

Mostre

“... architectural courage is inversely proportional to the permanence of buildings ...”

Giuseppe Pagano, “*Parliamo un po' di esposizioni*” (1941)

The Italian fascist regime was committed both to restoration and innovation, both to remembering and renewing the past and to building the nation's future either upon transcendence of the past or even its outright erasure. Not unlike socialist or populist counterparts in its own era and after, it found in political exhibitions an ideal locus for historical self-reflection, self-representation, and self-promotion. What the historical museum had been with respect to the 19th century nation state, the political exhibition became with respect to the new mass-based regimes of the 20th century: a place of nation-building where myths of origins could be created, disseminated, and venerated, and genealogies linking the present to the remote or recent past be forged. But never without a prospective focus in harmony with the values of the era of industry.¹

The shift from museum to exhibition signals a revolt against historicism and, more broadly, against the disinterested, analytically grounded, “positive” methodologies upon which historicism relied. The modalities of cultural memory propagated by historical museums were scientific and tendentially elitist. They were founded on incremental narratives of development, on an austere didacticism largely addressed to educated audiences, and on the separation between document, mode of display and surrounding décor. Political exhibitions instead mirrored the practices of trade fairs and universal expositions. They put themselves forward as impermanent sites of volatile memory: as agitational instantiations of counter-memory, as museums in motion cast in a populist mold in which the life-sapping effects of historicism could be shaken off in the service of calls to collective mobilization and myths of redemption or resurrection. Their target audience was neither the aesthete nor the history buff nor the student or scholar, but rather a distractable, labile, multifaceted creature: mass man, the man of the crowd, whether understood as the contemporary urbanite, the political tourist embarked on a political “pilgrimage” to the nation's capital, or the foreign tourist brought face to face with an alternately seductive and menacing image of the future-in-the-making. In all three of these iterations, much as in the seminal short story by Edgar Allan Poe bearing this very title, the man of the crowd prefers novelty palaces to memory palaces, the bustle of sidewalks to the silence of art galleries. A stranger to institutions consecrated to the study and the preservation of the past, his temporality is that of the present moment; his essence is perpetual flux. The political exhibition strives to place the wanderings of mass man in lockstep with the march of a national collectivity.

The precise degree to which an exhibition's mnemonic/counter-mnemonic tactics assume historical or ahistorical contours is, of course, conditioned by ideology. Within the framework of socialism's collectivist utopia, Soviet exhibitions staged the erasure of all but the recent past and put on display the (supposedly) accelerated cadences of development inaugurated by the revolution and fulfilled in the first and second Five-year Plans. Fascism's unstable mix of dreams of radical restoration and rupture, its claim that it was a unique product of Italian history yet represented a universally applicable third pathway to modernization superior to socialism and liberal democracy, imposed a more delicate task upon Italian architects, exhibition artists, and designers. The challenge they faced was that of developing a rigorously contemporary visual vernacular with

national(ist) overtones. In the case of the most advanced forms of fascist culture, like the ones emphasized in the present essay, such overtones found themselves introduced less by means of explicit citation or imitation of Italy's artistic heritage, than by means of subtle echo and allusion, the emphatic use of Italian materials and techniques, reduction of historical sources to elemental forms intermingled with objects and icons of the industrial era. This oblique, “back door” approach to historical reference gave rise to a complex, forward-looking interpretation of the regime's backward-looking ideals of Italianness (*italianità*) and Romanity (*romanità*). And nowhere was this interpretation elaborated with greater boldness and freedom than in the impermanent setting of exhibitions.²

Five examples of this effort to forge a national style within the confines of the modernist revolt against historical styles will be surveyed in the course of the present essay.³ The series begins with the 1932 Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution (*Anno X—La Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, MRF), held on the ten-year anniversary of the March on Rome: a collaboration between many of the leading Rationalist, Novecento, and Futurist architects, artists, and designers, subsequently reworked in more tradition-bound editions in 1937 and 1942. It continues with three lesser known but no less revealing cases: the stunning *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana* held in the Palazzo dell'Arte in Milan in 1934; the 1937 *Mostra Augustea della Romanità*, staged in the very site of the MRF, Rome's Palazzo delle Esposizioni, second in importance only to the original MRF; and the four main exhibitions held in the Circus Maximus between 1937 and 1939: the *Mostra delle Colonie Estive e dell'Assistenza all'Infanzia*, the *Mostra del Tessile Nazionale*, the *Mostra del Lavoro e del Dopolavoro*, and the *Mostra Autarchica del Minerale Italiano*. It concludes with Mussolini's most ambitious undertaking, never brought to term due to the outbreak of World War II: the *Esposizione Universale Romana (E 42)*, site of the much vaunted “Olympiad of civilization” (*Olimpiade delle Civiltà*) intended to confirm Italy's rebirth as a major world power on the twentieth anniversary of the fascist seizure of power.

It is no accident that the sequence of exhibitions just evoked is characterized by swings in the pendulum between moderate and avant-gardist redactions of fascist modernism. This because, due in part to its vitalist underpinnings, in part to the clientelism rampant in Italian politics and to divisions within the fascist fold, Mussolini never found it convenient to definitively resolve the question of its core identity as a political doctrine, not to mention resolving debates over the true character of “fascist culture.” The result was eclecticism in the regime's patronage practices right up to the time of its collapse and a tendency towards overt or covert stylistic hybridities, even within the various moderate, novecentist, futurist, or rationalist camps, from the 1920s through the mid-1940s. However convenient it may be for cultural historians to emphasize distinctions between this current or that, the fact remains that the Italian interwar architectural and design scene was defined less by the strict observance of ideals of purity than by forms of subtle and not-so-subtle contamination, compromise, and stylistic/ideological blurring, thanks to which the era's output exceeds that of most totalitarian peers in complexity, if not quality. This flexible approach to modern design and architecture, reinforced by pressures to favor unusual autarchic-type materials and by work models that favored mergers between elements drawn from traditional craft practices with industrial methods of production, also goes a long way towards explaining why a distinctive design culture developed during the interwar period that pro-



1 Travel in Italy, publicity poster for the Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1932

vided the springboard for Italy's launch as a major design center in the post-World War II era.

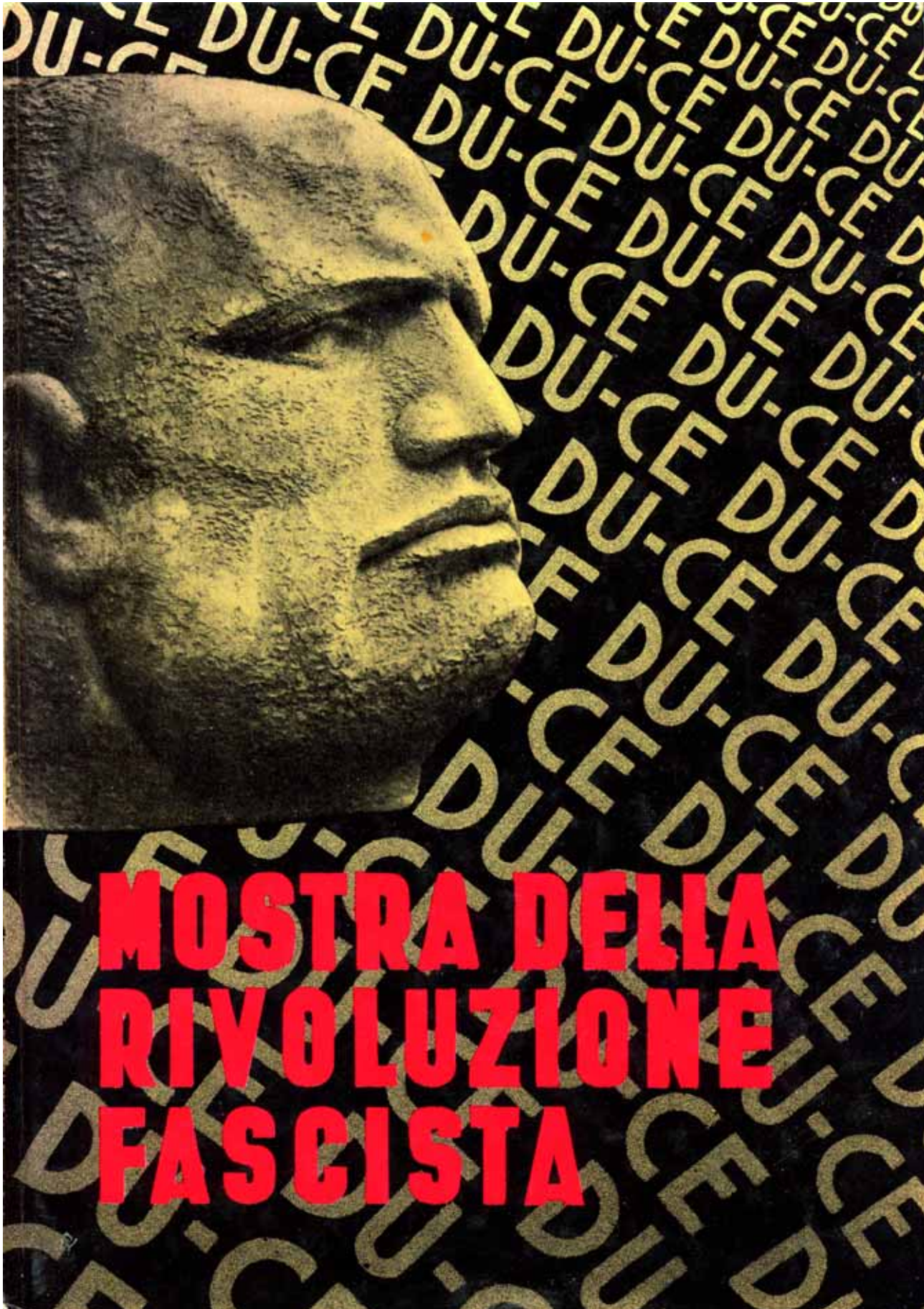
It is also no accident that the sequence outlined stretches neatly between the *Decennale* and the *Ventennale*—that is, between two ten-year anniversaries of the March on Rome. Political exhibitions did not figure within fascism's initial propaganda arsenal. They came to the fore as the regime confronted the task of representing its own role as an agent of rupture with recent history and as an agent of reconnection with heroic epochs in Italy's distant and not-so-distant past, e.g. antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Risorgimento. In the spirit of trade fairs and universal expositions like the Turin 1902 *Prima Esposizione Internazionale di Arte Decorativa Moderna*, such acts of self-representation were, from the beginning, addressed to audiences both within and outside Italy. By means of massive advertising campaigns, discounts on train tickets, discounted fuel coupons, organized trips, and various Italian State Tourism Board initiatives they sought to bring Italians from the provinces to the Capital and to provide foreign tourists with an experience of Mussolini's new Rome in what amounts to an attempt to create and mobilize a mass audience hitherto absent from the Italian scene.⁴ In so doing, development of Italy's tourism infrastructure proceeded hand in hand with efforts both to consolidate the regime's control over all areas of Italian society and to assert Italy's claim that the fascist "third way" was superior to the communist and to liberal democratic pathways to modernization (Fig. 1).

In *Anno X—La Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista del 1932* (MRF) and in a series of related essays published over the past decade, I have reconstructed the story of how the MRF derived from an earlier effort

on the part of the Istituto Fascista di Cultura di Milano, led by its then-president, Dino Alfieri, to commemorate the ten year anniversary of the foundation of the *Fasci di Combattimento* in March 1919 (Fig. 2).⁵ Rivalries between Milan and Rome, the first associated with fascism as disruptive movement, the second with fascism as a disciplined and disciplining state, led to a shift in dates from 1929 to 1932 and to a change in focus meant to reinforce the belief that all the nation's roads led towards a Rome where the once-Milanese Mussolini had been transformed into a Roman *Dux*. The core impulse behind both endeavors, however, remained the same: to gather together a vast array of documentary materials—from shirts, daggers, and banners to newspapers and photographs—regarding the fascist revolution and to weave them into an immersive experience of Italy's recent history. In the words of Alfieri, who not only went on to direct the MRF but also to become Minister of Propaganda and ambassador to Germany during World War II: "It's a matter of suggestively bringing back to life before the eyes of visitors fifteen years in the history of the Italian people, perhaps the nation's most dramatic and decisive since Roman times, to evoke the reawakening after centuries of torpor [...] that accompanied the outbreak of the European war via the interventionist movement, that revealed to the country its new youthful audacity, its determination to redeem the nation once and for all by means of sacrifice and struggle, to unite the Fatherland but, most important of all, to forge a single race, long divided by differing traditions, by historical circumstance, by barriers created and reinforced by foreigners, century after century."⁶

This task of bringing these events "back to life" for a mass audience that had experienced the revolution either indirectly or not at all was undertaken by means of an exhibition that paired historians and party ideologues with young architects and artists of the most diverse sort: included were representatives of the Novecento group (Mario Sironi, Achille Funi, Domenico Rambelli, Arnaldo Carpanetti, Alberto Pratelli, and Marco Santagata), Rationalists (Giuseppe Terragni, Marcello Nizzoli, Adalberto Libera, and Mario de Renzi), members of the Strapaese (Amerigo Bartoli, Mino Maccari, and Leo Longanesi), and second-generation Futurists (Gerardo Dottori and Enrico Prampolini).

The secret to the MRF's success was the skillful manner in which its organizers made an asset of the layout of the Palazzo and of the stylistic divergences between MRF artists and architects. Its opening four rooms provided a compact survey of the events leading from the outbreak of the Great War to the founding of the *Fasci di Combattimento* in 1919. This was followed by a detailed presentation of the 1919–1922 period, the so-called "heroic" phase of the Fascist movement, occupying a total of eleven rooms. Here the crescendo of events leading from the labor disruptions of the postwar era to the March on Rome was brought to life by transforming an otherwise orderly sequence of rectangular floor plans into an unpredictable progression of asymmetrical rooms with irregular spatial relations: rooms in which it was impossible to tell what is framing what. Documents were embedded within the bodies of anthropomorphic giants; photographs, minute and enormous, were superimposed on top of one another; figures, facts, symbols and dates marched without distinction across walls and ceilings; three dimensional objects (daggers, an anchor, a bridge, a bell, flags) appeared now inside, now outside display cases. The aim of the fifteen "historical" rooms was to make palpable to visitors the emotions of awe and terror associated with the revolutionary violence of fascism-as-movement so as to then perform a sort of "return to order," associated with fascism-as-state, as the visitor left behind the building's periphery to march through four final spacious rooms aligned along the central axis: a Hall of Honor, containing a reconstruction of Mussolini's first Milanese office, the Gallery of the Fasces, featuring the banners of individual Fascist groups, the "Mus-

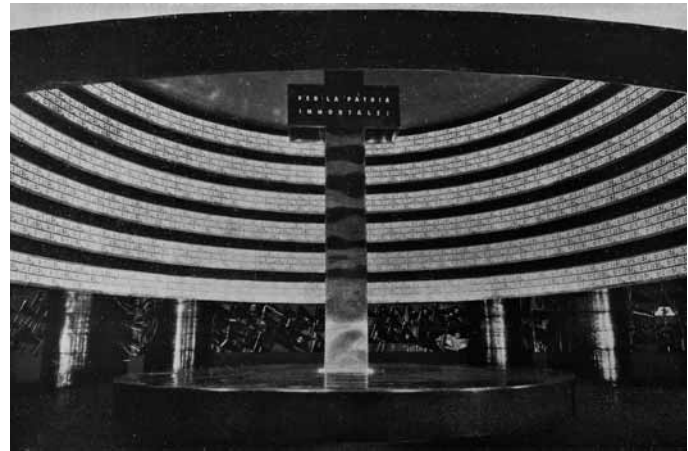


2 Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista, Exhibition Catalogue, cover design by Mario Sironi, Rome, 1933

solini room”, containing a reconstruction of his second Milanese office, and a *Sacrarium*, celebrating the “martyrs” of the revolution. This complex of nineteen rooms occupied the entirety of the ground floor of the Palazzo delle Esposizioni. The building’s second floor was dedicated not to the past, but to the regime’s present and future plans. It contained a room representing the activities of Fascist organizations abroad, a library with 5,000 volumes concerned with Fascism, and three small halls dedicated to the regime’s achievements in the fields of labor, agriculture, transportation, industry, and commerce.⁷

Two liminal features of the MRF deserve special mention: its façade designed by Adalberto Libera and Mario de Renzi and the *Sacrarium*—once again by Libera, but this time with help from the theater designer Antonio Valente. The first carried out a striking facelift, replacing the neoclassical Beaux-Arts façade that had graced Via Nazionale for half a century with two massive X’s for Roman numeral tens atop red boxes with an immense black box at the center, fronted by four free-standing cylinders evoking an industrial iconography of smokestacks, pop-riveted conduits, and iron ships. If this Rationalist front suppresses the references to traditional building types found in the Beaux-Arts original, it does not evade historical meanings altogether. The black fasces of the avant-garde façade echo the columns of the original Roman colonnade. No longer performing a supporting role, these Fascist “columns” stride out in front of the building as if they were monumental soldiers leading classical architecture into the industrial age. The symbolism is enhanced by the fact that the new columnar order is personified by the ancient Roman symbol of the state’s absolute authority over life and limb. Later appropriated in the French Revolution and Risorgimento, the Fascist symbol is updated in the new façade so as to imply that Fascism’s heritage encompasses the revolutions of both antiquity and modernity.

The *Sacrarium* effects a similar sort of symbolic fusion of horizons, but between the domains of the secular and the sacred (Fig. 3). *Sacraria* were standard features of local PNF (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*) offices and usually consisted in a funerary stele accompanied by a tempered glass reliquary as, for instance, in Terragni’s Casa del Fascio in Como. The MRF’s is far more elaborate and represents instead a three-dimensional interpretation of a ceremony belonging to the early history of the fascist movement: namely, the practice of reciting the names of the fascist dead in a ritual roll-call, in which the living, arrayed in a circle, would shout out *presente!* to mark their fallen comrade’s enduring presence. Libera and Valente transform the human circle into a large cylindrical space, over thirteen meters in diameter and seven meters in height, made up of six circular back-lit tiers aglow with the word *PRESENTE!* repeated one thousand times (as if to infer that those present are the literal heirs to Garibaldi’s *Mille*). A riveted metallic cross towered above a red copper pedestal at the center of the cylinder. Inscribed with the phrase *PER LA PATRIA IMMORTALE!* (“for the immortal Fatherland”), this last of the MRF’s sacramental signs is engaged in a visual dialogue with the chorus of recorded voices wafting down from the rafters singing the lyrics of the fascist hymn *Giovinetza*: a hymn to youthful sacrifice. The sacralization of politics initiated out by the Risorgimento here attains its fulfillment within a setting that manages to evoke ancient Roman and archaic Christian funerary building types while remaining exquisitely contemporary.⁸ As it happened, the year 1934 was a Jubilee year. So the sea of patriotic pilgrims marching on Rome in order to celebrate the *Decennale* would gradually swell thanks to the additional presence of pilgrims from throughout the Catholic world. Perhaps unsurprisingly, subsets of the former marchers had opted for spectacular performances of devotion not unlike those favored by the latter long before



3 Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista, *Sacrarium*, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1932



4 Esposizione dell’Aeronautica Italiana, façade, designed by Erberto Carboni, Palazzo dell’Arte, Milan, 1934

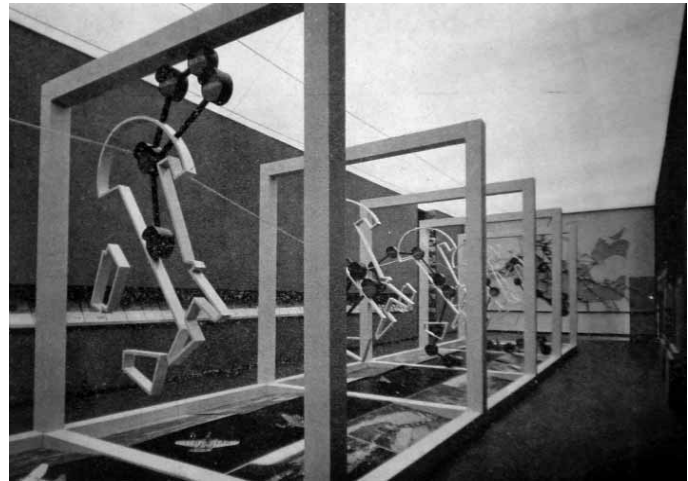
the Holy Year came around: arriving in Rome on foot, on their knees, on bicycles, and the like, from places as far away as Berlin.

The MRF opened its doors to the public on October 29, 1932 and closed exactly two years later with the total visitor count nearing four million visitors: roughly, one in eleven Italians attended, which is to say over 5,000 visitors on an average day.⁹ Originally intended to last only six months, its success was such that, declared permanent by Mussolini in October 1933, it gave rise to subsequent avatars in 1937 and 1942 at the Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Valle Giulia. While the latter were flops from an attendance standpoint, the first MRF nonetheless consecrated exhibitions as a key instrument of mass persuasion. Successors were quick to follow, though sometimes independent of PNF or central government sponsorship. Most prominent among them was the *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana* (EAI) held in Milan's Palazzo dell'Arte between June and October of 1934.

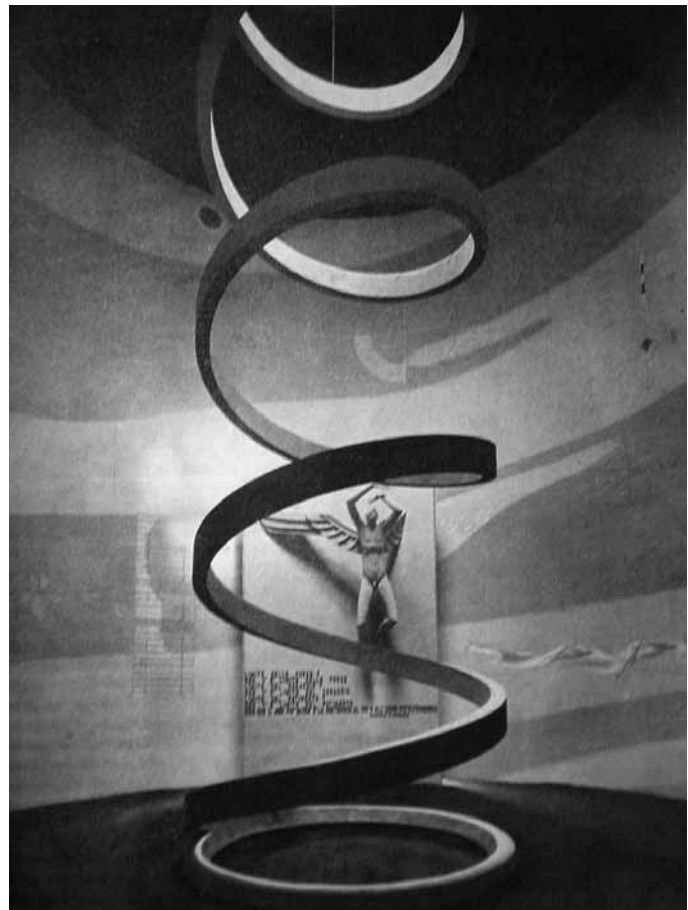
Whereas the MRF was the creation of a heterogeneous mix of designers, covering the full spectrum from classicizing modernists (Rambelli) to eccentric traditionalists (Longanesi) to radical modernizers (Terragni), the EAI represents one of the genuine summits of the modern movement in Italian architecture thanks to the decisive role played on its organizing committee by Giuseppe Pagano.¹⁰ At the time Pagano was a no less intransigent fascist than proponent of Rationalism, and had assumed the editorship of the leading architectural review *Casabella* as recently as 1932. So he found himself in the ideal position to call upon the cream of the crop of Milan's young architects and designers—a literal *Who's Who* of the generation that would triumph on the global stage after World War II: Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, BBPR (Gian Luigi Banfi, Lodovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peresutti, and Ernesto N. Rogers), Marcello Nizzoli, Edoardo Persico, Mario Sironi, Giò Ponti, Luciano Baldassari, Bruno Munari, Franco Albini, Gian Carlo Palanti, Piero Bottoni, Eugenio Faludi, Agnoldomenico Pica—to interpret a theme dear to the regime: the new Italy as a nation of flyers led by a new kind of leader—not a *primo ministro*, but a *primo pilota*.¹¹ The identification between fascism and flight extended back to the aftermath of World War I, and was tied in particular to the Fiuman circle of adventurer-aviators close to Gabriele d'Annunzio, like Guido Keller. It was further fed by several decades of Futurist aerial mythmaking from the time of the Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature with its propeller-muse to Fedele Azari's aerial theater to early 1930s aeropainting and aeropoetry.¹² It reached its apogee at the time of the *Decennale* thanks to the success of Italo Balbo's two mass transatlantic flights: the late 1930-early 1931 Italy-Brazil crossing carried out with twelve Savoia-Marchetti S. 55 hydroplanes; and the summer 1933 Rome-Chicago crossing carried out in formation with 25 similar hydroplanes.¹³

The EAI was a Milanese initiative, but it did not shy away from justifying its "rigorous architectural technique" by claiming direct descent from the MRF: "Every room was conceived of and realized as an ideal vehicle for granting primacy to the objects contained. Not all will have succeeded equally in achieving a limpid sense of aesthetic mastery, but in each and every one artistic aims have determined the presentation of relics and sought to exalt their meaning. The great precedent established with the Exhibition of the Revolution was carried over to the design of the present exhibition, but, naturally, applied in a different spirit."¹⁴

The "different spirit" in question was *l'esprit nouveau*: the conviction that modern architecture equalled an aerial architecture of the pure sort theorized in Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture*.¹⁵ Such was the spirit of the operation carried out on the Palazzo dell'Arte façade by the graphic artist Erberto Carboni (Fig. 4). Much like the colonnade of Rome's Palazzo delle Esposizioni, the entry arcade was encased



5 *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana*, Room 28: Civil Aviation, Air Tourism, and Air Mail, designed by Luciano Baldassari, Palazzo dell'Arte, Milan, 1934



6 *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana*, Room 14: Hall of Icarus, designed by Giuseppe Pagano, Palazzo dell'Arte, Milan, 1934

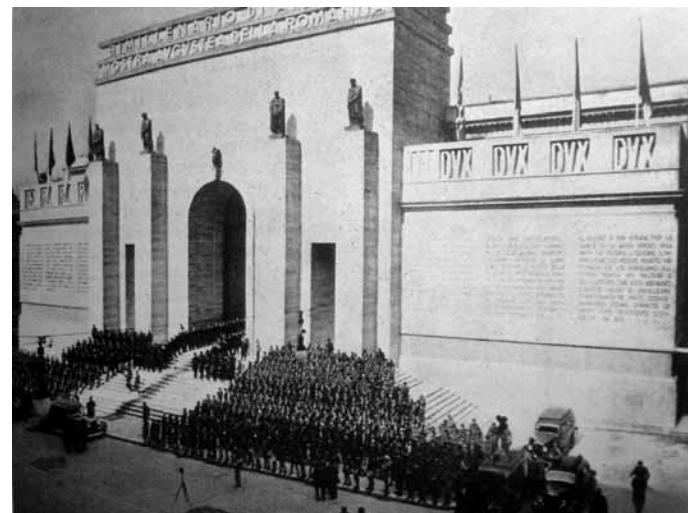
in an opaque geometrical box with the exhibition title stretched across its base. Borrowing from Futurist aeropainting and, in particular, from Prampolini's *polimaterici* series of painting-collages, Carboni transformed the surface of the box into an abstracted representation of the heavens conquered by Balbo's transatlantic aviators, hoisting a single fasces-shaped column, directly borrowed from the MRF façade, high into the sky over an image of the terrestrial sphere. The message was clear: if the fascist columnar order marched at the MRF, it would fly at the EAI.

And fly it did. The overcoming of gravitation served as Pagano's core design concept throughout the Palazzo dell'Arte installation: an installation based on the placement of twelve actual aircraft at varying angles within the exhibition space, that made widespread use of transparent and semi-opaque vertical planes and air-frame structures to interrupt one's ordinary sense of the distinction between the material and the immaterial; saturated with large-scale photomosaics and photomontages interspersed with documents, grids, experimental typography, and decorative graphic elements (Fig. 5). Much as in the case of the MRF, the show was built around a split between the historic and the symbolic. The building's ground floor was devoted to the pre-fascist history of Italian aviation, leading the visitor around its periphery through rooms tracing the beginnings of Italian aviation, aviation's role on the Libyan front and World War I, d'Annunzio's activities as pilot, and fascism's early ties to aviation. The upper floor was dedicated instead to Italy's soaring trajectory under fascism: literally so in the case of the two main rooms along the central axis documenting Mussolini as supreme aviator and Balbo's 1933 transatlantic flight; figuratively so in a series of rooms exploring everything from aerodynamics and aircraft engineering to gliders and parachutes to civil aviation and air mail. The hinge between floors was provided by the EAI's equivalent to the MRF's Sacarium: the Hall of Icarus—a two-story cylindrical structure designed by Pagano with help from the young designer Bruno Munari, intended to exalt "the efforts of pilots and builders who set out to conquer the air."¹⁶ Symbolic in character, the cylinder was filled with a three-dimensional blue spiral extending from beneath the floor up into the recesses of the ceiling (Fig. 6). A figure of Icarus, sculpted by Marcello Mascherini, was set off against a vertical wall bearing a quote from d'Annunzio: "A limit to man's powers? No such thing exists. A limit to endurance? There's no such thing. I declare that the ne plus ultra is the most outrageous conceivable blasphemy pronounced against God."¹⁷ Schematic drawings of aircraft and of the flight paths of gulls were scattered about the dark walls of the cylinder as if constellations disguised as ancient petroglyphs.

The EAI's immediate successor was the closely related *Mostra nazionale dello sport*, held at Palazzo dell'Arte the subsequent year: a show of comparable quality whose design would be worthy of a separate study.¹⁸ But more indicative of the regime's shifting propaganda needs in the wake of the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia was the next major festivity that the regime elected to organize: a show in honor of the two thousand year anniversary of the birth of Augustus Caesar. Planning for what would come to be called the *Mostra Augustea della Romanità* (MAR) seems to have begun in June 1932, when the MRF was still under construction, and its character was, from the start, less avant-gardist than antiquarian though antiquarian with a populist-modernist twist.¹⁹ The enterprise was led by Roman city councilor and parliamentary deputy, Giulio Quirino Giglioli, professor of ancient art at the University of Rome and a noted expert on the Mausoleum and Forum of Augustus, as well as the editor of the Villa Giulia's and the Capitoline Museum's *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. Giglioli's aim was nothing short of grandiose: to provide an exhaus-



7 Mostra Augustea della Romanità, Room of the Armed Forces, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1937



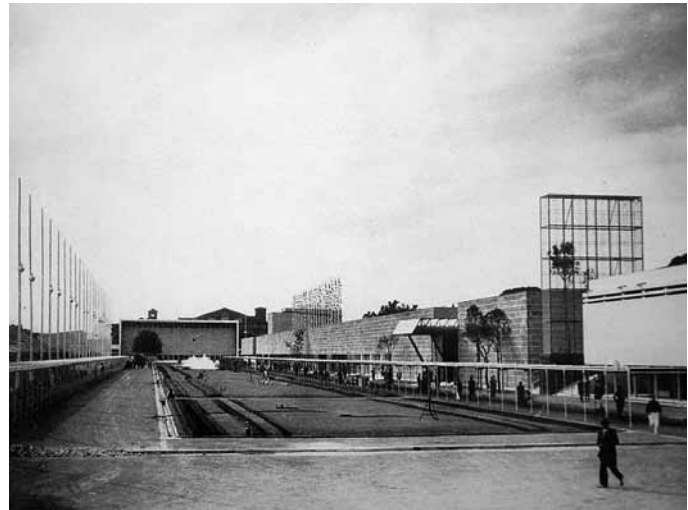
8 Mostra Augustea della Romanità, façade, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1937

tive portrait of Roman civilization, centered in that of Augustus and his era, that would underscore continuities between the Augustan past and Mussolini's present Italy. The target audience was a mass audience: "not only specialists or those who are already enamored of historical or archeological studies, but all Italians, by means of the *Mostra Augustea*, will be able to readily experience our people's glorious first Empire and, as a result, will find themselves spiritually exalted and reinforced in their commitment to respond to il Duce's call, incised into the Exhibition's entryway: 'Let past glories be exceeded by future glories.'" ²⁰

The renewal of empire thus assumes both backward- and forward-looking connotations at the MAR. The show's ambitions were encyclopedic, aiming to document civic life in ancient Rome over the course of thirteen centuries (8th century BC to 6th century AD—"the period of the creation of all the modern world's core values") in every conceivable domain: from history and politics to architecture and engineering to religion and everyday life.²¹ It included thousands of objects from across the entire Roman empire arrayed so as to suggest that *romanità* was a stable, timeless essence, immune to local variations of any significance or substance, the product of historical necessity rather than contingency.²² So, though historical in nature, the approach was emphatically not that of traditional archeological museums: "The monuments have not been exhibited following the rigid norms of museums, but instead surrounded by inscriptions, photo-montages, maps, and diagrams, so as to give rise to sections that wed scientific rigor with the liveliness of a modern exhibition: a task that has required my collaborators and myself [Giglioli] to rely often on the help of valiant artists."²³

This was the spirit in which, in open defiance of conventional scientific norms, originals were rejected as too difficult to obtain, insufficiently portable, and too challenging from the standpoint of conservation and installation. On the contrary, the curators were bold enough to rely exclusively upon reproductions—deemed so scientifically accurate as to be "at least the equal" of originals—so as to allow for a higher degree of homogeneity on the level of materials and for the use of up-to-date installation techniques.²⁴ The "valiant artists" with whom they collaborated included modernist-minded young architects like Mario Paniconi, Giulio Pediconi, Ludovico Quaroni, Francesco Fariello, and Vincenzo Monaco. To judge by surviving installation photographs, contemporary lighting fixtures, raised partitions, fluctuating floor plans, typographical panels, and extensive recourse to theatrical lighting effects all lent a degree of dynamism to the installation that would have been unthinkable in any 1930s archeological museum (Fig. 7).

The fact that the MAR took place in the Palazzo delle Esposizioni, site of the original MRF, was no coincidence.²⁵ Open for the full duration of the Augustan year, attended by one million visitors, promoted with the now standard repertory of travel incentives, the MAR's run coincided with the reopening of the MRF at the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna in Valle Giulia and with the restorations of the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Ara Pacis. Both façades—the MAR's by Alfredo Scalpelli, the MRF's by Cesare Bazzani—hewed to the emerging canons of the so-called *stile littorio*, a monumentalizing, neo-Imperial architectural vernacular with strong affinities with the work of architectural moderates like Marcello Piacentini, the dean of the Italian architectural scene in the 1920s and 1930s (Fig. 8). With their placement of the exhibition title in relief atop the central corpus of each building, their recourse to extensive v-cut inscriptions, their reliance upon the typology of ancient triumphal arches, and insistent use of the title *dux* or *duce*, they were doubles by design: two iterations of the singular face of a new era in which, isolated from



9 *Mostra delle Colonie Estive e dell'Assistenza all'Infanzia*, architects: Adalberto Libera, Mario de Renzi, and Guido Guerrini Circus Maximus exhibition grounds, Rome, 1937

the world due to its imperial adventures, the fascist regime needed myths of restoration at least as much as it required myths of rupture. This said, the patronage pendulum continued to swing right and left well into the 1940s: so much so that even when late-1930s façades drift into the lictorial orbit, exhibition interiors and installations continue to mine the avant-gardist/experimental vein of the MRF and the EAI. Public pronouncements and a few gestures and polemics aside, the Axis alliance did little to change this recurring—one is tempted to say systemic—tendency towards hybridization but within an overall modernist drift.

Cases in point are the four PNF-sponsored exhibitions held between June 1937 and May 1939 in a special pavilion built in Rome's Circus Maximus: the *Mostra delle Colonie Estive e dell'Assistenza all'Infanzia* (MOCE), the *Mostra del Tessile Nazionale* (MTN), the *Mostra del Lavoro e del Dopolavoro* (MLD), and the *Mostra Autarchica del Minerale Italiano* (MAMI). The first documented the role performed by the fascist state in overseeing and monitoring the life-cycle of each and every Italian youth, opening with a tribute to the Opera Nazionale Maternità e Infanzia and closing with the Gruppi Universitari Fascisti (GUF). The second was devoted to celebrating Italy's role as a textile producer with particular emphasis placed upon research on and the production of autarchic fabrics such as Lanital and Cafioc. The third concerned the role of labor within the corporatist state and the state's active intervention in the sphere of after-work activities from sports to the theater. The fourth and last portrayed Italy as a country that, against all odds, thanks to research and innovation, had achieved self-sufficiency in the domain of mineral resources and fossil fuels. Though each of these shows modified the core edifice and pavilions originally devised by Libera (again working with de Renzi) for the MOCE, none of the four can plausibly be described as a "return to order" with respect to the MRF, not to mention be cited as proof of *romanità* vanquishing *modernità* or neo-imperial classicism vanquishing a prior pluralism.²⁶ To the contrary, on the very grounds of ancient Rome's greatest hippodrome, against the backdrop of the Aventine, the Palatine, and the Axum obelisk, a location ripe with opportunities for grand historical gestures, these exhibitions rarely cast a backward glance that was not dressed up in right-angled Rationalist garb.²⁷ And, even in cases like the reworked façade of the MAMI Autarchy pavilion, with its enormous imperial eagle and inscriptions *AUTARCHIA* and *Mussolini ha sempre ragione* ("Mussolini is always

right”), the material is the message and massage: “both eagle and its mount are covered in nailed aluminum sheeting, which is to say, draped in [Italy’s] national metal par excellence,” but also the modern material par excellence.²⁸ The sides of the building were striped with alternating glass-brick and aluminum panels in keeping the most uncompromising Rationalist practices.

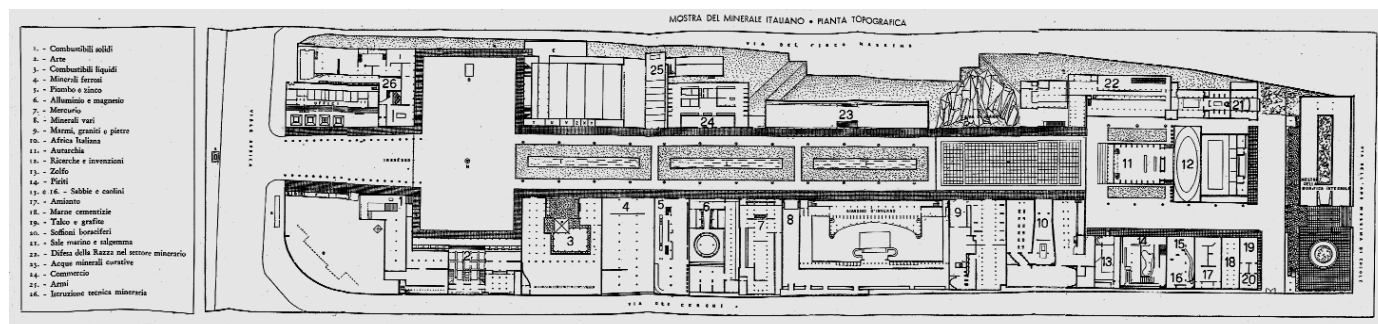
The architecture of Libera’s sprawling 50,000 square meter complex speaks for itself in this regard. It was geometrically rigorous both on the outside and inside, based on the interplay of alternating vertical and horizontal elements like louvers, awnings, pillars, pilotis, flagpoles, and beams (Fig. 9). It combined extensive ground-level glazing in the exhibition halls with advanced lighting solutions and the occasional autarchic twist in the domain of building materials: the cladding of the main pavilion, for example, was made out of *carparite*. The entryway reprised the successful formula of the 1935 *Brussels International Exposition*, based, in turn, upon the MRF façade: a sequence of glassed-in fasces blades jutting out of the top of a perforated box above the signage identifying the show. A series of reflecting pools with arching jets ran the length of the site.

There was nothing passéist about either the themes of the shows hosted in Libera’s rationalist Circus or the ways in which architects like Libera and De Renzi, but also designers of individual pavilions, like the Moscow-born Vinicio Paladini—who was well acquainted with Soviet exhibitions from the late 1920s—and Luigi Moretti, carried out their work. The shows were concerned with the fascist socio-economic present, and though most included historical showcases, for instance, on Italian textile production or metallurgy over the ages, their models were industrial trade fairs and world expositions.²⁹ Private sector participation was considerable: at the MAMI, over 750 firms contributed displays; the figures for the MTN were smaller but still very substantial. Live production processes and human activities were integral features of every show, much as they had been in a long lineage of similar shows extending from the 1851 London *Hyde Park Crystal Palace Exhibition* to the 1931 Paris *Exposition Coloniale Internationale*. The MLD hosted actual athletic competitions among worker groups. The MOCE had at its heart a fully functioning youth camp with its own open-air swimming pool and gymnasium. The MTN and MAMI contained extensive samples of raw and processed materials for spectators to view as well as touch; they also featured model working facilities where the magic of industrial production could be experienced live by viewers, as well as a full-scale marble quarry (Fig. 10). Instead of seeking to merely foreshadow a future, fully fascistized Italy, the Circus Maximus sought to bring that future to life: literally and immediately so, by embodying the life of the new Italy on the very site of ancient world’s greatest race track. If the 1932 MRF sought to bring the revolution “back to life” by artistic means (with the show’s “live” components assuming the form of rituals and rallies staged in and around the periphery of the exhibition hall), here

the procedure is radicalized: the revolution is enacted inside the exhibition hall itself so as to suggest that the new Rome is already built. It’s simply a matter of breaking down the walls that separate the new from the old.

It would be tempting to view the *Esposizione Universale Romana (E 42)* as a synthesis of everything that came before it in the domain of political exhibitions. And in a sense, the EUR was just that. But it would also be misleading inasmuch as the EUR represents an anything but impermanent modification of the urban fabric of Rome.³⁰ Unlike any of the cases discussed up to this point, the EUR was intended as a “new city” that would fulfill the promise demonstrated by fascist “new towns” like Sabaudia, Aprilia, and Latina: a full-scale fascist utopia that proclaim to the world the advent of Mussolini’s Third Rome (Fig. 11). Built to endure at least as long as ancient and early modern Rome, it soon proved the wisdom of Pagano’s adage regarding the inverse proportionality between architectural risk-taking and the permanence of buildings. Pagano had served on the original planning committee formed in January 1937 by Piacentini whose initial proposals were for an ultramodern city of glass, cement, and steel.³¹ When two years later Pagano observed how, under pressure from various quarters (including an always mercurial *Duce*), Piacentini had pushed to one side the most innovative proposals and dressed up the new fascist city in marble arches and columns, he denounced what he dubbed an architecture of “false theatrical façades” from the pages of *Costruzioni-Casabella*.³²

The origins of the EUR project date back to 1935 and are traceable to the fascist hierarchy’s leading intellectual, Giuseppe Bottai, the Governor of Rome. They envisaged an Olympic games of civilization in which fascist Italy’s supremacy, the result of “twenty-seven centuries of human activity,” would become palpable.³³ The initial models were world’s fairs like Chicago’s *Century of Progress* (1933) and the *Brussels International Exposition* (1935). As the project developed and the run-up to the war prompted a turn away from global inclusiveness, the EUR’s identity drifted instead towards that of a titanic exhibition of exhibitions, dedicated to documenting the past, present, and future “genius of Rome” by means of nearly 75 individual components that comprehended the contents of every preceding show while going far beyond them. There would be a *Mostra dello Sport*; a *Mostra delle Organizzazioni del PNF* including fascist youth groups and the *Dopolavoro*; a *Mostra dell’Autarchia*; a *Mostra della Romanità*; a *Mostra dei Trasporti* dedicated to the aviation; and exhibitions on textiles and mineral resources.³⁴ But there would also be halls of science, international pavilions, art museums, a convention center, theaters, restaurants, a nursery and a tourist village reserved for visits by large organized groups. If the Circus Maximus exhibitions sought to create an urban microcosm within the heart of the capital, the EUR sought instead to open up an entirely new urban front resonant with the regime’s most sweeping urbanistic ambitions. Located on the Ostia



10 Mostra Autarchica del Minerale Italiano, ground plan, Circus Maximus, Rome, 1938



11 Roma 1942 Esposizione Universale, publicity poster, Rome, 1939

side of the city, site of the ancient Roman port, it emphasized Mussolinian Rome's identity as a seaport, underscored by the mid-1930s construction of the new *Via del Mare*.

If World War II thwarted the full realization of the EUR, many of the key pieces of Piacentini's urban plan were put in place before construction was interrupted, as was the core of permanent buildings. These included Bruno Zevi's Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana and Gaetano Minucci's Palazzo degli Uffici (both completed); and Libera's Palazzo dei Congressi, and Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, and de Renzi's Piazza delle Forze Armate (left incomplete). Twenty years would pass before the Italian republic, constitutionally antifascist yet equipped with many of the very institutions, tools, and practices that fascism had developed and staffed by many of the same formerly fascist public servants, was left to carry on with the construction of Mussolini's Third Rome.

Ghosts from the past rarely go quickly or gently to their graves in Roman soil. In 1951, Virginio Testa, a founding member of Bottai's original planning group, was appointed commissioner of the EUR. And among his first actions, he appointed none other than Marcello Piacentini superintendent of urban planning and Gaetano Minucci the director of EUR technical services. Other members of the prior EUR development team soon rejoined the group. A slightly truncated version of the project went forward with little more than a change in the hue of the architects' shirts.³⁵ Mussolini's fascist utopia would finally achieve completion but transformed into the showcase for a new nationalist theme: the postwar Italian economic "miracle."

A chronology of the major fascist exhibitions

- *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, October 1932—October 1934
- *Mostra Nazionale delle Bonifiche*, Rome, Villa Umberto, October—December 1932
- *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana*, Milan, Palazzo dell'Arte (Triennale), June—October 1934
- *Mostra Nazionale dello Sport*, Milan, Palazzo dell'Arte (Triennale), May—December 1935
- *Mostra Augustea della Romanità*, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, September 1937—September 1938
- *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Rome, Galleria d'Arte Moderna (Valle Giulia), September 1937—November 1938
- *Mostra delle Colonie Estive e dell'Assistenza all'Infanzia*, Rome, Circus Maximus, June—September 1937
- *Mostra del Tessile Nazionale*, Rome, Circus Maximus, December 1937—January 1938
- *Mostra del Lavoro e del Dopolavoro*, Rome, Circus Maximus, May—August 1938
- *Mostra Autarchica del Minerale Italiano*, Rome, Circus Maximus, November 1938—May 1939
- *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Rome, Galleria d'Arte Moderna (Valle Giulia), October 1942—September 1943
- *Esposizione Universale Romana (E 42)*, Rome, EUR quarter, construction initiated late 1930s but never completed

Notes

- 1 I have explored this topic with respect to Mario Sironi's influential work as an exhibition designer in "Flash Memories (Sironi on Exhibit)", Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy, Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum eds., Ithaca/London 2005, p. 223—240.
- 2 The point was made emphatically by Pagano: "Quando l'architettura moderna italiana si dibatteva nelle sue prime polemiche e gli orrori imperversavano e si costruiva la stazione di Milano, la Casa madre del mutilato e il primo tratto della via Roma a Torino; quando pochi architetti invasati strillavano e organizzavano mostre di architettura razionale per combattere l'irrazionalità di uno stilismo fiacco e convenzionale; quando l'architettura funzionale era considerata con sospettosa cautela ed ogni benpensante si gonfiava di patriottico sdegno quando vedeva una casa senza tetto, una finestra orizzontale o un portone senza ferri battuti; quando era considerata audacia eroica il mecenatismo di qualche barista intelligente (ricordiamo il bar Craja a Milano!), dove potevano sfogarsi i sogni architettonici degli architetti moderni? Nelle esposizioni! "Parliamo un po' di esposizioni," Casabella, March—April, Milano 1941.
- 3 For an overview of the role of exhibitions during the fascist ventennio, one may consult Marla Susan Stone, *The Patron State, Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); for some useful pictorial materials see Antonella Russo, *Il Fascismo in Mostra*, Storia Fotografica della Società Italiana, Rome 1999.
- 4 The Ente Nazionale Italiano per il Turismo [ENIT] was founded in October 1919 for the overseas promotion of tourism in Italy. Internal tourism was typically promoted by entities like the state railways in association with entities such as the Dopolavoro, the GIL, GUF, and Balilla.
- 5 The bibliography on the MRF has now become extensive, but in addition to Anno X—La Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista del 1932, Piste—Piccola biblioteca di storia 4. Rome/Pisa 2003 and "Epic Demonstrations: Fascist Modernity and the 1932 Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution," in *Fascism, Aesthetics, and Culture*, ed. Richard J. Golsan, Hanover/London 1992, p. 1—37, 244—252, it is worth mentioning both Claudio Fogu, *The Historic Imaginary. Politics of History in Fascist Italy*, Toronto 2003, and Marla Stone, *The Patron State*, see note 3, p. 128—176.
- 6 "Si tratta di far rivivere, dinanzi agli occhi del visitatore e suggestivamente, quindici anni di storia del Popolo italiano, forse i più drammatici e i più risolutivi per la Nazione, da Roma in poi, di rievocare il risveglio dal torpore secolare ... allo scoppio della guerra europea col fenomeno dell'interventismo, che rivelò al Paese le sue forze sane, la nuova giovinezza audace, la volontà di redimere definitivamente la Nazione nel sacrificio e nella lotta, di integrare la Patria ma, quel che è più, di fondere la stirpe, divisa da tradizioni, da vicende storiche, da solchi creati e approfonditi dallo straniero, per secoli e secoli." "Una lodevole iniziativa dell'Istituto Fascista di Cultura: La mostra storica del Fascismo (Nostra intervista con l'on. Alfieri)," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, March 31, Milano 1928.
- 7 The guidebook describes these rooms as "a schematic, synthetic anticipation of the Exhibition of Accomplishments that is currently in preparation, reliant upon figurative diagrams" ("un'anticipazione—schematica, sintetica, a base, si può dire, esclusivamente di diagrammi figurati—sulla Mostra delle Realizzazioni del Regime fascista che si sta preparando"). Dino Alfieri and Luigi Freddi, *La Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Rome 1933, p. 246.

- 8 On the topic of fascism's sacralization of politics, one may consult Emilio Gentile, *Le Origini dell'Ideologia Fascista*, Bologna 1996 (Soc. Ed. Il Mulino), *ibidem*: *Fascismo. Storia e Interpretazione*, Roma et. al. 2002 (GLF Ed. Laterza).
- 9 There is some dispute about total attendance figures. In his opulent *Italiani e stranieri alla Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Turin 1935, Francesco Gargano claims a total of 3,854,927 visitors. Most Archivio Centrale dello Stato records, however, mention the figures of either 3,701,818 or 3,708,214.
- 10 The other two members of the "direttorio ordinatore" were Francesco Cutry and Carlo Felice, the first a flyer and colonel in the Italian air force, the second an official connected with the everyday operations of the Triennale di Milano.
- 11 On this topic, see Gerald Silk, "Il primo pilota: Mussolini, Fascist Aeronautical Symbolism, and Imperial Rome", in: Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum, *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*, Ithaca/London 2005, p. 67—81.
- 12 See Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," *Modernism/modernity* 1.3 (Sept. 1994): p. 153—178 and Claudia Salaris, *Aerofuturismo e mito del volo*, Rome 1985. The major moments in the Futurist cult of aviation are: Fedele Azari's manifesto *Il Teatro Aereo Futurista*, April 11, 1919; Azari and Marinetti's *Primo dizionario aereo italiano*, Milan 1929; the *Manifesto della Aeropittura*, September 22, 1929, and the *Manifesto dell'Aeropoesia*, October 22, 1931.
- 13 Colin Cook, "The Myth of the Aviator and the Flight to Fascism," *History Today*, 53.12 Dec. 2003. On the trasvolate and Balbo's career see Claudio G. Segrè, *Italo Balbo, A Fascist Life*, Berkeley/London 1987, p. 144—288.
- 14 "Ogni sala è stata concepita e compiuta come una costruzione ideale per dar valore agli oggetti. Non tutte le sale forse saranno riuscite ugualmente limpide, e di uguale sicurezza estetica: in tutte un principio artistico presiede all'ordinamento dei cimeli, e ne esalta il significato. Il grande esempio della Mostra della Rivoluzione è stato portato in questa mostra, e applicato con diverso spirito, com'era naturale." Marcello Viscononte di Modrone, "Presentazione," *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana—giugno ottobre 1934—catalogo ufficiale*, (n. p.: Milan 1934). The affiliation was echoed throughout the press: "Questa Mostra milanese dell'Aeronautica può, a ragione, ritenersi sorella minore della Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista a Roma. Cimeli, documenti, rappresentazioni fotografiche, documentazioni giornalistiche, furono anche stavolta affidati ad artisti ed a tecnici perché trovassero le vie più dirette, piacevoli, emotivi e sensazionali per parlare a noi pubblico incompetente: perché non soltanto la celebrazione di un eroismo, ma persino la presentazione di un principio scientifico potessero avvicinare il visitatore, anche il più immemore, il più scettico, il più distratto." Ferdinando Reggiori, "L'esposizione dell'aeronautica italiana nel Palazzo dell'Arte di Milano," *Architettura*, Sept. 1934, p. 532.
- 15 See in particular chapter two of "Eyes Which Do Not See" in *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Frederick Etchells, New York 1986. The theme was a constant in Italian debates regarding the new architecture. See for example, Pietro Maria Bardi, "Aviazione: Nuove architetture," *L'ala d'Italia*, March 1932, p. 13—16.
- 16 *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana*, p. 135.
- 17 "Limite delle forze? Non v'è limite delle forze. Limite del patimento? Non v'è limite del patimento. Dico che il non più oltre è la bestemmia al Dio più oltraggiosa." *Esposizione dell'Aeronautica Italiana*, p. 135.
- 18 Photographic documentation of the Mostra dello Sport, not to mention several other of the exhibitions referred to in the present essay, may be found in Antonella Russo, *Il fascismo in mostra*. The exhibition was under the curatorial authority of Giovanni Muzio, the architect of the Palazzo dell'Arte, but individual sections were designed by BBPR, Terragni, Lingeri, Pica, and Sironi.
- 19 On the MAR see Anna Maria Liberati Silverio, "La Mostra Augustea della Romanità," in *Dalla mostra al museo—Dalla Mostra archeologica del 1911 al Museo della Civiltà Romana*, Venice 1983, p. 77—90.
- 20 "In questo modo non solo gli specialisti, non solo coloro che sono innamorati degli studi storici e archeologici, ma tutti gli Italiani potranno nella Mostra Augustea ritrovare facilmente la documentazione del glorioso primo Impero di nostra gente, con elevazione spirituale e rafforzato proposito di seguire il monito del Duce, scolpito all'ingresso della Mostra: 'Le glorie del passato siano superate dalle glorie dell'avvenire.'" "Presentazione," *Mostra Augustea della Romanità—Catalogo—Bimillenario della nascita di Augusto—23 settembre 1937—23 settembre 1938*, Rome 1937, p. XVII.
- 21 "Il periodo di creazione di tutti i valori fondamentali del mondo moderno." Giglioli, "Presentazione," *Mostra Augustea della Romanità*, p. VII.
- 22 Claudia Lazzaro estimates the total scale of resources put together for purposes of the MAR as "over twenty-one thousand casts, about two hundred architectural and topographical models, and a vast photographic documentation." Claudia Lazzaro, "Forging a Visible Fascist Nation: Strategies for Fusing Past and Present," in Lazzaro and Crum, *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*, 23. The bulk of these materials would eventually find their way into the Museo della Civiltà Romana at the EUR.
- 23 "I monumenti non sono stati disposti con la rigida norma dei musei, ma, integrati da scritte, fotomontaggi, carte geografiche, diagrammi, formano nel loro insieme sezioni che uniscono la severità scientifica alla vivacità di un'esposizione moderna; opera nella quale io [Giglioli] e gli archeologi miei collaboratori siamo stato spesso coadiuvati da valenti artisti." *Mostra Augustea della Romanità—Catalogo*, p. XVI.
- 24 "La Mostra è quindi tutta costituita di riproduzioni; il che, mentre dà l'opportuna omogeneità del materiale ed offre il vantaggio di poterlo sistemare in modo assai più moderno che se si fosse trattato degli originali, non presenta alcun inconveniente estetico perchè la tecnica delle riproduzioni ha raggiunto una grandissima perfezione." Giglioli, *Mostra Augustea della Romanità—Catalogo*, p. X—XI.
- 25 It is perhaps worth noting that a number of minor exhibitions had graced the halls of the Roman Palazzo delle Esposizioni during the intervening period, including propaganda shows like the *Mostra del Libro Coloniale* held in mid-1936. According to Giglioli, Mussolini himself had insisted upon this location for symbolic reasons. See: "Deciso dal Duce che la Mostra fosse collocata in quel Palazzo di via Nazionale che vide già la Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista..." *Mostra Augustea della Romanità—Catalogo*, p. XII.
- 26 Cf. Stone, *The Patron State*, p. 227: "The Circus Maximus exhibitions disclose shifts in the organization of culture that occurred during the regime's final years. They also reveal the abandonment of the modernist-inspired formula that had shaped state patronage to date." The latter assertion is hard to reconcile either with the actual built structures or with Stone's own account of these exhibitions. What prevails, rather, is continuity with the model derived from the first MRF, but with a shift in focus towards autarchic themes and, accordingly, an increasing reliance upon the typology of trade fairs.
- 27 The exhibitions' exemplary character was remembered with polemical fury by Pagano in his complaints regarding the EUR in "Occasioni perdute," *Casabella-costruzioni*, Feb. 1941, 7—23.
- 28 "... tanto l'aquila quanto la parte che la inquadra sono rivestite di lamiera chiodate di alluminio e cioè del metallo nazionale per eccellenza." P.N.F. *L'Autarchia del Minerale Italiano—Guida della Mostra*, Roma—Circo Massimo, Rome 1938, p. 79.
- 29 Since it has been argued by some that these exhibitions were somehow less avant-gardist than the MRF, it is worth recalling that the MRF itself included traditional sorts of installations and reconstructions (viz. the rooms curated by Leo Longanesi) as well as a library on the second floor dedicated to a bibliography of fascism encompassing fascism's so called "historical precursors."
- 30 On the EUR's history see Luigi di Majo and Italo Insolera, *L'EUR e Roma dagli anni Trenta al Duemila*, Rome/Bari 1986.
- 31 Vittorio Cini's *Programma di massima* from June 1937 had stated that "Il principio razionale e quello estetico non appariranno come termini antitetici. Si eviterà soprattutto ogni monotona ripetizione delle Esposizioni precedenti, così nella sostanza come nell'ordinamento e negli aspetti formali. Agli artisti italiani verrà concessa la massima libertà di iniziativa, nella speranza e più ancora nella certezza che essi proporranno opere in utro degne del clima ideale dell'Urbe." Cited from *E 42 Utopia e scenario del regime I: Ideologia e Programma dell'Olimpiade delle Civiltà*, ed. Tullio Gregory and Achille Tartaro, Venice 1987, p. 154.
- 32 In a subsequent polemic, Pagano would accuse Piacentini of squandering taxpayers' money with such vehemence that *Costruzioni-Casabella* was shut down. This marked the beginning of an estrangement with the regime that would lead eventually to his deportation and death in the concentration camp of Mauthausen, alongside Ludovico Belgiojoso. See: Pagano's lifelong itinerary is traced in Alberto Bassi, *Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig*, Rome 1984.
- 33 The quotations are from the original 1935 draft proposal, authored by Federico Pinna Berchet but reworked by Bottai, reprinted in *E 42 Utopia e Scenario del Regime I: Ideologia e Programma dell'Olimpiade delle Civiltà*, p. 149—150.
- 34 The full program is reproduced in from *E 42 Utopia e Scenario del Regime I: Ideologia e Programma dell'Olimpiade delle Civiltà*, p. 104—140.
- 35 I am indebted to my friend Paolo Niccoloso for much of this information. For further information and the key bibliography, see his entry on the EUR in *Dizionario del Fascismo*, eds. Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, vol. 1, Turin 2002, p. 488—490.