

Drinking from the River Lethe: Case del Fascio and the Legacy of Fascism in Postwar Italy

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1. Mussolini, his mistress Clara Petacci, and other executed Fascist officials hanging from the gantry of a gas station in Piazzale Loreto, Milan, April 29, 1945. PUBLIFOTO / OLYCOM.

Drinking from the River Lethe

Case del Fascio and the Legacy of Fascism in Postwar Italy

The corpses of Mussolini, his mistress, and other Fascist officials hanging from the gantry of a gas station made for a visually arresting and grotesque display in the Piazzale Loreto in Milan on April 29, 1945. For many Italians and outside observers, the spontaneous nature and public spectacle of the event served as a visceral means of rejecting more than twenty years of Fascist rule. Mussolini, the charismatic former socialist who founded the Fascist movement in 1919, came to power when King Victor Emmanuel III appointed him prime minister of Italy on October 28, 1922 (in an effort to prevent the collapse of the national government). His two decades of rule ended when the Fascist Grand Council voted him out of office on July 25, 1943. Following Mussolini's dismissal, the king entrusted the new government to Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who had led victorious Italian troops into Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia in 1936, conquering that country and making it part of Italian East Africa. The Badoglio government immediately initiated a legislative process intended to cleanse the Italian nation of the discredited regime. In August 1943 he ordered the liquidation of the National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista) and its related organizations, including the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations (Camera dei Fasci e delle Corporazioni) and the Special Tribunal for State Security (Tribunale speciale per la sicurezza dello Stato), the body responsible for prosecuting crimes against Fascism. The following July, he established the High Commission for sanctions against Fascism (Alto Commissariato), a subcommittee which oversaw the transfer of all party property (owned outright or confiscated) to the state.¹ Government officials were to oversee the process of designating new functions for former Fascist Party headquarters (*case del fascio*) as well as other party buildings, such as headquarters for the Fascist youth organization Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (formed in 1937 after the restructuring of the Opera Nazionale Balilla).

The endurance of a remarkable quantity of buildings constructed during Fascist rule, a consequence in part of Mussolini's comprehensive public works projects (which included roads, railway stations, schools, post offices, and so forth) as well as the state's willingness to fund their completion during the postwar period, has attracted significant attention among historians, particularly those interested in tracing continuities between interwar and postwar Italian culture, memory, and

identity.² Many of these buildings are leading examples of Italian modernism that have been the subject of recent restoration campaigns, including the well-publicized and controversial renovation of Luigi Moretti's Fencing Academy (L'Accademia di scherma, 1933–36) at the Foro Italico in Rome undertaken by the Culture Ministry (Ministero dei Beni Culturali) and begun in 2005. Such projects have fueled new debates about how best to confront the material remains of the nation's interwar history as well as the preservation of modern architecture in Italy more generally.³ Fascist Party headquarters — the buildings most intimately identified with Fascism and often designed by young architects influenced by avant-garde modernism — are, with the notable exception of Giuseppe Terragni's celebrated Casa del Fascio in Como (1932–36), largely absent from this literature, perhaps in part because of their relative modesty but also because of their continued associations with political power.⁴ The growing involvement of preservationists in the protection of the nation's modern architectural heritage and a renewed interest among historians in the lasting effects of fascism and its relationship to modernism, driven in part by the dissolution of the polarizing politics of the Cold War, raise new questions about the continued presence of these buildings. In what follows, I will focus on the relationship between these buildings and the political ambitions of the regime, their use as centers for political activity in the immediate aftermath of Fascism's collapse, and their transformation in the following decades into military and police headquarters through the primary example of Milan, the birthplace of Fascism and a city where party leaders turned to young architects influenced by avant-garde modernism to expand its presence in the second decade of Fascist rule. Taken together this material raises questions about how and to what extent associations with political power cultivated under Fascism have persisted in the postwar period and the consequences this has for the study and preservation of modern Italian architecture.

Case del Fascio in the Context of War and Its Immediate Aftermath

Achille Starace, a southerner who was never fully embraced by the party's ruling elite, oversaw the party's initiative to build new and improve existing headquarters shortly after being appointed the party's national secretary in 1931 (he served the party in this capacity until his dismissal in 1939).⁵ He understood *case del fascio* to be an essential part of Fascism's mission and devoted significant resources to ensure that every village, town, and city on the Italian peninsula and in Italy's colonies had an appropriate symbolic setting from which to direct its operations.⁶ In Milan the party funded the construc-

tion of a large administrative center or provincial headquarters (Sede Federale, Piero Portaluppi, 1936–40) in the city center and at least nine of the city's twenty-eight Fascist neighborhood groups built new headquarters, the majority of which were located in the rapidly developing residential districts.⁷ These outposts housed ceremonial spaces, recreational facilities, and offices for party officials and the party's numerous welfare and leisure programs, all of which were calibrated to meet local needs with the aim of making new Fascist citizens. To ensure that these buildings were a distinctive feature of the landscape and encourage associations between individual party-controlled outposts within the city and throughout the nation, party leaders encouraged the repetition of formal motifs such as towers or the suggestion of towers (mandated by the national party secretary in 1932) and speaking platforms or balconies (*argengario*), which also evoked historic examples of civic authority (namely late-medieval northern Italian town halls).⁸ The addition of fasces (the symbol of the Fascist Party) and bold sculptural programs (commissioned when groups had sufficient resources) reinforced the ties between these buildings and Fascism. In step with the nation's recent military endeavors new neighborhood *case del fascio*, such as the Fabio Filzi headquarters (Eugenio Faludi, 1936–38) included large and well-equipped athletic facilities to help prepare young men for combat as well as air-raid shelters and armories.⁹ In June 1940, Italy entered World War II as an ally of Nazi Germany and, as Italy prepared for war, Fascist Party headquarters took on an increasingly potent identity as instruments of surveillance and control.¹⁰ Expecting new functions for these buildings, the party pushed to establish headquarters near transportation centers and along Italy's northern borders, where they could serve as supply depots and administrative outposts.¹¹

On July 25, 1943, a few days after the Allied Forces landed in Sicily, the Fascist Grand Council voted Mussolini out of power, and the dictator was arrested by Italian military police (*cabinieri*), carrying out the orders of King Victor Emmanuel III.¹² Italians took to the streets in celebration and made public their rejection of twenty years of Fascist rule.¹³ Ordinary citizens, ex-Fascists, and members of the resistance participated in parades and demonstrations through which they sought to repossess the public spaces of Italian cities and towns. The buildings most closely associated with the regime, and the symbols that embellished them, served as a focus for anti-Fascist activities. Streets and squares that had been given names with explicit Fascist associations were renamed, although those that were nationalist or imperialist were often left unchanged.¹⁴ In central Milan, mobs pulled down street signs along Corso Littorio and replaced them with improvised placards



2. Fabio Filzi headquarters, Eugenio Faludi, Via Filzi, Milan, 1936–38. *Edilizia Moderna* 29 (October–December 1938): 26.

reading “Corso Matteotti,” in honor of Giacomo Matteotti, the socialist and outspoken critic of Fascism who was murdered in 1924. Elsewhere in the city, crowds ripped Fascist symbols from party and public buildings and covered others that were too large to be easily removed, as in the case of the giant bronze fasces on Milan’s Central Station (Ulisse Stacchini, 1912–31).¹⁵ The new national government formally abolished the Fascist Party and its various agencies, including the Fascist association of university students (Gruppo Universitaria Fascista), the Fascist women’s group (Fasci Femminili), and National Institute of Fascist Culture (Istituto Nazionale di Cultura Fascista), and transferred the operations of the party’s many affiliates to the appropriate government ministries.¹⁶ However, other Fascist organizations remained more or less intact. The Gioventù Italiana del Littorio was renamed Gioventù Italiana (thus cleansing its name of its most obvious association with Fascism); and although the Ministry of War now took responsibility for overseeing some of the original organization’s activities, most of its operations remained in place under the authority of the Ministry of Education (such as the recreation facilities and summer camps established to mold the nation’s youth into ideal Fascist citizens, which the Gioventù Italiana continued to oversee). In a similar fashion, the activities and leadership of the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, the party’s consensus-building “after-work” organization, still flourished, albeit restrained by the ongoing war.¹⁷ These initial attempts to repudiate Fascism,



3. Fasces ripped from the Montegani Group headquarters, Milan, July 25, 1943. Archivi Farabola.

whether spontaneous or systematic, took place in the context of considerable political uncertainty.

In Rome, Marshall Badoglio, the new head of the Italian government, was negotiating an armistice with the Allies, whose armies were pressing north, even as the Italian army fought alongside German troops (which increased from two to seven divisions during the interval of negotiations). In September 1943, after the armistice was signed, German military units liberated Mussolini from captivity and installed the deposed dictator in a villa on Lake Garda near Salò as the head of the Nazi-controlled Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, popularly known as the Republic of Salò). Its territory extended from Italy's northern border to just south of Rome. The National Fascist Party reconstituted itself as the Republican Fascist Party (*Partito Fascista Repubblicano*) and held its first and only congress in Verona (which was the center of German activity in Italy) in November 1943.¹⁸ In Milan as in other northern cities, officials reporting to Mussolini's new government filled official posts and operated alongside the new reinforcements to Germany's armed forces (*Wehrmacht*) and defense corps (*SS*), who were aided in their efforts by Fascist squads.¹⁹ Milan put up little resistance, having already been severely crippled by prolonged shortages of food, fuel, and other necessities, and by sustained bombardment that was part of the Allies' strategy to incapacitate Italy's industrial capabilities and rail networks.²⁰ The Republican Fascist Party took control of the

properties owned by the Fascist Party.²¹ *Case del fascio* would now serve its paramilitary needs; and new militias, such as the Muti Squad (Squadra d'Azione Ettore Muti), established their headquarters in the city center. Over the next two years, dozens of independent partisan brigades were formed in the north to aid in the removal of German forces. At its height, the partisan movement included 250,000 members, the majority of whom were Communist. The movement was eventually consolidated into the National Liberation Committee (Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale [CLN]), which encompassed all anti-Fascist forces including Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, and liberals.²²

In the liberated south, which was now under the formal control of the monarchy but effectively governed by Allied forces, officials began to redistribute former Fascist property (which included buildings as well as their contents) to the state.²³ New legislation (Decreto Legislativo Luogotenenziale, July 27, 1944, n. 159) replaced all previous sanctions against Fascism. It provided the formal structure for the investigation and punishment of those associated with the regime and for the reallocation of its resources. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance, the High Commission for Sanctions against Fascism oversaw the transfer of the party's ex-headquarters to the state, which would use them for public services of general interest or for welfare agencies (*associazioni assistenziali*), sports clubs, and the like.²⁴ In many southern towns, local authorities simply resumed control of property they had rented or lent to the National Fascist Party; it rarely owned its headquarters in the south, due to its limited financial resources and a lack of enthusiasm for the party.²⁵ Although it owned its new provincial headquarters in Messina (Giuseppe Samonà and Guido Viola, *Casa Littoria*, 1940), the land—an attractive site near the town hall and in full view of the harbor, which was slated for redevelopment—had been donated by the municipal government, under pressure from party leaders. The city had also paid for construction materials. However, after the collapse of Fascism, the Ministry of Finance contested the city's claim to the building (the city had also paid for extensive repairs following the Allied bombing in 1943) and successfully negotiated for control of the property, which today houses tax and land registry offices.²⁶ In northern Italy, municipal governments also helped subsidize the party's building campaign.²⁷ However, because of the greater proportion of private wealth and popular support for the regime in that part of Italy, most Fascist groups there owned their headquarters; this, along with the protracted cessation of the military conflict, resulted in a substantially different history for these buildings in the north.



4. The provincial headquarters or Casa Littoria, Messina, Giuseppe Samonà and Guido Viola, 1940. *Architettura* 1940 (July): 358.

The combined offensive organized by the Allies and an insurrection led by the Italian resistance drove the Germans out of Italy and brought an end to the Republic of Salò on April 25, 1945. As news of the Allies' success spread to Milan, the Republican Fascist Party vacated their headquarters, officials of the Republic of Salò left government buildings, and German forces began to evacuate their outposts in the Hotel Diana and Regina.²⁸ Partisans took control of public buildings, radio stations, the airport, printing presses (from which they began to publish their own journals), military barracks, and *ex-casa del fascio*. The Communist 117th Garibaldi Brigade commandeered the former Oberdan headquarters (a neo-classical building by Ferruccio Franco and Raffaele Merendi, 1932) and used it to hold and torture members of the opposition.²⁹ Three days later, on the banks of Lake Como, partisans captured and shot Mussolini and his mistress Clara Petacci, who were attempting to escape with German military units. The next day, their corpses were brought to Milan, where they were shot, hung upside down, spat upon, and stoned by civilians. Among the other Fascist officials publicly vilified in the plaza was the former party secretary, Starace. Partisans recognized him walking along the streets of Milan and sentenced him at an improvised trial held at the Milan Polytechnic, which had been commandeered by the 116th Garibaldi Brigade.³⁰

The arrival of British and American troops at the end of the month (April 29) initiated the gradual return to civil order. Allied military forces together with the National Liberation Committee took charge of civic affairs.³¹ The Committee established outposts throughout the city but concentrated their efforts in the working-class neighborhoods and communities that had been absorbed into greater Milan during the early 1920s; these same areas had been the focus of the party's building campaign during the late 1930s. From their headquarters the National Liberation Committee sought to "promote and supervise the purging (*epurazione*) of former Fascists and the diffusion of a democratic consciousness and respect for freedom" as well as to provide access to services, including food, housing, and heating.³² At least some of their headquarters would have been in *ex-case del fascio*, a significant number of which were commandeered by the National Liberation Committee after the fall of Fascism and then adapted to the changing needs of the city. For example, the Jewish Community (Comunità ebraica) now rented the former headquarters of the Amatore Sciesa Group (housed in the sixteenth-century Palazzo Odescalchi), the wealthiest and most powerful Fascist group in Milan; the building, briefly occupied by the Matteotti Brigade, served as a base from which to provide housing and meals for the thousands of Jews returning from concentration camps in central Europe, many of whom continued on to Palestine (Israel was established in 1948), until a new center was established in Milan in 1952.³³

A popular referendum held in June 1946 formally established the Italian Republic and abolished the monarchy, sending King Umberto II (Victor Emmanuel III's son) into exile. The nascent democratic republic, as part of its founding myth, adopted the resistance movement, which was now equated with anti-Fascism (despite its regional character and many complexities), as stability returned slowly to the peninsula.³⁴ Because Fascist Party officials had erected their headquarters near major transportation centers and industrial complexes, many of these buildings were damaged during Allied bombing raids. In Milan and elsewhere some were demolished, but others were rebuilt or repaired, sometimes by their occupants and other times by the municipal government.³⁵ Five years after the establishment of the new national government, former party headquarters still served a variety of purposes and the government struggled to regulate their use. Squatters filled one and occupied rooms in two ex-Party buildings in Milan, a reminder of the city's pressing need for more housing.³⁶ The national radio corporation (Radiotelevisione Italiana, RAI), whose Milan headquarters (Gio Ponti, 1939) stood next to the former Crespi Group headquarters, filled that building. Political parties and



5. Ex-P. E. Crespi headquarters, Gianni Angelini, Giuseppe Calderara, and Tito B. Varisco, Corso Sempione, Milan, 1937–39. Author's collection, 2014.

organizations, many of which had seized these buildings immediately after Mussolini's final collapse, occupied at least seven of the remaining ex-*case del fascio*. Portaluppi's ex-provincial headquarters was handed over to the recently formed state police (*polizia statale*) after having been used for many years by the Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano [PSI]), the office charged with overseeing the liquidation of the socialist Matteotti Brigade (Ufficio Stralcio Brigate Matteotti) and a communist boarding school (Convitti Scuola della Rinascita), as well as two presses and a number of government agencies.³⁷ Although ex-*case del fascio* were not used exclusively for political operations, their continued function as centers for party activity—an identity established in the interwar period, maintained by partisans after the collapse of Fascism, and then extended by the various organizations in the immediate post-war period—helped lay the groundwork for their identification with political power in the following decades.

The Adaptive Reuse of Ex-*Case del Fascio*

As Italy recovered from the devastating effects of war and faced new challenges brought about by social and political change that culminated in the student riots of 1968, the Republican government used its authority to repurpose ex-*case del fascio* in Milan and elsewhere. In the same years the new government, guided by a constitutional provision that committed the state to the preservation of the landscape and the historical

and artistic patrimony of the nation (“il paesaggio e il patrimonio storico e artistico, art. 9), assumed a larger role in the protection and conservation of the nation’s cultural heritage. The creation of the Cultural Ministry (Ministero per i beni culturali e delle attività culturali e del turismo, first established in 1974 as Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali) provided an extensive administrative infrastructure for safeguarding the nation’s cultural heritage. Its activities were (and are still today) supported by a number of independent research and educational institutions, many of which date to the late 1930s.³⁸ In this environment Giuseppe Terragni’s celebrated Casa del Fascio in Como, which was occupied by the National Liberation Committee before the state installed a branch of the Italian armed forces (Guardia di Finanza) in 1956, was awarded landmark status in 1957, with additional restrictions put in place in 1986.³⁹ The majority of ex-Fascist Party headquarters were designated as the headquarters for local police forces or for various branches of the Italian military but were not protected as part of the nation’s cultural patrimony as they were adapted to these new functions.⁴⁰

Moreover alterations to the interior organization and exterior appearance were undertaken in a political environment that sought to emphasize Italy’s rejection of Fascism and cultural climate that demonstrated, with few exceptions, an ambivalence about interwar Italian modernism, seeing it predominantly as a late derivation of northern European avant-garde movements.⁴¹ The reworking of buildings like Portaluppi’s ex-provincial headquarters, which was now occupied by the military (carabinieri) and state police, were likely undertaken by functionaries within the apparatus of the state.⁴² To create a distinct entrance for the military police, the rectangular hall that once served as a mortuary chapel or *sacrario* (Gianni Albricci, Mario Tevarotto, Marco Zanuso, Luigi Mattoni, Gianluigi Reggio, and Mario Salvedè, 1939) was reconfigured. Little of the original interior remains. The tall freestanding white marble slabs that culminated in an altar dedicated to Fascist martyrs at the far end of the room have all been removed to accommodate a glass-enclosed guardhouse and a stairway to upper-level offices. Nevertheless the chapel’s rough stone walls and Lucio Fontana’s bas-relief on the ceiling depicting five ethereal personifications of victory (*Volo di Vittorie*, 1938–39) remain.⁴³ In a similar fashion the reconfiguration of the ex-provincial headquarters in Messina disrupted not only the symbolic intentions of the original but also its relationship to its urban context, particularly the adjacent square and the redeveloped waterfront.⁴⁴ Guided by the nation’s cultural heritage law n. 1089/39, which was written by the Minister of Education Giuseppe Bottai and applied only to buildings more than fifty years old, changes appear to have been

largely at the discretion the individuals involved rather than national policy, although the spaces most closely linked to Fascist ritual activities (mortuary chapels, meeting halls, auditoriums, and the like) were among the first to be significantly altered.⁴⁵

While the interiors of ex-Party buildings were reconfigured to express new political allegiances and accommodate the requirements of new programs, the exteriors of these buildings were also altered. Overt references to the party and to Mussolini (such as the fasces, excerpts from his speeches, his initial [a cursive *M*]) that ornamented various *case del fascio* were typically removed, likely in the immediate aftermath of Fascism's collapse but, once again, following a process that was shaped more by local politics than by national policy.⁴⁶ For example, on the Sede Federale in the Piazza San Sepolcro, the selections from Mussolini's speeches in large block text, the fasces, and the imperial eagle have all been removed; however, the four personifications of victory framing the entrance to the mortuary chapel—each dedicated to a significant event in the Fascist ritual calendar—remain in place.⁴⁷ In a similar fashion, the triple-height bas-relief by Leone Lodi on the exterior of the former Filzi Group headquarters (now an outpost for the Guardia di Finanza), representing the mythic struggle for order, rational control, and the rule of law, has been left almost entirely unaltered, perhaps reflecting the view that its integrity as a work of art surpasses its power as political propaganda.⁴⁸ In Messina, the bas-relief by Antonio Bonfiglio depicting workers led by young men holding Fascist banners and standards remains next to the main entrance of Samonà and Viola's ex-provincial headquarters and the Fascist-era slogan "Dare, Endure, Win" (*Osare, Durare, Vincere*), now overlaid with graffiti, still ornaments the opposite side of the building. Indeed, traces of explicitly Fascist iconography, now largely protected by heritage laws, remain a feature of many Fascist-era public buildings and spaces throughout Italy where they perpetuate, intentionally or otherwise, Fascist mythologies.⁴⁹

The partial and incomplete cleansing of these buildings and spaces of their Fascist identity parallels the often limited and symbolic purges of Fascist collaborators and the marginal reworking of the administrative, judicial, and police apparatus of the state that occurred after the collapse of the regime and during the establishment of the Italian Republic.⁵⁰ To the extent that these buildings drew from a formal vocabulary tied to the rituals of Fascism, much of their potency has been lost. It is doubtful that younger Italians who are not familiar with Fascist imagery would necessarily view the pairing of the tower and balcony, for example, as a reminder of Mussolini's speeches before audiences amassed below. It must be noted, though, that as much as this imagery is Fascist, it is also Italian. Towers



6. Ex-Sede Federale, Via Fosse Ardeatine, Piero Portaluppi, Via Milan, 1936-40. Photograph by author, circa 2000.



have long been a symbol of civic identity and political power, and countless historical examples remain throughout Italy as visual reminders.⁵¹ Balconies, too, are a longstanding feature of Italian buildings, and have served as spaces for high-ranking political and religious figures to address the public. These architectural features and the visually prominent placement of many *ex-case del fascio* (at major intersections, facing public squares, along major streets, and so forth) ensures that they continue to operate, at some level, as a distinctive feature of the urban landscape.

Fascism's Legacy in the Built Environment

In the context of a nation in which the built environment records the layered history of a succession of rulers, the Republican government's appropriation of the buildings and civic imagery of Fascism can be seen as an effort to assert its dominance over a vanquished enemy. Indeed the claiming of many of these buildings by the resistance during the close of the war and their subsequent occupation by socialist, communist, and other political parties and organizations, together with the removal of Fascist iconography and the restructuring of interiors (especially Fascist ritual spaces) asserted the return of a new political order. The Republican government's addition of the flags of Italy and, more recently, the European Union and signs announcing the new functions of these buildings continue this legacy. However, the restricted visual power of these additions and the continued identification of these buildings with political authority limits, to borrow the words of Italian architect Aldo Rossi, "the superimposition of new meanings."⁵² To what extent does the endurance of the architectural and figurative imagery associated with the regime on buildings housing government agencies, particularly military forces, point to embarrassing continuities between Italy's Fascist and Republican governments?



8. Ex-Casa Littoria, Messina.
Photograph by Umberto Ferro, circa
2006. Università IUAV Venezia.

Historian Mirco Dondi argues that Mussolini's effort to transform the character, habits, and mentality of Italian citizens was at least partially successful, and that a Fascist mentality (*mentalità*) continued to characterize Italian life even after Mussolini's humiliating defeat.⁵³ Dondi identified this in, among other things, a tendency for conformism and an anxiety among the bourgeoisie about the freedoms of democracy in the postwar period.⁵⁴ The widespread effort to destroy the symbols of the regime in the days after Mussolini's dismissal and the very public display of his disfigured body certainly suggests that Italians had internalized the lessons of the *ventennio nero*. However, when I casually approached people passing in front of the ex-Filzi Group headquarters in the early spring of 2000 to see if they knew about the Fascist origins of the building, they seemed surprised by the facts of its recent history. The relative lack of interest that these buildings arouse today can perhaps be viewed as a sign of their impotence as political symbols, despite the party's great efforts to promote them as such during the 1930s and 1940s. It can also be understood as a collective inability to completely engage with the moral and ethical problems posed by Fascism. In Greek mythology, those who drank from the River Lethe (River of Oblivion), one of the five rivers of Hades, experienced complete forgetfulness and were thus prepared for their rebirth. In this context, death was marked by the inability to forget. In fact, some scholars have argued that the limited purge of ex-Fascists and the very public trials of ex-partisans hindered the formation of a national consciousness fully capable of examining the nation's past.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, not everyone is ignorant of the history of these buildings: one young man doing his obligatory military service at what was once the Crespi Group headquarters flashed a smile of pride as he listed the other *ex-case del fascio* in Milan — a troubling reminder of the enthusiasm that many Italians still have for the failed regime.⁵⁶

Architecture historian Paolo Nicoloso has recently proposed that the monuments, buildings, and spaces associated with Fascism and the myths they embody continue to inform notions of Italian national identity. This is perhaps particularly true of the urban environments and historic sites, such as the Via dei Fori Imperiali and adjacent archaeological areas, which preserve spatial and symbolic arrangements orchestrated to support Fascist narratives.⁵⁷ In this context it is perhaps worth reconsidering the degree to which these buildings, which maintain important aspects of their interwar symbolism and house military personnel, shape public perceptions of political power (Fascist or otherwise). In a related vein, Nicoloso also suggests that projects undertaken in the immediate postwar period, such as the Fosse Ardeatine memorial (Gruppo Fiorentino e Perugini, 1944–51) have helped to perpetuate the belief that Fascism was a parenthesis within an otherwise glorious historical narrative.⁵⁸ In the postwar period, architects, like many Italians, took steps to distance themselves and architectural modernism from Fascist politics. This tendency was exemplified by Ernesto Rogers who used his built works, the best known of which is the Torre Velasca (1957–60) in Milan, and involvement with influential periodicals to, as architecture historian, critic, and theorist Manfredo Tafuri writes, “implement the values of the Resistance” and obscure continuities between architectural practice in the inter- and postwar periods.⁵⁹ Indeed in the cultural climate of the Cold War, modernism and Fascism were understood to be fundamentally opposing forces, despite the Fascist regime’s well-documented support of avant-garde modernism, a perception that has perhaps prevented scholars from fully considering the degree to which modernist architects were involved in the design of the building type most closely associated with Fascism and the legacy of that experience in postwar architecture culture and practice.⁶⁰

In recent decades, preservationists as well as architectural historians have shown a new interest in Fascist-era buildings, particularly those that are significant examples of interwar Italian modernism. In the context of the scholarly reevaluation of the architectural production of interwar Italy, as well as modernism more generally, those involved in projects such as the documentation and restoration of the new Fascist city known as E.U.R. (originally intended and planned as the setting for the Esposizione Universale of 1942, called E.42, but

never held) located just south of Rome have not only stressed their importance as works of art but also as documents of a rich “fragment” of architectural history still open to interpretation.⁶¹ The more recent launch of the Culture Ministry’s plans to restore Moretti’s Fencing Academy, which was neglected and abandoned before undergoing a significant restructuring to accommodate the Ministry of Justice in 1982, and the controversy surrounding Richard Meir’s building (2006) enclosing the antique Ara Pacis (Altar of Peace) in Rome, a project that resulted in the demolition of Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo’s Fascist era structure, points to some of the conflicts inherent in the restoration of works associated with the discredited regime, as well as those caused by the expanded role of private capital in the restoration and preservation of the nation’s cultural patrimony.⁶² The continued presence of these buildings in Italy and their association with the Fascist regime not only presents an opportunity to consider the legacy of Fascism in the shaping of collective memory and national identity but also raises questions about how this narrative shapes the perceptions of a growing international audience as the nation’s tourist industry continues to expand. In this context, how might alterations to Fascist party headquarters and other buildings tied to the political ambitions of the regime directly confront the complexity of their history with the aim of provoking a more frank assessment of the relationship among architecture, politics, and culture in Italy?

Biography

Lucy M. Maulsby is assistant professor in the School of Architecture at Northeastern University in Boston and author of *Fascism, Architecture, and the Claiming of Modern Milan, 1922–1943* (2014).

Notes

I am grateful to have had the opportunity to present some of this material at the European Architectural History Network (2010) and to further address the postwar history of these buildings in a paper drafted for the International Docomomo Conference (2010). The comments of Mia Fuller and Maristella Casciato were particularly helpful in this initial stage. Andrea Canziani, Ferruccio Luppi, Paolo Nicoloso, and Rosalia Vittorini answered many questions about the postwar history of these buildings. Sabrina Meneghini helped with images. Stephen Robert Frankel skillfully edited an earlier draft of this essay. Jen Holleran provided a place to write. Jorge Otero-Pailos’s thoughtful comments opened new avenues for research and helped me to see familiar material in new ways.

¹ Roy Palmer Domenico, *Italian Fascists on Trial, 1943–48* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

² Tim Benton, “From the *Arengario* to the Lictor’s Axe: Memories of Italian Fascism,” in *Material Memories*, ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, 199–218 (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Krystyna von Henneberg, “Monuments, Public Space, and the Memory of Empire in Modern Italy,” *History and Memory* 16, no. 1 (Spring/Summer, 2004): 37–85; Joshua Arthurs, “Fascism as ‘Heritage’ in Contemporary Italy,” in *Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe*, ed. Andrea Mammone and Giuseppe A. Veltri, 207–30 (New York: Routledge, 2010); Paolo Nicoloso, *Architetture per un’identità Italiana* (Udine: Gaspari, 2012), 114–122. There is also a considerable body of literature devoted to this theme in other national and political contexts. See, for example, Sharon Macdonald, “Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 1 (2006): 9–28; Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kahsteiner, and

Claudio Fogu, eds., *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).

³ For a general overview of some of this material see: Maristella Casciato, "I confini del moderno, un confronto aperto fra limiti e limite," in *Architettura Moderna in Italia, documentazione e conservazione*, ed. Maristella Casciato, Stefania Mornati, and Sergio Poretti, 27–36 (Rome: EdilStampa, 1999); Daniela Bosia, "Il recupero del moderno," in *Progettare il costruito: Cultura e tecnica per il recupero del patrimonio architettonico del XX secolo*, ed. Guido Callegari and Guido Montanari, 44–52 (Milan: F. Angeli, 2001). For a recent discussion in the popular press see Michael Z. Wise, "Mussolini Monumental Buildings," *Travel+Leisure*, March 2001, <http://www.travelandleisure.com/articles/dictator-by-design>.

⁴ Alberto Artioli, *Giuseppe Terragni, la casa del Fascio di Como: guida critica all'edificio: descrizione, vicende storiche, polemiche, recenti restauri* (Rome: BetaGamma Editrice, 1989).

⁵ Starace served as party secretary from 1931 to 1939. For an overview of his tenure see Renzo de Felice, *Mussolini il Duce: Gli anni del consenso, 1929–1936* (Turin, Einaudi, 1996), 216–234, and Albertina Vittoria, "Starace, Achille," in *Dizionario del Fascismo*, Vol. II, ed. Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, 684–88 (Turin: Einaudi, 2005).

⁶ Large population centers had a provincial headquarters in the city's center in addition to numerous neighborhood outposts, somewhat like the hierarchy of a Catholic cathedral and the parish churches within its jurisdiction. For an overview of these buildings see Flavio Mangione, *Le case del fascio in Italia e nelle Terre d'Oltremare* (Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali direzione generale per gli archivi, 2003); Franco Biscossa, "Dalla Casa del Popolo alla Casa del Fascio," *Casa del Popolo: Un architettura monumentale del moderno*, ed. Marco De Michelis (Venice: Marsilio, 1986), 175–224. Diane Ghirardo, "Architecture and the State: Fascist Italy and New Deal America" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1982), 47–91. For a more detailed discussion of these buildings in Milan see Lucy M. Mauslby, chapters 2 and 5 in *Fascism, Architecture, and the Claiming of Modern Milan, 1922–1943* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

⁷ These include the Mussolini Group (Mario Baccocchi, 1936–37), Fabio Filzi Group (Eugenio Faludi, 1936–38), Delcroix Group (Mario Cereghini, 1936), the D'Annunzio Group (Renzo Gerla, 1937–38), P. E. Crespi Group (Gianni Angelini, Giuseppe Calderara, and Tito B. Varisco, 1937–39) and the Mario Asso Group (1938). Groups that had plans underway for new headquarters in the final years of the regime include the Beretta Group, the Indomita-Bernini Group (G. Nerlo, 1939), and the Piave Group (1941).

⁸ Emilio Gentile, "Fascism as Political Religion," *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, n. 2–3 (May–June 1990): 240. See Ghirardo, "Architecture and the State," 67–74, as well as later articles including, "Terragni, Conventions, and the Critics," in *Critical Architecture and Contemporary Culture*, ed. William Lillyman, Marilyn Moriarty, and David Neuman, 93–96 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Anticipating the party's more comprehensive effort cultivate associations with centers of political power, a number of Fascist groups in greater Milan commandeered former municipal buildings. The Socrate Loris Group occupied a former communist center and then moved to an ex-municipal building. The Ugo Pepe Group and Goffredo Mameli Group took over former municipal buildings. See "Gruppo Franco Baldini," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, January 28, 1937; "Bonservizi-Tononi," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, February 7, 1937; "Gruppo Ugo Pepe," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, February 14, 1937; "Gruppo Gandolfo," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, February 21, 1937; "Gruppo Loris," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, March 3, 1937.

⁹ Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and became involved in the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939. "La sede del gruppo rionale Fascista 'P. E. Crespi' a Milano," *Architettura* 20 (September/October 1941): 381. a.c., "La nuova sede del Gruppo Filzi," *Milano*, April 1938, 165–67.

¹⁰ The urban placement, height, and open loggia of many towers associated with *case del fascio* suggest that they were intended for surveillance, however this was not a requirement. The tower of the Mussolini Group headquarters in Milan was solid brick.

¹¹ In Milan the Filzi Group headquarters stood a few blocks from the Central Station. On the opposite side of the rail tracks coming into the city's central station, the Eliseo Bernini Group opened a new headquarters on Via Superga in 1934. Other groups positioned near rail stations included the Cantore Group (1932, near Stazione di Porta Genova, 1865–70), the Mussolini Group (1936–37, near the freight yards that now form part of Stazione Garibaldi [Eugenio Gentile Tedeschi, Giulio Minoletti, Mario Tevarotto, Sergio Bonamico, Franco and Guido Gigli, and Dante Jannicelli, 1963]), and the Franco Baldini Group (near Stazione Lambrate). See also Ghirardo, "Architecture and the State," 88.

- ¹² F. W. Deakin, Book IV, chapters 4–6 in *The Brutal Friendship: Mussolini, Hitler, and the Fall of Italian Fascism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 420–79.
- ¹³ Leopoldo Marchetti, *Milano tra le due guerre (1914–1946)* (Milan: Strenna dell'Istituto Ortopedico "Gaetano Pini," 1963), 121. Vittorio Vidotto, *Roma Contemporanea* (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 226. For a contemporary account of events in Milan see "L'Esultanza di Milano," *Corriere della Sera*, July 26, 1943.
- ¹⁴ Marchetti, *Milano tra le due guerre*, 121. See also von Henneberg, "Monuments, Public Space, and the Memory of Empire," 42–44.
- ¹⁵ "Giornata di entusiasmo patriottico," *Corriere della Sera*, July 27, 1943.
- ¹⁶ "Il Decreto sulla soppressione del Partito Fascista," *Corriere della Sera*, August 6, 1943.
- ¹⁷ Victoria C. Belco, *War, Massacre, and Recovery in Central Italy, 1943–1948* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 41. For a history of Fascist youth organizations see Tracy Koon, *Believe, Obey, Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy, 1922–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); and for afterwork leisure organizations see Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- ¹⁸ Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–45* (London: University College London Press, 1995), 412.
- ¹⁹ For an overview of Milan in this period see Gabriella Bonvini and Adolfo Scalpelli, *Milano fra guerra e dopoguerra* (Bari: De Donato, 1979).
- ²⁰ Marchetti, *Milano tra le due guerre*, 125. See also Lucio Ceva, "Milano in Gurerra, 1940–45," in *Bombe sulla città: Milano in guerra, 1942–1944*, ed. Rosa Auletta Marrucci et al., 21–39 (Milan: Skira, 2004).
- ²¹ For a discussion of this across institutions see Belco, *War, Massacre, and Recovery*, 46–48.
- ²² Claudio Fogu, "Italiani brave gente: The Legacy of Fascist Historical Culture on Italian Politics of Memory," in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, ed. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kahsteiner, and Claudio Fogu (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 148. Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 413.
- ²³ See Claudio Pavone, *Una guerra civile: Saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1991).
- ²⁴ "I beni del cessato partito nazionale fascista, e delle organizzazioni soppresse dal R. decreto-legge 2 agosto 1943, n. 704, sono devoluti allo Stato. Su proposta dell'Alto Commissario, i beni stessi saranno destinati, con decreto del Presidente del Consiglio, di concerto con i Ministri competenti, a servizi pubblici o a scopi di interesse generale, anche mediante cessione: ad altri Enti pubblici o ad Associazioni assistenziali, sportive e simili." Article 38, Section IV, Liquidazione dei beni fascisti, Decreto Legislativo Luogotenenziale 27 July 1944, n. 159. The Italian government was most actively involved in the prosecution of those involved with the Fascist regime between 1943 and 1948, when the Italian Republic was consolidated under Alcide De Gaspari. See Domenico, *Italian Fascists on Trial*.
- ²⁵ Ghirardo, "Architecture and the State," 62.
- ²⁶ Within the abundant correspondence dedicated to this subject, see Antonio Pesenti, Ministro delle Finanze to Pier Felice Stangoni, Alto Commissario Aggiunto per la liquidazione dei beni fascisti, January 18, 1945; Ufficio Provinciale di Sanità Pubblica di Messina to Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Alto Commissariato per la Liquidazione dei beni fascisti, Alto Commissariato per la Sicilia, July 5, 1945, ACS, PNF, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1173.
- ²⁷ The city's concessions included selling more than six thousand cubic meters at less than half their market value for the construction of new headquarters for six neighborhood groups, building a headquarters for the D'Annunzio Group, and renting property below market value to nine neighborhood groups. Guido Pesenti to Starace, January 31, 1938, ACS, PNF, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1201, f. 106.
- ²⁸ German forces established their headquarters in the Hotel Diana, a large hotel with an interior garden located near the Public Gardens and the Porta Venezia established in the early nineteenth century, while the SS established its base in the Hotel Regina on Via Silvio Pellico near the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II on September 11, 1943. "Cronologia 'Milano nel Mondo' dal 10 giugno 1940 al 2 settembre 1945," in *Bombe sulla città, Milano in guerra, 1942–1944*, ed. Marrucci et al., 12.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* 15–16.
- ³⁰ Antonio Spinoza, *Starace: L'uomo che inventò lo stile fascista* (Milan: Mondadori, 2002), 309–11.
- ³¹ For a history of the CLN see Marina Baccalini Punzo, "Il CLN della città di Milano e sobborghi," 207–18, and Chiara Ziviani Pianciamore, "Storia e funzione del CLN Lombardia nel periodo della ricostituzione," 219–28, both in Bonvini and Scalpelli, *Milano fra guerra e dopoguerra*.

³² “Promuovere e sorvegliare l’epurazione nella zona stessa, curare la diffusione della coscienza democratica e il rispetto della libertà,” reproduced in Punzo, “Il CLN della città di Milano e sobborghi,” 213–14, n. 25.

³³ “Giorno della Memoria, una targa per celebrare la “rinascita.” *Corriere della Sera*, January 27, 2010. Sara Pirotta, “Memoria: 1945, da via Unione il primo minian,” *Mosaico*, March 5, 2010.

³⁴ See Fogu, “Italiani brava gente,” 149.

³⁵ Ministero delle Finanze, Direzione Generale del Demanio, Intendenza di Finanza di Milano. ACS, Ministero delle Finanze, Direzione Generale del Demanio, Divisione X, 1946–1964, 23/95 AA. GG. Beni exPNF, b.4.

³⁶ See Giancarlo Consoni e Graziella Tonon, “Le condizioni abitative dei ceti popolari e le lotte per la casa dal 1943 al 1948,” in Bonvini and Scalpelli, *Milano fra guerra e dopoguerra*.

³⁷ The presses were Azienda Cartaria “Tre C” and the Casa Editrice Ufficio Moderno. Ministero delle Finanze, November 19, 1952, and February 17, 1952. ACS, Ministero delle Finanze, Direzione Generale del Demanio, Divisione X, 1946–1964, 23/95 AA. GG. Beni exPNF, b.4.

³⁸ These include the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro, founded in 1939, and the Istituto Centrale per la Patologia del Libro, founded in 1938. Salvatore Settis, *Paesaggio, costituzione, cemento: La battaglia per l’ambiente contro il degrado civile* (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), 122–36, 179–87. See also Raffaele Tamiozzo, “La legislazione e la tutela in Italia,” in “Restauro e conservazione: La Legislazione e la tutela,” ed. Raffaele Tamiozzo, Jukka Jokilehto, Rossella Colombi, Cristina Menegazzi, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 2002, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/restauro-e-conservazione-la-legislazione-e-la-tutela_%28IL_Mondo_dell%27Archeologia%29/.

³⁹ Artioli, *Giuseppe Terragni*, 11. S.P. (Sergio Poretti), “1928, 1932–1936, Casa del Fascio di Como,” in *Giuseppe Terragni, Opera completa*, ed. Giorgio Ciucci (Milan: Electa, 1996), 407.

⁴⁰ Paolo Nicoloso, *Mussolini Architetto: Propaganda e paesaggio urbano nell’Italia fascista* (Turin: Einaudi), 281. For an overview of the reuse of *case del fascio* and other party buildings in the postwar period, see Carla Quinto, “L’eredità’ architettonica del Fascismo: Gli edifici del regime e il loro riutilizzo nel dopoguerra” (master’s thesis, Università degli Studi di Trieste, 2012). In Milan, of the sixteen ex-*case del fascio* in that city included in the inventory of ex-Party buildings submitted to the Ministry of Finance in 1952, one serves a military function, three house offices of the customs police (*Guardia di Finanza*), three are military police outposts (*Carabinieri*), and five are headquarters for the state police (*Polizia Statale*).

⁴¹ Michele Ugolini notes in his account of the postwar history of Terragni’s Casa del Fascio in Lissone: “L’edificio . . . venne manomesso nelle parti rappresentative e simboliche del regime: fu modificato il sacrario, furono distrutte le passerelle di collegamento e le quinte oblique della sala cinema-teatro, furono asportati gli arredi. Inoltre l’occupazione abusive del fabbricato e la mancanza di manutenzione causò l’alterazione degli spazi interni e il totale degrade delle finiture, soprattutto per le forti infiltrazioni di acqua attraverso la copertura piana.” *Giuseppe Terragni: La casa del fascio di Lissone* (Florence: Alinea, 1994), 7.

⁴² The complex also holds offices for the state police, which are reached from the entrance on Piazza San Sepolcro, as well as the Renaissance Palazzo Castani, which is protected as a landmark. The documentation for the alterations made to the complex are not held locally but may remain buried in the archives of the Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici or Ministero degli Interni, if they are accessible.

⁴³ Because these buildings are occupied by branches of the Italian military, current plans are not available and photography, even of the exterior, is officially prohibited.

⁴⁴ The first floor of the building is occupied by the Polizia Portuale and by the Ente Marattimo. The remainder of the building holds the offices of the Ufficio Tecnico Erariale as well as the custodian’s residence. Beatrice Teresa Feist, “La Casa del Fascio a Messina di Giuseppe Samonà e Guido Viola (1936–1940),” in *Il restauro del moderno in Italia e in Europa*, ed. Emanuele Palazzotto (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 244–45 n. 8.

⁴⁵ Article 1, 3. “Non sono soggette alla disciplina della presente legge le opere di autori viventi o la cui esecuzione non risalgia ad oltre cinquanta anni.” This is true not only of the examples mentioned but also of Luigi Moretti’s *sacrario* (1941) for the Sede Littoria in Rome as well as the *sacrario* in Terragni’s Casa del Fascio in Lissone. Vittorio Vidotto, “Palazzi e sacrari,” *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 11, no. 3 (2003): 594. Ugolini, *Giuseppe Terragni*, 7.

⁴⁶ The Fascist party headquarters in Asti (Ottorino Aloisio, 1934) makes this form the basis of its plan.

⁴⁷ The winged victories represented: May 24, 1915–November 4, 1918—Victory of War or World War I (*La Vittoria delle armi*); March 23, 1919—The Victory of the

Spirit or the Foundation of the Fascist Party (*La Vittoria dello Spirito*); October 28, 1922—The Victory of Boldness or the March on Rome (*La Vittoria dell' audacia*); May 9, 1936—The Victory of the People or the Declaration of Empire (*La Vittoria del Popolo*). Ravasco Memorandum, no date. ACS, PNF, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1197. The sculptures were by Arch. (Aldo?) Andreani. Martinelli to Ravasco, March 30, 1939. ACS, PNF, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1197.

⁴⁸ A quote from Mussolini at the base of the relief has been covered, but the panel still features three marching male figures holding fasces. The adjacent balcony, from which party leaders once addressed Mussolini's supporters, continues to display the imperial eagle and fasces.

⁴⁹ Fabio Paravisi, "Tra aquile e fasci, quei simboli del Ventennio," *Corriere Bergamo*, October 31, 2012." The justification for the preservation of an interwar Italian architecture has often been framed in these terms. For example, in support of the preservation of the complex of E.42 architect Paolo Portoghesi explains, "Giudicando quindi un'opera d'arte o un'opera di architettura non si giudica il quadro politico in cui si è prodotta, ma lo scarto imprevedibile prodotto in un certo campo da un certo grado di autonomia . . . Del resto chi giudicherebbe oggi le architetture dell'età di Adriano in base alle benemerienze politiche." Portoghesi, "L'EUR ha cinquant'anni," in *E 42, Utopia e scenario del regime*, ed. Maurizio Calvesi, Enrico Guidoni, Simonetta Lux (Venice: Marsilio, 1987), 10. Once protected as part of the nation's cultural patrimony under law 1098/39, which remained in effect until 1999, the works of art, inscriptions and other decorative details were protected by article 13, which required authorization from the ministry (then Ministry of Education). For an overview see Tino Foffano, "Tutela e valorizzazione dei beni culturali," *Aevum* 77, no. 3 (September–December, 2003): 724–25, and Settis, *Paesaggio, costituzione, cemento*, 122–36, 179–87.

⁵⁰ See Domenico, *Italian Fascists on Trial*; Claudio Pavone, *Alle origini della repubblica: scritti sul fascismo, antifascismo e continuità dello stato* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1995); Hans Woller, *I conti con il fascismo. L'epurazione in Italia 1943–1948* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977); and Mirco Dondi, "The Fascist Mentality after Fascism," in *Italian Fascism: History, Memory, and Representation*, ed. R. J. B. Bosworth and Patrizia Dogliani (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 157. n. 7.

⁵¹ Ghirardo, "Terragni, Conventions, and the Critics," 93–96.

⁵² Aldo Rossi, "An Analogical Architecture," (1976), reproduced in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965–1995*, ed. Kate Nesbit (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 349.

⁵³ Dondi, "The Fascist Mentality after Fascism," 141–60. See also Christopher Duggan, "From Apotheosis to Damnation: Mussolini and the Fascist Regime, 1936–45," in *Art against Fascism: Art and the Fall of a Dictator*, ex. cat., 7–14 (London: Estorick Foundation, 2010).

⁵⁴ Dondi, "The Fascist Mentality after Fascism," 152.

⁵⁵ Dogliani, "Constructing Memory and Anti-Memory," 25.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Elisabetta Povoletto, "A Dead Dictator Who Draws Tens of Thousands in Italy," *The New York Times*, November 2, 2011; and Tom Kington, "Benito Mussolini: A Dictator For All Seasons in Italy?," *The Guardian*, January 1, 2013.

⁵⁷ Paulette Singley, "Fascism under Erasure: A Proposal for Via dei Fori Imperiali in Rome," *Log* 8, Toward a Critique of Sustainable Architecture and Landscape (Summer 2006): 143–51.

⁵⁸ Paolo Nicoloso, *Architetture per un'identità Italiana*, 11 and 119.

⁵⁹ Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture, 1944–1985*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), 4.

⁶⁰ Paul Betts, "The New Fascination with Fascism: The Case of Nazi Modernism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 4 (October 2002): 541.

⁶¹ Exhibitions and related catalogs in Italy such as Silvia Danesi and Luciano Patetta, *Il Razionalismo e l'architettura in Italia durante il Fascismo* (Milan: Electa, 1976), and *Gli Annitrenta: Arte e cultura in Italia* (Milan: Mazzotta, 1985), demonstrate a shift away from the more narrow concerns that drove much of the scholarship about interwar Italian architecture in the decades immediately following World War II. The founding of Docomomo in 1989 to advance the documentation and preservation of modern architecture has brought national and international attention to interwar Italian architecture. For EUR, see Portoghesi, "L'EUR ha cinquant'anni," in *E 42, Utopia e Scenario del Regime*, 9–14; and Pier Luigi Porzio, "L'E 42, Ragioni di una tutela," in *E 42, Utopia e Scenario del Regime*, 197–99.

⁶² Francesco Dal Co, "La casa delle Armi di Luigi Moretti e il destino del Foro Italico," *Casabella* 64, no. 682 (October 2000): 4–7. In the case of the Foro Italico, the interest among preservationists and historians in documenting and protecting this work resulted in alliances with those who value the visual reminders of Mussolini's Italy for very different, politically problematic reasons. Arthurs, "Fascism as 'Heritage' in Contemporary Italy," 122. In a different vein, see Raffaele Cutillo and Luigi Spina,

Ex-Casa del Fascio Caserta, cronica di un cantiere in avanzamento/chronicle of a building in progress (Milan: Electa, 2009). For recent developments in preservation culture in Italy, see Salvatore Settis, *Italia, S.p.a: L'assalto al patrimonio culturale* (Torin: Einaudi, 2002), and Diane Ghiardo's thoughtful overview in *Italy* (London: Reaktion, 2013), 185–96. See also Max Page, "The Roman Architecture of Mussolini Still Standing," *Boston Globe*, July 13, 2014.