'Everything in the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state': corporativist urbanism and Rationalist architecture in fascist Italy

David Rifkind [a]

[a] Department of Architecture, Florida International University, Miami, FL,
USA

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'Everything in the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state': corporativist urbanism and Rationalist architecture in fascist Italy

David Rifkind*

Department of Architecture, Florida International University, Miami, FL, USA

Corporativist urbanism, in which Italian Rationalist architects adapted modernist design principles to the scales of urban and regional planning, represented an attempt to reshape and restructure Italian society through the comprehensive transformation of the built environment. Corporativist urbanism synthesized the empirical methods and programmatic concerns endorsed by the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (International Congress of Modern Architecture or CIAM) with the rhetorical imperatives of the fascist regime in an attempt to rationalize industrial and agricultural production processes, promote hygienic and efficient living standards and instill in the citizenry a collective and militant mass identity in service to the fascist state. The primary vehicle for the advocates of corporativist urbanism was *Quadrante*, a 'journal of battle' that championed modern architecture and urbanism as integral components of the fascist state. Founded in May 1933 by Italy's leading Rationalist architects (as well as artists, critics, engineers and significant patrons of modern architecture), *Quadrante* pressed the case for an urbanism that would support the fascist regime's policies and represent its values. *Quadrante's* editors and contributors included Italy's most important urban planners, and all of the country's delegates to CIAM. Compared with the modern movement worldwide, the experience of Italian architects is both exemplary and exceptional: exemplary in the vital importance urbanism held for architecture (and regional planning held for urban planning), but exceptional in the centrality of fascist rhetoric to their theorization of design at every scale. The Rationalists recognized an inherent affinity between the political hierarchies and economic order of corporativist fascism and the city planning strategies of CIAM, in which the international organization turned from the question of modern architecture to a concern with urbanism in order to reform society by reordering the metropolis. This essay examines the *Quadrante* circle's theoretical writings on corporativist urbanism in the context of their urban planning proposals in order to understand how CIAM's principles were transformed by the organization's Italian members and how corporative fascism was shaped by designers.

Keywords: Italy; fascism; corporativism; Rationalism; *Quadrante*

Introduction

The radical politicization of the design disciplines in fascist Italy included a form of urban planning that attempted to give a physical expression to the regime's corporativist economic policies (Figure 1). *Corporativist urbanism (urbanistica corporativa)*, in which Italian Rationalist architects adapted modernist design principles to the scales of urban and regional planning, represented an attempt to reshape and restructure Italian society through the comprehensive transformation of the built environment. Corporativist urbanism synthesized the empirical

*Email: david.rifkind@fiu.edu

Figure 1.   Banfi, Peressutti and Rogers, Master plan for Aosta, photomontage of model seen from the south. Adriano Olivetti et al., *Studi e proposte preliminari per il piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* (Ivrea: Nuove Edizioni Ivrea, 1943).

methods and programmatic concerns championed by the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (International Congress of Modern Architecture or CIAM) with the rhetorical imperatives of the fascist regime in an attempt to rationalize industrial and agricultural production processes, promote hygienic and efficient living standards and instill in the citizenry a collective and militant mass identity in service to the fascist state.[1]

An atmosphere of debate and discourse – fuelled by polemical exhibitions, conferences and publications – provoked and sustained radical changes to both the discipline and practice of planning. Among the publications most responsible for the emergence of new urban planning techniques in Italy was *Quadrante*, a 'journal of battle' that advocated modern architecture and urbanism as integral components of the fascist state.[2] Founded in May 1933, *Quadrante* served as the primary vehicle for promoting corporativist urbanism. Among the journal's many founding editors were the four young partners of Studio BBPR (Banfi, Belgioioso, Peressutti and Rogers) and visionary engineer Gaetano Ciocca, who together coined the term 'corporativist city' in the descriptive text accompanying their 1933 master plan for Pavia. Over the course of four years, the journal's editors – who included the most prominent modernists among Italy's urban planners–argued for an urbanism that would support the fascist regime's policies and represent its values. Though corporativist urbanism produced few built works, *Quadrante* attracted important supporters to the movement, including Giuseppe Bottai (a key figure in Benito Mussolini's government) and industrialist Adriano Olivetti.

The architects and planners who launched *Quadrante* recognized that the modern practice of architecture was inseparable from the 'rational' design of cities, and that urban planning was essential to solving the problem of housing the working class. They saw urbanism as one of many tools for reforming the everyday life of the citizenry, from the programmatic transformation of the home to the hygienic renovation of the residential district to the efficient reorganization of the city and its surrounding region. Corporativist urbanism sought to reshape and restructure the body politic.

Quadrante's urban planners were committed to strengthening the city as the site of civic gathering and collective action. Throughout the 1930s they rejected the anti-urbanist tendencies of the *Strapaese* (Super-country) movement in Italy, which called for dispersing the masses to the countryside. Instead, the *Quadrante* circle proposed urban projects that concentrated the population in settlements which would improve physical health and help shape a mass identity for the citizens of the fascist state.

In fascist Italy, corporativism (*corporativismo*) described an economic and political system in which all sectors of the economy – industry, agriculture, commerce and professions – would be organized into corporations or guilds (*corporazioni*) under the control of the state. Corporativism sought to mitigate the unpredictability of laissez faire capitalism without changing the ownership structure of Italian industry, and to eliminate the uncertainties of frequent work stoppages without alienating the working classes. Beyond economic planning, corporativism sought to organize the social life of the citizenry outside the workplace. The state implicated itself in social activities of every size and throughout all phases of an individual's life. 'We are, in other words, a state which controls all forces acting in nature', Mussolini repeatedly declared. 'We control political forces, we control moral forces, we control economic forces, therefore we are a full-blown Corporative state'.

Compared with the modern movement worldwide, the experience of Italian architects is both exemplary and exceptional: exemplary in the central importance urbanism held for architecture (and regional planning held for urban planning), but exceptional in the centrality of fascist rhetoric to their theorization of design at every scale. This essay examines the *Quadrante* circle's theoretical writings on corporativist urbanism in the context of their urban planning proposals in order to understand how CIAM's principles were transformed by the organization's Italian members and how corporative fascism was shaped by designers. As a case study in the history of urban planning, the work of the *Quadrante* circle demonstrates the disquieting proximity that sometimes existed between technocratic planning techniques and authoritarian power structures.

Corportativism and the fascist state

Corporativism allowed economic planning on a national scale without resorting to the politically and ideologically untenable practice of nationalizing companies. Industries and enterprises retained private ownership, and benefited from public subsidies and the legal prohibition against organized labour actions. In theory, labour leaders' participation within the corporations ensured representation for workers, but in practice corporativist policy favoured industrialists, and many large companies profited and expanded during the 1930s despite the relatively poor economic conditions in the country.

Corporativism's emphasis on cooperation and sacrifice resonated somewhat with the principles heralded in the contemporary Gruppo 7 manifesto (1926–27), in which seven young

architects first described an Italian variant of the modern movement in architecture, which they dubbed Rationalism. Three of the group – Giuseppe Terragni, Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini – would soon emerge as among Italy's most talented designers, and in 1933 they would help launch *Quadrante*. The authoritarian nature of the Labor Charter's centralized planning and restrictive social roles would not, however, find an equivalent in Rationalist theory until *Quadrante* co-founder Pietro Maria Bardi published the provocative essay 'Architecture. Art of the State' ('Architettura. Arte di stato') in 1931.[3]

The Fascist Grand Council codified the structure of the corporativist state in the Labor Charter (*Carta del Lavoro*) issued 21 April 1927. The Labor Charter established the Ministry of Corporations and its 22 *corporazioni*, each representing a specific industry or sector of the economy, and combining the interests of business owners, employees, trades-people and professionals. The corporations comprised *sindicati* (syndicates) devoted to specific trades, including the architects' syndicate, to which all of the *Quadrante* architects and planners belonged. 'The Italian nation is an organism with ends, life, means of action superior to those of individuals, alone or grouped together, that comprise it', the charter declared. 'It is a moral, political, and economic unity that realizes itself integrally in the fascist state'.[4]

Corporativist planning served as an effective plank in the regime's political policies, though its actual economic benefits proved more elusive. Contemporary observers found Italians enthusiastic about promised wage raises and reductions in the number of hours worked (such as a promised 40-h work week), but skeptical about the actual benefits gleaned from the corporativist restructuring of industry and agriculture. Factory owners generally supported the government's intervention into industrial production, due to the protections they enjoyed against strikes and other labour unrest.[5] Yet many business owners found the corporativist system rife with corruption and hobbled by hiring decisions based on party affiliation, rather than competence.[6]

The ardent supporters of the regime who founded *Quadrante*, however, saw corporativism as the solution to a host of social concerns. Under the *Edizioni di Quadrante* imprint, the journal published books on corporativism and economic policy by authors such as Ciocca, Bernardo Giovenale and Renato Paresce.[7] Numerous articles in the journal documented the regime's corporativist policies, discussed their implications for architecture and urbanism, and compared them with economic policies in other countries.[8]

Corporativism's most prominent supporter, however, remained Mussolini, who recognized the propagandistic value of distinguishing Italy from the Soviet Union and the USA in a manner that justified an authoritarian, yet beneficent, central government:

> We have constituted a Corporative and Fascist state, the state of national society, a State which concentrates, controls, harmonizes and tempers the interests of all social classes, which are thereby protected in equal measure. Whereas, during the years of demo-liberal regime, labour looked with diffidence upon the state, was, in fact, outside the State and against the state, and considered the state an enemy of every day and every hour, there is not one working Italian today who does not seek a place in his Corporation or federation, who does not wish to be a living atom of that great, immense, living organization which is the national Corporate State of Fascism.[9]

In this context, architects and planners sought to shape the government's massive construction efforts, from the state's investment in transportation and communication infrastructures, to the numerous urban and rural development schemes intended to support expansions of industrial and agricultural production. The *Quadrante* circle advocated a comprehensive reorganization of

the built environment, in which each building was subordinate to the city plan, which in turn deferred to the regional and national plans. The Rationalists thus recognized an inherent affinity between the political hierarchies and economic order of corporativist fascism and the city planning strategies of CIAM, in which the international organization turned from the question of modern architecture to a concern with urbanism in order to reform society by reordering the metropolis.

CIAM and corportativist urbanism

Among *Quadrante's* significant contributions to the discourse of urbanism was the journal's attempt to synthesize CIAM planning principles with the economic concerns of fascist corporativism. Their advocacy of CIAM's methods distinguished them from their Italian peers, while their enthusiastic allegiance to fascism made them unique among CIAM's predominantly leftist membership. At the heart of the CIAM-corporativist hybrid was a conceptual affinity between the international organization's concern with organizing urban space according to programmatic function and the regime's interest in coordinating each sector of the national economy to maximize efficiencies. Both hinged on the efficient distribution of populations or industries under a powerful central authority.

The scale of construction described by CIAM and corporativst urbanism required a strong central authority, which the *Quadrante* circle believed they had found in Mussolini. By the time they launched the journal and began sketching the outlines of the 'corporativist city', the first two cities in the reclaimed Pontine marshes were underway, and contemporary propaganda made it clear that their rapid and uncompromising construction was made possible by the singular authority of the Italian dictator.[10] *Quadrante* enthusiastically repeated these claims, and used them to justify their call for state agencies to use broad powers to appropriate, plan and rebuild large expanses of land.[11] (Figure 2) The *Quadrante* circle also lauded Mussolini's ability to suppress the 'private interests' which undermined collective action and were 'the primary cause of urban disorder', a concern that also appeared in the Athens Charter's later published form.[12]

CIAM was deeply concerned with the ability of architecture and urban planning to promote the physical and mental health of the populace.[13] The architects and planners of the *Quadrante* circle alloyed this desire to foster salubrity through better building practices with the fascist regime's rhetorical promotion of virility, athleticism, martial prowess and fertility, and thus emphasized the role of parks, sports facilities and parade grounds in their city plans. They also modified CIAM's policy positions on working-class residential districts to reflect the anxieties of the national government and local housing agencies about increasing the birth rate and lowering the spread of communicable diseases.[14] Thus, *Quadrante's* writers stressed the benefits of design practices that fostered improved hygiene, yet were anything but sterile.[15]

Towards this end, Piero Bottoni and Enrico Agostino Griffini designed and promoted rationalized, functional kitchens and baths in Italy, and led the effort to replace dated, dusty furniture with modern, functional, hygienic furnishings in workers' housing. They and their *Quadrante* colleagues conceptualized the integral relationships between furnishings, dwellings, architecture, landscape and urbanism. The journal thus reported on advances in technologies, ranging from appliances and lighting to transportation and sanitation, as part of its discussion of urban planning.

Figure 2.   'Mussolini reaps the first wheat of his Littoria. 'Francesco Monotti, 'L'urbanismo di Mussolini', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 3.

Rationalist writers like Rogers, Bottoni and Griffini did not discuss the role of architecture in terms of social control, but the geometry of their plans facilitated surveillance and management of housing district residents. Bottoni justified the preference for slab, rather than courtyard, housing blocks in terms of public health, writing, 'modern urbanism tends towards the abolition of the closed block house for reasons of hygiene, insolation and ventilation'.[16] Yet in contrast to the courtyards of traditional Italian apartment buildings, which shield their inhabitants from the gaze of passers-by, the open spaces between the 'blocco aperto' (open block) slabs of places like Giuseppe Terragni and Alberto Sartoris's Rebbio district were easily monitored from the surrounding streets. The broad avenues and streets advocated by CIAM were intended to facilitate easy travel between residence and workplace, but in the Italian context they can also be seen to enable the rapid deployment of troops and police forces in unruly districts.

While CIAM had discussed the importance of collective action at length, especially at the fourth congress in 1933, the organization did not grant collectivity the same status as Bottoni and the Rationalists of the *Quadrante* circle. For Le Corbusier and his colleagues, collective

action constituted one end of a spectrum (whose opposite pole was individual freedom) that comprised the full range of human activity, however vaguely defined.[17] For the *Quadrante* circle, Rationalist architecture and urbanism aspired to foster a mass identity on the part of the citizenry, in accord with the fascist regime's insistence on obedience and sacrifice. Terragni, in particular, oriented public spaces towards buildings representative of the regime's authority (such as the casa del fascio or local fascist party headquarters) in his urban schemes, in order to stress the individual citizen's duty to his fellows and to the state.[18]

Bottoni's, Terragni's and BBPR's political uses of archaeology and historic preservation also distinguished their planning concerns from those of other CIAM planners, for whom the protection of historical monuments served cultural, but not ideological, purposes.[19] Bottoni related the protection of historical monuments to the preservation of the urban 'landscape' (*paesaggio*), which included streets, *piazze*, gardens, rivers, canals, bridges and 'isolated buildings'. In the master plans for Verona and Como, Bottoni placed great importance on the preservation of Italy's cultural heritage. These gestures served the ideological function of legitimizing the fascist regime by visibly connecting its public works to those of the Roman Empire. While much of Bottoni's writing tends towards a universality suggesting applicability outside Italy, his concern with archaeology focused entirely on Italian, and specifically Roman, examples.[20] Bottoni looked towards the Roman heritage of Italian cities and underlined the political importance of these ruins at a time when government propaganda favoured allusions to the country's imperial past. His concern with the sites of collective life in the Italian city similarly drew fascist politics into contemporary urban planning, as the *Quadrante* architects emphasized the concrete ways in which architecture and urbanism could promote the regime's efforts at enforcing social discipline.

The Italian involvement in CIAM

Architects associated with *Quadrante* represented Italy at each CIAM meeting, beginning with the first congress in 1928.[21] The two subsequent congresses dealt with housing, increasing the scale of investigation from the individual dwelling (1929)[22] to the residential neighbourhood (1930),[23] and setting the stage for the IV CIAM theme of 'The Functional City' in 1933[24] (Figure 3).

The fourth CIAM meeting established city planning as an integral concern of modern architecture. Catalan architect Josep Lluis Sert, who attended as a recent architecture graduate, wrote 40 years later, 'previous Congresses had discussed housing in relation to modern technology and housing developments, which naturally brought them to the conclusion that these subjects were part of the larger complexes – the city and the urban regions'.[25] Another participant, Swiss architect Alfred Roth, later summarized the position that emerged from the IV CIAM:

> All the architectural, technical, economic and social tasks find their synthesis in town planning extended to regional and national planning. The object of modern town-planning is the organized distribution of the municipal domain into dwelling, working and business zones, the creation of sufficient green surfaces and recreation grounds, the proper distribution of the social institutions and the regulation of the traffic problems.[26]

The *Quadrante* architects comprised the entire Italian delegation to the IV CIAM. In preparation for the congress, they worked prodigiously: 5 of the 33 urban analyses presented on
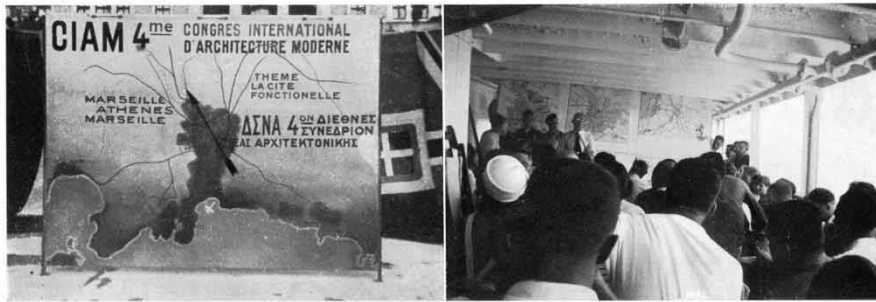
Figure 3.   Photographs from IV CIAM, July 1933. *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 11.

board the *Patris* were of Italian cities.[27] The Italian delegates' lengthy response to the CIAM questionnaire distributed during the voyage is one of only two that survive, thanks to its publication in *Quadrante*.[28] As was the case with most members, the *Quadrante* architects

demonstrated their enthusiasm for CIAM by funding their participation in the congress out of their own pockets.[29]

The Italian group initially proposed examining four cities. Como, Genoa, Milan and Rome were chosen to represent specific urban typologies: tourist destinations, ports, industrial centres and political capitals, respectively. The group selected Luigi Vietti to study Genoa, Gaetano Minnucci to analyse Rome and Bottoni and Pollini to examine Milan.[30] After consulting Terragni about the project in March 1933, Bottoni decided to substitute studies of Verona and Littoria for that of Milan.

The choice of Verona and Littoria allowed Bottoni and his colleagues to juxtapose planning strategies appropriate to cities of archaeological significance against those built *ex novo*. Littoria, the first of the new towns built as part of the Pontine marsh reclamation south of Rome, was one of only two new towns examined by the CIAM conferees.[31] Bottoni had studied Verona and its Roman remains in great detail the previous year while preparing an entry to the competition for the city's master plan. His scheme served as a model for preserving urban historic centres while rationalizing the city's transportation infrastructure and expanding its commercial, industrial and residential districts. Before the 1933 CIAM meeting, Bottoni and Terragni had discussed at length the problem of selectively preserving monuments and other elements of Verona's historic fabric in the context of modern urbanism, and these deliberations greatly informed the design of their 1934 CM8 plan for Como.[32] Terragni's CIAM 'analysis' of Como included proposals for relocating the city's industries and new housing districts throughout the surrounding area, all of which later appeared in the CM8 plan.[33]

Quadrante dedicated its fifth issue (September 1933) to the IV CIAM. Bottoni edited the issue, which included documentary texts by himself, Bardi and Pollini, as well as articles by Le Corbusier and Fernand Léger. *Quadrante* provided the most comprehensive treatment of the congress in the Italian press.

Quadrante 5 published the analyses of Como, prepared by Terragni, and of Littoria and Verona, produced by Bottoni, Figini, Griffini and Pollini.[34] The studies, following the CIAM format, examined cities according to three themes: zoning (distinguishing between residential and industrial districts, and identifying parks and parkways), circulation and the 'city's zone of influence', which related the first two analyses to the city's regional context.[35] Each theme was depicted on a separate plate. Bottoni discussed the goals of this approach and its relevance to urban planning in an accompanying article, 'Analisi di una città', as did Bardi in his 'Cronaca di viaggio'.[36] Three years later, Terragni's lengthy essay on the Casa del Fascio in Como revealed the lasting importance of these analyses. The architect discussed how his study of Como in the context of regional development prompted him to design the building as the cornerstone of a 'centre of political representation' facing the Duomo at the edge of the walled city.[37]

The immediate influence of the 1933 CIAM meeting on the *Quadrante* circle architects can be seen in the differences between their responses to the master plan competition for Verona (1932) and those for Pavia (1933) and Como (1934). The Verona project, designed by a team of seven led by Bottoni and Griffini, preserved the historic urban fabric of the city (especially its Roman-era remains) while replacing unsanitary neighbourhoods with new, salubrious housing districts. Yet the project did not separate residential and commercial areas, as CIAM prescribed. The first Italian master plans to do so were the Pavia and Como master plan competition entries.

While the Pavia project (described at length below) demonstrated the Italians' quick adoption of program-specific zoning, the Como scheme showed the full influence of CIAM's analytical, planning and representational techniques. A team of eight designers led by Terragni and Bottoni prepared the project under the rubric CM8 (for Como Milano 8). Using rigorous statistical analysis and employing standardized isotype graphics common to CIAM, the project diagnosed problems arising from, and proposed solutions to facilitate, the city's growing population and expanding industries.[38] The CM8 team identified the expression of collective interests as one way the modern city could embody the values, and engage the economic planning, of the corporative fascist state.[39] The large teams who prepared the Verona, Pavia and Como competition entries affirmed the importance of collectivity through their commitment to professional collaboration, and thus fulfilled a CIAM principle shared by the Gruppo 7 (the first group of Italian Rationalists), MIAR (the national organization formed to promote Rationalism in 1930) and *Quadrante*, as well as fascist corporativism itself.[40] Corporativist urbanism extended these collectivist and collaborative impulses into the programming of everyday life, in which every aspect of the citizenry's existence – from the home to the workplace and beyond – was assigned its proper place.

Pavia and the origins of corportativist urbanism

The competition to reorganize Pavia provided the first opportunity for the *Quadrante* circle to demonstrate systematically the principles of corporativist urbanism. The designers used the formal order of the urban fabric to represent the political order imposed by the fascist state, and subordinated the concerns of city planning to those of comprehensive regional and national planning. The unrealized plan for the Lombard city attempted to foster public health through specific construction and planning techniques, and metaphorically linked the physical health of the citizenry to the moral health of the body politic. The plan strategically preserved the city's landmarks in an attempt to ground the 'revolutionary' politics of fascist Italy in the country's historical fabric, as represented by its visible artefacts. The plan for Pavia demonstrated, for the first time, how CIAM planning and design principles could be reframed in service to the fascist state (Figure 4).

The team that assembled the Pavia plan included BBPR, Ciocca, Ernesto Aleati and Maurizio Mazzocchi, who made the case for their project in *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934). BBPR's partners outlined the principles of the newly coined corporativist urbanism in four short essays, while Ciocca summarized the group's competition entry in an essay called 'For the Corporativist City'.[41] The issue included a lengthy article dealing with the 'European organizational plan' from the editors of the French journal, *Prèlude*, which was presented as an international extension of corporativist logic according to Giovennale's accompanying note.[42]

The Pavia plan hewed closely to CIAM principles by reorganizing the city into a series of zones devoted to living, working and recreation, linked by efficient transportation networks.[43] The plans emphasized the careful preservation of historical ruins, set amidst large green spaces.[44] The design accommodated all aspects of the city dweller's daily life, and provided the kinds of spaces necessary for mass demonstrations and gatherings, including the 'mass theatre' which Ciocca had designed in (nearly immediate) response to Mussolini's call for a 'Theatre of the Masses for masses'.[45] As many as a dozen city blocks would be demolished to make way for the new construction, as well new parks capable of serving both the public's
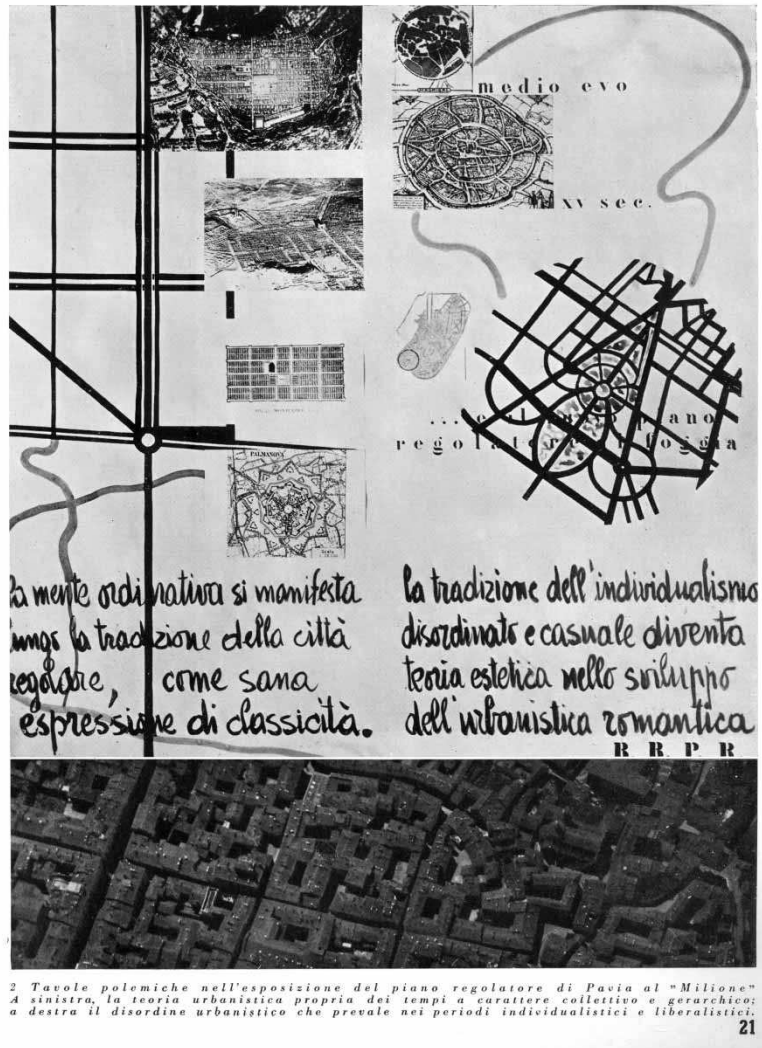
Figure 4.   Pavia master plan exhibited at the Galleria del Milione, Milan. *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 21.

need for recreational green spaces and the military's requirement for anti-aircraft artillery installations. At the city's periphery, new university and athletic complexes would serve to fortify the mind and body of the fascist citizen.

The jury, which included Giovanni Muzio and Gustavo Giovannoni, passed over the *Quadrante* team's project, in part because it would have required an untenable amount of demolition of occupied buildings.[46] In response, the *Quadrante* circle mounted a polemical exhibition of the submission's 10 large presentation boards (each 2 × 4 m) at the Galleria del Milione in Milan (Figure 5). The Milione also hosted lectures by Ciocca and the partners of BBPR, and

Figure 5.   Pavia master plan exhibited at the Galleria del Milione, Milan. *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 17.

was owned by the Ghiringhelli brothers, who were significant supporters of *Quadrante*.[47] The combative exhibition recalled the one produced three years earlier when the Milanese members of MIAR documented the popular reaction to the second exhibition of Rationalist architecture in Rome. This time, however, the Rationalists had their own journal with which to strike back at the jury, and, for that matter, anyone deemed guilty of rear guard sympathies. *Quadrante* published photographs of the exhibition alongside images of the design itself, and recorded the competitors' terse explanatory notes.[48]

Hygienic housing and neighbourhoods, BBPR asserted, constituted the first priority of urban planning. 'The diagnosis of the city's unhealthy neighbourhoods precedes the study of master

plans, and is absolutely the argument of the first order', they wrote.[49] Such was the power of rational urban planning to promote public health that confronting the problems of urbanism realistically would obviate the need to build tuberculosis sanitaria, BBPR argued.[50] Regarding the balance in priorities between preserving historical monuments and providing salubrious housing, they wrote, 'let us respect both monuments and men, by isolating the former and giving the latter new and adequate homes'. Above all, they claimed, social engagement and artistic design were integral concerns. 'Ethics and aesthetics are inseparably balanced in the new corporativist city'.[51]

BBPR echoed Ciocca's contention that the existing Italian city represented a previous era of 'individual, arbitrary disorder', and was unworthy of its current citizens, whose 'creative virility' was now unleashed by fascism's new social order. The city's physical decay reflected a deeper moral decay. 'Certain neighbourhoods of major and minor Italian cities are an insult to hygiene and to morale', Mussolini declared, in a quote that BBPR scrawled on one of the panels displayed at the Milione, and ran across two columns of their second *Quadrante* corsivo.[52] The architects further linked the 'immoral' tendencies of individualism and disorder to contemporary attempts at picturesque planning.

Instead, BBPR affirmed the importance of preserving the city's historic core without falling prey to a historicist urge towards antiquarian reproduction. 'The historical context has its own life: it must serve men but not enslave them. Its function is that of teaching, not that of hampering the development of life'.[53] Respect for the past must not, they argued, manifest itself in a picturesque design sensibility. 'We must convince ourselves that the taste for the picturesque as an urban theory is both unhealthy and immoral'.[54] Rather, they combined their interest in preserving significant monuments with their emphasis on the hygienic imperative of modern town planning by arguing that important monuments should be freed from the mundane fabric of the city and left isolated in large, salubrious swaths of green.

Ciocca cited the plan for Pavia as evidence of the need for, and a path to, comprehensive reform of urban design and planning. He insisted on the necessity of national legislation in the form of a 'corporativist building law', that would govern 'the renovation of rural housing, which the Duce has made the order of the day'.[55] BBPR abhorred the contemporary practice of competitions for individual cities' master plans, insisting instead on a new practice of urban design integrated with regional and national planning. 'In the corporativist order of the future, every city will have its function', they wrote, adding that the limits on individual liberty necessary for the organization of the corporativist economy mirrored the restrictions imposed on local urban planning by national authorities.[56] Two months later they reiterated the point in relation to Sabaudia, one of five new cities built on reclaimed land in the Pontine marshes, writing, 'the State will organize urbanism in a corporativist manner, such that individual city plans will emanate from a national master plan.'[57]

Order and hierarchy

The partners of BBPR continued to press the case for corporativist urbanism in subsequent issues of *Quadrante*. All of the group's writings accept the efficacy of the corporativist system unquestioningly. Peressutti argued in December 1934 that corporativism represented more than a political system. It was 'principally an ethics, a way of life' whose aim must be the complete, rational organization of economic and social life in the country.[58] Peressutti

reiterated his partners' argument that urban and regional planning, like economic planning, could only be effective at a national scale in order to accommodate the vast range of needs, from the great cities to the individual farm house.[59] The corporativist organization of the economy appealed to them in part because it promised to improve the supply of modern building materials available in Italy.

Two months after publishing the Pavia project, Banfi and Belgioioso edited an issue of *Quadrante* devoted largely to international debates about urbanism. *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934) was largely dedicated to Le Corbusier's recent lectures on modern urbanism in Rome, which were organized by the journal's editors. The issue opened with Banfi and Belgioioso's editorial statement, 'Urbanistica anno XII – la città corporative', in which the two partners from BBPR poetically linked agriculture and architecture as two human practices which mark the earth in order to bring forth a geometric order:

> Man takes the plow in hand, the furrows he traces in the soil are straight and parallel: he builds the house, the walls meet at a right angle and the corners reflect the plumb line. This is the work of man, order is within him, geometry is its expression.[60]

Banfi and Belgioioso used Sabaudia's recent inauguration (15 April 1934) as a pretext for a brief meditation on the imposition of order on the natural world. 'Nature is not architecture', they argued, insisting that the latter involved controlling the unruly character of the former.[61] 'The State and the city' brought order to the political and social spheres, just as philosophy brought order to realm of the intellect. Through a series of simple analogies, the authors linked the physical order of the gridiron plan (the legacy of Hippodamus and the Roman legions) to the social and moral orders renewed by fascism, codified by legislation and represented by urban and regional planning.[62] Just as cultivation transformed the chaotic landscape into productive agriculture, so too did urbanism transform chaotic crowds into ordered masses. Banfi and Belgioioso illustrated this point with three aerial photographs from Sabaudia's inauguration, including the iconic image of soldiers and settlers assembled before King Vittorio Emanuele III in the piazza della Rivoluzione, while a formation of military planes passes overhead (Figure 6).[63] At the highest level of organization, the national economic plan would determine the form and programme for cities throughout Italy.

> The corporativist state that assigns a precise function to the social, political and economic factors of the nation, frames the individual in a national team in order to maximize everyone's performance. Corporativism, which is order and hierarchy, cannot permit within the overall national framework, based on cooperation more so than on the absorption of tasks hierarchically assigned by the state, that cities, free arbiters of their own lives, may determine independent directions that are often in antithesis to the necessities of the nation.[64]

For Banfi and Belgioioso, the central planning of the state could not tolerate independent planning at the municipal level. The economic and political policies for each city would be determined according to a national plan, and so too would the physical form of the corporativist city.[65] Their theorization of corporativist urbanism, along with writings by Peressutti and Rogers, constituted their most significant contribution to the architectural discourse of interwar Italy.

The 1935 International Congress of Architects in Rome provided the *Quadrante* circle with another opportunity to share their research with an international audience, and to add

Visioni aeree dell'architettura di Sabaudia (architetti Cancellotti, Montuori, Piccinato e Scalpelli)

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Figure 6.   Inauguration of Sabaudia, 15 April 1934. *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 3.

corporativist planning to the lexicon of urban planning practices. BBPR presented a paper, 'Urbanistica corporativa', that repeated their argument that urban planning in the corporativist state was subservient to regional planning, which was itself a branch of national economic planning.[66] They called for greater access to precise data to use in the planning process, and for the training of a new 'class' of professionals to implement modern planning principles in each city and region. Bottoni read a lecture, 'La standardizzazione dell'abitazione collettiva', which built on the arguments he and Griffini advanced in relation to their model workers' housing at the V Triennale in 1933. Both texts were published in *Quadrante* 29 (September 1935), along with Bernardo Giovenale's article, 'Convergenze corporative', which used the Olivetti company as

an example of comprehensive corporativist planning which encompassed the economic, social, political and moral spheres.[67]

Quadrante's architects and planners did not see the totalitarian aspects of the corporativist state's central planning as a liability. Rather, they proclaimed the anticipated benefits of an economic system that would organize industries and professions rationally and efficiently, and set themselves to providing a conceptual armature for the architectural and urbanistic practices of 'the corporativist order of the future'. Ciocca, in particular, saw great promise for economic reform in rural areas like his native Garlasco:

> I am certain that when our economy will be fully regulated by corporativism and the awareness of corporativism's infinite economic possibilities is fully apparent, we will provide new peasant housing with light, air, adequate space, shiny flooring, hygienic kitchens, heating, ventilation, cold and hot running water, showers, flush toilets, built-in closets, all without exceeding the current costs for providing none of the above. And every grouping of rural homes will be granted radios, newspapers, books, and maybe automobiles, and thus the possibility of attending every Sunday [...] the purest, most passionate, and imaginative of theaters: the theater of twenty thousand peasants.[68]

Valle d'Aosta – corporativist planning on a regional scale

The regional plan for the Valle d'Aosta represents both the most elaborate expression of corporativist urbanism in Italy and the first attempt by Italian planners to apply rigorous urban planning principles to an entire region.[69] Previous plans often accounted for extraurban growth along transportation corridors, yet did not comprehensively plan urban and rural areas in respect to shared concerns about transportation infrastructure, social services, industry and agriculture. Industrialist Adriano Olivetti organized a plan that would direct the growth of the region's limited industrial production (paying close attention to the distribution networks necessary to import raw materials and export finished goods) and spur the growth of tourism, particularly based on the area's potential for ski resorts and quick access from France, Switzerland and the Italian regions of Piedmont and Lombardy.

Olivetti was among the most astute Italian students of American industry, and he transformed his company's production processes to take full advantage of Fordist and Taylorist advances in efficient manufacturing. His economic distribution of the Valle d'Aosta's towns into manufacturing, residential and leisure areas applied the principles of the efficient division of labour at a regional scale, and gave physical form to the organizational logic of corporativist economic planning. When Olivetti initiated the ambitious project of planning the Valle d'Aosta in 1936, he enlisted the architects who had conceptualized the architectural expression of corporativism in the pages of *Quadrante*, including seven of its founders: Bottoni, Figini, Pollini, Banfi, Belgioioso, Peressutti and Rogers.

The regional plan collected and united five town plans: Figini and Pollini prepared a plan for Courmayeur, on the Italian side of Monte Bianco, and incorporated their earlier design for a workers' housing district in Ivrea; Belgioioso and Bottoni designed a community in the valley of Breuil; and Banfi, Peressutti and Rogers laid out a tourist resort at Pila and the master plan for Aosta.[70] The Valle d'Aosta plan grew from a detailed study of the regional economy, and sought to expand the manufacturing industries of Ivrea while improving tourist facilities in the skiing areas north and west of the city. Olivetti and his team sought to

expand local infrastructure, and connect regional transportation networks to international routes to attract greater tourism and facilitate haulage for industrial production in Ivrea and elsewhere.

The seven architects, working with engineers Renato Zveteremich and Italo Lauro, exhaustively studied the region's geology, climate, vegetation and existing patterns of inhabitation. They diagnosed 'causes of alpine depopulation in the Province of Aosta', such as the difficulty farmers faced in cultivating the poor soil and the substandard housing available to rural residents. Their proposed 'remedies' included construction of new factories and tourist resort facilities, as well as a number of non-architectural measures, such as intensive reforestation and restoration of pastoral lands, support for local artisinal production, subsidies to promote immigration from other regions of Italy and completion of the regional road network.[71]

The designers produced scores of analytical panels, many of which employed Otto Neurath's standardized isotype graphics to depict the distribution of population, industry and resources throughout the region.[72] They also documented the area's rich heritage of Roman ruins, especially in the city of Aosta, which was founded as Augusta Praetoria in 25 BC.[73] Most poignantly, they studied the impoverished living conditions of the rural peasantry, which they contrasted against the valley's rich natural resources. The analyses helped ensure that all five town plans display great sensitivity to topography, climate, infrastructure and the material needs of the local population. The projects are represented by plans drawn with topographical contours, by models built on bases clearly depicting terrain contours, and by photographs of individual buildings montaged into photographs of the spectacular alpine landscapes. The planners reconciled the sometimes conflicting demands of topography, solar orientation and prevailing winds. Where possible, the architects organized their buildings within a rectangular planimetric grid in deliberate contrast with the dramatic topography, both as an aesthetic gesture and as a way of implying the relationship of each town to the larger regional plan.

Figini and Pollini had already designed several projects for Olivetti in Ivrea, including an expansion of the company's factories. The workers' housing district they designed in 1934 was incorporated into the Valle d'Aosta regional plan, and provided a model for the development of Courmayeur and Breuil. All three plans situate new districts of housing and other facilities away from existing town centres. In each case, the new areas differ from the older urban fabric in terms of geometry – their grid plans contrast with the organic patterns of the existing settlements – and the scale of their buildings and open spaces.

The Ivrea plan provided for housing in two thin, 12-story slabs and 9 rows of three-story houses rotated at right angles to the industrial zone's main street. The district included such 'collective buildings' as a school, a church, a cinema, athletic facilities and a café. A system of porticoes connected the public buildings and housed a row of shops which, in the plan's one major departure from CIAM precedent, lined the major street.[74] The Aosta regional plan did not discuss the industrial facilities built by Figini and Pollini in Ivrea, preferring instead to include the Olivetti workers' housing as a fifth 'centre' in the Valle d'Aosta, despite its location in neighbouring Piedmont.[75]

The master plan for the city of Aosta preserved the ruins, plan and defensive walls of the Roman *castrum*, and expanded its grid plan outward into new districts for housing, education and commerce (Figure 1). The ancient town's decumanum would have been expanded as the new east–west artery, and many existing buildings would be demolished to restore the clarity of the Roman grid. The plan rigorously resisted any attempt at picturesque planning by remaining faithful to the city's existing and new gridiron plans. A new stadium would have sat isolated

on all sides, evoking in its simple geometry the Roman amphitheatre which remained just inside the city walls.

The project exploits the prevailing winds across its generally flat site by locating housing to the north of the town and arranging the houses and apartment buildings in long east–west rows to promote optimal cross ventilation. Aosta's housing district offered a mix of apartment buildings and row houses whose orthogonal arrangement extended the street grid and added a network of covered pedestrian passages.[76] The latter, provided with small walled gardens resembled the 'fast houses' designed for rural areas by Ciocca and published in *Quadrante* 26 (June 1935) (Figure 7). The houses' prominent semi-cylindrical stair cases and the
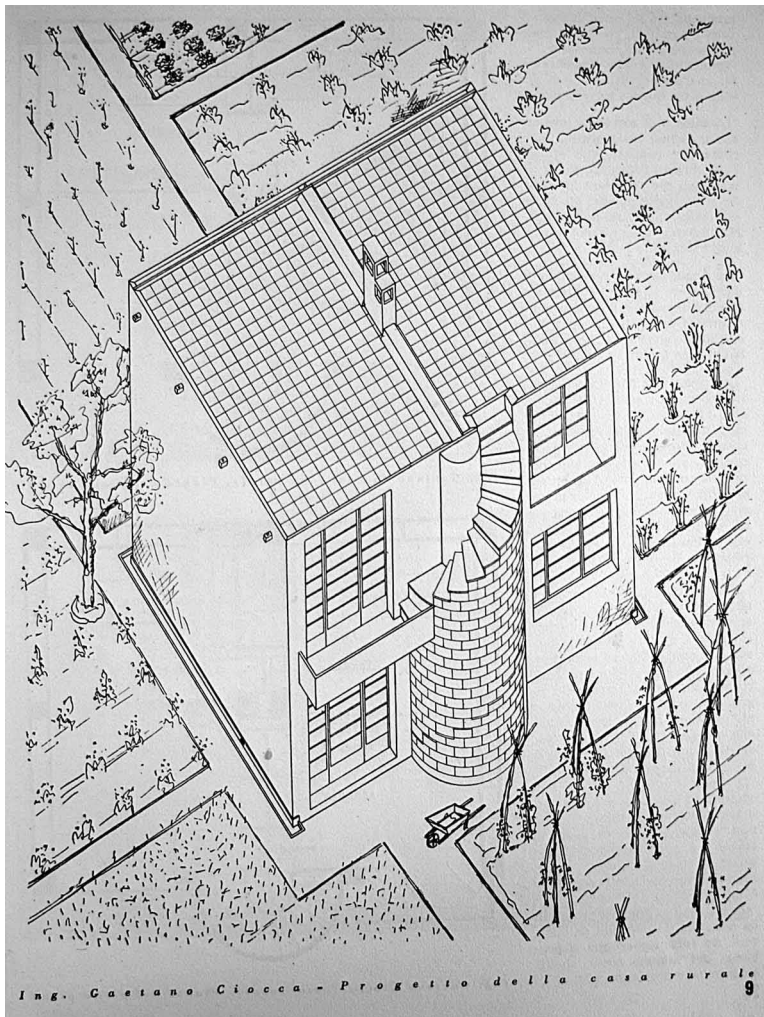

Figure 7.   Ciocca, prototypical rural house, Garlasco. Ciocca '(Servizi a Mussolini) Progetto di casa rurale', *Quadrante* 26 (June 1935): 9.

network of covered walkways gave a sculptural prominence to the horizontal and vertical circulation of the city, as if to poetically reflect the circulatory concerns of CIAM.[77]

The three smaller town plans are marked by their formal restraint. Breuil, Courmayeur and Pila employ simple vocabularies of rectilinear masses and modest tectonic systems, with few sculptural gestures. Each project uses its simple orthogonality and monochromatic material finishes to play against the dramatic contours and colours of the alpine landscape. Bottoni and Belgioioso arranged the major architectural elements of the Conca del Breuil, hotels and recreational facilities, delicately across one hillside. They housed the programme elements in long, thin bar buildings set perpendicular to the existing slope in order to require a minimum of fill and terracing.[78] The buildings themselves are universally simple in outward appearance, with only the theatre building departing from the vocabulary of crisp, rectilinear volumes. The architects designed the hotel and recreational buildings in relation to the mountains in a painterly, rather than sculptural, manner that emphasized a flattened frontal composition of horizontal construction contrasting against the dramatic topography.

The Conca del Breuil was intended to accommodate visitors attracted by the area's hiking and cross-country skiing trails (Figure 8). The architects designed the project to be built in three stages,[79] which matched the multi-stage phasing of the regional plan as a whole. Figini

Figure 8.   Bottoni and Belgioioso, Masterplan for Breuil, Photomontage of site model. Adriano Olivetti et al., *Studi e proposte preliminari per il piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* (Ivrea: Nuove Edizioni Ivrea, 1943).

and Pollini's plan for the hiking and climbing centre at Courmayeur exhibited a similar formal restraint.

Banfi, Peressutti and Rogers's design for Pila was the smallest of the five projects in the regional plan, yet was also the most elaborately detailed design of the three recreational centres. Pila was intended as the centre of a large network of cross-country ski trails. The architects created an acropolis-like platform divided into a paved piazza and a small lake. The former was edged by long, shallow buildings raised on piloti, creating porticoes which framed the view of the valley below. The project also provided indoor and outdoor athletic facilities and a 350-seat theatre. The elevated piazza's relationship to the panoramic vistas below drew on the design Banfi, Peressutti and Rogers (along with Belgioioso, Figini and Pollini) submitted to the 1934 Palazzo del Littorio competition, which in turn came from their observations of Greek acropoli (such as the one at Cape Sunion) during the 1933 CIAM voyage aboard the *Patris* (Figure 9).

Olivetti wrote of the need to combine the broad perspective of nation-wide economic planning with the sensitivity to local concerns embodied in urban planning.[80] He argued that the progressive improvement of regional and national planning depended on the development of a 'tradition' of planning practices. To this end, he offered the magisterial catalog of the Valle d'Aosta plan as 'an attempt to indicate a method which could have a more general character than the plan itself'.[81]

Published in 1937, *Il Piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* reproduced the 333 plates (each 50 cm square) exhibited that year in Rome.[82] The catalog included the report given by Pollini and Figini at the V CIAM in Paris. The CIAM conference, also held in 1937, featured presentations and reports by Bottoni and the partners of BBPR, who spoke to the congress's theme of 'Logis et Loisirs' (Home and Leisure). Pollini and Figini discussed the Aosta regional plan in corporativist terms indebted to BBPR's articles in *Quadrante*.[83] In light of Olivetti's failure to realize the Valle d'Aosta regional plan, the exhibition catalog provides the most complete record of the *Quadrante* circle's efforts on this ambitious project, and demonstrates the importance of publications and exhibitions in propagating, promoting and provoking discussion of urban planning in interwar Italy.

Bottoni's *Urbanistica* – the synthesis of corporativist planning theory

The Rationalists' theorization of corporativist urbanism concluded with the 1938 release of Bottoni's elegantly designed book, *Urbanistica*. Published by Hoepli two years after the Milan Triennale exhibition it was originally intended to accompany, Bottoni's book summarized the positions developed by the *Quadrante*-circle urbanists over the preceding half decade, and made them accessible to a broader public through clear prose and striking graphic techniques.[84] The exhibition and book pressed the case that CIAM principles of design and planning were consistent with the fascist regime's housing and resettlement policies, that modern planning alone could meet the regime's requirement for representing social collectivity and political hierarchies, and that archaeology and preservation served valuable ideological roles in the corporativist metropolis.

In *Urbanistica*, Bottoni reiterated the argument that the discipline of urbanism began with the question of healthy, accessible housing.[85] To facilitate the economic growth of the country, he argued, urban settlements and regional plans had to provide a transportation infrastructure offering ready access between housing and 'centres of production', whether industrial,
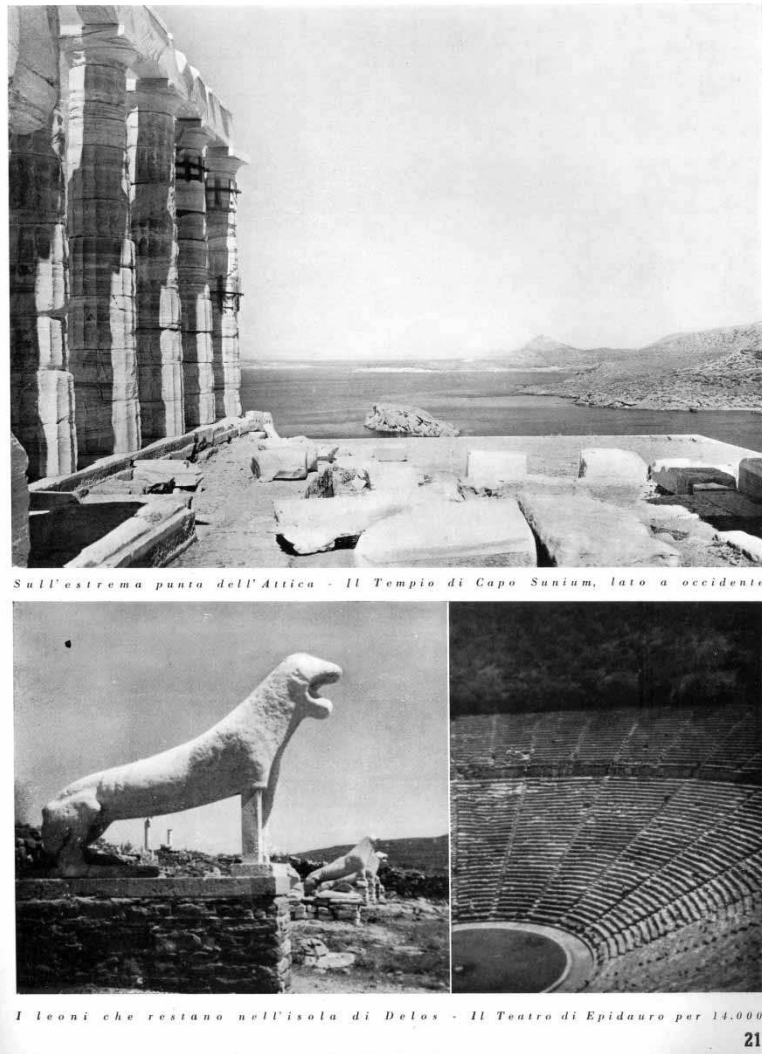
Figure 9.   Photographs of Greece taken by Italian delegates to IV CIAM, July 1933. *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 21.

agricultural or artisanal.[86] Bottoni categorized the tasks of urbanism (housing, production, recreation and circulation) much like his CIAM colleagues, yet he also added another category of urban experience: 'collective life'.[87] These included 'the buildings and the organisms for all the manifestations which tend, with a social and collective end, toward the moral and physical culture of a people'.[88]

The regional plan for Aosta provided one of the many examples of corporativist urbanism that Bottoni used to demonstrate the best practices in modern city planning. These principles included streets and courtyards proportioned to ensure ample sunlight penetration to ground

level, districts planned to mitigate against strong prevailing winds, 'protective verdure' separating residential and industrial districts, public institutions isolated from traffic within green zones, and circulation structured hierarchically to accommodate separate vehicular and pedestrian traffic.[89] Bottoni illustrated his arguments with numerous examples culled from his *Quadrante* colleagues' work, including multiple plates from the CM8 project for Como, Pavia, Aosta, and a photograph of Ciocca's prototype *casa rapida* as an ideal solution for rural housing. In each case, Bottoni saw his work as the basis for a universal practice of urban and regional planning.

> Urbanism today does not limit its study or its proposals to the urban plans of individual cities, but extends its investigation to determine norms for the regional, national and international organization of systems and types of habitation, production, distribution, collective life, rest and repose, and of communication and transportation.[90]

Bottoni's *Urbanistica* reveals the extent to which the *Quadrante* circle found corporativist fascism to be an ideal source of patronage for modernist urban planning. Italian fascism was unapologetically authoritarian, and the corporativist economic planning theorized by Bottai and others close to *Quadrante* proclaimed the need to plan comprehensively on regional and national scale. Corporativist fascism exhibited a willingness to displace populations and redistribute property, fund large labour-intensive construction projects whose modernity served national and international propaganda purposes, and an ability to marshal and direct disparate industries in service to a single cause. Like Le Corbusier, Bottoni and his colleagues celebrated the unwavering leader whose political volition mirrored the totalizing vision of the modern planner.

> This is the epoch for plans of four, of five, of ten, of forty years. These plans respond to a need of the spirits afflicted by the crisis and the fall of old idols. The plan is an attempt to tame forces and to mortgage the future. The plan is the attempt to eliminate the arbitrary and the unpredictable from the development of circumstances. [91]

Conclusion

Visitors to Bottoni's urbanism exhibition had a chance to pause in an alcove he designed with the brilliant graphic artist Bruno Munari, who also produced a number of didactic photomontages for the show. The space celebrated Mussolini's role as the nation's chief urbanist by juxtaposing a photograph of him at the controls of a tractor and images of the Pontine marsh reclamation works against images of Louis XIV and his major construction projects, under a banner reading 'From the urbanism of aristocratic representation to the urbanism of the social collective' (Figure 10).[92]

One painting in the alcove depicts the French king, having just dismounted from his horse, 'commanding' the construction of the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. Bottoni took the image from the last page of Le Corbusier's *Urbanisme*, where it carried the caption 'Louis XIV commanding the building of the Invalides. Homage to a great town planner'. Le Corbusier celebrated Louis XIV for his ability to accomplish great building projects with an alacrity unburdened by bureaucracy. 'This despot', he continued, 'conceived immense projects and realized them. Over all the country his noble works still fill us with admiration. He was capable of saying,

Figure 10.   Bottoni and Munari, alcove depicting Mussolini as the new Louis XIV, Urbanistica exhibition, VI Milan Triennale, 1936. Bottoni, *Urbanistica* (Milan: Hoepli, 1938), 126.

"We wish it," or "Such is our pleasure"'.[93] For Bottoni, Mussolini personified the leader capable of dictating the construction of cities and the draining of swamps, without delay. Bottoni's text presented Mussolini as the new Sun King, equipped with a tractor in place of a horse and thus capable of even greater works. The simple analogy that joined Mussolini to Louis XIV emphasized the role Le Corbusier's *Urbanisme* played as inspiration for Bottoni's *Urbanistica*.

Yet it remains unclear how much the work of Rogers, BBPR and the *Quadrante* circle influenced corporativist policy within the fascist regime. Bottai and other advocates of their urban design techniques used the Rationalists' schemes to illustrate their arguments for the corporativist reform of the national economy. The volume of polemics traded in these debates suggests that corporativist urbanism was a contentious and popular topic during the 1930s, however there is insufficient evidence to determine whether the debates launched in the pages of *Quadrante* influenced the regime's policy decisions.

The experience of the designers and critics associated with *Quadrante* was in many ways typical of their modernist peers worldwide, for whom the practice of architecture became closely integrated with urban design and planning. The concerns of the city and the region filtered into every work of Rationalist architecture, especially those commissioned by the state or fascist party. And while the Italian case is exceptional in terms of the design disciplines' overt concerns with representing the regime's values and policies, it does demonstrate the disquieting proximity between the totalizing practices of modern planning and the authoritarian practices of fascist politics.

After the fall of the fascist regime, the surviving members of the *Quadrante* circle remained active in large-scale urban planning and in CIAM, whose seventh congress they hosted in Bergamo in 1949. The most tangible results of the interwar debates on urbanism thus came after the war, as figures such as Griffini, Bottoni, Figini and Pollini, and BBPR directed significant reconstruction projects around the country, such as the QT8 district in Milan.[94] They continued to use planning techniques they developed in the 1930s, such as housing working-class families in a mix of apartment blocks and terrace houses, providing ample parkland and athletic facilities for recreational use, inserting such cultural facilities as libraries and theatres into residential districts, and designing cities to accommodate a range of transportation modes.[95] However, they divested architecture and urbanism of all references to the ideological concerns of the state. Nonetheless, they remained committed to engaging in public discourse about the design of the civic realm.

The debates which catalysed Italian architecture in the immediate postwar period saw Bruno Zevi, author of *Verso un'architettura organica*[96] and founder of the Associazione per l'Architettura Organica (Association for Organic Architecture, APAO), promote an 'organic' and 'democratic' architecture influenced heavily by the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, while the Movimento Studi Architettura (Movement for the Study of Architecture, MSA), whose founders included Rogers, Belgiojoso, Peressutti and other *Quadrante*-circle architects, argued on behalf of the continuing validity of prewar Rationalism, albeit in the new political context of post-fascist Italy. The polemical exchanges between these two camps included passionate arguments for and against the legacy of CIAM and interwar Italian urban planning, yet both sides reaffirmed the primacy of modernism, whether Corbusian or Wrightian in origin, and both insisted on the importance of urban planning within the scope of architectural practice.[97] 'It is a matter of forming a style, a technique, a morality as terms of a single function,' Rogers wrote in his first editorial as editor of *Domus* in 1946. 'It is a matter of building a society'.[98]

Acknowledgement

Notes on contributor

David Rifkind is Assistant Professor at the College of Architecture and the Arts at Florida International University, where he teaches courses in architectural history and theory. His book, *The Battle for Modernism: Quadrante and the Politicization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy*, won the 2011 Premio Ackerman and will be published in 2012 by Marsilio Editori. His current research deals with urbanism and architecture in Ethiopia during the Italian occupation (1936–1941), and has been supported by a grant from the Graham Foundation and a residency at the American Academy in Rome as the inaugural Wolfsonian Affiliated Fellow.

Notes

1. The extensive literature on fascist-era design in Italy includes numerous valuable discussions of urbanism.

   On corporativist urbanism, see Carlo Maria Olmo, *Costruire la citta dell'uomo: Adriano Olivetti e l'urbanistica*. Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 2001; and Jeffrey Schnapp, *Gaetano Ciocca. Costruttore, inventore, agricoltore, scrittore.* Milan: Skira, 2000.

   On urban design in fascist Italy, see Italo Insolera, *Roma Moderna: Un secolo di storia urbanistica*. Enaudi, 1971; Giorgio Ciucci, 'L'urbanista negli anni '30: un tecnico per l'organizzazione del consenso', in Silvia Danesi and Luciano Patetta, eds., *Il Razionalimo e L'Architettura In Italia Durante il Fascismo*. Venice: La biennale di Venezia, 1976; Riccardo Mariani, *Fascismo e città nuove*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976; Riccardo Mariani, *Citta' e campagna in Italia 1917–1943*. Milan: Edizioni Comunità, 1986; Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989; Tim Benton, 'Rome Reclaims its Empire', in Dawn Ades, Tim Benton, David Elliott, Ian Boyd Whyte, eds. *Art and Power: Europe Under the Dictators 1930–45*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995, 120–8; Vanna Fraticelli, 'Italian Piazzas, Bergamo, Brescia, and E 42' *Lotus International* 39 (1983): 36–54; Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome 1870–1950: Traffic and Glory*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1973; Henry, A. Millon, 'Some New Towns in Italy in the 1930s' in Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, eds. *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978; Alberto Mioni, ed., *Urbanistica fascista: ricerche e saggi sulle città e il territorio*. Milan: F. Angelo, 1980; Lorenzo Cappellini and Paolo Portoghesi, *Le città del silenzio: paesaggio, acque e architetture della regione pontina*. Latina: L'Argonauta, 1984; Terry Kirk, 'Framing St. Peter's, Fascist Urbanism in Modern Rome', *The Art Bulletin*, 88 no. 4 (December 2006): 756–76; Paolo Scattoni, *L'urbanistica dell'Italia Contemporanea.* Rome: Newton & Compton, 2004; and Paul Baxa, 'Piacentini's Window: The Modernism of the Fascist Master Plan of Rome', *Contemporary European History* 13, no. 1 (February, 2004), 1–20.

   On urban planning in the Italian colonies, see Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism*. New York: Routledge, 2007; Giuliano Gresleri, '1936–40: Programma e strategia delle "città imperiali,"' in Giuliano Gresleri, Pier Giorgio Massaretti, and Stefano Zagnoni, eds., *Architettura italiana d'oltremare: 1870–1940*. Venice: Marsilio, 1993, 178–201; Giuliano Gresleri, 'Architecture for the Towns of the Empire', *Rassegna* 14, no. 51 (1992): 36–51; Donata Pizzi, *Città metafisiche: città di fondazione dall'Italia all oltramare 1920–1945*. Milan: Electa, 2005; and Renato Besana, Carlo Fabrizio Carli, Leonardo Devoti, and Luigi Prisco, eds., *Metafisica costruita: le città di fondazione degli anni trenta dall'Italia all'Oltremare*. Milan: Touring Editore, 2002.

   Three essential surveys of the period include important discussions of urbanism: Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: architettura e città 1922–1944*. Turin: Enaudi, 1989; Dennis Doordan, *Building Modern Italy: Italian Architecture, 1914–1936*. New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1988; and Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991.

   On the post-war legacy of fascist-era urban planning, see Judi Loach, 'QT8: A neglected chapter in the history of modern town planning', *The Modern City Revisited*. New York: Spon Press, 2000, 125–49; and Vittorio Gregotti, 'Architecture of the Postwar Reconstruction: 1944–1950', in *New Directions in Italian Architecture.* 1968, 38–78, 38–46.

2. Giuseppe Terragni first used this term in a letter to Carlo Belli, where he wrote of the need for a new 'journal of battle, which must represent and unite all the forces . . . of the *squadristi* of the new architecture, painting, sculpture, literature.' Terragni, letter to Belli (4 December 1931) FCB. Bellicose terminology pervades much of the correspondence and writing by members of the *Quadrante* circle at this time. See, for example, Piero Bottoni's unpublished typescript 'Il punto sulla battagli per l'architettura razionale' (1931), printed in Graziella Tonon, ed. *Una Nuova antichissima bellezza: Scritti editi e inediti 1927–1973* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1995). Edoardo Persico confided to Belli, 'Sono come un soldato in guerra.' Persico, letter to Belli (31 December 1931), FCB.

3. 'Carta del Lavoro', quoted in Etlin, 377.

4. Ibid., 381.

5. John Brown, 'Italian Workers Under Fascism', *The Spectator*, reprinted in *The Living Age*, September 1935.

6. Constance Coline, 'Diogenes in Rome', *L'Europe Nouvelle*, translated and reprinted in *The Living Age*, July 1936.
7. The first book published under the journal's Edizioni di Quadrante imprint was Giovenale's *Il corporativismo osservato da una fabbrica*, with a preface by Bardi. Bernardo Giovenale, *Il corporativismo osservato da una fabbrica* (Rome: Edizioni di Quadrante, 1935). The preface was excerpted as Bardi, 'Un libro di Giovenale' *Quadrante* 24 (April 1935): 1–2. Giovenale's book received a positive review in *Quadrante* as Arialdo Banfi, '(Qualche libro) *Il corporativismo osservato da una fabbrica* di Bernardo Giovenale (Edizioni Quadrante)', *Quadrante* 27/28 (July/August 1935): 45. *Quadrante's* book publishing enterprise was designed to shape the national discourse on corporativism through Giovenale's book and subsequent volumes by Ciocca (*Edilizia corporativa in Italia*) and Renato Paresce (*L'altra America*), which detailed corporativist building practices in Italy and the failings of American economic liberalism, respectively. Ciocca, *Edilizia corporativa in Italia* (Rome: Edizioni di Quadrante, 1936); and Paresce, *L'altra America* (Rome: Edizioni di Quadrante, 1935).
8. Engineer Alfredo Giarratana defended the regime's corporativist policies, to the extent that they approached a systematic plan, in a 1934 *Quadrante* article entitled 'Le Corporazione, lettera di un operaio.' Giarratana printed a letter he had received from a sympathetic factory worker in Brescia, Mario Omboni, whose unqualified support of corporativist policy was meant to defuse criticism levelled against the system by skeptical industrialists and farmers. Alfredo Giarratana, 'Le Corporazione, lettera di un operaio', *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 14–6.
9. 'On the Fourth Anniversary of the March on Rome, 28 October 1926', in *Discorsi del 1926* (Milan: Alpes, 1927), 340; reprinted in *The Doctrine of Fascism*.
10. *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933) addressed Littoria, the Pontine marsh reclamation and the Battle for Grain in the same issue that documented the IV CIAM. Francesco Monotti discussed Littoria, Sabaudia (then under construction) and Pontinia (not yet designed) in an article, 'L'urbanismo di Mussolini', which posited the Italian leader as the sole figure capable of building on the urban scale envisioned by the CIAM conferees, given the worldwide economy. Francesco Monotti, 'L'urbanismo di Mussolini', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 2–5.
11. An accompanying plate reproduced photographs of the Duce harvesting 'the first wheat of his Littoria' and a mass of ecstatic supporters. 'Agosto XI – Mussolini trebbia il primo grano della sua Littoria', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933), 3. Another plate presented the CIAM analysis of Littoria by Bottoni, Figini, Griffini and Pollini. *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 45.
12. Gino Pollini, 'Commento al questionario', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 43. Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, 105.
13. Ibid., 53.
14. David G. Horn, 'Constructing the Sterile City: Pronatalism and Social Sciences in Interwar Italy', *American Ethnologist* 18, no. 3 (August 1991): 584.
15. On the technocratic disciplinary concerns of interwar Italian planning, see Guido Zucconi, *La Città contesa: dagli ingegneri sanitari agli urbanisti (1885–1942)*. Milan: Editoriale Jaca Book, 1989.
16. 'L'urbanistica moderna tende all'abolizione della casa a blocco chiuso per ragioni igieniche, d'insolazione e ventilazione.' Bottoni, *Urbanistica*, 47.
17. Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, 93–105.
18. add more detailed footnote to Schumacher, Doordan and Etlin.
19. Ibid., 86–9.
20. Bottoni, *Urbanistica*, 26–7.
21. Alberto Sartoris attended that first meeting in 1928, at the chateau of Hélène de Mandrot in La Sarraz, Switzerland. Alberto Sartoris, untitled manuscript report on I CIAM (June 1928). Fonds Alberto Sartoris, Archives de la construction moderne, Ecole polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne, Cossonay-ville, Switzerland (FAS). The *relazione* prepared by Sartoris chronicled each day's deliberations and identified Rava as a delegate, though the latter did not actually attend the meeting in person. Sartoris reported that the first action of the congress was to identify the particularities of each nation's modern architecture, then to identify specific principles that could be imported by each nation, in order to develop a course of action proper to each country.

22. Sartoris also participated in the second meeting in Frankfurt, in October 1929, along with Gruppo 7 member Carlo Enrico Rava, as well as in that event's planning meeting, held in Basel on 2 February 1929. Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 27. Bardi attended the 1929 meeting as a correspondent for *Belvedere*, the journal he published at the Galleria Bardi in Milan. Esther da Costa Meyer, 'After the Flood: Lina Bo Bardi's Glass House', *Harvard Design Magazine* 16 (Winter/Spring 2002).
23. Bottoni and Pollini were delegates at the III CIAM in Brussels in 1930, along with Genovese architect Luigi Vietti. Michele Cennamo, *Materiali per l'analisi dell'architettura moderna: La Prima esposizione Italiana di architettura razionale* (1973).
24. Terragni joined Pollini and Bottoni on the Italian delegation to the fourth congress in 1933, which Bardi attended in his role as a journalist. Bardi, 'Viaggio di architetti in Grecia', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 1.
25. Josep Lluis Sert, foreword to Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, vii. On the IV CIAM, see also Josep Luis Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942).
26. Alfred Roth, *The New Architecture* (Zurich: Dr. H. Girsberger, 1940), 9.
27. Bardi, 'Viaggio di architetti in Grecia', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 1. Only Germany produced as many city analyses. Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, 93.
28. Mumford, 85. The Italian delegates' response was published as 'Il Questionario del IV Congresso', *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 41–3. The other surviving questionnaire response is that of the Spanish delegation, published in *A.C.*
29. Bardi, 'Cronaca di viaggio', 6.
30. Ciucci, 415.
31. The other new city studied by the conferees was Dalat, Vietnam. Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, 93. On the cities built during the reclamation of the Pontine marshes, see Federico Caprotti, *Destructive Creation: Fascist Urban Planning, Architecture and New Towns in the Pontine Marshes*, *Journal of Historical Geography* no. 33 (2007), 651–79; and Caprotti, *Mussolini's Cities: Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930–1939*. Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007. Recently, Antonio Pennacchi has examined the cities built during the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes in the context of colonial city-building throughout the *ventennio fascista*, including cities in Sardegna and Libya. See, for example, Antonio Pennacchi, *Fascio e martello: viaggio per le città del Duce*. Laterza, 2008. Pennacchi has also set several historical novels in the Pontine Marshes. See, for example, Pennacchi, *Canale Mussolini. Romanzo*, Milan: Mondadori, 2010.
32. Ciucci, 416. I discuss the plans for Verona and Como at greater length, below.
33. Gino Pollini, 'La città funzionale. Il IV congresso internazionale di architettura moderna', *Urbanistica* 3 (May/June 1934): 166–83. See also Ciucci, 416.
34. *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 45. The journal did not publish the analyses of Genoa and Rome, without explaining why; Pollini presented the latter on behalf of Minnucci, who did not attend the congress. Pollini, 166–83. See also Ciucci, 416.
35. Ciucci, 415–7. Plate I, zonizzazione, of Terragni's analysis of Como appeared in *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 45. All three plates are conserved at the CIAM archives in Zurich, and are reproduced in Ciucci.
36. Piero Bottoni, 'Analisi di una città' *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 39–41. Bardi, 'Cronaca di viaggio', 5.
37. Giuseppe Terragni, 'La costruzione della Casa del Fascio di Como', *Quadrante* 35/36 (October 1936): 16. Terragni's relazione also refers to the CM8 plan for Como, which I discuss below.
38. On the role of Otto Neurath's standardized isotype graphics in the CIAM analyses, see Nader Vossoughian, 'Facts and Artifacts: Otto Neurath and the Social Science of Socialization' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004).
39. Ciucci, 418.
40. Footnote on Gruppo 7 and MIAR; Dennis Doordan, Building Modern Italy.
41. Ciocca, 'Per la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 10–3.
42. Hubert Lagardelle, Le Corbusier, Pierre Winter and François de Pierrefeu, 'Un Piano d'organizzazione europeo', *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 29–35.

43. 'In Unum Omnes: Concorso del piano regolatore di Pavia. Relazione', paraphrased and quoted in Jeffrey Schnapp, *Building Fascism, Communism, Liberal Democracy: Gaetano Ciocca – Architect, Inventor, Farmer, Writer, Engineer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 74–6. English translation of *Gaetano Ciocca: costruttore, inventore, agricoltore, scrittore* (Milan: Skira, 2000).

44. Serena Maffioletti, ed., *BBPR* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1994), 20–1.

45. Ciocca, 'Servizi a Mussolini–Il teatro di masse', *Quadrante* 3 (July 1933): 7–10. On 28 April 1933 Mussolini gave a speech to the Italian Association of Writers and Publishers (SIAE) in Rome, where he called for the creation of a fascist mass theatre to accommodate 20,000 spectators.
 For a detailed discussion of the mass theatre, see Schnapp, *Building Fascism,* 74–6. Given the importance of the mass theatre in Ciocca's writings on the corporativist city, *Quadrante* 11 also published an essay on advances in set design by the Polish Praesens group. Szymon Syrkus, 'Nuova teoria del teatro', trans. Gino Ghiringhelli, *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 36–9.

46. Maffioletti, 20.

47. Schnapp, 74–6.

48. *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 11, 17, 21.

49. 'La diagnosi dei quartieri malati della città precede lo studio del piano regolatore, ed è argomento di primo piano assoluto'. BBPR, 'Corsivo N.109', *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 9.

50. Ibid.

51. 'rispettiamo monumenti e uomini, isolando quelli e dando a questi nuove adeguate abitazioni;' and 'Etica ed estetica si equilibrano inscindibili nella città corporativa.' BBPR, 9.

52. 'Certi quartieri delle maggiori e minori città d'Italia sono un insulto all'igiene a alla morale.' BBPR, 'Corsivo N.112', *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 20.

53. 'L'ambiente storico ha una propria vita: essa deve servire agli uomini ma non asservirli. La sua funzione è quella di insegnare, non di intralciare lo sviluppo della vita.' BBPR, 'Corsivo N. 112', 20.

54. 'Bisogna convincersi che il gusto del pittoresco come teoria urbanistica è malsano ed immorale.' Ibid.

55. Ciocca, 'Per la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 11 (March 1934): 13.

56. 'Nel futuro assetto corporativo ogni città avrà la sua funzione'. BBPR, 'Corsivo N.112', 20.

57. 'Per questo lo Stato organizzerà corporativamente l'urbanistica così che i singoli piani regolatori siano emanazione di un piano regolatore della nazione.' Banfi and Belgioioso, 'Urbanistica anno XII – la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 1–2.

58. Enrico Peressutti, 'Urbanistica corporativa piani regolatori', *Quadrante* 20 (December 1934): 1.

59. Ibid, 2. See also Peressutti, 'Corsivo 169', *Quadrante* 23 (March 1935): 44.

60. 'L'uomo prende in mano l'aratro, i solchi che egli traccia nella terra sono rettilinei e paralleli: costruisce la casa, i muri si incontrano ad angolo retto e gli spigoli riflettono il filo a piombo. Questa è l'opera dell'uomo, l'ordine è dentro di lui, la geometria ne è l'estrinsecazione.' Banfi and Belgioioso, 'Urbanistica anno XII – la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 1.

61. Banfi and Belgioioso, 'Urbanistica anno XII – la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 1.

62. Ibid.

63. 'Visioni aeree dell'architettura di Sabaudia', *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 3. This issue was actually produced in June 1934, the same month BBPR used the image from the royal inauguration of Sabaudia in their competition project for the Palazzo del Littorio (see chapter 4).

64. 'Lo Stato Corporativo che assegna ai fattori della vita sociale, politica ed economica della Nazione una funzione precisa, inquadra gli individuali in una compagine nazionale per potenziare al massimo il rendimento di ognuno. Il Corporativismo, che è ordine e gerarchia, non può permettere che nel quadro completo di vita nazionale, basata sulla cooperazione anzi più sull'assolvimento di compiti gerarchicamente assegnati dallo Stato, le città possano decidere, libere arbitre della propria vita, direttive indipendenti e molte volte in antitesi con le necessità della nazione.' Banfi and Belgioioso, 'Urbanistica anno XII – la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 2.

65. Banfi and Belgioioso, 'Urbanistica anno XII – la città corporativa', *Quadrante* 13 (May 1934): 2.

66. BBPR, 'Urbanistica corporativa', *Quadrante* 29 (September 1935): 20–1.

67. Ibid,; Bottoni, 'La standardizzazione dell'abitazione collettiva', *Quadrante* 29 (September 1935): 23–4, 27; and Bernardo Giovenale, 'Convergenze corporative' *Quadrante* 29 (September 1935): 6–9.

68. Ciocca, 'La casa rurale', *Quadrante* 22 (February 1935): 40. trans. by Schnapp, *Building Fascism*, 88.
69. Consonni et al., 250.
70. Adriano Olivetti et al., *Studi e proposte preliminari per il piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* (Ivrea: Nuove Edizioni Ivrea, 1943), 9. See also Maffioletti, 42–3; and Belgioioso, 'Comuni esperienze', in *Piero Bottoni, opera completa*, 418.
71. Olivetti et al., 36.
72. See, for example, Olivetti et al., 38–9.
73. Olivetti et al., 42–4.
74. Ibid., 225–33.
75. Ibid., 15.
76. Maffioletti, 43.
77. Ibid., 45.
78. Consonni et al., 251.
79. Olivetti et al., 157.
80. Ibid., 13.
81. Ibid., 14.
82. Adriano Olivetti, ed., *Piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* (Ivrea, 1937). Expanded as Olivetti et al., *Studi e proposte preliminari per il Piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* (Ivrea: Nuove edizioni Ivrea, 1943).
83. Pollini and Figini wrote, for example, 'Il piano nazionale dovrà stabilire la rete delle communicazioni e dei trasporti.' Olivetti et al., 110–1.
84. At the VI Milan Triennale in 1936, Bottoni curated the *Mostra dell'urbanistica*, which featured innovative displays comparing the degraded state of Italian cities with their ideal improvements according to the principles of corporativist urbanism. Bottoni also collaborated with Luigi Dodi and Mario Pucci in organizing an accompanying exhibition, the *Sala del lottizzamento dei quartieri di abitazione*.
85. Bottoni, *Urbanistica*, 14.
86. Ibid., 16.
87. Ibid., 20.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., 58–61.
90. 'L'urbanistica oggi non limita il suo studio o le sue proposte ai piani regolatori delle sole città, ma estende la sua indagine a determinare le norme dell organizzazione regionale, nazionale ed internazionale dei sistemi e dei tipi di abitazione, di produzione, di distribuzione, di vita colletiva, di svago e riposo e di comunicazioni e trasporti.' Bottoni, *Urbanistica* 118.
91. 'È questa l'epoca dei piani di 4, di 5, di 10, di 40 anni. Questi piani rispondono ad un bisogno degli spiriti percossi dalla crisi e dal precipitare dei vecchi idoli. Il piano è un tentativo di domare le forze e di ipotecare il futuro. Il piano è il tentativo di eliminare l'arbitrario e l'imprevidibile dello sviluppo delle situazioni. M.' Mussolini, quoted in Bottoni, *Urbanistica* 117.
92. 'Dall'urbanistica a fine aristocratico rappresentativo all'urbanistica a fine sociale collettivo.' Bottoni, *Urbanistica* 126.
93. Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow*, trans. Frederick Etchells (London: John Rodker, 1929), 302. See also David Pinder, *Visions of the City: Utopianism, Power and Politics in Twentieth-century Urbanism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 80–1; and Dennis Crow, 'Le Corbusier's Post-modern Plan', in *Philosophical Streets; New Approaches to Urbanism*, ed. Dennis Crow (Washington: Maisonneuve Press, 1990), 81–3 [70–92].
94. On Bottoni's involvement in QT8, see Bottoni, 'Il quartiere sperimentale QT8, 1948', in *T8 ottava Triennale di Milano. Catalogo guida* (Milan, 1947), 235–68; and 'Il Quartiere sperimentale modello QT8 della Triennale di Milano, 1948' *Metron* IV, nos. 26–27 (August/September 1948): 13–73.
95. For a detailed discussion of QT8, see Judi Loach, 'QT8: A neglected chapter in the history of modern town planning', *The Modern City Revisited*. (New York: Spon Press, 2000), 125–49; and Vittorio Gregotti, 'Architecture of the Postwar Reconstruction: 1944–1950', in *New Directions in Italian Architecture*. 1968, 38–78, 38–46.

96. Bruno Zevi, *Verso un'architettura organica* (Turin: Einaudi, 1945).
97. Compare APAO, 'Constitution of the Association for Organic Architecture in Rome', (1945) in Joan Ockman, ed., *Architecture Culture 1943–1968* (New York: Columbia Books on Architecture/ Rizzoli, 1993), 68–9; and Ernesto Nathan Rogers, 'Program: Domus, the House of Man', (1946) in Ockman, 77–9.
98. Rogers, 'Program: Domus, the House of Man', 79.