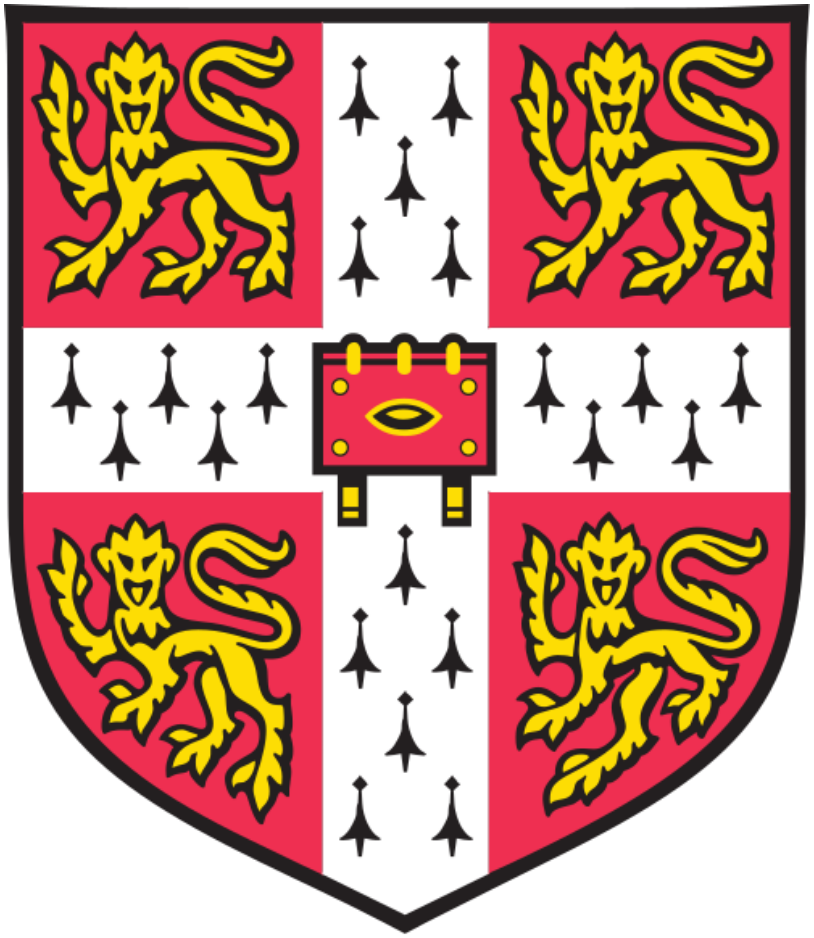
The story we tell *our-selves*: renegotiating Fascist Heritage in post-dictatorial Italy



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St. John's College

December 2019

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

'This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.'

Abstract: The story we tell *our-selves*: renegotiating Fascist Heritage in post-dictatorial Italy

Flaminia Bartolini

What this thesis has demonstrated is twofold: a) it presents how heritage can be used as a tool to interpret the renegotiation of a dictatorial past; b) it identifies how politics uses heritage to (re)construct identity, as well as to influence the heritage-making process when coming to terms with a dictatorial past. These two aspects have been identified firstly by examining the Fascist regime's uses of the past, as well as how they edited sites and narratives to serve as tools for propaganda. The research has also shown how modern art and architecture supported the regime's primary need for building consensus, and it has documented the shifts in meaning and use, or lack thereof, of Fascist Heritage sites, and examined how different sites have been renegotiated depending on their degree of perceived 'Fascistability'. The thesis also conceptualises the scale of heavy state intervention in legacies of the regime, as based on this Ideological Coefficient of Fascistability.

Monuments to past 'glories' remain a constant reminder to many of the traumatic memories of a difficult time, while to others they are simply material traces of a once-glorious past. Iconoclasm expresses the need to challenge and publicly question former values, but it fails to interrogate the issue of monumentality, which remains a formidable presence in public spaces. Heritage scholars must find new ways to reframe monuments without any form of iconoclasm, while allowing for a different type of interpretation to be given. At the same time, these objects must also express a very powerful message, so as to interrupt the Fascist monumental rhetoric of order and obedience. In light of the rise of far-right movements in Italy and internationally, and considering how the symbolic power of these monuments can still be exercised and easily instrumentalised, it is therefore crucial to find new ways to disempower memories of such dark times.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis examines the shift in perception of Fascist heritage in contemporary Italy following its designation as heritage and how this fits within the process of dealing with a dictatorial past. This chapter will first give a brief introduction to the current political debate in Italy and explain how coming to terms with the country's Fascist past is a process that started in the immediate post-war period and has not yet solved the national tensions between neo-Fascists and anti-Fascists. Secondly, it will also introduce how, in recent years, some Fascist monuments have been at the centre of international and national political debate because of their new status as heritage sites and how this compares to similar cases such as the 'Rhodes must fall' movement that developed from the UK to South Africa and the Confederate Monuments debate in the US. Finally, it will give an account of the research objectives and how this thesis intends to address them.

1.1 A time of Fascist Pride: introducing Italy's contemporary political struggle

Mussolini was killed on 28 April 1945, shot by partisans in Dongo. However, his myth and the very idea of Fascism as an idealised political faith never died in Italy and, as we shall see in the following chapters, is what Umberto Eco names 'Ur-Fascism' or 'Eternal Fascism' (Eco 1995; Bidussa 2019; Greppi and Bidussa 2019; Filippi 2019). From 2015, when this research project started, to its final revision in 2019, Italy's political landscape saw an unprecedented shift towards neo-fascism which resulted in the election in April 2018 of a coalition government between the populist party Five Star Movement (*Movimento 5 Stelle*) and the far-right party The League (*La Lega*). While this populist/far-right government is the expression of the political will of the majority of the Italians, at the same time minority neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi parties like CasaPound and Forza Nuova are also gaining political visibility and consensus while being explicit about their links to Fascism and its 'values' (Berizzi 2018; Rosati 2018).

The history of the far-right in post-war Italy finds its roots in the aftermath of WWII, with the foundation of the M.S.I. (Movimento Sociale Italiano) and the relocation of veterans from the Social Republic of Salo' into a self-proclaimed democratic party under the leadership of Giorgio Almirante (Cento Bull 2009; Conti 2017). In the post-war period, despite the Togliatti amnesty of 22nd of June 1946 proclaimed by the newly formed Italian

Republic aimed at reuniting the nation, a number of ex-Fascists continued to fulfil the roles they had held during the dictatorship (Conti 2017).

During the so-called 'Years of Lead' (late 60s to late 80s), a period during which there was a battle for power between far-right and far-left terrorists, Italy saw once again an escalation of political terrorism and violence which confirmed how Fascism as an ideology was far from dead in the country, and also led to an unsuccessful coup by an ex-Republic of Salo' Fascist, Junio Valerio Borghese, in 1974 (Cento Bull 2009; Berizzi 2018). Italy's renegotiation of its Fascist past has been described by many scholars as a consistent process of whitewashing and silencing Fascist atrocities in an attempt to create a 'softer' version of the dictatorship, particularly when juxtaposed with Nazi Germany, which leaves unquestioned Italy's sense of guilt (Ventresca 2004; Focardi 2014; Mammone 2015; Conti 2017).

Italy's political scene underwent a major shift in the 1990s, a period which saw major political changes both internationally, with the fall of Communism and the Berlin Wall in 1989, and nationally, with the rise of the Berlusconi era. Silvio Berlusconi's ascent to political power needed a coalition government in order to be able to run the country without the left and centre-left (Mammone 2015; Greppi and Bidussa 2019). At the same time, he built an alliance with the far-right party National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale*) and what was then the Northern League (*Lega Nord*), a far-right party claiming to be regionalist and in favour of secessionism for the North from the South. Today, this has been transformed into the main far-right national party, after a re-branding operation which saw its party name change to The League (Gordon 2006; Mammone 2015).

By taking the National Alliance into Parliament and appointing its leader Gianfranco Fini as chair of the Higher Chamber of the Council of Ministers, Silvio Berlusconi succeeded in taking the far-right back into mainstream politics for the first time since the dictatorship. While Gianfranco Fini took extensive steps, at least formally, to criticise Mussolini and the Italian implementation of the 1938 racial laws, albeit asking for forgiveness in relation to the Holocaust, some scholars believe this was a skilfully orchestrated political move once again to water down the very violent origins of Fascism, transforming it into a 'modern dictatorship' (Gordon 2006; Mammone 2015; Filippi 2019).

During the years of this research, Italy faced the crises of the left-wing coalition formed by Matteo Renzi, a period which was also influenced internationally by the financial

crisis of 2008 and the refugee crisis of 2015 (Filippi 2019; Greppi and Bidussa 2019). Since 2010, far-right parties have once more gained primary political importance, with their politics of division fuelled by nostalgia and, more recently, by fear of the 'refugee crisis'. They have managed to instil into public discourse an image of the nation as a battleground where 'natives' fight for the survival of the 'true' values of Western civilisation against the forces of globalisation and non-Western immigration (Wodak 2015; Niklasson and Hølleland 2017). Based on a perceived need to protect national identities and to cherish the idea of the 'Fatherland/Motherland' above personal needs, the far-right parties have turned to a glorified, idealistic past to find inspiration for political rhetoric in response to current socio-political problems in order to draw support for their cause (Wodak 2015; Niklasson and Hølleland 2017; Rosati 2018).

To understand how popular Mussolini is as an historical figure in modern-day Italy and how curious the population is about him, there is the evidence of his most recent biography and the first instalment of a trilogy by Antonio Scurati, *M il figlio del secolo*, which in just a few weeks became Italy's 2018 bestseller (Scurati 2018). Fascist architecture is also in the spotlight, either because of documentaries on TV, or film productions such as *Sono tornato* (I'm back), which interestingly features Villa Torlonia and many places of Mussolini's life together with live shots from the film's production (fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Rome, Poster of Luca Maniero film 'I'm back' (Sono tornato). Below a graffiti saying 'We wish this was true. Italy to Italians (Magari! Italia agli Italiani' decorated with a *fasces* (Photo: available on the web).

I'm Back is a 2018 Italian comedy film featuring Mussolini directed by Luca Miniero, based on the bestselling satirical novel of the same name about Adolf Hitler by Timur Vermes (Taylor 2015). The unscripted sequences in both the Italian and the German film had a very diverse public reception. Another example of how differently Italians perceive Mussolini compared with how Germans perceive Hitler can be seen in the way Italians reacted to the actor impersonating Mussolini walking through the streets: whereas in Germany the actor playing Hitler would be on the receiving end of insults and physical violence, Mussolini's equivalent was cheered and welcomed by bystanders (https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=sono+tornato+intervista+&view=detail&mid=E31B4A9F81FDB23DE2A0E31B4A9F81FDB23DE2A0&FORM=VIRE; fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Luca Maniero film, 'I'm back', scene from the live shots of Mussolini's 'fan' (Photo: available on the web).

Finally, at the time of writing (May 2019) the country has embarked upon a European election political campaign, with the entire far-right political spectrum engaged in social media campaigns which use Fascist architecture extensively as a backdrop. The one that created international outrage was the campaign of Mussolini's own great-great grandson, Caio Giulio Cesare Mussolini, who made no attempt not to support his family legacy (Momigliano 2019; fig. 3-5). Not only is Italy far from facing its guilt with respect to the past – the violence, the colonialism and the destruction of the nation – it is actually experiencing a time of what this thesis argues is a time of Fascist *Pride*.



Fig. 3 Rome, Caio Mussolini standing in front of Mussolini's obelisk at the Foro Italico (Photo: Caio Mussolini press office).



Fig. 4 Rome, Caio Mussolini standing in front of the Palace of the Italian Civilization (Photo: Caio Mussolini press office).



Fig. 5 Rome, Caio Mussolini standing in front of the Marbles Stadium at the Foro Mussolini (Photo: Caio Mussolini press office).

1.2 Locating the field: the problematic 'past in the present' and the contested monument debate

Since 2010, the public status of the Fascist monuments still standing in Italy has been at the centre of a heated debate, initially between scholars but subsequently also in the press and social media. In a public speech in 2015 following the 70th anniversary of the rise of the Resistance, Laura Boldrini, former President of the Lower Chamber of the Italian Parliament, firmly condemned Fascist symbols still present on Italian soil (Paudice 2015; Malone 2017; Bartolini 2018b). President Boldrini suggested, in answer to the request of an ex-partisan during the official ceremony that they should 'clean the streets of Fascism and destroy the obelisk in the Foro Italico', that at least the inscription '*Mussolini Dux'* should be removed. Public and political reaction to the idea that Fascist monuments might be demolished was one of outrage, with politicians from both left and right objecting to any sort of removal or modification (as will be discussed in Chapter 7). The relevance of the event to this research is firstly that this debate proved the existence of a solid idea of the heritage of Fascism as *national* heritage, protected by law, and secondly, given the quantity and visibility of Fascist monuments still standing around the country, a counter-memory of those offended by their ideology started to emerged.

Within Italy's Fascist monument debate and the country's denial of its colonial past stands the crucial case study of the Rodolfo Graziani memorial. In 2012, a monument evoking Fascist architecture, with the words to the *Fatherland* and *Honour*, was dedicated to the war-criminal Marshal Rodolfo Graziani in Affile (Pianigiani 2012; Bartolini 2019, fig. 6).



Fig. 6 Affile, Memorial to Marshal Rodolfo Graziani (Photo: Alessia Mastropietro for Flaminia Bartolini ©).

As the news reached the media, half-way through its construction, funds were suspended by the newly elected left-wing regional President Nicola Zingaretti and the mayor of Affile was accused by the National Association of Italian Partisans (ANPI) of being an apologist for Fascism (Bartolini 2019). In November 2017, the mayor was sent for trial and sentenced to almost three years in prison, and a mandate was issued by the tribunal to destroy the monument (Bartolini 2019). This memorial is relevant to the research as, first, it builds and sustains a narrative of amnesia whereby Italy sees members of the Fascist army as war-heroes, and, second, it is the first case in Italy where an accusation of Fascist apologism is levelled at a built monument, making it an interesting argument for the powerful role of materiality in conveying ideology. As investigated by John Foot (2009) in his work on divided memory, the conflicting way Italy has dealt with the memorialisation process of Nazi-Fascist mass-killings during the time of Nazi-occupied Italy shows how divided the society was on this topic and to some extent still is.

Within this hotly contested debate stands the project for the monumental frieze of Hans Piffrader at the top of the Palace of Financial Offices in Bolzano, in which Mussolini is placed next to the Fascist motto *Believe, Obey, Fight* (Bartolini 2019: fig. 7).



Fig. 7 Bolzano, Ex-Fascist Headquarters, Arnold Holzknecht and Michele Bernardi installation (Photo: Laura Egger for Flaminia Bartolini ©).

This frieze, originally meant for the Fascist Party headquarters, is the largest Fascist symbol on a public building still standing in Italy, and represents the History of Fascism in 57 panels over some 36 metres. Following the national debate started by Laura Boldrini on what to do with the remaining Fascist symbols in the country, and social tensions around this monument, the town hall opted for a public consultation; what emerged was a need for the message this building still conveyed to be 'rewritten'.

The issue of how to deal with Fascist monuments was not new to the town of Bolzano: in 2014 the city opened an exhibition space beneath the Victory Monument, a Fascist triumphal arch celebrating Italy's WWI victory in the Alto Adige (Michielli and Obermair 2014; Hökerberg 2017; Angelucci and Kerschbamer 2017). Following public interest and the general success of the Victory Monument operation, the town hall decided to hold a public consultation on the best way to give a new meaning to the over-imposing narrative on the Palace of the Financial Offices: it was felt that a new contemporary dialogue was needed to make sure Fascist symbols, and consequently values, were not just left unquestioned. The consultation process resulted in an invitation for artistic projects to express a contemporary reinterpretation of the specific monument and of Fascism more broadly; that

of Arnold Holzknecht and Michele Bernardi was finally selected from some 486 submissions (Invernizzi-Accetti 2017; Bartolini 2019). The proposal was for an illuminated phrase overlaid onto the frieze, luminously covering Mussolini's face, showing a re-adaptation of a famous motto of the philosopher Hannah Arendt who, rephrasing Kant, said '*No one has the right to obey*' as an answer to Mussolini's notorious motto of '*Believe, Obey, Fight'* (Bartolini 2019). The illuminated installation covers the length of the entire frieze and is repeated in three languages: Ladin, Italian and German (as 70% of the population of the region is of non-Italian origin)[1]. What makes the Bolzano example unique in Italy is its attempt to give new meaning to the monument visually, re-coding its semantic value; however, as we shall see in the following chapters, this might have more to do with the dual identity of the region, both Italian and German, which has allowed for a different sensibility toward the Fascist past and some forms of anti-Italianism.

By far the most controversial article published on the matter is the one by Prof. Ruth Ben-Ghiat on 5 October 2017 in the columns of *The New Yorker*, asking why so many Fascist monuments are still standing in Italy:

> Italy was, after all, home to Western Europe's biggest anti-Fascist resistance and its most robust post-war Communist Party. Until 2008, center-left coalitions maintained that legacy, often getting more than forty per cent of the vote in elections. So why is it that, as the United States has engaged in a contentious process of dismantling monuments to its Confederate past, and France has rid itself of all streets named after the Nazi collaborationist leader Marshall Pétain, Italy has allowed its Fascist monuments to survive unquestioned?
> (Ben-Ghiat 2017, online publication)

Ruth Ben-Ghiat generated outrage in Italy by questioning why, at a time of monument debate following Charlottesville and the removal of Confederate monuments, Fascist monumental architecture had been left unquestioned in Italy. She wonders how Italians could not see these monuments for the political purpose they represented, and how could they be perceived today as depoliticised (Ben-Ghiat 2017; Bartolini 2018a; Bartolini 2018b) Ben-

[1] Ladin language consists of a group of dialects that some scholars consider part of a Romance language mainly spoken in the Dolomite Mountains in Northern Italy. Located in the provinces of South Tyrol, the Trentino, and the Belluno, Ladin is spoken by a small number of citizen who identifies themselves as the Ladin people. Johannes Kramer: *Ladinisch: Grammatikographie und Lexikographie.* In: *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, III. Tübingen, Niemeyer 1989, ISBN 3-484-50250-9, p. 757.

Ghiat's article is a seminal work for this thesis, as it is the first academic work to reach the wider public because of the medium, and because it was written in a timely manner after the emotional shock of the killing in Charlottesville (Upton 2017; Allison 2018). What is equally relevant for this thesis is the amount of hate speech, private and public, the author received because of her questioning the validity of Fascist architecture. She was discriminated against on the basis of her sex, her nationality and her religion, proving precisely her article's point, which is that Italy has not come to terms with its Fascist past. What this thesis also argues, as we shall see in the following chapters, is that the attachment to Fascist architecture is a sign of how Italy not only refuses to process guilt, but has actually kept Fascism alive.

1.3 Heritage Law: between practice and meaning construction

This section will follow Sørensen and Carman's 2009 work on methodological approaches to heritage studies as a way of defining the heritage-making process in Italy and will look at heritage protection law as the means by which countries define heritage values and aims. Heritage protection laws are meta-narratives whereby countries define what their heritage is and what is worth protecting and why, but arguably they can also be used to create 'exclusions' of what ought to be forgotten (Carman 2005: 56).

> Law is a phenomenon of culture and reflects norm of behavioural value … Law does not exist independently by these values … It is a social construct that reflects both modal values held by a population and the relative ordering of those values. Law … tends to be directional and is a product of the disputes and problems presented to it historically (Price 1991:116).

As Soderlands (2009) puts it, law not only engages with the past but also provides contact and context for the heritage of the past in the present. She follows Hardestray and Little (2000) in arguing that while heritage management is shared between many entities, the ultimate decision rests within government legislation. Legislation captures the construction of heritage at a specific point in time, such that the historical framework reflects the voices of those from various times who determined what should be classed as 'heritage'. Soderlands also stresses the importance of understanding heritage law by placing it in its historical context in order to appreciate a) the changes needed for the protection of intangible or tangible heritage at that time, and b) how the legal framework was used in that selection.

To this end, key changes in Italian legislation will be examined to illustrate the process of selection of heritage values, and how those values have changed numerous times, with a specific focus on those that were made during the regime and how those changes have been incorporated, or not, into present legislation. Ultimately, this section aims to expose the process of selection that has invested heritage formation over time, and specifically what the regime decided was relevant to them and to the nation, and why.

1.3.1 Objects of antiquity and art in pre-Fascist legislation

The first and most significant form of cultural protection law in Italy was the intervention of the Pontifical government in the 18th century to prevent the 'destruction' and 'alienation' of art and archaeological remains in Rome. Various edicts were introduced for the preservation of antiquity and art, particularly with regard to archaeological excavations and exports: the Edict of Cardinal Albani in 1726, the Edict of Cardinal Valente in 1750 and the Edict of Cardinal Doria Pamphili in 1802 (Tamiozzo 2009: 2). It is, however, the 1820 Edict of Cardinal Pat on the excavation and preservation of monuments that was the first measure to offer artistic and historical protection, and this initiated the cataloguing of objects of antiquity and art (Tamiozzo 2009: 3).

It is interesting to note this early conceptualisation of cultural heritage in Italy, and how these early edicts indicated the 'worth' of heritage. I would argue that from as early as the 18th century, protection of cultural heritage had two key values: economic, since cultural heritage fostered tourism (initially in the form of the Grand Tour), and educational (itself linked closely to the elites who could afford the Grand Tour), since cultural heritage served both as educational material for the art history curricula of the elites, and as technical training for young artists. Cultural heritage, referred to as 'Objects of Art', was an attraction that was considered valuable inspiration not only for foreigners' admiration, an early form of cultural tourism, but also the erudite curiosity of the antiquarian, an early form of historical-archaeological science and history of art, and a stimulus to the noble emulation of many artists or the training of artists (Tamiozzo 2009: 2–3).

Most of these pre-Unification legislative interventions had a pre-emptive nature, aimed at avoiding the dispersal and dumping of the archaeological and artistic heritage. What also emerges from this early legislation is the categorisation of heritage into two: antiquities of antiquarian interest for the history of ancient art, and modern art history.

Following the Unification of Italy in 1861, the last twenty years of the 19th century saw growing attention paid towards the protection of artistic heritage so as to create a shared national past in the new Italian State (Tamiozzo 2009: 3, 119). After some 30 years of conceptualising and debating which cultural heritage needed protection most, the Italian State started a listing process supported by the first national law of protection: Law No. 185, passed on 12 June 1902, or the Rosadi-Nasi Law (Tamiozzo 2009: 3–5). Establishing the 'single catalogue' (*Catalogo Unico*) or listing of monuments and works of historical, artistic and archaeological value owned by the State was the first step in the process of the heritagisation of the Italian cultural landscape, and those core values conceptualised at the time are still in force in national legislation today. This date is relevant when considering later Fascist legislation, in order to establish what was the end point of the nation-building process of the new Italian State and what were the new values and aims introduced by the regime. The purpose of the Rosadi-Nasi Law can be defined as:

The reconstruction and maintenance of the historical memory of a people, that set of exemplary testimonies which is unique and unrepeatable to which one attributes in advance an aesthetic merit and which illustrate the Culture of people, from its genesis to its more or less recent developments. The patrimony is thus regarded as a means in a process of learning, of which the State must be guarantor, through targeted policies of protection and dissemination of acquired knowledge (Tamiozzo 2009:8).

The modern discipline of cultural heritage protection owes its founding principle of the power of the State against private property to the Rosadi-Nasi Law and its application by Regulation 30 January 1913 No. 363 (still in force) which:

-establishes the principle of the inalienability of the cultural heritage of the State and public and private bodies (goods of 'historical, archaeological or artistic interest');

-affirms the possibility for the public administration to subject privately owned works considered of 'important interest' to restrictions for their protection. [This is the listing procedure, a form of direct control over goods by the state, which is called upon to give an opinion on any management proposal by the owner.];

-allows the public administration to expropriate privately owned works that it deems should be part of the national collection of public monuments and museums;

-establishes the supervision of the export and movement of private goods (with the State having the first right to buy);

-implements an administration, central and regional, dedicated to the preservation and protection of cultural heritage (Superintendencies of monuments and archaeological sites and galleries).

1.3.2 Heritage legislation during the regime

It was only in 1939 that Italy finally passed the main reform of the 20th century in the field of cultural heritage protection. The theoretical promoter of the reform was the Fascist government, under the initiative of the Minister of National Education, Giuseppe Bottai (Masi 1991; Tamiozzo 2009). One of the key points of the following paragraphs is to analyse continuity, fracture and shift in the national promotion of cultural heritage from the pre-Fascist to the post-Fascist legislation. As we shall see, I would argue that the fact that Fascist legislation was in place until 1999, and is still mostly enforced today, has been a very influential factor in the process of preserving Fascist buildings. In other words, and with a twist that we shall analyse later, we value and protect Fascist buildings today through the lens of Fascist legislation.

The centrality of the role of the State was at the core of the Fascist reform of Cultural Heritage legislation. To apply the concept of the totalitarian state that the regime had imposed on society, cultural assets needed to be managed centrally rather than locally. Initially, Bottai reorganised the distribution of the Superintendencies (arranged territorially) on the basis of specialisms: archaeology, architecture and art history (Superintendencies for Antiquities, Monuments and Galleries) and reinforced the authority of the central Administration (Tamiozzo 2009).

For Bottai, historical, artistic, cultural and environmental heritage was to be at the centre of the educational programme for the construction of the new Italian Man as an expression of the new Italian Fascist State (Masi 1996: 11). For the regime, cultural heritage was ‘the materiality around which one builds and gathers the country’s identity and the unity of people’ (Masi 1996: 12). Heritage played a role in three core aspects of the regime’s communication strategy:

-heritage was a key propaganda tool through education and reinforced the regime’s cultural achievements;

-sites and monuments, both ancient and contemporary, were a formidable asset in terms of the education of the masses;

-heritage had a strong economic value as it fostered national and international tourism.

Law No. 1089 of 1939 outlines the objective of the protection, whether it is of public or private property, and specifies that it covers:

> All that presents artistic, historical, archaeological or ethnographical interest, as well as the testimonies of civilisations, including coins, documents, books, prints, codices of rarity and quality, and finally villas, parks and gardens artistically and historically relevant. It also refers to *political and military history*, literature, art and culture to indicate the real estate of which the State must seek protection (Masi 1992:10).

Some of the new aspects of the reform were:

-the introduction of provision for the public enjoyment of Culture through the admission of public visitors to both state and private properties recognised by the State;

-the possible assignation of contemporary works of art to the artistic heritage of the State, provided the authors were no longer living or that at least fifty years had elapsed since their creation;

-the expansion of the Fascist programme of cultural policy to include 'cultural activities' (attività culturali), strengthening the performance and educational role of the arts. This included theatre, opera and travelling shows, which were encouraged by subsidies and submitted to checks and programmes,[2] while national cinematography was stimulated with 'production premiums' and subjected to authorisation [3] and the institution of a State monopoly over the import/distribution of films from abroad.

In practice, it was established that after 50 years those works of art that had outstanding merit should be listed and therefore become the property of the State. Should these *beni culturali* be at imminent risk, a process of restoration will follow immediately; should they be in good condition, the restoration process will intervene after 70 years has passed since construction, once the 'full' heritage status is granted. In other words, after 50 years the State can take the site into restricted access; after 70 years the State becomes the exclusive owner of the site regardless of private property and can therefore intervene with restoration. Should these be at risk because of the use of the site, the State can restrict access permanently or implement a change of use.

[2] (R.D.L. No. 1547, 1938; Conv. In Law No. 423, 1939; D.C.G. N. 1813, 1939)
[3] (Law No. 458, 1939; D.C.G. No. 1812, 1939)

It has been argued by Coccolo (2017) that Bottai conceived this legislation to try and stop moveable cultural heritage leaving Italy following the migration wave that occurred following the conquest of Ethiopia and the economic sanctions. However, considering the role architecture and cultural heritage in general played in the regime's propaganda it is interesting to see how the State wanted to have a final say on property and movement of goods. Moreover, what is particularly relevant to this research and to the approach Italy had to Fascist legacies, is that for the first time the category of cultural heritage in need of protection was introduced as an 'example of political history'. Considering how the ultimate scope of Mussolini's monumentalism was to forge Italy's cultural landscape for eternity, it is reasonable to believe that cultural heritage legislation was conceived precisely to protect his monumental legacy in the future. The fact that it was to introduce the concept of 'political' together with contemporaneity indicates how Mussolini through the Bottai law was making sure Fascist monuments would be protected for future generations to appreciate. Which is precisely what happened.

The fact that the Bottai law with only minor changes is still in place today is a challenging problem in terms of heritage management in general and even more so when applied to Fascist Heritage; as we will see in Chapter 9, it is one that should be addressed.

1.4 Scope of the research

1.4.1 Timeline

The timeline of the research focuses on the post-war period, or the afterlife of Fascist heritage in Italy, but a detailed historical account will also be provided for the case-studies. Given the importance of the symbolic and political meanings that buildings had in the post-war interpretation, an historical account of their construction and the political aims during the regime will be given. In order to demonstrate the long-dureé and the shift in meaning of sites, this thesis will also analyse the relationship between sites and political history, to show how they are interconnected. Using a biography of places as a theoretical tool and using case studies to focus the analysis further on iconic, well-investigated sites, this thesis has broken the post-war period into three main chronological phases:

-The aftermath of the war, which can be defined as the *damnatio memoriae* phase or the time when *fasces* and Mussolini's iconography were heavily reformed.

-This was followed by the *oblivion* phase, which created a 'ghosting' effect, allowing Fascist buildings to become hidden in plain sight. This phase is quite fluid depending on single case-study but generally covers the period between the beginning of Republic in 1948 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.
-The fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of Communism, and the beginning of the Berlusconi era in Italy marked the start of what is here called the *Heritage Turn*, which worked towards a full acceptance of Fascist material legacies in public spaces.

1.4.2 Case studies: Rome, between ruins and myths



Fig. 8 Rome, 1931 map of the archaeological area indicating in yellow destruction, green protected green areas, orange archaeological sites, red unexcavated remains (Archivio Capitolino, PRG 1931, 680, 15).

The city of Rome is a critical entry point in analysing the architecture of the regime, since Rome was the capital of Italy and Mussolini aspired to make it the most important world capital. Rome's buildings played a more political function than those of any other Italian city as they were not only part of the regime's plan to build the new Fascist capital but also allowed the regime to forge a highly symbolic National Heritage. In the same way that

Rome is central to most discussions of Italian history, and to Mussolini's regime in particular, so it is central to this thesis. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to recount the literature that has explored the dual nature of Rome's identity, as both a place and a myth. Rome, often described as the Eternal City, has for centuries been at the centre not only of academic research but has also been seen as a symbol of an ancient and idealised past (Edwards 1999, 2011; Bellanca 2003; Herzfeld 2009; Baxa 2010; Neils 2011; Kallis 2014; Arthurs 2014; fig. 8).

> It is because of this long-lasting legacy that the Roman past has, since Italy unification, been at the core of nationalist past narratives, used as a symbol of liberation from foreign occupation and the creation of the Nation. The most recent battle to 'liberate' Rome was from the hegemony of the Vatican State in order to make it the capital of the new Italian State. It is, however, during the Fascist regime and Mussolini's political strategy that the political use of Rome as both a place and a myth reaches a whole new level.
> (Gentile 2007: 15)

The specific role the city of Rome plays for Fascism is described by Mussolini himself when he explained that the city is 'The place where everything relevant in Italy happens. The Mediterranean will be ours again and Rome will be once again a lighthouse of civilization' (Susmel and Susmel 1953, XII, 77). As both the political and cultural capital at the time of Mussolini, the city was not only a strategic place for the regime but also highly symbolic.

Both Pick and Fumaroli define Rome 'as a site of "excessive memory", surpassing a more general sense of multiplicity and multi-culturality, where self-determination is strongly intertwined with symbolism' (Fumaroli 1996, 347; Pick 2000, 141 as cited in Pooley 2013: 231). The multi-layered identity of Rome as a socio-cultural stronghold of plurality and resilience was a challenge for the regime, which had to re-write entirely Rome's multiple meanings to create a new Fascist identity: this new city was called either *Roma Mussoliniana* or the Third Rome (Stone 1999; Edwards 1999; Bellanca 2003; Painter 2005; Bosworth 2011; Neils 2011; Kallis 2014; Arthurs 2014).

The notion of Mussolini's Rome was more than a convenient label to bestow a new identity on the capital: it was also central to the elaboration and diffusion of the *Duce*'s cult. Mussolini was deemed to personify, as part of this mystical bond, the transcendent ideals of

Romanità that set the city and its history apart. The relationship between Rome and Mussolini, though, was not an exclusively metaphysical ideal, but also a material and tangible reality (Pooley 2013: 232).

The Mussolini-Roma binomial was not simply a superficially used propaganda product, but was part of the radical work the regime was operating on symbols. As has been argued by Viejo-Rose for Franco's Spain, dictatorial use of symbols of the past has been a powerful way to legitimise seizure of power by regimes, giving the false impression that the regime had been there long before its rise (Viejo-Rose 2011a). As Mussolini and Fascism were two manifestations of the same spiritual entity, *Il Duce* was using Rome to serve the cult of his personality and intentionally manipulating Roman remains to make them readable through Fascist values, thus supporting the Fascist revolution for the construction of the new Italian man (Gentile 2007; Stone 1999).

The demolition of the surroundings of many Roman ruins was part of Mussolini's broader project to construct a new city, which was to be the capital of the new Fascist state: *Il Duce* was the visual personification of this change, as constantly remembered by propaganda which depicted him with the 'restorative pickaxe' at every demolition or inauguration (Gentile 2007; Stone 1999; fig, 8). The Fascist remaking of the Eternal City's heritage was for Mussolini not only an opportunity to show nationally and internationally his role as absolute 'creator', but also a pilot study of how to reframe materially and symbolically every other Italian city.

After recognising both architecture and the Roman past as the most powerful combination for propaganda, Mussolini transformed Rome into his Fascist ideal city (Painter 2005; Arthurs 2014; Kallis 2014). What Mussolini did by insinuating Fascist values on both the ancient and modern city had a long-lasting impact on Rome's identity. This thesis will look at the role the legacies of the regime play in contemporary Rome not only through the lens of what in Italy is perceived as the cultural heritage of the regime, namely the visual arts and architecture, but also those legacies not generally perceived as 'heritage', such as urbanism.

All the case studies selected for this research are in Rome, based on the political value of the city for the regime and three other factors:

-accessibility of information, which has included how well-documented they were as sites in order to be able to analyse the discourse around them;

-how iconic they had been during Fascism;
-how debated and controversial they have been in the present.

The combination of these three factors resulted in five case studies, grouped as follows:
-Sites related directly to Mussolini: Villa Torlonia, his family residence and Palazzo Venezia, his political headquarters.
-Sites connected to national memory of the liberation from Fascism: the Ardeatine massacre mausoleum which stands as the national memorial to Nazi-Fascist crimes.
-Two of the three Mussolini's major architectural and urban projects in Rome: the Forum Mussolini, where the contested obelisk is located, and the E.U.R. (the 1942 World Fair Exhibition) project through its development as a neighbourhood.

1.5 Research Objectives

This thesis explores the reception of Fascist material legacies in contemporary Italy in order to cast light on the effects of heritage designation on heritage of the dictatorship. The research has three goals:

1) to investigate the fate of material legacies of the dictatorship from post-war to the present day;
2) to analyse what narratives have emerged from the reception and reconstruction process of places of the dictatorship;
3) to explore contemporary claims following heritage designation of Fascist heritage and how the far-right use them to pursue their political agenda.

In pursuit of the first goal, the thesis starts by analysing the definitions and practices of the heritage of dictatorship. The research begins by investigating the uses of heritage and heritage construction during the dictatorship to shed light on the political use of places during the regime and then examines how the post-war material legacies of the regime have been destroyed, modified, reused or neglected in the immediate post-war period.

To achieve the second and third goals, public perception was analysed based on unstructured ethnographic interviews and questionnaire (Appendices A and B), exploring claims and values attached to Fascist heritage which in turn generate different narratives. The study then produces an analysis of the contemporary reception of Fascist material legacies,

underlying difference between the reception of heritage on the base of its perceived ideology. The research challenges the concept of ‘difficult heritage’ as unproblematic and suggests how the politics of memory and identity reconstruction can influence the renegotiation of a dictatorial past (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework and methodology

The central line of questioning of this research seeks to understand the heritage-making process of dictatorial heritage and its relationship with memory, identity and politics. As a means of understanding the role of the material legacies of Fascism in contemporary Italy, this thesis firstly needs to define what is meant by 'Heritage of the Dictatorship', and how this heritage is perceived in Italy. This will unfold into:

1) understanding within the city of Rome which sites were 'edited' or created by the regime and why, and whether they are still tainted by a dictatorial meaning;
2) analysing community perception of dictatorial heritage based on interviews, participant observation and questionnaire (Appendices A and B).

Secondly**,** it is necessary to look at how selected sites and places were used after the fall of the regime, what happened to them, and how their heritage has been constructed. This thesis will investigate how sites associated with the meaning and symbolism of the dictatorship changed once the dictator fell, and it is precisely in this changed context that new meanings were forged. From this research, a chronological layout of the reception of Fascist material legacies has emerged which I divide into three phases: iconoclasm; oblivion; and the 'heritage turn'. The iconoclasm phase was one of *damnatio memoriae*, although the removal of Fascist symbols was never systematic, providing the opportunity for an interesting study of what was selected for removal and what was left *in situ*. Buildings and monuments that were spared by what has been described as *iconoclastic fury* (Emilio Gentile pers. comm., 25 August 2017) entered into a new symbolic role and became tools in the evolving post-war power structure and in the formation of memory.

The *oblivion* phase invested Fascist material legacies for many years in the post-war period, almost as if frozen in time, allowing them to be 'reborn' into the public domain after 50 years through the heritage designation process that I call here the '*heritage turn*'[4]. The way in which the heritage of the dictatorship was modified and reused in the aftermath of the fall of the dictator had long-term effects which were not always the ones intended by the instigators of the de-fascistisation process. Thirdly**,** this research will analyse contemporary

[4]Italian heritage designation process has two phases: the *vincolo* or listing which can be apply after 50 years from the construction and the 'full' heritage status which can be applied after 70 years from the construction.

political readings of Fascist Heritage, providing insight into how heritage can be misused in contemporary political propaganda.

The scope of this chapter is to explore both the theoretical background of the thesis and to explain which methodologies have been used to investigate the main research questions outlined above. The chapter will first explore the theoretical analytical tools which framed the research; it will then analyse existing studies on the material legacies of Fascism and identify under-researched aspects of the literature; finally, different methodologies employed in this research will be analysed.

2.1 Collective memory and its performativity

The field of memory study has an abundance of literature, particularly since what has been defined as the *memory boom* or the increase in the number of studies that followed the unification of Germany in 1989, with the principal focus on the many ways we remember the past (Huyssen 1995; Winter 2001). As Sather-Wagstaff (2015: 191) puts it:

> defining memory is as difficult as defining heritage, as both words do not simply define 'things' or factual notions but are at the same time an element of the process and the process itself. They both have a performative element, as they both have a conceptual element that requires a performative act situated in place and time. Memory has agency, as it does have a primary role within social construction in the perception of everyday life, which ultimately includes heritage and identity (Sather-Wagstaff 2015: 191).

A common theme among memory scholars like Halbwachs, Connerton and Wertsch is that in order to function fully, the memory process needs to be socially shared, either with friends, community or the nation. The key element is the social connection with a group and this, as Halbwachs argues, can happen both in the present or at the time of the event (Halbwachs 1994: 52). Two of the most relevant aspects of Halbwachs' work for this research are the fact that we are all interconnected into this process of remembering, and the role of landscape as both space and place within memory-work. He argues that when the frequency of visiting a place diminishes and people who have previously lived in these places are not experiencing them anymore, they create a symbolic representation of them (Halbwachs 1994: 205).

Connerton suggests that we create memories through our body and therefore only by performing in a place are we actively working on memory. Our ability to reproduce those embodied memories in the present affects how we experience the present, and consequently in turn how the present affects our experience of memory production (Connerton 1989: 2). Connerton argues that architectural structures are somehow containers of memory, and as material objects broadly they have a notion of inscribed memory, a concept which is challenged by scholars such as Wertsch and Samuel.

Wertsch's contribution to memory literature is the argument that collective memory is not 'given' by direct experience of the event but has been negotiated for us by constructed narratives (Wertsch 2004: 5). Samuel argues that heritage is over-constructed if not controlled by historical narratives, reconstructions and other forms of 'official retrofitting' (Samuel 2012 [1994]: 51).

Fascist Heritage is placed in the problematics of the scholarly debate between history and memory, where history is perceived as the documented unquestionable truth whereas memory is considered subjective; for this reason history is perceived to some extent as needing to transcend memory in order to reach and disseminate truth about past events (Gable and Handler 1996: 52). Nora's argument in this context is that memory is not 'basic' knowledge compared with the more 'professional' one of history, which is supposedly based on tangible, impartial evidence (Nora 1989: XVII). This as we will see below is at the core of the debate over Fascist Heritage narrative and how

2.1.2 The construction of 'heritage' (paragraph moved)

Within the Critical Heritage Discourse, 'heritage' as a concept has evolved, from being considered for its materiality as a physical legacy of the past, to being seen as the social process of heritage formation (Lowenthal 1985). Definitions of heritage have become increasingly fluid but this research supports interpretations of heritage as a cultural resource which can have social and political functions and heritage is the result of a selective use of the past for contemporary purposes (Ashworth *et al* 2007: 7 as cited in Lee 2019:23) and can be seen as an aggregation of myths, values and legacies which determine and define the contemporary needs of societies. The overarching objective of this thesis is to work towards a more thorough understanding of the heritage processes resulting from a dictatorial past and

its ability to influence contemporary political debates. Following those scholars that argue that heritage is a highly political process, malleable to the needs of power and very often subject to contestation (Smith 2006; Dolff-Bonekamper 2008; Carr 2014; Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015), one of the aims of this research is to explore to what extent the transforming of material legacies of a dictatorship into heritage is influenced by the need to construct a post-dictatorial identity.

Pierre Nora's work on realms of memory is a fundamental analysis of how buildings, places, plaques and historical figures can evoke a set of emotions and become a memory of national symbols. For Viejo-Rose (2011a) Nora, places of memory are 'any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of the human will or the work of time has become symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community' (Nora 1989: XVII cited in Viejo-Rose 2011b: 468). He has analysed landmarks in France to be able to deconstruct their role in the making of a national sense of identity. He argues that in order to understand the construction of national identity 'it was no longer enough simply to select objects; instead those objects would have to be constructed. In each case, one would have to look beyond the historical reality to discover the symbolic reality and recover the memory that sustained it' (Nora 1989: XIX cited in Viejo-Rose 2011b: 468).

Following on from the symbolic meaning of material culture, post-conflict reconstruction is a further lens that this thesis is using to analyse Fascist Heritage. As Viejo-Rose (2011a) argues, it is always in the immediate aftermath of war that heritage is used to reconnect society – by triggering the need for a recovered sense of belonging and by building a new sense of identity. Viejo-Rose goes on to argue that it is important to note that during post-war reconstruction, the making of heritage is never neutral, very often perpetrating division as it is usually only the narrative of the winners that prevails. As will be explained in the following chapters, Italy's de-fascistisation and selection of a narrative of 'inclusion' is one which has had unpredicted consequences in the present. The deliberate policy of not destroying buildings, but rather superficially re-making Fascist facades, marked the start of the revision of Fascism into something less traumatic and less devastating that has allowed the contemporary interpretation of Fascism to be portrayed as a 'not-too-bad' political experience.

2. 2 The critique of Ideological Architecture: the issue of Agency

What makes architecture problematic when dealing with legacies of the dictatorship is the fact of it being 'in the world', in both spatial and temporal terms; in other words, it is 'contemporary', such buildings being concrete and tangible elements of our everyday life. Yet architecture also has a Utopian edge, particularly when it is conceived as propaganda, which raises fundamental questions about how architecture enacts, how it performs, and consequently, how it might retain a dark vision of a dystopic future. In other words, what makes the architecture of the regime problematic is its intrinsic ability to take the viewer back in time or to create alternative worlds.

In the wake of the problematisation of Modernism, the discipline of architecture has witnessed a marked turn in its understanding of this ability. As Tafuri (2000) puts it, 'architecture was no longer to be located in the affirmative realm of the architectural project, but shifted – under the influence of various schools of Marxism and critical theory – to the realm of history and theory'. As Doucet and Cupers argue, 'renewed critiques of late capitalism have often been inspired by a search for new ways of thinking about criticality and political engagement, whether through theoretical "third ways", or, more concretely, by imagining alternatives to "global neoliberalism" as it manifests itself in the contemporary city' (Doucet and Cupers 2009: 1). Moreover, as Somol and Whiting (2002) have shown, perception of architectural production has been radically challenged: they argue contemporary society now question not only architecture's critical potential but also its agency. Consequently, as expressed by Speaks (2005) and Martin (2005), rather than casting architecture in terms of either societal relevance or aesthetic quality, current approaches tend to be guided less by what architecture means or intends than by how it works and what it does.

A particularly fruitful concept for understanding architecture's multiple ways of engaging with the world is that of agency, as expressed by Rendell *et al*. (2007: 25) 'This approach transcends the dichotomies of the current debate – such as that of critical, progressive social change versus the allegedly uncritical performance of the architectural object – and traces novel connections between form and space.'

What applies to the specifics of dealing with legacies of the dictatorship is the notion of intentionality. The discipline of architecture, argues Appadurai (1996), has for a long time focused on meaning:

> architecture tended to be interpreted according to models and principles developed in the realm of theory and focused primarily on the intentions of the architect. The recent infatuation with performance in architecture can be understood as an attempt to move away resolutely from meaning as it was espoused in architecture theory, and to think instead through the Deleuzian concepts of immanence and affect (Appadurai 1996: 57).

Intentionality has also been at the centre of the debate on the legacies of ideological architecture, and it has been questioned whether the effect of such ideology could still be 'active' or 're-activated' by extremists in contemporary societies. Šuvakovic (2014) and Baker (2000) both argue that architecture is essentially a political practice which has a paramount role in the organisation of individual and collective human life, as well as being the most accomplished way for a society to-represent itself symbolically. Moreover, Šuvakovic (2014) argues that the difference between totalitarian political practices and democratic ones lies only in the attitude of the former to disclose openly its ideology whereas in democracies ideology and political ideas tend to be hidden (Speer 1941; Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992).

Therefore, as Tafuri puts it (2000:5):

> the practice of architecture is in its character a signifier practice and that means a material practice, in which the social and the human are produced in the struggle to structure the visible, i.e. presentable order of power, rule, governance, and existence there and then (Tafuri 2000:5).

Accepting all of the above, the role of ideological architecture in contemporary societies is no longer just a history of the architectural works of the past, but is a history of the socio-political interests that sustained and supported ideology and which may well resonate with contemporary interests as well. In other words, as architecture is something other than simply that which appears as a direct affective experience before the body and the eye, it explains why ideological architecture has been seen by heritage scholars as highly challenging for contemporary societies once it becomes heritage, as explained below.

2.3 Difficult Heritage: the problematic Past in the Present

The study of places of shame and pain has developed into a specific area of studies that has been defined in various way. The terms used have included 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge

and Ashworth 1996; Ashworth 2002; Graham 2002), 'contested heritage' (Tunbridge *et al*. 1996; Shaw and Jones 1997; Winter 2004), 'heritage that hurts' (Uzzell and Ballantyne 1998), 'dark heritage' (Lennon and Foley 2000; Carr 2014), 'negative heritage' (Meskell 2002), and 'difficult heritage' (Logan and Reeves 2009; Macdonald 2009; Lee 2019).

This terminology reflects two aspects of the process of heritage-making and can be divided into those that focus principally on how heritage has impacted on communities in dealing with legacies of the past, and those that have looked more at how these legacies have produced various forms of contestation in contemporary societies. Among those that reflect on the effect produced by places of trauma, Ashworth and Ashworth (1998: 78) in their analysis use the term 'unwelcome heritage', which is in line with what Macdonald would then term as 'undesirable heritage' in her 2006 and 2009 works on Nuremberg. However, among this group, which includes Meskell's (2002: 558) definition of 'negative', Uzzell and Ballantyne's (2002) definition of heritage that 'hurts', and Lennon and Foley's (2000) 'dark tourism', the interest is primarily in places of trauma and atrocities that are read through a lens of human rights, with the focus on the memorialising ethos of 'never again'.

Among the second group of scholars that analysed in depth the process of heritage related to contested legacies, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 22) were the first to introduce the idea of heritage with a less-positive meaning, with their definition of 'dissonant heritage'. Traditionally, dissonance is associated to places that hosted conflicts and atrocities such as war and genocide, but the concept has evolved to include places of negative memories that could create social conflicts. Similarly, 'difficult' refers to a kind of heritage that is considered painful and shameful in a community's history (Logan and Reeves 2009: 1). Winter (2004: 13) uses the term 'contested heritage' in his work on Cambodia and investigates how these legacies are contested between different groups for identity claims. Particularly relevant to this research is Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996: 22) differentiation between places of atrocities that are primarily concerned with the victims and those which are concerned with the perpetrators. For example, places associated with the person of Hitler are linked with perpetration, but are not places where physical suffering occurred. Macdonald defines these places as 'perpetration at a distance', following actor-network theories (Macdonald 2009: 3). In her book on *Difficult Heritage* (2009: 1), Sharon Macdonald defines such heritage thus:

> heritage is 'difficult' when: a past is recognised as worth remembering, but creates difficulties in the present, generating conflict rather than creating a self-

> affirming contemporary identity. This kind of heritage could even generate fear, by breaking through into society, that is profoundly affecting society, and perpetuating social division (Macdonald 2009:1).

Macdonald's work examines the problems of representation and heritagisation and how a difficult past is negotiated by different groups of society. It approaches difficult heritage as an 'undesired legacy' and refers to the Nazi heritage as the sort of heritage 'that the majority of the population would prefer not to have' (Macdonald 2006: 34; 2009: 9).

The most relevant work to this thesis is Lee's (2019) analysis of the difficult heritage of the Japanese occupation in South Korea, where she has taken Macdonald's work further by challenging the idea that every traumatic memory generates negative meanings (2019: 23). Moreover, she argues that individual sites could generate different meanings even if the national narrative on these same legacies might be generally negative. In her argument for the selection of the concept 'difficult heritage' in relation to perceptions of the Japanese occupation in South Korea, she explains that the word 'difficult', as used previously by Logan and Reeves (2009) and Macdonald (2009), is not meant to condense into one word the complexities of sites of trauma but rather is meant as a specific link to present circumstances and the struggle they generate now (Lee 2019: 24).

In this thesis, 'difficult heritage' is conceptualised as referring to sites that belong to a shameful past but because of the complexities of integrating an inglorious past into a positive national narrative they have been read in an unproblematic way. Here, the 'difficult' aspect of this particular heritage is generated from a resistance to facing a divisive past, a past that has become polarised in the present into conflicting narratives that in turn support polarised identities. Fascist Heritage in Italy is an example of difficult heritage, reflecting the struggle of the country in coming to terms with its dictatorial past; it is therefore a good example in which to examine the complexities that societies face in the construction of post-dictatorial identities.

However, there are some understudied aspects in the works on difficult heritage so far. Firstly, the core theoretical background on which the difficult heritage argument is usually structured is based on places of trauma and pain, which by default place such heritage within the realm of 'unequivocally negative'. Legacies of Nazism which are generally directly associated with places of mass killings/genocides and pain are collectively perceived as 'undesirable' (Macdonald 2009), as are traditionally places of colonialism (Lee 2019),

where one side is clearly framed as violating human rights. By reading places of trauma and atrocities through a lens of human rights, and focusing on the memorialising ethos of 'never again', research has paid much less attention to the issues around the 'fascination of Fascism' in relation to art and architecture.

The scope of this research is to expand the literature to those sites that are not directly linked to killing, and which therefore do not have memorialisation as their principal aim. In other words, the focus of this thesis is on places that are not only not directly connected to atrocities but rather the opposite: it considers ones that have, over time, been given a positive value because of their constant use and because of their aesthetic value. Secondly, a great number of publications overlook the role of NGOs and other associations in framing the meaning of these sites. As argued by Lee (2019), much of the literature (e.g. Graham *et al*. (2000); Bell (2003)) assumes national narratives are constructed solely by the will of national government, whereas in her work she shows that different sites may have contrasting micro-narratives from the main national master-narrative. Thirdly, while the role of collective memory is often invoked in the process of heritage-making (Ashworth and Ashworth 1998; Lennon and Foley 2000; Meskell 2002; Lee 2019), individual cases are rarely analysed independently from each other (with the exception of Lee 2019) and the role played by memory narratives is not used to analyse architecture that is unconnected with trauma. In light of these gaps in the field of difficult heritage, it will be important to discuss next the existing literature on Fascist material legacies and see why a new methodological approach will be useful in aiding our understanding of the relationship between Fascist heritage and national identity in Italy.

2.4 Existing studies on Fascist Heritage

Despite the enormous volume of research on Fascism from the fields of Political History, Fascist Art, Classics, Fascist Architecture and interpretations of Fascism, the socio-political aspects that shaped the fate of the material legacies of the Italian dictatorship are considerably under-researched. The literature will be organised chronologically and themes will be introduced following the socio-political events, with a focus from the year 2000 onwards.

The year 2017 is not a year for such publications to appear by chance in the academic world. The socio-political context within what has been defined trans-nationally as the 'monument debate' started with post-colonial movements in South Africa such as 'Rhodes must fall', which asked for the removal of sculpture of those involved in slavery, and, following the 2017 Charlottesville crimes in the US, the demand for Confederate monuments to be removed. These debates regarding the removal of specific monuments and sculptures sparked a wider debate on what to do with contested material legacies which are still in public places (Upton 2015, 2017; Allison 2018; Arthurs 2019; Bartolini 2018b; Bartolini 2019; Sørensen M.L.S., Viejo-Rose D., Filippucci P. 2019).

The post-war fate of Fascist material legacies in Italy has been looked at by, amongst others, Vidotto (2005), Gentile (2007), Pennacchi (2008), Arthurs (2010; 2014; 2019), Benton 1999, 2010) Pieri (2013), Storchi (2013a; 2019), Hökerberg (2017; 2018), Carter and Martin (2017; 2019), Ben-Ghiat (2017), Malone (2017; 2018; 2019), Bartolini (2018a; 2018b; 2019), Higgins (2018), Leech (2018), Page (2018), Maulsby (2019), Marcello (2019) and Fuller (2019). Most of the academic work produced in recent years has tried to explain how the Fascist regime used art and architecture to mediate ideology during the regime, focusing on analysis of single works of art or monuments and concluding with an historical account of the fate of the monument post-war, but failing to connect heritage produced under Fascism with the contemporary political meaning of heritage.

Within the Italian context, historian Vittorio Vidotto gave a lecture on *Places of Fascism in Rome* (2005) which stands as the first critical reflection on the fate of the material legacies of Fascism in Rome from the period immediately post-war to the Olympics of 1960. Vidotto's iconic work focuses on the crucial political transition between the immediate post-war period and the Olympics in Rome which saw what has been defined as the *defascistizzazione* of not only the socio-political system but also monuments. The de-fascistisation of Fascism was supposedly going to be a phase when the country would punish and suspend ex-Fascists and remove symbols of the Fascist party from public buildings. Vidotto envisioned how the political transition influenced the way in which iconic Fascist buildings such as the Foro Italico were preserved, since it was thought reframing Fascist sites as part of Italy's history could unite the country rather than divide it. Vidotto's work is a valuable account of the politics behind the destruction or preservation of monuments during what may be called the phase of *material* de-fascistisation but, as we shall see for Emilio

Gentile, he does not account for the different fates of these buildings in more recent years and their uses as political tools in contemporary Italy.

The first researcher who looked at Fascist architecture as valuable historical documents is Emilio Gentile (2007). From the perspective of cultural history, Gentile see material legacies of Fascism as the highest expression of Fascist ideology, stressing how strongly related monumental architecture was to Fascist doctrine. He investigated what he called *Fascismo di Pietra* (Fascism in Stone), namely monumental buildings left by Mussolini within the landscape of the city of Rome. Used as a university text for cultural history, his work was the first to document iconic and often neglected places of Fascist architecture, giving them a sense of 'worthiness' and focusing attention on what had been a taboo topic throughout the post-war period. Gentile envisions monumental architecture as a way to understand how consensus worked during the dictatorship, by giving a sense of how much the regime achieved during a limited amount of time. The author describes both archaeological excavations, urbanism and new buildings, and scrutinised fully how the regime used cultural heritage and the idea of Rome as a political tool. However, even if his historical knowledge is undisputed, his work does not address the heritage-related issues of contemporary uses and modern readings of Fascist architecture.

Pennacchi (2008) produced a travel book which was acclaimed by the general public, possibly more than by the academic world. As heritage is very often the result of a popular response to places, this publication is arguably important for the construction of the discourse surrounding Fascist Heritage. Pennacchi's work took the form of a travel diary visiting Mussolini's new towns, giving a semi-nostalgic appreciation of those achievements of the regime and supporting a right-wing revisionist narrative in which Fascism and Communism were equally dangerous and anti-Fascism was the result of ex-Fascists changing political sides.

Joshua Arthurs (2010) was the first scholar to address Fascist architecture as 'heritage' in contemporary Italy. In his work on the Foro Italico, he analyses how Fascist monuments are still playing an important political role in Italy today, from the Berlusconi era to the contemporary issue raised by Laura Boldrini on what to do with the words *Mussolini dux* on the Foro Italico obelisk. Arthurs asks whether the political scenario of the Berlusconi era in Italy, which saw the neo-fascist party National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale*) entering Parliament for the first time, initiated a process of renegotiation of Fascist guilt. Arthurs also argues that Fascist architecture in Italy today is almost invisible to the wider public, a

statement that will be analysed in detail in subsequent chapters. More generally, studies on Fascist material culture and Fascist ideology have considered cultural heritage only from the point of view of cultural history rather than Critical Heritage Studies and the multiple meanings given to the remains.

Serenelli (2013a and b), Pieri (2013) and Storchi (2013a) have all used a variety of case studies to analyse the legacies of Mussolini through the lens of the 'cult of the *Duce*'. Serenelli produced the most recent ethnography, after a long stay based in the city of Predappio, Mussolini's birthplace. Her work has informed and helped the present research by providing a perspective on the relationship between memory, place and forgetting from the very unique case of Predappio, which, as will be seen in chapter 5, is the city where the future museum of Fascism will open (Storchi 2019).

The research project of Gundle, Duggan and Pieri (2013) is the most extensive published work on how the cult of Mussolini was conceived during the regime and how the legacies of the cult took root in post-war Italian society. Pieri (2013) has looked specifically at how the regime promoted the dictator in the manner of religious iconography through the arts and observed how Mussolini's facial traits were transformed at different stages of his power; she also shows how complex the image of Mussolini still is today in contemporary society. More recently Pieri's work has informed the work of Susanna Arangio (2018) on the role of art exhibitions in the renegotiation of Fascism: with an analysis of how such exhibitions have gradually moved from the immediate post-war collections which were affected by '*rimozione della memoria*' (forgetting) ultimately to the opening of the Bargellini-Susmel collection, which originates from the collection of the neo-fascist and Mussolini's biographer Duilio Susmel.

The first of the recent batch of publications addressing the topic of the material legacies of Fascism is Hökerberg's (2017) work on the Monument to Victory in Bolzano. Hökerberg, following what Macdonald defines as historical consciousness, or the coming to terms with a difficult past, analyses the permanent exhibition inside the monument and how this heritage operation was a way to de-sacralise the Fascist rhetoric of a WWI monument. Also in 2017, and following Arthurs and Hökerberg, Carter and Martin (2017) looked at one specific painting in the Foro Italico and considered how its contemporary use could be a sign of a more relaxed approach to Fascism in contemporary Italy. The mural fresco of the *Apotheosis of Fascism* is one of the paintings that has triggered international public debate in recent years on account of where it is placed, and also because, in 2015, Italian Prime

Minister Matteo Renzi officially announced Italy's candidacy for the 2020 Olympics in the same room. Carter and Martin argue that this 'relaxed approach to the memory of Fascism' is a reflection of how, since the Berlusconi era, Italy has experienced a new wave of revisionism in which the legacies of its Fascist past are playing an important role. While they rightly envision the uses of heritage as a reflection of society, their analysis does not take into account the process of heritage and how inherently political any decision on heritage actually is. Furthermore, they seem to read this process of 'rediscovering' Fascist monuments or paintings as a right-wing decision, whereas Matteo Renzi and Walter Veltroni were both left-wing politicians. An account of the state of the debate was given in the same year by Hannah Malone (2017).

It was Ruth Ben-Ghiat's 2017 piece in *The New Yorker* that pushed the debate surrounding Fascist monuments into a wider sphere, both nationally and internationally. With an expertise in Italian propaganda and Fascist architecture, Ben-Ghiat expressed through the columns of *The New Yorker* her fears of how Italy is forgetting Fascist ideology. By questioning why so many Fascist monuments are still standing in Italy in comparison with Nazi Germany, she points out how Italians all seem very comfortable around Fascist architecture, as if these heritage sites had been depoliticised. She also argues that monuments as iconic as the Palace of Italian Civilisation in Rome, used today as the headquarters of the fashion house Fendi, are a clear consequence of years of not dealing with the Fascist past. The opportunity to interview Ruth Ben-Ghiat and analyse the responses to her journalistic piece has been extremely relevant to this project, as the piece raised questions on Italians' attachment to Fascist heritage and how the country sees such monuments. In the following chapters this thesis will give a socio-political account of both the depoliticisation issue raised by Ben-Ghiat and the heritage-making process of the material legacies of the Fascist regime as they have become 'designated heritage' in recent years.

Following Arthurs (2010) and Ben-Ghiat (2017), this author published an article in 2018 on Villa Torlonia – the first work to interpret Fascist Heritage as 'difficult heritage' and to address the material legacies of the regime through the lens of Critical Heritage Studies. In this analysis of Mussolini's villa in Rome (see also Chapter 4), a key feature of the reception of Fascist material legacies was documented, namely how positive and depoliticised this heritage is. Particularly relevant to the current debate is the museum display inside Villa Torlonia, where the section about the Mussolini family is almost hidden away, exposing a discourse ambiguity as elaborated by the heritage managers of the site.

In 2018, under the editorship of Hökerberg, several scholars confronted the relationship between Fascist architecture and propaganda and, while most works referred solely to the Fascist period, some papers looked also at the fate of Fascist buildings in contemporary Italy. Among them, Malone (2018), in her analysis of Marcello Piacentini's arch of Victory in Genoa, references Ciucci's work (2002) on the interpretation of Fascist architecture in which Ciucci says architecture was interpreted by moral values and therefore politically. Malone suggests that architecture loses its political layer with the passage of time and therefore Fascist architecture today should be judged on some 'neutral' ground.

Sharon Macdonald considers the issue of how Nazi legacies are not difficult anymore in German societies (2018), but she does highlight one of the questions that this thesis addresses, which is the dynamic generated by official designation of difficult heritage and what the political consequences can be. Hökerberg, in his concluding analysis of the book and following Macdonald's (2009) work on difficult heritage, identifies different solutions or strategies to deal with Fascist legacies today: he suggests that in Italy, while some sites have been reused or partly destroyed, most have been restored and preserved. However, once again the analysis focuses on the practice of heritage rather than on heritage meanings and fails to contextualise material legacies within the Italian socio-political scenario.

In early 2019, a special issue of the journal *Modern Italy* on 'Difficult Heritage', edited by Carter and Martin, presented a selection of papers from architectural and political historians around the topic of Fascist Heritage as 'Difficult Heritage'. The way the issue interprets 'Difficult Heritage', despite using Macdonald's definition, does not present any ethnographic research and envisage cultural heritage as fix and not in flux. Instead of looking at heritage as an assemblage – using Macdonald – it looks more at the materiality rather than the symbolic meanings of heritage. The result is a series of micro-history case studies and not a critical analysis of heritage as a socio-political process. Those that participated in the special issue presented an art history or architectural history of the diverse case-studies, with all in agreement that Fascist Heritage is 'not political anymore*'* and that political ideology has somehow faded. Maulsby (2019), following her own research of 2011, analyses the fate of the history of some Case del Fascio (Fascist headquarters) and how they have been reused post-war. She rightly observes that, in terms of 'changes' to the buildings, only *fasces* had been removed and destruction has affected only memorials to the Fascist Martyrs. Marcello (2019) has looked at the Casa del Mutilato in Rome, which is a post-WWI memorial to those that were injured during the war. Interestingly, she observed how ambiguity regarding the

recent restoration of some of the frescos only affected Mussolini's image, but generally she is in accord with those that don't see this heritage as problematic. Malone (2019) focuses on the role of WWI memorials built during Fascism as a crucial part of the 'sacrifice for the Fatherland' propaganda, arguing that most Fascist monuments have various meanings and that the Fascist layer is just one of them. She argues that monuments are 'palimpsests', where an old meaning is erased and a new one is written on top, a concept that, while fascinating, does not take into account how WWI monuments can be seen differently by different people and therefore how multiple narratives co-exist. The lack of fieldwork on site and of public perception has led many scholars approaching cultural heritage to analyse predominantly signs and website material, which are not in themselves sufficient to produce an in-depth understanding of the heritage process and the analysis is quite often limited, producing only top-down selected narratives.

Finally, Arthurs (2019) and Bartolini (2019) have made a comparison between the monuments debate and the violence which originated in the summer of 2017 in Charlottesville relating to the proposed removal of a Confederate Monument and how this can be translated into the Fascist Heritage Discourse. This author's 2019 article on Charlottesville demonstrates how public debate in Italy has seen only outrage against those that have suggested the removal or some form of monument re-semantization. Public reaction to Laura Boldrini's idea of covering the words *Mussolini Dux* in the Foro Italico led to an unrealistic and emotional collective fear of the destruction of monuments and iconoclasm (Bartolini 2018b; 2019). Two case studies that can be considered two extremes in the Italian context – the ex-Casa del Fascio in Bolzano and the memorial to Rodolfo Graziani in Affile – are presented in my 2019 article, where I argue that the heritage process invested in these two sites is a reflection of the conflicting memories and therefore narratives that surround Fascist Heritage, construction having started post-war and having developed in unexpected ways in contemporary Italy (see Chapter 8).

To conclude this review of existing studies regarding the fate of Fascist legacies, it is clear that the works come primarily from cultural historians and not from heritage studies scholars, which, as Connerton has argued, can present problems:

Historians investigate evidence in much the same way as lawyers cross-question witnesses in a court; they extract from that evidence information which it does not explicitly contain or even extract information which was contrary to the overt assertions contained in it … Far from relying on authorities other than themselves, historians are their own authority; their

thought is autonomous vis-à-vis their evidence, in the sense that they possess criteria by reference to which that evidence is criticized. Historical reconstruction is therefore not dependent on social memory. (Connerton 2009, online publication).

Hence the focus of examination tends to be on what art and architecture meant for the regime and how, conversely, the ruins of the regime were later invested with *damnatio memoriae*, rather than analysing the role of cultural heritage as an on-going socio-political process. An historical approach works on a rigid chronology and needs to establish a watershed when the values attached to Fascist art and architecture changed, creating a chronological framework for the study of attitudes to Fascism which is structured on 'before' and 'after' certain events. By contrast, this thesis assumes that heritage formation is a non-linear process – to use Macdonald's words, heritage is a messy story (2009: 12). In contrast to the work of political history or historical architecture, this research is not based solely on top-down archival research and chronology but combines them with a grassroots investigation of changes in public attitudes towards Fascist material culture through ethnographic research and how diverse narratives form the discourse on heritage of the dictatorship.

2.5 Methodology

The hardest conceptual aspect of the project was to establish how Fascist Heritage in Italy has been transformed into 'traditional heritage' and how it is now regarded/treated in the same way as Roman remains or the high art of the Renaissance. Firstly, what all of the aforementioned articles on Italian difficult heritage have failed to address is that the majority of Fascist monuments and buildings in Italy are not open to the public: there is no visitor access to them. The result of this is that to some extent we have outstanding pieces of art and architecture but technically no heritage sites of the dictatorship. I set my methodology here in deliberate contrast to the approaches I have just discussed. Secondly, the heritage process of Fascist material legacies is only designation and conservative preservation, not open access. Heritage listing, moreover, has been given only to a limited number of works of art and architecture, meaning the vast majority of material traces of the dictatorial past have not been classified, protected or studied, which is, in itself, a very important fact. Thirdly, a good majority of Fascist Heritage does not belong to the State, wholly or in part, which partly explains why the sites are not necessarily accessible to the public, either because they are

owned by semi-private institutions which have no interest in arranging public tours, or because they are simply not in use. The Foro Italico (formerly Foro Mussolini) and the E.U.R. (1942 World Fair Exhibition) complex, analysed in chapter 6 and 7 as case-studies, despite being architectural treasures and therefore listed, are not open access. Thus these sites do not produce heritage materials as they do not encourage visits, except on certain occasions thorough particular charities (as explained below). Nonetheless, both Foro Mussolini and the E.U.R. complex use their image and their architecture to brand their respective companies, the C.O.N.I. (Italian National Olympic Committee) and E.U.R. s.p.a., and it has been their marketing material and how they have crafted their public image that this thesis has analysed.

This research has looked at heritage as a process that has influenced, and at the same time been made by, the public through a variety of media. Firstly, in Italian academia the concept of heritage as a process is not well-developed; secondly, in practical terms, cultural heritage is mostly seen as material culture in need of protection, a process implemented through conservation and listing. As we shall see in Chapter 3, in terms of Italian law on Cultural Heritage, the scope of conservation in Italy is very often limited solely to protection, a fact that is reflected in scholarly work on the matter. Heritage is used as a synonym for Cultural Heritage – the intangible dimension is confined to 'traditions and folklore' – with tremendous importance being given to its materiality and monumentality rather than to its values and meanings. Therefore, in order to be able to understand how the perception of material legacies of Fascism is constructed and meaning created, this project has looked not only at traditional heritage materials like exhibition catalogues, which in the case of Fascist Heritage have almost always been held not within the Fascist building but somewhere else, but also at the various ways heritage meaning is formed in Italy, which this thesis defines as 'heritage influencers'. These include TV documentaries (particularly those provided by RAI, the Italian public network), possibly the most influential because TV has the widest reach in society; open days of professional associations which also act like charities for the protection of cultural heritage such as FAI, Italia Nostra, Open Rome which have both an educational and a conservation role; social media pages which have a specific interest and disseminate material on Fascist Art and Architecture, like *Arte e Architettura del Ventennio* (Art and Architecture of the Ventennio), *Arte Fascista* (Fascist Art) and *Arte Ardita* (Daring Art).

Heritage Studies as a research field has a complicated nature, since it fuses emotions, material culture, politics and memory. Its complexity challenges traditional research techniques by taking an interdisciplinary perspective, advocating a mixed-method approach

borrowing from the fields of anthropology, archaeology, politics and history (Sørensen 2009; Viejo-Rose 2011a). As heritage can be interpreted from each discipline with diverse aims and foci, concerns have arisen regarding the need for agreement on methodologies to aid mutual understanding. Sørensen and Carman (2009: 5) identify three methods to investigate the relationship between text, people and objects, all of which have been also used by Lee (2019):

-textual discourse analysis;

-interviews and participant observation;

-biography of heritage sites.

All three methods have been adopted in this thesis; however, in dealing with Heritage of the Dictatorship, the highly contextual nature of the discipline and its repercussions and influences on and from contemporary politics pose further methodological questions. The dictatorship remains a controversial topic in Italian public and private memory (Foot 2009), so it is surrounded by emotions and silences. To overcome the constraints that interviewees may experience when directly questioned, a questionnaire was used to investigate people's behaviour and attitudes. Before examining my methodology in more detail, I will briefly summarise my fieldwork to clarify how these methods were selected and how my fieldwork experience influenced my decisions.

2.5.1 Fieldwork

This thesis is the result of nine periods of fieldwork in Rome amounting to a total of ten months of research. Borrowing from the work of Lee (2019: 41), I have produced a table to summarise the aims and results of the fieldwork (Table.2.1). During the first year (2015–16) of fieldwork, most of the work consisted of visitor observation around sites, informal interviews, and establishing contacts with heritage professionals and curators to prepare for the subsequent research. The visits amounted to 14 weeks each year, where the first year was crucial in understanding perceptions of Fascist Heritage and how the government was dealing with it, as well as trends in the heritage-making process. From this preliminary research, it emerged immediately how diversified the ways are in which Fascist Heritage has been preserved. Interestingly, there is no 'heritage site' which faces up to its Fascist past as such, which is one of the core findings of the research. Through a combination of factors, Fascism has been taken out of its own cultural heritage, creating a visual and mental contrast with

many of the material legacies and with how imposing its architectural legacies are. Throughout this research it has been a struggle to phrase the aims of the project, as the translation of Fascist Heritage or Heritage of the Dictatorship in Italian provoked rage from heritage professionals, since in their view 'there is no such a thing as Fascist Culture, let alone Heritage' (personal conversation with Maria Teresa Jaquinta at ICCROM, 18 Agosto 2017). From these answers it was clear that the research would have to follow a complicated path of comparing and contrasting different sites to try and untangle the complex heritage process of the transition from dictatorship to republic. I observed diverse typologies of heritage linked to Fascism and decided to analyse whether they had been perceived and treated differently. I was able to divide them into:

-heritage of the dictator;

-visual arts of the regime;

-architecture of the regime;

-heritage of violence.

I then drew upon this typological division to help specify the scope of the research and to choose case studies among the places of Fascism in Rome to explore differences between the four types of site. Following the above division, the sites chosen were Mussolini's residence (Villa Torlonia) and his office (Palazzo Venezia); the Foro Mussolini and the E.U.R., both from the prospective of visual arts and architecture; the Mausoleum of the Ardeatine massacre. I will explain the rationale of these later.

The second year of fieldwork visits (2016–17) was a combination of participant observation and in-depth interviews, which began with casual conversations and was then taken to a more structured level. This part of the research required a considerable amount of contextualisation to understand each individual's personal story in order to make an objective judgement about their responses before moving to the next level of analysis. It also took a considerable amount of time to establish the trust of interviewees and to maintain relationships beyond the fieldwork. There were several ceremonial openings or exhibitions and scientific committee meetings I was able to attend, as well as more formal meetings with local politicians, professionals and architects. My site visits relating to the case studies made me aware of the diverse nature of the political conflicts in the aftermath of WWII and in contemporary Italy. At this stage, I was able to understand the dynamics of destruction and conservation as well as cultural heritage policies in relation to the chosen sites. I also carried

out archival research to document changes in use of the sites and to enhance my understanding of the shift in narratives on Fascist material legacies.

Fieldwork in the third year (2017–18) aimed to fill gaps detected in the research from previous years and to assemble additional interviews drawing on the results of the preparation and dissemination of the questionnaire. This questionnaire focused on re-analysing interview data to put into perspective perception and behaviour in dealing with Fascist Heritage sites. The final fieldwork visits helped reassess the chosen case studies with the purpose of formulating the final conclusions. Each phase of the fieldwork influenced both the plan of the next phase of fieldwork and the general design of the thesis. In summary, to deconstruct the discourse around Fascist material legacies, three fieldwork methodologies were implemented:

-exhibition catalogue and social media text analysis;

-interviews and questionnaire;

-place biographies of the case studies.

In the following section, I will present the application and development of these methods and explain the difficulties of researching Fascism in Italy.

Table 2.1 Summary of the three fieldwork periods

	First fieldwork	Second fieldwork	Third fieldwork
Method of data collection	Archival research and qualitative interviews with heritage professionals	Archival research and qualitative interviews with heritage professionals	Site visits, site interviews
Fieldwork focus	Understanding what Italy did with these sites	Data collection to produce place biography	Site visits to produce semiotic of place
Fieldwork results	Scope of research clarified and understanding of Fascist legacies in Rome	Selection of the five case studies and their contextualisation with wider heritage	Analysis of the data collected

2.5.2 Case studies

This thesis investigates five case studies to shed light on the diverse ways Fascist Heritage has been transformed into either designated or non-designated heritage sites. The case studies approach has been chosen because, as Viejo-Rose puts it, they are particularly versatile 'to the study of the processes and contexts over a period of time and establishing cause and effect within them' (Viejo-Rose 2011: 14). Lee also uses the case-studies approach, as her research pays particular attention to 'the socio-political situations in the changing status of the JCOA and the method is useful in examining the complex processes by which JCOA sites were formed and transformed in post-liberation era' (Lee 2019: 42). The case studies have been selected to analyse four different categories of heritagisation as emerged from ethnographic research: heritage of the leader; heritage of dictatorial art; heritage of dictatorial architecture and heritage of fascist violence. The five case studies have been chosen because they represent some of the most symbolic sites of the time of the dictatorship and pose questions on how they have been used within the national historical narrative.

Finally, the case studies have been chosen as they have all been listed and are therefore protected by law which allows the research to look at the official conservation material, or lack of it, as tools for textual and visual analysis. This aspect of the research proved to be particularly challenging as many buildings and sites of the regime are not designated heritage sites, which means lack of public access and therefore lack of information material to be scrutinised. This lack of 'official' heritage material apart from conservation reports has required the research to look for other tools that contribute to the discourse, such as an exhibition on Fascist Art and Architecture and some specific artists known to be very controversial such as Mario Sironi. Exhibition catalogues very often omitted references to the Fascist past, but were still useful in documenting how selective amnesia is constructed. The selected case studies have been chosen because they have undergone significant changes in meanings and visual appearance, determined by political reasons. They provide very good examples of how the post-dictatorial national identity was forged politically, a feature reflected in the way these sites have been treated differently in different times. As we will see, the case studies have all been given heritage designation status, but very little reference is made to the dictatorship, allowing for a very interesting exploration of the complexities of dealing with a difficult past and of how problematic the inherently selective process of heritage making can be.

2.5.3 Place biography as a stratigraphy of values

To be able to analyse shifts in the values and symbolic meanings of each site the case studies have been examined using Sørensen and Viejo-Rose's methodology of 'Biography of Place' (2015: 1). In order to address how places have been renegotiated after conflict, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose suggest looking not only at the materiality of cultural heritage but at the human landscape around and interconnected with it. As they put it, 'using a biographical approach helps to reveal the entanglement of places, people and events' (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015: 13). As Lee argues, 'as a place is regarded as a living area connected with people and with the wider landscape, the method is useful not only to investigate the linear lifespan of each place, but also for exploring mutual dynamics among the people, other places, and things attached to the place' (Lee 2019: 40).

Biography of place is a well-suited methodology for the present research because it allows analysis of the relationship between places of Fascism, memory and post-dictatorial identity formation. This method allows for the shifts in meanings to emerge, particularly when, as in the case of architecture, there is also the element of place to be taken into account, and how agency might still be an issue in contemporary societies. Following Lee's (2019) approach to the study of Japanese heritage in South Korea, the case studies will be analysed looking at three main issues: 1) the meaning of the site in the Fascist era and its role within the regime's propaganda; 2) the shifts of meaning that occurred from the post-war period to the present day; 3) contemporary interpretations of the sites.

With respect to the first issue, the selected sites will be analysed chronologically from the Fascist era to the point at which visual and symbolic modifications occurred. The heritage process will be analysed by starting to consider the original Fascist meaning in order to understand why, in the second phase, changes were made. Fascist meaning and intentionality will be scrutinised by looking at what role the material legacy was playing in support of the regime propaganda and which, if any, specific aesthetic features were employed to do so.

The second phase of the analysis will explore changes in materiality and meaning that occurred from the period of liberation to the time of heritage designation, to show how the power struggle around identity construction affected these sites. In the analysis of each individual site, the biography of place will allow for the different stakeholders to emerge and for corresponding but often conflicting narratives to be exposed. This methodology will help

in understanding how the process of narrative construction and heritage-making is selective, and how only one 'view' can be developed at any one time.

Finally, the case studies will be analysed in light of the visual and symbolic changes that occurred following the process of heritage designation. As underlined by Macdonald, the 'heritage effect' (2009: 54) can give an unquestioned positive meaning to the material legacies of dark times, so it relevant to the research to address whether this was the case in the five sites chosen. Moreover, this phase will allow for an assessment of the relevance of the original political meaning in the contemporary heritage designation and whether diverse 'types' of political buildings have been affected differently.

Similarly, this research borrows from the practice of archaeology and conceptualises a stratigraphic approach to the analysis in which the diverse 'heritage layers' and their multiple meanings can emerge. The multiple ways these sites have been used since the war to the present, even when far from traditional heritage aims, are crucial to understanding contemporary claims and the shifts in meaning over time. This approach can shed light on how diverse top-down heritage processes are in contrast with bottom-up examples and how heritage is a process of constant renegotiation of meanings: this allows the relationship between people, memory and place to be de-constructed.

2.6 Questionnaire on public perception of Fascist Heritage

To be able to establish public perception of the legacies of the regime and to select the case studies, prior to the start of the first phase of the fieldwork for this research I prepared a questionnaire. The nine questions were submitted via social media to communities of users that follow pages related to art and architecture of the regime, which made a narrow selection of people with a shared interest in Fascist Heritage coming from diverse cultural backgrounds.[5] The first three questions were related to demographic matters, question 4 asked people to define Fascism, questions 5 to 8 investigated which legacies are considered more important, their current state, how they feel about them and what they would like to do with them, and finally, respondents were asked to define 'Cultural Heritage'.

[5] Webpages used were: Arte e Architettura del Ventennio; Architettura Fascista, ovvero in stile Littorio; Art Deco'e Architettura del Ventennio; Architettura del 900 in Italia; Atrium architecture of the totalitarian regimes.

Aside from the demographic the analysis of the answers to question 4, which asked people to describe Fascism using three words, the top three were: Dictatorship (18.33%), followed by Welfare (5.42%), and War (4.17%). Interestingly, this result already provides a mixed set of responses on the evaluation and interpretation of the Fascist regime, through an association of the word 'dictatorship' with both war and welfare, the word welfare indicating a positive element within the construction of meaning. This trend was confirmed through the informal interviews, where respondents were very often trying to find a balance between positive and negative aspects of the regime.

Question 5 was used to investigate which type of legacies was perceived as more symbolic, whether in the form of architecture or art, so as to establish which form had more impact and whether certain specific symbols were more powerful than others (fig. 9). Interestingly, 100% of the respondents replied with either a building, or an entire neighbourhood as in the case of E.U.R., Villaggio Olimpico and residential areas of the outskirts of the city. The most relevant data to this research is the outstanding importance of the sites which have been chosen as case studies in this thesis, namely the E.U.R. neighbourhood (27%) and the Foro Italico (19%). To these should be added the second two most relevant replies which are the E42 or Palace of Italian Civilisation (9%), which is part of the E.U.R. neighbourhood, and the Mussolini obelisk (6%), which is part of the Foro Italico.

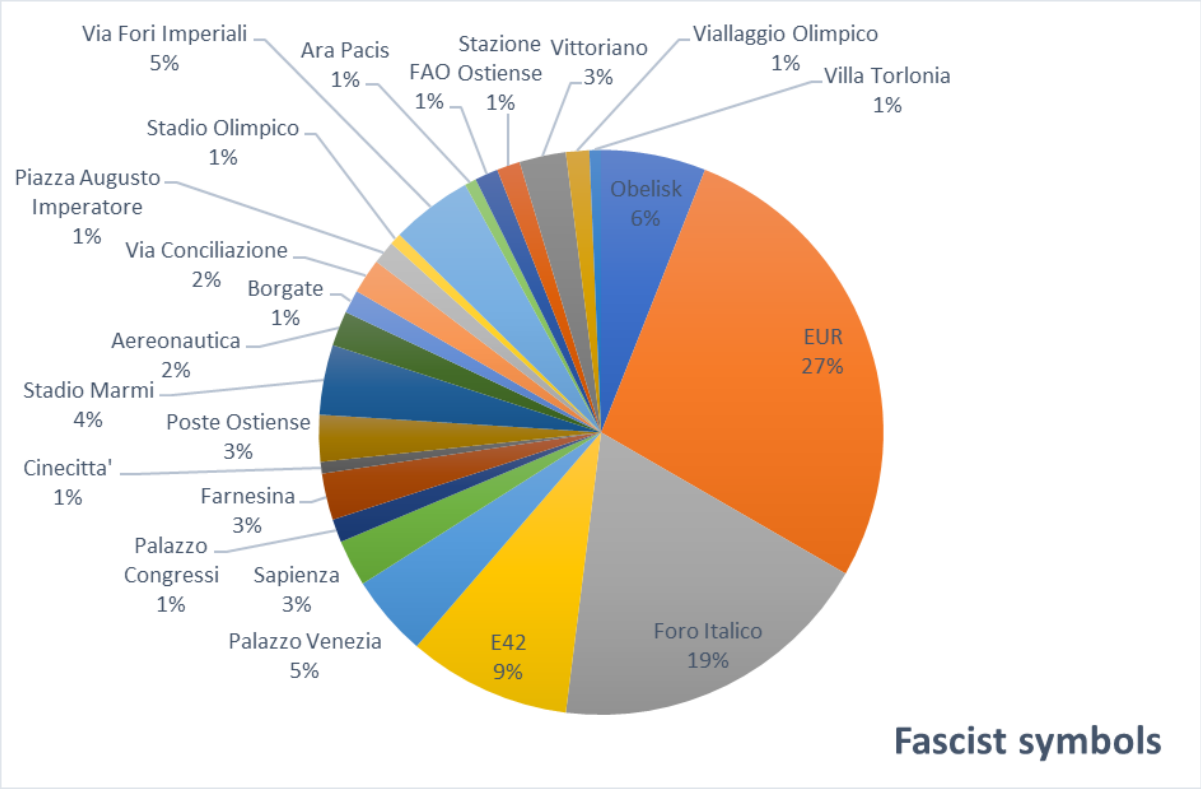


Fig. 9 Chart showing the results of question 5: what Fascist legacy is more symbolic?

Through question 6, the questionnaire was able to establish a trend which had often been a hypothesis but had never proved, which is the fate of iconic buildings of the regime (Fig. 10). As expressed by the results below, no destruction is quantifiable, but the fate of some 7% of other buildings of the regime remains to be established, while abandonment in contemporary cities is very low at 3%. Most of the places of the regime have been kept fully functioning, the majority with a different use (48%) but a substantial number with the same use as in the Fascist period (42%). The data will be used in the discussion in chapters 8 and 9 on the impact of ideological buildings that maintain the same use and how they affect viewers.

The aim of question 7 was to understand public opinion on what to do with these remains – whether they were perceived as at risk or, on the contrary, whether they were felt to be imposing and overwhelming (fig. 11). Most of the respondents were happy with the current state of the buildings they mention in question 5 and expressed their satisfaction by stating the current condition and use of these sites is perfectly in line with their function (38%). Many, however, also expressed the desire to see them better restored and maintained so as to

preserve their historical value (30%). Some expressed interest in having properly organised public access in the form of a state-managed heritage site, claiming that most of the buildings and sites, despite being in good condition, are not accessible to the majority of people (19%). Others would prefer to see a selection of Fascist legacies turned into museums, to facilitate public understanding and awareness (8%). In this section of the questionnaire respondents were concerned with the political problem of having these legacies in a public space and were therefore suggesting removal of some of them into the less-problematic environment of a museum. Finally, some 5% advocated for more research to be done on the architecture of the interwar period and only one response out of 241 suggested demolition as a form of neutralisation of Fascist ideology.

The feelings and emotions that these sites evoke in viewers could support an interpretation of the fact that respondents in question 8, regardless of their political views regarding the regime, have a strong sense of attachment toward these monuments and places and feel both 'admiration' (9%) and 'pride' (9%). Finally, question 9 also facilitated expressions of emotion regarding cultural heritage more broadly, and in the open questions generally there emerged a very strong sense of pride and identity linked to this concept and its materiality (*see* Appendix A).

After this analysis of the results of the questionnaire and how material legacies are seen today by local residents, the following section will return to the post-war period and examine at how the narrative of the Resistance is constructed and how in turn this affects the way Italy has renegotiated its Fascist past and therefore its legacies.

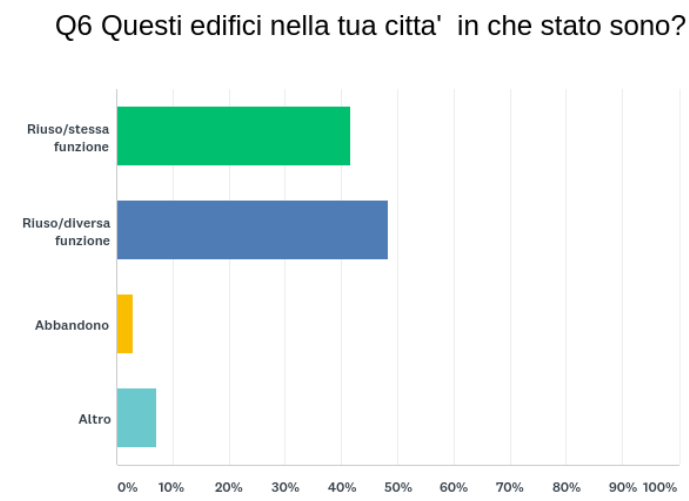


Fig. 10 Chart showing the results of question 6: what is the state of Fascist buildings in your town?

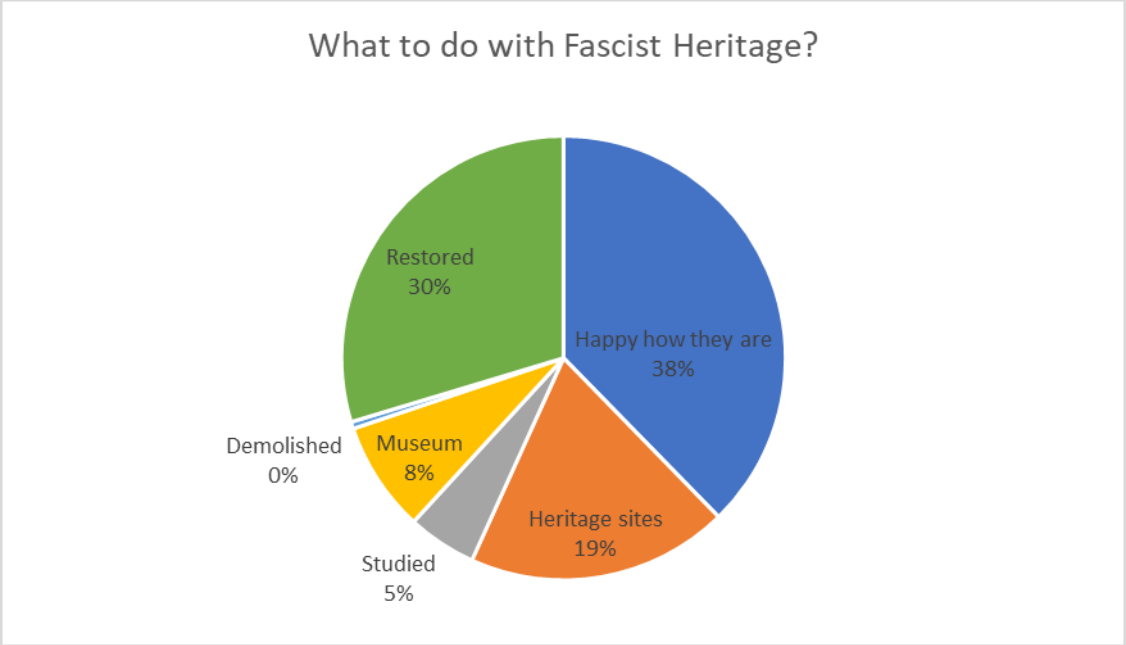


Fig. 11 Chart showing the results of question 7: what should we do with these remains?

2.7 Structure of the thesis

This introduction has provided a brief background to the current debate surrounding neo-Fascism in Italy and Fascist built monuments, has introduced the thesis rationale and approach, and has explained why the change in values around Fascist heritage has been important in Italy. It has also discussed why Rome is a key place for understanding the reuse of Fascist material legacies and why it is important to acknowledge it. It has also introduced the case studies, methodology and theoretical frameworks. The remaining chapters of the thesis will develop as follows:

The second chapter will critically analyse previous theoretical frameworks which discuss places associated with histories of violence and dictatorship. I will also consider theoretical studies about memory and identity in the context of heritage and how heritage law evolved. I will examine and evaluate the methodologies to be used for this research and listed above, the reasons for choosing them, and review the existing literature in order to situate my research.

Chapter 3 analyses Fascist uses of the past by mapping the heritage-scape of monuments that commemorate death, sacrifice and triumphs. I will examine the area of the piazza Venezia, the centre of Mussolini's political power, and will analyse the editing of monuments that symbolised Italian unification such as the Vittoriano, and how the regime responded by building the *ara* of the Fascist martyrs. It will also consider the making of Via dei Fori Imperiali and how this was used as a propaganda tool on a national and international level.

Chapter 4 will present a case-study of the two most notorious places associated with Mussolini in Rome: his residence in Villa Torlonia and his office in Palazzo Venezia. This chapter will investigate how these two heritage sites have been presented to the public and how Mussolini as a figure is mostly silenced, in line with a complex assimilation of the Cult of *Il Duce* and the iconoclasm that affected his iconography.

Chapter 5 is the case study of the Foro Mussolini from 1945 to the present day which analyses the different phases of its heritage designation, key exhibition catalogues on the theme, and ethnographic interviews. This chapter will also analyse the restoration process that followed its heritage designation, and the contemporary debate around Mussolini's obelisk. What makes this case study relevant is that the project is at the same time a modern version of a Roman forum and therefore a key example of Fascist reuse of the Roman past; it

is also the largest architectural project undertaken in Rome since the time of the Roman Empire.

Chapter 6 will analyse the E.U.R. quarter in Rome, built for the never-inaugurated World Fair in Rome of 1942, by examining exhibitions on its architecture, ethnographic interviews and contemporary reuse of the buildings. The E.U.R. was, for Mussolini, the Third Rome – after the Rome of the Caesars, and the Rome of the Popes, this was the materialisation of Fascist Rome. The project for the Fair had the ambition to show all the achievements of Italian Civilisation in the Arts and Sciences, the full potential of which developed during Fascist Italy, as an example to future generations. This case study is crucial to understanding the use of Fascist buildings, as most of the works interrupted when Italy entered WWII in 1940 were completed in the post-war period, giving a sense of the complexity, and indeed continuity, between the dictatorship and the democratic State.

Chapter 7 will discuss and analyse previous chapters and the relationship between Fascist heritage and Italian national identity by analysing how the heritage discourse of Fascist legacies has strengthened post-war national narratives. It will show how, after the war, the scholarly world gradually started an emotional whitewashing operation over the guilt of Fascist artists and the role of art and architecture which culminated recently in heritage designation and the restoration of Fascist symbols. It will also analyse the sense of attachment to Fascist material legacies and how they have influenced an apologetic reading of the Fascist past. Finally, it will show how the far-right today are reading their values into Fascist heritage and how the heritage of the dictatorship can easily be used by extremists.

Chapter 8 will present the conclusive remarks and will make suggestion on how implement policies and legislation to address the contemporary issues of contested monuments. It further reflects on the gaps in current cultural heritage legislation as to how to address ideological values still attached to these sites and how to prevent political extremists from using heritage as a propaganda tool in contemporary societies.

2.8 Challenges of data collection in Italy

I faced a number of difficulties during my fieldwork. Firstly, the research was overwhelming on an emotional level, as I was bringing up very different personal political opinions on matters relating to a troubled past. To be able to collect divergent narratives attached to monuments it was crucial to be perceived as non-judgemental. As the research aimed to

investigate conflicting memories of both Fascist and anti-Fascist narratives, an element of political neutrality as a researcher was required which initially was very difficult to achieve. In order to be as unbiased as possible, the first round of interviews was done with little knowledge of the historical background of the selected case studies; this was a strategy implemented during my MPhil research in Troina and this basic knowledge proved to be successful in reading bottom-up and non-authorised discourses.

The archival research proved to be extremely challenging, both in terms of access and in terms of post-war politics around this topic. The information needed from the archives was quite often either incomplete or misplaced, or because of its political value had restricted access. To try and form a clear understanding of the decision-making process regarding what to do with the material culture of the dictatorship I had to rely on only very limited published material and scattered documents. Therefore, I decided to integrate the archival and published material with the perceptions and opinions of the heritage professionals managing those sites that had been chosen as the case studies. The level of controversy surrounding Fascist Heritage in the political debate in present-day Italy is so high that some of the heritage professionals refused to be interviewed or have their opinion recorded. I also faced difficulties in finding the right archive for the relevant documents relating to Fascist Heritage, as after the war the Ministry of National Education was divided into the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture, a decision which is of itself relevant to the current discussion, but the division proved to be challenging in terms of locating documents. While some of the documents which formed part of the 'Trial Against Fascist Crimes' and included Fascist symbols and images of the *Duce* had, in theory, been recently released from the secret state archive many were still not fully available. In some cases, I had to rely on pre-war documentation material published by the regime.

In order to understand the nature of both post-war and contemporary political conflicts, I decided to scrutinise newspaper articles and social media to evaluate the decision-making process relating to the case studies. Interestingly, there was an element of inconsistency, with some articles demonstrating their political orientation which then impacted on the way they interpreted events, particularly contemporary ones. The ultimate decision on the selection of the case studies was based on availability and accessibility of both sites and their documentation.

The strongest challenge I encountered in collecting data from both heritage professionals and the general public was the struggle to come to terms with Fascism, and, on

a practical level, even to define what Fascism was and what Fascist Heritage is today. Once this research progressed to the section about place attachment and emotions it was clear that for an in-depth understanding I would need some form of completely anonymous response, which would allow my respondents to express their opinions freely. At this stage I created and disseminated an online questionnaire powered by Survey Monkey (Appendix A) in order to be able to formulate an analysis of Fascist Heritage and cultural heritage more broadly in Italy.

Other issues which I faced related to age, nationality and gender. My identity as an Italian, even if I have lived abroad for almost two decades, made the interview process challenging. This was primarily because of the manner in which Italian society is still divided today between left and right on the political spectrum and how these divisions relate to Fascist and ant-Fascism. The topic of this research was so new to the wider public that my questioning generated a mix of curiosity, happiness, and in some instances discomfort: the majority of the interviewees could not believe this topic was a matter of scientific debate and that non-academics were being asked to give their views. Some of the heritage professionals showed disappointment in the use of the term 'Fascist' before Heritage, as mentioned before, since for many there is no such thing – which is a critical issue in the renegotiation process. For them there is only Italian Heritage and Modernism – calling this Heritage 'Fascist' is to them a form of 'apology for Fascism'.

The interviews took the form of anonymous, qualitative, ethnographic interview and thus should, by their very nature, be considered only partial and not by any means a full-scale survey, of a more quantitative character.

2.9 From Italian to English and back

When conducting qualitative analysis, mastering the local language is crucial, particularly as, in addition to interviews and questionnaires, this research also analysed text for hidden meanings that required a deep knowledge not only of the language but also of the local culture. I worked on original Italian documents as far as possible, and made all the necessary translations into English myself. The language used during the regime was quite a complex one, full of rhetoric, and I tried as far as possible to retain this sense of propaganda in the English translation. Thus I have kept all the twists and changes of syntax that stressed the manipulative effect of Mussolini's words.

The majority of the interviews were conducted in Italian with Italian interviewees, with the exception of a limited number of foreign visitors of diverse nationalities who showed an interest in the research project while I was on site. I made all the translations myself, but with some expressions it was not possible to translate precisely into English; these were left in Italian, followed by the closest translation available. The first time one of these words appears in the text I have given an explanation of the background of the word and a proper explanation.

2.10 Balancing family memories and research

When I started this research, I knew I was going to question my own acquired knowledge on such a controversial topic. During this work, I had to double-check my own knowledge to establish what could be proven by scholarly work rather than coming purely from family memory. During this journey, I met many individuals who, to varying degrees, had been involved with the regime, some on Mussolini's side, others on the side of the Resistance. This for me has also been an emotional journey.

However, as Viejo-Rose (2011a) states about her work on reconstruction in Spain, I am an insider but also an outsider to Italy, having left my country nearly two decades earlier this allows me to be 'an insider and an outsider at the same time' (Viejo-Rose 2011a: 5) which helped me to connect to my interviewees but at the same time to distance myself from them and analyse the interviews un-emotionally. Having been physically distanced from Italy in the last 15 years allowed me to have an outsider's perspective on political views and on heritage processes, but being Italian allowed me to interpret the lines of discourse better than a non-Italian. Qualitative analysis is never unbiased, but I argue that my heritage professional experience placed me in an advantageous position, particularly considering how controversial the research topic is in contemporary Italy and trans-nationally.

Chapter 3 Uses of the past and the construction of Fascist Heritage

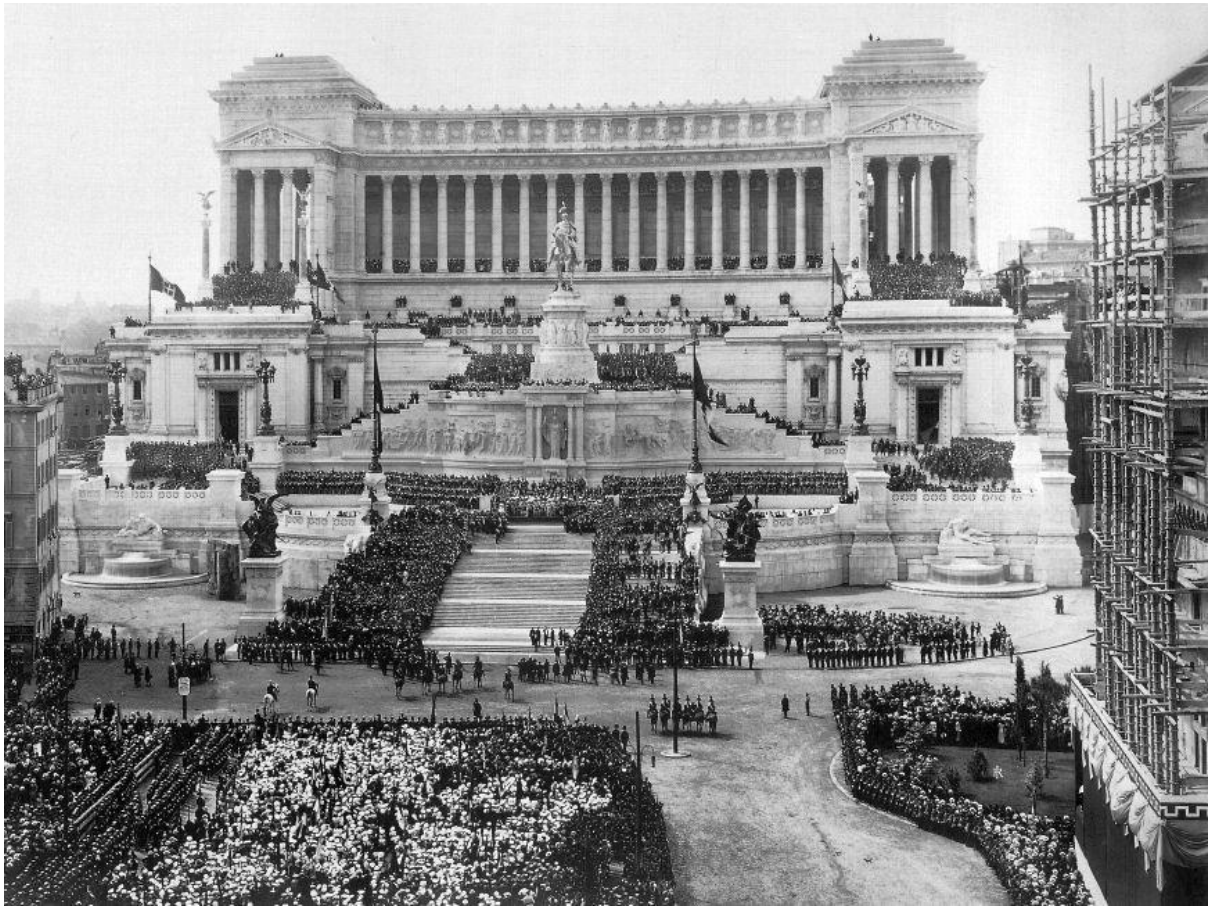


Fig. 12 Rome, Piazza Venezia, inauguration of the Vittoriano in 1931 (Photo: freely available from the web)

3.1 Introduction: Victory, death and the Fascist cult of sacrifice

The cult of sacrifice and death for the nation was at the core of Mussolini's propaganda and it was made explicit through the arts and architecture (Malone 2019). As Marla Stone suggests in her analysis of the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution, the regime was giving very specific political messages through the arts, using various artistic forms (Stone 1998, 1993). Mussolini painstakingly used cultural heritage to create 'words in stone' to present his own ideology – to cement his words and ideas into the future through the materiality of architecture and the performativity of rituals attached to them. For Gentile (2007), Mussolini's directives for the production of Fascist heritage took the form of an integrated system of architecture, printing and lighting effects, or what Falasca-Zampani calls the Fascist spectacle (Falasca-Zampani 1997).

The regime's propaganda message promoting the values of victory, death and sacrifice was largely achieved through editing the past, be that the Risorgimento battles or the

Roman past. This chapter aims to investigate Risorgimento and Roman sites related to the cult of sacrifice and death which were either constructed or completed by the regime. First, it will look at the Vittoriano and how the cult of those injured and killed in WWI has been framed by Fascism and how, in turn, this narrative was transformed after WWII (Fig. 12-16).



Fig. 13 Rome, entrance to the Vittoriano (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

It will then analyse the martyrs of the Fascist Revolution who have been glorified with the construction of specific memorials, such as the Altar to the Martyrs of the Fascist Revolution on the Capitoline Hill. Finally, this chapter will look at how Roman cultural heritage was used in support of Fascist ideology, and how these Roman remains that have been reframed by the regime are perceived in contemporary Rome.

3.2 Vittoriano: from nation-building to ultra-nationalism

The Vittoriano, also known as the Altar to the Fatherland, is today one of the most visited heritage sites in Rome and stands as the symbol of the ultimate sacrifice for the Nation. In the

words of the Director of the Regional Museum Hub, the site is described as a place of national memory:

> The perception that we Italians feel for these vestiges of the past is the result of a long and articulated path that has transformed the Vittoriano as the place for excellence to the historical memories of the Fatherland.
> (Galloni 2012: 9)

Described by Tobia as Rome's eighth hill, the Vittoriano embodies in its iconographic forms and symbolic meanings the crucial nation-building process and the renegotiation of the new united Italian identity (Tobia 2012: 15). Conceived as a memorial to King Vittorio Emanuele II and his legacy in being the first King of the United Italy, the monument later became known as the Altar to the Fatherland devoted to the Unknown Soldier, a role which was heavily used and exploited by Fascism (Woolf 1965; Zunino 1985; Lanaro 1988; Gentile 1997a; Tobia 1998; 2012; Parlato 2000; Baioni 2006; Ugolini 2012). While it was intended that it should be inaugurated for the 50th anniversary of unification in 1911, the final phases and opening were actually completed during the Fascist era. For the purposes of this section, the monument will be analysed with respect to the legacy that the Fascist layer added to it, both material and symbolic. A description of the historical background of the site will be followed by an analysis of the heritage experience when visiting the site and textual analysis of the heritage materials provided.

3.2.1 Historical background

On 23 September 1880, the first national call was launched for projects to build a monument to the memory of 'the Great King', also known as the 'Father of the Nation', Vittorio Emanuele II (Tobia 2012: 15). The first winner was a French architect, but the original call, which was open to everyone as a popular call, was later considered invalid. The second call for projects was won by Giuseppe Sacconi in 1882 but it was not until the 50th anniversary of the unification of Italy on 4 June 1911 that the site was even partially opened. Work progressed steadily during the Fascist regime: in 1925 the decoration of the Altar to the Fatherland was finished, which is a specific area at the top of the stairs; in 1927 the victories at the top of the monument were completed; and finally, in 1935 the Risorgimento Museum and the crypt to the Unknown Soldier were opened (Tobia 2012: 15).

The main structure of the building, described by Margerita Sarfatti as a bad copy of the Pergamon Altar in Berlin, covers the area at the back of the Capitoline Hill and stands in front of one of the entrances to the Roman Forum, two of the most powerful *genius loci* of political power in Rome (Storchi 2013c). As expressed by Ciucci (2002), this monument to the Unknown Soldier is part of that nation-building narrative and construction of 'Italianness' which sees the commemoration of the fallen of WWI as part of the process of creating a shared memory of the recent past.

Dedicated to the birth of the new Italian state under the leadership of a constitutional monarchy, the monument represents the ideals of the Risorgimento battle which are inscribed at the top of the building: *Patriae Unitati* (Unity of the Fatherland) and *Civium Libertati* (Freedom of the Citizen). These, argues Tobia, were also a political manifesto for Mazzini's Third Italy (Tobia 2012: 22; Ciani 2007: 257).

Conceived as a commemoration of the King that united the country, the monument employs an eclectic historical style in which symbols of the past are all mixed up together. The construction of such a massive monument in a city like Rome, with the King resting in the Roman Pantheon, created a sense of competition between the two sites (Tobia 2012: 18). The decision to locate the monument at the heart of the ancient city and not within the areas of Rome developed by the Church was, in itself, a political statement: the monument wanted to reiterate the liberation of Rome from Vatican territory as marking the beginning of a new secular, unified nation. At the same time, the monument was conceived as a new public square, as a new 'patriotic forum' (Tobia 2012: 19). This element is very interesting, as the regime later named this place, together with via dei Fori and Palazzo Venezia, as the Foro Italico and claimed it was a natural development from the Emperors' Forum.

This process of transformation of the monument from monarchic to a national commemoration of the dead began with the first Italian colonial campaign in Libya in 1913, when on 2 November (the day of the commemoration of the dead), a spontaneous group of mourners gathered at the base of the altar of the Unknown Soldier (Tobia 2012: 22). It was only after the celebration of the WWI victory on 4 November 1918, in a massive state-organised celebration, that the place became officially a locus of national memory. The meaning of the Vittoriano shifted once the decision was made to bury a body within the monument and, on 4 November 1921, the body of the Unknown Soldier was transported from the battlefield area of Trento/Trieste to Rome. The solemn national involvement in the journey of the body to its final destination was unprecedented in Italy; the sense of national

loss was made explicit by spontaneous participation in the event. The number of victims in Italy was so high, some 660,000, that the nation had to create a means of sharing their collective pain. This monument provided the perfect place, paving the way to it becoming a nationalist monument (Baioni 2006: 7). This process of martyrdom fused with patriotism and the militarisation of the memorial made the Vittoriano, from an ideological perspective, the perfect place of belonging, so much so that the newly established Fascist Fighters political movement, under the leadership of Mussolini, staged its first political parade around the monument in 1921 on the eve of the general election.

The regime which arose from the First World War and that took the country to another war had as its ultimate ideological goal to create a militarised society (Gentile 1997). The regime used the Vittoriano as a stage on which to perform a sacrifice to the Fatherland, leaving the role of the Monarchy in the unification process as a backdrop and pushing the symbolism of the Unknown Soldier as the ultimate glory for the nation (Tobia 2012: 23). The monument was also to play a complementary role with Palazzo Venezia and the square in front of Mussolini's office, as we will see in Chapter 5 (Gentile 2007).

Tobia argues that because of the Fascist use of the monument, it was invested with the same *damnatio memoriae* that fell upon Fascist buildings and, following the terrorist attack on the 12 December 1969, it was closed to the public for thirty years. The terrorist attack of 1969 was the first in a series of internal terrorism acts between far-right and far-left movements known as the Black and Red Brigades that culminated with the most atrocious of the attacks on 2 August 1980. This period, called Anni di Piombo (Years of Lead), reignited the aims and political battles of neo-Fascist fighters, putting places associated with Fascism at risk of attack, but also demonstrating how Fascism was not yet over. It was only in 2000, at the behest of Carlo Azeglio Ciampi as President of the Republic, that the monument was re-opened to the public and, Tobia argues, became once more a place of national memory on the assumption that, over time, the Fascist stigma had faded away (Tobia 2012: 26).



Fig. 14 Rome, Vittoriano, King Vittorio Emanuele the II (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

3.2.2 Iconography as a selection of political values

In her work on the Vittoriano, scholar Anna Villari uses Giovanni Pascoli's poems to present a reading of how artists have interpreted the core values that the Vittoriano was designed to embody. From Pascoli's *Poems to the Risorgimento*, which had as one of its aims to 're-ignite the sacred fire (of the Fatherland) in Italians', the concepts at the core of the iconography of the Risorgimento were Liberty and Unity, made possible by the King and with the aim to re-establish Eternal Rome (Villari 2012: 63). Villari goes on to argue that because of the very political meaning of the monument, the process of selection of the

iconography also had a political value (Villari 2012: 65). The project was one of the four main events to mark the 50th anniversary of unification in 1911, with Rome as the centre of the cultural activities. It underlines the first major attempt by the city to demonstrate its claim to be the cultural capital of the new united Italy (Villari 2012: 66). The celebration was also designed to show Rome's independence from the Vatican, presenting a city and a nation that were secular and focused on scientific rather than religious knowledge. It was under the supervision of Marcello Piacentini, later to become the regime's official architect, that the city was immersed in temporary exhibitions illustrating to both the country and international visitors the wealth of Italian civilisation. The ethnographic exhibition was in Castel Sant'Angelo, the archaeological one in the Diocletian Baths, and the Etruscan one in the Valle Giulia Museum. This was, to all intents and purposes, the antecedent of the Fascist Spectacle, using cultural heritage and exhibitions as tools to impress and therefore educate the nation through aesthetics.



Fig. 15 Rome, Vittoriano, Zanilli procession of Love of the Fatherland (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The monument was a hymn to Unity and Freedom from former occupation and from the temporal power of the Church, as emerges from Giolitti's words:

> The work of the talented artists who honoured Italy created this magnificent work of art. The statues of the Regions of Italy crown the first king, with allegories to virtues, in memory of the sacrifices of the heroes that fought for the Fatherland, and that recalls in the viewer's mind episodes of Resurrection. Those young fighters were martyrs who faced death peacefully, and their story will be written on marble and bronze, to last for centuries, and to be an inspiration to the Italians.
>
> (quoted in Villari 2012: 68)

At the core of the iconographic programme are Giuseppe Mazzini's conceptual realisations of *Pensiero* and *Azione* (Thought and Action). The materialisation of these two marble groups are the first features to left and right of the main entrance stairs and their details are crucial in understanding the extensive use made by Fascism of Risorgimento values, which as we shall see later were at the core of the propaganda message.



Fig. 16 Rome, Vittoriano, Zanilli procession of Love of the Fatherland (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The group of *Pensiero* sees the Genius of History writing the future of the Nation, posing with his hand on the shoulder of Minerva while she helps the personification of the Italian population to stand. The Genius of History takes the form of an inverted Doric capital, to reinstate the national link to the Roman past. In contrast with this part of the group is Discordia, with the symbol of the Snake and Tyranny. In between the two sections stands a Genius of War which expresses the concept of the necessity of war to fight Tyranny (Greco 1997: 80).

The group to the right is *Azione*, installed in 1911 and produced by Francesco Jerace. At the centre stands a female figure of War, with the symbols of the King of Savoy on the helmet and on the breastplate. In front of her stands a *garibaldino* fighter with a basket of munitions typical of the barricade fights. Next stands a winged Lion of Venice walking over the oppressor with a broken sword, and a Fury fighting the *Giovane Italia* (Young Italy) holding a *fasces* and with the masons' symbols of compass, square and sun on her forehead (Lotti 1987: 87).

The main focus of the Vittoriano is the altar to the Unknown Soldier; it is the most important both visually and semantically, and the decorative scheme is from the Fascist period. In Sacconi's original plan, the centre of the composition was going to be a representation of the Goddess of Rome surrounded by some of the Italian cities with their most significant monuments. A debate ensued once Sacconi passed away and among the many intellectuals who participated in this debate was Gabriele D'Annunzio, one of the most prominent early proponents of Fascism. D'Annunzio was advocating a style in line with 'classical dignity' and the classical antiquity concept of processions and a triumph was taken as inspiration. A sculpture of Rome inspired by archaic Greek examples of Athena Parthenos (Villari 2012: 91) was placed at the centre of an *aedicula* and on a golden mosaic.

On the left side of the *aedicula* stands a procession of Work and Peace represented by classical themes from Virgil's *Georgics* and *Bucolics*: they represent the virtues of life in the countryside, the different tasks of working the land together with the personification of Work and Industry. On the right side, are the personifications of Love for the Fatherland in which there are Vestals surrounding the Genius of the Fatherland, and of the Heroes (Fig. 17-18). On this side, there is also a personification of Aeneas in fulfilment of the legend of Rome as the heir of Troy (Villari 2012: 91).

The latest Fascist addition is on the outside of the monument, on the so-called terrace of the 're-born cities'. This refers to those cities which were the last to be annexed into Italy after WWI in 1918, namely Fiume, Trieste, Gorizia, Pola, Bolzano and Zara. The role of these cities was to take a special place within the Fascist political narrative, with the saga of the Arditi fighters and the taking of Fiume from Gabriele D'Annunzio, along with the use of WWI symbols during these military missions. Such symbols included the Lion of Venice which would become not only Garibaldi's symbol of conquest but also that of D'Annunzio, and after him one of the most reproduced Fascist symbols around the cities, together with the she-wolf of Rome.

3.2.3 Vittoriano: the Fascist interiors



Fig. 17 Rome, Vittoriano, Hall of the Flags (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The Vittoriano is today the most symbolic place of nation-building memory in Rome and it is also where key national commemorations held by the President of the Republic take place: 25 April (Liberation from Nazi-Fascism), 2 June (Celebration of the Republic), and 4 November (Celebration of the Armed Forces). With its celebrations ranging from the unity of Italy and the republic to the present-day Armed Forces, this monument is today the material embodiment of the Italian Fatherland. While scholars, as seen above, have pointed to the fact that the building played a crucial role both materially and symbolically in Mussolini's propaganda, this research has shown that for visitors to the site today it is just the Altar to the Fatherland and one of the most visited Roman landmarks.



Fig. 18 Rome, Vittoriano, wall of the Infantry (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

There were different reactions and interest from visitors within the different sections of the complex. The vast majority of the visitors were impressed by the scale of the monument, by its monumentality, sense of grandeur and the breath-taking view of Rome from the top terrace. There is no interpretation material either internally or externally, and no attempt to give a critical reading of the many values expressed on the site; it seems aesthetics and beauty alone must work their spell on visitors. The entire site is the official museum for the flags and war paraphernalia from the Risorgimento wars to WWII, including Fascist flags. The walk around the site does not follow any museological or chronological order, the flags, standards and paraphernalia divided between different army corps made it difficult for anyone without an expertise in military history to appreciate fully the historical narratives. While the site is a recognised heritage site, it is managed not by the Ministry of Culture but by the Ministry of Defence as a *military* heritage site. As was explained by the heritage stewards on site, who are military personnel, their role inside the building is not only to provide security but also to ensure visitors show respect to those that fought for our nation. (This includes being appropriately dressed, walking in a respectful manner and speaking in hushed tones.) Some of the flags were clearly from the Fascist era, but when asked about their story the steward simply replied that all the flags on display are ‘no longer in use’ (29-30).



Fig. 19 Rome, Vittoriano, Unknown Soldier memorial (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Other external symbols of the regime can be found within the sculptures at the base of the stairs, where *fasces* with axes are surprisingly still visible. The most controversial areas of the Vittoriano when considering the legacy of Fascism on the site are the crypt to the Unknown Soldier and the Museum of the Risorgimento. Armando Brasini was the architect that developed the first vision of Mussolini's Rome and it was he who carried out some of the most important 'editing' to the monument, ascribed to the first urbanistic phase of 1922–29. First to be realised was the crypt of the Unknown Soldier, which still today conveys a sense of dark solemnity (fig. 19-20). The coffin is positioned at the centre of a circular room and is surrounded by a row of columns. The place is dark, and the circular grey walls that surround the coffin are intentionally empty, almost suspended in time. At the visual centre of the circular wall stands a cross, with one motto on each side. The atmosphere is spectral, the passage from the corridors immersed with light to the stairs that take the visitor down to darkness are part of an intended emotional journey which resembles visually the concluding section of the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution: the apotheosis of the Fascist Martyrs.



Fig. 20 Rome, Vittoriano, Unknown Soldier coffin (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

In both environments, the lighting effects, similar to what Macdonald (2009) suggests were used during Nazi rallies, is part of the emotional shock that both regimes wished to impose on visitors and participants alike. The centrality and luminosity of the cross is in contrast with the frugality of the walls and of the mottos hung on them, words that become both performance and memory of Fascist propaganda. The highly propagandistic scope of this place and how dramatically central it still is to a sense of Fatherland in Italy are

completely ignored by any form of heritage process, nor does it appear on written heritage material. But still, this place is visited by around six million people every year. [6]

3.2.4 The Risorgimento Museum



Fig. 21 Rome, Vittoriano, Risorgimento museum, lion-head *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The Risorgimento Museum is one of the many museums opened or conceived during the Fascist era. Even if the opening only happened in 1957, the exhibition plan is one of many carried out as part of the national (re-)education programme implemented by the regime. Standing alongside archaeological, modern and ethnographic museums on the side of the Capitoline Hill, and at the very top of the altar, this war museum was planned to explain how Italy finally achieved national unity. It can be argued that the museum is a splendid

[6] Data from the Rome Office for Tourism, year 2018.

opportunity to see how the Fascist narrative on the Risorgimento battle for the achievement of national unity was constructed. As in the case of the first Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution, and more generally during the 1920s, the regime still needed to prove its legitimacy and therefore its cultural programme focused on the continuity between the fight for the liberation of Italy and the current dictatorial state.



Fig. 22 Rome, Vittoriano, exterior of the Risorgimento museum, Winged Victory (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

To make the rise of the dictatorship acceptable, the regime consistently reused the Risorgimento concept of a need to fight not only to unite regions geographically but to create 'Italians': to make the nation feel united in its goals and aspirations. The Risorgimento museum display creates a visual explanation and reminder of how leaders and their success are 'always' intertwined with war and loss: 'there is no history without a fight, there is no victory without sacrifice'(motto on the wall in the first room of the museum). The beginning and end of the exhibition have the figure of the leader on horseback, facing adversity with courage. Those underneath him do not simply surrender – they are represented as on another level visually, socially and morally. The scene creates a sense of otherness, the construction of which is at the base of Fascist ideology as understood by Eco (1995) and which also applies to contemporary forms of neo-fascism. The exhibition shows continuity in the use of

symbols, which as Viejo-Rose (2011) suggests interpreting Barthes, is very often the case in the formation or consolidation of modern myths: the display shows how *fasces* have been used from the French Revolution to the present day as a symbol of liberation and intellectual progress against old elites. The idea of Rome, which has been central to the national ideal of unity as expressed in Chapter 1, emerges very clearly within the exhibition: the concept of fighting for the glory of Rome in order to re-establish the lost Italian state of grace and political power.



Fig. 23 Rome, Vittoriano, exterior of the Risorgimento museum, Fascist eagle and *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

What makes the Risorgimento museum even more interesting is its decorations (fig. 21-24). The main entrance from via dei Fori Imperiali, which remains the entrance to both the museum and the documentation centre, still has quite astonishingly enormous visible *fasces.* The metal gate has been embellished with flying eagles carrying *fasces* in their talons, while the main foyer, which is today the ticket area, consists of three alcoves which may have been designed to contain sculptures (fig. 23). Any such sculptures have been removed but *fasces,* some 3m tall, remain on both sides of the alcoves. Outside, within an arch, is written the

name of Museo of the Risorgimento, underneath which a flying victory in the style of Piazza Augusto Imperatore once stood (fig. 22).



Fig. 24 Rome, Vittoriano, ticket office of the Risorgimento museum, *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

While the entrance to the museum may have been camouflaged with a series of exhibitions panels, and the ticket office strategically positioned in front of the eagles with *fasces*, the main doorframe remains clearly visible (Fig. 36). For those using the backstairs to reach the documentation centre and library at the top, which are only open to scholars, the imagery is even more stark (fig. 25). The bronze doors are 5m-high *fasces*, with the *fusto* engraved in the

metal and the axes positioned as door openers and embellished with a lion's head on top. Perhaps because of the sophisticated decoration of the axes they may pass unperceived by many visitors, but it is quite surprising that they were left *in situ* in such a prominent public location.



Fig. 25 Rome, Vittoriano, main entrance to the Risorgimento museum, lion-head *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

3.2.5 Heritage 'paraphernalia' and their absence

In this section, I will start by analysing what Macdonald calls heritage 'paraphernalia' and which includes all heritage material such as guidebooks, labelling, guided tours and more specialised catalogues (Macdonald 2009: 135). Surprisingly, neither the museum of the Risorgimento nor the Vittoriano site have a bookshop. What I did find in a remote corner of the top floor is a wooden structure which is more a security gate for the entrance to the museum than anything resembling a bookshop. This remnant of the 19th-century structure of the building, staffed by the lady in charge of checking the tickets, had just three books on display for sale. At the time I visited there was no guidebook for the main museum, only a short guide to the temporary exhibition within the museum, and the only publication available on the Vittoriano was a catalogue published to celebrate the centenary of the inauguration of the building.

This catalogue makes it clear from the first pages of its introduction how this place was conceived as a memorial to the King and that it was mis-used by the Fascist regime. However, it completely fails to describe how the regime used both the legacy of past victories in general, and the Vittoriano in particular, as tools for propaganda. What makes the site interesting is that through the guided tour visit it is possible to notice omissions in the visual narrative. The first encounter at the monument is with the Goddess Rome, standing in solemn pose, completely immersed within the classical landscape of the city – a very familiar image for scholars of antiquity. The religiosity of the scene underneath the sculpture of Rome, with the coffin and the two soldiers standing next to the sacred fire, created opposing reactions from visitors: some simply did not connect with the image and decided to walk past it, while others took a long moment to interiorise the scene, in the manner of a procession.

The rest of the external tour was characterised by stairs and blocked entrances, which did not allow visitors to reach the terrace of the 're-born cities'. It is rather interesting that this addition by the regime is closed to the public, and it could be argued that change on a site can also be a counter-narrative. The internal space of the *sacrarium* of the flags is also divided by a closed door, which implies a break-down of the solemn visual effect, a desirable 'monumental' effect sought by the regime. This desire to break down the monumental effect as a counter-narrative to deal with material legacies of Fascism has been seen in Nuremberg and, more recently, in Bolzano in an act aimed at disempowering Fascist sacrality and monumentality (Macdonald 2009; Bartolini 2019). Deflecting attention away from the regime by omitting to address Fascist Heritage clearly could also be seen as a way to normalise the

regime: by transforming it into ‘everyday normality’ the visitor could experience a sense of uncritical familiarity. What makes this highly problematic on this particular site is that the altar of the Unknown Soldier remains one of the sacred sites of the Nation, under constant military protection: the Fascist altar, iconographic system and the crypt are the material representation of the Nation, a legacy Italy is still struggling to work through.



Fig. 26 Map of Rome city centre in 1924 (Photo: from Diebner 2011, p. 154)

3.3 The Ara to the Martyrs of the Fascist Revolution

Alongside the commemorations for the Great War on 13 February 1923, the vice-minister of Education, Dario Lupi, had included a celebration of the Fascist Martyrs, allowing the Fascist State, *de facto*, to commemorate itself along the glorious martyrs and heroes that are represented on the Vittoriano (Gentile 2007: 68; Diebner 2011: 153). To be able to leave a physical legacy of spiritual continuity between the martyrs of WWI and the martyrs of the Fascist Revolution, the newly established political power of the *Governatorato* needed a place within the symbolic landmarks of the Vittoriano and the Roman Forum: the final location chosen was in the gardens next to the Church of Ara Coeli, with a magnificent view over the Imperial Forums (Salvatori 2006: 29; Pantanetti 1994: 809; Janz 2004: 368; fig. 26).

Diebner (2011) reconstructs the history of the pink marble block from Roman Egypt that composes the altar, and how it come to be selected. The block was first discovered during the excavation of the Villa Ludovisi near the Pincio area in 1911; it seems to have also been the base of an obelisk in front of the Church of Saint Mary in Trinita' dei Monti inaugurated by Pope Pio VI in 1798 (D'Onofrio 1992; Diebner 2011: 155). Interestingly, after the defeat of Dogali in the first attempt to conquer Ethiopia the pink granite block was offered by the Boncompagni-Ludovisi family as the support for a memorial to Italian soldiers, but was only chosen later in 1926 by Rodolfo Bonfiglietti for the *Governatorato* (Diebner 2011: 155).

Diebner (2011) argues that the decision to look for such a block must have been determined by several factors: firstly, it was a cheap solution as it did not need much decoration, and its Roman origin and precious material gave the altar that touch of antiquity of which the regime was so fond. In its simplicity it was still quite grand, but adaptable to new meanings; Diebner and Salvatori both argue that with its lack of iconography and its simplicity it is quite different from the traditional military altar (Diebner 2011: 156; Salvatori 2006: 35).

In parallel with the celebrations that took place at the nearby altar to the Fatherland, the altar to the Fascist martyrs was the key place for rituals and gatherings of the regime. If the altar to the Unknown Soldier was transformed into a Fascist backdrop, this altar was conceived to be the principal monument of the dictatorship. Its location and aesthetics, which are inspired by monumental Roman tombs, was making explicit the aspiration of the regime – to be a landmark of the eternal city in a highly symbolic and politically charged location.

As Director of Works for the Vittoriano, the architect Armando Brasini worked on the redesign of the area around the altar to the Fascist martyrs in 1932 (Procida 2009: 175; Diebner 2011: 159; Fig. 39). In 1926, the altar was decorated with just *fasces* on the short sides and garlands on the long ones, but in 1932, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the taking of power, a basement and a top in travertine transformed the block into a Roman-like monumental tomb with eagles, *fasces* and lions. Arguably, the symbols used in this altar would become a trademark for propaganda and in the post-war period, as we shall see, they would be the first to be removed. Diebner (2011) attempts to analyse the presence of the lion as possibly one immediate link to the regime and she identified the use of a lion as reflecting Mussolini's ferocity. It is, however, I would argue, the symbol of San Marco of Venice, which, as we saw on the Vittoriano, became the symbol, after the taking of Fiume, of the 'irredentism' and which does have a legacy in contemporary neo-Fascist claims of presenting Fiume as a major victory of Italy occupying Istria. The inscription on the altar, which is now covered as it has been stripped of its decorations and left abandoned in the same area, says:

THIS STONE
ON THE IMPERIAL HILL OF ROME
WILL REMEMBER
THE HEROIC SACRIFICE
OF THE MARTYRS
FOR THE FASCIST REVOLUTION
THE BLACKSHIRTS
XXVIII – V E.F.

The first of the Fascist self-celebratory landmarks, as Vidotto and Gentile argue, it became part of the religious political ritual of the regime and a 'must visit' place during official national celebrations (Brice 1998: 357; Vidotto 2003: 587; Gentile 2007: 94). It is from the journal of the *Governatorato Capitolium* that we can learn some detail about why the area was selected and the symbolic meanings of the altar:

> Soon in the garden of the Victory there will be a small altar, simple and solemn, to remember the Fascist Martyrs, a powerful granite block with engraved capital letters. In this place, next to the Roman foundation of the Capitoline Hill, there

> will be an eternal temple to the holocaust of the Fascist Youth, as a symbol of the re-birth of a powerful Italy.
> (Cecchelli 1926: 218)



Fig. 27 Rome, Ara of the Fascist Martyrs in 1927 (Photo: from Diebner 2011, p. 166)

Cecchelli (1926) goes on to describe the grand opening of the altar in the presence of Mussolini, and gives a sense of how materiality and place were crucial in the formation of the symbolic meaning of the regime's propaganda:

> In the peaceful and flowered garden at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, among ancient columns, in front the arch of the great emperor (Settimo Severo) and overlooking the Imperial Forums, stands in glory the altar to the Fascist Martyrs. Because of the many layers of history of this block, the altar not only claims its place in antiquity but represents the fulfilling of the glorious future of Rome. With its solid material, as solid were the soldiers, and as pink as the blood they lost, this altar becomes a new landmark of the city of Rome, not far in distance and in meaning from the column in the Roman Forum (*Ombelicus Urbis*) from where the measurement of the 'streets of Rome' were taken.
> (Cecchelli 1926:424)



Fig. 28 Rome, Capitol Hill gardens, where the altar used to be (Photo: Flamina Bartolini ©)



Fig. 29 Rome, Capitol Hill gardens, remains of the altar today (Photo: Flamina Bartolini ©)

The next passage from Cecchelli makes clear Vidotto's (2003a) argument of how the regime constructed a narrative of the Fascist Martyrs as equals to the dead of WWI: both, they claimed, died to the glory of the Fatherland and in the name of Rome. Cecchelli claims the Fascist Martyrs were finally taking Rome back to its rightful place in Italy and he advocates for the new generation of Fascists to pay tribute to them and to learn from the dead – shouting 'presente' so as to make the dead come alive is a metaphor and a performance heavily reused in contemporary neo-fascism:

> The blood of those young that fell in the most atrocious of Wars, to give back to Rome Italy and to Italy Rome, will be forever represented by this pink stone. Those that survived made a silent oath in front of this new altar, never to forget that Faith and Death are the triggers of every epic action in history.
> (Cecchelli 1926: 425).

Even if this altar was only the first of a long list of monuments and landmarks produced by regime, it doubtless conveyed a very powerful message through which it claimed its role as a Fascist historical site within the pilgrimage and procession orchestrated by Fascism as a state religion (Gentile 2007: 94). As the first meeting point, the place assumed a role within the cult of the origin, which was also orchestrated by Mussolini in his hometown Predappio; this therefore made the altar appear a dangerous site immediately post-war. As we have seen with the Vittoriano, Italy has had various ways to forget Fascism – in this case the decorations from the altar were carefully dismantled and were catalogued amongst the many other finds from the excavations of the Roman Forum, which was being excavated at the time (Diebner 2011: 164). The pink granite block today lies abandoned, unrecognisable, in the left corner of the Gardens of Victory, surrounded by other ruins of columns and protected by a fence (fig. 27-29). No trace of the previous decorations is left on the granite, so the words are conveniently facing down. The block has been taken back to its state of ruin, to the state of a Roman altar randomly left unnoticed among other ruins, in a form, I would claim, of mimetic heritage.

3.4 Claiming the Romans: the 'cleansing' of monuments and the construction of Via dell'Impero

This section will look at the works of Mussolini on the former via dell'Impero (today Via dei Fori Imperiali) at the heart of the Roman Forum area. In particular, the role of Mussolini's maps showing the second Roman empire will be explored, and the fate of those maps and the remaining Fascist sculptures in contemporary Italy (fig. 30-32).



Fig. 30 Rome, Via dei Fori Imperiali, maps of the Empire (Photo: freely available on the web)



Fig. 31 Rome, Via dei Fori Imperiali, 5th map of the Empire (Photo: freely available on the web)

Mussolini's plan for via dell'Impero started in 1931 with the aim of opening the new avenue in time for the monumental celebration to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the March on Rome and the Fascist seizure of power on 28 October 1932. Together with the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution that was hosted in the Exhibition Palace, the opening of the avenue that united Mussolini's office in Piazza Venezia with the Colosseum was one of the many egocentric projects that characterised the Italian dictatorship. While at one level the project was presented as a way to answer Mussolini's request to view the Colosseum from his balcony, the new avenue also provided a much-needed stage for the regime's parades and triumphal marches.



Fig. 32 Rome, Via dei Fori Imperiali, 5th map of the Empire today (Photo: freely available on the web)

The creation of the avenue took only eleven months, but at the cost, unfortunately, of no proper excavation of the Imperial Fora and the displacement of a thousand families to the outskirts of the city. Mussolini was notoriously photographed initiating the works with his pickaxe, fulfilling of the brutality of his motto: *let the pickaxe speak*! (quoted in Hyde Minor 1999: 151; fig. 33).

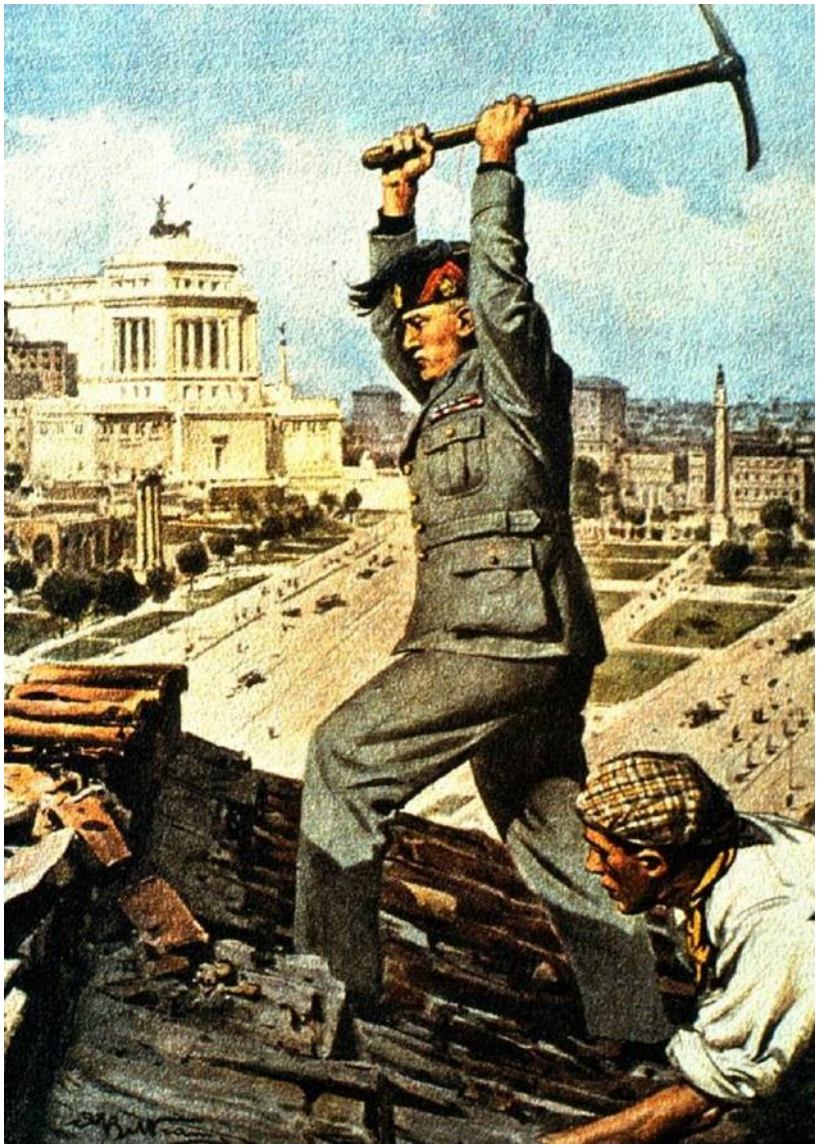


Fig. 33 Propaganda image of Mussolini with the pickaxe (Photo: Domenica del Corriere, 3 Marzo 1935)

The entire project for the forums' area was a carefully orchestrated ideological tool to honour the March on Rome of 1922. The Ministry of Information in charge of propaganda presented the event as comparable to the *coups d'etat* of Sulla and Caesar on the way to world power (Visser 1992; Hyde Minor 1999). The so-called 'March' was not a real march to power but a series of events and gatherings that took place 26–30 October 1922, but by the time of the tenth anniversary, the regime had transformed the memory of the March into a heavily militarised event. As Stone notes (1993), the March become the founding myth of the regime, which also staged and constructed its own history through the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution held in Palazzo delle Esposizioni in October 1932.

3The role of via dell'Impero, with ancient remains all around, was to create a space that connected the Roman past with contemporary Fascist politics, both visually and symbolically. During the opening of the avenue on 28 October 1932, the regime staged a re-enactment of the original march with those same men that had participated in the event, led by Mussolini on horseback. By marching within the area of the Roman forums, the regime was adding another meaning to the area and at the same time to its own political ritual, with the addition of an imperialistic layer. Key to the ceremony of the day was the inauguration of the four maps mounted on the wall of the Massenzio Basilica, which is where the March concluded. The fifth map was added after the proclamation of the Second Roman Empire in October 1936 (Kallis 2014).

The five stone maps, each of 4.6 square metres, depict the different phases of the development of the Roman Empire and cover Europe as far north as Scandinavia, with the southern border being the Middle East and North Africa. The maps show from left to right in chronological order:

Map 1: The beginning of Rome, 8th century BC
Map 2: The territory of Rome after the Punic War in the year 146 BC
Map 3: The Empire at the death of the Emperor Augustus in the year AD 14
Map 4: The Empire at the time of the Emperor Trajan AD 98–117
Map 5: The Second Roman Empire from the conquest of Ethiopia on 9 May 1936

The cartographic image was constructed with a juxtaposition of three different marbles: grey/white *cipollino* for the sea; black Apuan marble for the regions outside the Empire; and white travertine to mark Roman provinces. The first map shows only a white dot underlining the city of Rome, while the following three maps illustrate the expansion of the Empire. The most interesting one in terms of this research is the fifth map – the one that shows Mussolini's aspiration to have colonies and which explains the existence of the first four. The fifth map, prepared by chief archaeologist of the forums, Antonio Munoz, was larger than the others and included a large white marble plaque which reproduced the lengthy inscription of the decree of the Fondazione dell'Impero (Foundation of the Empire) and which names King Victor Emmanuel of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia (Bellanca 2003, Kallis 2014).

Compared with the other maps, the fifth has a different geographical focus, as it shows three-quarters of the African continent in order to delineate carefully the Italian colonial conquests. The display of the sequence of maps was to be a reminder to Italians of

their past and present role as civilisers of the world and the creation of the new empire under Fascism. The cartographic exercise is the material legacy of Fascist ideology on colonialism, a map of Mussolini's proclamation of the empire:

> The Italian people have created the Empire with their blood, will make it fertile with their labour, and will defend it against whomever with their arms. In this certain hope, raise high – legionaries – your standards, your weapons and your hearts, and salute, after fifteen centuries, the re-appearance of the Empire on the predestined hills of Rome.
> (Mussolini quoted in Hyde Minor 1999: 154)

This fifth map was the only one to be defaced with red paint by anti-Fascists in July 1943 (fig. 32). Hyde Minor (1999) tells us that in November 1944 the Commissione Storia ed Arte agreed it should be removed and it disappeared from view, only being rediscovered in the basement of the Theatre of Marcellus following her research in Rome. The scholar was told by Prof. Giorgio Muratori of the town hall that the map would be restored and possibly put on display in the Museum of Roman Civilisation in the E.U.R. neighbourhood. At the time of writing, however, said museum is closed for a lengthy refurbishment and it was not possible to check whether the proposed plan for the fifth map took place. The remaining four maps have been constantly cleaned since the war, although not visible anymore, which is on the contrary the case of the sculptures of Trajan, Nerva, Augustus and Caesar placed in front of their respective forums. These sculptures are still in the same place today, with the Fascist Era marked as the year of foundation; they are often confused by non-experts for ancient sculptures.

The way in which four of the maps have been preserved and one taken away from public eye is an interesting heritage debate. Firstly, it demonstrates clearly the question of whether contested heritage should be on public view or put into store, with much contested heritage being simply repositioned away from public spaces but not destroyed. It can be argued that such heritage has almost been left on stand-by, waiting for the next level of renegotiation. Secondly, the two decades of the 1990s/2000s can now be seen to be the period of the first major renegotiation process towards restoring Fascist material legacies, together with the political party of some of the actors that supported the restoration process: Prof. Giorgio Muratori was an eminent scholar with conservative views, which arguably made him consider Fascist legacies 'worth' remembering. Thirdly, the maps that represented the Roman Empire were perceived to be unproblematic both by the anti-Fascist movement and later on

by heritage professionals, as if the Roman past reframed by the Fascist regime could still be a 'neutral' narrative of the past. Unfortunately, as we shall see in Chapter 7, this is not the case.

3.5 Nazification of memory: The Mausoleum of the Ardeatine Massacre as the national memorial



Fig. 34 Rome, Ardeatine massacre site, the entrance to the caves (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

A crucial element of the formation of the Fascist Heritage discourse is the relationship between heritage and memory and the role the memory master narrative had in the formation of Italy's post-dictatorial identity. By looking at those places where memory is on display and those that are crucial to Italians' new identity detached from Fascism, it is possible to analyse how Fascism itself is defined, and in turn remembered. As we will see in the rest of this chapter, Italy's definition of Fascism that emerged from memory sites is only partial since it focuses solely on the final evolution of the regime into Nazi-Fascism, leaving comprehension of the complexities of *Ventennio* unresolved.

In contemporary Italy, the Mausoleum of the Ardeatine Massacre is seen as the symbol of national memory of the tragedy of World War II and of Nazi-Fascist violence (Isnenghi 1996, Contini 1997; fig. 34-35). It is a 'dark memory' site, a *lieu de memoire* (Nora 1989) that stands for the historical event of the wartime civilian massacre of Italians in Rome, and it is the one that has the most symbolic importance nationally. This site represents the Italian place of memory for the collective remembrance of the atrocities of World War II, and is one of those places, following Viejo-Rose, that are at the same time place, object, and symbol (2011a: 9).



Fig. 35 Rome, Ardeatine massacre site, the mausoleum (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The mausoleum commemorates the place of the mass execution ordered by the SS after a partisan attack in via Rasella. After the liberation, the caves where the executions took place immediately became not only a symbol of the civilian massacre but also a national symbol. It became almost a sacred place, and as emerged from this fieldwork, even today this place has a sense of holiness (Marcello 2017).

The manner in which this site has become a symbol which codifies the narrative of remembering the Italian massacre by the Nazi will be examined, and how this image has been used by different protagonists for the creation of history and identity. This place represents, I

argue, the myth of the Italians as *brava gente*, good people, just immersed in their daily business and brutally killed during the Nazi occupation. It also allows the Italians to be victims, to be those who have been betrayed by Fascism.

3.5.1 The event

The massacre at the Fosse Ardeatine was ordered on 24 March 1944 in reprisal for a partisan attack on SS troops in the city on the previous day, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Fascist movement (Bentivegna and De Simone 1996). The attack had been carried out by ten members of GAP (Patriotic Action Group), the military wing of the underground Communist Party. Using a brutal accounting system, which required ten victims to be sacrificed for each German killed, the SS commandant Herbert Kappler, aided by Caruso, rounded-up victims from Rome's Regina Coeli prison, the Gestapo headquarters in Via Tasso, and the neighbourhood around Via Rasella, where the partisan attack had taken place (Portelli 1999; fig. 36).



Fig. 36 Rome, Via Rasella, bullets of the GAP attack still on the wall (Photo: freely available on the web)

The victims, 335 men, were shot in groups of five in the tunnels of the quarry, which were then sealed using explosives, thus concealing the bodies. This concealment persisted until the liberation of Rome on 4 June 1944, after which the site of the massacre would be discovered, the victims identified, and the circumstances of their deaths revealed. The site of the massacre, close to the Catacombs of San Callisto, became known as the Fosse Ardeatine, referring to the mass graves in which the victims were buried (Pezzino 1997).

The Fosse Ardeatine is a symbol of the atrocity of war, but it also, as we will see below, created a process of exclusion in which Fascism in itself is not clearly condemned, in fulfilment of the narrative that Focardi (2014) calls the Good Italian and the Evil German.

3.5.2 The Ardeatine massacre mausoleum site today

The Mausoleum of the Ardeatine Massacre or *Fosse Ardeatine* takes its name from the location of the event: in order for the bodies not to be found the SS chose an area south of Rome used the extraction of tufo (fig. 37-39). The natural hills and the extraction sites already in existence with their underground corridors made this the *perfect* spot for the massacre to be carried out. While the occupying forces, together with the collaborators, wanted to punish the population for the partisan attacks in the hope of fermenting dissent, they were also somewhat afraid the massacre would enrage civilians. Besides, fear of the unknown was somewhat more powerful than the event itself.



Fig. 37 Rome, Ardeatine massacre site, map of the site (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)



Fig. 38 Rome, Ardeatine massacre site, the cave with human remains (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The site today is clearly a place of mourning; it is visited by very few individuals, visitors usually being part of either educational visits organised by schools or official state ceremonies. It is part of the route of many national celebrations and commemorations, including those that are related to the celebration of the Liberation from Nazi-Fascism (25 April) but also since 2005 those on the Day of Remembrance of the Holocaust (27 January). Both the Altar to the Fatherland and the Ardeatine mausoleum are managed by the Ministry of Defence, as they are clearly perceived as highly sensitive political symbols: they both represent the Italian State and its core values.

The site is divided in three areas: the mausoleum with the tombs of the victims (fig. 35), the caves where they were executed (fig. 36-38), and a small display of the historical events (Fig. 40). School groups are only taken to the mausoleum and to see the display; they are not taken to the caves as at the end of the main corridor visible human remains are still preserved (Fig. 39). The reason they remain there is because it was not possible to identify them, an electric candle with a perpetual light is in place next to a powerful message:

Here we were killed

victims of a horrid massacre

from our death a new Fatherland shall reborn

and there shall be peace



Fig. 39 Rome, Ardeatine massacre site, candle and sign at the human remains area (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The caves themselves have a powerful impact, as does the mausoleum itself. The way the mausoleum was constructed, with an extremely low roof so as to reconstruct the feeling of being buried alive in some cases, is very extreme. Identification of the victims has been completed only recently in 2013 and various initiatives have been put in place and keep the

memory of the place alive. The small display of the historical events, which cannot really be called a museum, consists of newspaper cuttings and some objects found either on site or at the Via Tasso prison, the place from where most victims were recruited.



Fig. 40 Rome, Ardeatine massacre site, display area with objects found on site (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

It was not possible to make many interviews on site, only with the porters, who told me it is a shame that the site is not visited more. They also mentioned that the Jewish community has been reluctant for many years to celebrate Liberation day with the President of the Republic, but that since 2015, which was the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, they have finally agreed, making the 70th anniversary special (Porters, pers. comm. 27 March 2017).

3.5.3 The political interpretation of a symbol

The Fosse Ardeatine was the first national memorial to be erected in Italy to the victims of Nazi-Fascism. The competition for the selection of an architect to build the monument was launched only three months after the liberation of Rome, which was the time needed for the identification of the bodies (Reichlin 2002). It was such a priority in the reconstruction process that the decision was taken during the first reunion of the Parliament.

The idea that this monument should commemorate all those killed in the war of liberation was not universally supported. Disputes over whether it should be a national symbol of the Resistance, a monument to all victims of Nazi violence in Italy, or simply a memorial to the victims of this particular massacre persisted beyond the inauguration of the monument on 24 March 1949, the fifth anniversary of the massacre (Pucci 2013).

In the end, the monument was to commemorate not only the victims of the massacre but all the victims who had fought for liberation from the regime. So, immediately after the war, the place became a national symbol, and a new political meaning was given to it. After his High Court trial for war crimes, Pietro Caruso, the Fascist chief of police, was condemned to death for his role in the Fosse Ardeatine massacre. As film-making played a major role in the reconstruction process and the creation of narratives, Caruso's execution was filmed by the acclaimed Italian director Luchino Visconti.

This is an expression of the need to witness de-fascistisation. The political forces of the Resistance and of the Allies initiated this process in the immediate aftermath of the war. As Pucci (2013) tells us, *Roma città aperta* (1945) and *Giorni di Gloria* (1945) are the films that best represent the role of the Resistance in liberating Italy, and their interest in being seen to be in line with the intentions of the Allies. But in these films the Resistance is the protagonist: partisans are the 'good people', the ones working on the streets; there are no scenes describing the role of the Allies. There is not one single image of ancient Rome and Fascist power: the city of Rome has been de-symbolised to represent every Italian city. The symbols the partisans are borrowing are the anti-Roman, the anti-elite of the centre of Rome, and the humbleness of the periphery – where 'real' people were living and suffering, where the black market was.

Arguably, however, there were no Fascists either. The only enemies represented are the Nazis. In *Roma città aperta* the actor representing the local policeman, inevitably part of the Fascist apparatus, is a 'good guy': he is secretly helping the partisans instead of the

Gestapo. The reassuring underlying message was to accuse only the Germans of the atrocities committed in Rome and elsewhere. Rome was declared an 'open city' in August 1943, and this is the message all the winning forces embraced: of a city and of a nation that surrendered, that wanted to be neutral, as if it had unwillingly participated in the war.

The Resistance expressed the need for unification and for healing, presenting an image of the Italians as 'good people' – *brava gente*. What emerges from these neo-realism films is already an element of denial; the Italians were mainly poor, uneducated people who were oppressed by the arrogance of Fascists and the Monarchy.

Since 2005, the Fosse Ardeatine has been the place of remembrance for the Shoah, together with all the victims of World War II. As public debate on the Holocaust grew, Italy established a Remembrance Day in line with the rest of Europe, and in 2005 agreed to the building of a much-needed Shoah Museum in Rome, but after more than ten years this museum has still not been opened (Gordon 2012; Van Gils 2018).

3.6 Concluding thoughts

Renegotiating the Risorgimento fights is one of the core exercises of contemporary Italian identity. As Leone Ginzburg puts it:

> For Italians, the attitude to be taken towards the Risorgimento still implies, and perhaps will continue to imply for a long time, an unequivocal choice that precedes any historiographical evaluation.
> (Ginzburg 1964: 114)

Fascism immediately started to develop a dense web of control over history production, in order to be able to transform, edit and mis-use historical events to serve Fascist ideology and the consolidation of its power (Baioni 2006: 10). As noted in Spain by Viejo-Rose, regimes need to establish their role in history, and their favourite and most successful way to do so is through the manipulation of cultural heritage (Viejo-Rose 2011). Fascism needed to create legitimacy through its place in history, as a continuation of a glorious past, be this the Risorgimento or, later, the Roman past. Specifically, for the Risorgimento, the regime constructed a narrative that read events as 'unfinished': a good proportion of Fascist ideology is forged upon the aim to finalise the Risorgimento objectives of unity and nation

(Zunino 1985: 88). As Baioni (2006) argues, the concept of the Risorgimento and whether or not Italians have fulfilled the aims and aspirations generated by those revolutionary fights has shaped enormously the historiographic discourse up until the construction of the Resistance narrative. In Gallerano's work (1995), public use of history during Fascism is a way to legitimise (or not) political decisions and a way to construct national or local identities regardless of whether they are conflictive or not. In this respect, looking at a monument not just for its historical values but using a critical heritage approach allows for a deconstruction of the different narratives and meanings that over time the monument has symbolised. It also allows consideration of how far this is a reflection of social perception of this particular past.

The Vittoriano is interesting because of its status as a 'national' heritage site which more than any other represents the embodiment of how the State is concealing its Fascist roots in plain sight, without engaging with them. The fact that with both the altar of Rome and the internal crypt the military layer is still stronger than the heritage layer makes for a disturbing continuation of meanings from the time of the regime to the present day.

The story of the Altar to the Fascist Martyrs is fascinating in the way it was assembled, and how its materiality is interconnected with its meanings: coming from a Roman excavation, first used to celebrate a colonial attempt at conquest in Dogali, and finally as the sacred place of Fascism as a religion. Even more interesting is how this altar was carefully dismantled and every piece of the decoration diligently catalogued by heritage professionals: it gives the impression that Fascist monuments made out of Roman remains were considered to be Roman rather than from the Fascist era.

The same could be said about the via dei Fori Imperiali maps. As shown in the description of the cartographic exercise, the regime wanted to create a legitimate place for Fascism within Italian national history, and thought to do so by showing the Fascist Empire as a natural successor to the Roman one. The entire project of the avenue above the forums is the materialisation of this desire to own the Roman past, even if the past was merely seen as an aesthetic tool to play with. The fact that sculptures of Roman emperors placed by the regime and the first four maps have survived de-fascistisation might well be the result of a particular approach to renegotiating a troubled past: it is as if these fake-Roman legacies were not perceived as destabilising in the post-war period and were therefore left *in situ*. While the Fascist memory attached to them may have largely been forgotten, they still represent an attraction to neo-Fascist groups.

The third part of this chapter has analysed the memorialisation of the end of the regime in Italy and the time of the Nazi occupation of Rome through the narrative of the Resistance. By looking at how the Mausoleum of the Ardeatine Massacre has told the story of the liberation battles, it has emerged how by focusing on the events of Nazi-Fascism and their atrocities, the construction of memory has been invested by what I call a Nazification process. By remembering and constructing heritage only around places of violence in Nazi-occupied Italy, the country has used the mourning of Italian civilians to shift attention away from Fascist collaboration. Moreover, by focusing only on atrocities and violence that happened between 1943 and 1945, a counter-narrative has been created, if unintentionally, which excludes Fascist violence which preceded 1943 from Italy's official memorialisation. So, for example, a narrative of internal repression and colonialism is completely missing from the narrative of liberation from Nazi-Fascism. The process of forgetting Fascist atrocities is more complex than simply a process of exclusion from the memory-scape, but it does have a profound impact on the collective memory of how violent the regime was from its seizure of power.

Chapter 4 Heritage of the Leader: remembering and forgetting Mussolini in Rome and beyond

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will look specifically at the heritage sites which were once Mussolini's residence and office in Rome: Villa Torlonia and Palazzo Venezia. The aim of this chapter is to look at the process of heritagisation, or lack thereof, that has occurred at places associated with Mussolini in contemporary Italy. As Mussolini's iconography was the first to be attacked in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the regime, this chapter also aims to understand whether 'Heritage of Mussolini' might be considered a different category within 'Heritage of the Dictatorship' (Bartolini 2018b). The Heritage of Mussolini will also be analysed as an expression of Italy's contemporary renegotiation of its dictatorial past, and in particular the differentiation between what has been defined as 'Mussolinism' and Fascism (Bosworth 2005). The question of whether public perception of these sites has changed over time will also be considered, and to what extent the recent transformation of these sites into museums signifies a change from the post-war interpretation.

This chapter is divided in three parts: firstly, the Cult of the *Duce* and the current political debate around Mussolini's material legacies will be analysed, including how these two sites fit within that debate. Secondly, it will describe both sites and how Mussolini's presence is presented or hidden, together with the contemporary perception of these places as revealed from interviews with staff and visitors. Thirdly, it will present some preliminary thoughts on whether we can identify the Heritage of Mussolini as being different from architectural heritage and the impact that this particular heritage has on public debate.

4.1.1 Mussolini's cult of personality

The cult of Mussolini was at the heart of the strategies implemented through propaganda to build consensus among Italians; this pervaded not only the twenty years of his dictatorship but continues to be present in popular culture today, albeit in a diluted form (Gundle, Duggan, and Pieri 2013). The cult of Mussolini opened a direct communication channel between the leader and Italians in a way which polarised sympathies toward 'Il *Duce*', but not

necessarily the Fascist party (Bosworth 2005). This division has allowed the cult of Mussolini's personality to survive in the post-war period, regardless of criticism of Fascism itself.

The process of the construction of the myth of Mussolini began, according to Storchi, with Margarita Sarfatti's biography of the *Duce* (Storchi 2013b). As Storchi argues, it was primarily Sarfatti's role as Mussolini's mistress and her position within upper social circles which allowed her to direct the extensive work on Mussolini's public image. In terms of artistic representation, the image of the dictator was subject to an evolution in line with his political development as a leader (Pieri 2013). If early representations of Mussolini were realistic and designed to make him identifiable, from the time of the declaration of the empire in 1936 a dramatic shift can be seen towards a militarised image and more rigid facial traits. As noted by Giorgio di Genova (1999), the variety and diversity of the iconography of Mussolini is not seen in that of Stalin, Hitler, Mao or Saddam Hussein, because their faces were presented in an absolutely realistic manner, with the aim of immediate recognition. The face of the *Duce* has been modified to such an extent by Futurist and Avant Garde artists that it has become an object of adoration rather than a human face. Following this argument, Mussolini himself became an idea of a god rather than a simple human. His face was disseminated through propaganda via every possible medium, with the intention of creating a consensus around this 'glorification' of the figure of Mussolini (Gentile 1993; Falasca-Zamponi 1997; Pieri 2013). The way the Fascist regime used the Arts for propaganda was twofold: while the general image of the *Duce* was presented through mass-media to less-educated viewers, high culture in the form of paintings and sculptures was aimed at viewers from the upper social classes (Malvano 1988; Pieri 2013).

The fate of Mussolini's iconography in post-war, within what has been termed the de-fascisization process, is still a matter of scholarly debate. A comprehensive survey of what has been destroyed, saved or sold has not yet been done, and this research is trying to make a contribution in that direction. Movable and portable items of Mussolini's heritage are taken into account here precisely because their portable nature has allowed them to be preserved in private properties and collections away from the public's gaze when compared with the architectural legacy (Versari 2014). If, as Arthurs (2010) points out, after the first fall of Mussolini there were several cases of iconoclastic destruction of the images of the leader, what has emerged during this research is that very often busts and heads of Mussolini were stored away in private collections . The destruction of images of Mussolini has been only

limited and partial, and most of his material legacies, I would argue, have become 'hidden heritage'.

Only recently have such items begun to populate the public arena again in the form of art collections. While Mussolini's *damnatio memoriae* has often been explained with the example below, the case of Bologna in Italy is more the exemption than the norm. One of the most iconic sculptures was that of the *Duce* on horse-back at the entrance to the Littorio Stadium in Bologna, and its fate in the post-war period is an exemplar of the complexity of the fate of the rest of Mussolini's heritage (Storchi 2013a). The work of Giuseppe Graziosi, it was commissioned by podestà Leandro Arpinati in 1928 to be placed under the Marathon tower designed by Giorgio Arata, the statue recalling Mussolini's entrance to the Stadium for the celebration in 1926 of the 4th anniversary of his seizure of power (Storchi 2013a). Where the plinth of the sculpture stands today is where Mussolini stood during the Stadium's inauguration, which gives a sense of the 'holiness' of the presence of Mussolini there and how symbolic the sculpture was.

After WWII images of Mussolini and of the regime were at the receiving end of violent 'iconoclasm' perpetrated by the angry masses. The day after the capture of Mussolini, on 25 July 1943, the heads and flags of the former regime were thrown out of windows or burned, together with documents of the Fascist Party. The fate of the Bologna sculpture was in line with other forms of iconoclasm around the country: on 26 July, photographs of the *Duce* were burned in Bologna's central square and insignia of the Fascist Party destroyed or removed. The sculpture was first toppled and the head then separated from the body and carried with a rope around the city; both head and body then lay untouched in the centre of Bologna for months before the Germans removed them in 1945 (Storchi 2013a).

When, in 1945, the commission for the conservation of the city's heritage deliberated what to do with rest of the sculpture, their first plan was to reconstruct it and then relocate it in a public place. After the election of a left-wing administration in 1946, the rest of the horse (which was still standing in its original location) was sent to a warehouse on the grounds that 'it was quite disturbing to see a horseman's legs still attached to the horse' (Storchi 2013a: 203). Later that year, the National Association of Italian Partisans (ANPI) was granted permission to melt down the rest of the sculpture to make two sculptures of partisans to be placed outside the new party headquarters in Bologna.

Simona Storchi sees the fate of Mussolini's head as also shedding light on the role icons play in the relationship between sculptures and the cult of the *Duce* in post-war Italy. Mussolini's head was collected from the Germans by Italian Social Republic veteran Mario Mattioli and buried in his garden in Bologna. When the Istituto Storico della Repubblica di Salò opened in 1953, Mussolini's head was exposed there as a devotional relic. In 2006, when Simona Storchi interviewed Arturo Conti as Head of the Istituto, the head was still there, but in 2013, when journalists from the ANPI association were investigating the location of the head and checked with the Istituto Storico, they denied the head was there. Storchi describes the displaying of the head in the institute as both 'a personal memory of Mussolini for those who recovered it and as a material legacy of him' (Storchi 2013a: 205).

Moreover, I would argue, Mussolini's sculpture in the post-war period was invested with the same love/hate dynamic that invested the body of the leader himself, as such sculptures were a material symbol of the *Duce*. For this reason, if some images were destroyed, many others were carefully saved, later re-emerging in private art collections. The following sections will give a brief account of the role of Predappio as a place of Fascist memory followed by recent art collections that are based entirely on Mussolini's iconography.

4.1.2 Predappio: Dark Tourism and the future Documentation Centre on 'Totalitarian Italy'



Fig. 41 Predappio, Ex-Fascist Headquarters (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

Mussolini's memory in popular culture is preserved today in Predappio, Il *Duce*'s birthplace. Regarded as a place sacred to the cult of the leader, it has been a site of pilgrimage since the foundation of the modern town in 1925. The regime encouraged people to pay tribute to the 'Dux' by making an almost mandatory visit to the house where Mussolini was born, the church where he was baptised, and the school were his mother was working (Serenelli 2013a and b). From 1957, when Mussolini's body was buried in Predappio, neo-fascist gatherings started again to pay tribute to the tomb of their mythical leader (fig.41-42). Today, thousands of neo-fascists visit the tomb of the *Duce* three times a year, to celebrate Mussolini's birth (29th July), death (28th April) and the March on Rome (22nd October), giving rise to a new, disturbing form of 'dark tourism' (Luzzato 2011).



Fig. 42 Predappio, Ex-Fascist Headquarters, interior (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

From 2016 the Town Hall of Predappio invested funds and research into the creation of the Predappio Project which is aiming at the restoration of the ex-Fascist Headquarter and the creation of a Documentation Centre for the History of Fascist Italy (Storchi 2019; fig. 41-42). A portion of the building will be devoted to the heavily contested permanent exhibition which will analyse Italian society under the regime from the end of WWI in 1918 to the creation of the Italian constitution in 1948. Criticism of the exhibition has been raised by the ANPI association as they argue the project of the exhibition is crucially overlooking everyday violence of the regime to favour aspects to be perceived as 'less divisive' (Carrettieri 2018). In particular, the ANPI association accuses the Scientific Committee of not allowing them to be involved at any stage of the conceptualization of what should be the first museum of the history of Fascism in Italy. Finally, they argue that since Predappio is such a holy place to neo-Fascists, it will not be possible to separate the new museum from a visit to Mussolini's tomb, transforming the museum into a neo-Fascist attraction (Carrettieri 2018).



Fig. 43 Predappio, Mussolini birthhouse (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

However, despite plans to build a museum of the History of Totalitarian Italy, which should open in Predappio in 2020, places in Predappio directly linked to Mussolini have not undergone a process of heritage-making: none of his properties has been transformed into a state-owned interpretation site, nor have any been destroyed (Bartolini 2018). They simply stand as places of nostalgic worship, an expression of the Italian state's impasse over dealing with the dictator's material legacies-at least until the Predappio Project is realised.



Fig. 44 Predappio, Souvenirs shop (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

Nonetheless, one place in particular that once belonged to the Mussolini family is today a private heritage site which attracts the attention of nostalgic pilgrims visiting the tomb of the *Duce* in Predappio. Known as 'Villa Mussolini' but called by the owners 'Villa of Memories', this property is today a 'shrine' to the cult of the *Duce* (fig. 46-49). Mussolini only occasionally visited what was a holiday home, but paraphernalia relating to him and the regime have been kept here on display, together with what is, in effect, a small documentation centre on Fascism-which resonates curiously with the future Documentation Centre of the Predappio Project. The visit and the display are rather peculiar, to say the least, resembling a religious pilgrimage rather than a traditional museum display. Visitors frequently became emotional after looking at former outfits of Mussolini and all of them touched them as a sign of emotional attachment, if not 'holy blessing'.



Fig. 45 Predappio, Mussolini tomb (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

The property was sold by Romano Mussolini to the present owner – Giorgio Morosini – with the agreement that the Documentation Centre will be 'open' to future generations of scholars and schoolchildren. The upper floor of the house is devoted to this documentation centre and, as well as study rooms, it presents a decoration of frescos made by Romano Mussolini who was also a painter. The themes of the decorative system unequivocally show the pride of Mussolini's son for his father. Together with the tomb, Mussolini's home and the shops testify to the strength of Mussolini's memory and support in Predappio (fig. 45).



Fig. 46 Predappio, Villa Mussolini (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)



Fig. 47 Predappio, Villa Mussolini, Bruno Mussolini's study (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)



Fig. 48 Predappio, Villa Mussolini, Benito Mussolini’s bedroom (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)



Fig. 49 Predappio, Villa Mussolini, frescos of the 'documentation centre' (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

4.1.3 Mussolini on display: permanent exhibitions in Pieve di Cento and Salò

This section will look at two private collections that were recently opened to the public: the collection Susmel-Bargellini in Pieve di Cento and the permanent exhibition called *Il Culto del Duce* (the Cult of the *Duce*) in the MuSa museum in Salò. As Pieri (2013) and Arangio (2018) noted at the opening of the Susmel-Bargellini collection, the acceptance of the display of such an array of images of the *Duce* indicates how times have changed with respect to 'acceptance' of Mussolini's iconography.

Lucio Bargellini is a private collector of 19th- and 20th-century art whose collection is housed in a Fascist building in Pieve di Cento under the name of *Magi 900*, next to his own business headquarters. The history of his collection starts in 1963 and it grew considerably with the acquisition of the Susmel collection. What makes this collection interesting in terms of the heritage of the *Duce* is the role Susmel himself has had in collecting pieces relating to Mussolini, in memory of a 'disappearing world'. Susmel and his father, in their role as editors

of Mussolini's biography, were in a position to collect objects relating specifically to the dictatorship and Mussolini's iconography. As an artist himself, Susmel was collecting icons of Fascism with the intention of displaying them one day as a permanent exhibition on Fascism.

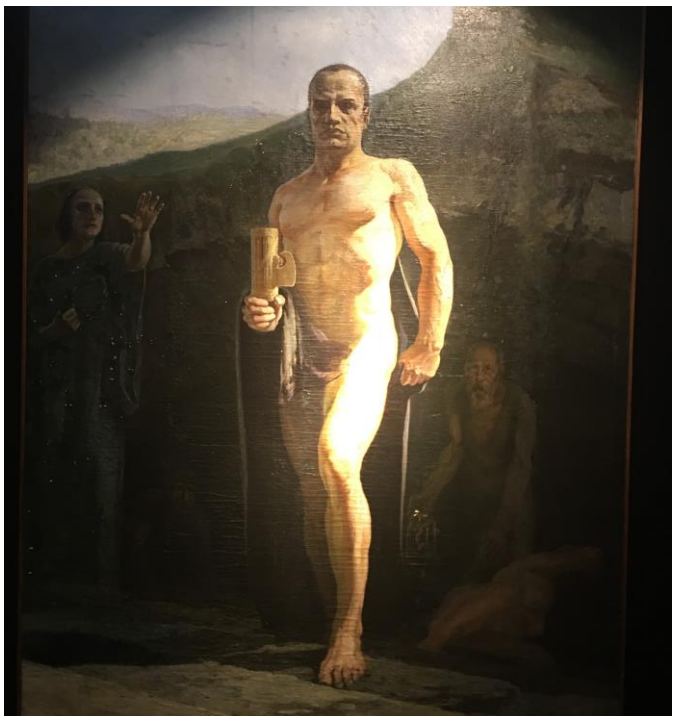


Fig. 50 Salo', MuSa museum, Mussolini in heroic pose (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini©)

Bargellini structured the *Magi 900* museum as a permanent exhibition of the arts from the 16th to the 21st century. Arranged over three floors, the museum starts on the ground floor with the 16th-century collection and moves forward to the third floor where the 21st-century art and the permanent exhibition *Mussolini ritrovato* is displayed (Petacco 2011). The location of this exhibition is somewhat separate and remote from the rest of the museum and, interestingly, there are no interpretation panels either introducing the collection or explaining its history. The Mussolini collection has its own guidebook, with individual entries explaining the objects on display, but it gives only a brief explanation of the history of the collection in the introduction. The iconography of Mussolini is read through its artistic value, which Arangio (2018) argues can be quite diverse from one piece to another, but misses completely the aim and the genesis of the collection which was to remember the *Duce*, rather than collecting pieces of artistic value. He argues that:

Despite the provocative intentions of its title, the Magi'900's 'forbidden collection' (Petacco 2009) was mostly ignored and continues to be so for multiple reasons. Yet the peripheral character of the museum only partly justifies the disinterest of experts; the biggest problem is the clearly devotional scope of the collection, which comes across as a sort of private temple dedicated to the worship of the Duce, and which scholars seek to distance themselves from (Arangio 2018: 134).



Fig. 51 Salo', MuSa museum, display of Mussolini's execution in Piazzale Loreto (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The second collection with a clear contemporary political meaning is the Culto del *Duce* in Salò (fig. 50-54). The city of Salò is, in itself, a place where ties with the Social Republic are still relatively strong, in the new guise of heritage sites. The city of Salò today is a popular summer destination on Lake Garda, attracting both local and foreign tourists more for the microclimate of the region than for cultural interest. However, the city's more recent history offers an unavoidable element of interest for tourists visiting the area, as most of the historic buildings and hotels were used during the Social Republic by both the Nazi and Fascist armies and governments. During the summer of 2018, when this part of the research took place, several types of heritage event were taking place in Salò relating to the history of the Social Republic and Mussolini himself.



Fig. 52 Salo', MuSa museum, Mussolini's heads (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The most interesting aspect of the heritage landscape in Salò is the exhibition at the MuSa museum run by Giordano Bruno Guerri, also known for his 'revisionist' work on Bottai and D'Annunzio and through his managerial work at the Vittoriale degli Italiani, D'Annunzio's resting place. Bruno Guerri is the curator of the Mussolini exhibition at MuSa and he is considering enlarging the collection to establish a Museum of Fascism in Salò. He claimed during our interview that one of his principal achievements is that he has *fascistised the cultural heritage of Salò through the opening of the Mussolini exhibition, allowing the historical value of Fascism in Salò finally to take form* (Giordano Bruno Guerri, personal interview. 28 Agosto 2018). The MuSa' collection grew out of a preliminary exhibition on the history of Fascism in Salò, and from a 2016 exhibition in Predappio called *Dux: L'arte del consenso* (Meroni 2016), with the addition of extensive support of multi-media installations and some loans from private collectors.

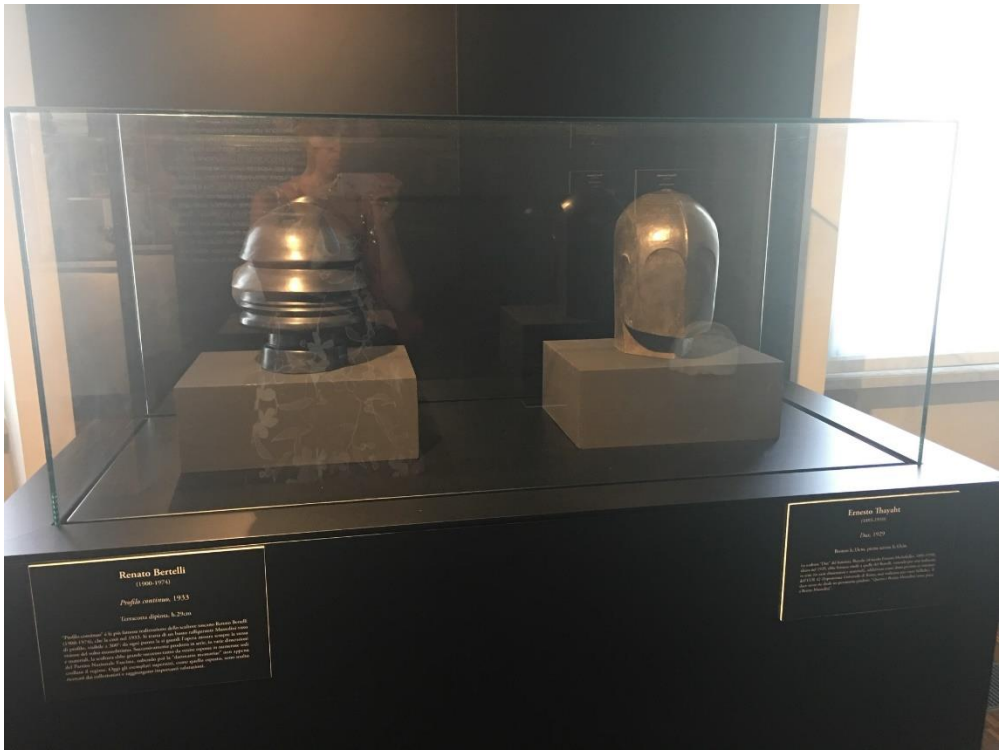


Fig. 53 Salo', MuSa museum, Bertelli and Thayaht iconic heads of Mussolini (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The exhibition is based around a 'dialogue' between an anti-Fascist narrative juxtaposed with a Fascist one, using both artworks and installations. As Guerri explained it to me, the idea of the exhibition was 'to give voice to both versions of the story regarding the end of the regime'. When questioned to explain this further, Guerri argued that history is written by the winners and that there are always at least two versions of the same event. He also mentioned that the narrative of the Resistance was constructed by the Partisans and is therefore biased (Guerri, private interview, 28 August 2018). The display starts with a portrait of Mussolini in heroic nudity, a rarely seen example of the body of the *Duce* with a marble-like texture in a clear imperialistic pose. The display does not follow a chronological order, which makes it difficult for the viewer to understand the development of the historical events. For example, after Mussolini's nudity there is a reproduction of the photos of his murder in Piazzale Loreto which might suggest the real focus of the display is the centrality of Mussolini's body rather than historical events.



Fig. 54 Salo', MuSa museum, Corghi iconic head of Mussolini (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The second section of the exhibition, the one which was conceived by Bruno Guerri, looks specifically at the cult of the *Duce* from 1922 to 1945. The iconography of Mussolini on display follows this time chronologically and gives an interesting reading of how the face of the *Duce* moved from a 'Giolittian' 19th-century neo-classical style to the Futurist examples of Corghi, Bertelli, e Barbara. Bruno Guerri's message in this exhibition is that the presence of Mussolini is inextricably linked with the Salò landscape and that there should be no shame in 2018 about presenting an exhibition on him. At the time of the opening, he recalled that a few members of the ANPI association protested in front of the museum, but there have been neither nostalgic pilgrimages nor anti-Fascist protests within. However, it must be stressed that Salò as a town is not part of a major tourist route and cultural activities only occur during the summer season. Despite Guerri's claims, this exhibition has been heavily criticised by anti-Fascist associations, even if not directly outside the museum, precisely for its lack of historical consistency and for its clear neo-fascist and revisionist ethos. In the following section, the analysis of Mussolini's heritage in Rome will start with the work on Villa Torlonia.

4.2 Villa Torlonia as Mussolini's residence in Rome: background and biography of place



Fig. 55 Map of Villa Torlonia (from Agati 2010: p. 10)

Villa Torlonia on the Via Nomentana is an 18th-century villa which was the property of the Torlonia family from 1797 to 1978 and which was the Roman residence of Benito Mussolini and his family from 1925 until 1943 (Boyd Hall 2010; fig. 55-58). Marino Torlonia, originally from France, acquired the property in 1797, after making a fortune in Rome by opening a bank (Agati 2010: 2). The new owner had great plans for the property and hired Giuseppe Valadier to re-design the villa: it has a Casino Nobile as the main structure and a Casino dei Principi for parties, as well as fountains and sculptures. The house is approached from the main gate situated on Via Nomentana. The Casino Nobile has a main hall decorated with sculpture and a series of rooms attached to it decorated with flowers and grottoes with neo-classical copies of Roman wall paintings. A description of the villa, made at the time by Giuseppe Checchetelli, shows how the inspiration for this work was in fact Hadrian's villa at

Tivoli (Agati 2010: 12). False ruins were created as a visual reminder of an inspiring past: the temple of Saturnus was inspired by the temples of Antonius and Faustina in the Forum and fake obelisks were positioned around the garden.



Fig. 56 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

What makes the property unique is the number of different styles and false ruins, including an amphitheatre, a nymphaeum, a sporting arena and a coffee house. Approaching from Via Nomentana, the property was meant to recall a Roman villa: even the walls around the property were made following Roman construction techniques – *opus incertum* and *opus reticulatum*. The final touch to the decoration of the villa was the erection of two obelisks in pink marble in front of the main entrance. A replica Etruscan tomb was found during the restoration of the villa, with imitation frescoes and decorations (Agati 2010). The layout of the property, its obelisks and the wall paintings made the villa a perfect Roman replica, which is probably the reason why Mussolini chose this particular house. The Roman style of the property supported the dictator's desire to be seen as the successor of Caius Julius Caesar and

the Emperor Augustus, following the propagandistic principle of *Romanitas* as the basis of Italian culture.



Fig. 57 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile in Mussolini's time (Photo: freely available from the web)



Fig. 58 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile abandoned in the post-war (Photo: freely available from the web)

4.2.1 Mussolini at Villa Torlonia

The official catalogue says that in 1925 the property was offered by Giovanni Torlonia to the Mussolini family as their family residence in Rome (Agati 2010: 4), but arguably this property was ideally suited for Mussolini to live like a Roman Emperor, and the offer was probably strongly solicited. Within the propagandist context of *Romanitas* as the actualised concept at the base of the new Fascist State, Mussolini's residence in a Roman-like villa was a deliberate part of his constant attention to the way his image was perceived. As scholars have debated, the reuse of the symbols and ideals of the Roman Empire characterised Fascist propaganda from the date of the March on Rome in 1922, when Mussolini's attitude towards the city strategically changed (Gentile 2007; Arthurs 2014; Kallis 2014; Neils 2011). As Arthurs argues (2014), the Roman past for Mussolini was not just a mere reuse of symbols; on the contrary, Fascism built its foundations for a new State on the premise of its existence as a modern-era Roman Empire. For Mussolini, it was crucial to be seen as either Caesar or Augustus in the public space, using iconography to support his resemblance. I would argue that the selection of the Villa Torlonia in its grand Roman style was a deliberate strategy by the dictator to feel and be seen as a modern Emperor.



Fig. 59 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile, display of the Torlonia family (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)



Fig. 60 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile, display of the Mussolini family (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

This property was to be Mussolini's residence during the entire time of the dictatorship and as my interviews revealed, this place represents his house in the collective memory. The Mussolini family were paying only a symbolic rent after the death of Giovanni, allowing the family to occupy the Palace or Casino Nobile until Mussolini was arrested on 25 July 1943. As emerged from interviews with heritage professionals in Villa Torlonia, Mussolini modified some features of the property, creating a covered corridor above the first-floor balcony to link the two main bedrooms and two adjoining bathrooms. (This portion of the property was destroyed once the work of restoration started, as the villa was taken back to the time of Valadier's work in the early 19th century.). On the mezzanine, which was not in use at the time, he allocated bedrooms for the children and created a service area, making it the most extensive remodelling in the history of the property. Further corridors and stairs were created at this time, some of which are not open to the public today, while outside he added a tennis court (Agati 2010: 19).



Fig. 61 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile, Mussolini's bedroom family (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The first floor is where Mussolini and his wife Rachele had their apartments, symmetrically distributed around the main central marble staircase. As in similar 18th-century properties, several ante-chambers and study rooms came before the main bedroom itself (fig. 61-62). The current furniture in these rooms belonged to the Torlonia family and the description of the rooms in the guidebook barely mentions the fact that Mussolini and Rachele lived in those bedrooms for twenty years (Agati 2010: 5). As well as the main structural changes to the house, two shelters and a bunker were also added in the grounds (Agati 2010: 56).



Fig. 62 Roma, Villa Torlonia, Casino Nobile, Rachele Mussolini's bedroom (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

After the liberation of Rome in 1945, the property was occupied by the Allies and in 1947 was left in a state of dereliction. When the property was returned to the Torlonia family in 1947, the state of some of the buildings was so compromised that they decided to demolish rather than restore them (Agati 2010: 36). After 1948, when Giovanni died, no direct descendants lived at the property, and as Caio Mussolini told me verbally, the situation led to a legal battle among relatives (Caio Mussolini, pers.comm., 21 August 2016).

Throughout the 1970s and 80s the property lay abandoned, with overgrown grass, dead trees, and anti-Fascist graffiti both on the exterior wall of the Casino Nobile and on the main precinct of the property. Today, the only graffiti are some neo-fascist examples on the south-west corner of the external precinct.

In 1977, following a popular demonstration, the villa was acquired by the State and the park was opened to the public in 1978. Interviews with heritage officials revealed that despite being opened to the public, the buildings within the park were not restored and the objects within them were quite often stolen or damaged as a sign of protest. During that

period, all the furniture from the time of Mussolini was burned or removed and the Casino Nobile in particular was heavily damaged.

From 1996, the Town Hall financed several conservation projects that started with the park and culminated in 2001 with the refurnishing and refurbishing of the property (Agati 2010: 5). In 2002, the Casino dei Principi was re-opened as a museum to host the Torlonia collection and the archive of the Roman School of Painting (1920–40); it was only in 2006 that the Villino Nobile was finally opened to the public. Mussolini's modifications of the property were classified as '20th-century wrong-doing' and where possible the structures of his time were removed or left abandoned in the garden (Agati 2010: 9). In the case of the second floor, which was a usable space for the museum, the rooms are now the home of the permanent collection of Modern Art.

From the columns of the *La Repubblica* newspaper, the former centre-left wing mayor of Rome Walter Veltroni claimed, with the words 'I give you back the villa of the *Duce*', that it was about time to give the places of Fascism back to the public and that it was not a good strategy to be afraid of Fascism and to hide them 'under the carpet' (Silvestri 2006). He supported the crucial re-opening in Rome of places connected with Fascist heritage, notably the covered *Apotheosis of Fascism*, a wall painting on the Salon of Honour in the Foro Italico complex, which was cleaned of its stucco cover in 1996 (Carter and Martin 2017). This shift in perception of the places of Fascism has been seen by scholars as a sign of the political revisionism which began during the Berlusconi era in the 1990s, fuelling the contemporary rise in far-right movements in Italy (Carter and Martin 2017; Malone 2017; Ben-Ghiat 2017).

4.2.2 Mussolini's display

This section considers how Mussolini's life at Villa Torlonia has been presented to the public and both visual and textual analysis has been used to analyse internal narratives. Visual analysis consisted of looking at the visual effect of the descriptive panels about Mussolini's life at the villa, and comparing the space devoted to Mussolini and the space given to the Torlonia family (fig. 59-60). Textual analysis considered the text produced in the form of catalogues, marketing material and display panels in order to analyse which message the museum is aiming to convey to the public. Finally, the narratives and discourses emerging from interviews with both staff and visitors gives a sense of how public perception of places linked to the dictatorship has changed from the post-war period to the present day.

The villa has one room dedicated to historical information about the property. The room was divided into four sections: half of the room was dedicated to the previous owners of the villa, namely the Torlonia and Mussolini families, and the second to the state of abandonment the property suffered in the post-war period, prior to its restoration in 2006. The section on 'previous owners' is evenly divided between the Torlonia and Mussolini families, even though the former lived at the property for almost two centuries and the latter for just twenty years. Visually the layout of the panels of these historical figures is the same – white on a black background – and for Mussolini the photos were also in black and white, giving a general sense of uniformity. Overall, the visitor is made to compare these two families as if they were two 'equal' owners of the villa, creating an imbalance of historical relevance. The black and white effect gives a sense of antiquity, placing the protagonists in the same distant past.

In contrast, the part of the room which documents the abandonment and restoration is a colourful one, giving a 'modern/contemporary' feel to the display. From visual observation, it is possible to distinguish chronologically the past immediately to the left of the entrance in black and white followed by the colourful contemporary period on the right. Mussolini is presented as just one of the historical figures that lived in this property, of the same relevance as the first owners, but with even more personal photos of him at the villa than there are paintings of the Torlonia family. While his historical presence is made visually immediately after entering the room, there is, however, a substantial amount of information missing from the display as we shall see in the following paragraph.

The textual description of the property consists of the official museum guidebook and the interpretation panels. The guidebook offers more description than photos compared with the display, as the interpretation panels are not too densely written. Most of the information on Mussolini refers to what, for simplicity, are called the 'bunkers', even if they are two shelters and one bunker, and no reference is made to Mussolini as a dictator or to Fascism as an authoritarian regime. Mussolini is not introduced – knowledge of who he was is assumed – and it is solely information about his activities at the property that the reader obtains from both the guidebook and the interpretation panels.

Separate entities manage the Museum of Villa Torlonia and the bunkers: the first is under the Soprintendenza Capitoline, and the second is owned by a private organisation.

4.2.3 Mussolini's shelters and the bunker

Once Italy entered WWII, Mussolini feared for the safety of his family under the threat of Allied bombing (fig. 63). The first option for a shelter was the wine canteen underneath the Fucino Lake at the back of the villa (Agati 2010: 45; Bartolini 2018a). Two steel doors, anti-gas masks, a ventilation system, electricity, telephone and beds were all installed. A second exit was created underneath a hill on the other side of the lake. Mussolini, believing the lake itself was easily recognisable from the sky, had it covered with mud. However, as there was an open-air walk to reach the shelter, he decided it would not have been safe enough to reach at night.



Fig. 63 Roma, Villa Torlonia, atomic bunker (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Consequently, he decided to use the basement area beneath the ballroom as a bunker, which would be easily accessible from the rooms above (Agati 2010: 49; Bartolini 2018a). The first bunker was an anti-gas one equipped with an antechamber supplied with

decontamination showers. A new protective cover of 1.2m of concrete was put on the roof of the bunker. There were two exits within the villa; these are not currently visible to the public. Both bunkers were supplied with a complete military support system including gas masks and a manually powered electricity generator in case of blackout.

When the bombings became more frequent, Mussolini decided on the creation of a new anti-atomic bunker (Agati 2010: 50; Bartolini 2018a). This was built under the fake ruin of a fountain and is today accessible from the area in front of the fountain. The bunker is 6.5m deep and consists of a series of rooms connected by a corridor. There were two safety exits: the present main entrance and a second found next to the recently discovered false Etruscan tomb. The bunker has a cylindrical shape to absorb the impact of bombing better and has 4m of concrete placed around a skeleton of steel. One section of the wall interior is on display today to show that the quality of steel was poor because of the war conditions. During a tour, the guide made fun of the fact that even Mussolini himself couldn't get things done properly in Rome and that the final price was three times more expensive then the first quote. It is also said that Mussolini had bad feelings about this place and at the end, when he was arrested, the bunker had not been finished. The main entrance door was not installed and there was no furniture in the bunker.

The opening of the shelters to the public was part of an out-sourcing project in 2014 that saw the management of the villa given to a private association of tour guides (Bartolini 2018a). The general ethos and the way the bunkers and shelter sites have been presented to the public reveal a new trend towards presenting Fascism as a tourism opportunity, a trend that has also affected Predappio recently, where the public administration is trying to convert neo-fascist tourism into 'educational' and 'family oriented' tourism. Tours of the so-called 'Mussolini's bunkers' proved to be immediately very popular, partly due to the lack of information on this period in the city of Rome and in Italy generally. Information panels were on display only in the villa shelter and the bunkers, as the old wine cellar had no space for panelling. Both the shelter and the bunkers have recently been renovated, providing the visitor with a good understanding of both the space and its use. A variety of information about WWII, the Allies and Mussolini was randomly distributed on the walls, including yet more family photos of the Mussolini family but with no general chronology or exhibition narrative.

At the core of the shelter underneath Villa Torlonia, visitors are asked to sit and watch three videos of Mussolini's evacuation speeches: after Italy entered WWII, he asked the population to leave the cities and find accommodation in the countryside. Using Mussolini's own words to introduce the bunkers is a rather problematic practice which reflects not only a lack of historical critical analysis but also gives another ambiguous message to visitors – that of Mussolini taking care of civilians, which is an historical falsification. Interpretation panels in the room focus on maps and a description of the different shelters and bunkers around the city, including their material structure and what sort of furniture they had, some of which was also on display, like the pedal-operated oxygen generator. The tour guides underline how numerous public bunkers were in Rome and how very good it was of Mussolini to have done all this work in advance. Once again, the historical information presented is uncritically taken from propaganda, which shows what a complex and conflicting narrative the bunker display is putting forward (Bartolini 2018a).

4.3 Palazzo Venezia as a place of amnesia



Fig. 64 Roma, Palazzo Venezia (Photo: freely available from the web)

Mussolini's office in Palazzo Venezia is the most fascinating example of a place of amnesia in Italy (fig. 64). As the analysis will show, this place represents the strongest attempt to forget not simply Mussolini, but specifically Mussolini's power: in Italian collective memory

this place represents the Fascist State, the place from where Mussolini exercised control over a cheering nation – a nation that in the present is facing a rise of neo-fascist political power. Mussolini's office as a heritage site will be analysed through textual analysis of the newest guidebook, old catalogues, visual analysis of the museum display, interviews and visitor observation. The guidebook is divided into three sections: a brief historical background of the building; a brief history of the collections; and the most substantial section that consists of a catalogue of the collections displayed in the museum today. The museum at present is divided into two different sections: one portion of the building hosts the collection, while the portion where Mussolini lived and the Great Council of Fascism met is currently used for temporary exhibitions, after having been closed to the public for many years. The paragraph that follows offers the historical background as presented in the catalogue, accompanied by an analysis of Mussolini's rooms in this building.



Fig. 65 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Sala del Concistoro or Room of the Battle (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

What is today known as Palazzo Venezia was commissioned in 1455 by the Venetian cardinal Pietro Barbo, later Pope Paolo II, to be his residence in Rome near the political heart

of the city: the Capitoline Hill area. The building has two construction phases: the first consists of the area from the tower to the main entrance and was the first residence of Barbo as cardinal; the second phase is the building as seen today which was begun in 1465 when Barbo become Pope Paolo II (Barberini and Sconci 2009: 9). The newly elected Pope decided to enlarge the cardinal's palace instead of building a new one, arguably showing how already from the 15th century the political centre of Rome was perceived to be the area around the Roman Forum and Capitoline Hill.



Fig. 66 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Room of the Battle, roof with Fascist eagles (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Palazzo Venezia was the last pontifical palace within the ancient centre of Rome before the construction of the Vatican Palace by Michelangelo. After his election, the Pontifex decided to restore and enlarge the area of the San Marco Church and added a *viridarium*, an internal elevated garden with a double order of columns (Barberini and Sconci 2009: 9). Travertine was used for columns and arches and the main entrance from Piazza Venezia was also modelled after the neo-classical style. Rooms on the first floor were

conceived on an extraordinary scale, where the *Sala del Mappamondo* (fig. 65-67) alone was 280m^2; this was destined to host pontifical ceremonies. Along the corridor, rooms are identified either by the themes on the wall-paintings, like the room of the *Fatiche di Ercole*, or by their original use, such as the *Sala Regia* or the *Sala del Concistoro* (fig. 68-69).

After the death of Paolo II, Pope Paolo III Farnese lived in the palace and modified the building to allow access through a series of arches from the Palazzo Venezia to the Capitoline Hill. This once again established a visible link between the two Roman political powers: the Church and the noble families that in turn ran for office in the administration of the municipalities of Rome.

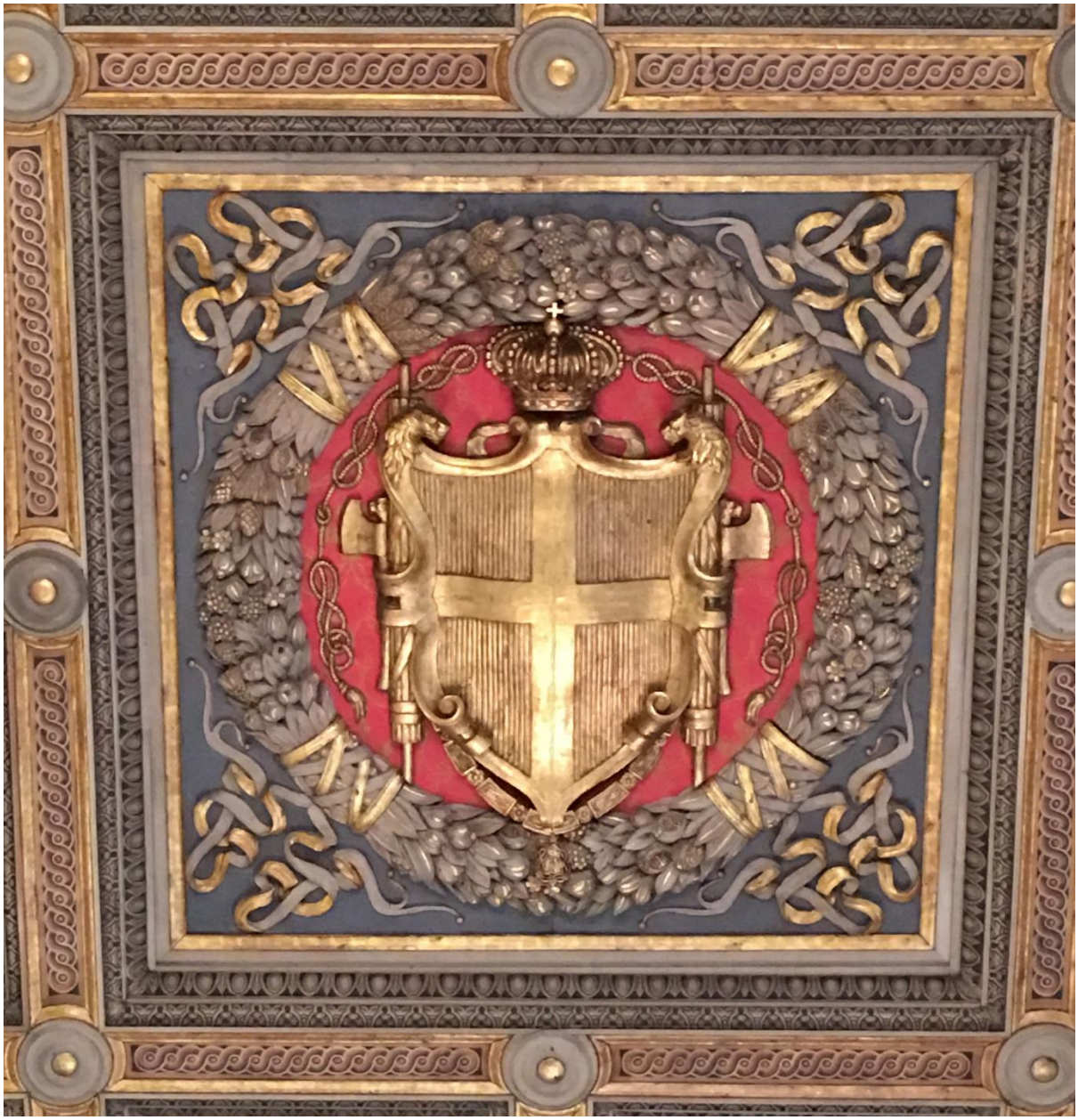


Fig. 67 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Room of the Battle, roof with *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

In 1916, Palazzo Venezia was confiscated from the Austrian authorities and designated as the National Medieval and Renaissance Art Museum. This included the former Kircheriano Museum, part of the collection of the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, and objects from the 1911 World Fair. Federico Hermanin, the first Director of the Museum, worked personally in the Room of the Mappamondo (Diebner 2016)) to evaluate the work of possibly a scholar of Mantegna or Mantegna himself. The works saw the restoration of the old frescos and in 1929 the implementation of a contemporary mosaic which copied the Bath of Neptune in Ostia, with a complex system of black and white mosaics of Tritons and Nereiddi (fig. 74-76). At the centre of the mosaics is a depiction of the *Ratto di Europa* by Pietro D'Achiardi (Diebner 2017).



Fig. 68 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Room of the Battle, mosaic floor with *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

From July 1923, the Great Council of Fascism began to meet in the 'Green Room' or 'Room of the Parrots' but it was only from 25 February 1929, once the refurbishment was

completed, that the building became the permanent headquarters of the Great Council of Fascism. Mussolini was to move his office from Palazzo Chigi on 16 September 1929, and both the Council and the Duce would share the 'Room of the Mappamondo' – the one with the infamous balcony.



Fig. 69 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Mussolini's office room (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The decoration of the new rooms occupied by Mussolini began in 1924 and was completed in December 1929. The decorative system of the Room of the Concistoro, which represents WWI and the battle for the unification of Italy, is the work of Armando Brasini (fig. 68-69), while Luigi Marangoni worked on the Scala Nova (1924–30). Brasini's frescos in the so-called Room of the Battle (Concistoro) are so integrated with the style of the rest of the Renaissance room as to make it hard to distinguish Mussolini's reworking of the room. *Fasces* are carefully placed among the wooden work of the stucco roof and they assimilate perfectly in style with the Roman *fasces* of the window's grotesques (fig. 70). Similarly, the 5m-wide *fasces* that mark the centre of the room are in imitation of *opus sectile* mosaics, a

technique which was widely used during the Renaissance as an imitation of Roman mosaics when observing them is impossible to notice the difference in style or chronology, the *fasces* look like as if they had always been there (fig. 72). As noted by Viejo-Rose (2011) in Franco's Spain, symbols of the dictatorship were meant to look as if they had always been there. The Fascist regime, I argue, intentionally inserted its ideological symbols in a manner which camouflaged them as ancient to the eye of a 1930s spectator.

The final but critical element of Mussolini's office is the balcony and how it has been preserved. Mussolini's most iconic place of power in the years following the post-war had been closed and sealed with the aid of a thick black curtain pin-holed on the wooden frame of the internal window. From the inside, the opening access to the balcony simply disappeared behind this black canvas and from the outside the balcony itself was hosting the Italian and the European flags together with the external units of old-fashioned air conditioners (fig. 71-73). In 2011, the Ministry of Culture decided it was time to restore and reopen the balcony through the words of the far-right vice-ministry of culture Francesco Giro*: Let the damnatio memoriae of the balcony be forgotten, but not the historical misdeeds of the era. The balcony is one thing, the man is another* (Valenzano 2011, online publication).

4.3.1 Omissis – museum's paraphernalia and the documentation of absence

The way Palazzo Venezia has been presented to the public from the fall of Mussolini to the present day is the most interesting case of forgetting and silencing of the dictatorship that this research has encountered anywhere. Following the form of analysis employed in previous chapters, the Palazzo Venezia has also been investigated through what Macdonald (2009) calls 'heritage paraphernalia', and what has emerged is the absence of any reference to the dictator. Moreover, the director of what is today the museum of Palazzo Venezia repeatedly refused to be interviewed.



Fig. 70 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Mussolini's office room, floor mosaic with *fasces* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Palazzo Venezia was the headquarters of Mussolini and his Council: his balcony became famous worldwide for being the place where he had direct contact with the population, and from where he had given the most notorious speeches for the country, such as the conquest of Ethiopia (9 May 1936) and the declaration of war against France and Great Britain (8 June 1940). The palace was in a strategic position, right next to the old centre of political power in the city, the Capitoline Hill, the newly built Vittoriano with its WWI legacy, and Rome's ancient forums. Moreover, since the palace used to be the Pope's own headquarters before the development of the Vatican City, Palazzo Venezia was one of the most politically charged places in the city centre. In the Fascist period, first to move in was the Great Council of Fascism, which represented both a physical and a symbolic secession from the Liberal Parliament based in Palazzo Chigi: the new Fascist state wanted to prove continuity with Rome's ancient glories, but at the same time was claiming a profound rupture with the intellectual and cultural elites that were represented by the pre-Fascist Liberal State

of Giolitti. The works to adapt the palace to what Kallis (2013) describes as Mussolini's ego were long and were systematically checked by the future owner, so it is very interesting to note how neither the guidebook nor the labels inside the museum mention Mussolini at all. Interestingly, even if the guidebook does not inform on Mussolini, there are photos of post-war displays that show how museum cases were strategically positioned to cover the massive fasces at the centre of the Room of the Battle, and how attention was diverted from the wall decoration, with interpretation panels positioned all around the room at considerably higher than eye-level (Branchetti-Bonocore 1985).



Fig. 71 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Mussolini's office room, floor mosaic with Fascist eagle (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Since the current guidebook and museum display do not interpret Mussolini's use of the place, this research has looked at three museum catalogues produced during the time of the dictatorship. The museum of Palazzo Venezia had three different catalogues between the years 1925 and 1947 which illustrate the shift in the aims of the museum and how different catalogues/guidebooks were aimed at different audiences. The 1925 edition was a short

guidebook to the museum in which the presence of the Great Council is presented as a government use of a public building, the Fascist meetings simply adding to the political history of the palazzo (Hermanin 1925). The second edition of 1929 is printed by the Fascist cultural institution Istituto Luce and is published as part of an 'Arts for All' series which promotes knowledge of national museums for the wider public (Hermanin 1929). In this edition, Mussolini is mentioned as the patron of the building and his name is introduced after the rhetorical list of titles: the entire publication is presented as being his will to preserve and transmit knowledge, in the traditional propaganda role of patron of the arts. Finally, the 1948 edition of the museum official publication is more of a scientific catalogue in both style and length than previous editions (Hermanin 1948). What stands out here, even more than in the contemporary 2012 short guidebook, is the complete absence of Mussolini, both as an historical figure and for his works within the building. This first post-war edition of the museum guide is arguably the most accurate account of the approach to places related to Mussolini and to the heritage of Fascism more broadly: pretending Fascism never happened.



Fig. 72 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Mussolini's office room, view of the Colosseum from the balcony (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

In the present day, it was clear from participant observation of both visitors and museum staff how an unofficial aim of the museum is still not to draw attention to the Fascist past which is so enormously evident from the internal decoration. What emerged is the aim of Palazzo Venezia heritage managers to hide away from the public eye as much as possible of the material legacies of the regime: however, the consequences of this 'hiding' process, as we will see in the concluding chapters, were not those hoped for.

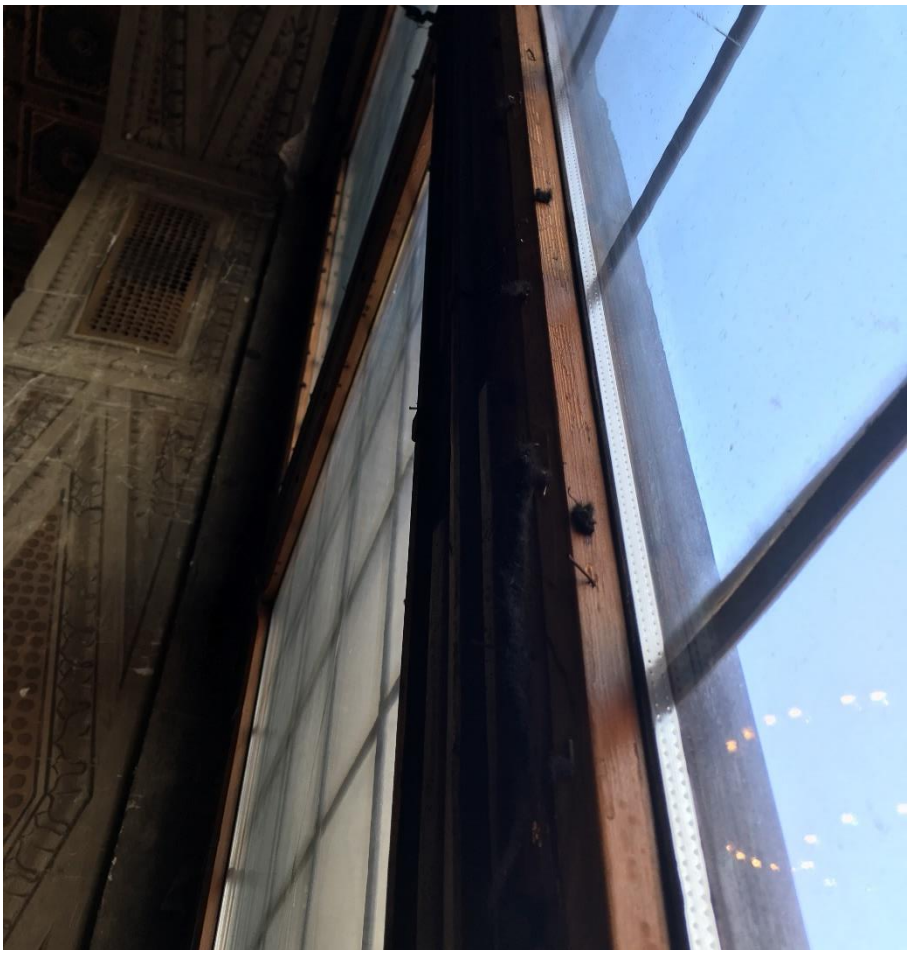


Fig. 73 Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Mussolini's office room, strips of black curtain formerly covering the balcony (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

4.4 Analysis and preliminary conclusions: heritage of the leader, ideology and the normalisation of Fascism

Following earlier ethnographic studies, particularly Sharon Macdonald's work on Nazi heritage, I expected public opinion to perceive a sense of uneasiness, if not trauma, in

walking around places associated with Fascism, but as we have seen in this chapter the interviews and observation proved my expectations to be wrong.

Villa Torlonia and Palazzo Venezia both represent in the collective memory Mussolini himself – places where he was an absolute leader but which also witnessed his first major defeat, when the Fascist Parliament deposed him on 25 July 1943, followed by his arrest and deportation to Gran Sasso mountain.

On the one hand the display at Villa Torlonia gives a flavour of Mussolini's life as a man of power, yet on the other intentionally omits any reference to Fascism and dictatorship. The selection of photos shown on the interpretation panels are those that were once used by Mussolini's own propaganda, including some quite well-known images of him meeting heads of state or celebrating family weddings and ceremonies. The display in a national museum setting of propaganda pictures which were at the core of Mussolini's personality cult, without any context of when and why those photos were taken, is a dubious ethical process which arguably supports attempts to present the *Duce* in a more acceptable 'humanised' way (Bartolini 2018a).

After the first fall of Mussolini in July 1943, there was an immediate attack in Rome on the material symbols of Fascism, including the Villa Torlonia as one of the victims of this de-fascistisation process. In this case, it was not simply a question of the removal of Fascist symbols, but also the targeting of the entire Villino Nobile, as the house itself was a symbol and the belongings of *Il Duce* were all around it. However, in 2006 at the time of the re-opening, given the intention of the mayor Walter Veltroni to come to terms finally with the Fascist past, it is questionable whether the display on Mussolini really addresses the Italian interpretation of the past. Indeed, the whole issue is avoided (Bartolini 2018a).

Heritage managers at the Palazzo Venezia have adopted quite a radical approach with the rooms of Mussolini. If on one side they maintain the display and the pre-Fascist narrative of the palazzo as a national museum of Medieval and Renaissance collections, on the other side they completely forbid access to rooms that are tainted by dictatorial history. As the diverse editions of the catalogue and guidebook of both Villa Torlonia and Palazzo Venezia have shown, there has been a shift in the negotiation of the Fascist material legacies from immediately post-war to the present day. If initially both properties were abandoned or closed to the public, at least in terms of the most controversial areas of the palazzo, in recent years (2000s) there has been a new assessment of these sites. Whereas for Villa Torlonia there has

been an attempt to display, and thereby provide historical analysis of the heritage of the dictator, for Palazzo Venezia this meant only the re-opening of the infamous balcony. Material legacies of the palazzo have been treated as if dangerous, possibly in fear of nostalgic pilgrimage, but they could also represent a form of cognitive dissonance in the acceptance of Fascism and Mussolini in power. Whereas Villa Torlonia has always just represented his private life, Palazzo Venezia is the symbol of Mussolini as the dictator, as the man of power, and his balcony is the physical manifestation of his direct relationship with Italians: what the heritage process of the balcony stands for is for Italians to cover the Fascist past with a thick black curtain and forget about it.

Chapter 5 The Forum Mussolini as the City of the Sport



Fig. 74 Rome, Foro Italico today, aerial photo (Photo: courtesy of C.O.N.I. communication ©)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the heritage site formerly known as Foro Mussolini and renamed in the post-war period as Foro Italico (fig, 74). The aim of this chapter is to look at the process of heritagisation, or lack thereof, that has occurred in what is today the most important Olympic complex in Italy. As seen in previous chapters, Mussolini's iconography and Fascist symbols were the first to be attacked in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the regime; this chapter aims to understand the fate of this complex as an example of reuse in line with its original purpose. The question of whether public perception of these sites has changed over time will also be considered, and to what extent recent restorations, particularly of Mussolini's iconography, signify a change from the post-war interpretation.

This chapter is divided into three parts: firstly, it will outline the historical background and a description of how the complex developed in three main phases – 1927; after the conquest of Ethiopia; and post-war in advance of the Roman Olympic Games of 1960.

Secondly, it will describe what has been heavily modified in the post-war period and consider whether the nature of the renovation has changed recently. Thirdly, it will present an ethnography of the site through the analysis of interviews with sport professionals and sports managers that run the complex and with students of the University of Physical Education, which is based where the old Fascist School of Physical Education was and discourse analysis of the book produced by C.O.N.I. for marketing purposes.



Fig. 75 Map of Del Debbio-Moretti Foro Mussolini project (Photo: Argentini 2010, p. 29)

5.2 From School of Physical Education to Forum Mussolini

As explained in Chapter 1, most of the surviving legacy of the Fascist regime has not been transformed into fully functional heritage sites with access for visitors, and the Foro Italico is one of the best examples to explain the complexities of this renegotiation. Today the area has a mix of purposes: it is a national and international sport competitions venue, housing the city stadium and hosting the university which trains both athletes and PE teachers; and at the same time it also includes the headquarters of the national television broadcasting organisation, a restaurant, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Civil Service training school and the anti-mafia judiciary bunker created in the 1980s in the Casa delle Armi (Nizzi and Giunta 2006; 2010).

The site was selected for study not only for the diverse range of uses housed in the structures, but more importantly because the area has remained in continuous use since it was conceived. So whilst the site does not have traditional heritage material to analyse, there were many opportunities for interviews with local users. Moreover, I opted to analyse heritage material embedded within other communication outputs – for example, among marketing material for some specific events or the material produced by the University of Physical Education for their students. Finally, this chapter will analyse the text and narratives of the 1990 historical publications produced by the C.O.N.I. (Italian National Olympic Committee), which owns the complex.

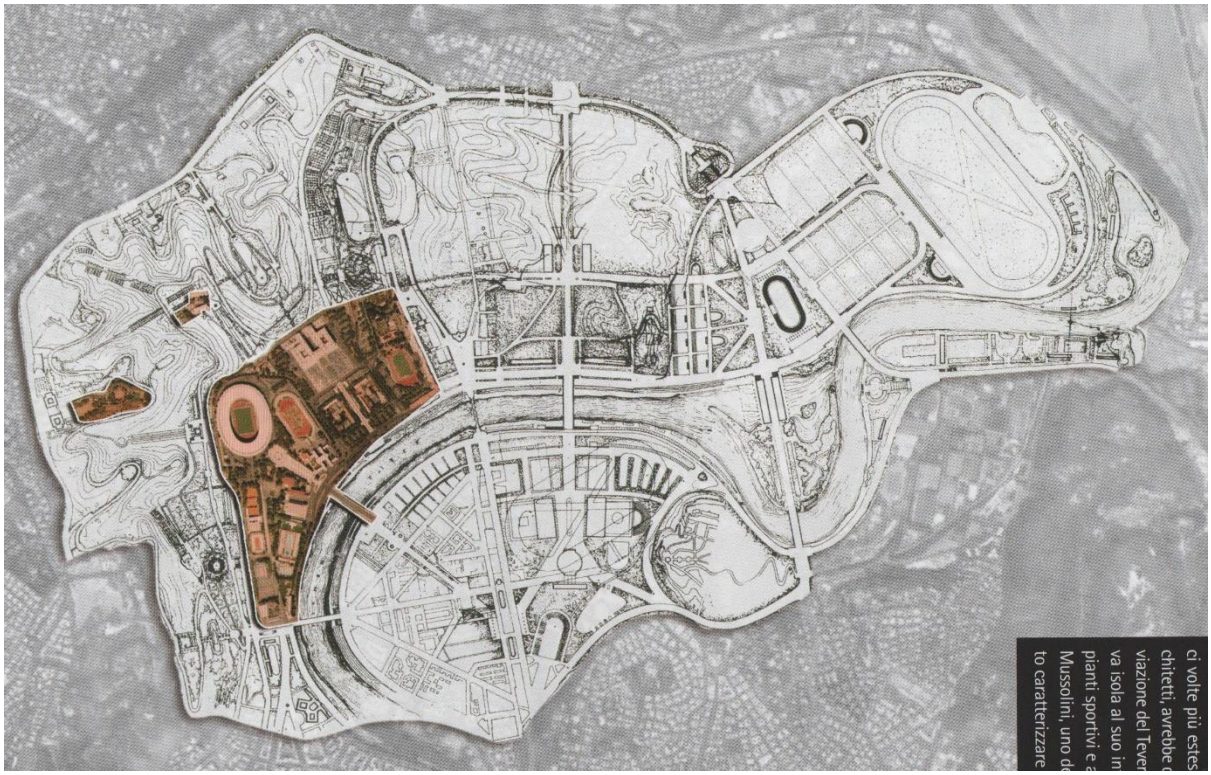


Fig. 76 Map of the Starace project, never executed, 1940 (Photo: Argentini 2010, p. 10)

The project for the construction of the Foro Mussolini arose in 1926 from the need to have a School to train professional Physical Education teachers for the Fascist Youth organisation, the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.) (Benevolo 2003; Banchini 2004; Del Debbio 2004; Guccione 2004; Argentini 2010; Kallis 2012; Arthurs 2014). The president of the O.N.B., Renato Ricci, chose as director of works the young architect Enrico Del Debbio. It was Del Debbio who decided to build the complex away from the central area of the city, reclaiming the area between Monte Mario and the river Tiber (Fig. 80). Santuccio (1990) argues that Del Debbio succeeded in convincing Ricci to move the project to an area subject to flooding because of his idea to design the sport complex following the ancient Greek example: the area of the pits and of the swimming pools should have been below ground level, leaving the seating stairs surrounding them as a cave. This would have allowed only a green landscape to be seen, the architecture being invisible (Santuccio 1990: 43; Severati and Lorello 2005).

The official start of the works was 5 February 1928 and by the end of that year Del Debbio's design had already acquired a number of new sport facilities to add to the original plan of the school. The project was now called the Superior School of Physical Education and Forum of Sport and included rugby, volleyball, and tennis pits. It was only in 1929 that the

complex changed its name from Foro dello Sport to Foro Sportivo Mussolini. On 4 November 1930 the School of Physical Education, the Stadio dei Marmi (Marble Stadium), the Stadio dei Cipressi (later Olympic Stadium) and the obelisk were all inaugurated. (Ferrari 2010; Lucente 2002).

An important change in the realisation of the project came in 1935 when direction of the works passed from Del Debbio to Luigi Moretti; this is also the time when Italy proposed Rome as a candidate for the 1940 Olympic Games. From this moment on, argues Santuccio (1990), most of the already approved projects had the name 'Olympic' added to them (Santuccio 1990: 44; Greco and Remiddi 2006). By 1937, the completed works included Ponte Duca d'Aosta (Duke of Aosta Bridge), the Casa delle Armi (House of the Army), the Piazza dell'Impero (Empire Square) and the Palestra del *Duce* (Mussolini's Gym) (Barbiellini Amidei 2004).

Power struggles within the regime were reflected in the architectural decisions at the Forum Mussolini (Frampton 2006; Fuller 2015). Once the O.N.B. was transformed in 1937 into the Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (G.I.L. Youth Fascist Organisation), properties that once belonged to the Ministry of National Education passed into the ownership of the Fascist Party. This change of control made by the Fascist Party is reflected in the planning of specific political arenas within the sports complex, such as the Piazzale delle Adunate (Gathering Square). Situated just below the Monte Mario hill and dominated by a colossus of Mussolini resembling the Colossus of Rhodes, this was designed to host 400,000 people. Ultimately, the square was not approved and only the head and one gigantic foot of the colossus were finished; their present locations are unknown. In 1938, in place of the square the space was assigned to the edifice that was to be the Fascist Party Headquarters (Marcello 2007; Kallis 2012; Arthurs 2014). With the entry of Italy into WWII, the Fascist Party's propaganda machine proposed a scheme for the Foro which would have changed the layout of the entire complex. Achille Starace, the Party's president, envisaged diverting the river and creating a number of islands to produce a more picturesque aspect: it was a clear message that propaganda was to be the regime's last desperate resort in a time of political crisis (Matteoni 2007; Argentini 2010; Fig. 81).

After the end of the war, the association that controlled the G.I.L. should have been dismantled and their properties incorporated within the state. However, the ex-G.I.L. were not finally outlawed until 1975 and only then were their properties incorporated within the

demanio (Land Registry) (Marchetti L. 2004). As we will see in Chapter 7 for the post-war phase of the construction of the E.U.R. neighbourhood, in many cases the same architects who worked on the original plan of the project were recalled for the completion of the unfinished buildings. In the case of the Foro Italico, Del Debbio, Vitellozzi and Valle all returned to finish the Olympic Stadium, the external swimming pool and the athletic pit and, more controversially, the Fascist Party Headquarters building which is today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Marchetti 2004).

5.3 Palazzo H: from School of Littorio to headquarters of the Italian National Olympic Committee

The first building completed at the site today hosts two of the main entities of the entire complex. In the building called palazzo H is the headquarters of the C.O.N.I., while some of the other rooms and the gym belong to the Fourth University of Rome, which specialises in sport education and medical investigation of sport-related injuries (fig. 82). This section of the chapter will analyse interviews with managers of both institutions and will explore the evolution of uses of this building and the public debate that has surrounded it in recent years.



Fig. 77 Rome, Foro Italico, Palazzo H and Mussolini's obelisk (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

First, it is essential to describe briefly how the C.O.N.I. came to be the owner of not just the Foro Italico complex but all of the ex-G.I.L. sport facilities around the city. These are not only a tremendous economic asset, but also a very powerful socio-political tool. The Olympic Committee had its first headquarters in 1908 in the centre of Rome, near via degli Specchi, but it would be under the regime that the Committee flourished. Paolo Marconi has argued (2004b: 275) that it was under the regime that the C.O.N.I. started to have its arm's-length role in the Italian State through law n.426 of 16 February 1942; also known as the Sport Constitution, this, like the Bottai law on Cultural Heritage, is still in place today.

On 28 June 1944, soon after the liberation of Rome by the Allies, the National Liberation Movement in the person of Pietro Nenni demanded the Committee be liquidated as it was affiliated to the Fascist Party, with a direct relation to the G.I.L., and was a strategic Fascist Institution for international propaganda. Giulio Onesti was appointed as liquidator but his role swiftly changed from being liquidator to being the next President of the post-war C.O.N.I., a post he retained for thirty years (Marconi 2004b: 275; Argentini 2010). Onesti thanks to his political connections was able to find a way to make the extensive built assets of

C.O.N.I. self-sustaining through the football pools, which became an extremely lucrative business (Argentini 2010).

Under the presidency of Onesti, a number of changes occurred to the built heritage of the Foro Italico. Looking specifically at palazzo H, those *fasces* and eagles immediately visible were removed, but the inscription of the opening of the Foro on the left-hand side of the building was left *in situ* and has recently been restored: it can be argued that in the recent restoration phase this inscription was left 'un-inked' and therefore barely visible. A change that has recently been reversed, and has generated a hot debate covered by the work of Carter and Martin (2017), was the covering, and now uncovering, of the Montanarini frescos *Apotheosis of Fascism* in what used to be the *Aula Magna* (Great Hall), the main hall of the School of Physical Education; today this is the Salon of Honour of the C.O.N.I (fig. 77). In 1951, the Great Hall was transformed into a meeting room and the Montanarini frescos were covered first with plaster and then a curtain. The Olympic logo of the Committee was placed over the concealed frescos.



Fig. 78 Rome, Palazzo H, C.O.N.I. Great Hall, Montanarini frescos *Apotheosis of Fascism* today (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Carter and Martin (2017) suggest that both the restoration of the frescos, and the subsequent Olympic bid speech by former Prime Minister Matteo Renzi in 2015 in front of the *Apotheosis of Fascism*, are quite troubling. They argue that part of this apolitical approach to the frescos can be seen as a legacy of the Berlusconi era and of Italy's general failure to face the legacy of its past. As we will see in chapter 8 this is most certainly one of the reasons that have led to the country's neutral view of Fascist legacies. It is, however, also the result of heritage law and of a much longer re-semantization process that started as iconoclasm and reached a new 'neutral' meaning with the Olympics of 1960.



Fig. 79 Rome, Palazzo H, C.O.N.I. Great Hall, curtain covering Montanarini frescos in the post-war (Photo: Caporilli and Simeni 1990, p. 157)

When discussing the role of Fascist heritage in the contemporary C.O.N.I., the Director of the Foro Italico Andrea Santini told me how it was '*simply crazy to paint over a work of art*' 'Yes', he added, 'there is Mussolini depicted at the centre of the Apotheosis' but this, in his view, was not enough to 'destroy' a fresco (Andrea Santini, pers. comm., 15 April 2017). It might be argued, however, that this was merely a covering-up rather than a

destruction: iconoclasm did not reach a place which was hosting the American army. This is also the main reason the obelisk survived, and iconoclasm more generally did not reach the site. The Montanarini frescos were covered in way that did not destroy the paintings underneath – concealing them, one might argue, until a 'better' time (fig. 77-78).

Once the American troops had left the premises in 1948, and after hosting displaced people who had lost their homes during the bombing, palazzo H became, for a short while, the Hotel Felix. In his proclamation for the Jubileum of 1950, Pope Pio XII was trying to restore the role of the city of Rome as a Holy City after the collapse of the dictatorship and at the same time was quite strategically sending a message 'of unity and forgiveness' (Caporilli and Simeoni 1990: 70). As we will see in chapter 8 the Jubilee year was one of a series of initiatives that saw the Catholic Church play a strategic and crucial role in the renegotiation of Fascism to try to mitigate the fundamental position the Church had adopted in support of the regime.

Under the brand of *Patria Comune* (Communal Fatherland), the Jubilee year was hoping to attract some six million pilgrims to a city that after the war could host only around two million (Argentini 2010). This international event was so important in shifting the image of the city of Rome that all sorts of temporary accommodation were sought. One of them was palazzo H in the Foro Italico, which for a year was transformed into a hotel, the gyms and offices being refurnished with temporary beds.

From 1951, once the Jubilee year ended, the building became what is today: the C.O.N.I. headquarters, which at that time was overseeing the construction of the new Olympic Stadium ahead of Rome's second international event in the space of ten years: the Olympic Games of 1960 (Masia 2007). This event presented an amazing opportunity to 'rebrand' Fascist architecture.

5.4 The Olympic Stadium: from sports facility to Nazi rally ground and back

In its early stages, the Stadio Olimpico was called the Stadio dei Cipressi. It was designed and constructed within the larger project of the Foro Mussolini, which was renamed Foro Italico after the war.

Construction work began in 1927, directed by the Turinese engineer Angelo Frisa and the architect Enrico Del Debbio (Fig. 85). The construction was completed in 1932, after a

few variations to the original plan. For instance, the construction of masonry stands was not part of the initial plan – under the original proposal the stands consisted of grassed terraces (Paolini 2004; Argentini 2010).

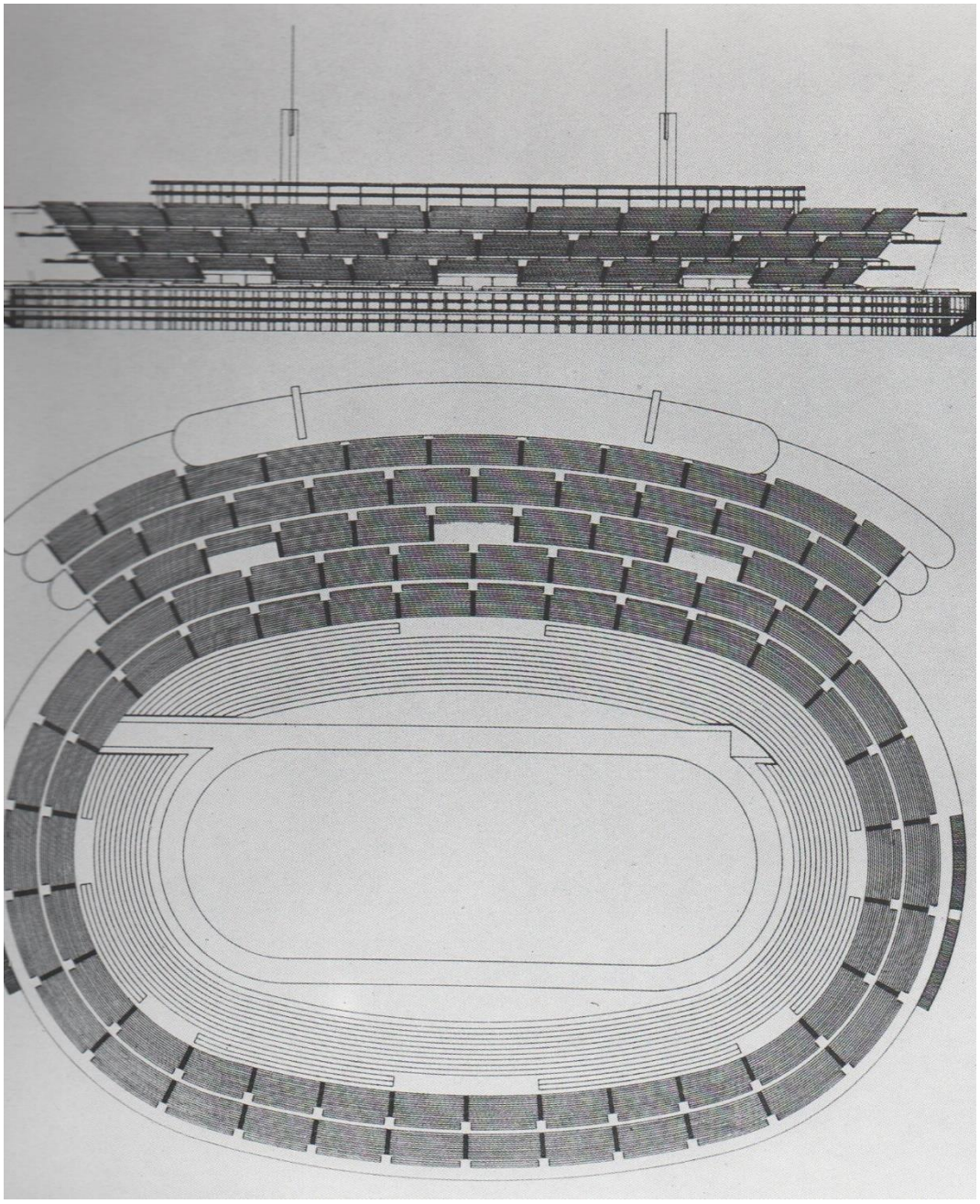


Fig. 80 Map of the Stadio dei Centomila, now Olympic Stadium (Photo: Caporilli and Simeni 1990, p. 183)

In 1937, the construction of a second tier of seating was started but this was interrupted in 1940 because of the outbreak of World War II (Benevolo 2003). The unfinished structure did not stop Mussolini from hosting a welcoming rally there to pay tribute to Hitler's visit to the capital: with the pilasters surmounted by Fascist eagles and Nazi and Fascist flags, the entire pit was filled with a show of athletes in the shape of a swastika.

In December 1950, the building site was re-opened for the completion of the stadium (fig. 80-82). The original plan was for a stadium with a more complex structure than that actually achieved, but scarcity of funds and the environmental characteristics of the area led to a less ambitious building (Banchini 2004). The works were followed by Roccatelli until in 1951, and then they passed onto architect Annibale Vitellozzi. The stadium at this point reached a capacity of about 100,000 people, hence the stadium was known as Stadio dei Centomila, until renamed for the 1960 Olympics. It was not until 1990 FIFA World Cup, when it was the main stadium, the facility underwent an extensive renovation. While that work was underway in 1989, the Capitoline teams Lazio and Roma had to play their Series A games at Stadio Flaminio.



Fig. 81 Stadio dei Centomila, Nazi flags in preparation of Hitler's visit in 1938 (Photo: Caporilli and Simeni 1990, p. 184)

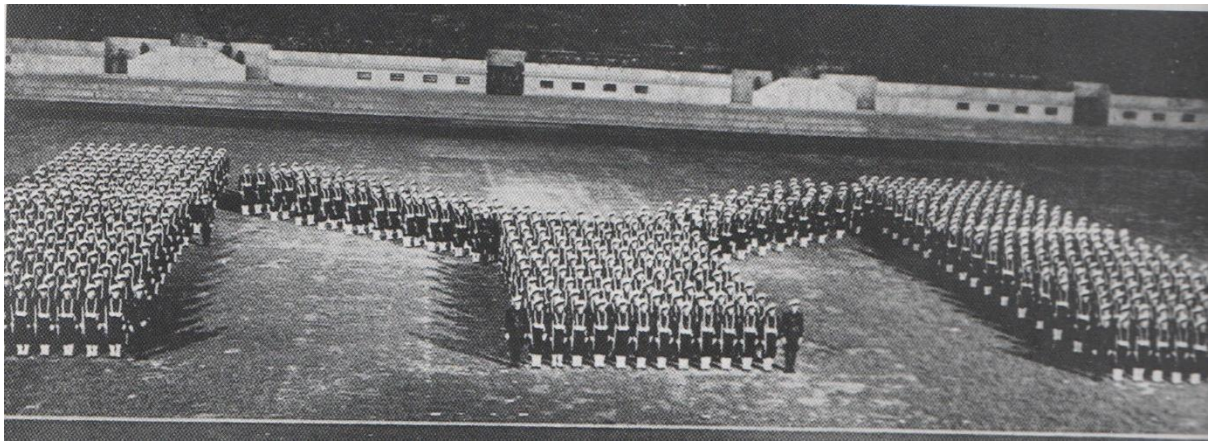


Fig. 82 Stadio dei Centomiala, Navy cadets standing in a M during Hitler's visit in 1938 (Photo: Caporilli and Simeni 1990, p. 185)

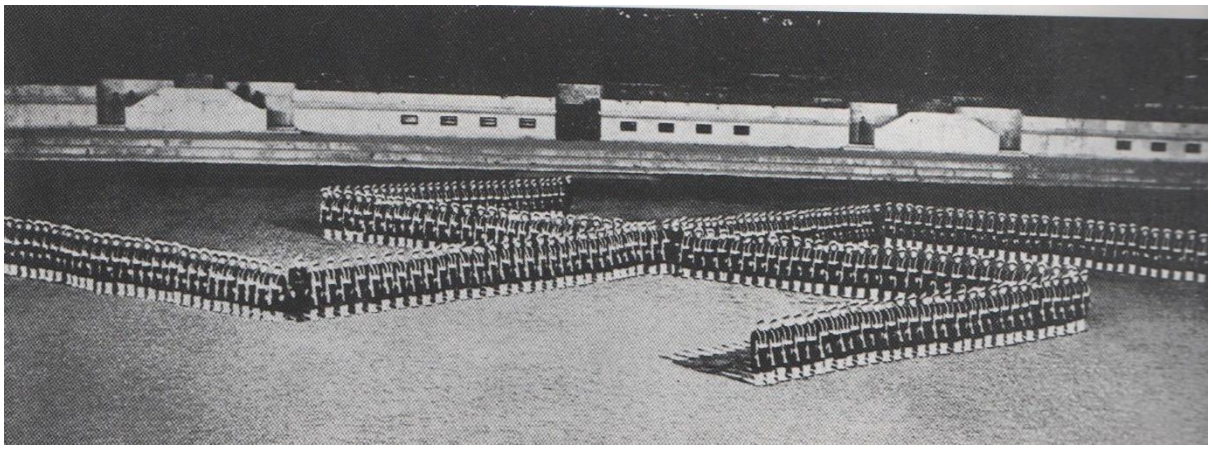


Fig. 83 Stadio dei Centomiala, Navy cadets standing in a swastika during Hitler's visit in 1938 (Photo: Caporilli and Simeni 1990, p. 185)

Today the stadium is the central focus for the entire complex, given the Italian passion for football, followed by the tennis pits which become crowded in May for the International Tennis Games. The stadium is a heritage site, with tours organised by the Football Federation and F.I.F.A. to visit the area of the stadium, changing rooms and tribunes of honours. There is a display of sorts along the corridor of the internal stairs of the stadium but it consists only of some of Del Debbio's original plans and no specific mention is made of Mussolini or the regime: the core of the visit is the brand-new stadium, with its displays recounting the life of football players and all the trophies that have been won by either one of the two Roman football teams, Roma and Lazio.

In the last ten years the Olympic stadium has been used not only for football games but has also become the headquarters of the Italian Rugby Federation and is where Italian Six Nations games are played. Public appreciation of rugby as a sport has grown tremendously since the Federation moved from the Flaminio stadium to the Olympic, in part because of the so-called 'third match' – the post-match party when players and supporters celebrate together in conviviality. Since the opening of the new headquarters, the so-called Third Match has become a tourist event, part of a weekend of cultural events most of which are hosted in the Foro Italico area. As part of the research for this chapter I interviewed the Director of the Rugby Federation, Pier Luigi Bernabò, and asked him what the relationship is between sport and the legacy of this place in relation to the Rugby Six Nations events. Bernabò explained to me that:

> The Foro area, and particularly the area of the Marble stadium, is the historical part of the event. We see this as an asset, as a plus to offer to visitors in a unique location that is the envy of the rest of the world. It is history not politics, at least not anymore (Pier Luigi Bernabo', personal interview, 10 July 2017).

He then stressed to me a concept that has often been repeated to me in this area, which is that sport and its values are against discrimination and hate speech and that he feels rather offended when 'particularly the foreign press' question why these structures are still in use and whether there is a political reason for it. He also added that there is nothing political in these events and that visitors are mostly families with children. Interestingly, the reply that there are 'mostly families with children' has also been used in the press recently when talking about nostalgic pilgrimages in Predappio. This introduces an aspect of the aim of Fascist supporters to 'clean up' the face of nostalgia, transforming them into a 'respectable' audience.

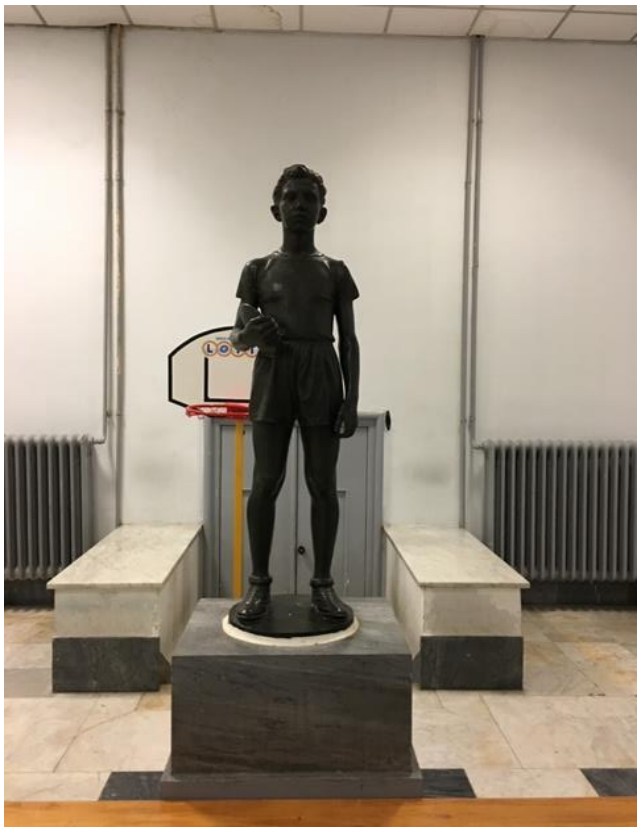


Fig. 84 Rome, Palazzo H, Old Gym, statue of *Balilla* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

A diverse environment surrounds the Office of International Relations at the University of the Sport based in palazzo H. Moving away from an environment that was clearly business-oriented and rather formal, the rooms that belong to the university are more relaxed and busy with students. The International Relations Officer, Paola Teti, kindly showed me around through a labyrinthine corridor which is the result, she tells me, of a legal case between the C.O.N.I. and the University over ownership of the buildings.



Fig. 85 Rome, Palazzo H, the Old Gym (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Teti showed me around the two main facilities of the University: the Palestra (Old Gym) and the ex-School of Music, later known as I.S.E.F. (Istituto Superiore di Educazione Fisica – School of Physical Education). The Palestra is a magnificent semi-elliptic space whose volume is clearly designed for grandiosity rather than functionality; today it is used for a number of training activities (fig. 85). All the Fascist symbols have been removed and the only element of its original decoration is a sculpture of a young boy, a *Balilla*, with no inscription but still standing at the centre of the ante-chamber of the Palestra (fig. 84). When asked, Teti replied simply she had no idea what the sculpture was, just that 'it had always been there' (Paola Teti, pers. comm., 20 June 2017). This is one of the many examples of forgetting, particularly with regard to those sculptures or symbols that anti-Fascism has not directly linked with the regime, such as a schoolboy. However innocent this sculpture might be, I argue, it stands as a constant reminder, for those that do remember, that Mussolini built this structure for the benefit of the next generation, as part of the welfare state and particularly for those with no personal means. As has emerged from the research, these

reminders of the ‘positive legacies’ of the regime can be more powerful than architecture and monumentality.

5.5 Staging the Empire: the obelisk, the sphere and the Piazzale della Vittoria

The Piazzale della Vittoria, also called *Forum Imperii*, is the resulting space between the palazzo H and the building hosting the indoor swimming pools (*Palazzo delle Terme*) (Gentile 2007; Argentini 2010; Kallis 2012; Arthurs 2014). The physical and symbolic centre of the entire Foro Italico, the axiality of the Piazzale is enhanced by the construction of the *Ponte Duca d’Aosta* (Duke of Aosta Bridge) which gives access from the other side of the river to the complex. The obelisk and the fountain of the sphere are the two polarised and axial viewpoints which represent the success of the conquest of Ethiopia (fig. 86).



Fig. 86 Rome, Piazzale dell’Impero (Photo: freely available from the web)

The obelisk was originally planned in 1927, being offered by the Carrara industrial group as a gift to the *Duce*; the challenge was to find a suitable monolith within the caves of the Apuan Alps (Gentile 2007; D’Amelio 2009). After several attempts, a block 17m high was found and Costantino Costantini planned both the design and the rather complex process

of transporting it from Carrara to Rome. Once it arrived in Rome along the river Tiber, with a complex system of wooden cages protecting the monolith, a sunken concrete foundation was built. This, together with eight blocks of marble, was to be the base for the 80-ton obelisk. The external face looking north had the inscription O.N.B year X of the Fascist Era, whilst on the south face in a vertical line were the words MUSSOLINI DUX and the stylised shape of three *fasces* (Gentile 2007; Kallis 2012). The process of erecting the obelisk took six months and the opening ceremony was on the day of the 10th anniversary of the March on Rome, 28 October 1932.

By 1933, just one year after the erection of the obelisk, it was clear that, despite its monumentality, it did not provide the sought-after visual impact and therefore a new element to close the massive square was put in place: the fountain of the sphere by Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi. The fountain is built below street level, designed, according to Gattai (1990), to reflect the technique and decorative system of a Roman bath complex. The sphere is also one block of Carrara marble and the base was made out of concrete to support the weight (Gentile 2007).



Fig. 87 Rome, Piazzale dell'Impero, symbols of the regime, Mussolini 'M' with fasces and eagle-head (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Once the sphere was in place, Corrado Ricci decided that the space in between the obelisk and the fountain should be decorated to celebrate the victory in East Africa (fig. 87). Two marble steps close the external side of the square, leaving at the centre an extensive mosaic with traditional scenes of Fascist propaganda including sports, life in the countryside and Fascist achievements (Tymkiw 2019). The composition sees a representation of the glory of Rome juxtaposed to the recent Fascist colonial conquest and the beginning of the Second Roman Empire. Subsequent scenes show the *Sistema Corporativo*, and all the socio-economic achievements constantly repeated by the propaganda system: Italian excellence in the Arts and the Sciences, industrial production and, most importantly, Fascist Welfare in the form of National Insurance and Public Health. Realised by artists like Angelo Canevari, Gino Severini, Achille Capizzano and Giuio Rosso, these mosaics cover a surface of 7500m^2 and it was only with the help of 300 athletes from the School of Physical Education that the works were finished on time to celebrate the first anniversary of the conquest of Ethiopia, on 9 May 1937 (Gatti 1990: 135). Some of the most controversial Fascist mottos are written in a Roman-like black and white mosaic, such as MOLTI NEMICI MOLTO ONORE (many enemies, much honour), or words of devotion to the *Duce* who is represented either with his name or with his initials supported by *fasces* (Gentile 2007; Arthurs 2014; Fig. 92).



Fig. 88 Rome, Piazzale dell'Impero, fountain of the sphere (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The mosaics are one of the controversial symbols of the regime, not least because they are in a public space which is use every Sunday by thousands of football fans (Vidotto 2003a and b). Furthermore, they are quite explicit in celebrating Mussolini and the regime. However, as is the case with the Apotheosis of Fascism in palazzo H, complaints come mainly from the foreign press and visitors rather than locals. Ahead of the *Italia 90* football championship, the mosaics were restored by the same school of mosaic craftmanship that put them in place, the School of Spilinbergo (Marchetti P. 2004; Banchini 2004)[7]. This generated public debate at the time over the investment of public money to restore legacies of the regime; clearly the debate has changed over the past thirty years.

What is by far the most interesting heritage issue in this area of the Piazzale della Vittoria is the marble plaques positioned at the side of the mosaic floor and which remember the most important achievements and acts of the regime – an historical compendium. These plaques start with the entry of Italy into WWI and end, surprisingly, with the constitution of the Italian Republic in 1948: once the American Army had left the premises the post-war government decided to use two of the plaques to 'write in stone' the end of the Fascist regime

[7] 1990 is also the year in which 'full' heritage status was granted.

and the beginning of the Italian Republic (Vidotto 2003a and b; Gentile 2007; Kallis 2012; Arthurs 2014; Carter and Martin 2017). Whilst this might look like an innocent passage in terms of heritage management, it is, one might argue, quite an astonishing way to deal with the material legacies of a troubled past since it can be interpreted as testifying continuity rather than discontinuity with the system that conceived the plaques. In other words, a distracted observer might not see the difference between the old and new plaques: was this, perhaps, an intentional political message to the many Fascist sympathisers who survived the war?

For the World Swimming Championships in 2009, another sports-related event took place that caught the attention of the international media: the Foro Italico diving pools and other swimming facilities were transformed with an extensive upgrade. An interview with Sarah Morgan, a scholar of Fascist architecture, at the time of the competition fuelled again the international debate over the fact that athletes and spectators were walking over Mussolini's *fasce*s and symbols (Greenleese 2009).

'They haven't made any attempt to erase his name', said the Fascist-era scholar, anticipating the words that President Laura Boldrini would repeat at national level in 2010 (Greenleese 2009: 3; Bartolini 2018; 2019). This debate is important to the present research because it underlines two elements that are interlinked. One is that the recent debate on Fascist architecture began on the international stage – in other words it is thanks to the intellectual sensibility of international scholars coming to Rome that these material legacies are being discussed. Secondly, it is clear that even the national debate initiated in 2010 by Laura Boldrini must have been influenced by the earlier international debate and might be political and top-down rather than bottom-up. What has emerged from fieldwork is that local users of the facility have no issues whatsoever with the political origin of the complex: they see the site only as a useful place to train. It is clear from the research that to most Romans the present architecture has no connection with ideology or propaganda. This poses questions as to who wanted them to be apolitical, and for what reason, and whether this approach was successful in teaching the peril of the power of architecture in disseminating ideology.

5.6 Mussolini's private space: the suspended swimming pool and the personal gym

The original plan of the baths at the Foro Mussolini had two indoor and three outdoor swimming pools (Marandola 2004). The works started in 1936, in the phase following that

which marked the conquest of Ethiopia. The building is symmetrical to palazzo H and is the work of architect Costantino Costantini. The largest of the internal pools is 50m in length and is illuminated on one side by a wall of glass opposite the marble stairs for visitors. All the marble is white Carrara marble and the walls that surround the pool are decorated with water-themed mosaics by Giulio Rosso and Angelo Canevari (Barbiellini Amidei 2004).

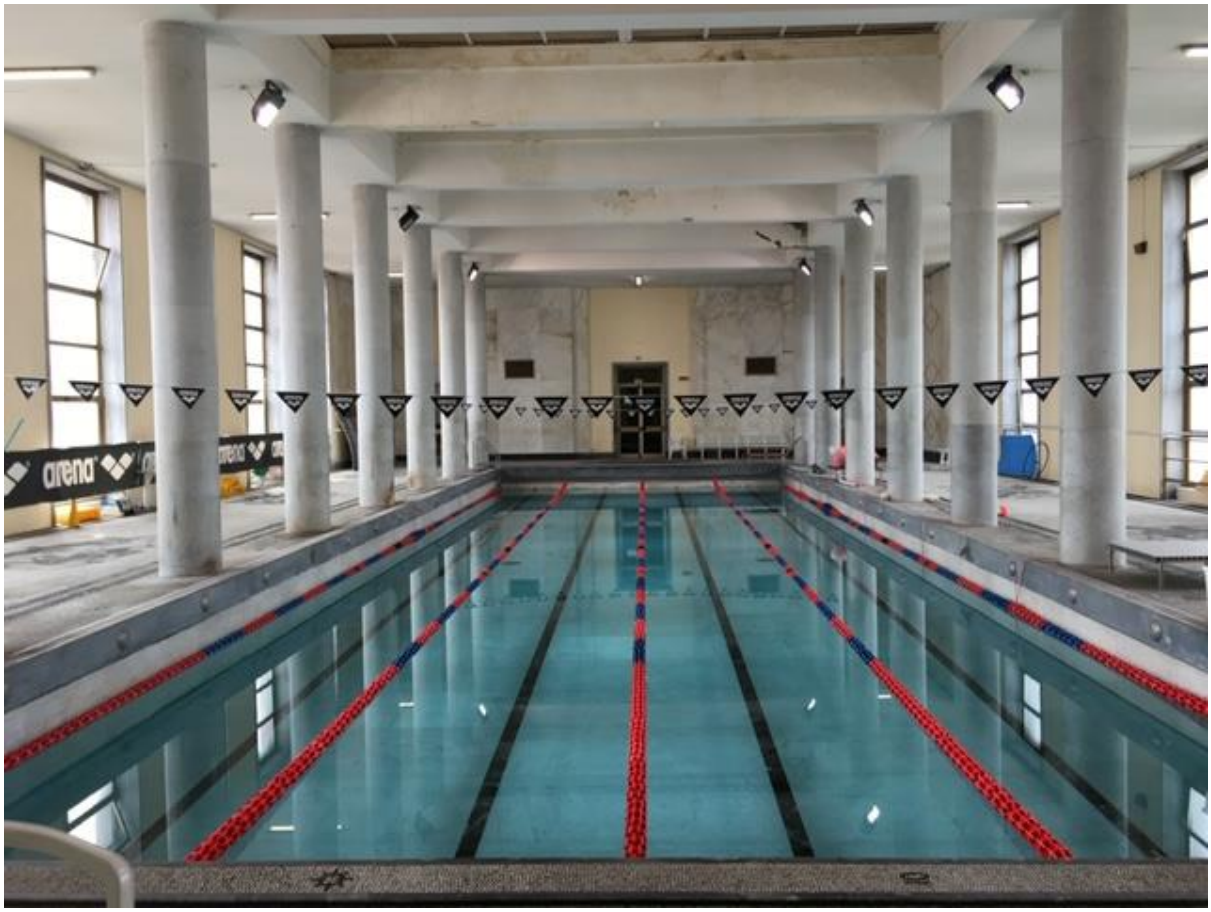


Fig. 89 Rome, Mussolini private pool today (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The second pool of 25m length was meant to be for the training of young *Avanguardisti* and *Balilla* and has a depth that increases from 0. 40m to 1.40m (fig. 89). This pool is the architectural link to the Music Academy building and is still known today as the suspended pool. This pool was illuminated by a later wall with a number of floor to ceiling windows and also by a number of roof lights. It has black and white mosaics of Roman inspiration which replicate Nereids and Triton (Argentini 2010).

In 1937, Luigi Moretti began work on what is known today as the *Palestra del Duce* (Duce's gym) (Finelli 2005; fig. 90-91). The room has a single decorative scheme, being entirely covered by slabs of Paonazzetto marble, which is a white marble with grey veins.

The space had gymnastic equipment mostly hanging from the roof, such as a climbing rope and rings, whilst at the centre of the room was a pommel horse and parallel bars. At the end of the room there were changing rooms, toilets and a sauna, and on the mezzanine floor there was a solarium (Reichlin and Tedeschi 2010).

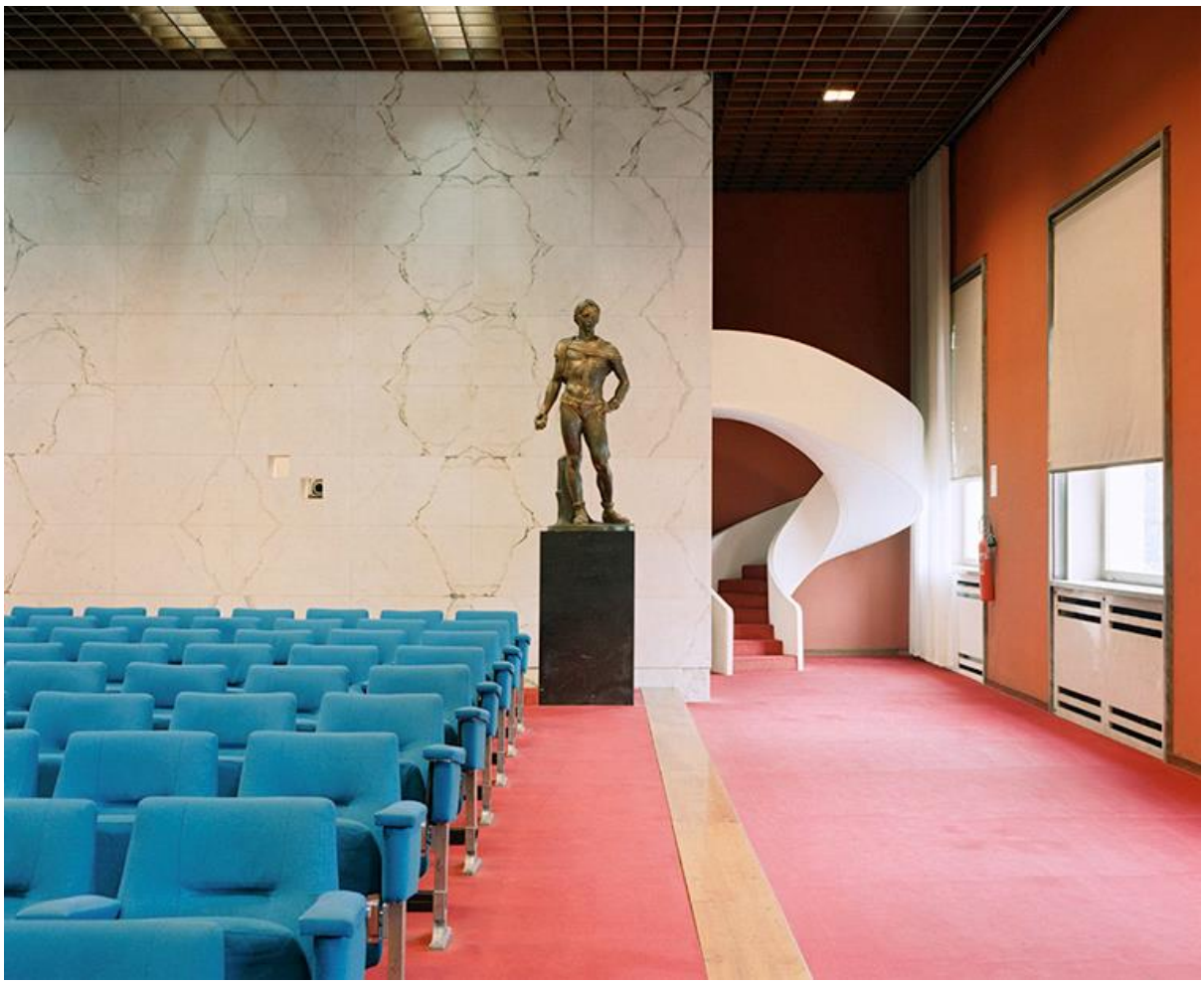


Fig. 90 Rome, Mussolini private gym today (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)



Fig. 91 Rome, Mussolini private gym in 1937 (Photo: freely available from the web)

The ethnographic analysis of this area of the Forum has been full of surprises and with an elevated level of secrecy. The main swimming pool, also known as the monumental pool, has acquired the status of cultural heritage in the eyes of its users: the complex is part of the C.O.N.I. and is the headquarters of the Italian Swimming Federation. The pool users range from highly trained swimmers to local school children and students at the University of Sport. The most common feedback during fieldwork was that users mostly feel happy and proud of having such a grand pool as their personal swimming space. Some of those interviewed at the School of Physical Education observed that this is the same as any other pool, it just happens to be the one that is attached to the School and it does not have any special meaning to them. None of those that responded to my questions had any 'negative' feelings in this place and the fact that it was built under the regime did not make any difference to them.

A very curious finding of the ethnographic investigation relates to the swimming classes. The Federation organises three levels of professional swimming competitions: pre-agonistic, agonistic and 'propaganda'. I was told that the 'propaganda' level is the highest

swimming competition for students of the school and is the one that trains most frequently in order to participate in the 'propaganda' competition calendar of the Federation. When asked why they kept the name 'propaganda', the admissions office of the swimming pool stated that the real meaning of 'propaganda' in Italian comes from the Latin verb *propago,* which means heirs. When questioned as to whether the most likely association would be with the works of Fascist propaganda, I was told that within swimming competitions the meaning was not political propaganda but as described above, sons or heirs (to note, Mussolini's heirs). The use of the term, be it in the political or literal sense, still carries a symbolic message in line with Fascist values; it seems surprising that this issue has not been drawn to the attention of the C.O.N.I..

Quite different is the situation of the suspended swimming pool, also known as the Pool of the *Duce*. Paolo Pedinelli, who is in charge of the Historic Archive of C.O.N.I. (which replaced the archive which was interestingly part of the original plan of the Foro Mussolini), said that the small pool was Mussolini's favourite:

> You see, Mussolini, despite official propaganda, was not a good swimmer and he was not very tall either, so he preferred to swim in the pool that was a training pool for children rather than the Olympic one. He chose to have an opening roof above the pool, so he could see the sky late at night while swimming.
>
> (Paolo Pedinelli, extract interview, 18 July 2017)

There is no public access today to either the suspended pool or the gym, and the word '*Duce*' is whispered rather than used as the name. The gym has been transformed into a conference hall – only the toilets have stayed the same. The marble floor has been covered in carpet and only some of the black and white mosaics have been left visible. Pedinelli tells me that the gym, because of its direct link to Mussolini, was hit hard by the *damnatio memoriae*, being abandoned in 1990 and then transformed into the conference room, removing every possible connection to its previous use and therefore previous owner. Pedinelli thinks this was a shame, as Luigi Moretti was a magnificent architect and the planning of the room was an incredible work of architecture that is now lost. The small pool is only accessible to children in the training programme and on some occasions to their families; before visiting the pool with Pedinelli I had made several attempts to gain access and it was constantly

denied. It is interesting to note how in this case, as well as for the 'propaganda' course, the contemporary use of the pool is in line with the original aim of the Fascist plan.

5.7 Textual analysis of the catalogue: from iconoclasm to familiarity

This section of the chapter will analyse one of the official publication of the Foro Italico edited by Caporilli and Simeoni (1990), which was published on the occasion of the World Football Championships held in Rome in summer 1990. In the preface, the former C.I.O. (International Olympic Committee) President Juan Antonio Samaranch underlines the scope of the publication:

> The area of the Monte Mario and the river Tiber is where the Foro Italico and the Olympic Stadium are, despite being consistently used by locals and for international events, has never been studied and analysed properly, with appropriate attention to all its architectural components, urbanistic and historical. Fascist propaganda presented the complex with an uncritical rhetoric, but equally uncritical was the post-war reaction to dismiss and forget the complex because of its symbols and constant reminders of the regime. Now that time has diluted the ideological positions linked to these buildings, and following the major sporting event of *Italia 90*, it is a good time to start an analysis without anti-Fascist ideology.
> (Caporilli and Simeoni 1990: 5)

The editors of the volume describe the complex as part of Rome's cultural heritage and the need to view the site from the 'distance' of history and through the lens of sport as a universal value. In the introduction, Caporilli and Simeoni acknowledge that the reuse of the area had been criticised, but they also argue that this publication is far from the rhetorical propaganda of the regime. They claim that the publication uses mostly archive pictures and that the aim is to spark debate on this important piece of architecture. However, in the following sentence they claim that:

> Rome, which became the capital following national unity, well before the rhetoric of the regime, needed to demonstrate to the nation how it could be a capital city, how it could unite the country and provide the most impressive scenes in the country. Unfortunately, development happened randomly and it was only Mussolini who was able to 'make order' in a city which embraced all

> the values the regime wished to promote. Simultaneously the Foro represents both the allure of the Classical and Roman architectural tradition and the regime's imperial aspirations and desire for modernity.
> (Caporilli and Simeoni 1990: 7)

Finally, they point to how the site has developed since its conception in line with the new needs of the city itself and thus represents an important and valuable cultural memory of the city. The Introduction to the volume puts forward a series of reasons in support of the importance of the site and gives many historical narratives describing the area both before and after Fascism: in summary they wish to give it historical and anthropological value.

The book then has a presentation by the former C.I.O. (International Olympic Committee) president Juan Antonio Samaranch on the values of the Olympic games and the role of sport complexes like the Foro Italico. His analysis is also an introduction to the first chapter of the book which looks at the Domitian Stadium in Rome, followed in chapter 2 by the former Fascist National Stadium which today is the Flaminio Stadium. The narrative of the first part of the publication underlines its mission which, it can be argued, is to position Fascist architecture and the sports complex firmly within the *longue durée* of Roman architecture, including the period prior to the 1990s when Fascist architecture was presented as political.

Santuccio's chapter of the book provides a brief historical description of events, followed by an admiring analysis of how the location was selected. It then gives a major historical reinterpretation of the complex, comparing it with similar sites around Europe, such as the one by Schweizer in Nuremberg or that planned by Wits in Amsterdam. Santuccio argues that:

> While the architecture of the foreign complex may have been as superb as the Italian one, abroad they were focused merely on the execution and in making sure they complied with sports requirements and norms. The Foro Italico, on the other hand, had not only that but also the aim of perfectly integrating the complex within the Roman landscape, meaning it was striving, successfully, for monumentality.
> (Santuccio 1990: 45)

Santuccio pursues this line of thought further, claiming how successful was the selection of the area at the bottom of Monte Mario hill and how, in contrast, post-war development of the area around the Foro Italico had not taken into account the balance between green areas and architecture. With this passage, he reinforces a narrative in which decisions made during the regime were more successful because the Fascist regime's conceptualisation of architecture had at its heart the aim of holistic well-being. In support of this narrative, Santuccio returns to ancient times, giving a description of how the area was used in Roman, Medieval and more recent times, to show the reader how the area 'had always been an area of great beauty' (Santuccio 1990: 46). This passage concludes with a list of the improvements that the regime made to the area, included the planting of around 600 trees of diverse species, for 'the benefit of the citizens' (Santuccio 1990: 46). In summary, his chapter shows how the regime developed a deprived, unhealthy area into a magnificent new ecosystem of sport and well-being surrounded by stunning architecture and works of art.

Interestingly, this process of transforming Fascist heritage into apolitical buildings has led to a return to the original purpose of the complex in 1927, which was to host the Olympics of 1940. As has been seen in previous chapters, it is possible to distinguish the removal from memory of those modifications made after the conquest of Ethiopia – the more imperialistic and propagandistic ones which are often defined as 'mere regimental propaganda'. It is as if within the heritage-making process those managing the complex have chosen to remember the 'Good Fascism' of the original plan, the one based on welfare and somehow socialist in ethos compared to the imperialistic one.

Returning to the preface of the book, there are two conceptual images associated with the Foro Italico: one is the sacrality that is invested in the original Olympic games and which translates into the architectural dimension of the place. Secondly, the importance of producing beauty or at least an artistic performance – this is a reference again to the quality of architecture and to the artistic dimension of some sports. These two concepts are translated into a narrative which speaks of the structures having a sacred beauty, something apolitical and somehow neutral. Moreover, presenting the ethos of the international competition of unity and diversity as symbols of the sport to the place the Foro Italico becomes in 1990 a paradox: ideology is buried under the modern patina of international competition and a new constructed meaning is applied to it without challenging the Fascist values still expressed by its materiality.

5.8 Concluding thoughts

The Foro Italico sports ground is a lively area of the city today, the most 'used' of all the Fascist architectural legacies and one that is managed by a number of diverse institutions. As we have seen, the principal owner and manager of the place is C.O.N.I., which is, in itself, a Fascist legacy as the committee was established in 1928. We also saw the role of the O.N.B. as an educational and propagandistic institution that was in charge of the physical and mental training of the Youth and which later, during the dictatorship, became so powerful as to be taken under the direct control of the Fascist Party itself.

As seen in the textual analysis of the C.O.N.I. publication, the narrative of the site is to be regarded as one of the many layers of Rome's cultural heritage, here reframed as Olympic heritage. The connection to the Domitian Stadium and the constant references to the Roman past when describing the Forum layout and artistic decoration is yet another example of how the site is presented more as a modern version of the Classical past than as a Fascist identity. The way the C.O.N.I. has decided to present the Foro Italico can be seen as modern neo-classicism, constantly referencing to the ancient past; this is typical of Roman cultural production. It is as if Fascist ideology can be buried under a neo-classical layer: hidden and reframed, if not justified.

An interesting element which emerged during the analysis of people's views of the main swimming pool is the role of familiarity in the construction of a sense of place. Many swimmers, when describing their emotions while swimming in the Foro Italico, referred to a 'sense of familiarity' which comes from the fact that this structure has always been there, ever since they were children and even when their parents were children. There must have been a time when there was open access to the pools for the local population as so many had fond memories of learning to swim there, and because of the Olympic facilities. It emerged just how deeply the pools had influenced their lives, as their local facility, and because of these emotional memories from their childhood, how deep was their attachment to this site. Those that showed strong emotional attachment to this site couldn't even think of having the facility removed from their mental landscape, probably because of their sense of familiarity with the facility. This is, I believe, a strong trigger in the process of normalisation of Fascism in architectural landscapes, as the positive values such uses attach to these sites outweighs any critical views of the ideological values also embedded in them. This poses questions on the reuse of the Heritage of the Dictatorship and how crucial it is to create discontinuity

between earlier uses of the site: by maintaining the complex for its original purpose, without addressing all the subtle as well as the obvious reminders of Fascist ideology, it could be argued that we are uncritically spreading Fascist propaganda in the present.

As Lee (2019) has analysed in her work on South Korea, in Seoul the legacy of the Sports Stadium did not have the same negative meaning that the other two case studies relating to the Japanese occupation had, particularly when compared with the prison. She argues that possibly because of the positive memories Korean people had of the Stadium during the occupation, today the site is not regarded as a negative heritage legacy. In that respect she argues that not all heritage related to the occupation can be seen as producing negative emotions, and this might also be the case at the Olympic Stadium, where the users' attitudes towards the heritage of the site is more powerful than the official narrative.

Another element that emerged from the analysis of this site is the role of aesthetics in renegotiating ideology. It is as if, because of the undeniable artistic merit of the architecture and works of art of the Foro Italico, users and local communities are willing to turn their heads away from ideology and propaganda. For some interviewers there was a degree of embarrassment, followed by an element of 'cognitive dissonance'; in other words, a loop and a cognitive short circuit could be detected in the way they were processing the beauty of the architecture versus the ideological reasons behind its construction. This goes back to the perception of Cultural Heritage as something always positive, which among other things is also based on a conceptualisation of beauty as something 'good', a carrier of positive values. In the case of the Heritage of the Dictatorship this can create a cognitive 'conflict', followed either by a denial of artistic merit or, worryingly, a denial of ideology.

Chapter 6 E.U.R. – between Utopia and 'Italianness'

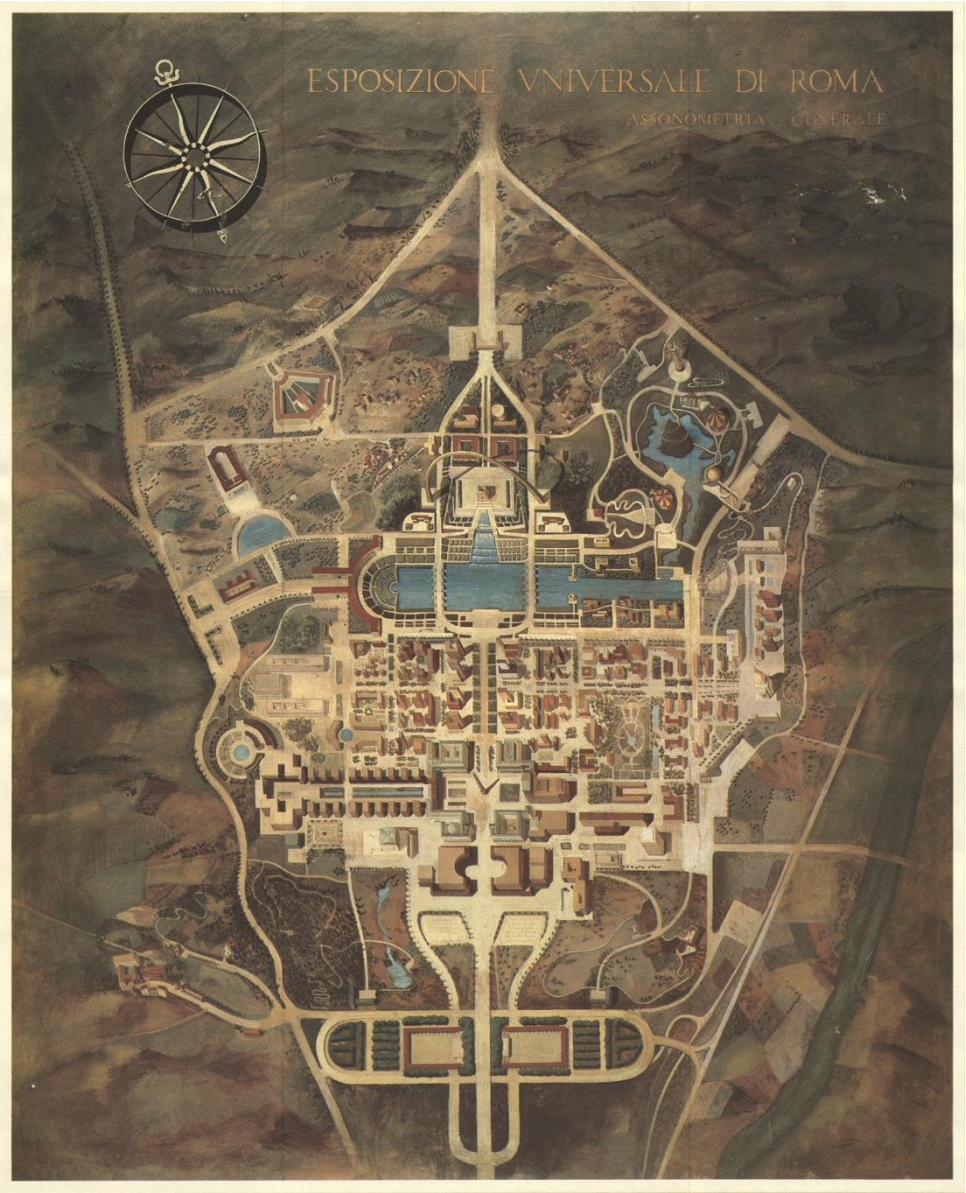


Fig. 92 Propaganda poster of the E.U.R. project (Photo: from Calvesi, Guidoni and lux 1987, p. 54)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the heritage sites originally known as E42, later E.U.R. following the acronym of the *Esposizione Universale di Roma* of 1942 (World Fair Exhibition) and re-named after the war as the *Europa* (Europe) neighbourhood (fig. 92-94). Interestingly, the neighbourhood never accepted to be called *Europa* but still identity itself as Eur, in memory of the Fascist project: in this thesis it will be used the definition E.U.R. to refer to the Fascist plan, and Eur to refer to the modern district. This chapter aims to examine the process of

'heritagisation', or lack thereof, in what is today the modern district of Rome. As discussed in previous chapters, Mussolini's iconography and Fascist symbols were the first to be attacked in the immediate aftermath of the fall of his regime, and this chapter aims to understand the fate of these heritage sites as an example of reusing a space in a manner differing from its original purpose. The question of whether the public perception of these sites has changed over time will also be considered, as well as to what extent recent restorations, particularly of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana, signify an altered contemporary meaning from their post-war interpretation.



Fig. 93 Archivio Centrale di Stato, maps of the original project of the E.U.R. (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

This chapter is divided into three parts: firstly, it will outline the historical background and offer a description of how the area developed in two main phases – in 1935 after the

conquest of Ethiopia, and in the post-war period prior to the Roman Olympic Games of 1960. Secondly, it will describe the major post-war modifications that occurred and compare these with recent changes. Thirdly, it will present an ethnography of the area by analysing interviews conducted for the study with managers of the site and visitors to local museums.

6.2 Historical background: the expansion of Rome to the sea and the construction of the Third Rome

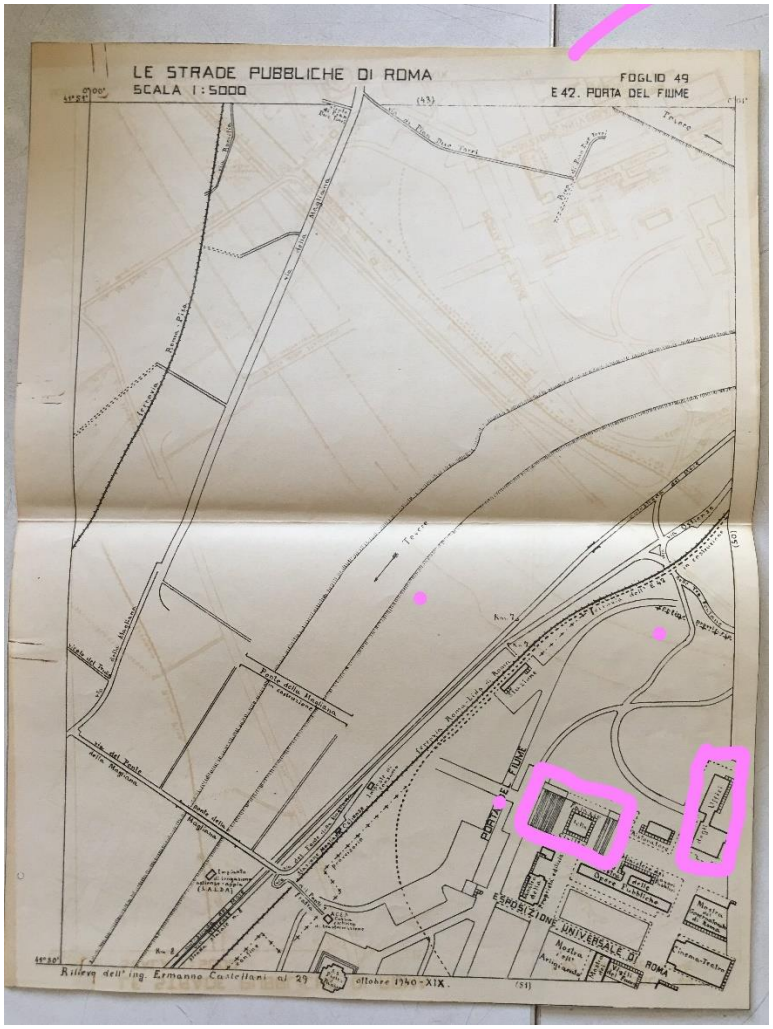


Fig. 94 Archivio Centrale di Stato, map of the E.U.R. original project modified to underline Palazzo Uffici and Palazzo della Civilta' Italiana (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

6.2.1 Locating the project within Fascist propaganda

As described in Chapter 6, the planning of the *Foro Mussolini* was one of the key developments serving the regime in terms of building consensus and urbanising the overpopulated city of Rome. The Foro Mussolini fostered the expansion of a new area at the

northern periphery of the city, and the same approach was followed when developing the E.U.R. neighbourhood to the south. As explained by Rossi (2000; 2004), it is clear from both the words of Piacentini and from the projects of Moretti that, between 1925 and 1939, the north–south road from the via Cassia (north) to the via dell'Impero (south) was the main avenue around which the city developed (Fuller 1996; Rossi 2005: 17; Benevolo 2003). Along this axial avenue, which divided the city ideologically and physically, the two projects of the Foro Mussolini and the E.U.R represent the city's 'doors' to visitors coming either from the north or south: this explains why both became 'super-projects' with which the regime identified so heavily. The interconnections between the two were also reflected by the mega-installations that should have accompanied the potential visitor entrances to the sites. Interestingly, neither were achieved because of the war, since they were both closely associated with the mythical self-representation that characterised the end of the dictatorship (Kallis 2014, 2016). Luigi Moretti's final project that won the public competition in the E.U.R. consisted of an arch on top of a victory monument, which was part of the so-called *Palazzo dell'Acqua e della Luce* (Palace of Water and Light). Another element uniting the two projects was the Olympic Games in Rome, because, as expressed by Marcello Piacentini:

> The two events of the Olympics and the Exhibition will have many practicalities in common, like the construction of hotels and accommodation and many of the sport installations could be considered for the use of both events.
> (Piacentini cited in Mariani 1987: 188)

Conceptually the main mission of the E.U.R. exhibition was also in line with the games of 1940, so much so that the project was called the 'Olympics of Civilisation' even before the World Fair. However, the E.U.R. differed from the Foro Mussolini by being a grand new city within the city. It was the modern version of a new Rome on virgin land, without the restriction of the old city ruins: the E.U.R. therefore stands for the legacy of the so-called Third Rome idea (Fuller 1996; Painter 2005; Gentile 2007; Kallis 2014, 2016; Muntoni 2005).

6.2.2 Historical background

The E.U.R. project should have been one of the most spectacular events of the 20th century: a universal exhibition to celebrate the achievements of Italian civilisation and the works of the Fascist regime. The idea for a large exhibition in Rome was first discussed in mid-1935, and

some scholars attribute the initial idea to Mussolini himself (Calvesi, Guidoni and Lux 1987), while others credit Bottai as the Governor of Rome (Rossi 2005: 13). The three projects, including the Foro Mussolini, the first draft of the E.U.R., and the bid for the Olympics of Rome, all had a propaganda value that changed on the eve of the hostilities in Ethiopia in 1935. It can be argued that Mussolini used the proposed Games and the World Fair Exhibition, which were both accepted internationally despite the sanctions, as a method of attempting to convince the international community of his peaceful and 'culturally solid' form of government (Kallis 2016; Colombo 2009). The World Fair of the E.U.R. became representative of Italian civilisation in Fascist times. It was intended to appear perfectly aligned with the same ideology behind the conquest of Eastern Africa, by which Mussolini claimed Italy was bringing 'civilisation' to the newly colonised in the form of law, infrastructure, and architecture (Kalb 2017). The scope of the Fair was to gather international examples of cultural and scientific achievements, which would be compared and contrasted not just with an Italian Pavilion, as was traditionally the case, but rather an entire neighbourhood of museums and exhibitions: Italian cultural supremacy would therefore have been visible at one glance.

Once the Ethiopian war ended, Mussolini intended to celebrate his victory and the foundation of the Second Roman Empire by establishing a link between the city of Rome and the seaside, as in Roman times. In fact, the World Fair Exhibition was specifically developed on a flank of Rome that opened up development of the city toward the coast. If Italy had not entered the war, this direction would have been further developed by a number of 'rural cities' or *Città di Fondazione* (Fuller 1996; Ben-Ghiat and Fuller 2016).The E.U.R. project was also the regime's final architectural project, and the one representing the most Utopian idea of the Fascist city as well as of the regime itself. Finally, it was the project that predominantly demonstrates the attempt to use propaganda to conceal both the international loss of political power and the tragic end of the war.

In 1935, the then Governor of Rome, Giuseppe Bottai, wrote in *Italian Illustration* what he considered to be the mission of the Exhibition:

> In 1942, we will show the achievements of Italian society in terms of cultural and moral values as well as economic. We will demonstrate the strength and the sense of duty that distinguish us from others. We will avoid [in architecture] the superfluous, the glitzy, to achieve order and synthesis. Each nation will have a

> chance to show their achievements, so that we should aim at having at one glance a view of all the achievements of the world in one Exhibition.
> (Bottai in Masi 1992: 67)

The core of the Exhibition was to have consisted of dedicated buildings housing a series of major exhibitions which would ultimately become permanent museums. Of these, the Italian exhibitions would have included Italian Civilisation, the Sciences, Popular Traditions, Ancient Roman Art, and 19th-Century Art (Calvesi, Guidoni and Lux 1987).

In December 1936, a special body was established for the construction of the E42, which was headed by Senator Vittorio Cini as Commissioner-General (Rossi 2000). The project was initially conceptualised as being built in a central area of the city, but later it became clear that a more rural area would better suit such an extensive development. The chosen neighbourhood, which used to be called *Tre Fontane* (Three Fountains), was preferred as it also reinforced the rhetoric of Roman expansion toward the seaside town of Ostia. This development would also re-establish Rome's role as a sea power, while the connection with Ostia and the archaeological excavations of the ancient Roman port would foster Mussolini's propaganda of the establishment of the Second Roman Empire (Bertilaccio 2004; Kallis 2016). The idea of bringing Rome to the sea emerged early in Mussolini's planning, as can be seen in the construction of the Roma-Lido railway in 1928. In addition, the main avenue of the new project, which ultimately reached Ostia, was named the *Via dell'Impero* (Empire Avenue). Its construction began in 1925, at the same time as the major archaeological excavations discussed in Chapter 4.

The regime's final attempt to design the Exhibition included a veritable battle of displays between the most famous architects of the time: Pagano, Piacentini, Piccinato, Rossi and Vietti, all of whom were employed to study the general plan of E42, and ultimately produced the project's final version for 1938 (Fuller 1996; Bertilaccio 2004; Kallis 2016). The Exhibition plan is still known as 'the Pentagon' because of its layout around the orthogonal axis of the Imperial Way, along the horizontal line of which stand both the Palace of Italian Civilization and the Palace of Congress. Finally, two monumental entrances, the Imperial Gate and the Sea Gate, would mark the entrances to the Exhibition.

In terms of architectural style, the Exhibition would have featured work by prominent exponents of the Rationalist Movement, as well as having traditional classical designs reflecting the imperialist nature of the regime and the constraints imposed by autarky

(Rifkind 2012). The contrast between traditionalists and rationalists, as mediated by the 20th century, can be found throughout the entire twenty-year span of the regime and finds in E42 its logical outlet: a final affirmation of the Piacentini style. In fact, the Piacentinian line, as it is called, which is almost always hegemonic, is now very influential and manages to influence even the most Modernist architects. Behind a generic 'functional' imprint, Piacentini explicitly requests that projects adhere to a classical Roman style through the inclusion of colonnades and *exedrae* (Rossi 2005). These references to classicism would be much criticised in the post-war period and would be classified as explicitly Fascist as compared to a more Modernist style. However, as Chapter 8 will discuss, this division of architectural styles as Fascist versus anti-Fascist is misplaced, and has in fact supported a narrative defending the 'good side of Fascism'.

Selecting artists to work at E42 was the responsibility of Cipriano Efisio Oppo, a painter himself and the Secretary General, who also acted as the artistic director of the exhibition. Hundreds of artists were called upon to collaborate in various ways in this colossal undertaking, either through competition or by direct assignment. The impressive repertoire of sculptures, masonry paintings, mosaics and stained-glass windows completed were only a portion of those planned, and in some cases were interrupted in the middle of the war, but they offer a sense of what could have been achieved.

On 10 June 1940, Italy declared war against France and England and by the autumn of 1941 work at the site was interrupted. In July 1943, Mussolini's Fascist regime fell and eleven months later the Allies entered Rome and the huge construction site of E42 was abandoned. First German and then Allied troops camped on the site, and their presence, along with wartime destruction, was heavily aggravated by episodes of looting. What was intended to be the site of the most spectacular exhibition in human history instead appeared spectral, one might even say surreal, by the early 1950s.

Virgilio Testa, former Secretary General of the Governorate of Rome and then Commissioner of the Autonomous Authority, who was tasked with the post-war completion of the project, wrote:

> Those who had the opportunity to visit the complex, in the period from 1944 to 1951, had the impression of being in a dead city; many made the connection with Herculaneum and Pompeii. President Einaudi, who stayed there for a few

> minutes in the autumn of 1948, later stated, deeply saddened, that the view recalled a vision of the ruin of ancient cities.
> (Testa cited in Calvesi, Galavani and Lux 1987: 271)

The municipal administration offered to take over the vast area and to continue building the district for free, but then discovered that the land itself was not included in the current urban plan and were therefore outside the jurisdiction of the town hall. The only possible solution was to maintain the institution of the E.U.R (Quilici 2017) Trust, which was responsible for organising and managing the Exhibition, along with the task of carrying out the second part of the programme and building the large modern district between Rome and the sea. Under Testa's guidance, recovery work slowly resumed, starting in 1950 with the Imperial Way, which was extended past the existing Aurelian walls and renamed Via Christopher Columbus.

The first major opportunity to use buildings in Eur appeared in 1953 with the International Agricultural Exhibition, but its real operational testing and image 'rebranding' occurred during the 1960 Olympics (Vidotto 2015). As discussed in Chapter 6 regarding the Foro Mussolini, existing structures were extended for this occasion, and the Palace of Sport, the Pool of Roses the Velodrome (all in Eur) and an artificial lake were also built. The intention for both the new developments, as well as for the reuse of the existing space, was to shift the site's meaning and to replace the idea of an Olympics of Civilisations with the Olympics of Sport. However, as this chapter will discuss, this alteration of meaning was not the result of any real reflection on the dictatorial past, either in terms of selecting a new architectural style or, more importantly, any open condemnation of the Fascist regime. Instead, the Olympics became an international stage where Fascist aesthetics were simply presented as part of Italian cultural heritage, and, without any critical transition, as merely one more city ruin amongst others.

After the Olympics, the Eur entered a period that could be called the normalisation of Fascist heritage. Under the guidance of Virgilio Testa, a financial arrangement was put in place that allowed the sale of the undeveloped E.U.R. land, thus making the survival of the project and its completion in democratic Italy possible. Many of the original designers of the E42 were once again involved in the resumption of work and the completion of the neighbourhood, in order to make the process of *democratising* Fascist heritage possible. In other words, by uncritically completing the Fascist Utopic project in democratic times, heritage mangers and politicians established the apolitical perception attached to Fascist

heritage today. Piacentini and Nervi completed the Palace of Sport, while Moretti worked together with Morpurgo to design the two Palaces for Offices at the northern entrance of the E.U.R. Paniconi and Pedicioni completed the Palaces with the *exedrae* and designed the new Ministry of Post Offices (Rossi 2004; Kallis 2016). It is quite interesting to note that Saverio Muratori designed the Christian Democrats headquarters. In fact, it is thanks to a Christian Democratic Prime Minister, Alcide de Gasperi and the President of the Republic, Luigi Einaudi, that this particular Fascist project survived the war. The new democratic power wanted to claim its place in what was going to be the most modern district of the capital.

After the war the district was heavily criticised by members of the Modern Movement such as Bruno Zevi, as he commented in an interview in 1990:

> From an architectural point of view, it is an obscenity. This central alley flanked by monumental buildings, marbles, hideous columns without head or tail, without capital or base, is the worst given by Fascism. During that period beautiful things were also built, the Casa del Fascio in Como or the Florence Station are masterpieces, but this was the worst period of Fascism, in which monumentalism triumphed, the rhetoric, the ideology of the state that must suppress the individual.
> (Zevi cited in Cucci 2002: 89)

The revisionism of Fascist architecture began in the 1980s when post-modern theories included the monumental architecture of E42 as being among architecture's most illustrious antecedents. This process is best exemplified by an exhibition at the Archivio Centrale di Stato, called *Utopia e scenario del regime* (Utopia and Regime Scenario), where scholars, heritage professionals and politicians took a stand regarding the importance of the architectural legacy of the E.U.R. (Muratore *et al*. 1992). This chapter will now analyse the only two buildings that were close to completion during the regime, as well as their transformation in the post-war period.

6.3 Palazzo Uffici



Fig. 95 Rome, Palazzo Uffici, front entrance (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The E.U.R. Office Building, designed by architect Gaetano Minnucci at the end of 1937, is the only E.U.R. building completed before the outbreak of WWII (fig. 95-96). Located at the entrance to E42, the building had to have, in Bottai's words, 'representative character and yet, to some extent be monumental' (Bottai in Masi 1992: 89).

The complex is divided into two perpendicular buildings: the first was intended for managers and officials and organised around a square courtyard, while the second was built for the public and technical staff and developed along the north axis. The hall of the second building was designed for the public – what is today the Hall of the Fountains, while the great hall was intended for the designers. The Fountain Salon, with access under the monumental porch, is a large, rectangular, double-height hall illuminated by gigantic windows set in the main front wall (Muntoni 2010; Kallis 2016).

In the forecourt before the Hall of the Fountains stands a monumental fountain decorated by Gino Severini, Giulio Rosso and Giovanni Guerrini with eighteen black and white mosaics; it represents the most important part of the entire decorative scheme of the

palace. Amongst all the palace's exterior decorations, the sculptural element that has most radically altered from the original design for the construction of the building is the statue the *Genius of Fascism*, placed at the entrance to the main building and facing the entrance to E42. Made in bronze by Italo Griselli, it represents a young man with his right arm raised in Roman salute (in the post-war period boxing gloves were added to his hands) (fig. 97). On the wall of the entrance to the main building is *The History of Rome*, a travertine relief made by Publio Morbiducci in which it is possible to recognise numerous buildings of ancient and modern Rome, as well as some protagonists of Roman history (Rifkind 2012). In particular, Mussolini's face is notable and had to be repeatedly restored during the post-war period as it was frequently destroyed (fig. 98). Giorgio Quaroni's famous fresco depicting the foundation of Rome can be found in the Meeting Room; this has recently been restored (Banchini 2004).

Upon the outbreak of war, a shelter was built in the second basement, which was also designed by the architect Minnucci; this was intended to accommodate the employees of the then E.U.R. in the event of an attack. It is a reinforced concrete room completely isolated from the rest of the building and equipped with metal gas hatches.



Fig. 96 Rome, Palazzo Uffici, lateral entrance (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)



Fig. 97 Rome, Palazzo Uffici, mosaics (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

6.3.1 From damnatio memoriae *to heritage: the return of the symbols*

As discussed in Chapter 4, the so-called 'de-fascistisation' process saw the removal of *fasces* and other Fascist symbols from public buildings, but this was very often limited to the removal of the word 'Mussolini' or Fascist mottos and the symbolic axes from the *fasces* (Bartolini 2018b). The document is dated 1 August 1943, a week after Mussolini was arrested, and is a letter from Parliament sent to every Ministry and Public Body that owned public buildings:

> Because of the change of affection of the population toward the Fascist regime the House of Parliament has decided to ask for the removal of evidence and symbols of the collapsed Fascist Party from public places and to make a quote of the cost of the removal. Those symbols that appear on private buildings should also be removed but at the expense of private owners.
> (ACS, Segreteria Generale, 3938, busta 63, fasc. 333)

This document is crucial evidence for how and why the entire process of de-fascistisation monuments originated, and proves that the process began not on 25 April 1945 at the end of the war, as has often been argued, but rather in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Mussolini on 25 July 1943. As Chapter 8 will discuss in further detail, the fate of the buildings in the new Eur area of the city of Rome provides a crucial component for understanding the needs and emotions of that liminal time when the dictatorship and, with it, the Fascist dream, collapsed.

Once Italy entered WWII on the Axis side, the flurry of development initiated by the regime was put on hold. The planners had intended for Rome to host the 1942 World Fair in order to allow the Fascist city to demonstrate to the world the *longue durée* of civilisation that Italy had conceived and developed: from Roman times through the Catholic period and finally reaching its culmination with the Fascist Empire (Fuller 1996; Kallis 2014, 2016). However, by 1941, it became clear that the war would not be the quick hostility that Mussolini had proclaimed, and as a result all work at E42 stopped and plans for the opening were postponed for 'sometime once the war ended'[8]. Archival research conducted for this thesis indicates that the country had other priorities than producing buildings for a World Fair exhibition[9]. In fact, once hostilities reached Italian territory, the Fascist buildings in the E.U.R. were claimed by various Ministries and museums to act as storerooms or alternative officer accommodations. Archival research also shows that from 1941 onwards, housing was actually the country's most pressing need[10]: with other parts of the country having already been bombed, Italy was facing an unprecedented number of displaced people moving around the country following bombing and food shortages (Calvesi, Guidoni and Lux 1987).

To understand fully the process of de-fascistisation it is crucial first to understand the context. Those in charge of the E.U.R. public body attempted in every way possible to preserve the few buildings already standing as works of art. They hoped that the opening was just postponed and not cancelled, and therefore denied permission for displaced people to occupy the site. The documents indicate that, to those in charge, accepting that the Fair would not be realised would be akin to accepting the collapse of the Fascist dream[11]. However, once Mussolini was arrested and *fasces* had been defaced spontaneously by the public on some

[8] ACS, Segreteria Generale, 3943, busta 1025, fasc. 9770, 18, 11.
[9] ACS, Servizi Tecnici, 3938, busta 91, fasc. 441.
[10] A.C.S., E.U.R., 3943, fasc. 9770, 18, 11.
[11] A.C.S., E.U.R., 1025, fasc. 9620.

buildings, the Ministry urged the removal of all symbols of the regime as the population was clearly distressed at seeing them[12].

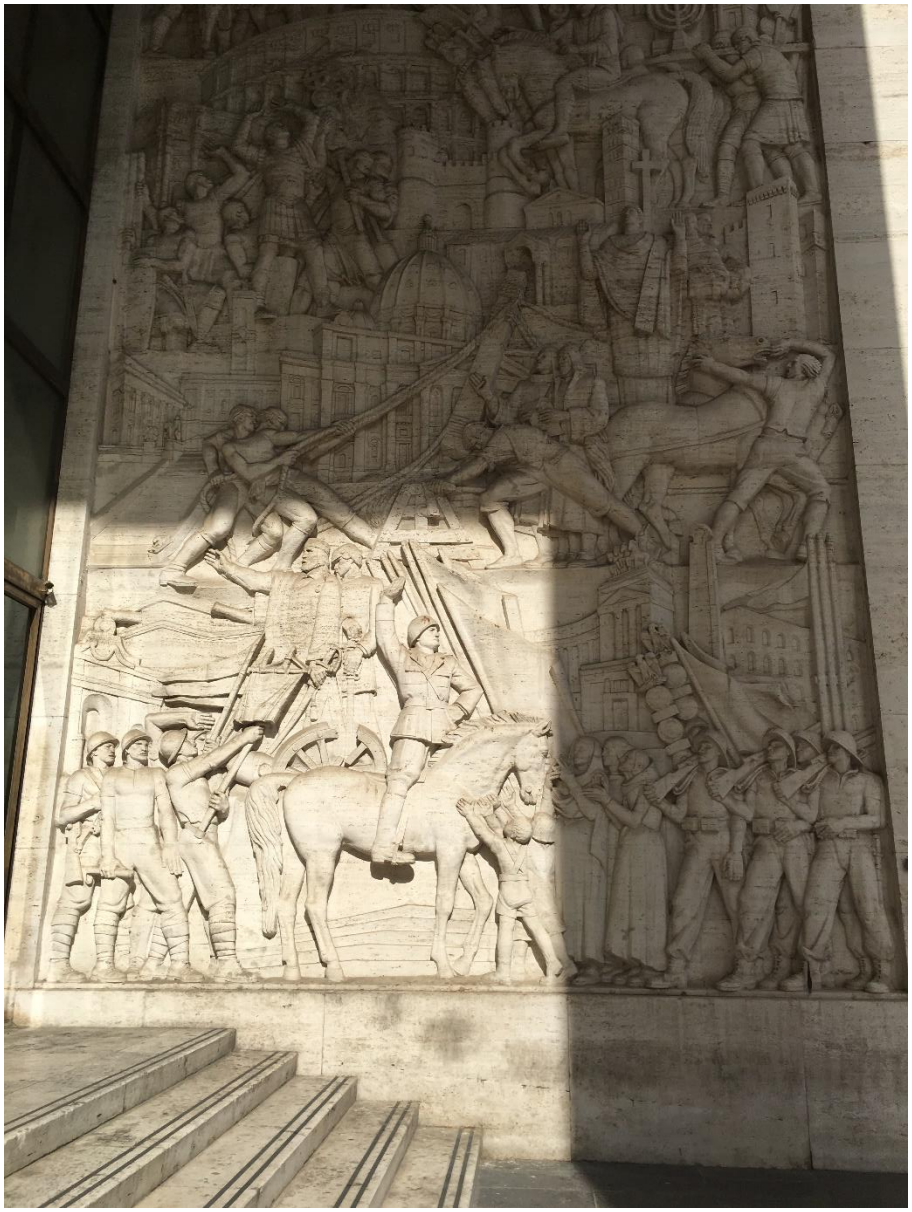


Fig. 98 Rome, Palazzo Uffici, lateral entrance with Mussolini horse-riding (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The E.U.R. archival material includes a list of what was intended to be covered or removed: the words on top of Palazzo Uffici, the mosaics of Prampolini next to the Museum Pigorini, the *fasces*, and the eagle of the Palazzo Uffici[13]. In reality, only the covering of the mosaics with plaster and the removal of the *fasces* from Palazzo Uffici were actually

[12] A.C.S., Servizi Tecnici, 3938, Piano regolatore di Roma, 505, busta 102.
[13] A.C.S., Segreteria Generale, 3938, fasc. 333, busta 62.

achieved; the Roman eagle and the writing on the Palazzo remain to this day, although the bas-relief of the words was left unpainted, thus making them less visible from afar.

Two further interesting cases of de-fascistisation include the sculpture of the *Genius of Fascism* and Mussolini's head in the Palazzo Uffici (fig. 99). The former escaped removal thanks to a timely re-naming as the *Genius of Sport*, as well as a prompt change of the plinth exhibiting the words 'Roma Aeterna' together with three *fasces*. A visual inspection of the site reveals that the plinth remains in the area, just conveniently away from the rest of the sculpture. Francesco Innamorati, the Head of Communication of E.U.R. S.p.a., revealed in an interview that the idea to change the sculpture from a clear representation of the regime to a politically neutral *Genius of Sport* originated with Virgilio Testa, the post-war Superintendent who effectively rescued the E.U.R. project. Innamorati describes him as 'the Saviour of these buildings, which otherwise will have been destroyed by now' (Francesco Innamorati, pers. comm., 28 august 2018).



Fig. 99 Rome, Palazzo Uffici, lateral entrance with *Genius of Fascism* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The second example in Palazzo Uffici is the statue of Mussolini's head, which was once found in the Great Hall alongside that of King Vittorio Emanuele III (fig. 100). Today these two gigantic heads have been placed on the floor of the conference meeting room of the E.U.R. S.p.a. – the state-owned company who oversees the buildings and revenues of the entire neighbourhood. The presence of Mussolini's head in the conference room since 2003 has not passed unnoticed, and several demonstrations were staged against E.U.R. S.p.a. because of this decision. However, in my interview with Francesco Innamorati it emerged that the company considered it more appropriate to have the head in a different room from its original location, so as not to appear apologetic. It could be argued, however, that there is no need to display these items at all, and that while the Great Hall is not currently a publically accessible room, the E.U.R. S.p.a. conference room is, making it highly visible to the public after all.



Fig. 100 Rome, Palazzo Uffici, Press room, Mussolini's head (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

6.4 Palazzo della Civilta' Italiana: from neglect to symbol of Italian pride

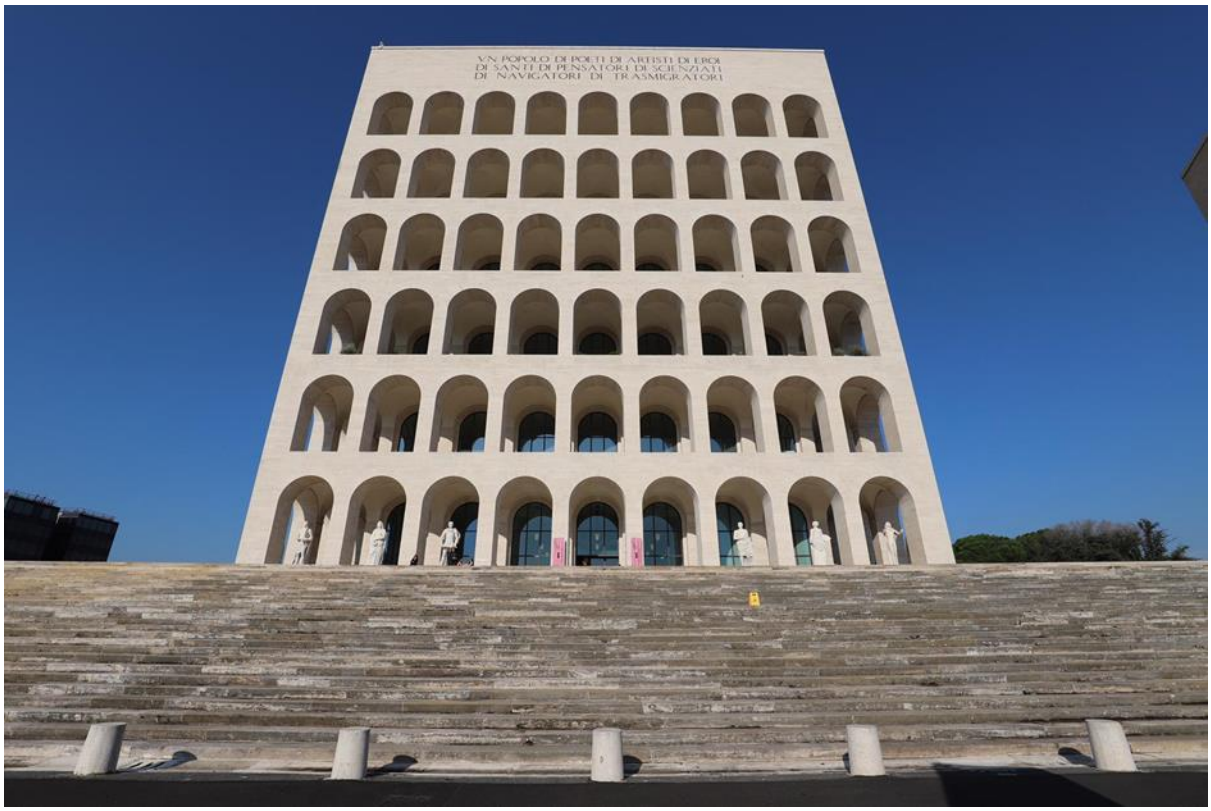


Fig. 101 Rome, Palazzo della Civilta' Italiana (Photo: Andrea de Palma for Flaminia Bartolini ©)

The Palace of Italian Civilisation at E.U.R., also known as the E42 or Square Colosseum is certainly the most famous, and simultaneously the most contested, building of the area (fig. 101). Since its architectural conceptualisation, the building has had to endure an incredible political weight and propaganda purpose. Designated as the heart of the entire Fair, this building should have hosted the exhibition of Italian Civilisation: a chronicle of Italian culture from prehistory to the contemporary Fascist Empire, all of which would be arranged over six floors (Calvesi, Guidoni and Lux 1987; Casciato and Poretti 2002). The highly propagandistic role of the site triggered the ambitions of the many famous architects already working on the Fair project, as well as those of younger professionals. The resultant competition among architects also became a quest for the ultimate Fascist architectural style, which the regime was still seeking to identify. The debate over the most appropriate style for propaganda haunted the building during the post-war period, as did its difficult functional identity, all of which transformed the building into a mysterious and often unused object, in stark juxtaposition to its seemingly perfect and unmistakable appearance.

In July 1937, a national competition was planned for the second of the four main permanent buildings of the World Fair, the others being that of Reception and Congresses, Imperial Square, and the Square and Buildings of the Armed Forces. Fifty-three projects were submitted at the end of the competition and in addition to Marcello Piacentini, *deus ex machina* of architecture of twenty years (1925-1945) of the regime, other members of the committee included Giuseppe Pagano, Giovanni Michelucci and Piero Portaluppi (Calvesi, Guidoni Lux 1987; Kallis 2016).

The panel's deliberations ended on 16 December of the same year and the five finalists were Ugo Luccichenti, Mario Ridolfi, Umberto Nordio and two groups: the first formed by Gian Luigi Banfi, Lodovico Barbiano of Belgium, Enrico Peressutti, Ernesto Nathan Rogers and Gaetano Ciocca, while the second included Giovanni Guerrini, Ernesto La Padula and Mario Romano. The committee unanimously awarded the first prize to the Guerrini Group project of La Padula and Romano. In terms of defining the regime's style, the results of the competition indicated a decisive transition away from the inspiration of European rationalism towards a more figurative compositional style more directly connected to classical antiquity. The winning project, in fact, like many of the other projects submitted for consideration, clearly alludes to the great times of the past. The building stands on a high plinth, which emphasises, in the words of the project report, 'the element of the Roman arch [...] was adopted in its classic relationships and composed at a pace that manifests itself as a unitary and very modern mass' (Rossi 2005: 87). As documented in the dense epistolary correspondence, Piacentini made many changes to the winning project: it was no longer to be eight floors with rows of thirteen arches, but rather six floors with nine arches per floor. Similarly, while the building's crown is topped by a wide full band, the proposal to insert a large central portal at the entrance, similar to the one decorating the vaults of the arcades, was not accepted by the designers. One particularly curious element of the combination of six floors with nine rows is that many Fascist sympathisers claim that the number of arches represent the six-letter-long name of Benito and the nine-letter-long surname of Mussolini. However, at the time of writing this information has not been confirmed by archival research.

The autarchic regime also imposed its style on the building in terms of its cladding materials: concrete and iron had been banned for buildings since 1938 in favour of traditional Italian marble. However, Rosalia Vittorini defines this so-called new Square Colosseum as a constructive hybrid 'autarchically imperfect ... in that it coexists in a seemingly contradictory

way the masonry with the reinforced concrete skeleton, the stone lining with the large steel windows, the brick attics with the glass skylights' (Vittorini 2012: 56).

In the immediate post-war period, the building was first occupied by Nazi troops and later by the Allies, as was the case with many Fascist buildings. After the Allies departed, the premises of the palace were used to accommodate displaced people who had lost their homes because of bombing, or who had to escape from conflict areas. This humanitarian element is very often overlooked as something held in common by all of the Fascist buildings analysed for this research.

This particular Palace of Italian Civilisation building, which had been conceived as a massive exhibition space, was not ideal for any use that involved heating the rooms or affording privacy. Records show that it was therefore abandoned in 1948 and was only first reused to host the Agriculture Exhibition of 1953; thereafter it was abandoned again (Poretti 2004: 85). After 1975 the space was used as an office and divided into small rooms with partition walls which, according to Poretti, were damaging the internal walls and, more importantly, breaking up the view (Poretti 2004: 87). In 1991, the Ministry of Culture decided to list some of the buildings of the area as protected, including the Palace of Italian Civilisation, allowing it to acquire full heritage site status in 2004 (Casciato and Poretti 2002; Garella and Pesoli 2004; Marconi 2004a).

6.4.1 Fendi and Italianness

In 2015, the building attracted the attention of national and international media with the news that the high-fashion house Fendi had moved its headquarters into the premises after three years of renovation. When questioned by Tom Kington from *The Times* (of London) whether it was acceptable for the firm to be identified with a Fascist building, the Chief Executive Officer Pietro Beccari replied:

> I have no qualms about identifying Fendi, which is famed for its handbags, with such a visible icon of Mussolini's Italy. There is no need to clean up the history of this building. We are very proud of this … the building is the work of many artists, many of whom had different values to Fascism, but who wanted to represent Italian excellence.
> (Kington 2015, online article)

The most interesting passage of Beccari's interview is his use of revisionism when he claims that the architecture of the building refers to a style that is not Fascist but rather transcends Fascism:

> The building represents a global aesthetic, appreciated by those who like architecture and design. We are beyond the usual idea of Fascism. Just check the biggest designers on Facebook and Instagram … [this building] it's everyone's dream.
> (Kington 2015, online article)

Fendi's ethos, he added, finds inspiration in the propagandistic motto on the facade of the building, which describes Italians as 'A population of poets, artists, heroes, saints, thinkers, scientists, navigators and voyagers'. In this sense the firm is, as we will see in Chapter 8, allowing a positive reconsideration of Fascist values of the cultural and racial supremacy of the Italians. During the month of the grand opening, the firm arranged an exhibition display on the ground floor, which should have presented a historical account of the construction of the building and Fendi's place in its contemporary restoration.

While the exhibition was visited for this research, it unfortunately did not have a guidebook and photos of the display were not permitted. Nor was it possible to interview the curator or any member of the Fendi firm, possibly because of international media pressure over the controversy of reusing a Fascist building. Fendi's exhibition was commented upon by the curator Carlo Lococo to Tom Kington, who kindly shared his interview with me. When Kington questioned the curator about why Mussolini was not mentioned in the display, he avoided the question by explaining that the design of the Palazzo:

> Is a compromise between architecture and the cultural programme of Fascism, many different artists and architects were called in to work on this building, including anti-fascists…there was a lot of experimentation. Always referring to Mussolini is a damage to this site.
> (Kington 2015, online article)

In *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Nick Squires published an interview with CEO Pietro Beccari, in which the latter replies to the accusation of political insensitivity because of the use of an iconic Fascist building:

> What should I say? For me it is a non-issue. For the Romans it is a non-issue. For Italians it is a non-issue. This building is beyond a discussion of politics. It

> is aesthetics. It is a masterpiece of architecture. To rebuild it today would cost more than €500m [the price paid by Fendi for the restoration]. For Italians and for Romans, it is completely de-loaded [of political meaning], empty of any significance of that period … there was no political activity that took place here. We never saw it through the lens of Fascism.
> (Nick Squires 2015, online article).

Nick Squires also visited the exhibition and noted that:

> Located on the ground floor and dedicated to the building's history it largely glosses over the fact that it represents one of Italy's darkest periods in modern history. Amid huge black and white photos of the building's stark exterior – including some shots by Fendi's long-time creative director, Karl Lagerfeld – and sketches of furniture and lighting fixtures that were designed but never completed, there are only brief mentions of the regime that built the site and the surrounding neighbourhood. The name Mussolini is never mentioned.
> (Nick Squire 2015, online article)

The debate about the appropriateness of having a fashion firm's headquarters within a Fascist building quickly also emerged between cultural and architectural historians. Paolo Nicoloso, a prominent architectural historian specialising in the Fascist period, and who recently published a very significant monograph on Marcello Piacentini, clarified to the wider public that the building was undoubtedly linked to Italy's Fascist past, regardless of the fact that many Italians might not feel that way:

> Fascism governed with Romanity, which held that there is a continuity between the [ancient] Rome that ruled the world and Fascism, that wanted to at least dominate the Mediterranean. From the propaganda perspective, it worked well. Fascism collapsed a year later, but in that moment it had an impact, and even after. It gives an image of a Fascism that left buildings. Let's talk about what is right and what works rather than what is not right … it is too reductive or diminishing to say that people should not profit or praise the beauty of this, because people do.
> (Nicoloso in Nick Squire 2015, online article)

Nicoloso's main concern, which is in line with most of the architects and heritage professionals interviewed for this research, is not related to the use of the building but rather

only that its architecture remains intact. Media at the time reported that the department of the Ministry of Culture, who were in charge of Architectural protection (*Sovrintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e del Paesaggio*), worked together with the architect Marco Costanzi hired by Fendi to create their office out of 'what was essentially a shell without running water, wiring or ducts', while making sure that original architectural features remained unchanged.

While much national criticism was based merely on the fact that the building was not going to become a Museum of Cinema, as had been previously suggested, amongst the other critics of Fendi's acquisition was Owen Hatherley, an architectural historian who perceives a connection between Fendi's usage of design, its target audience and the allure of Fascist modernism:

> It propounds a notion of 'good taste' that is deeply similar to that of the fashion industry – shamelessly elitist, wilfully sinister, hierarchical, Classical, its apparent minimalism belied by an obsession with the finest possible material and the severest cut. Fascist architecture, fashion, Fendi, all part of a history of amoral, elite good taste, something which appears to be becoming ever more inescapable as the lifestyle of the rich flies off into places ever more distant from that of the majority. However much the architecture of the era can be interesting and attractive, its values were deeply sick. It is right that its architecture remains tainted.
>
> (Hatherley 2015, online article)

Hatherley was the first to argue that Fascist aesthetics should not be treated as just any architectonical style, but rather seen as buildings contaminated with evil values. His argument proceeded Ruth Ben-Ghiat's article date published two years later in 2017.

6.4.2 Fascist Pride: Ruth Ben-Ghiat article and the repositioning of Italy coming to terms with the Past

Ruth Ben-Ghiat is a cultural historian who specialises in Fascist architecture, but is best known to the Italian wider public because of her article in *The New Yorker*, which was perceived as attacking Fascist architecture. As described in previous chapters, her article was wrongly interpreted in Italy as calling for the demolition of Fascist buildings, and both the public reaction to her article and the dynamics of the conversations it provoked have provided

valuable material for analysis in this research. Ben-Ghiat was the first to question publicly Italy's political amnesia by looking at how Fascist legacies have been transformed into heritage. She argues that the way in which Italy is using a Fascist building, such as the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana for a fashion firm's headquarters, underlines how amnesia has completely reframed Italy's perspective of the Fascist past. Specifically, she underlines how the words engraved on the front of the building were taken from Mussolini's speech calling for the conquest of Ethiopia (fig. 102):

> In the end, the fair was cancelled because of the war, but the palazzo, known as the Square Colosseum, still stands in Rome today, its exterior engraved with a phrase from Mussolini's speech, in 1935, announcing the invasion of Ethiopia, in which he described Italians as "a people of poets, artists, heroes, saints, thinkers, scientists, navigators, and transmigrants." The invasion, and the bloody occupation that followed, would later lead to war-crimes charges against the Italian government. The building is, in other words, a relic of abhorrent Fascist aggression. Yet, far from being shunned, it is celebrated in Italy as a modernist icon.
> (Ben-Ghiat 2017, online article)



Fig. 102 Rome, Palazzo della Civilta' Italiana, particular of the inscription (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©)

Ben-Ghiat argues that one of the reasons these monuments stand unquestioned might be the sheer number of relics that were part of Mussolini's propaganda, in a country with an already vast cultural patrimony. In fact, most of the regime's projects were intended to stand next to iconic structures like the Medici family properties or the Vatican cultural legacies. Alongside other scholars, Ben-Ghiat argues that Italy has not come to terms with the Fascist past as Germany was forced to, and claims that the 1953 Scelba law (formally banning Fascism) was actually quite vague regarding the specificities of how to prevent the reconstitution of the Fascist Party. She also argues that the ruling Christian Democratic party, which attracted many ex-Fascists:

> Did not see the regime's copious material remains as a problem, and so a more proactive policy was never put in place. This means that, when Berlusconi brought the right-wing Italian Social Movement Party to power, his rehabilitation of Fascism was aided by an existing network of pilgrimage sites and monuments.
> (Ben-Ghiat 2017, online article)

Within the context of this scholarly debate, my research emphasises the central role of the heritage process. If Ben-Ghiat and other scholars working on Fascist legacies have clearly stressed the potential pilgrimage attraction that Fascist buildings might offer, what is lacking is an analysis of the heritage legislation and perception of these sites. If it is indeed acceptable to talk about Fascism in a revisionist way since the Berlusconi era, the process of listing and transforming these buildings into heritage sites (or the lack of such actions) squarely situates the debate over Fascist monuments within the heritage debate. Therefore, it is not correct to argue, as Ben-Ghiat did, that only right-wing politicians lobbied to transform Fascist legacies into heritage:

> Preservationists of all political stripes forged alliances with the empowered Right to save the Fascist monuments, which were increasingly seen as an integral part of Italy's cultural heritage.
> (Ben-Ghiat 2017, online article)

Fascist monuments were therefore not 'saved' by the Berlusconi coalition government, but rather Fascist Heritage is 'saved' today partly because the material legacies of the regime are part of the process of renegotiating the Fascist past, a process which began with the fall of the regime and remains ongoing today.

6.5 'E.U.R., A New City' – from Fascism to the 1960 exhibition.

The 2015 exhibition *Esposizione Universale di Roma, un città nuova* (E.U.R., A New City) summarises its core narrative in its title and is presented here as part of the heritage process of the E.U.R.. The E42 was presented as a new modern city within the city of Rome, now disengaged from Fascism and able to symbolise Rome's economic boom during the 1960s.

The exhibition, held in the Ara Pacis Augusti exhibition room, was held to celebrate the opening of the Expo in Milan 2015 as the only (unfinished) antecedent to the fair. It used photos and films to depict the development of the area in the post-war period, as well as how the contemporary E.U.R. had altered its meaning from when it was built. The Left-wing ex-Mayor Ignazio Marino (Vidotto 2015: 7) stresses how these buildings are *senza tempo* (timeless), thanks to the 'universalist' style of Piacentini and its reference to a recurrent neo-classicism. This aspect represents an important element within the discourse on Fascist Heritage, as it demonstrates how the neo-classical style, in this case the remake or reuse of Roman symbols, has been accepted as an architectural style naturally suited to the Roman landscape. However, this familiarity is precisely one of the core triggers for the contemporary acceptance of Fascist material legacies.

During the exhibition, Marino's introduction was followed by comments from Giovanna Marinelli, the Head of Culture in Roman Municipalities, who also argued that the Olympic Games of 1960 had given the area a 'rebirth', which completely removed any Fascist connotations the site might have had. Both essentially claim that by completing the buildings of a former regime during a new democratic time, they effectively acquire new democratic meanings (Vidotto 2015: 9).

Vidotto introduced the exhibition by arguing that the E.U.R. neighbourhood can be analysed by a set of vastly polarised comments on its post-war ruins: one taken from a play by Squarzina, and another from a novel by Bettini (Vidotto 2015). Squarzina's character comments on the ruins as:

> On my way to Ostia, when I looked at the E.U.R., it made me mad. It was a monument to national jerkiness.
> (Squarzina 1991: 29, cited in Vidotto 2015: 15)

In contrast, the main character of Bettini's novel become emotional at the sight of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana:

> The arches that surround the building all around make the structure really light, something that any Casa del Fascio or Palazzo del Governo could make me feel. A metaphysic experience … but most of all [it] is the marble that caught my eyes, so much that I couldn't help but looking at it.
> (Bettini 2011: 166, cited in Vidotto 2015: 15)

Vidotto interprets Squarzina's comment as representative of the anti-Fascist sentiment during the initial period after the war, and refers to it as the:

> negative opinion over Italians being passive over the cult of the Duce. In recent years, once the stigma was lifted and the *damnatio memoriae* over Fascist building ended, Bettini's impression is the one that prevailed.
> (Vidotto 2015: 15)

Therefore, as this passage elucidates, Vidotto defines the afterlife of Fascist buildings as undergoing a phase of ideological forgetting and resentment, which lasted until recently, but which was followed by a period of rediscovery and full appreciation. He claims that young people today are unable to see Fascism celebrated in these sites, due to the anti-Fascist efforts to obliterate Fascist ideology by ignoring its buildings. Whether or not this desired effect was actually achieved will be discussed in the following chapter.

Vidotto presents the exhibition as an opportunity to appreciate finally the new E.U.R., now 'freed' from Fascist ideology. In his perspective, the post-war transformation of the E.U.R. into the neighbourhood known as E.U.R. represents a successful operation of de-fascistisation. In other words: Vidotto sees the process of forgetting Fascism as a positive development, which will afford this area a second chance at being appreciated.

Vidotto argues that the success of this process of a 'Eur rebirth' can be attributed to the work and political connections of Virgilio Testa, especially because he managed to recall the original artists from the time of the regime to complete the buildings and ultimately to expand the unfinished areas into a wealthy residential suburb.

The 2015 exhibition also presented a comparison with the previous celebrations during the 1911 World Fair, which were also managed by Marcello Piacentini. This was done in order to emphasise that the idea of world fairs was not new nor solely used by Fascism, but had been common since the 18th century. However, referencing the 1911 exhibition also de-historicises the Fascist political agenda for the E.U.R., which in a way is in line with what Vidotto calls de-politicisation. Situating Fascism's iconic initiatives as no more than part of a

broader historical narrative originating well before the regime in fact places Fascist events and initiatives within a safe universal narrative, which ultimately takes this ideology out of context. Comparing the liberal 1911 World Fair exhibition with a fair designed to celebrate the superiority of the Italian race and culture is in fact a dangerous intellectual exercise that has fuelled an apologetic discourse about Fascism.

6.6 Forgetting Fascist ideology: deconstructing the narrative of 'otherness'

This chapter has investigated the heritage process by examining the E.U.R. site's different uses, from the post-war period until its recent heritage designation, as well as how its perception has shifted over the years. The analysis of this site offers an important understanding of the process of renegotiating the Fascist past, which Vidotto (2015) believes offers the best example of a transition between dictatorship and the democratic state. However, this chapter argues that this process of transition has also been a process of selective forgetting, in which Fascism has been remembered for its architectural qualities but in which ideology and the Italian race's claims of superiority have been forgotten.

The chapter has traced the quest for continuity between the original inspiration for the E.U.R. and its rebirth as a modern quarter of Rome, as well as the idea that Rome could develop toward the sea. Politicians and architects were arguably motived by a sense of loss, of incompleteness, and also by nostalgia for a Utopic vision of Italian greatness, and this emotional 'baggage' can be identified as the motivation for the completion of the Fascist building plans. This chapter has described the sense that the unfinished works of art represented part of a destroyed civilisation; as if the war had stolen Italy's greatest source of pride – its relationship with its ancient Roman past. The emotions that emerged in the initiative to complete the projects of the E.U.R. almost seem to be a form of revenge against the outcome of the war and the betrayal of the regime. The dynamics of continuing these works therefore disclose an illicit desire to create the Third Rome, and to witness the greatest urban development project finally come to life.

These desires must have been the underlying motivation for recalling the original architects and heritage managers: to make sure Utopian Rome could become a reality. However, this also poses many important questions regarding the transition from a dictatorship to a democratic state. To what extent could the emotional weight of nostalgia for supposed Italian greatness align with the pragmatic needs of rebuilding and developing a

modern city? Politically it was arguably a priority to move away from Fascism, and to make the country appear sanitised from the lingering traces of this regime. However, one must ask whether this represents a real change of heart that occurred immediately, or perhaps only a matter of covering up some *fasces* and symbols in order to pay lip service as a political gesture.

This chapter has shown how the Christian Democrats' political strategy for running Italy in the post-war era sought to create a shared narrative of the dictatorship, in which a society divided between Fascist and anti-Fascist ideologies could nonetheless feel united. This type of 'pact of silence' effectively eliminated the political origins of the planning of the E.U.R. exhibition and the individual buildings, and this forgetting became the first step toward the revisionism thorough heritage that has detached Fascist ideology from its architecture. By making the E.U.R. just another modern district, heritage managers and scholars foster an aesthetic interpretation of the site that produces a positive image of the former regime's architecture, and by association, of the regime itself.

As the following chapter will explain, it is crucial for the public to perceive the material legacies of dictatorships as connected to the aims of the regime itself (Macdonald 2009). This is particularly relevant for dictatorial regimes such as Nazism and Fascism, which made extensive use of spectacular architecture and played heavily with the aesthetics of building to foster consensus and monopolise emotions, so to make the 'never again' possible.

Chapter 7 Analysis and discussion

This chapter will draw together the preliminary analysis made in the preceding chapters to structure a final reflection on the data collected and a discussion of its implications. The aim of this chapter is to look at the different political factors and actors that have influenced the process of heritagisation, or lack thereof, that has occurred in what is today the Fascist Heritage of Rome. This chapter will examine the different factors that have influenced the shift in perception of Fascist material legacies over time and to what extent restoration and heritage designation have influenced the contemporary interpretation.

The chapter is divided in three parts reflecting the three main research questions: firstly, it will present the fate of Fascist symbols on a scale of ideological power and will explain how this affected the heritage process in the immediate post-war period, and how perceptions have evolved leading to recent heritage designations. Secondly, it will describe the diverse narratives that emerged from the analysis of the sites, through both text analysis and ethnography, and how these together form the Fascist Heritage discourse in contemporary Italy. Finally, it will discuss how the practice of heritage today, such as building restoration, has created a 'turn' within the debate on interpretations of Fascism and how the far-right are reading a positive meaning for Fascism into the heritage status of these monuments.

7.1 The fate of Fascist symbols: the failure of de-fascistisation

'Words in stone' is how Albert Speer himself defined his work as the master architect of the Nazi regime and this is how he conceptualised the role architecture played in the regime's propaganda (Macdonald 2009: 25). However, when on trial for war crimes, accused of having given voice to Nazi propaganda through his projects, he claimed his work was pure aesthetics and had nothing to do with politics (Macdonald 2009: 27). The same narrative has pervaded the claims about Fascist architecture – that they had nothing to do with politics – but with the notable difference that Fascist architects were not put on trial for war crimes and, on the contrary, Speer's Italian equivalent, Marcello Piacentini, was free to carry on and complete his projects in the post-war period.

The practice of the *damnatio memoriae* phase or iconoclasm has not been explored in any of the recent works on Fascist heritage as 'difficult heritage'. This obscure and very problematic period has been penalised in terms of research by the lack of documentation on many aspects of the destruction, a result of both the rapidity with which it was undertaken and a social need to move forward. The identification and location of many of the relevant documents has only recently been recorded and the fact that most documents just disappeared during their transfer from one ministry to another has made researching evidence of the destruction of Fascist symbols highly problematic. This research was able to show that the first letter to be sent is dated 1 August 1943, less than a week after Mussolini's Fall on the 25th of July, from the Higher House of Parliament in which it was made explicit that because of the 'changed attitude of the Italian people towards the Fascist Party' the removal of Fascist symbols from any public building was urgent:

> Because of the change of affection of the population toward the Fascist regime the House of Parliament has decided to ask for the removal of evidence and symbols of the collapsed Fascist Party from public places and to quote for the cost of the removal. Those symbols that appear on private buildings should also be removed but at the expense of private owners.
> (ACS, Segreteria Generale, 3938, busta 63, fasc. 333)

Attached to this letter in the archives of the E.U.R. is the letter of Emilio Valentini, Director General of the E.U.R. project at that time, to the Director of Technical Services and the Director of Artistic Services in which he asks for a list of symbols which need to be reworked in line with the letter from Parliament. Attached to the letter is a handwritten note from an officer in the Technical Services department who made a list of the contestable symbols and a drawing of the Palazzo Uffici. This list is extremely valuable, not only because it is the only list found so far regarding the de-fascistisation process with regard to monuments, but also because it shows at the same time how rapid and patchy the process was. The statement quoted above makes many interesting points, from the acknowledgment of a 'change of attitude' of the population to the explicit targeting of symbols of the regime only, allowing us to interpret that for the population those symbols represented the party more than the building *per se*. This also allows us to consider, when assessing the removal of symbols and de-fascistisation, whether what was removed or in some instances just covered up, were only the material legacies that could be seen as political, the removal of which would supposedly leave the buildings 'politically free'. As we shall see, this was not the case

as these buildings are still heavily politically charged and should be considered, it can be argued, not simply as 'words in stone', but through the agency of heritage, as ideology in action.

7.2 Anti-Fascism in action: symbols on trial

This thesis argues that the *damnatio memoriae* phase was an expression of anti-Fascism in action, and that the same principles that applied to individuals in terms of the de-fascistisation of the state were also applied to monuments. During the time of the organised removal of Fascist symbols, which from 1945 coincided with the Allies' co-government of Italy, trials were organised to persecute Fascist criminals; these were managed by the High Court for the Persecution of Fascist Crimes and criminal behaviours were established based on the proximity of the individual to the regime itself and based on their acts during the war: in other words, only some high-ranking individuals were punished, and only them.[14]

This approach to the de-fascistisation of the State included the removal of Fascist symbols from buildings and from the public sphere, as part of the trials for political crimes. Viewing the removal of symbols within the context of the de-fascistisation of the State helps us to understand that those material legacies were seen as representing the Fascist Party itself and thus eliminating them can arguably be interpreted as an emotional and ideological act of 'punishment' against the regime. Alternatively, it can be seen as an attempt to hide guilt and the controversial past away from the public eye, or a mix of both.

The variable that has characterised the removal of symbols is what I call the degree of 'Fascistability', or in other words how deeply Fascist a symbol or a place is perceived in terms of its ideological proximity to the Fascist Party or Mussolini himself. This thesis has produced an initial preliminary categorisation of the fate of Fascist material legacies in the immediate post-war period which will be presented in the following sections.

7.3 Contemporary interpretations of WWI and Fascist-Roman sites

As we saw in Chapter 3, Fascism immediately started to develop a dense web of control over history production in order to be able to transform, edit and mis-use historical events to serve Fascist ideology and the consolidation of its power (Baioni 2006: 10). Fascism needed to

[14] ACS, Commissariato per le Sanzioni contro il Fascismo, 0537, 03, 002.

create legitimacy through its place in history, as a continuation of a glorious past, be this the Risorgimento or, later, the Roman past. Specifically, for the Risorgimento, the regime constructed a narrative that read events as 'unfinished': a good proportion of Fascist ideology is forged upon the aim to finalise the Risorgimento objectives of unity and nation (Zunino 1985: 88; Santomassimo 1988: 16). In Gallerano's work (1995), the public use of history during Fascism is a way to legitimise (or not) political decisions and a way to construct national or local identities regardless of whether they are conflictive or not.

Based on participant observation and interviews on site, this thesis argues that Fascist monuments that commemorate WWI or the liberation of Rome in 1870 are not perceived as being a product of the regime but rather as being constructed immediately after the event they commemorate. So, for instance, memorials to the fallen in WWI are considered to represent just that specific event, I would argue, based on a lack of on-site interpretation and a more general lack of knowledge regarding the rise and initial consensus of the dictatorship. This 'edited history' can perhaps be seen to start in secondary school education. What is missing or whitewashed by text books are the ways the regime gained consensus and managed to stay in power with the complicity of a large proportion of the population. This is even more true in the case of using the past and editing heritage sites, which are seen in Italy as largely apolitical and as not being instrumentalised by any particular political power.

As we saw with the Vittoriano, its status as 'national' heritage represents the embodiment of how the State is concealing its Fascist roots in plain sight, without engaging with them. What is today an iconic place of national memory has been heavily forged by the regime, both in the distribution of symbols around the monument and in ideological use for the regime. The heart of the site is the product of Fascist architecture, taste and values: by omitting to explain this historical layer to the public, the management of the site is mystifying history. The approach to WWI heritage sites in Rome, this thesis argues, has been to attempt to terminate their historicity before the regime. These and other WWI memorial sites around Italy are perceived by the population as being simply in memory of the First World War – Mussolini is not perceived as having been the patron of the many memorials that very often have a dominant place in Italian squares. The consequences of this omission are that contemporary Italians are unaware of the fact that they make sense of WWI through the lens of Fascist ideology, resulting in a disturbing continuation of meaning from the time of the regime to the present day.

In the case of archaeological sites reused or modified by the regime, the Fascist layer has been erased from public memory. Even more than was the case with WWI memorials, the Fascist hand has been hidden, particularly on those extremely invasive forms of restoration that the regime implemented to make the Forum area more appealing to local and foreign tourists. The Roman past that was tainted by the dictatorship has gone back to being just Roman remains, as before the regime – it does not matter that the opening of *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, the empire maps, and the Roman remains more broadly, served the regime to create a legitimate place for Fascism within Italian national history. While it can be argued that *Via dei Fori Imperiali* is still there because it serves a useful purpose, the renegotiation of the Roman maps is rather more problematic. The removal of the fifth map, and the fact that the other four were, and still are, perceived to be appropriate gives an idea of how the fake-Roman past created by the regime is perceived and processed today. Italy is completely comfortable with the Roman past created or liberated by the regime: for many viewers today the isolation of individual monuments was a great move in terms of appreciating the ruins. By removing the fifth map, however, what was removed is the direct link between glorification of the Roman past and its claims of racial supremacy through the conquest of Ethiopia, a colonial past Italy has actively tried to whitewash. The fact that sculptures of Roman emperors placed by the regime and the first four maps have survived de-fascistisation can be read as a particular approach to renegotiating the Fascist past – as a selective remembering of the good outcomes of Fascist archaeology. It is therefore questionable whether the removal of the map of the conquest of Ethiopia was meant as iconoclasm or as an active forgetting of Italy's colonial past.

Moreover, there is a striking lack of acknowledgement of how the Imperial Fora came to be displayed as they are today: the current layout of the pedestrian areas, balconies which overlook the ruins, the 20th-century sculptures of the emperors in front of their respective forum, are all part of the Fascist display. While the overall effect might work in terms of the accessibility of the Forum area, it nonetheless does not take away the fact that we are looking at the Imperial Fora the way the regime wanted us to see it.

7.4 Places of the Fascist Party

As we saw in the introduction, Fascist Heritage was modified immediately post-war on the grounds of what I call its degree of Fascistability and I propose that we can categorise places related to Mussolini and his iconography as meriting the highest coefficient of ideological power and consequently these have been attacked, destroyed, or hidden from sight. By the same measure, I suggest that the *Case del Fascio* or Fascist Party Headquarters are in second place in the hierarchy. The newly formed Italian Republic implemented the de-fascistisation of the State, with the intention of removing any possibility of the reconstitution of the Fascist Party; the legislation used is called the Scelba law and it is still in place today. This need of the Republic to make places of political gathering out of reach to subversive groups which might want to reinstate the regime resulted in most of the Fascist Party Headquarters buildings being converted into Police stations or Italian Army premises.

The two examples of Case del Fascio discussed in this thesis were the one in Predappio and the Casa Littoria in Rome, although more research is needed at a national level to be able to compare fully the renegotiation of these particular places of the regime.

The ideological coefficient of the Fascist Party Headquarters in Mussolini's birth and resting place is the highest on the scale of Fascistability since this place represents both the Party and Mussolini himself. As heritage is the reflection of how a country deals with its own particular past, it comes as no surprise to heritage experts that the first museum of the History of Fascism to be proposed in Italy is to be precisely in the party headquarters in Predappio. Simona Storchi has recently investigated the post-war phases of the building of the Casa del Fascio and has concluded that the events that surrounded its fate have no specific political meaning, but are the consequences of mostly bureaucratic or economic factors (Storchi 2019). I would argue this is rarely the case with buildings that belonged to the regime and least of all with this specific one; there is no such thing as a neutral heritage process, or lack of it. The controversies surrounding the museum project in Predappio are summarised by Mirco Carrettieri (2018); one reason the refurbishment of the building has not yet started might be linked to the difficulty Italy has in finding a common narrative about its Fascist past, rather than any economic or bureaucratic reasons. If anything, the financial problems in reaching the amount needed to complete the project are caused primarily by the political discontinuity generated by the change from a left-wing central government to a far-right and populist coalition. Moreover, on a local level also the municipality has changed from a left-wing mayor, Giorgio Frassineti, to a right-wing one, Roberto Canali (Storchi 2019). This

change has created a delay in the development of the project not only in terms of the bureaucracy surrounding the change of seats but more significantly in the differing political intentions of the two mayors. One suggestion to explain the delays could be that the Predappio Project does not respect what the right-wing voters want, as the museum's approach is 'ideologically critical of the regime', contrasting with an apologetic vision of the dictatorship that is currently fashionable in both Predappio and elsewhere in Italy.

Continuing the list of places or sites that have a high Ideological Coefficient of Fascistability, we come to the altars to the Fascist Martyrs. In Rome there are three such altars: the one at the Vittoriano, the one at the Foro Italico and one at the monumental cemetery in Verano. The first two were dismantled but the third one must have been considered appropriate to remain in a cemetery, even though today it is a place of nostalgic pilgrimage. Precisely to prevent such nostalgic pilgrimages, other altars were completely dismantled and their components hidden away or destroyed, a process that I would argue is appropriate for a dictatorship which was a political religion. Such places that were specifically intended for worship are still powerful triggers of Fascist propaganda. In fact, in both Rome and Milan, those areas of the city cemetery where Fascist fallen are buried are visited regularly by neo-Fascists on those dates fundamental to the Fascist calendar. The Fascist Martyrs were worshipped as much as Mussolini himself and places for their worship had a tremendous symbolic and ritualistic power for young Fascists. As described in Chapter 4, the Altar to the Fascist Martyrs is fascinating in the way it was assembled, and how its materiality is interconnected with its meanings: coming from a Roman excavation, first used to celebrate a colonial attempt at conquest in Dogali, and finally as the sacred place for the regime. Even more interesting is how, in the post-war period, this altar was carefully dismantled and every piece of the decoration diligently catalogued by heritage professionals, as mentioned above, returning the Roman remains to just ancient finds and abandoning the block, now hiding in plain sight in the very same area of the Capitoline Hill where it used to stand.

7.5 Heritage of the leader

From the analysis of the case studies of Villa Torlonia and Palazzo Venezia on the one hand, and the iconography of the *Duce* on the other, it emerged clearly how Mussolini, his images and his properties have been the first point of call for iconoclasm. The iconic images of the

fall of the statue of Saddam Hussain, together with many other removals or destructions of dictatorial cultural heritage, are very often part of the performativity of the end of an authoritarian regime. I would argue that Mussolini's heritage represents the extremes of feeling that the dictator produced and still elicits, either love or hate.

7.5.1 Love me, love me not: bottom-up heritagisation of iconography

As Fascism was a political religion and the Duce its ultimate leader, once he was no longer in power his images, and particularly his face and head, were at the receiving end of acts either of iconoclasm or devotion. What has emerged from this research is that what makes the relationship with Mussolini's material legacies different from the rest of the legacies of the regime is precisely the perception of cultural heritage as the transfiguration of Mussolini himself. So for example, as we saw, the statue of Mussolini on horseback in Bologna was beheaded and the rest of the body of the sculpture taken around the city in some sort of triumph (Pieri 2013; Storchi 2013a), and Mussolini's eyes on the wall mosaic at Milan train station have been defaced. These forms of violence against his iconography mirror the ultimate violence of his death and the martyrdom of his body once exposed in Piazzale Loreto: if, in general terms, other images strongly related to Fascism were simply covered or removed, very often Mussolini's face was at the centre of violent attention. In Rome, this is also the case with the historical relief just outside Palazzo Uffici, which again sees Mussolini on horseback and represents the history of Fascism. As we saw in Chapter 7, what emerged from the interview with Innamorati was the fact that Mussolini's head in the relief was the only part of the entire building to be affected by iconoclasm, and occasionally the event has been repeated in more recent times.

This specific attention to Mussolini's face in the passage from regime to republic can also be seen as the consequence of the personification of Mussolini's body as the very essence of the regime. Following Bosworth's conceptualisation of *Mussolinism*, or the determination of the charismatic leader as the symbol of the dictatorship more than the regime or the party, the population must have felt attacking Mussolini's image more 'effective' than simply removing *fasces* (2005). As Pieri explains, the iconography of Mussolini's face went through an extensive transformation following the political changes of the regime: it moved from being realistic to the abstraction of the idealised leader (Pieri 2013). It changed particularly dramatically after the conquest of Ethiopia, and from 1936 his

monumental face was repeated and duplicated everywhere, up and down the country. This ultra-exposure to his expression might well have generated violent reactions, precisely against this intrusive image of the dictator.

Equally, despite his fall, Mussolini's image still has an emotional attachment for some. This is expressed in the post-war collecting of Fascist paraphernalia, but most of all in images of the Duce. For some, the cult of the Duce survived his killing, which actually transformed him into a martyr, squarely framed within the religious conceptualisation of the Fascist regime identified by Emilio Gentile (2007). This devotion to Mussolini survived in many forms within Italian society, most notably through those defined as nostalgic, with pilgrimages occurring around Mussolini's iconic places, above all Predappio. But there are also multiple documentary forms of collecting, the most notable of which is the Bargellini-Susmel collection. As discussed by Arangio (2018) and Bartolini (2019), the role of the biographer of Mussolini in collecting images and symbols of the regime sits perfectly within the neo-Fascist political climate of the 1970s in which devotion to Mussolini received renewed political attention. The ethos behind the collecting of figures and faces of Mussolini was to preserve these icons from oblivion and iconoclasm, a nostalgic renegotiation of an idealised lost time. In term of collecting, it is relevant to note how the Bargellini-Susmel collection and the controversial exhibition on *Il Culto del Duce* in Salò only opened to the public in 2015 and 2016, coinciding with the recent rise of far-right populism in Italy. Finally, another important consideration in the devotion to images of the *Duce* is that private collecting is very often based more on emotional attachment to some of the items than on commercial values. What has emerged during this research is, for instance, that there is an attachment to those objects of everyday life which happen to provide constant reminders of Mussolini and Fascism, such as school textbooks or diaries. Further investigation into this form of nostalgia would be extremely relevant to the field.

7.5.2 Moving on in an ordered manner: covering and removing

A diverse form of de-fascistisation is the one operated by the Italian state as documented in the letter of the ACS, Segreteria Generale mentioned above relating to the E.U.R. neighbourhood, one that even if not perfectly executed was at the very least planned and calculated. As we saw in previous chapters, symbols of the Fascist Party needed to be

removed from both private and public buildings, in order to clear any visible links to the dictatorship from public view.

The way the State obliterated Mussolini iconography from public spaces was mainly by the removal of sculptures and the covering of frescos and mosaics. Sculptures and movable works of art reproducing the leader were rapidly stored elsewhere, away from public gaze and fury. Mussolini's head in Palazzo Uffici went from its original place in the Salon of Honour to the bunker, only to reappear in 2013 in the conference room. Seemingly, many examples of the head of the leader have been found recently in storage rooms within schools, stored away and abandoned, possibly out of fear of the stigma that such heads had been kept long after the fall of the regime.

As we have seen, for paintings of Mussolini the standard procedure was to cover either just his image or the entire mural with a coat of stucco base, so often the wall was prepared to host a new painting. In the case of the conference room at the Foro Italico, the entire fresco of the *Apotheosis of Fascism* disappeared under first white paint, and subsequently a curtain with the symbol of the Olympic Committee. It was after restoration in 2015 that the fresco was uncovered and following the speech in front of it by former Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, the debate over the re- use of Fascist Heritage sprang to life, first internationally and later, in minimal terms, nationally (Carter and Martin 2017). The same fate befell the fresco of Mussolini on horseback in the *Casa Madre del Mutilato di Guerra* (House of the War Injured) in Rome, where the two figures of Vittorio Emanuele II and Mussolini were at opposite sides of the entrance to the area devoted to the war dead (Marcello 2019). Here too the Duce has been brought back to light following heritage designation and subsequent restoration, although in this case, possibly because the site is not open to the public and very rarely accessible, the news regarding its restoration has passed unnoticed. In contrast, the reverse applies to the case of the recently restored frescos of Mario Sironi representing the Arts and Sciences at the *Aula Magna* (Great Hall) of the University of Rome La Sapienza. As explained in Chapter 1, the 5-metre-long fresco, which encapsulated the ideological programme for Marcello Piacentini's university complex, had at its focal point unequivocal symbols of the regime. Slightly asymmetrical with respect to the centre of the composition, the controversial symbols within the frescos were 2-metre-high *fasces*, Mussolini on horseback and the personification of Italy armed, ready to go to war. In this case, reflecting probably the taboo which affected Mario Sironi's works of art as the most successful painter of the regime, the entire fresco received many layers of covering, starting

with glue and stucco and finishing in the 1970s with a poster reproducing Marx's wall of the people. The fact that this particular fresco received these many layers of covering and its heritage was dealt with in this way is also a reflection of the specific political climate found in universities in both Italy and globally after 1968.

This particular fresco, because of its location within a university, became a symbol of the Resistance to Fascism and of devotion to those Marxist and Gramscian values that the vast majority of students and heads of departments were supporting at that time. It is equally a sign of our time that the restoration of this iconic fresco completely removed any sign of the 70s political protest and that Mussolini's image and the fasces have been restored and brought back to life. It is a clear sign of how heritage is a reflection of the political climate of the day and how the process of normalisation of Fascism has reached a whole new level, such that even the most contested symbols of the regime – Mussolini and the *fasces* – are today perceived acceptable for public viewing.

7.5.3 Places of Mussolini: between normalisation and taboo

As we saw in Chapter 4, Villa Torlonia and Palazzo Venezia both represent, in the collective memory, Mussolini himself and both places are perceived as very ideological. Interestingly, they stand for two opposite ways of dealing with the material legacies of the leader: Villa Torlonia attempted a display of the *Duce* which resulted in more of a whitewash operation than an informative exercise, while Palazzo Venezia stands for Mussolini and his power as the greatest taboo of Italian modern history.

The display at Villa Torlonia gives a flavour of Mussolini's life as Prime Minister, but at the same time intentionally omits any reference to Fascism and dictatorship. The selection of photos shown on the interpretation panels are those that were once used by Mussolini's own propaganda, including some quite well-known images of him meeting heads of state or celebrating family weddings and ceremonies. The display in a national museum setting of propaganda pictures which were at the core of Mussolini's personality cult, without any context of when and why those photos were taken, is a dubious ethical process which arguably supports attempts to present the *Duce* in a more acceptable 'humanised' way.

At the time of the reopening in 2006, the Mayor Walter Veltroni stated that it was time for Italy finally to come to terms with its Fascist past, but it is questionable whether the display on Mussolini really addresses the Italian interpretation of the past – indeed, the whole

issue is avoided. It is Veltroni again, this time as Minister of Culture, who argued that Palazzo Venezia should no longer carry the stigma of Mussolini and therefore worked for the re-opening of the infamous balcony, which after the war was closed permanently and sealed with a black curtain, traces of which I was able to photograph during fieldwork on site.

The heritage managers at the Palazzo Venezia have adopted quite a radical approach with the rooms of Mussolini. If, on the one hand. they maintain the display and pre-Fascist narrative of the palazzo as a national museum of Medieval and Renaissance collections, on the other hand they completely forbid access to rooms that are tainted by dictatorial history. As the various editions of the catalogue and guidebook of both Villa Torlonia and Palazzo Venezia have shown, there has been a shift in the negotiation of the Fascist material legacies from immediately post-war to the present day. While both properties were initially abandoned or closed to the public, at least in terms of the most controversial areas of the palazzo, in recent years (2000s) there has been a new assessment of these sites. What for Villa Torlonia has been an attempt at display and therefore historical analysis of the heritage of the dictator, for the Palazzo Venezia this meant only the re-opening of the infamous balcony. Material legacies of the palazzo have been treated as if dangerous, possibly in fear of nostalgic pilgrimage, although it could also represent a form of cognitive dissonance in the acceptance of Fascism and Mussolini in power. If Villa Torlonia has always represented his private life, Palazzo Venezia is the symbol of Mussolini as the dictator, as the man of power, and his balcony is the physical manifestation of his direct relationship with Italians.

As seen in Chapter 5, the *Palestra del Duce* (Mussolini's gym) and his private swimming pool were, until recently, a well-kept secret. Transformed in the post-war period into the Olympic Committee conference room, even today this place is still very hard to visit, with the exception of occasional international tours following sports events. The suspended swimming pool is also closed to the general public, with exclusive access once a week for the parents of the children that are learning to swim there. As in the case of Palazzo Venezia, this enclave of the leader within the Foro Italico sports complex has been treated as taboo, while the busy sports arena demonstrates once again how Fascist architecture and Mussolini are separated in public perception, and how the places of the *Duce* still create both fear and admiration. However, I would argue it is delusional to believe that Fascist architecture *per se* had no impact on people, that it was only Mussolini himself who needed to be forgotten, in the hope that the passage of time would exorcise the ideology.

7.6 The construction of Italian post-Fascist identity

The construction of the Italian post-Fascist identity needed to merge two socio-political needs. Firstly, it needed to attempt to eliminate any remaining Fascist beliefs and initiatives and, more broadly, the imprint that the regime had left, especially on the younger generation. Secondly, the country needed to present a coherent narrative of how its identity had changed following the Liberation fight, which resulted in the construction of an anti-Fascist identity. However, if the anti-Fascist discourse influenced the legislative system, the writing of the Constitution and many other aspects of the change from a dictatorial regime to a democratic State, the reality of dealing with Fascism in society was different. In this respect, analysing what happened to the material legacies of the dictatorship helps us understand the complexities and many levels of mediation that occurred in post-Fascist Italy. As we saw, and this is the most astonishing difference with Nazi Germany, Italy did not destroy but completed Fascist buildings. Moreover, they were completed in the same style, calling back the same artists and maintaining, for the vast majority of buildings, the same use.

The 'Nazification' of memory on one side and the completion of buildings on the other began the process of normalisation for Fascism in the post-war period, a process that would only be invigorated later by heritage designation. By remembering and constructing heritage only around places of violence in Nazi-occupied Italy, the country has used the mourning of Italian civilians to shift attention away from Fascist collaboration. Moreover, by focusing only on atrocities and violence that happened between 1943 and 1945, a counter-narrative has been created, if unintentionally, which excludes Fascist violence which preceded 1943 from Italy's official memorialisation. The process of forgetting Fascist atrocities is more complex than simply a process of exclusion from the memory-scape, but together with the limited number of Fascist war crimes' trials, does have a profound impact on the collective memory of how violent the regime was from its seizure of power.

We saw in Chapters 5 and 6 how two of the three Fascist development projects for the city of Rome have been affected only marginally by iconoclasm and have both been at the centre of the renegotiation of the Fascist landscape. The Foro Italico and the E.U.R. were not perceived as being ideologically dangerous so they could be defined as less ideological. One aspect that is often overlooked by scholars who have examined Fascist Heritage as 'difficult heritage' is precisely these elements of continuity and completion organised by the Italian state in the immediate aftermath of the fall of regime. These underline how it was not in the Berlusconi era that the renegotiation of the Fascist legacies began, but rather it started

immediately after Mussolini's Fall in 1943. The most striking example of the renegotiation of Fascist remains into a democratic context, I would argue, is the completion of the panels with the history of the regime in the *Piazzale dell'Impero* in the Foro Italico. The fact that the empty panels were used by the new Italian democratic government to portray the end of the regime and the beginning of the Italian Republic fully legitimises the other panels depicting the triumphs of the regime. The continuity of material and style is an acknowledgment of the project of these historical slabs, with no clear break and therefore condemnation of the past. If a clear discontinuity has been implemented in Nuremberg and many other Nazi places precisely to make clear that the preservation of the site was not meant as celebratory, the Italian case raises question of political continuity between the regime and the Christian Democratic party which ruled the country for almost 40 years after the dictatorship and which has often been accused of seeking neo-Fascist votes.

Continuity is also seen in the associations than ran both the Foro Italico and the E.U.R. post-war: the Olympic Committee was a Fascist committee which was set up by the regime to manage the Olympic bid of 1940 and the E.U.R. association similarly was to manage the development project. Both associations were run by members of the regime and survived the fall of the dictator and still exist in present-day Italy. While the heads of these associations may have changed, the ethos of both organisations took inspiration from Fascist values and it is reasonable to believe that in the completion of the works and in the activities that they sustained, those Fascist values did not change overnight.

In the case of the E.U.R, Virgilio Testa, the architect behind the design of the project and the development of Rome's modern district, worked under Giuseppe Bottai when he was governor of Rome and also when he was at the Ministry of Culture under the regime. Testa can thus be regarded as a man of the regime and it is reasonable to believe that the completion of the E.U.R so perfectly in line with the original Fascist project, and the recall of those same architects that had won the development projects under the regime, was partly nostalgia for a regime recently lost. As seen in Chapters 5 and 6, the words of those that currently manage these sites, and of Virgilio Testa, are full of a sense of loss, as they compare the ruins of Fascism to those of a lost civilisation. In that feeling of trauma and loss for the end of a Utopic vision of the country, Fascist sites were completed or kept in use, as if those managing them could not let go of their Fascist dreams. They found new ways to transition the Fascist revolutionary project into the democratic state, to transform Fascism from Utopia into a democratic reality. The consequence of this renegotiation of the Fascist past within

modern democratic Italy has been to open the way to the normalisation of what Eco calls 'eternal Fascism' (1995).

7.7 The Heritage Turn: the apologetic effect of heritage designation

As seen in this thesis, the process of first listing, and later heritage designation, has attached a positive value to selected legacies of the dictatorship. The lens through which designation has been granted has been focused on either art historical or architectural historical values, meaning the heritage process has been based on the aesthetics of legacies of the regime rather than their broader socio-political value. The heritage process has also shown how heritage designation signifies not only a shift in meaning but also their very essence is transformed to a path of sacralisation, the same sacrality which invests objects entering the museum realm. David Freedberg writes that the power of images 'cannot be thought of apart from the desires, needs, projections, and learned expectations of their viewers' (Freedberg 1994: 394). He stresses that the museum allows for this sacred gaze, which 'designates the particular configuration of ideas and attitudes, and customs that informs a religious act of seeing as it occurs within a given cultural and historical setting' (Freedberg 1994: 395). When this sacralisation invests places of the dictatorship, communities can be allowed to engage in an apologetic interpretation of the regime, which in turn becomes instrumentalised by political readings.

Both the Foro Italico sports complex and the E.U.R. are today lively areas of the city, the most 'used' of the Fascist architectural legacies and ones that are managed by a number of diverse institutions. As we saw, the main owner and manager of the Foro is C.O.N.I., which is in itself a Fascist legacy as the committee was established in 1928. We also saw the role of the O.N.B. as an educational and propagandistic institution that was in charge of the physical and mental training of the Youth and which later during the dictatorship became so powerful that it was taken under the direct control of the Fascist Party itself. However, these buildings were not perceived as dangerous ideologically in terms of Fascistability and their facilities were allowed to have a new life after Fascism.

As seen in the text analysis of the C.O.N.I. publication, the narrative of the site is to be seen as one of the many layers of Rome's cultural heritage which they reframe as Olympic heritage. The connection to the Domitianus Stadium and the constant references to the Roman past when describing the Forum layout and artistic decoration is yet another example

of how the site is presented more as a modern version of the Classical past than as a Fascist identity. The way the C.O.N.I. has decided to present the Foro Italico can be seen as modern neo-classicism, where this constant referencing of the ancient past is typical of Roman cultural production. It is as if Fascist ideology could be buried under this neo-Roman layer, hidden or re-framed, if not justified.

During the discussion with users of the main swimming pool at the Foro Italico, one interesting element which emerged during the analysis was the role of familiarity in the construction of the sense of place. Many swimmers, when describing their emotions while swimming in the Foro Italico, referred to a 'sense of familiarity', which comes from the fact that this structure has always been there ever since they were children and even when their parents were children. There must have been a time when the pools had open access for the local population since so many had memories of learning to swim there, and because of the Olympic-standard facilities many of them also swam competitively. It emerged that for many local people the pools were a major influence on their lives, not just for the fact that they were their local facility but also because of their emotional memories of childhood, creating a deep attachment to the site. Those that showed strong emotional attachment to the site couldn't even contemplate having the facility removed from their mental landscape and I would argue this is mostly because of a sense of familiarity. This is, I believe, a strong trigger in the process of the normalisation of Fascism in architectural landscapes, as the positive values that users attach to these sites heavily influence their critical view of the ideological values also embedded in them. This poses questions on the reuse of Heritage of the Dictatorship and how crucial it is to create discontinuity between the previous and current use of the site: by maintaining the complex for the same purpose it was built for and without addressing all the subtle as well as the evident reminders of Fascist ideology we are uncritically spreading Fascist propaganda in the present.

Another element that emerged from the analysis of this site is the role of aesthetics in renegotiating ideology. It is as if, because of the undeniable artistic merit of some of the architecture and works of art of the Foro Italico, users and local communities are willing to turn their heads away from ideology and propaganda. For some interviewees there was a degree of embarrassment, followed by an element of 'cognitive dissonance'; in other words, I could detect a loop and a cognitive short circuit in the way they were processing the beauty of the architecture versus the ideological reasons for which it was built. This goes back to the perception of cultural heritage as something which is always positive, which has created a

conceptualisation of beauty as something 'good', a carrier of positive values and which, in the case of Heritage of the Dictatorship, could create a cognitive crash followed either by denial of artistic merit or, more worryingly, a denial of ideology. It is without doubt the recognition of heritage status that has fostered apologetic sentiments of revisionism: it is clear from my interviews that architecture and works of art are among the primary generators of sentiments of pride for Fascist sympathisers.

The analysis of the E.U.R. site offers an important insight into understanding the process of renegotiating the Fascist past, which Vidotto (2015) believes offers the best example of transition between dictatorship and democratic state. However, it can be argued that this process of transition has also been a process of selective forgetting, in which heritage has been remembered for its architectural qualities, but the ideology which created it and the Italian race's claim of superiority have been forgotten.

Chapter 6 traced the quest for continuity between the original inspiration for the E.U.R. and its rebirth as a modern quarter of Rome, as well as the idea that Rome could develop toward the sea. Politicians and architects were arguably motived by a sense of loss, of incompleteness, and also by nostalgia for a Utopic vision of Italian greatness, and it is these feelings which can perhaps be identified as the motivation for the completion of the Fascist building plans. The chapter described the sense in which the unfinished works of art represented part of a destroyed civilisation; as if the war had stolen Italy's greatest source of pride – its relationship with its ancient Roman past. The emotions that emerged in the initiative to complete the projects of the E.U.R. seem almost to be a form of revenge against the outcome of the war and the betrayal of the regime. The dynamics of continuing these works could be interpreted as disclosing an illicit desire to create the Third Rome, and to witness the greatest urban development project finally come to life.

These desires must have been the underlying motivation for recalling the original architects and heritage managers: to make sure that Utopian Rome became a reality. However, this also poses many important questions regarding the transition from a dictatorship to a democratic state. To what extent did the emotional weight of nostalgia for supposed Italian greatness support the pragmatic needs of rebuilding and developing a modern city? Politically it was arguably a priority to move away from Fascism, and to make the country appear sanitised from the lingering traces of this regime. However, one must ask whether this represents a real change of heart that occurred immediately, or was perhaps only

a matter of covering up some *fasces* and symbols in order to pay lip-service to the de-fascistisation process as a political gesture.

This discussion has shown how the Christian Democrats' political strategy for running Italy in the post-war era sought to create a shared narrative of the dictatorship, in which a society divided between Fascist and anti-Fascist ideologies could nonetheless feel united. This 'pact of silence' effectively eliminated the political origins of the planning of the world fair exhibition and the individual buildings, and this deliberate 'forgetting' became the first step toward the revisionism thorough heritage that has detached Fascist ideology from its architecture. By presenting the E.U.R. as just a 'modern' district in a heritage context, heritage managers and scholars foster an aesthetic interpretation of the site that produces a positive image of the former regime's architecture, and by association, of the regime itself.

Chapter 8 Concluding remarks

8.1 The Fascist Heritage Discourse

What this thesis has demonstrated is twofold: a) it presents how heritage can be used as a tool to interpret the renegotiation of a dictatorial past; b) it identifies how politics uses heritage to (re)construct identity, as well as to influence the heritage-making process when coming to terms with a dictatorial past. These two aspects have been identified firstly by examining the Fascist regime's uses of the past, as well as how they edited sites and narratives to serve as tools for propaganda. The research has also shown how modern art and architecture supported the regime's primary need for building consensus, and it has documented the shifts in meaning and use, or lack thereof, of Fascist Heritage sites, and examined how different sites have been renegotiated depending on their degree of perceived 'Fascistability'. The thesis also conceptualises the scale of heavy state intervention in legacies of the regime, as based on its degree of perceived ideology.

The construction of Italian post-Fascist identity was affected by competing factors in the process of moving on after a dictatorship, especially the need for social cohesion as well as condemnation of the perpetrators. In many ways, and for different reasons, the country sought to forget, erase and eliminate the Fascist regime, yet this was implemented in selective and actually rather superficial ways in heritage sites. One of the most famous definitions of Fascism was coined by Benedetto Croce, a fervent anti-Fascist who was active during the time of the regime. He called the regime a sickness that had entered the Italian system and was only finally cured once Mussolini was gone (Croce 1963: 155). Such sentiments indicate the idea that heritage of the dictatorship can also be 'cured' in the immediate post-war period simply by eliminating the ideology of symbols, and especially the references to Mussolini himself, as his iconography remained highly ideological. However, this process was rather superficial, primarily because it only really addressed the public sphere while ignoring the private one, which kept the whole process of de-fascistisation on a purely aesthetical basis.

This thesis argues that Croce's definition of Fascism is quite problematic, as it presents Fascism as an external alien disease that attacked the otherwise democratic Italian society, and then was cured shortly after: such a perspective fails to address, and in fact denies, the active and often enthusiastic role of the wider population in supporting the regime.

Discourse about both Fascism and its material legacies emerged in the aftermath of the fall of the regime. One such narrative allows Italians to be portrayed as victims, and is structured around the Liberation Movement and the anti-Fascist paradigm. As this thesis has demonstrated, the construction of anti-Fascist identity led to what I call the 'Nazification of memory', which played a crucial role in the apologetic interpretation of the actions of the regime prior to its alliance with the Nazis. Following Ventresca (2006) and Focardi (2014) interpretation of Fascism, heavier blame was placed on the Germans than on their Italian collaborators. Narratives of the Italians as 'Good People' or of the 'Good Italian versus the Evil German' have been prevalent in research in recent years, and such over-simplifications indicate the pressing need for more research in the field of memory studies. For this thesis, the conceptualisation of the Nazification of memory explains the origins of revisionism, and how it enabled the construction of apologies for events occurring before 1943. Heritage demonstrates that if revisionism hardly succeeded in denying the atrocities of the Nazi alliance and the consequences of WWII, the process of rewriting history has focused precisely upon the dictatorship prior to the Nazi alliance.

As this thesis has demonstrated, trials also supported the discourse of the pre-alliance period as supposedly 'less bad'. In fact, the trials and de-fascistisation of the State only punished high-ranking individuals, and only targeted those serving in the army who had chosen to serve with Mussolini in the Salò Republic instead of with the King and the Allies. Trials and therefore punishment and condemnation focused on the role of the Axis, rather than on Mussolini's rise to power or the so-called 'years of consensus'. The socio-political events of the post-war period established the premises for the apologetic effects of recent years, as well as their impact upon heritage designation.

The recent heritage designation of Fascist architecture and art has played a paramount role in the benevolent renegotiation and reinterpretation of Fascism. This is in part due to the role cultural heritage plays in the Italian sense of identity, but mostly because works of art could fulfil the narrative of a 'Good Fascism'. The process of heritage-making includes a traditional division of expertise among heritage professionals: between architectural historians and art historians on one hand, and political and cultural historians on the other. This has favoured both a compartmentalisation of knowledge and a fragmentation of understanding regarding how ideology and propaganda worked, as well as how effective they continue to be in the present day. Amongst those scholars that have interpreted Fascist Heritage as 'difficult heritage', not enough attention has been paid to examining sites of the

dictatorship as places of ideological agency: a phenomenon that is linked with a general increase in fascination with Fascism as well as the rise of the far-right transnationally.

I argue that, regardless of the presence or absence of symbols, the art and especially the architecture of the regime still have the agency and power to convey Fascist ideology. The political messages, images, and spaces they contain within them cannot be detached from their materiality, as ideological values are expressed primarily through their impact on the individual, as produced by forms, spaces and colours. I argue this is particularly the case in the presence of architecture, which was conceived of and intended to overwhelm the individual and reproduce the sense of authority and greatness that was so central to Fascist propaganda. The fact that some of these buildings have now become cultural heritage sites because of their Modernist architectural style fails to engage with the role architecture played in building consensus and in manipulating emotions. This has, *de facto*, permitted ideology to continue to be perpetrated, and when one considers how mainstream Fascism has become in Italy, it seems apparent that the ideological goals of such architecture may have actually been accomplished.

8.2 Renegotiating the Fascist past

Cultural heritage has traditionally been considered crucial in the formation of national identity, as it has usually been given a 'positive' value as a symbol of a shared past (Meskell 2002; Winter 2008; Bessière 2013; Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015). However, as we saw, heritage is never a neutral selection of a 'true' past, but is a process of selected values (Viejo-Rose 2011a; Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015). Since the ideologies conveyed in this heritage produce dissonance, contested memory, and social division (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Macdonald 2006; Macdonald 2009), ideological references to them should be challenged.

As we have seen, the material legacy of the Fascist regime has become a 'heritage' which silences its Fascist origin. This is the result of a process of 'de-fascistisation' of the arts, which saw first the removal of Fascist symbols, followed by a renegotiation of these materialities as part of the nation's heritage. At the time of writing this project, a series of public and political events marked an unprecedented shift in the process of de-fascistisation of the heritage of the regime. The cases already mentioned have in common the fact that they have generated strong reactions and public debate. In contrast, an event that arguably is crucial from a heritage prospective passed almost unnoticed: the opening in 2018, after

restoration, of the frescos of Mario Sironi at the University La Sapienza in Rome in the presence of the President of the Republic (fig. 103-107).



Fig. 103 Rome, La Sapienza Great Hall, Mario Sironi fresco of *The Arts and the Sciences* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©).

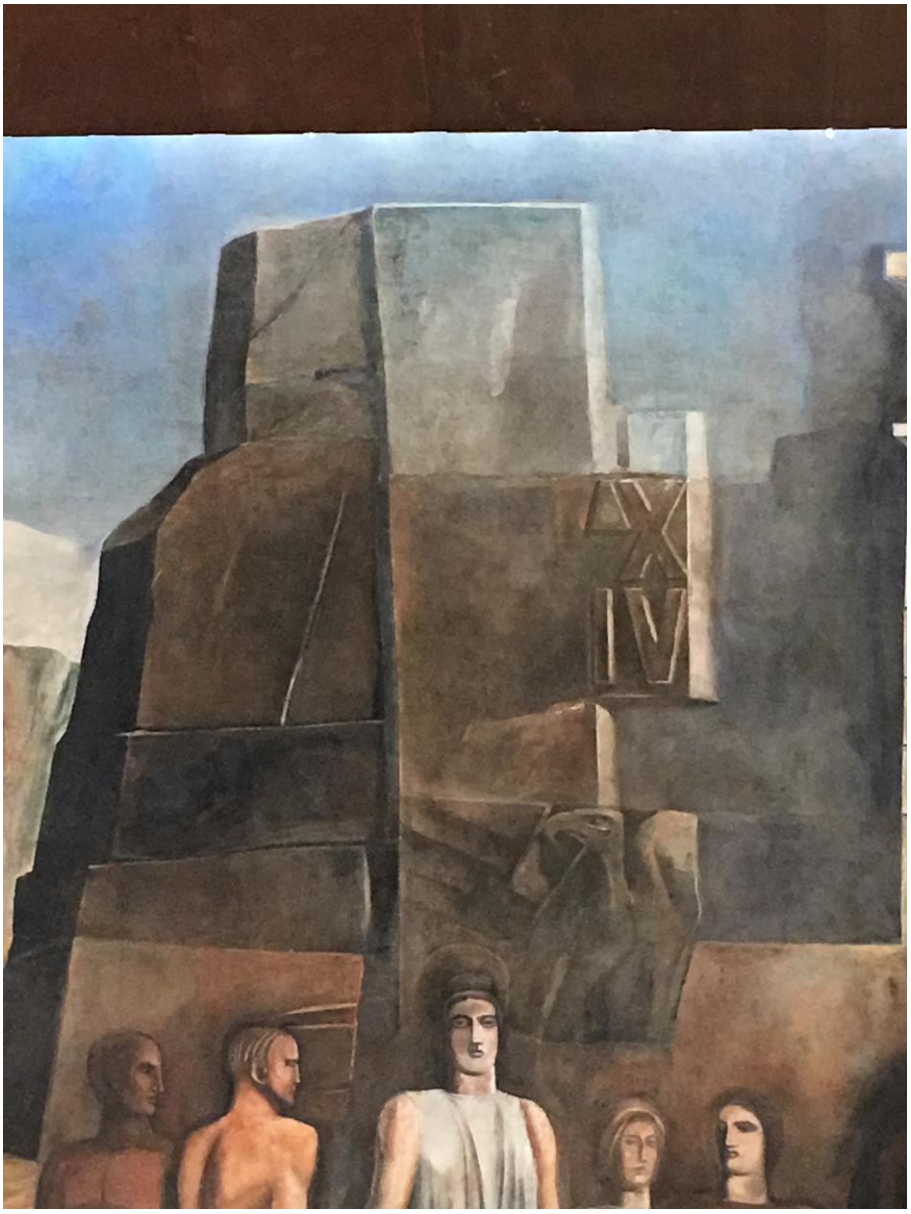


Fig. 104 Rome, La Sapienza Great Hall, Mario Sironi fresco of *The Arts and the Sciences*, detail of the fasces with the eagle (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©).

As a fervent Fascist, Sironi's work has very often been criticised for being too political, so in the case of the frescos in La Sapienza his depiction of the Arts and the Sciences was entirely covered over in the post-war period (Braun 2000; Billi and D'Agostino 2017; Gaudio 2017). In 2010, a process of restoration began and finally, in 2017, the frescos representing Mussolini horse-riding and with fasces were revealed. Simoncelli (2017: 87) wrote in the exhibition catalogue produced for the opening that 'This is the end of the iconoclastic era for the arts of the 30s as we have finally come to terms with our history'. This restoration of Fascist symbols clearly signifies a politically charged shift in the renegotiation of the Fascist

past which stands at the opposite end of the post-war iconoclastic episodes. This thesis has not only documented the historical aspect of the de-fascistisation of monuments to show how this configuration gradually emerged in the post-war period, but has also argued that, paradoxically, the symbolic power of heritage has created the conditions for generating a sense of 'Positive Fascism' in contemporary Italy. The fact that the restoration of Sironi's frescos has been welcomed without debate shows how powerful the heritage effect is in depoliticising cultural legacies.



Fig. 105 Rome, La Sapienza Great Hall, Mario Sironi fresco of *The Arts and the Sciences*, detail of Italy at war with helmet and sword (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©).

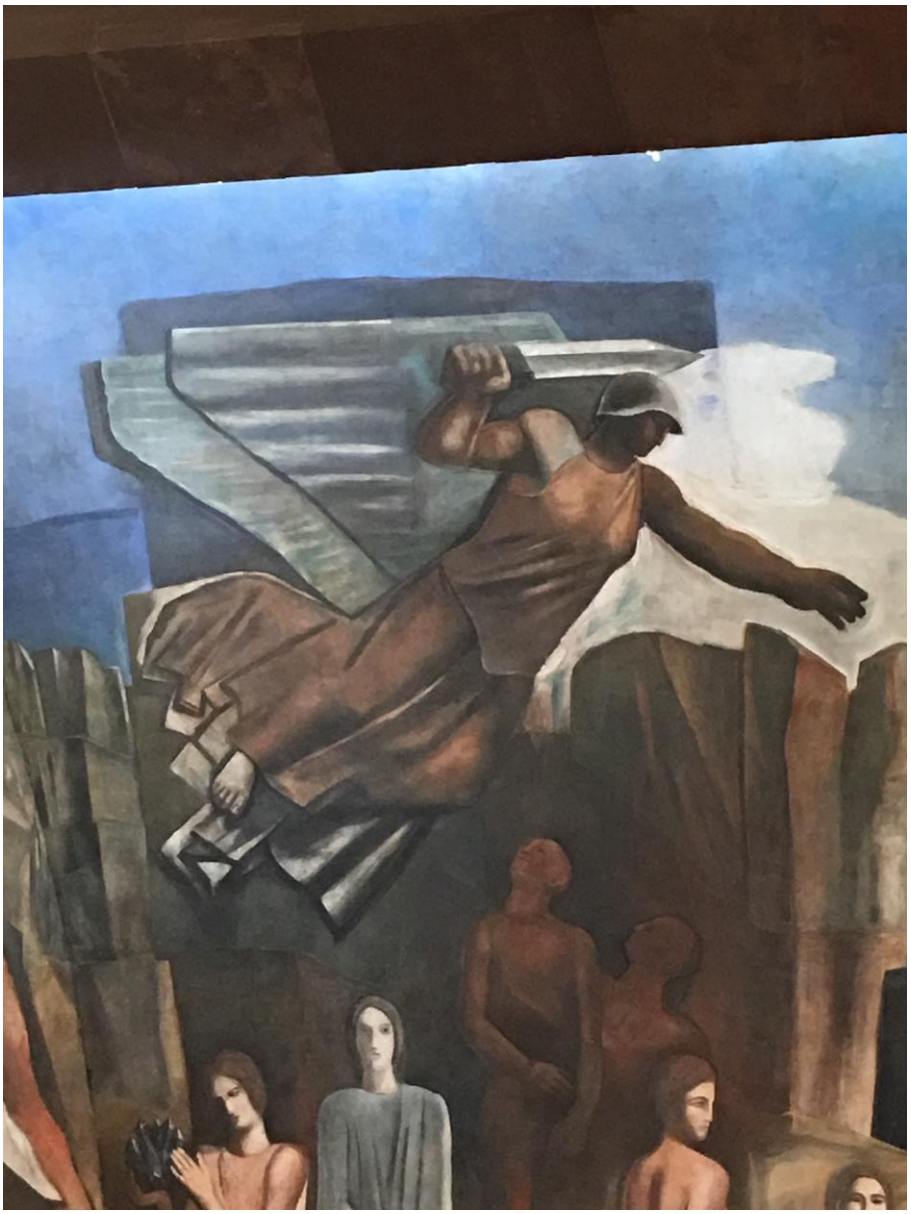


Fig. 106 Rome, La Sapienza Great Hall, Mario Sironi fresco of *The Arts and the Sciences*, detail of the Victory with helmet and sward (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©).



Fig. 107 Rome, La Sapienza Great Hall, Mario Sironi fresco of *The Arts and the Sciences*, detail of the triumphal arch with Mussolini horse-riding and Roman *insigna* (Photo: Flaminia Bartolini ©).

8.3 *Patrimonio* and the practice of heritage

This thesis has examined the concept of heritage in Italy by looking at how it is described in heritage legislation. As part of this research, it was essential to understand how the word 'heritage' translates to '*patrimonio*', which actually can be better understood as 'inheritance', in line with other neo-Latin language uses, such as *patrimonie* (French) or *patrimonio* (Spanish). When studying the practice of heritage, it becomes apparent that, from the very

earliest legislation, the primary focus was on protection, and most of all on the centrality of materiality over meaning, as framed around the values of aesthetic and authenticity.

The Italian concept of heritage was at the core of the nation-building process that followed unification: heritage was seen as a key asset for fighting Italian regionalism and in pursuing the construction of a national identity. As shown in Chapter 2, cultural heritage (and therefore its legislation) was ideologically applied only under the Fascist regime. Under the guidance of Giuseppe Bottai at the Ministry of Culture and Education, the regime identified Italy's vast patrimony as a formidable asset for both propaganda and the ideological education of the masses. As a result, legislation was created to give the Fascist State complete control over cultural private property. While formidable private collections of antiquities were formerly owned by noble families, the regime implemented what they defined as an 'art for all' policy, which nationalised these collections. The opening of an unprecedented number of public museums, exhibitions and cultural events was intended to educate the masses, and was skilfully presented by the regime as bringing art back to the people from the grasping hands of the aristocrats. This idea is strongly emphasised and repeated by contemporary neo-Fascist groups in their claims of Fascism as a Social State looking after the people against the interests of the elites.

This thesis stresses that while the presence and conservation of Fascist material legacies in contemporary Italy are not perceived as an issue, divisions remain regarding how this heritage should be managed and presented to the public. Moving from the theory to the practice of heritage, these particular legacies have proven to be problematic in terms of heritage management. If heritage practice is divided between listing, designation, restoration and enhancement – meaning state-controlled public access and interpretation – the latter has not yet been the case in Italy with regards to Fascist Heritage.

This thesis has shown how the perception of some of these legacies has changed dramatically from the post-war period to the present day, and how the heritage of Fascism has today become an object of fascination and attraction. Limiting the heritage process to restoration and preservation without engaging with the challenges of presenting Fascist remains to a wider public has produced what Sharon Macdonald calls 'the heritage effect', which attaches celebratory and justificatory emotions to difficult heritage sites (Macdonald 2009). By restoring fasces or Mussolini's iconography, such symbols are in effect brought back to life. It is imperative to recognise the danger of leaving such powerful images exposed to personal and individual modes of interpretation without a scholarly based context. Heritage

designation has therefore uncovered the fragility of the Italian post-Fascist identity, as well as the challenges of fully integrated Fascism, and inadvertently illuminated its continued dark legacies within the democratic landscape.

I argue that, when faced with legacies of the Fascist dictatorship, Italian conservation and preservation legislation should be re-conceptualised. It must take into account the many layers of history and (re-)interpretation that some of this material culture has faced, and in fact preserve all of them. This research therefore calls for a new evaluation of the practice of restoration in Italy, and will be presented to the *Instituto Centrale di Restauro* (Italian Central Conservation Institute) and to ICCROM in Rome. It suggests using Cesare Brandi's practice of restoring frescos of the *quadrettato* and applying this to the universal preservation of ideological works of art (Brandi 1963). According to Brandi's breakthrough approach in the field of restoration, a work of art should be considered as *including* the layers of time it has endured. Therefore, not all of the 'dirt' should be removed from its surface, so as not to reverse or erase its historical context and journey. The same methodology should be applied to the historical layers that remain on ideological heritage, as signs of their deep political contestation and different pasts. Conservation, I argue, should not only preserve the materiality of a work of art, but also its symbolic meanings and the shifts of materiality it was subjected to during different periods in history. Conservation and heritage practices must perceive material legacies of the past as a *stratigraphy of values*, in which any layer of meaning not only counts, but is essential for the comprehension of the layer following it. Authenticity and the search for purity of style, in cases of ideological heritage, bring a work of art back to its pristine dictatorial origins – while also invoking the ideological power inherent to this period – which is a rather dangerous exercise for any contemporary democracy. Heritage scholars need to advocate the maintenance of traces of contestation in such items of material culture, so as to preserve explicitly the discontinuity and rupture with a past with which we no longer identify ourselves. Restoring *fasces* and Mussolini's iconography instead indicates not only how Italy has not come to terms with its past, but how it is actually now pervaded by an unsettling sentiment, fuelled by the far-right, of shameful nostalgia almost reaching the level of former Fascist pride.

To conclude, this thesis has demonstrated that dealing with difficult heritage is a complex process for contemporary societies. Monuments to past 'glories' remain a constant reminder to many of the traumatic memories of a difficult time, while to others they are simply material traces of a once-glorious past. Iconoclasm expresses the need to challenge

and publicly question former values, but it fails to interrogate the issue of monumentality, which remains a formidable presence in public spaces. Heritage scholars must find new ways to reframe monuments without any form of iconoclasm, while allowing for a different type of interpretation to be given. At the same time, these objects must also express a very powerful message, so as to interrupt the Fascist monumental rhetoric of order and obedience. In light of the rise of far-right movements in Italy and internationally, and considering how the symbolic power of these monuments can still be exercised and easily instrumentalised, it is therefore crucial to find new ways to disempower memories of such dark times.

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Eta' Genere Titolo di Studi Usando tre parole, come descriveresti il Fascismo? Quali sono nella tua citta' gli edifici che definiresti simboli del Fascismo (specificare citta')? Questi edifici nella tua citta' in che stato sono? Cosa vorresti che se ne facesse? Potresti descrivermi che sensazioni suscitano in te questi luoghi? Cosa rappresenta per te un Bene Culturale?

Response Response Response Open-Ended Response Open-Ended Response Response Altro Open-Ended Response Open-Ended Response Open-Ended Response

1 31-45 Maschile Laurea Regime reazionario di massa Ex fabbrica Scipione (Meldola FC) Riuso/diversa funzione Nulla Nessuna Non utilizzo questo termine e non ragiono in questa prospettiva

2 46-60 Maschile Dottorato Dittatura illiberale corporativa Mestre liceo Franchetti Riuso/stessa funzione Va bene cosi Edifici che bene rappresentano la concezione di potere, la volontà di monumentalità del regime Bene culturale é qualsiasi oggetto che rimandi alla cultura di una collettività

3 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Idea rivoluzionaria Roma obelisco mussolini Riuso/diversa funzione Che splendessero Orgoglio Un emozione

4 46-60 Maschile Laurea teoria politico-economica formidabile case popolari Riuso/stessa funzione migliorie suggestive sensazioni un documento storico

5 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Fratricidio guerra fame Quelli che non ci sono più Roma Altro quartieri abbattuti Ormai niente Rammarico non aver mai visto come ersno prims a parte le immagini Le radici di un popolo

6 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Patria Fedeltà Disciplina Eur Abbandono Restaurarli Il fascismo era avanti e noi facciamo del tutto per tornare indietro Tutto

7 46-60 Maschile Laurea Stile di vita FORO ITALICO (già Foro Mussolini), Palazzo della civiltà e del lavoro, Palazzo di Piazza Venezia Riuso/stessa funzione Nessun cambiamento Ammirazione per il Fascismo Qualcosa da preservare per l'eternita

8 46-60 Femminile Master Potere d'imperio della Nazione Roma: palazzo della Civiltà Italiana, l'università La Sapienza, il palazzo dei Congressi, EUR, il palazzo del CSM, il palazzo della Farnesina,Cinecittà, i palazzi della Posta, lo Stadio dei Marmi, Palazzo Corte dei Conti, la Garbatella ecc ecc Altro Riuso/stessa funzione o Riuso/diversa funzione Vorrei fossero tutelati come patrimonio unesco al pari degli edifici di Le Corbusier Ordine, pulizia, potenza è la nostra civiltà, il nostro specchio del passato e un immenso potenziale arricchimento per cuore, anima e cervello per il futuro. alla portata di tutti

9 61-75 Maschile Laurea Stato Nazione Lavoro Roma: Foro Italico, Citta' Universitaria, Ministero degli Esteri, Palazzo Aereonautica Riuso/stessa funzione Manutenzione (per il Foro Italico) Imponenza Il Patrimonio Italiano

10 46-60 Maschile Laurea Innovativo, rivoluzionario, sociale Genova - stazione ferroviaria - stazione marittima Riuso/stessa funzione Valorizzarli Qualcosa che testimonia la storia della nostra nazione, la raffigurazione della cultura della sua epoca.

11 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Eroico, innovativo, sociale Roma: quartiere eur, Foro Mussolini le borgate di edilizia popolare Riuso/diversa funzione Ammirazione Patrimonio collettivo, parte del nostro mos maiorum

12 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Estremismo Razzismo Intolleranza Eur a Roma Riuso/diversa funzione Gli edifici sono edifici....i monumenti sono testimonianza storica Angoscia Cultura, giusta o sbagliata ma è la storia del mio paese

13 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Schifo, Razzismo, dolore Riuso/diversa funzione Continuare a sfruttarli Nessuna Risorsa attrazione storia

14 31-45 Femminile Master Magari tornasse Mussolini!! Roma: Colosseo Quadrato, Foro Italico, Palazzo Venezia Riuso/diversa funzione Che

fossero meglio conosciuti Grandezza ed orgoglio di un'Italia che...oggi sogno. Memoria del passato, fondamenta del mio oggi.

15 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Un regime antidemocratico Roma obelisco foro italico, tutto il quartiere Eur. Le città di Sabaudia, latina, ardea..... Riuso/diversa funzione Leggera inquietudine quando vedo il fascio littorio La memoria

16 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Obsoleto fuorvianti un ricordo Roma, Foro Italico Riuso/stessa funzione Polo sportivo Niente di particolare Una risorsa

17 61-75 Maschile Laurea PATRIA FAMIGLIA CHIESA EUR ROMA Riuso/stessa funzione Devono rimanere come simbolo della nostra storia Modernità, anche se costruiti quasi un secolo fa Un patrimonio irrinunciabile da trasmettere ai figli

18 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Nessuna libertà democratica Roma quartiere Eur Riuso/diversa funzione Fruibilità pubblica Nessuna Salvaguardia del patrimonio

19 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Nazione Sociale Onore Roma Obelisco Foro Italico Riuso/stessa funzione Nulla Nazione Sociale Onore Una memoria storica per i posteri

20 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria un periodo storico roma: obelisco del foro italico, l'eur con i suoi vari palazzi e e la sua architettura, via della conciliazione Riuso/diversa funzione vorrei soltanto che rimanessero la stessa sensazione che provo davanti alle cose belle Un bene da mantenere per se stessi e per le generazioni future

21 31-45 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Evento sociale Roma - eur- ponte corso FranciaRiuso/stessa funzione Mantenimento Solidità Mix ideali sociali politici etici

22 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Crescita. Sviluppo sociale. Orrore. Roma Eur. Foro italico. Riuso/diversa funzione Non so. Efficienza. Ordine. Decoro. Un patrimonio che rappresenta un epoca o un periodo storico

23 46-60 Maschile Laurea Illiberale, antidemocratico, vergognoso Roma, foro italico, quartiere eur Riuso/stessa funzione Abbatterli Ripugnanza Un bene artistico, creazione del genio

24 46-60 Femminile Laurea Bene per Italia Roma. Palazzo dei congressi. Eur palazzi a piazza Augusto imperatore Riuso/diversa funzione Fossero mantenuti e restaurati quando necessario Positiva sono molto belli Un capolavoro per tutti

25 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Costruttivo, ardito, imperativo Colosseo quadrato, foro Italico, obelisco, basilica santi Pietro e Paolo, quartieri interi di Roma (Eur).. Riuso/stessa funzione La stessa funzione di sempre Austerità, imponenza e solidità Patrimonio essenziale affinché la storia insegni

26 31-45 Femminile Laurea Passato, retaggio, dittatura Forli: piazzale della vittoria, ex gil, stazione Riuso/stessa funzione Ex gil: che fosse più vissuta dai forlivesi Appartenza ed estraneità allo stesso tempo, sono antifascista e la storia di questi edifici per me è scomoda, d'altra parte costituiscono il paesaggio urbano in cui sono cresciuta, fanno parte della mia storia personale e della storia della mia famiglia/città/comunità Qualsiasi cosa tangibile o meno che contribuisce alla costruzione dell'identita di una comunita

27 over 76 Maschile Laurea Regime dittatoriale borghese Ist. maternità e infanzia. Arch. Piacentini. Brutto Edifici dell'EUR. Buon livello ROMA

28 31-45 Maschile Laurea nazionalismo , totalitarismo, reazione. Roma: svariati dal "Colosseo quadrato" al Foro Italico, passando per Palazzo Venezia Riuso/stessa funzione contrastanti pensieri: senso di storicità e immanenza di imperituri spiriti di sopraffazione. Un patrimonio di interesse pubblico e comune, nello specifico personalmente la tradizione estetica del mio ambiente di vita.

29 46-60 Femminile Laurea antidemocratico, violento, discriminatorio Lo stadio Olimpico, l'EUR, Via dei Fori Imperiali Riuso/diversa funzione Vanno restaurati e dovrebbero essere usati come luoghi della memoria. Come storica dell'arte ho difficoltà a scindere l'artista dalla storia. Certamente, fino a quando non me ne sono interessata, questi luoghi hanno suscitato in me rabbia per quello che si è verificato durante il Ventennio. O Un bene culturale è un luogo che va tutelato e reso il più possibile fruibile a

tutti, nessuno escluso. Un bene culturale è tale quando ha il valore di bene storico e poiché la memoria è la base del futuro bisognerebbe promuovere questi luoghi.

30 46-60 Maschile Laurea Regime dittatoriale Roma: Foro Italico, Via dei Fori Imperiali, Ara Pacis Riuso/stessa funzione Corretto l'uso odierno.Si tratta di monumenti storici che rappresentano una parte della storia italiana moderna. Un bene da tutelare, restaurare e passare alle future generazioni.

31 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria prepotenza del più forte legittimata a sistema di governo. Roma - lista troppo lunga. Altro Più o meno tutti gli stati elencati, vista la gran quantità di tali edifici nella capitale. E' illogico distruggere un edificio solo perché costruito da un regime criminale. Anzi, il modo migliore per rinnegare tale regime è utilizzare le poche cose buone da esso fatte per il bene democratico della collettività. Ma sicuramente vanno tutti accuratamente spogliati di simboli, motti, elementi apologetici del regime, che vanno accumulati in un museo didattico con cui preparare le generazioni, "vaccinarle". Ne subisco l'opulenza di potenza che tentano di trasmettere, ne percepisco l'autocelebrazione onanistica, la presunzione di solennità in realtà artificiale e mirante non ad inorgoglire il cittadino, ma a fargli sposare una idea. Le sensazioni istintive possono essere una droga, e molti degli edifici del regime funzionano da "dosi". Qualcosa di interscambiabile con il concetto "cultura del bene".

32 46-60 Maschile Dottorato totalitario, populista, violento Roma complesso monumentale dell'EUR (Palazzo della Civiltà romana, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Musei Civilta Romana) Farnesina, Foro Itlico, Sede FAO Riuso/diversa funzione che vengano utilizzati senza stravolgerne l'architettura contrastanti ammirazione per la capacità di realizzare un'edilizia pubblica di livello e d'altra parte pensare quale sia stato il prezzo di questo, in termini di limitazioni ai diritti individuali ed alla vita democratica un bene che risponda a requisiti estetici/artistici e che sia in qualche modo fruibile

33 31-45 Maschile Laurea regime, controverso, violento Roma: Stadio dei Marmi, EUR, Palazzo/Piazza Venezia, Stazione Ostiense Riuso/stessa funzione

preservazione, uso anche per altri scopi se necessario controversa, specialmente l'obelisco ed i mosaici dello stadio dei marmi. Sebbene siano spesso edifici e luoghi architettonicamente e esteticamente notevoli, il retaggio storico che si portano appresso è pesante e difficile da dimenticare. Un edificio, forma espressiva e generalmente produzione artistica che necessita di essere tutelata a scopo culturale.

34 31-45 Femminile Dottorato Periodo buio Castrocaro, le Terme e il Padiglione delle feste Riuso/diversa funzione Mi sembra ottimo l'uso attuale, forse più incentivo ad organizzare eventi che avvicinino maggiormente la cittadinanza Il primo richiamo è alla memoria della propaganda fascista, seppure sul piano estetico apprezzo molto queste architetture e la finezza dei decori. Il senso di disagio permane in sottofondo. Un valore per la comunità, un potenziale di coesione sociale

35 61-75 Femminile Laurea Scomodo Periodo storico Forlì : ex GIL, Palazzo delle poste, Uffici Statali Riuso/diversa funzione Va bene così Li vedo da sempre e, a parte il loro stile figlio del tempo, li considero palazzi come gli altri Un bene da salvaguardare per il suo valore artistico e culturale

36 61-75 Maschile Laurea Una tragica dittatura Forlì, Complesso ex Collegio Areonautico - Piazzale della Vittoria Riuso/diversa funzione Penso che l'attuale utilizzo vada benissimo Imponenza e un progetto urbanistico definito. Pregevole in alcuni aspetti. Si possono o meno condividere alcune soluzioni, ma é indubbio che appartengono a un "progetto"' architettonico forse l'ultimo in Italia. È qualcosa che fa parte della nostra storia e che va valorizzato

37 61-75 Maschile Laurea Funesto Letale BeceroForlì Tribunale, ex GIL più simbolici; Sanatorio Pierantoni, ex Aeronautico più razionalisti Riuso/stessa funzione Riuso funzionale Interrogazioni su capacità progettuale è tecnica di quel tempo Un patrimonio di memoria e di bellezza

38 31-45 Femminile Laurea Dittatura Contesto storico Forlì L'intero Quartiere Razionalista Lampioni e colonne con aquile in Piazza Saffi Tribunale Facciata Chiesa del Suffragio Corso della Repubblica INPF Cso della Repubblica Palazzo delle Poste e Palazzo degli Uffici Statali Piazza Saffi Casa del Mutilato Forlì Riuso/diversa funzione Visite guidate La Storia, che va conosciuta , studiata e raccontata. Che non significa : celebrata Tesoro identitario che deve diventare volano per lo sviluppo culturale ed economico

39 31-45 Femminile Laurea oscuro, restrittivo, razzista Rimini = le poste Riuso/stessa funzione Va bene cosi Allerta Un bene a disposizione dei cittadini, da proteggere e curare per mantenerne la storicità e la possibilità di accedervi

40 31-45 Maschile Master violenza, guerra, razzismo Forlì piazzale della Vittoria ITIS Marconi ex Collegio Aeronautico ex GIL Riuso/stessa funzione

ilarità per il destino del testone. Mi piace immaginare Mussolini e la Petacci appesi a testa in giù da ognuno di essi.

41 61-75 Femminile Dittatura, violenza, razzismo Forlì. Molti edifici di edilizia pubblica e privata anche molto belli e interessanti da un punto di vista architettonico Riuso/diversa funzione Alcuni sono abitazioni private, altri uffici pubblici, alcuni sono diventati musei Memoria e amarezza Tenere viva la memoria e arricchire la conoscenza

42 46-60 Maschile Laurea Il regime totalitario Il quartiere razionalista Forlì Riuso/diversa funzione Riqualificazione Studio dell' architettura razionalista Un bene pubblico della memoria

43 61-75 Femminile Laurea totalitarismo, repressione,conservatorismo Forlì: ex-gil; collegio aeronautico; monumento piazzale Vittoria Riuso/diversa funzione conservarli mantenenedone la meoria di cosa sono stati Inquietudine, soprattutto per ciò che attiene agli edifici il cui uso era rivolto ai giovani , per gli aspetti manipolatori sottesi alla loro funzione Un bene che ha una rilevanza dal punto di vista artistico, storico e della memoria

44 46-60 Maschile Laurea Socialismo deviato autoritario Palazzo delle Poste, Ex Gil, Collegio Aeronautico, Tribunale della città di Forlì Riuso/stessa funzione Riuso e recupero funzionale anche con diversa destinazione Solidità, funzionalità e imponenza Un bene dall'intrinseco valore storico e dall'oggettivo valore culturale ed artistico

45 46-60 Maschile Master propaganda, totalitarismo, processo Venezia: stazione, ospedale al mare, teatro alla fenice, ponte della liberta, Porto Marghera, ... Riuso/stessa funzione A Venezia, non si parlà di architettura fascita. Questa città è olo serenissima. Peccato. Belli, grande opere senza narrativo, senza valore sociale. Un creazione sociale, un simbolo politico.

46 46-60 Femminile Laurea dittatura razzismo guerra Forlì Stazione, Viale della stazione, Ex-Gil, Tribunale, Plesso scolastico Piazzale della Vittoria, Giardini pubblici Riuso/stessa funzione Continuare a usarli per fini pubblici, ricordando le origini per riqualificarli e "trasformarli" in positivo Fanno parte della storia della città e della mia storia, avendoli frequentato a lungo Non va cancellato il passato, ma va studiato per non

commettere gli stessi errori Un bene che rappresenta un "pezzo" della nostra storia, che ci può spiegare da dove veniamo e cosa siamo oggi

47 31-45 Femminile Laurea Dittatura propaganda violenza Scuole ospedali Forlì Riuso/diversa funzione Recupero per uno studio sui totalismi, anche a partire dal contributo dell'architettura Stimolano il pensiero rispetto all'epoca fascista Un bene comune, un valore per la collettività

48 46-60 Maschile Laurea Totalitario, irrisolto, subdolo Trattandosi di Predappio praticamente tutto il paese Altro alcuni in riuso altra stessa funzione, altri in abbandono Luoghi della memoria essendo nato e cresciuto a Predappio sono luoghi familiari uno patrimonio a disposizione e per l'educazione dei cittadini

49 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura di destra Forlì palazzo ex Gil in viale della stazione Palazzo delle poste in piazza saffi Casa del mutilato Asilo Santarelli Foro boario Altro palazzo delle poste stessa funzione Santarelli da restaurare gli altri diverse funzioni Luoghi di cultura fruibili alla cittadinanza Da ragazzina Ho sempre avuto distacco e rifiuto di tutto quello che riguardava il fascismo quasi non si pronunciava la parola ...poi ho compreso meglio l'architettura e che fanno parte della nostra storia, arricchiscono il nostro patrimonio e in tale modo vanno trattati La testimonianza della civiltà e come tale va preservato e tramandato

50 31-45 Maschile Laurea Sopruso fatto potere Forlì. Piazzale della Vittoria. EX GIL Palazzo delle Poste Viale della Libertà Riuso/stessa funzione Che si prosegua con recupero e rifunzionalizzazione Sono le mie radici, hanno lo stesso valore degli altri edifici della mia città. Non li collego all'abominio del fascismo. Ci sono andato a scuola, passato in bicicletta, fatto la fila alle poste. La mia storia di essere umano sulla terra. Il segno di chi mi ha preceduto.

51 31-45 Femminile Dottorato Dittatoriale; Antidemocratico; di destra. Milano: il Tribunale, il Palazzo dell'Arengario, e anche una serie di edifici minori di cui non ci si rende nemmeno conto, ne ho presente uno senza arte ne parte in Bovisa. Altro Ci sono edifici che svolgono la stessa funzione (es: il Tribunale ma anche molte abitazioni) e altri che hanno diversa funzione (come ad esempio l'Arengario) Lo stato attuale delle cose mi va bene. Non sento il bisogno di cambiare loro funzione, al massimo di cambiare loro di significato. Sensazione di ambiguità: alcuni edifici del fascismo sono dal punto di vista architettonico molto belli. Eppure rimandano a una storia

terribile, che riemerge in me ogni volta che li guardo. Rifiuto la parola bene culturale. Preferisco quella di patrimonio. Che è di tutti. E non solo degli storici o degli archeologi. E' di chiunque vi attribuisca un significato. Ma gestire questa pluralità è difficile. Per quello sarebbe necessario ripensare tutto il tema in chiave interdisciplinare.

52 61-75 Maschile Laurea Un'epoca storica Scuole, Ospedali, Tribunale, Edilizia popolare, Palestre, Palazzi Statali, etc. La mia città è Forlì Riuso/stessa funzione

Credo che per un po' continueranno a svolgere la loro funzione Le sensazioni di un luogo sono legate alle esperienze di vita accadute in questo luogo. Beh dalla lontana età scolastica, all'età lavorativa sono stato accolto in strutture costruite durante il periodo fascista. Del polo scolastico ricordo le sensazioni che può aver avuto qualsiasi studente, buone e meno buone, ma legate, più che all'architettura del luogo, alla sua vita personale. Però ricordo che in IV ITI ci fu dato un tema sui monumenti della nostra città. Io scrissi sul polo scolastico cittadino elogiandolo. Non vinsi il premio. Poi, dopo la Laurea ho lavorato per 42 anni nel LPIP di Forlì, un'istituzione fascista che si occupava di prevenzione medico-ambientale. Sto cercando di salvare la preziosa biblioteca di questo Istituto, anzi se qualcuno potesse aiutarmi ... Qualcosa che, in un modo o nell'altro, deve essere preservato perché è testimonianza indelebile del tempo

53 46-60 Femminile Laurea potere contro libertà Il faro della Rocca delle Camminate (Predappio) Riuso/diversa funzione Laboratori tematici di aggregazione giovanile Ne apprezzo gli aspetti architettonici e il loro valore estetico.

Una risorsa per il nostro paese da tutelare e divulgare ad ampio raggio anche all'estero.

54 46-60 Femminile Master dittatura violenza guerra Forlì Ex GIL Viale della Libertà Colonna votiva piazzale della Vittoria Ex Collegio aeronautico piazzale della Vittoria Palazzo delle Poste piazza Saffi Riuso/diversa funzione

imponenza angoscia Un bene che testimonia un'altra epoca, ne costituisce memoria tangibile e intangibile

55 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Osceni, terribile, ingiusto Forli il tribunale Riuso/diversa funzione Musei Imponenti Memoria bellezza

56 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Un epoca tragica Forlì Piazzale della Vittoria e Viale della Libertà Riuso/diversa funzione Valorizzazione

Di un epoca in cui il rigore imperava. Gli edifici ne sono una dimostrazione. La

nostra storia, una testimonianza del tempo che passando ci ha portati ad essere quello che siamo oggi.

57 46-60 Maschile Laurea Violenza, dittatura, populismo Forli: palazzo delle poste, viale della stazione Riuso/diversa funzione Non ho desideri. Va bene quello che c'è Fanno parte integrante del contesto da sempre, per me. Massicci... sebza grazia. Ho rivalutato in generale la loro presenza sentendone parlare come di esempi di architettura razionalista Eredità, testimonianza, occasione

58 46-60 Maschile Dottorato Deviazione di massa Forlì: complesso scolastico ex aeronautica / ex casa gilRiuso/diversa funzione Spazi universitari Buona architettura Patrimonio tangible o intangible

59 46-60 Femminile Laurea violenta brutta dittatura Forlì Palazzo Paulucci Calboli di via Maroncelli Palazzo delle poste Ex Gil Complesso scuole/università piazzale della Vittoria Riuso/diversa funzione Palazzo delle Poste un centro polivalente culturale L'architettura di questo periodo la trovo interessante e bella. La mia sensazione è di luoghi sicuri e sontuosi e la loro simmetria rende lo spazio armonioso. Peccato vedere, in alcuni, i simboli del fascismo come aquile e fasci che invece sottolineano un periodo buio, repressivo e di morte La cultura della città, del paese, indispensabile per la propria identità e la propria storia quella fatta dagli uomini che l'hanno forgiata, creata e vissuta

60 61-75 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Primo totalitarismo moderno Forlì, ex Gil, casa del Mutilato, Palazzo delle Poste, vecchio istituto aeronautico Riuso/diversa funzione Riusati Eredità scomoda Un bene da conservare per motivi artistici o storici

61 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Mai più fascismo Forlì ex gil viale della libertà scuola palmezzano piazzale della vittoria Riuso/diversa funzione Musei antifascisti Disagio psicologico ma fascino architettonico Qualcosa da tutelare

62 46-60 Femminile Dottorato Violenza, orrore, dittatura Bologna: liceo Righi; Stadio; palazzo Casa editrice Zanichelli Riuso/stessa funzione Non li trovo particolarmente problematici dato che non sono legati a luoghi particolarmente negativi. Credo che in alcuni casi sia importante mantenerli ma renderli visibilmente problematici: per es., nel caso ci siano scritte o motti fascisti Questi non li trovo

particolarmente problematici, come, ad esempio, edifici simili a Forlí o a Predappio. Nel caso gli edifici siano associati a eventi violenti è importante che ciò venga segnalato Sono testimonianze che possono essere materiali o immateriali della cultura di un luogo, un popolo, un gruppo. Hanno valore storico e culturale.

63 61-75 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Morte Sopraffazione Tirannia Forlì: palazzo delle poste, uffici statali, ex Gil Riuso/diversa funzione Gli edifici sono già utilizzati a scopo pubblico Gli edifici non mi suscitano nessuna sensazione, certo sono stati costruiti dal duce per magnificare la sua città, per noi che siamo nati dopo ci sono sempre stati, fanno parte del patrimonio architettonico della città. Mi suscitano invece indignazione i lampioni di piazza saffi dove furono appesi i partigiani nell'agosto del 1944 e la rocca delle caminate dove furono torturati e ammazzati altri partigiani. Luoghi che devono rimanere a testimonianza di cosa è stato il fascismo. Un bene che va tutelato, valorizzato e che deve essere fruibile per tutti

64 46-60 Femminile Laurea Una tragedia storica Imola. La casa del fascio, oggi centro cittadino, sorta al posto del vecchi mercato coperto nel cuore della citta'. Riuso/diversa funzione Un luogo di incontro e di socializzazione nella galleria che da' su p.zza Gramsci e la via Emilia Curiosita' per lo stile architettonico e la concezione culturale degli spazi ma anche un senso di autoritarismo sovrastante, speculare al potere che erano destinati a contenere e a comunicare. Una testimonianza della storia collettiva. Un patrimonio che ci restituisce le ragioni per cui siamo.

65 46-60 Femminile Laurea Dittatura prevaricazione razzismo Forlì statua Icaro collegio aeronautico Riuso/stessa funzione Valorizzare l'aspetto architettonico Un segno importante del passato da non dimenticare a monito per il futuro Un bene comune significativo del passato

66 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Vergognoso, antistorico, barbaro Forlì: collegio aeronautico, palazzo delle poste, stazione ferroviariaRiuso/stessa funzione Interesse

67 31-45 Femminile Master Dittatura, totalitarismo, eredità Forlì Ospedale (in cui lavoro) Scuole elementari viale della libertà Scuole superiori I.T.I.S. Liceo classico Istituto statali Alcune case di privati (villini) Poste centrali Stazione ferroviaria Giardini pubblici Museo dello sport (ex cinema oden) Monumento piazzale della Vittoria Riuso/diversa funzione Recupero ed uso pubblico Eredità di un

tempo in cui i miei concittadini dovevano affrontare una vita dura. Consapevolezza della fortuna di vivere in tempo di democrazia Il massimo della ricchezza personale, perché condivisa

68 31-45 Femminile Dottorato Autoritario, violento, oppressivo Roma, EUR, Foro Mussolini Riuso/diversa funzione Eventi culturali e sportivi Grandiosità architettonica, integrazione con l'ambiente, Un bene da conservare e valorizzare per far conoscere il passato alle nuove generazioni

69 31-45 Femminile Laurea Regime totalitario autoritario Forlì diversi edifici di architettura razionalista Riuso/diversa funzione Quello che gia si sta facendo un recupero con uso diverso rispetto a quello originario Memoria storica Un valore da tramandare in questo caso come esempio

70 46-60 Maschile Dottorato Violenza, sopruso, arroganza Ex-Gil Palazzo Studi Ospedale Forlì Riuso/diversa funzione che si rendesse evidente il loro legame con la storia, con le sue origini Interesse eprchè sono finestre su un passato, sulla storia dell'Europa. E fascino a livello architettonico Un elemento attorno al quale discutere

71 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria crimine contro l'umanità Forlì , l'area di viale della Libertà (istituto tecnico, ex istituto aeronautico, scuole, stazione, monumento ai caduti) Riuso/diversa funzione riutilizzo, usandoli come meccanismi per raccontare i crimini del fascismo separo l'architettura dal committente. Del resto, ritenendo gravissimo il ruolo della Chiesa o dell'islam per l'arretratezza culturale mondiale, trovo meravigliosi San Pietro o la Moschea Blu, e applico lo stesso ragionamento alle architetture fasciste o naziste. Qualsiasi cosa , materiale e non, che abbia rilevante valore storico o artistico,

72 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura Politica Violenza Ne elenco solo tre: Ex Gil, Casa del Mutilato, Collegio Aeronautico. La città e' Forlì. Altro In parte riuso, in parte abbandono Contenitori per mostre e musei, già succede ma in maniera discontinua. Uffici. Tristezza. Non perché fascisti, ma perché spesso solitari e poco sfruttati, come succede per l'edificio Ex Gil in viale Della Liberta', da poco restaurato. Il nostro patrimonio sotto tanti aspetti, come li elenca il vocabolario...

73 31-45 Femminile Dottorato Dittatura, totalitarismo, destraBolzano Monumento alla Vittoria Corpo d'armata Case incis Riuso/stessa funzione Quello che ne è stato fatto Modernità, grandi Spazi, ordine Un bene comune

74 46-60 Femminile Laurea Privazione di libertà Forlì viale della stazione casa del balilla collegio aeronautico Riuso/diversa funzione Luoghi di visita spazi per mostre e studio Approccio di conoscenza e analisi di un periodo storico Un valore un patrimonio di tutti da conservare proteggere e valorizzare

75 61-75 Maschile Laurea Dittatura Violenza Consenso Forlì - Palazzo GIL - Collegio Aeronautico - Padiglioni Ospedale Pierantoni - Palazzo delle Poste - Palazzo Uffici Statali - Piazzale della Vittoria - Stazione Ferroviaria e palazzi del viale della Stazione Riuso/stessa funzione Utilizzo Il fascismo ha dato una forte impronta alla città di Forlì. In una fase di espansione urbana furono investite ingenti risorse Qualcosa che ha un valore simbolico e richiama un pezzo della storia della città

76 31-45 Femminile Master Illiberale antidemocratico dittatura Forlì: ex collegio aeronautico, ex Gil, edificio postale, edificio del tribunale Riuso/diversa funzione Spazi pubblici multimediali multiculturali, gallerie d’arte, librerie, caffetterie Ambivalenza, curiosità Luogo, spazio con valore culturale (storico architettonico artistico) identitaria rispetto alla comunità di appartenenza

77 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Populista, estremista, razzista La mia città, Forlì, contiene numerose opere razionaliste. Le mie preferite, ex Gil, asilo Santarelli, stazione ferroviaria, piazzale della vittoria, palazzine gemelle di corso della repubblica.... Riuso/diversa funzione Quelli che ho menzionato mantengono una funzione sociale, a breve anche l’asilib Santarelli verrà restituito alla città Sono splendidiUn bene condiviso

78 46-60 Femminile Dottorato Totalitarismo, Nazionalismo, leggi razziali Massa Lombarda: Gil Riuso/diversa funzione Quello che è stato fatto era secondo me giusto Per me l'ex Gil è stato il luogo dove ho frequentato le scuole medie. Poi quando è cambiata la funzione ricordo che lo abbiamo usato come sede per l'associazione per la pace di cui facevo parte. Mi stupiva l'architettura, diversa da quella degli altri luoghi. Non ricordo particolari sensazioni un' opportunità per riflettere sulla memoria dei luoghi e un' opportunità per costruire relazioni all' interno di una comunità.

79 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria dittatoriale, illiberale, tragico Forlì Ex GIL, ex Collegio Aeronautico, Istituto Tecnico Industriale Altro In un caso: riuso e funzione non ancora definita, in due riuso e stessa funzione Ex Gil: un luogo in cui ricevere informazioni sia turistiche che culturali (storiche, sociali, ecc..) sulla città e l'architettura durante il fascismo Alcuni mi piacciono, altri no. In passato mi suscitavano vergogna e disprezzo, oggi mi interessa il processo di patrimonializzazione che li concerne una fonte per processi identitari

80 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura Mancanza di libertaEx Gil Viale della libertà Stazione ferroviaria Forli Riuso/diversa funzione

Sono in funzione Voglia di conoscere meglio il Passato Un bene comune che riesce ad unire le persone e le comunità

81 46-60 Femminile Laurea negazione della libertà forlì, ex gil, istituto tecnico industriale, statua icaro, istituti scolastici viale della stazione, casa del mutilato, ospedeale pierantoni, piazzale dela vittoria Riuso/diversa funzione che venissero utilizzati ammirazione un patrimonio per la comunità

82 46-60 Maschile Master una sciagurata esperienza storica Roma: Foro Italico, Farnesina, EUR, Poste Ostiense...troppi ce ne sono! Riuso/diversa funzione

Preservati, restaurati, non stravolti fascino, memoria, ammirazione Una eredità materiale della nostra storia

83 46-60 Maschile Laurea Codifica di regole Como Casa del Fascio Sede Unione fascista dei lavoratori dell industria Isola del Razionalismo Casa Cattaneo Casa Pedraglio Asilo Sant Elia Novicomum Casa Giuliani Frigerio Stadio di Como Piscine di Como Casa Cattaneo Alchieri Riuso/diversa funzione Centro culturale Archivio del Razionalismo Chiavi di lettura dalla conoscenza all'analisi in cui si individuano le caratteristiche salienti degli edifici. Dalla chiarezza compositiva alla individuazione dei requisiti di geometria plastica di solidità ed onesta' costruttiva. Il valore istituzionale e civico deve essere preminente all interesse privato. Un bene sotto tutela deve garantire chiavi di lettura corrispondenti ad un diario storico delle stratigrafie susseguite nel tempo. È garantire la MEMORIA

84 61-75 Maschile Laurea E' una dittatura fondata su uno stato totalitario che inibisce con la forza i valori di libertà, uguaglianza e democrazia. Città di Forlì: 1) tribunale; 2) Ex GIL; 3) ITIS; 4) Ex Collegio aeronautico; 5) Casa del Mutilato.

Riuso/stessa funzione La migliore conservazione con l'inserimento di strutture informative dedicate alla loro storia. Rappresentano un forte sintesi fra le funzioni di propaganda del regime e la sua presunta vocazione sociale ed istituzionale. Sono quei beni, che compongono il patrimonio culturale di una nazione, di carattere storico, artistico, archeologico, architettonico, etno-antropologico, archivistico, librario, e altri che costituiscono testimonianza materiale o immateriale dell'opera connessa all'arte ed alla creatività umana.

85 18-30 Femminile Laurea Credere. Obbedire. Combattere. Esempio da seguire. Ordine. Magnificenza. Cosenza: case del periodo fascista. Palazzi dell'epoca. L'acquedotto Riuso/diversa funzione Opere museali Emozione. Orgoglio. Un bene culturale è ciò che insegna e tramanda. Per me sono importantissimi.

86 18-30 Maschile Laurea Dittatura Non-libertà Monocolore Bergamo: Piazza liberta Centro Piacentiniano Liceo Lussana Riuso/diversa funzione Nel caso dell'edificio in piazza Libertà, bisognerebbe farne un centro sociale dove i cittadini possano riunirsi in momenti culturali: tanto per sottolineare la differenza con il periodo che ha progettato e realizzato l'edificio. Il centro piacentiniano è il centro della città bassa ed è utilizzato dalla cittadinanza. Il liceo Lussana è una scuola, fino a 15 anni fa aveva la fama di liceo di sinistra. 😁 Fascino Una traccia della storia

87 46-60 Maschile Master Dittatura, Ventennio, Guerra Milano Università Bocconi Ospedale Niguarda Riuso/stessa funzione Continuassero ad essere usati nella loro funzione originale Storia, bellezza architettonica Un bene da preservare per tutta la comunità

88 31-45 Femminile Laurea Una dittatura Casa del fascio, ComoRiuso/diversa funzione Un museo Senso di equilibrio, bellezza e curiosità (non sono mai riuscita ad entrarci) Un patrimonio condiviso dalla comunità

89 46-60 Maschile Laurea Il ventennio Forlì il quartiere razionalista Riuso/stessa funzione Riuso e riqualificazione Qualità urbanistica e architettonica Un bene della memoria e della collettività

90 46-60 Maschile Dottorato regime, totalitario, autoritario non esiste “un” edificio simbolo del fascismo, nè a milano nè a roma. la domanda è mal posta. esistono dei caratteri in interventi architettonici e urbanistici che rimandano a politiche edilizie e costruttive attuate dal fascismo. palazzo venezia, simbolo del fascismo a roma è un edificio

quattrocentesco... dunque? Altro che venissero conservati se di valore storico e artistico vedi sopra coscienza della storia, anche nei suoi esiti drammatici un bene da conservare

91 18-30 Maschile Master buio, nazionalista, violento Casa del Fascio, Piscina Sinigaglia, Canottieri Lario, Monumento ai caduti. Riuso/diversa funzione

Sarebbe interessante poter aprire dei musei/gallerie coordinando i vari edifici sotto un unico ente (evitando lo "spezzatino all'italiana" con moltiplicazione di costi e mancate sinergie). Il fascismo è certo stato un periodo buio della nostra storia ma l'arte merita di essere salvata. Solennità, storia. Il luogo di incontro tra presente, passato e futuro.

92 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Regole, Progresso, Italia Liceo scientifico Ulivi (Parma) Riuso/diversa funzione Non sono mai entrato nella struttura, ma da fuori da un senso di ordinatezza e semplicità Per me rappresenta una parte fondamentale della nostra storia che va assolutamente salvaguardato

93 46-60 Femminile Laurea una fase storica Verona, carcere agli Scalzi , varie costruzioni a borgo Trento (quartiere residenziale) .....! Molto vicino a Salo' !!! Riuso/diversa funzione Restauro e difesa della memoria storica ! IDENTITA' CIVILTA',RADICI E IDENTITA' .

94 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Stile di Vita Un esempio è sicuramente l'imponente Stazione Centrale (Milano) Riuso/diversa funzione Ha mantenuto l'uso originale Ammirazione e consapevolezza che in Italia è esistito il tempo del "fare". Una memoria storica e un patrimonio della propria Patria

95 61-75 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Patria Famiglia Lavoro Ex Casa del Littorio Piazza Mercatale - Prato-Monumento ai caduti Riuso/diversa funzione

Va bene così Rispetto La storia del nostro Paese

96 18-30 Maschile Laurea storia sentimento raziocinio - ex casa del fascio - stadio Sinigaglia - palestra Negretti - Novocomum - monumento ai caduti - sede della CRI - mercato coperto (Como) Altro Alcuni da sempre aventi stessa funzione, altri con funzione variata nel tempo. Interventi conservativi che non ne stravolgessero i canoni originari. Circa la funzione è discutibile quella dell'ex casa del fascio, oggi sede della GDF e dunque chiusa se non per sporadiche iniziative, questo determina indifferenza da parte dei cittadini per quello che rimane un fondamento della moderna architettura. Pur sempre variando da edificio ad edificio, in generale: imponenza, armonia, funzionalità. Segno che

l'uomo ha lasciato nel corso dei secoli e che risulta oggi degno di nota a qualsiasi livello di studio.

97 31-45 Maschile Laurea Onore, patria, ardito Como, casa del fascio, asilo Sant'Elia monumento caduti zona stadi Riuso/diversa funzione Musei Magnificenza, nostalgia, potere, nazione Patrimonio da proteggere

98 18-30 Femminile Laurea Dittatura povertà guerra Ex casa del Fascio - Como Stadio Sinigaglia - Como Riuso/diversa funzione Al palazzo Terragni un museo sul razionalismo Mi stordiscono perché creati in un epoca così controversa eppure riescono ad affascinare ancora oggi Qualsiasi cosa vada protetto e valorizzato. Non importa se edificio, luogo espanso o piccola cappella

99 31-45 Maschile Laurea Identità tradizione avanguardia Facoltà di ingegneria, liceo scientifico Galvani, il palazzo Faccetta Nera situato in via delle Lame (all'epoca Via Roma) Riuso/stessa funzione Conservarli Senso di rigore, funzionalità. Storia e tradizione, identità

100 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Ordine, giustizia sociale, sport Questura, universita, casa lavoratore portuale, stazione marittima, bagni marini, stazione dei treni, scuole pubbliche, faro della vittoria ecc. ecc. Trieste Riuso/diversa funzione Va bene così Ammirazione Un bene di tutti da conservare al meglio

101 61-75 Maschile Laurea Una Dittatura Sanguinaria Milano Riuso/stessa funzione restino come sono Li vedo ben costruiti, talvolta sono un po' magniloquenti, ma la città e l'uso quotidiano li ha assorbiti, ridimensionati, ricollocati, riconsegnati. Non mi piace la denominazione di bene. Ha un sapore commerciale, tipo bene immobiliare, come insegnava G. De Carlo. Preferisco il nome di Eredità Culturale, dunque qualcosa che ho/abbiamo ricevuto in uso. Non so se la Cultura che l'ha generato ha ancora a che fare con me, non so in quale misura abbia a che fare veramente profondamente autenticamente con me. Non sento il bisogno o il desiderio di "confrontarmi" con essa in modo esplicito. Sono consapevole che fa parte di me e io di lei. Perciò penso che inevitabilmente in un qualunque modo io uso un Bene Culturale

102 46-60 Maschile Laurea Regime Dittatoriale Antidemocratico Milano: Stazione Centrale, Palazzo della Giustizia Riuso/stessa funzione Utilizzate con le stesse funzioni. In caso di dismissione del Palazzo di Giistizia potrebbe essere un museo di arte

moderna accorpando quelli esistenti nella città (museo del 900, Pac, ecc) Imponenza e presenza Il valore storico, culturale ed estetico di un edificio o di un insieme di edifici

103 46-60 Maschile Laurea Una cosa fantastica Roma: talmente tanti che sono difficili da elencare Riuso/diversa funzione Nostalgia L'orgoglio di far parte di un paese

104 46-60 Maschile Master Retto, giusto, adeguato Il palazzo del governo sul lungomare (Taranto) Riuso/stessa funzione Giustizia, decoro, ordine Un modello spirituale

105 31-45 Femminile Laurea Dittatura bavaglio fermezza Roma. Se intendi architettura di età fascista: le poste di piazza bologna, la Garbatella, via deibfpri imperiali. Se intendi invece architettura che ricorda il fascismo in quanto politica: foro italico, palazzo venezia, via del mare Riuso/diversa funzione Utilizzati Rappresentano parte della nostra storia. Qualcosa da preservare e custodire

106 18-30 Maschile Laurea Regime violento totalitario Torino: via Roma Nuova, alcune sedi rionali fasciste, il grattacielo di piazza Castello, sedi di enti varii Riuso/diversa funzione Le sedi rionali in disuso potrebbero essere usate come centri per il quartiere Monumentalità Un documento fisico testimone di cultura e pratiche di un periodo

107 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Ordine, disciplina, onore Como, casa del fascio Riuso/diversa funzione Un museo del razioinalismo Ordine e semplicità nell'architettura sono per me essenziali (sono un perito edile) quindi un senso di appartenenza... La nostra storia.

108 46-60 Maschile Laurea Dittatura abuso potere Casa del fascio Como Riuso/diversa funzione Museo del Razionalismo Italiano La storia è costruito da strati di male, molto male, ma ci possono essere cose buone e il fascismo ha permesso lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna un'opera che rappresenta uno sviluppo intellettuale dell'essere umano

109 18-30 Maschile Laurea oppressivo, populista, artistico Padova Gruppo Rionale Bonservizi Edifici Fiera Campionaria Riuso/stessa funzione vanno bene così monumentalitàuna parte della mia identità

110 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Dovere Onore Patria Palazzo prefettura , Taranto Riuso/stessa funzione Van bene Sorveglianza Ricordo

111 46-60 Maschile Laurea Illuminato sistema ideale Alcuni palazzi piazze fogne (padova) Riuso/diversa funzione Gia' in uso e in buono stato poiche' costruiti come tutto all' epoca a regola d' arte ... Vanno valorizzati e l' architettura che e' rispettosa della tipicita' della cultura italo romana presa ad esempio per le nuove costruzioni Ordine pulizia linearita' rispettosa degli spazi e volumi. Liberta' Tutto cio' che e' stato costruito a regola d' arte seguendo norme architettoniche e ingegneristiche che si richiamano al passato storico

112 31-45 Maschile Master nazionalismo, unità, onore Piazza della Vittoria e l'Arco (Genova) Riuso/stessa funzione che restassero immutati e in ottimo stato grandeur ricordo di un momento di gloria storica

113 46-60 Maschile Laurea Un periodo storico Edifici pubblici (Alessandria) Riuso/stessa funzione ConservazioneSi tratta di spazi ed edifici che accolgono e servono la comunità seguendo canoni estetici riconoscibili e precisi Nello specifico un edificio o spazio che contiene ed esprime un elevato valore architettonico.

114 31-45 Maschile Laurea Centralizzazione, divise, guerra Casa del fascio, monumento ai caduti, sede inps, sede asl, asilo sant'elia, stadio, dogana e altre decine. Como Riuso/stessa funzione Sono quasi tutti rimasti nell'uso per cui furono costruiti Monumentalita, funzionalita, linee ben definite e riconoscibili a prima vista Un simbolo del passato da conservare e valorizzare

115 31-45 Maschile Laurea Un regime non totalitario Palazzo della Provincia, Palazzo delle Poste, Palazzo INPS, Fontana di Piazza Tacito, Centrale Idroelettrica di Galleto. Riuso/stessa funzione Percorso museale Grandiosità e decadenza allo stesso tempo. Una icona del passato

116 61-75 Maschile Laurea Rivoluzione Nazionale incompiuta Roma Dall'Eur ai Fori Imperiali, dal Foro Mussolini alle decine di scuole, edifici pubblici e variazioni urbanistiche Riuso/diversa funzione Sono riutilizzati ma in molti casi andrebbero restaurati perché c'è un grave degrado di molte strutture Ammirazione e orgoglio Una ricchezza collettiva e un elemento identitaria di quel determinato popolo

117 46-60 Maschile Laurea Epoca grandissime riforme Littoria, Torviscosa, Roma Riuso/diversa funzione ne venisse ripristinata la destinazione Cultura e attenzione al sociale Qualcosa al servizio della comunità e per la comunità

118 18-30 Maschile Dottorato Prassi e pensiero Milano. Palazzo di Giustizia, Arengario, Palazzo Mezzanotte Riuso/stessa funzione Una maggiore promozione culturale Serenità metafisica Una parte imprescindibile della nostra cultura

119 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Periodo storico importante Mogliano Mc è un piccolo paese. Non ci sono edifici rilevanti. Alcune scritte sui muri tipiche del periodo fascista Riuso/stessa funzione Sono ancora in uso come abitazioni Forza, compattezza Un evento di rilevanza storica che appartiene a tutti

120 61-75 Maschile Scuola Secondaria identità ,riscatto,unione Irsina(MT) scuole , strade, Riuso/stessa funzione rivalutarne l'architettura ordine armonico espressione identitaria di un popolo, massima espressione che identifica una cultura, come arte materiale ed immateriale insieme al territorio ed al suo paesaggio

121 46-60 Maschile Master Un periodo storico frutto del suo tempo La mia Scuola: il Collegio Navale F. Morosini. Il ponte della libertà. Parlo di Venezia Riuso/stessa funzione Mantenerli come meritano Rappresentano lungimiranza, solidità strutturale, importanza dei valori Una memoria che va preservata e trasmessa ai posteri

122 46-60 Maschile Laurea Rivoluzione, luce, speranza Ascoli Piceno, Palazzo ex GIL Riuso/diversa funzione L'attuale destinazione va bene Gioia Testimonianza, ricordo

123 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Italico, unico, magnifico Ponte promisquo e stazione ferroviaria di Cuneo. Riuso/stessa funzione Praticità, bellezza architettonica e grandezza

124 46-60 Maschile Master Ordine, giustizia, prosperità. Foro Olimpico, la Casa del mutilato, Ministero Aeronautica, La Sapienza, Via della Conciliazione, Le Poste (Roma)... la città' e' piena di esempi. Riuso/diversa funzione Venissero mantenuti in buono stato e se ne riconoscesse la matrice; molti la ignorano. Futuro, crescita, ordine, programmazione. La vera ricchezza. Ispirazione e guida.

125 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria ordine disciplina progresso ANCONA. Monumento ai Caduti con scalinata monumentale verso il mare. Il palazzo del Comune e delle Poste Riuso/stessa funzione Rimangono tali. La bellezza senza tempo e la solidità. Una ricchezza e la sua storia per chi lo possiede.

126 31-45 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Credere, Obbedire, Combattere Roma: Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana, Stadio dei Marmi, Foro Italico Riuso/stessa funzione Che fossero maggiormente tutelari come beni storici/artistici Identità, appartenenza, orgoglio Un bene che appartiene al Popolo perché ne racconta la storia e la cultura e la tramanda nel tempo. Per questo lo Stato dovrebbe tutelare i beni culturali

127 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Regime totalitario , dittatura, Perugia, vecchio edificio questura , vecchio edificio inail, è edifici circostanti Riuso/diversa funzione Uffici pubblici Organizzazione statale , stile architettonico ben definito. È la nostra storia, nel bene e nel male. Quindi va preservato alle future genrrazioni

128 31-45 Maschile Master Gloria d'Italia Milano: tribunale e stazione centrale Riuso/stessa funzione Tenerli come sono Grandiosità ordine Tesoro da curare e tramandare

129 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Hic manebimus optime Roma, troppi da elencare Riuso/stessa funzione Studiati nelle scuole e ben manutenzionati Invidia per non averli visti nella loro grandezza in un'Italia meno antropizzata "IL bello educa" ergo....

130 61-75 Maschile Socialismo Nazionale Augusta (SR) - Palazzo delle Poste. Scuola Cappuccini. Idroscalo. Altro I primi due sono in riuso stessa funzione. il terzo e cioè L'Idroscalo è in stato di abbandono. Per l'idroscalo, che comprende anche un Hangar per Dirigibili, vorrei che fosse fruibile ai cittadini come parco e bene culturale. Grande ammirazione per la cura dell'aspetto estetico in una alla funzionalità. Un manufatto che diviene bene comune, luogo di svago , di cultura e di bellezza.

131 46-60 Maschile Laurea Oltre il Fascismo, il nulla! Roma , il Foro Mussolini Altro E' molto che manco da Roma Restituirli alla dignità della Nazione L'attenzione del Fascismo al sociale ed allo sviluppo delle energie della gioventù L'anima di una civiltà , lo spirito di un popolo.

132 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Grandioso.innovatore razionale Stazione ferroviaria arezzo Edificio inps inail arezzo Caserma carabinieri borgo panigale Riuso/diversa funzione Usarli e conservarli bene Ordine e funzionalita Un valore

133 over 76 Maschile Laurea Patria, opere, errori! Roma EUR Riuso/diversa funzione Non lo so Maestosità Un sito o un opera di grande rilevanza e bellezza artistica

134 31-45 Maschile Laurea Regole ordine stato efficiente Roma: Vittoriano, Via Fori Imperiali, Via Conciliazione, palazzo Fao, complesso dell'Eur, etc Riuso/diversa funzione Uffici pubblici Potenza, maestà in alcuni casi troppo razionalisti Un bene che ha un valore oggettivo che rappresenta un periodo storico, una città, etc

135 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Monumentale, imponente, magnifico Milano Stazione Centrale Tribunale Casa del Fascio Palazzo della Borsa Riuso/stessa funzione Venissero conservati e valorizzati Grandezza e magnificenza Bene che deve essere tutelato e valorizzato

136 46-60 Maschile Laurea Patria Onore Famiglia Lungomare, policlinico, stadio della vittoria, Liceo classici flacco, casa dello studente, prefettura... Riuso/stessa funzione Sono mi monumenti che ben assolvono alla loro funzione Ordine sicurezza maestosità Bene delle collettività con ampie vedute adivi con il passato

137 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Stato Efficenza Grandezza Pisa. Le colonie sul lungo mare Riuso/diversa funzione Le stanno ristrutturando per farci hotel o stabilimenti balneari Mi suscitano una sensazione di grandezza efficenza e vecchia gloria Una cosa da tutelare

138 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria La terza Via Il Municipio, Scuola elementare De Amicis, stazione ferroviaria. Battipaglia (Sa) Riuso/stessa funzione Attuale funzione Trasparenza Memoria storica, identità di una.NAzione

139 46-60 Maschile Laurea Ventennio storia italiana Poste centrali, palazzo provincia/prefettura Riuso/stessa funzione Conservare e valorizzare visto il pregio architettonico/culturale Orgoglio e senso di appartenenza a un bene comune Una fondamentale risorsa per lo sviluppo della società

140 18-30 Maschile Laurea Erroneamente interpretato sia durante la formazione che dopo la caduta. Frettolosamente bollato come male assoluto per poi essere recuperato con insensata nostalgia. (impossibile sintetizzare in 3 parole un fenomeno così complesso) Caserta, Ex Casa del fascio (piazza del mercato) Caserta, Edificio del Genio Civile (via Cesare Battisti) Riuso/diversa funzione L'ex casa del fascio ora appartiene ad un privato che, a seguito di un buon restauro, ne ha realizzato la propria sede societaria. L'edificio del Genio Civile mantiene la sua funzione di sede amministrativa Silenziosa compostezza formale. In certi casi assoluta originalità nelle scelte stilistiche, in altri mediocre esaltazione di vuote ideologie La testimonianza, qualunque essa sia, della memoria identitaria di un luogo o di un popolo, assolutamente necessaria da preservare, tutelare e promuovere.

141 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Patria Sociale Orgoglio Roma: EUR - Foro Italico - Città Universitaria Riuso/stessa funzione Valorizzazione senza stravolgimenti Orgoglio di appartenere ad un popolo che, se ben guidato, riesce a stupire il mondo. Una parte fondamentale della vita sociale di ognuno.

142 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Sviluppo, Futuro e Sovranità Reggio Calabria Casa del Fascio Mutilati di Guerra E tanti altri edifici.. Riuso/diversa funzione Vorrei si valorizzassero realmente. Il fascismo non è stato il bene assoluto, ma la storia deve essere rivista da tutti i lati. Ciò che ha fatto il Fascismo in quanto sviluppo e urbanistica in Italia, molti oggi non saprebbero neanche da dove iniziare... Per non parlare che forse è stato l'ultimo "governo" che ha davvero fatto nascere delle città e che ha fatto rinascere zone completamente abbandonate . Ammirazione assoluta per questi edifici che sono stati costruiti in una fase dove "si costruiva per il futuro e per durare nel tempo" E non per "farli decadere dopo 5 anni, perchè poi il politico ci deve rimangiare sopra" Si costruiva per essere migliori.

143 31-45 Maschile Laurea Periodo storia Italia EUR roma Riuso/stessa funzione Valorizzarli L arte è bellezza Una opera da conservare

144 18-30 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Autoritario, negativo, positivo Palazzo delle poste, palazzo dell'acquedotto e Albergo delle Nazioni (Bari) Riuso/stessa funzione Più visite guidate con il fine di far conoscere l'arte che rappresentò quel periodo Una sensazione di ordine, meraviglia e fascino perché ritengo siano opere uniche Qualcosa di vivo che deve essere parte integrante della società, quindi

dev'essere valorizzato, conosciuto e conservato per permettere alla generazioni future di conoscere il passato

145 46-60 Maschile Laurea dittatura nazionalismo collettivismo casa del Fascio (jesolo) Abbandono Restauro riuso curiosità ammirazione memoria valore

146 18-30 Maschile Master Bellezza, Forza, Sociale Milano. Stazione centrale, tribunale, arengario, idroscalo, san siro... troppi da elencare Riuso/diversa funzione

Funzione originale o quanto meno una funzione degna del loro valore passato e della loro dignità storica Ammirazione, riverenza, orgoglio per il passato, rabbia e vergogna per l'incapacità presente di preservarli. Un bene da difendere, prezioso per la nazione, per la cultura pubblica, per l'apprendimento

147 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura colonialismo guerra Siena

Riuso/diversa funzione Bo Nostalgia Un pezzo della nostra storia

148 31-45 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Il più grande Errore della Storia.

Monumento a Ciano Livorno Abbandono Un museo. Perché,la Storia non si cancella,anzi. Se ne deve esaltare i drammi, perché non accada mai più. Sofferenza, perché determinate cose,sarebbero potute andare sicuramente diversamente è meglio. Un bene prezioso. Un Testimone unico di un esperienza passata. Qualcosa da Tutelare.

149 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura, sociale, innovativo Vicenza, le poste centrali e la ex GIL ora teatro Astra Riuso/diversa funzione La GIL è a posto, le poste devono essere riusate ora sono in parte utilizzate da un piccolo ufficio postale per il resto chiusa da riutilizzare come centro di aggregazione o per associazioni Bellezza e imponenza Una cosa da preservare per i posteri

150 46-60 Maschile Master rivoluzione popolare italiana (Forlì): Collegio Areonautico; Gil; Monumento ai caduti (Piazzale della Vittoria) Riuso/stessa funzione

miglior manutenzione ordine e razionalità un bene di rutti dà preservare per le generazioni future

151 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Ordinato, disciplinato, rispettato

Roma, Eur, foro italico, Riuso/stessa funzione Venissero mantenuti funzionanti ed efficienti Orgoglio, patriottismo, ammirazione Qualcosa che racconta chi siamo stati, come lo siamo stati e come potremmo tornare ad essere se solo avessimo rispetto del Nostro passato

152 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Innovazione, arte e cultura popolare Reggio Emilia Stazione Fs Officine Meccaniche Reggiane Diverse strutture scolastiche Ex o.n.f.m.i Ex casa del mutilato Mercato coperto Riuso/diversa funzione Ristrutturazione nel pieno rispetto dei progetti originali e successivo riutilizzo con la stessa funzione oppure altri utilizzi come musei, centri culturali ecc Patriottismo, stupore, orgoglio, nostalgia, malinconia. Un monumento, edificio, luogo o anche un intera citta. Sono tutti beni culturali da conservare, riqualificare, ristrutturare e riscoprire.

153 46-60 Maschile Laurea Il regime che ha modernizzato l'Italia Il monumento ai Caduti Ancona Riuso/stessa funzione Conservarli Grandezza e modernità Un patrimonio storico di enorme valore per noi e per le generazioni future

154 31-45 Maschile Laurea Innovativo, positivista,auroritario Roma, via dei fori imperiali, palazzo civiltà del lavoro, eur Riuso/stessa funzione Musei Ammirazione Un qualcosa da conservare, mostrare, spiegare e rendere fruibile alla cittadinanza

155 61-75 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Onestà Fede CoerenzaCasa del balilla, scuola elementare ceduc, cineteatro Rossini. civitanova Marche Riuso/stessa funzione Che vengano conservati e, se necessario, ristrutturati. Fascino, solidità, certezza di un lavoro fatto con amore e competenza. È qualcosa che appartiene a tutti e deve essere tutelato dalle istituzioni. Ne vado fiero.

156 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria idea originale Bolzano . Riuso/diversa funzione restauro appartenenza orgoglio rispetto gioia bellezza

157 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Rivoluzione Palazzo delle poste palermo Riuso/stessa funzione Salvaguardia Un senso di grandezza e bellezza sublime Patrimonio dell'umanità

158 31-45 Femminile Laurea Innovativo, disciplinato, vero Camera del lavoro, biblioteca comunale, yeatro San severo (fg) Riuso/diversa funzione Grandezza Un "oggetto" da tutelare, curare in modo da conservare il suo valore intrinseco.

159 46-60 Maschile Laurea Socialismo collaborativo idealista Firenze: Stadio, Stazione, moltissime costruzioni private e pubbliche Riuso/stessa funzione Ripristino,

eliminando cambiamenti successivi se solo di facciata. Pensieri sul passato cercando di interpretare l`impegno messo sulla loro ideazione, spesso futurista Un valore nel tempo

160 18-30 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Senza tempo Rigoroso Giusto (Ventimiglia, IM) Stazione, municipio, palestra GIL, caserma dei Carabinieri Riuso/stessa funzione Si continuasse ad utilizzarli nello stesso modo in quanto perfettamente funzionali e belli esteticamente Orgoglio, passione e anche se sono infrastrutture semplici meraviglia Un possedimento che rappresenta la cultura di un popolo e di una nazione che va preservato

161 46-60 Maschile Laurea Totalitarista innovatore rivoluzionario Edifici pubblici Verona Riuso/stessa funzione Mantenerne intatta la forma, sia per motivi storico-architettonici che culturali Efficienza e cura della cosa pubblica Una testimonianza importante del passato e del presente di una civiltà

162 31-45 Maschile Master Una Storia Italiana Ospedali Riuniti, Stadio, Ippodromo, case popolari e residenziali (Livorno) Riuso/stessa funzione Preservare per non dimenticare. Il Fascismo è parte per molto positiva della nostra storia di Nazione Orgoglio di appartenenza, malinconia se non di una grandezza compiuta, quantomeno in costruzione... Nostalgia di una Patria che non c'è più Tradizione, identità, appartenenza, storia di una comunità nazionale

163 46-60 Maschile Laurea Dittatura, patriottismo, guerra Quartiere Eur (Roma) Riuso/diversa funzione Mantenerli al meglio Fierezza, funzionalità, eleganza Lascito alle generazioni successive

164 31-45 Maschile Laurea Arte,Ordine,Disciplina Case degli anni 30 (Velletri) Riuso/stessa funzione Ristrutturazione Stupore e incanto. Quando giro l'Italia e vedo le bellezze prodotte nel ventennio con ancora scritta l'era fascista resto a bocca aperta Un bene da conservare e tramandare ai posteri

165 18-30 Maschile Laurea Patria orgoglio organizzazione Bari - palazzo della provincia, lungomare, chiesa s.ferdinando, scuola orazio flacco, albergo delle nazioni, circolo canottieri barion Riuso/diversa funzione Vorrei che fossero conservate nel miglior stato possibile senza alterarle Orgoglio, nostalgia, appartenenza È parte della mia storia e del patrimonio del mio Paese

166 46-60 Maschile Laurea Valori onore fede Roma - quartiere EUR, stadio dei marmi, palazzo della civiltà del lavoro Riuso/stessa funzione Mantenerli e

valorizzarli con mostre ed eventi Ordine e pulizia Qualcosa da preservare indipendentemente dalle ideologie di chi li ha progettati e realizzati

167 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura imperfetta italiana Palazzo delle poste la spezia Riuso/stessa funzione Mantenerli Apprezzamento architettonico Un bene che detiene valore artistico architettonico

168 46-60 Maschile Master Totalitario Illiberale Romantico La spezia, poste, comune Riuso/stessa funzione Cio' che se ne fa Piacevole Molto

169 31-45 Maschile Dottorato Ideologia mal applicata Ufficio postale di Piazza Verdi (La Spezia) Riuso/diversa funzione Nulla, va bene così Imponenza e tecnica di costruzione eccellente Un patrimonio da valorizzare e tutelare

170 18-30 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Dittatura Nazionalismo Patriottismo Roma Colosseo quadrato Obelisco Villaggio olimpico (vale?) Riuso/diversa funzione Mantenimento per valore storico ma, senza inneggiamento politico D'altronde, il colosseo è simbolo di Roma ma....non ci si ammazzano più i gladiatori!! Storicità e bellezza culturale Un monumento, o un bene materiale con un valore e una memoria storica in primis

171 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Nazionalista, statalista, rivoluzionario Palazzo delle poste Palazzo del Comune Palazzo INPS Stadio Accademia musicale Riuso/stessa funzione Ordine , decoro , l'immagine della città Bene che per importanza storica culturale o estetica diventa di interesse pubblico e costituisce la ricchezza di un luogo e di coloro che vivono nel luogo stesso

172 46-60 Femminile Laurea Radicale ordinato costruttivo Nessuna Riuso/diversa funzione Edifici pubblici Rispetto e apprezzamento Un tesoro comune per l'intera Umanità, una ricchezza da proteggere per la memoria delle future generazioni

173 46-60 Maschile Laurea Una pagina nera Roma foro italico , Colosseo quadrato Riuso/stessa funzione Come sono Positive , grande visione urbanistica Un'opportuni, un investimento, il bello

174 46-60 Femminile Laurea Una deplorevole dittatura Predappio palazzo del fascio e Caproni Abbandono Vorrei che venissero ristrutturati ed utilizzatiMi

affascinano.. fanno parte della storia del mio paese Un bene collettivo che giungerà nel futuro

175 46-60 Maschile Laurea Ordine, disciplina, fermezza Arezzo Riuso/diversa funzione . Memoria Patrimonio dell'umanità

176 46-60 Maschile Laurea Importante periodo storico Roma. Obelisco stadio fei marmi Altro Buono Lasciarlo inalterato Ricordo di una italia importante Un bene universale da preservare perché rappresenta un periodo una cultura un pensiero. E il ricordo che ci guida verso il futuro

177 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Ordine funzionale rispetto Milano Riuso/stessa funzione Che vengano sempre mantenuto beneForza determina chiaramente L uso Un tesoro della Patria

178 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Movimento di pensiero ed azione che ha rivoluzionato il mondo La mia citta' e' Roma. Quindi c'e' L'intero quartiere dell'E.U.R., lo Stadio Olimpico ed i ponti sul Tevere nella zona, palazzo dell'Anagrafe, aeroporto dell'Urbe, il liceo Augusto, molte caserme, il Palazzo sede del Ministero Difesa Aeronautica, la stazione Ostiense e tantissimi altri che non basterebbe lo spazio a disposizione e che comunque sono stati eretti in 20 anni di Fascismo mentre in 72 anni di Democrazia non si e' costruito quasi nulla! Altro troppi in stato di abbandono dopo aver subito deturpazioni per ignoranza e barbarie Conservarli, restaurarli, riportarli all'originaria bellezza per dimostrare agli italiani ed al mondo la grandiosita' del Fascismo movimento di pensiero ed azione! Maestosita', modernita', solennita', grandiosita', serenita' e civilta'. Essi ci parlano dicendo come gli italiani con volonta' e tenacia li hanno costruiti dimostrando che non erano secondi a nessuno nel mondo! Ricchezza materiale e spirituale da rispettare e preservare senza odio di parte politica che denoterebbe invece profonda ignoranza e barbarie!

179 46-60 Maschile Laurea Una dittatura abberrante Roma, piazza venezia Riuso/diversa funzione Luogo culturale Necessari per non dimenticare Un bene da preservare

180 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria importante periodo storico Palazzo del governo di Taranto Riuso/diversa funzione Già ben utilizzato Ammirazione Un bene importante per il paese

181 46-60 Maschile Dottorato Dittatura, Ordine, Tragedia Lerici (sp) Le scuole e il Municipio Riuso/stessa funzione Che si continuasse a utilizzarli come ora

Ordine, storia, attenzione alle esigenze della collettività Una patrimonio della comunità e una parte della mia vita

182 31-45 Maschile Laurea Accentratore Autoritario Unico Museo Riuso/stessa funzione Preservare Nulla di più di ciò che è, cioè un museo Qualcosa da preservare

183 46-60 Maschile Laurea Movimento sociale di avanguardia Obelisco olimpico Roma Abbandono Restauro Orgoglio Un valore inestimabile della nostra storia e cultura

184 31-45 Femminile Laurea Dittatura Non so Riuso/diversa funzione Non so

185 31-45 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Amor di Patria Varese fontana di piazza Monte Grappa, edificio della Camera di Commercio, edificio sede di banca Intesa piazza della Basilica Riuso/stessa funzione Musei La storia del mio Paese Un bene che insegna la storia

186 46-60 Maschile Laurea Ordine, senso di appartenenza e onore La casa del mutilato è il vecchio tribunale Riuso/diversa funzione Sono stati trasformati in biblioteca e archivio comunale Ordine Qualcosa che esprima il senso della cultura e della tradizione del luogo

187 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria una cosa passata la spezia. le poste. il comune Riuso/stessa funzione mantenerli nessuna in particokare un cosa da preservare e proteggere

188 46-60 Maschile Laurea Esempio per tutti Roma piazza venezia Riuso/diversa funzione Valorizzarli Emozione Orgoglio nazionale

189 46-60 Maschile Laurea Movimento di pensiero Teatro accademia Conegliano Riuso/stessa funzione Teatro Particolari Un patrimonio collettivo

190 46-60 Maschile Master Epico, violento, futuristico Firenze, nessuno Altro Non ce ne sono Niente Niente Un’opera che rappresenta la storia culturale di un popolo

191 46-60 Maschile Laurea Un periodo storico Trapani Casa del Fascio, GIL, Palazzo dei Mutilati, Poste, Municipio, Provincia, monumenti vari, rete fognaria, stazione

ferroviaria, etc. Riuso/diversa funzione Riuso/monumenti storici, senza nasconderne origini né destinazione Fasti di una Nazione che usciva dall'Ottocento per entrare a pieno titolo nella modernità. Sforzo teso al progresso. Qualsiasi cosa che, rappresentando la storia, l'identità, la dignità e la cultura di un popolo, vada preservato e valorizzato

192 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Periodo storico importante Orta Nova, ufficio ASL Riuso/diversa funzione L'uso attuale mi sembra congruo Nessuno Un bene comune che rappresenta un periodo storico

193 46-60 Maschile Laurea Movimento politico italiano Il Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana Riuso/diversa funzione Ammirazione La grandezza di un popolo

194 31-45 Femminile Laurea Un periodo storico Palazzi (La Spezia) come tipologia e struttura degli edifici. In uno in particolare è presente un fascio littorio Riuso/stessa funzione Fossero mantenuti come testimonianza del periodo storico in cui furono costruiti Nessuna in particolare. Sono rappresentativi di un'epoca e come tali vanno rispettati e tramandati alle generazioni future perché queste li conoscano. Un patrimonio da proteggere

195 46-60 Maschile Laurea Parte della storia italiana Un ponte Riuso/stessa funzione Ristrutturare Nessuna Parte della storia dell'uomo

196 31-45 Femminile Master Dignità Disciplina Autoritarietà Roma Ara Patriae Riuso/diversa funzione Istituzionale Ammirazione e magnificenza Motivo di orgoglio, valore da preservare da trasmettere alle generazioni e se possibile da valorizzare con un utilizzo consapevole

197 46-60 Femminile Laurea Una grande catastrofe Forlì.La stazione ,ex giocatore ,piazzale vittoria... Riuso/diversa funzione Vorrei che venissero utilizzati per attività contro il fascismo Interesse storico Una risorsa da preservare

198 46-60 Maschile Laurea Grande tragico contradditorio Roma edifici Eur Piazza Augusto imperatore Riuso/diversa funzione Conservazione e restauro Orgoglio e rimpianto Una testimonianza da preservare per i posteri una grande bellezza da non snaturare

199 46-60 Maschile Laurea Opportunità poi sciupata Roma Palazzo della.Civiltà Riuso/diversa funzione Ok come ora Pulizia delle linee, perfezione, ordine Un qualcosa che deve essere fruibile da tutti

200 46-60 Maschile Laurea Dittatura stupidità short-mindness Padova. Palazzo del comune, stazione ferroviaria Riuso/diversa funzione Va bene così come va Nessuna. Un bene da difendere e da valorizzare al massimo

201 46-60 Maschile Laurea Aveva un potenziale per fare bene ma alla fine ha fatto danni Roma (sicuramente il vittoriano e il quartiere EUR. Riuso/stessa funzione USO pubblico come accade Contrastanti. Un bene che trasmette cultura, sapienza, conoscenza e capacita', di cui deve beneficiarevtutta la società

202 46-60 Femminile Master Ordine, infrastrutture sociali, istruzione Palzzo Barbo, Villa Torlonia, Palazzo della Civiltà Romana in Roma Riuso/diversa funzione Coservazione e messa a disposizione al pubblico come qualsiasi altro monumento storico meno recente. Un mezzo per raccontare la Storia in manieta imparziale ed oniettiva come patrimonio della cultura di un popolo Centralità della nazione. Senzo patriottico ma anche errori storici dovuti alla scelta di una dittatura Un bene culturale è un bene a disposizione di tutti gli uomini e della storia.

203 46-60 Femminile Laurea Ordine patriottismo educazione Roma, eur, obelisco, villaggio olimpico Riuso/stessa funzione Stessa funzione Orgoglio Cultura storia

204 46-60 Maschile Laurea Eroico maschio diro Ponte vittoria verona, comune,camera commercio Riuso/stessa funzione Restassero Imponenza Eredità storica

205 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Regime, dottrina, improponibile Palazzo del Comune, Le Poste centrali, Palazzo della Provincia Riuso/stessa funzione Uso d'interesse per la comunità locale È parte della storia Italiana, non mi suscitano particolari sensazioni È un bene che racconta il passato della nostra Italia, che va tutelato e conservato come i NS predecessori ci hanno insegnato e tramandato

206 46-60 Maschile Laurea Sociale innovativo solidale Foro italico e EUR a Roma Riuso/stessa funzione Valorizzare Cultura, identità, potenza, civiltà,

innovazione, lungimiranza, sociale, vicininanza alle tematiche dei tempi moderni Un bene comune simbolo di civiltà

207 46-60 Femminile Laurea illiberale, antidemocratico, dittatoriale Como: ex Casa del fascio (Terragni), ex Unione Lavoratori Industria Cattaneo e Lingeri), ex GIL (Mantero). In realtà i primi due sono icone del Razionalismo più che simboli del Fascismo Riuso/diversa funzione nell'ex Casa del fascio + ex U.L.I. retrostante un polo museale/culturale dedicato al razionalismo e all'astrattismo (nato tra Como e Milano) Accoglienza, piacere per la loro bellezza, orgoglio per la capacità dimostrata dagli autori di costruire opere la cui importanza è ora riconosciuta internazionalmente Un bene ereditato dal passato, da prendere in custodia, valorizzare e far vivere nel tempo presente, perchè torni ad essere polo di produzione culturale e di riferimento per il territorio e la comunità in cui è inserito, oltre che attrattore per il turismo culturale

208 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria L' antitesi del comunismo "sulla carta" Uno per tutti il palazzo delle poste di la spezia Riuso/stessa funzione Che restassero cosi' Maestosita' e cura nei particolari, cose ormai perse ai nostri tempi.... Una cosa da proteggere evitare assolutamente tentativi per migliorarla....

209 46-60 Maschile Laurea Ideologia, disciplina, dittaturaScuola di Guerra Aerea, Stadio Comunale, Manifattura Tabacchi (Firenze) Riuso/stessa funzione Che si continui a preservati e ad utilizzarli Ammirazione, orgoglio Qualcosa collegato alla storia della mia civiltà e cultura

210 46-60 Maschile Laurea Periodo storico controverso Firenze: Scuola di guerra aerea Riuso/stessa funzione Va bene l'uso che ne viene fatto Non hanno uno stile architettonico particolarmente bello ma sono il simbolo di una parte di storia del nostro paese Eredità Tradizione Cultura Di un popolo

211 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Un periodo Italiano Nessuno Siena Riuso/diversa funzione Rimenassero Sono luoghi storici che rappresentano l'Italia Un bene da mantenere

212 46-60 Maschile Master Ideologia nazionalista populista Prefettura piazza rosselli grosseto Riuso/diversa funzione Stesso uso ma con un museo Pulizia giudtizia Un bene patrimonio della collettività ch tramette valori

213 46-60 Maschile Laurea Dittatura nazional socialista Perugia. Costruzioni edili varie Riuso/stessa funzione Niente. Assolvono bene alla loro funzione sono ancora efficienti Nessuna Cultura storia arte

214 46-60 Maschile Dottorato Ordine azione prevaricazione Bonifica vittoria, fossalon Riuso/stessa funzione Sono OK cosi Buona impressione Importante luogo di aggregazione. Richiamo alla storia.

215 46-60 Maschile Master Storia d'Italia Roma EUR Riuso/diversa funzione Luogo delle riflessioni Fare del passato le potenzialità del futuro La storia della vita

216 46-60 Maschile Laurea Ideologia totalitarista antidemocratica ROMA palazzo eur ROMA stazione ostiense Riuso/stessa funzione Riuso anche con funzioni diverse come tutti gli edifici anche con funzione museale se utile e non una perdita Solidità immobilita forza vecchiaia pesantezza Qualcosa che ha un valore dovuto al suo contenuto storico scientifico più che alla funzione tecnica originaria. Tale valore deve essere riconosciuto da organi culturali competenti o da un.adeguato numero di cittadini

217 46-60 Maschile Laurea Dittatura totalitario liberticidaGenova piazza vittoria e case del fascio ora caserme dei carabinieri Riuso/diversa funzione Domanda non pertinente Nessuna in particolare appartengono al passato e sono partrimoniO della storia italica Qualcosa da tutelare ma con intelligenza e senza sprecare le risorse pubbliche

218 31-45 Femminile Master Un movimento politico basato su un'ideologia di ripristino di un passato glorioso che gli sconvolgimenti economico/politici/sociali della 1 guerra mondiale avevano travolto ROMA: eur garbatella prati citta universitaria foro italico foro imperiali Riuso/diversa funzione Che si utilizzassero ove inutilizzati e che si restaurassero ove abbandonati L'architettura fascista é molto moderna anche 100 anni dopo la sua iniziale costruzione. I palazzi sono belli e stabili e sono stati progettati -da grandi architetti-riallacciandosi ai fasti del glorioso passato di Roma ed in armonia con le zone dove si sono costruiti. Personalmente li trovo belli e ben costruiti, molto meglio dei palazzi ad alta speculazione edilizia che sono stati costruiti dopo. A livello di sensazione li trovo avveniristici -colosseo quadrato ed eur- e trasmettono grandezza fierezza e potenza -stadio dei marmi- La sensazione è positiva infatti il colosseo quadrato è stato scelto dal magnate Arnaud come sede di Fendi Un patrimonio per un paese e per tutta

l’umanità. Un bene culturale è un bene raro e prezioso di cui Ogni generazione ha il dovere di incaricarsi per trasmetterlo al le generazioni future.

219 46-60 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Innovativo indispensabile corretto Purtroppo non vi sono parti storicamente riconducibili Altro Non sono presenti Se fossero presenti vorrei venissero assolutamente mantenuti e gestiti per garantirne il buono stato e soprattutto mostrarli a tutti rendendoli luogo di visite e culto Chiudendo gli occhi rivivo il passato con le sfumature di ogni dettaglio !! È la colonna vertebrale di ciò che abbiamo oggi ! Rappresenta ciò che oggi noi siamo - il passato e il preludio al futuro

220 46-60 Maschile Dottorato Luce oscurità distorsione Non credo cos Iano edifici particolari che esemplifichino il periodo del ventennio (Trieste) Altro Non saprei In linea di massima per qualsiasi edificio storico he fosse in uno stato di abbandono io credo che abbiano il dovere di preservarlo Amarezza Rappresenta la storia di un popolo un bene per l’intera umanità. Anche se dovesse esemplificare un periodo vuoi od un simbolo di oppressione rimane un pezzo di storia. Va preservato e rivisto nel contesto storico del momento

221 46-60 Maschile Laurea Ora sarebbe necessario Roma Ostia : Palazzo Poste Riuso/stessa funzione Curarne maggiormente l’aspetto Rammarico di non averlo visssutoLa testimonianza della nostra Civiltà

222 46-60 Maschile Laurea Consenso Stato Tradimento Firenze Stadio, Scuola di Guerra Aerea, Manifattura dei tanacchi e ovviamente la Stazione di Santa Maria Novella Riuso/stessa funzione Conservarli e mamtenerli nel loro dplendore. Per la Manifattura dei tabacchi occorre un profondo restauro Grandezza e orgoglio La mia storia come il Dna per il mio aspetto fisico

223 31-45 Femminile Laurea Non mi importa Siena Riuso/diversa funzione Non so non ho idea Nessuna Una cosa seria

224 31-45 Maschile Laurea Dittatura, ordine, imposizioneRoma: il Vittoriano, l’Eur, via dei fori imperiali Riuso/diversa funzione Che rimanessero così, la storia non si cancella Ammirazione, orgoglio Un patrimonio fondamentale per il presente e il futuro, da preservare a qualunque costo

225 31-45 Maschile Laurea Il nostro passato Palazzo della provincia (la Spezia)Riuso/diversa funzione Nessuna in particolareQualcosa da preservare

226 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Certo garante sicuro La Spezia palazzo Delle poste Riuso/stessa funzione Esattamente come viene usato Appagamento architettonico La nostra storia

227 31-45 Maschile Master Riuso/stessa funzione Un importanza storica da conservare

228 46-60 Maschile Scuola Secondaria Era, dittatura,stile Poste, Comune, prefettura,Grattacielo, Riuso/diversa funzione Quello che sono Nessuna sensazione Un qualcosa di bello da tramandare alle generazioni future

229 46-60 Maschile Laurea Movimento politico sociale Roma, quartiere EUR, Foro Italico, Museo del Genio, Stadio dei Marmi Abbandono Restauri puntuali Simboli di un'architettura che esprime orgoglio e potenza Il ricordo di un periodo storico

230 46-60 Femminile Laurea Credere obbedire combattere Taranto: palazzo del governo , lungomare Riuso/diversa funzione Lasciarli così Imponenza Storia e tradizione

231 46-60 Maschile Master Un periodò storico con luci ed ombre, generalmente da contestualizzare nel periodo storico EUR, razionalismo _ Roma Riuso/diversa funzione Recupero storico Uno stato di leggera malinconia Patrimonio umanità

232 31-45 Maschile Master Movimento politico e d'opinione Palazzi dall'architettura tipica del periodo Riuso/diversa funzione Venissero manutenuti e valorizzati, rappresentando parte della storia del Paese, al di là delle valutazioni politiche e sociali Imponenza, grandezza, rispetto Un'espressione delle capacità artistiche dell'uomo da tutelare

233 46-60 Maschile Laurea Italiano Grandezza Onore Roma: foro mussolini. Eur. Palazzo del MAE. Colosseo quadrato.... Riuso/stessa funzione Che fossero riportati allo splendore di 80 anni fa... Emozioni. Senso di grandezza. Potenza. Qualcosa che fa parte della nostra storia e deve essere mantenuto, custodito e protetto. Specie dagli uomini stolti...

234 46-60 Maschile Master Nazionalismo mediterraneo Eur Roma Riuso/stessa funzione Stanno bene così Ammirazione Un patrimonio da preservare per il suo trascendentale significato storico

235 46-60 Maschile Laurea Un evento storico Palazzo delle Poste, della prefettura, palazzo grattacielo. La Spezia Riuso/stessa funzione Continuare ad usarli. Manuntenerli Bellezza architettonica Patrimonio italiano/ mondiale

236 46-60 Femminile Laurea Dittatoriale demagogico abagliato Il quartiere Eur Riuso/diversa funzione Va bene così Architettonicamente sono da ammirare anche se ricordano un periodo buio Una testimonianza da tutelare

237 46-60 Maschile Laurea Movimento sociale nazionale Palazzo M e Municipio di Latina Riuso/diversa funzione Va bene l'uso attuale L'idea ed il simbolo di una Italia in movimento, in crescita La memoria e l'orgoglio delle mie origini

238 31-45 Femminile Scuola Secondaria Una gran cosa Roma. Moltissimi. Riuso/diversa funzione Che rimangano a memoria storica e tutelati Nostalgia La nostra storia, il nostro orgoglio

239 31-45 Femminile Dottorato Pericoloso Rigido Utile Comune posta Luino Riuso/stessa funzione Conservarli Belli Eredità

240 46-60 Maschile Laurea Periodo storico italiano Palazzo del fascio Abbandono Centro studi Sono casa mia Un valore assoluto

241 31-45 Femminile Laurea dittatura, regime, architetture tutta roma Riuso/diversa funzione non so bello stato

Appendix A. First Fieldwork (2015-2016)

*Interviewees who have consented to their names being used are listed by names, others are listed anonymously. The majority of the interviews were casual conversations which have not been recorded and are not part of this appendix. Some of the key people on-site have been included as anonymous because of the relevance of their argument.

Interviews pilot study and site visit: Villa Torlonia

No.	Name	Occupation	Interview date/place	Reference
1	Anna Paola Agati	Director, Villa Torlonia	20 April 2016. Villa Torlonia, Rome	Conducted interview regarding the role of Mussolini at Villa Torlonia and how/why they decided to arrange the display the way they did. She told me the story of the restoration process and how at the time they decided to include an interview with Romano Mussolini, son of the dictator. When asked whether she though this display was problematic, or if Romano Mussolini might have been equivocal she replied that they wanted to tell the story of the Mussolini family here, to bad and the good things.
2	Claudio Parisi Presicce	Director, Museums of Rome Town Hall	22 April 2016, Rome Town Hall	Conducted interview Fascist Heritage in Rome and how some key places have been re-opened. He argued that it was a centre-left wing political

				decision 'not to be afraid anymore' to open up places of Fascism. He referred to the work of Walter Veltroni as a Mayor and believes it was the right things to do as Fascism is in the past and by giving access to places of Fascism is the best way to move forward.
3	Lorenzo Grassi	Association 'Roma Sotterranea', tour guide Mussolini's bunker	24 April 2016, Villa Torlonia, Mussolini's bunker	Conducted interview on the opening of Mussolini's bunker and public response to it. I participated in a tour guide of the site and interviewed visitors as well. In Grassi's view it is important to have access to this site so to understand better that historical period. He believes the administration was cautious regarding the opening but visit numbers proved to strategy to be successful. Visitors of the site made very clear to me that they were not there for Mussolini but for historical interests.
4	Anonymous	Museum officers, Villa Torlonia	24 April 2016, Villa Torlonia, Rome	Conducted interview with one of the museum assistant at Villa Torlonia. I questioned whether they had any issue with the display of Mussolini. He replied that it is just history and that most of the visitors were not

				there for Mussolini but for the 18th century villa. He mentioned that sometimes people ask just about Mussolini but that the situation is under control at Villa Torlonia, not like Predappio.
5	Anonymous	Independent tour guide 'Mussolini's Rome'	24 April 2016, Villa Torlonia, Rome	Conducted interview regarding the success of having tours specifically to visit places of Mussolini. The lady replied that there is a grooving interest in places of the regime and that no specific attention is given within museums to this historical period. She asked to be anonymised and stressed that her tours are not for 'nostalgic' people but for those genuinely interested in history.
6	Caio Giulio Cesare Mussolini	Mussolini family member	24 July 2016, Villa Torlonia, Rome	Conducted interview with one of Mussolini's heir. We visited the villa and he mentioned that he was disappointed that his grandfather was only mentioned briefly at the property. He told me a long list of family memories from the property and that Roman was not the best family member to speak for the family, as in his view he had a 'goliardic' lifestyle. He argued that the Torlonia move his

				grandmother out the property immediately after Mussolini's arrest and that once the British Army stayed at the villa soldiers simply destroyed the property and everything within.
7	Anonymous	Heritage manager, Exhibition 'Sironi e il Popolo d'Italia' at Villa Torlonia	24 April 2016, phone call	Conducted interview with an anonymised heritage manager regarding the exhibition at Villa Torlonia on Mario Sironi. Given the controversial nature of Sironi's work for the Popolo d'Italia newspaper I asked the heritage manager whether they received any complains for the exhibition in that specific place. He replied that Sironi's work is heritage now and that the exhibition was simply adding to the knowledge on his artistic work. He does not see any issue with having Sironi exhibited at Villa Torlonia with no particular context for debating Fascism

Interviews and site visit: Mausoleum Ardeatine Massacre

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
8	Anonymous	Custodian	13 Mar 2016	Conducted interview with one of the custodian. We discussed the fact that the site is never busy with the exception of commemoration day on the 23rd of March. He said in recent years participation had increase to the celebration and that in 2015 for the 70th anniversary for the first time the Jewish community had participated together with the Association of Partisans, whereas in previous years they came on separate time during the same day. I asked about the small exhibition next to the Mausoleum and he said that the display itself is historical as it has not been changed since the inauguration of the mausoleum in 1947.
9	Paolo Somella	Association of the Ardeatine Massacre Victims	16 Mar 2016, phone interview	Conducted interview on the phone. We discuss the meaning of the mausoleum and the importance of remembering the victims. I asked whether the place in his view had changed its role and whether he would have preferred for it to be busier. He replied that it is not a museum and that mourning is personal matter, we all do it in

				different ways. He said some of the bodies are still unknown and that is still a priority. He also describe a digital project online where personal histories of the victims are gathered and that the small of exhibition next to the mausoleum should just stay the way it is.

Interviews and site visit: Monument to the Fatherland and Risorgimento Museum

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
10	Federica Galloni	Director Altar to the Fatherland	20 July 2016, Altar to the Fatherland	Interview on site. The Director was planning an exhibition at the time of the interview in which to explain the history of the monument. She clarified that the monument has s different heritage status than other heritage sites as it is a 'national' heritage site, meaning the value is at national level and moreover it is a symbol of the nation. When asked whether the Fascist past could have been reframed in the display she said that fasces still on site are minimal, that the vast majority of the big one were removed in the post-war and that today there is no need to remove them. She sees the Fascist period

				as only one of the many of the monument and that there is no need to emphasise any specific aspect of the site.
11	Marco Pizzo	Director Risorgimento Museum	25 July 2016, Risorgimento Museum	Interview on site. The Director discussed with me the fasces at the entrance of the museum argue that few visitors note them. He mentioned his idea of having a Museum of the History of Fascism within the Vittoriano but shared with me the political resistance he received for having had that idea, He said he was accused of being a neo-fascist for having submitted a project. He also mentioned that he tried to work on Predappio and the project of the Documentation Centre as he argues that Italy needs a museum were to face Fascism once and for all.
12	Anonymous	Museum assistant	25 July 2016, Altar to the Fatherland	Interview on site. The museum assistant discussed with me whether the site had any specific kind of visitor, and he said there is no real trend. More locals and families during the week-end and tourist during the week. He said it could get really crowded at the top pf the terrace where the bar is as the view is spectacular. When asked about fasces on site he said

				he had not even noticed all of them, it was me making him realised. He said he never received any question about Mussolini directly, however he was aware some visitor to Palazzo Venezia were nostalgic.
13	Anonymous	Army, museum assistants	25 July 2016, Altar to the Fatherland	Interview on site. The army soldiers were standing outside the entrance of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, checking visitors had the proper outfit to enter the 'sacred area'. I asked why Fascist flags were still visible and they reply that all disused flags are stored here. When asked whether they considered appropriate for Fascist flags to be on display they replied that its history they belong to the past.

Interviews and site visit: Palazzo Venezia

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
14	Anonymous	Ticket sale person	28 August 2016, Palazzo	Interview on site. This interview started out of casual conversation after buying a ticket. We started discussing the topic of my

			Venezia	research and this person argued that unfortunately they have many visitors, including international, coming to the museum just to see Mussolini's office. He says he is the first point of contact with the public and that very often even if not entering the museum or buying anything in the book shop people ask him about the 'famous' Mussolini's balcony.
15	Anonymous	Museum assistant	28 August 2016. Palazzo Venezia	Interview on site. The lady was very kind in showing the area were Mussolini's office was. She said it is rarely in use for exhibition and it has been for several years un-accessible. She says she does not receive any particular question regarding Mussolini, as the open section of the museum is usually having am exhibition or the permanent collection on display. She admitted she knows very little about the interwar period of the building and that she would love to know more about it.
16	Anonymous	Tour guide	28 August 2016, Palazzo Venezia	Interview on the Piazza Venezia square. I asked the private tour guide whether they stopped under Mussolini's balcony by chance or intentionally. She replied that

			square	Mussolini's balcony is part of the tour of the area which include the Forums and the Altar to the Fatherland. She says for foreign tourist is quite puzzling that there is no sign to indicate what it was and some historical explanation of the period.

Second Fieldwork (2016-2017)

*Interviewees who have consented to their names being used are listed by names, others are listed anonymously. The majority of the interviews were casual conversations which have not been recorded and are not part of this appendix. Some of the key people on-site have been included as anonymous because of the relevance of their argument.

Interviews and site visit: Predappio, museums and sites

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
17	Giorgio Frassineti	Mayor of Predappio	28 September 2016, Predappio Town Hall	I interviewed the Mayor once the Predappio Project was announced by national newspapers. He described to me the relationship between Predappio and its Fascist past from the time Mussolini's body returned to Predappio to be buried. He said that because of a wrong legislation back in the 90s now shops can sell

				Mussolini's souvenirs in town and that his idea of a museum in the ex-Fascist headquarters was precisely meant to give to Predappio as a city a new purpose. Having been a place of neo-Fascist pilgrimage since 1957 he sees now as the right time to face the past and address the history of Fascism in a place so symbolic for the country. He showed me the site of the ex-Casa del Fascio and shared with me the various layers of events that occurred in that place from the post war to present. He also mentioned what happened to the other places related to Mussolini in the area and how now and then neo-Fascist activists have tried in various ways to propose events in some of the locations. He mentioned the complex relationship that the administration has with a number of heirs from the Mussolini family and how the story of Predappio has been over the years by their influence. He clarified that the family mausoleum used to be under the responsibility of the Town Hall but that in recent

				years the administration had decided to give back full ownership to the Mussolini family.
18	Carlo Giunchi	Town Hall heritage advisor	29 September 2016, Predappio	Interview took place both at the Town Hall and around the city. He discussed the material legacies of Fascism in Predappio and how not all of the architectonical legacies had heritage status. He showed me quite a bizarre example of heritage made for the regime, a Mother and Child with a fasces painted on the wall of the primary school, which had been recently restored by a group of local business. He said that the idea of the 'museum of Fascism' was his idea after travelling around Germany and visiting places of Nazism. He argued that it was clear Italy was not doing things right not having a museum where to explain people about Fascism. He argues that Predappio is the best place to open this museum precisely because it is already under the spotlight because of the nostalgic pilgrimage, it will give the city a new historic purpose.

19	Marcello Flores	Deputy Director of the 'Predappio Project'	4 December 2016, Predappio Town Hall	We started the interview talking about my research and why I was interested in the Predappio Project. He said it is a scandal that Italy still does not have any museum dedicated to either WWII or the history of Fascism. He argued that if an important work has been done with the history of the Resistance not so much so has been done in documenting what the regime did before the war. This is, in his opinion, because scholar have still not agreed a unanimous interpretation and definition of Fascism. He added that this was still clear in the critiques that the project for Predappio received even before having been presented to the public. He said the project has been under fire by historians more than the general public and this is because of an unresolved issue withing the historiography of Fascism. He shared with me the draft of the permanent exhibition of the museum and commented the different sections.
20	Alberto de Bernardi	Managing Director of the	4 December 2016.	The interview followed a meeting with Marcello Flores

		‘Predappio Project’	Predappio Town Hall	and focused as well on the Predappio Project and the critiques versus the future permanent museum exhibition. He argued as Flores that the critiques were part an historiographic debate and that they are very interesting in terms of academic research but quite useless in terms of heritage management. He added that in places like Salo’ they were allowed to open museums and exhibitions clearly neo-Fascist because the museum is a charity and therefore not public money. On the contrary in Predappio now that they were trying to open the first museum on Fascism because of some jealousy they have been under fire. He said the permanent exhibition would not have objects that could attract Fascist sympathisers but only documents and installations of historians narrating the events. He also added the exhibition will have mini-sections arranged around key issues like diaries of war or food restriction under the regime.

21	Anonymous	Museum assistant, Mussolini's birth-house	5 December 2016, Mussolini's birth-house	The interview took place with the assistant was working. He shared with me the difficulties of working in place with such a heavy political legacy. While we were talking someone asked him which one was Mussolini's room. He replied that now the place is an exhibition centre and there is no need to know where Mussolini was sleeping. He added to me that latest exhibitions have been successful and that very few visitors were coming for Mussolini specifically. However, he reckons that one of the early was a bit controversial, 'The Young Mussolini' as the curator was not a professional curator but more of a collectors of Mussolini paraphernalia and that made the exhibition in itself equivocal.
22	Sig. Morosini	Co-owner of Villa dei Ricordi	6 December 2016, Villa dei Ricordi, Predappio	Interview on site. The interviewed is the owner of a bizarre 'museum' which used to be a property of the Mussolini family. He arranged the place with furniture bought from members of the Mussolini family and added paraphernalia from the collectors market so to

				recreate a museum of Mussolini and his family. Morosini believes Mussolini was a great man, just not faithfully supported by those that should have worked for him. He showed me the house and told me what is the history behind the most 'valuable' objects, however the pick of the tour for his was the army uniformed that belonged to *il Duce*. He added that very often visitors get emotional during the tour. The tour ended in what they call 'documentation centre', and he said the frescos on the wall were made by Romano Mussolini while living here. The idea of the documentation centre came to Romano as a legacy for the study of Fascism and open to the public.
23	Mrs. Maria	Co-owner of Villa dei Ricordi	6 December 2016, Villa dei Ricordi, Predappio	Interview took place on site. The lady is in charge of the bookshop of the house and they sell Mussolini's souvenirs. She showed me various items and what they consider 'trustworthy' publications as not written by 'communists'. Two of them were published by two

				of the Mussolini heirs, Edda Negri Mussolini who wrote about 'Donna Rachele' mostly using memories of when Mussolini's wife lived in the villa and the second one is from Martina Mussolini how was actively a politician.
24	Edda Negri Mussolini	Mussolini family member	7 December 2016, Riccione	Interview was taken outside Villa Mussolini in Riccione. She shared with me memories of how the villa is still an important part of the landscape of Riccione. She mentioned the story of the diverse uses of the property after the war and argued that it has been penalised in its use by the memory of his grandfather. She said that Mussolini was sharing this villa with friends and family but that he was an 'honest' man, not corrupted, and that the villa was donated to him. He told me a story of her grandmother Rachele being very jealous of Mussolini and lover Claretta Petacci, and that they had a famous argument in this villa.
25	Caio Giulio Cesare Mussolini	Mussolini family member	8 December 2016, Phone interview	Interview was taken by phone. I asked some clarification regarding the Villa dei Ricordi and whether the family had any

				direct involvement in the display of the objects. He replied that the villa is not property of the Mussolini anymore as it was confiscated as many other properties in the post-war. He argued that what they are doing now with the property is just shameful and is not in line with the respect Mussolini would have liked.
26	Emilio Gentile	Historian	30 December 2016, Rome	Interview was taken in a coffee bar in Rome. I asked him about the Predappio Project and what his idea was regarding having a museum on the history of Fascism. He replied that was involved in the decision making early on but that later others were chosen as Director and Managing Director. He argued the issue with an exhibition in Predappio were too many to have the museum there. He added that Predappio is 'the' place of memory of Mussolini but not of the regime, therefore a museum should be open in Milan or Rome and not in a place so unquestionably linked to the cult of Mussolini.

Interviews and site visit: Salo, MuSa museum, RSI heritage and Vittoriale degli Italiani

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
27	Giordano Bruno Guerri	Director	27 July 2017, MuSa museum, Salo'	Interview taken on site. The Director show me around the museum, both its permanent collection which goes from Medieval to Fascism than the temporary exhibition which is on the 'Il Culto del Duce'. He explained to me how the section of the permanent collection on the history of Fascism was arranged there by the previous Director and that it is based on the juxtaposition of the contrasting narrative of Fascists and Partisans. He argues that by using the display to show the two side of the same coin it would have been a better service to the public in term of historical understanding of the period. Then he showed me his addition to the collection which is the temporary exhibition, which nonetheless, has been on display for more than 3 years now. He explained to me that the majority of the pieces are art

				works that belong to private collectors and that he personally arranged the loans with them. When I asked whether he received complain regarding this particular exhibition in a place like Salo' which is so symbolic of the Social Republic he replied he received no complain at the opening or later on.
28	Anonymous	Museum assistant	27 July 2017, MuSa museum, Salo'	Interview took place on site. He said the museum is busy only during the Summer and even then is never crowed. He says he was surprise to see the Director on site only to be interview by me, he said he must find this interview very important. I asked whether he felt this was an exhibition and a museum that challenge the narrative of the Resistance and put in a different prospective the role of the regime. He replied that this is just a museum and there are no political positions shown in here.
29	Giulia Torch	Salo touring Club	28 July 2017, Salo'	Interview was taken at Giulia's office and stated as a casual conversation. I asked her if heritage of the Social Republic is something tourist seek to see

				and whether they are nostalgic or not. She replied that most of the tourist of this area are Germans and they usually highly dislike heritage of the Social Republic for the unquestioned way it is presented. Some of them have presented in time official complains to the Mayor as in their view more should be done to underline disagreement with the past regime. She also added that locals tend to remember Mussolini's time here as a beautiful prison for him and not a a true commander anymore. She added that locals tend to remember Nazi troops as violent whereas Italians soldiers were considered more humane with the local community.
30	Anonymous	Taxi driver	28 July 2017, Salo'	Interview started as a casual conversation. He was surprised to see someone doing research on Salo' and Fascist heritage, he added he is local and he knows very little about his city and the history of the Social Republic. He argued that it is a shame dark histories never get told and it is not given to the population the possibility to understand

				why that happened in the first place.
31	Fabio Guidi	Vittoriale degli Italiani tour guide	29 July 2017, Vittoriale	Interview took place on site after the tour of D'Annunzio's house. I asked him if there is any explanation on site of the relationship between the poet and Mussolini and he replied the two had very rarely any exchange as Mussolini notoriously was envious of D'Annunzio success as a leader. He also added that the property was one way to exclude the poet from public life and the way for Mussolini to keep D'Annunzio under constant control.
32	Anonymous	Manager, Hotel 'Claretta' this is not the real name, I was asked to anonymise the location.	30 July 2017, Salo'	Interview was taken on site. The hotel has been recently restored and is a luxury hotel overlooking the Como Lake. The lady introduced me to what was Caretta Petacci accommodation in Salo, were she use to meet with Mussolini secretly. The site is small but with stunning views. Claretta's room still has a picture of Mussolini's lover and when I asked the manager why they still keep the photo she replied that they are proud of the history of their hotel and that

				Claretta was just a women in love with the wrong man.
33	Anonymous	Manger, Hotel 'Mussolini' this is not the real name, I was asked to anonymise the location.	31 July 2017, Salo'	Interview taken on site. Mussolini's residence in Salo' is today a stunning extra luxury hotel. The manager said the site was recently restored and that it was abandoned for a long time after the war. He mentioned that Mussolini's room is rented sometime on specific request to be there, mostly from foreigners. I was not allowed to see the room as currently occupied, the suite is the most expensive one. He added that to see the room I should make a formal request to take photos and a specific appointment need to be arrange.

Third Fieldwork (2017-2018)

*Interviewees who have consented to their names being used are listed by names, others are listed anonymously. The majority of the interviews were casual conversations which have not been recorded and are not part of this appendix. Some of the key people on-site have been included as anonymous because of the relevance of their argument.

Interviews and site visit: Foro Italico

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
34	Gianluigi Bernabo’	C.O.N.I. Rugby CEO	13 March 2018, Olympic Stadium. Rome	Interview was taken on site. Bernabo’ explained to me how proud he was to have been able to move Rugby as a sport from a smaller stadium in Rome to the Olympic to play the Six Nations. His marketing strategy for the days of the match in Rome is to make a discount tickets for rugby fan to see some of the heritage attractions of Rome. Also he tells me the final event is celebrated at the Foro Italico and photos of Fascist Heritage are part of the marketing material. I asked him whether he received any complain about the use of the Forum as a historical legacy and he replied quite the contrary, international sports delegation have congratulated C.O.N.I. for the monumentality of their structure. He added they were jealous of the fact that their sport complex were not an example of modernist architecture.
35	Andrea Santini	Director of the Foro Italico Park	13 March 2018, Olympic	Interview was taking walking around the Foro Italico. The Director mentioned how the

			Stadium, Rome	site has changed over the years and how differently people from Rome now see this facility. When I asked whether he thinks this place odes not retain any Fascist valued he replied it doesn't, and argued very few people connect this now with the regime. He argues that people from the city see this just like another sport centre, the difference is that is monumental. Then he took me to the hall of the Apotheosis of fascism fresco and argued that this is the only controversial element of the site. When I ask if he sees it controversial he replied he does not but foreign press made a 'fuss' of various conference they held in there. He added it is just the foreign press, in Italy he said 'we' don't even notice that there is Mussolini 's face there.
36	Isabella Inzerillo	C.O.N.I. Communication Officer	13 March 2018, Olympic Stadium, Rome	Interview took place on site. She showed me marketing material for the Six Nations finals in Rome and explained to me the way they frame Fascist legacies. She said the 'old' section of the complex is

				called ether the monumental area or the historical one, there is no mention to the regime because she argues heritage is not political, is in the past, and what is left today are monumental sculpture that have artistic value.
37	Paolo Pedinelli	Head of C.O.N.I. Historic Archive	14 March 2018, C.O.N.I. Archive, Rome	Interview took place on site. I mentioned to Pedinelli a documentary I saw on Rai 1 were he was speaking about the Foro Italico and asked how important these legacies are in his view for the city or Rome. He replied that the stigma against Fascist Heritage had been removed with time and with the designation as Cultural Heritage, which give in his view a confirmation of the value of art and architecture of the regime. He mentioned that the *damnatio memoriae* is still part of a small political community within the heritage sector but that these days it is just a minority. He argues that there should be a museum of the history of the site, as until now tour visit are only arranged privately and it is a shame a

				there is growing interest in visiting the area.
38	Paola Teti	Sport University of the Foro Italico, Head of Communication	20 April 2018, Sport University, Foro Italico	Interview was taken on site. Paola Teti showed me the classes, the new and old gym and shared with me some of the history of the area. She argued that the University has a very different mission than C.O.N.I. and this is reflected in the use of the space. The University by its ethos is inclusive and 'open', it is not a place for an elite she argued. She said the use that C.O.N.I. makes of some of the facilities is arguably 'marketing' and visibility rather than proper use of the space. When I asked what she thinks of having a University in a Fascist site she replied that they feel lucky to have a space in the first place, and then that political connection to the regime today are non-existing as far as the University is concerned.

39	Paolo Barelli	Director of C.O.N.I. swimming pools	25 July 2018, C.O.N.I. Swimming Pools	Interview took place on site. I asked the Director about the challenges of dealing with material legacies of Fascism and he replied for him has not being challenging at all, quite the contrary a fortune. He argues that working within an historical site is a privilege and to fact that it was bult during the regime does not change its beauty.
40	Anonymous	Custodian of C.O.N.I. swimming pools	25 July 2018, C.O.N.I. Swimming Pools	Interview took place on site and started as a casual conversation. The Custodian took me to see Mussolini's gym, which is closed to the public, and told me the story that upstairs there is Mussolini's swimming pool now use to train children. He told me the story that Mussolini was not a good swimmer and therefore wanted a very short depth for the pool. He added that Mussolini's gym was beautiful and now the C.O.N.I. has transformed the place into a convention room changing the layout completely. He added that Mussolini was coming here with his lovers as well.

Interviews and site visit: E.U.R.

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
41	Filippo Maria Gambari	Director of the Civilta' Museums, Pigorini Museum	28 July 2018, Pigorini Museum, Rome	Interview was taken on site. I discussed with the Director the research questions of my thesis and he gave me his interpretation of what material legacies of Fascism are today in his view. He argues that there are places that are managed by a mix of private and public funding and that therefore there are very different missions depending if you are a private or the State. He added that the reconstruction of the E.U.R. district was part of the economic boom of the 60s in which relics of the regime needed to be integrated somehow into the landscape. Finishing the project seam the only way forward, and Rome needed a modern district anyway.
42	Alessandro Valentini	Head of E.U.R. spa	29 July 2018, Palazzo	Interview took place on site. Valentini showed me around

		Communication	Uffici, Rome	the building which is not accessible to the public. He argued that material legacies of the regime should not be seen as part of the regime but as Italian art and architecture just like any other historic relic. He believes the *damnatio memoriae* time was more political than what people really felt and that we should be able to appreciate art and architecture unbiased.
43	Roberto Diacetti	President E.U.R. spa	29 July 2018, Palazzo Uffici, Rome	Interview was brief and took place on site. I asked the President whether he thinks the area of the E.U.R. should be open to the public as a site of historical interest and he replied that they are actually thinking ways to open a small museum of the history of the district. The only issue is to find a way to make it viable in terms of staff time and location, as the are is still a working district.
44	Andrea Mazzucchelli	I.N.P.S. officer	30 July 2018, I.N.P.S., Rome	Interview took place on site. I was shown the building and the bunker, which is not open to the public for security reason. The officer tells me the site is not precisely the

				original plan of the time of the regime and with the exception of the semi-circular façade the material of the buildings is more steal and concrete than travertine.
45	Tom Kington	Journalist, The Times	1 August 2018, phone interview	I contacted Tom by phone to asked him question regarding his article on the Palazzo della Civilta' Italiana and Fendi. He kindly shared his research with me and argued that when he interview Fendi CEO he was puzzled by him questioning about the appropriateness of having a Fascist building restored and to be made a fashion headquarters. Tom added than in his view in Italy perception of Fascist building is not as in Germany, and that Fascism in itself is not truly criticised, he added than in his view is more of a diplomatic thing to say but that at hear Italians are not mad at Mussolini.
46	Ruth Ben-Ghiat	Historian	1 August 2018, phone interview	I contact Ruth on the phone to discuss her article on Fascist monument and the rage it produced. She replied that she was shocked by public and private reactions to her piece,

				that the title resulted provocative and was not chosen by her, so the message that come trough was for her to advocate for destruction of Fascist buildings. She added that she was disappointed not only the public disapproved of her analysis but also the Italian intellectual and scholarly community did not support her and more importantly her questioning of Fascist legacies.
47	Nick Squires	The Washington Post	1 August 2018, phone interview	Interview Nick on the phone in relation to his piece on the E.U.R. area and Fendi headquarters. His position is in line with one from Tom Kingdom and he is also surprise by the lack of historical understanding of places of the dictatorship.
48	Valerio Savelli	CEO pf E.U.R. Rose swimming pool	7 August 2018, E.U.R. swimming pool, Rome	Interview started as casual conversation on site. I asked Savelli what he thinks of the legacies of the regime in contemporary Italy and he replied that the link to the regime in his view is no longer there. He added that keep going back to remember that these legacies were made by

				the regime is a political move from the Left which has no political arguments left.

Interviews and site visit: Sironi at La Sapienza

No.	Site Name	Occupation	Date	Reference
49	Elena Billi	Head of Restauration	9 September 2018, La Sapienza, Rome	Interview took place on site. I was shown Sironi's fresco by the Elena Billi. I asked her why they decided to restore the fresco and why in particular they decided to remove the post-war covering on fascist symbols. She replied that for the integrity of the work of art those covering needed to be removed, it would have looked odd to keep them and the political meaning they carried is not there anymore. She added there is no need to fight Fascism anymore and works of art are not politics, they stand on their own.
50	Paolo Simoncelli	Historian	9 September 2018, La Sapienza, Rome	Interview was taken on site. Simoncelli asked me whether I was in line with Ruth Ben-Ghiat article on the destruction of Fascist building. I replied

				that the article was not about destruction but about questioning Fascist legacies. He added that Sironi's work is apolitical and it was the Communist party at the time to cover the frescos. He added that as Communism does not exist anymore it was about time to remove the covering on what is a masterpiece.
51	Anonymous	Exhibition assistant 'Sironi svelato'	30 December 2017, La Sapienza, Rome	Interview was taken on site at the exhibition that followed completion of Sironi's frescos restauration. I asked the assistant what she thought of the restauration, and she replied that being an art historian she found it outrageous that the fresco were covered. When asked whether she sees any point in covering Fascist symbols she replied not anymore.
52	Anonymous	Exhibition assistant 'Sironi svelato'	30 December 2017, La Sapienza, Rome	Interview was taken on site at the exhibition that followed completion of Sironi's frescos restauration. I asked the assistant what she thought of the restauration, and she replied the work has been a very long prosses started in the 70s, so it is in itself part of the

				story of the fresco.

Participant No.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM:

Renegotiating Fascist Heritage in Rome

You are invited to take part in this research study for the purpose of collecting data on the renegotiation of Fascist Heritage in Rome

Please do not hesitate to ask questions if anything is unclear or if you would like more information about any aspect of this research. It is important that you feel able to take the necessary time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

If you are happy to participate, please confirm your consent by circling YES against each of the below statements and then signing and dating the form as participant.

1	**I confirm that I have read and understood the scope of the research for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions**	**YES**	**NO**
2	**I understand my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my data, without giving a reason, by contacting the lead researcher and the Research Support Office <u>at any time</u>**	**YES**	**NO**
3	**I have noted down my participant number (top left of this Consent Form) which may be required by the lead researcher if I wish to withdraw from the study**	**YES**	**NO**
4	**I understand that all the information I provide will be held securely and treated confidentially**	**YES**	**NO**
5	**I am happy for the information I provide to be used in academic papers and other formal research outputs**	**YES**	**NO**
6	**I am happy for the interview to be <u>audio recorded</u>**	**YES**	**NO**
7	**I agree to take part in the above study**	**YES**	**NO**

Thank you for your participation in this study. Your help is very much appreciated.

Participant's Name	**Date**	**Signature**

Researcher	**Date**	**Signature**