano: Electa, 1996.
38. Roselli, Piero. *Fascismo e centri storici in Toscana*. Firenze : Alinea, 1985.
39. Roth, Cecil. *The History of the Jews in Italy*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969.
40. Salvadori, Roberto G. *Gli ebrei toscani nell'eta della Restaurazione, 1814-1848*. Firenze: Centro editoriale toscano, 1993
41. Salvadori, Roberto G. *Breve storia degli ebrei toscani: IX-XX secolo*. Firenze: Le Lettere, 1995.
42. Samona, Giuseppe. *La casa popolare degli anni '30*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1982.
43. Segel, Harold B. *Body Ascendant: Modernism and the Physical Imperative*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
44. Sennett, Richard. *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in western civilization*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996.
45. Shapiro, Ellen Ruth. *Building Under Mussolini: Volume I*. Photocopy. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1988. Thesis (Ph. D.) Yale University, 1985.

46. Toniolo, Gianni. *L'economia dell'italia fascista*. Bari: Editori Laterza, 1980.
47. Valentini, Enrico. *Del Debbio*. Roma: Edizioni d'Italia, 1976.
48. Zucconi, Guido. *Dal Capitello alla città*, (Milano: Jaca Book, 1997).

ARTICLES

49. Ciucci, Giorgio. "Italian Architecture During the Fascist Period: Classicism between Neoclassicism and Rationalism: The many souls of the classical." *Harvard Architecture Review* v.6 (1987): 76-87.
50. Ciucci, Giorgio. "The Classicism of the E 42: Between Modernity and Tradition." *Assemblage* n. 8 (1989 Feb.): 78-87.
51. Ghirardo, Diane. "From Reality to Myth: Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome." *Modulus* n. 21 (1991): 10-33.
52. Ghirardo, Diane. "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* v. 39, n.2 (1980): 109-127.
53. Lacche, Luigi. "Hygiene publique, harmonie, pratiques urbanistiques nella Francia del XIX secolo. Considerazioni intorno alla legge 13 Aprile 1850 sul risanamento dei *logements insalubres*." *Storia urbana* v.17, n. 64 (1993):111-150.
54. Londini, A. "La tubercolosi nel commune di siena (periodo 1921-1935)". Archivio della Contrada della Torre.
55. Smith, P.J. "Slum clearance as an instrument of sanitary reform: the flawed vision of Edinburgh's first slum clearance scheme." *Planning Perspectives* v. 9, n.1 (1994): 1-27.
56. Trabalzi, Ferruccio. "Primavelle: Urban Reservation in Rome." *Journal of Architectural Education* v.42, n. 3 (1989): 38-46.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

57. L'Archivio Comunale di Siena, Siena, Italy. Valuable as source of the Drawings of the Risanamento of Salicotto, Drawings of the new neighborhoods of Valli and Ravacciano, Piano Regolatore, and official documents.
58. L'Archivio di Stato, Siena, Italy. Valuable as source of official documents.
59. Duke University, Special Collections Library, Durham, NC, USA. Mazzone Collection. Valuable as a source of official government documents on the topic of public works as well as a source of Anti-Tuberculosis publications.
60. The Archive of the Contrada della Torre, Siena, Italy. Valuable as source of documents concerning the Contrada della Torre, the inhabitants of Salicotto, and Sventramento of Salicotto.

PERIODICALS

61. *La Diana: Rassegna d'arte e vita Senese*. Siena: Casa Editrice Italiana. 1 (1926)- 9 (1934).
62. *Il popolo senese: Bisettimanale Fascista*. Siena, 1925-1929.
63. *La rivoluzione fascista: Organo della Federazione provinciale fascista senese*. Siena, 1929-1943.
64. *La Balzana*. Bolettino di statistica e attività municipale senese. Siena: 1929-1933.