

Contested heritage, memory and metamorphoses

Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana

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During a history class in secondary school my interest in the physical heritage of Italian Fascism was aroused, when teacher Eelco Hooijmaaijers, enthusiastically show-ed us images of the Stadio dei Marmi in Rome. This stadium was built for the Olympic Games in 1944, which were never held. It seemed odd to me that these imposing statues of athletes were still present, as if they were trivialising the fascist past. Some months later, on a school trip to Rome, I wanted to see these stone sportsmen. Together with some friends, I accidentally ended up in the EUR-district, on the opposite side of the city. Later on we understood our mistake, because both locations are urban interventions from the time of Mussolini. From that moment on I was intrigued by the still existing heritage from the fascist period in Italy and the way the Italians deal with it.

Three years later, during my Bachelors in Delft I had the opportunity to spend a week in Rome for an Honours Programme course, organised by Everhard Korthals Altes and Reinout Rutte. All students had to write an article on a topic of choice, and I decided to study the district where I ended up years ago, the EUR. Though the article left me behind with more questions than answers. So when I had to choose a subject for the history thesis in the first year of my Masters, I did not hesitate and compared urban interventions during Fascism in Rome. Part of the research took place in the city itself and I could finally visit the Stadio dei Marmi.

Finishing the history thesis still left me with an unfulfilled feeling, as an Architecture student I wanted to make a design out of it. Luckily I got the opportunity to do so during my graduation project at Explore Lab. The result of this year can be found in this graduation thesis. In the thesis I tried to gather both my research on contested heritage and the more site specific analysis, as well as the steps towards the architectural design, since the research and design are closely related.

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Iris van der Wal, May 2017

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introduction

Rome has gone through major changes during the Fascist regime (1922-1945), expanding towards all directions while at the same time roughly one third of the built environment was demolished. Mussolini wanted to create his Third Rome, following the First Rome of the emperors and the Second Rome of the popes, by adding a new layer to the eternal city.¹ The traces of the city that he envisioned are still present, both in the city centre as well as in the new districts outside the Aurelian wall.

This type of architectural heritage can be called contested heritage, loaded with negative connotations, and conflicts therefore with the former conception of heritage as a means to create a national identity,² as will be explained in the first chapter. The various design approaches towards contested heritage show a tension between on one hand precious inheritance from a bygone period possessing certain qualities, while on the other hand the negative connotations with which the architects have to deal as well.

The title, *Contested heritage, memory and metamorphoses*, is chosen because it relates to the threefold of the past, present and future. These three notions cannot be understood without each other and are intertwined. The memory of the past is a thought in the present and can be influenced through time. Memories and experiences of the past are used to create an idea of the future. Architectural heritage, and in this case specifically contested architectural heritage was built in the past, but present now and will be in the future. The memory connected to the heritage can be modified by metamorphoses of the buildings, and thereby it can also influence the image of the future. So as architects we have an important, and powerful role, especially when it comes heritage connected to a loaded past.

In the Italian context, there seems to be little difference in the handling of non-contested and contested heritage, unlike in Germany for instance.

One specific example of contested heritage in Rome and its recent change of function made me decide to make a redesign for this building; the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana in the EUR-district. The Italian fashion brand Fendi, famous for its artisan fur creations, moved its headquarters to the Palazzo for the coming fifteen years. The building can be seen as one of the most iconic buildings built during Italian Fascism, and was renovated to meet contemporary standards, without modifying the physical appearance. Most Italians seem to encourage this move, while non-Italians express their disbelief in newspaper, wondering how a company could be so politically insensitive.

1. Kallis, A. (2014).
2. Halbertsma, M. and Kuipers, M. (2014). p. 151.

The aim of this thesis is to understand different ways of dealing with contested heritage and to take a position myself in order to intervene in the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana. To do so, the following question is raised: How to deal with architectural heritage with a contested past?

To answer this question, the thesis is structured in four parts. The first part, based upon a literature survey, starts with architectural heritage in a broad sense; its importance, different approaches and ways to evaluate it. From there the step is made to contested heritage, to see the similarities and differences in the approaches. Through case studies and visual experiments (collages, a short movie and objects) the various opinions are shown in a physical way in order to get a deeper understanding. The second part is also based upon literature survey and focuses on the Italian context and the divided memory, to explain the manner in which Italians deal with their history. The third part is an analysis of the EUR and the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana, based on literature survey. The last part consists of the conclusions and the position for the design.

Architectural heritage

Since we live in an ever-changing environment and the act of building is mostly momentary, it could be argued that all finished buildings become architectural heritage, witnesses from an earlier moment in time. Many different types of architectural heritage, or monuments¹, are present. So before going into contested heritage, it is important to understand the importance of architectural heritage in a broader sense. Next to regarding it as an object, architectural heritage is also a process, in its identification and selection. Main institutions and their charters are pointed out to give an overview of approaches in a timeframe, followed by an elaboration on the various ways to evaluate architectural heritage.





1.1 IMPORTANCE OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

One of the primary texts on building preservation that is regarded as valuable today dates from the 1960's, the Venice Charter. This international charter marks out a vision on restoration and conservation, and starts from the following intention of protecting architectural heritage:

*Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions.*²

According to this statement, buildings should be preserved for the sake of continuity, to manifest traditions in an ongoing way. It is specifically mentioned that the buildings are living witnesses, in an active sense. Professor of Cultural Heritage Marieke Kuipers continues on this idea, regarding monuments as collective memories that should be saved for the future generations. She states that memories are constructed upon heritage and she expresses the fear that disappearance of heritage could mean the disappearance of identity.³

Andrew Herscher, architect and architectural historian specialised in heritage and its political role, shares this view. He describes heritage⁴ as a repository of memory, and regards it as a medium of collective identity. Illustrated by the examples of demolitions during wartime, he shows it also works the other way around: new regimes destroy buildings to make the people forget the memories, histories and identities attached to architecture and place, in order to let them follow new ideologies easier.⁵

Even further goes cultural anthropologist Sharon MacDonald, working on cultural heritage and memory studies, when stating that heritage is not simply a representation or carrier of identity, but its materialisation or objectification.⁶ As we will see later on, this becomes problematic when dealing with contested heritage.

Though architectural heritage is not the only means to construct identity, based on our image of the past. Also other (secondary) sources such as education, media, memorial events, museums et cetera shape this image. Some of these are regulated by the government and therefore subject of politics, while others are decided upon by for example companies or individuals.

There is a shift visible from the construction of one national identity in order to create a sense of solidarity for (new) nation states, to a more diffuse approach of various identities on different scales -regional, national, international- and a plurality of interpretations of identity.⁷ In 2007, the Argentinian Dutch princess Máxima opened a discussion on the Dutch identity, when she stated that a national identity does not exist. According to her identities are much more pluralistic. Some parliamentarians disagreed, pointing at the royal family as one of the elements of the Dutch identity, just as national symbols and the collective history.⁸

1 Monuments, protected heritage.

2 Gazzola, P. et al. (1964).

3 Kuipers, M. (2010).

4 Which he regards all elements that remain through time to be.

5 Herscher, A. (2014).

6 MacDonald, S. (2006).

7 Tommaso Detti and Macello Flores. - Foot, J. (2009). p. 208.

8 Máxima: 'Nederlandse identiteit nog niet ontdekt'. (2007, September 25).

It is in the identification and the selection of the buildings that the heritage is made. This selection is made in the present and influences the future, since the heritage will still be there. At the same time, it is also reshaping the past, because only the selected buildings and the way they are contextualized can give an insight in history. Thus this selection is crucial, and even more when architectural heritage is regarded as a repository or materialization of memory and identity. Since the Age of Enlightenment various philosophical bases for the conservation practices were formed, resulting in international charters that function as ethical guides for national conservation policies.



2 Wartime demolitions; IS demolished ancient heritage in Palmyra, Syria.



3 Tempio di Ercole Vincitore in Rome, 18th century and today. Later attachments are demolished.



4 A clear difference between old and new materials.

1.2 HERITAGE AS A PROCESS: INSTITUTIONALISATION AND MAIN CONCEPTS

Querying the importance of architectural heritage leads back to the question why people started to conserve buildings in the first place. Maintaining and transforming buildings is as old as the discipline itself. The first identification of heritage and its institutionalizing dates from the Enlightenment, when royal possessions were expropriated and exposed in national museums, publicly accessible. In the middle of demolitions of the French Revolution, one of the first known discussion about the preservation of heritage took place in the French parliament, when parliament member Henri Grégoire requested to preserve building for future generations.⁹

1.2.1 Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin

In the nineteenth century, studies have been carried out on historical architecture styles. The emphasis with preservation became the quest for the most original version of a building, the unity of its style was regarded as the most important part. As a result, monuments were reordered and reconstructed, even if there was no evidence of the original design of the building. The most known advocate of this preservation approach was the architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879).

The French Viollet-le-Duc considered restoration not necessarily as a technical way of preserving a building, but much more as an opportunity to strive for perfection, even if the building in question never reached full accomplishment. All the subsequent additions had to be taken down, to create a strong stylistic unity. He regarded it as the task of an architect to give a monument the wealth and appearance back that it had lost over time, and was not afraid of adding new elements to form a greater unity.¹⁰

An opposite view comes from his contemporary British art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900). According to

Ruskin the crucial point in architectural heritage was not the most perfect reproduction of the moment in which the building was constructed, but the historical layeredness. The building is a material witness of the multifaceted history. He is opposing Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction that are falsifications of the past, and he pleaded for honesty in material conservation.¹¹ This anti-restoration view is focused on authenticity. Interventions in the existing have to be done in a visible way, to make clear what is old and what is new. And the context as a part of the setting of historical buildings became more important, and should be protected as well. These ideas still form a philosophical base for the conservation practice.

- 9 Kuipers, M. (2014). Charter (1931) and the Burra Charter (1999). p. 173.
- 10 Viollet-le-Duc, E.-E. (1996). p. 314.
- 11 Halbertsma, M. and Kuipers, M. (2014). p. 84.
- 12 Gazzola, P. et al. (1964).
- 13 Like the Athens

1.2.2 International charters in 20th century

The same discussion between reconstruction and authenticity was again important in the twentieth century. Buildings, especially national monuments, demolished by war, were rebuild, even though this was against the leading conservation philosophy of authenticity. The symbolic significance was valued higher. Heritage was used as a symbol of national identity, to create a sense of unity in post-war countries.

The focus was brought back to authenticity again in 1964, with the Venice Charter.¹² This is one of the international charters, that were written to reach a consensus on the conservation of monuments worldwide.¹³ Most countries have their own departments for heritage conservation, nevertheless on an abstract level these charters serve as ethical guides for national policies.

1.2.3 Criticism on conservation

The debate on conservation is not

only about intentions and possible approaches. The charters and the institutionalised preservation of monuments are also criticised, for example by OMA/AMO, materialised in the exhibition *Cronocaos* during the 2010 Venice Biennale. They noticed that the definition of preservation is changing through time, and accused the momentarily preservation discourse of not considering how heritage could stay alive and yet evolve, and that certain authenticities are preferred over politically difficult ones, even though these are crucial to understand the history. AMO/OMA propose an opposite view, shifting the focus from the preserved to the buildings that could be abandoned and erased. With phased demolition, they aim to *reveal tabula rasa beneath the thinning crust of our civilization*, showing that contemporary architecture is not permanent.¹⁴

In 1985, Kevin Lynch states that environmental preservation always had educational motives, next to political and aesthetic ones. According to Lynch, preservation is not only about saving an image of the past, but also the opinions in response to it in that moment of time. The danger is in the modification of the response through time or perhaps even its disappearance. Because of these modifications there should be conflicting views of history, based upon the conflicting values in the present. In order to learn from it, it should be possible to see the different presentations of the heritage and to compare them.¹⁵

1.3 VALUATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

The two approaches, unity and authenticity, lead back to a completely different valuation of heritage. They fit the two canons as described in *Het erfgoeduniversum*: the classical canon and the romantic canon.¹⁶ The first is based on quality (*high culture*) and searches for universal values in the object itself. This matches more or less Viollet-le-Duc's quest for the perfect form of a building as a pure formal object. The romantic canon is





more pluralistic and is not focused as much on the object, but more on the stories connected to it. The cultural and societal activities that are link with an object by certain communities are valued. This can be related to Ruskin's idea, to regard the historical layeredness of buildings.

The opposing views on heritage are brought together for the first time in an ambivalent value-system by Austrian art historian Alois Riegl in 1903. He is the first writing about a system to identify various values in a monument. This kind of systems are still in use today, as will be illustrated by the more contemporary ways of valuation. In appendix A the list of values of the different authors can be found.

1.3.1 Riegl

Riegl introduced a dialectical way of looking at heritage, defining six values to describe the relation between humans and monuments. An intervention cannot be based on all the six values at the same time, because they are contradictory. For each project all values should be considered, before deciding which are the most important for that specific project. Thus it is not an objective system, but depending on the person that values the building. Riegl identified two main categories: commemorative values and present day values.

The three values in the first categories can be distinguished based on its public and intentions. Age value is visible and understandable for a large audience, since they can see the decay of material in for example a ruin. This is highly valued by Ruskin, showing the historical layeredness. To appreciate the historical value, art-historical knowledge is needed to understand the history of the building and to place it in time. The most original state of the buildings should be saved, corresponding with Viollet-le-Ducs view. The third value, the deliberate commemorative value, is about the intention of a monument. In order to keep the intention perpetually alive and present in the consciousness of future generations, restoration is a





fundamental requirement.

The second main category is the present day value; the use, the relative aesthetics and the newness. The use value is most likely a conflicting value, because valuating a monument on its condition to accommodate certain functions will probably result in the need for interventions to keep the building up-to-date. The relative aesthetic value¹⁷ is purely based on the aesthetics of the monument. The newness value is the opposite of the age value, and is focussed on maintaining a certain newness, trying to keep the same completeness of form and colour. This corresponds also with Viollet-le-Duc's view. And just as the age value, this is understandable by the mass.¹⁸

17 Riegl, A. (1998).

18 Halbertsma, M. and Kuipers, M. (2014). pp. 72-76.

19 All the values are

relative, so for me this seems a bit redundant.

20 Hendriks, L. and Hoeve, van der, J. (2009).

1.3.2 Kuipers and Halbertsma

The value assessment that is used at the Heritage department of the Technical University of Delft is still based on Riegl's system. Kuipers and Halbertsma added two values to his system; nostalgia and conflict value. Nostalgia is part of the commemorative values, showing an idealized image of the past. And the conflict value is a present day value, because it includes an active step in the present; documenting the whole past of a building, also the negative sides of it, in order to learn from it.¹⁹ This is based the work of German art historian Dolff-Bonekämper, which will be discussed in the next chapter. These two values correspond with the transition in the use of heritage to create a national identity as matter of course to a more pluralistic idea of showing the factual history, including the negative parts.

1.3.3 Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed)

Despite the subjectivity of the value based system, the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands is using

it as well. They set up guidelines for the historical research of buildings, making a clear distinction between factual data, interpretations and value assessment.

To ensure a study as objective as possible, a framework needs to be constructed, consisting of both internal as well as contextual references. All the values are assessed on authenticity and the rarity, in this internal framework (the building itself) and the broader context (for example, how rare is a certain technique in the world). The main outline consists of five categories: general historical values (linked to societal developments), values of ensemble (coherence) and urbanism, architectural-historical values, building technology value, values from history of use.²⁰ The different scales are indicated clearly.

This is a valuable addition in my opinion, since the function of a building could also be found in its significance on urban scale, serving as a landmark. Riegl's present day values are lacking in this division, there is nothing about the contemporary use of the building. I can imagine that that comes from the protective function of the guidelines, the more pragmatic values are probably already fulfilled at the moment of an historical research, because there is a client with an interest in the building because of its present day values.

8 The Roman temple Pantheon is conserved through its use as a Christian church. During the Pentecost mass rose petals fall from the oculus.

A subcategory of architectural heritage is contested heritage, buildings charged with negative connotations from its past. In this chapter, this specific type of heritage and non-contested heritage are compared and the similarities and differences are explained in the framework of value assessments and the possible meanings of buildings. Subsequently, the different approaches through time are illustrated by seven case studies.

Contested architectural heritage and the meaning of buildings





2.1 CONTESTED HERITAGE

Contested heritage is not a new phenomenon, but the protection of this kind of heritage is relatively new. It did not fit the idea of using heritage to construct a national identity. With its protection, monuments represent a more multifaceted past, instead of an exclusive heroic-national history.²¹ Other terms to describe this heritage are used by Tunbridge and Ashworth, who write about *dissonant heritage*,²² and Sharon MacDonald's *difficult heritage and undesirable heritage*.²³ Dissonance is normally used in music theory, and in this context it indicates the dissonance between stories various group attribute to a certain object or landscape, the plurality of interpretations creates tension. The latter two notions are in my opinion unilateral, only emphasising the negative side. That is why the term contested heritage is used, to stress the clash between the various interpretations of the observers of the heritage. It is in this discord that the heritage becomes contested.

23 Halbertsma, M. and Kuipers, M. (2014). pp. 151-171.

24 Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996).

25 Macdonald, S. (2006).

26 Halbertsma, M. and Kuipers, M. (2014). pp.

151-171.

27 MacDonald, S. (2006).

28 Dolff-Bonekämper, G. (2010).

29 And since a few years all Dutch war victims.

2.2 DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY CHARGED HERITAGE

Within contested heritage, a division can be made between directly and indirectly charged heritage. Directly charged is the heritage that was built by a certain regime, whereas the second group compasses buildings that were already built and repurposed by an authoritarian government.²⁴

I suggest a subtler division in both categories, taking into account that objects and places can be built by a regime, but are not necessarily used in a way that reflects their ideology or the part of the ideology that we consider as incorrect today. So-called *terrascapes* are charged because of

the terror that occurred there, I would identify this as primarily charged heritage. Secondly charged heritage are not places of terror, but charged because of the link with a regime, most probably functioning as the client.

2.3 IMPORTANCE OF CONTESTED ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

The importance of architectural heritage is found in the creation of continuity to construct an identity and to retain memories, and so is the importance of contested heritage. The main difference is the lack of consensus of the past and various parties prefer to forget some of the memories. The dealing with contested heritage is problematic in showing awareness of the past, though its possible significance in the present can be inappropriate.²⁵ Precisely in this conflict the importance of contested heritage arises. As German art historian Dolff-Bonekämper states, political contested monuments should be kept to discuss the past publicly.²⁶

This reminds of the reason why in the Netherlands the Second World War victims²⁷ are commemorated every year on the fourth of May: *Opdat wij niet vergeten*, 'lest we forget'. Not only the victims should not be forgotten, lessons should be learnt from mistakes in the past. Lynch regards this as the educational motives to preserve buildings, and therefore the importance of the plurality of interpretations.²⁸

2.4 VALUATION AND MEANING OF BUILDINGS

The main reason to preserve contested heritage seems to be the educational value of the buildings as historical documents. But as with non-contested heritage, there are always various values to assess in a building. Dolff-Bonekämper introduces the conflict value, specifically for contested heritage, to value the capacity of a building to provoke debate. She argues that this value is stronger than aesthetic values, since





12 Gregor Schneider's art installation *Unsubscribe*, displaying parts of Joseph Goebbels' house.

those are subjective and are subject of trends, while the conflict value adds an extra layer of meaning to a building.²⁹

Depending on the overall political, economic and societal context, motives can exist to maintain charged buildings. Different attitudes can be seen in different countries, such as the demolitions of Nazi heritage in Germany directly after the war and the preservation of Fascist heritage in Italy. The latter can be explained by pragmatic reasons of scarcity and the high quality of the used materials and the specific functions of the buildings (see chapter 3). And some buildings are exquisite examples of Modern architecture.³⁰ It becomes visible that not only the context is different and that therefor other aspects in buildings are valued, but another crucial factor is the difference in takes on the capability of buildings to transmit an idea. Starting from the Venice Charter, the link between monuments and history is described as follows:

*A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs.*³¹

This is undeniable on a theoretical level, but now that these buildings are present in another context than in which they were built, it becomes interesting to what extent buildings can express this link with history. And whether it can express its original intentions. The opinions on this topic vary through time. Regarding architectural heritage from the Second World War and the associated regimes, it is clear that this question was already in mind during the design phase of the buildings.

30 Lynch, K. (1985). 31 69-70.

Dolff-Bonekämper, G. (2010). 33 Gazzola, P. et al. (1964).

32 Foot, J. (2009). pp.

The Italian regime was searching for ways to connect buildings to the fascist ideology, as we will see in chapter 4. In Germany, this was addressed in a more structured way, which is already demonstrated by the

fact that Hitler had a chief architect, Albert Speer. He stated that buildings are materialisations of ideas, capable of transmitting those ideas forever. He regarded buildings as *Worte aus Stein*, words in stone, that could even transfer its intention when the building is in decay. Hence he not only designed how buildings should be built, but also how they should look like as a ruin.³² This position results in a situation in which no intervention can stop the heritage from transferring the intended ideas; except for complete demolition. For buildings with a contested past, this becomes problematic.

In post-war Germany, this notion stayed dominant in the dealing with Nazi heritage and resulted in large scale demolitions. In the 1970s and 1980s the remaining buildings lead to a new debate, when some of them became listed heritage. In 1985 Hartmut Frank, at that moment professor of Analysis of Built Environment and Architectural Theory in Hamburg, identified the attitude of regarding buildings as words in stone as a part of Nazi propaganda, that managed to still influence the way architectural heritage was perceived. And he disagreed with this approach. According to Frank, Nazi architecture was not researched in a time vacuum nor in coherence with other architecture. When compared to architecture in surrounding countries, it does not differentiate much. And he states that it is not possible to create an own style in such a short amount of time (1933-1945), so architects built upon already existing styles, for example the classical façade architecture. Though this was not the only style that what used by the Nazi regime, in more functional buildings (factories, but the concentration camps as well) influences of modern architecture are visible. This strict differentiation of styles for different functions was new, but it also shows that an architectural style cannot be linked so easily, even not at all, to a certain regime.³³

So far three positions are recognised; an historical link between building

and the ideology (Venice Charter), a literal link (Speer) and no link at all (Frank).

More nuanced perspectives can be found when considering architectural heritage in general, not necessarily contested heritage. Concurrently with Frank, the American philosopher Nelson Goodman wrote about literal and metaphorical expressions of buildings. He disagrees with Speer, stating that in literal sense buildings cannot be regarded as words in stone. But he adds that metaphorically *a building may express feelings it does not feel, ideas it cannot think or state, activities it cannot perform.*³⁴ As an example he describes a Gothic cathedral as a building that flies and sings, a description that is literally false since the cathedral cannot really fly nor sing. But it is metaphorically true, because it cannot equally droop and grumble.

³⁴ MacDonald, S. (2006). p.16.

³⁵ Frank, H. and Ciucci, G. (1985).

Also Riegl point of view is interesting in this context, even though it stems already from before the Second World War. He gives another perspective, focussing more on the viewers than on the building itself. According to Riegl, it is the viewer that assigns meaning and significance to a monument, rather than the works themselves by their original purpose.³⁵ This makes it more subjective, because every viewer could have a different interpretation, based on their experiences, knowledge, and emotional state at the moment of viewing the building.

Broadly speaking a wave can be identified from the suppressing and removal of contested heritage directly after the war, when the memories of that period are still vivid and people are looking for a way to show the heroic national history. The next generation has to deal with the remaining heritage and since they are less emotionally involved, they can value the heritage more objectively and see other motives, like educational and aesthetical ones, to conserve it.





14 National World War II Memorial in Washington D.C. (2004). The stripped classicism reminds of Speer's buildings.

Thereafter people become personally less connected with the past, when less and less experienced it themselves or their direct family members. Historical research was carried out more objectively than before and led to a more pluralised view on the war, not everything was as black-and-white as it seemed. Kuipers and Halbertsma see a new approach emerging (in the Netherlands), in which contested heritage is brought back to its original appearance in order to let visitors experience the history.³⁶ The distance in time could explain this, the cruelties of the Second World War have become too abstract, and also by the contemporary ways of acquiring information. But still this attitude depends on a broader context. An example is the planned demolition of Hitler's birth house in Austria, that has become a pilgrimage site for neo-Nazis. But in Berlin a new tourist attraction has been created, a replica of the Hitler bunker, focussed on the experience of the visitors.³⁷

36 Goodman, N. (1985), p. 6.
37 Riegl, A. (1998). p. 72.

38 Halbertsma, M. and Kuipers, M. (2014).
39 Heller, A. (2016, February 4).

2.5 CASES AND ATTITUDES

To illustrate the different attitudes in the dealing with contested heritage, seven cases are studied. This is not a complete overview of all attitudes, but originated from the dialectical values of Riegl³⁸ with the additions by Kuipers and Halbertsma. Multiple values can be assessed to the projects, but for me certain were more emphasized. The cases are all connected to the Second World War and the involved regimes in the Netherlands, Germany and Italy.

2.5.1 Muur van Mussert, Lunteren (NL) – age value / ruinification

The leader of the National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands (NSB), Anton Mussert, created in 1936 an area near Lunteren for rallies. On a huge open field he built a wall with balcony, known as the Muur van Mussert. He organised every year so-called *hagespraken*, mass events where Mussert would speech about

fascism to around 20.000 people. The word *hagespraak* refers to the *hagenpreken*, sermons from protestants in open fields in the sixteenth century. The rural location fitted the rediscovered appreciation for the countryside.

After the Second World War, the area was used for other large scale meetings, that needed open space; for example scouting or the Red Cross. Nowadays the area is part of a campsite, and the decaying wall serves as one of the borders. In the beginning of this year, the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands announced that they do not consider the wall as protected heritage yet, they first want to finish a study on national commemoration culture and then decide how to deal with the wall. This is one of the reasons the wall and its history is not widely known in the Netherlands.

The Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël considers not intervening in the wall and to let it decay naturally as the best solution. They fear that if the wall will become a listed monument and protected, it will become a pilgrimage for far-right groups.³⁹

This project is an example of contested heritage that is not taken care of, it is naturally decaying. This state seems to be the result of the lack of a thoughtful approach, that makes clear that not deciding on how to deal with heritage also leads to a specific result. Since it may not have been a real decision to let the wall decay, one can argue if this is a good case to demonstrate the age value. But I think that visitors, for example the people staying at the campsite, can see the wall and assess only the age value, and not the conflict value since they are not aware of its history. As Riegl describes, ruinification is highly valued because of its recognizability. And in this case, the wall may add onto a certain atmosphere at the campsite, even in a positive way, appreciating the old bricks without knowing anything about Mussert or the NSB.

Apart from the result, it bothers me that the campsite, municipality or state does not take a clear position in dealing with the contested heritage. The position could be to let the wall decay, but at least it will be thought through. The decay of the wall could be a poetic answer to its history, but for me it would be necessarily in that case that the decay is documented. Then it could serve, in the future, as an example of how to deal with a contested past and its heritage.

2.5.2 Camp commander's house, Kamp Westerbork (NL) – historical value

The wooden house was built in 1939, as a part of the Westerbork Central Refugee Camp, for German Jewish refugees. After three years, the camp became a transit camp and camp commander Gemmeker took up residence in the house. After the Second World War the camp had multiple functions before it was transferred in a commemorative site. It was used as an internment camp for the NSB and collaborators, then briefly as a military camp for soldiers returning from or leaving to the Dutch East Indies and in 1951 it became known as Schattenberg, an accommodation for Moluccan KNIL soldiers and their families, which functioned for twenty years. All those years the architecture did not change, the barracks were in used until their destruction in the beginning of the 1970s.⁴⁰ The house is the only original building that is still in place. Already in 1949, with the change of the camp into a military camp, the house became private property.

When its last inhabitant died in 2007, the house was incorporated into the Kamp Westerbork Museum.⁴¹ The house was in a state of disrepair and in 2011 the restoration of monument started. In 2015 the so-called glass bell was completed, a glass structure covering the whole building. The camp commander's house is inaccessible, but visible, maintaining an enigmatic atmosphere of what happens inside.⁴² The museum sees new opportunities to let young people ex-

perience in a profound way what happened during the Second World War, for example by using the building as a décor.⁴³ This corresponds with Kuipers and Halbertsma's identification of a new approach towards contested heritage in the Netherlands, where visitors can experience the history.

I consider this intervention as an example of freezing a building in time. The house is regarded as an historical document that can be kept underneath a glass bell. It is a practical solution to stop the wood from decaying further and to maintain the original materials. The placement of the showcase is a museification of the building. The difference in context ensures that visitors understand easily that this is an important building and that it asks for a different perspective than normal buildings, without necessarily imposing a value judgement.

40 Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. (n.d.) Geschiedenis.

41 Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. (n.d.) Woning kamp commandant.

42 Glazen dak woning

kampcommandant Westerbork onthuld. (2015, February 3).

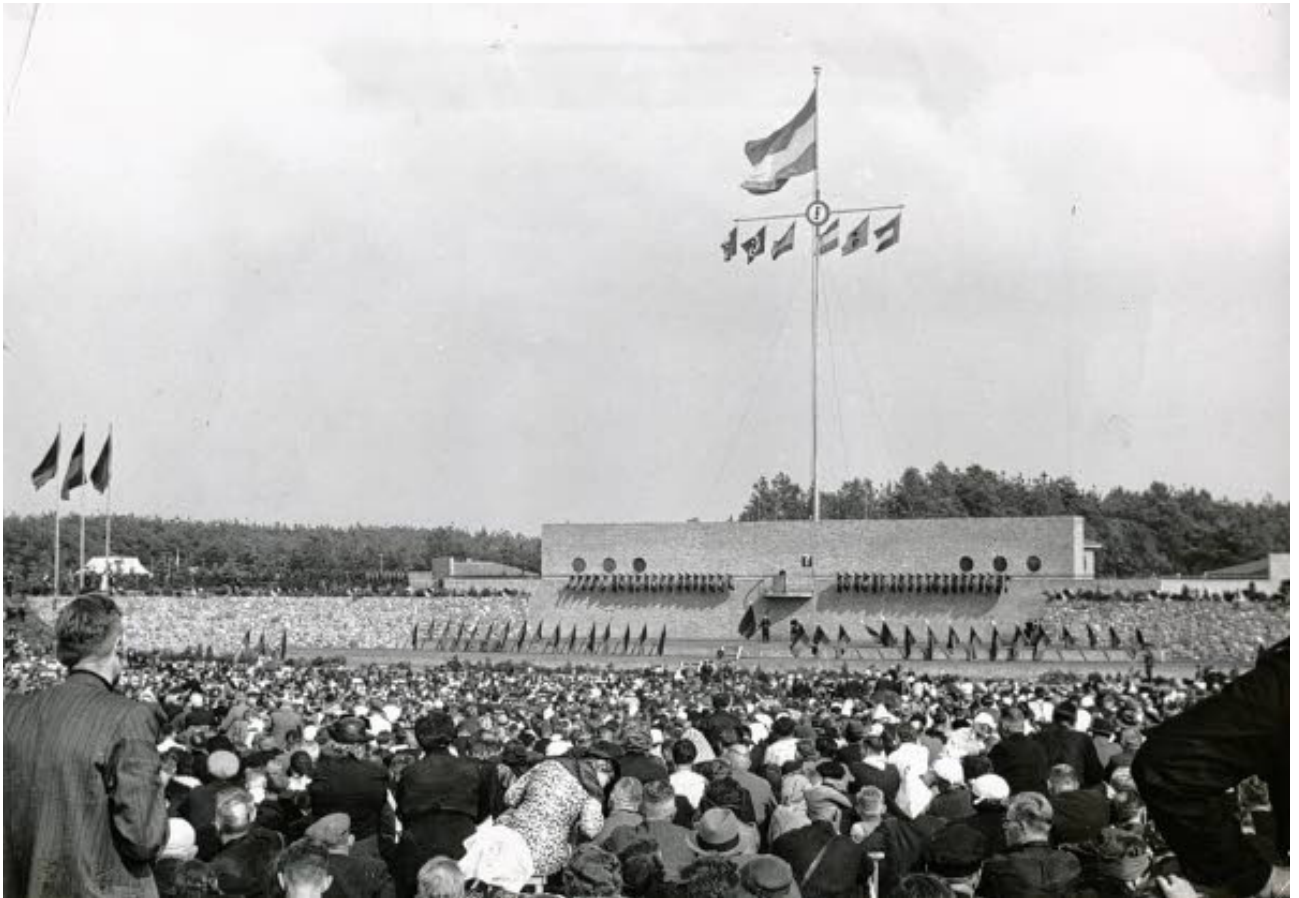
43 Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. (n.d.) Woning kamp commandant.

44 Istituto Luce. (2004).

2.5.3 Mussolini obelisk, Rome (IT) – commemorative value

The Mussolini obelisk is part of a larger scale intervention, the Foro Mussolini. The area was designated to serve as a sports campus, which will be more elaborately described in the next case study.

Constantino Constantini won the competition to design the obelisk and in 1932 the twenty meter high Carrara marble monolith was placed, on the tenth anniversary of the March on Rome. The 300 tons heavy obelisk was as far as possible built manually, just like other construction works to create more employment.⁴⁴ The obelisk carries Mussolini's name and his self invented title *dux*. Together with the Fontana della Sfera, a fountain designed by Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi and Moretti's huge mosaic on the Piazzale dell'Impero it creates an axis perpendicular to the Tiber, while the buildings are parallel to the river. The leader of the fas-



15 Mussert's wall in the 1930's during one of the *hagespraken*.



16 Mussert's wall today.

Next page:

17 Camp commander's house under glass bell.





cist youth movement, Renato Ricci, placed a metal box in the foundation of the monument, the so-called Codex Fori Mussolini. Recently researchers discovered the content of the codex, telling the history of Italian fascism and its youth movement, and about the urban plan of the Fori Mussolini.

Still today the obelisk is the midpoint of the Piazza Lauro de Bosis. The inscriptions *Mussolini* and *dux* are not removed or altered, the monument has not changed. The municipality maintains it, together with the fountain and the mosaic. The chairman of the Italian Chamber of Deputies considered removing the inscription when a partisan leader suggested this, but almost all the political parties criticised her, left and right. Not necessarily because of their opinions on fascism, but because of its connection with national history.⁴⁵

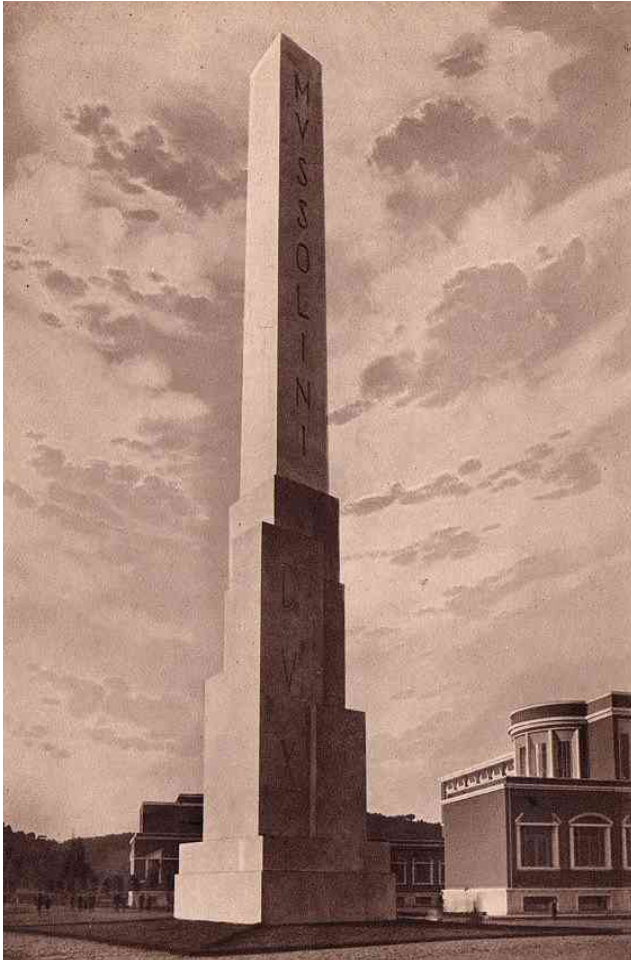
So maybe the commemorative value has in this case not as much to do with commemorating fascism as it was intended to, in a positive way, but nowadays also to memorialise it as a part of Italian history in a multifaceted way. And next to this, I think another value is relevant, one that is not described by Riegl. The obelisk became a landmark, and began to function as such in a way that is less linked to its history or intentions, but to its physical appearance. As a landmark it became reconnected to the area and its function today, without the fascist connotation.

⁴⁵ Walsum, van, S. (2016, August 31).

⁴⁶ Kallis, A. (2014). pp. 163-170.

2.5.4 Foro Italico, Rome (IT) – use value
Foro Italico was formerly known as Foro Mussolini, and was regarded as one of the cities for the youth because it was built by Balilla, the fascist youth movement. The sportcampus had to serve as model for physical education for the future generations.⁴⁶ The name fitted with the *romanità* concept, connecting Mussolini with emperors that named fora in their honor.

The director of Balilla, Ricci, was in



18 Design of the Mussolini obelisk and obelisk today.



19 Aerial view on the Foro Italico today.

charge of the development of the area, located in the northeastern part of the city. He appointed Del Debbio to design the urban plan in 1927. The focus was on synchronic gymnastics, as it could be part of the fascist mass events. Sport was important to the fascists, because sporting events could be used as choreographic manifestations of the fascist ideology.

47 Kirk, T. (2005). pp. 128-132.

48 Baxa, P. (2010). pp. 73-74.



Later on he added a school with swimming pool, sleeping accommodations and sport fields.⁴⁷ In 1934 the plan was changed again by Moretti, who already designed several buildings on the campus (the Case del Balilla and the Casa delli Armi). He had slightly different ideas about the urban plan, though both go back on classical shapes. Del Debbio had a monumental approach, Moretti was more modern. Del Debbio based his monumentality on the monumentality of classical Rome. More references to ancient times can be found in the mosaic and the fountain.⁴⁸ Piacentini, the urban designer that also made the plan for the EUR, called the new campus a forum. Two years later the plans changed again, this time with the Olympic Games of 1940 or 1944 in mind. The sport campus was enlarged with an olympic stadium and building dedicated to fencing, but in the Olympic Games did not take place. At least not in the 1940s.

But in 1960 the Olympic Games took place in Rome, and Foro Mussolini, renamed in 1944 to Foro Italico, was one of the venues. In order to host the Olympics, the sporting facilities underwent transformations, to serve contemporary standards and visitor numbers. The urban plan did not change drastically, neither did the buildings. References to the fascist time are still present, in symbols and words. The main stadium, Stadio Olimpico, hosted several World Championships and is still today the home stadium of soccer clubs Roma and Lazio.

important the use value can be. Since the district was designed with a clear function in mind, it can still serve that function today. While sport was important to the fascists as a means to celebrate the fascist ideology (and to keep the youth fit), it still has a huge role in our society today, but for other reasons. It is understandable that the same stadium is until today in use, it would be a waste of material and time to build a new one. But in this case I think more attention could be paid to the contextualisation of the whole area, especially when looked at details such as fascist symbols. Even though the Foro Italico is appreciated for its use value, the traces of fascism are visible and should not be ignored.

2.5.5 Casa del Fascio, Como (IT) – relative aesthetic value

The Casa del Fascio in Como, designed by Giuseppe Terragni in 1932-1936, is one of the most famous examples of rationalist architecture in Italy. It was built as the headquarters of the local Fascist party. The rhythm of the marble facade refers to classical architecture, as does the square floor plan with glass roof covered atrium. Terragni used a modern structural system, with reinforced concrete. Located next to a square, the division between inside and outside is made with electronic doors, facilitating spectacular mass events with continuous flows of visitors through the building.⁴⁹

Terragni explained the link between this building and fascism as follows:

Here is the Mussolinian concept that Fascism is a glasshouse into which everyone can peer giving rise to the architectural interpretation that is the complement of that metaphor; no encumbrance, no barrier, no obstacle, between the political hierarchy and the people.

As Curtis describes, the Casa del Fascio crystallized the social situation which gave rise to it, but also transcended these conditions in generic architectural terms. This is probably one of the reasons why the building

is highly appreciated, even by people who find fascism repugnant.⁵⁰

After the war, the building was renamed Casa del Popolo and served a number of civic agencies, like a carabinieri station. Since 1957 the building housed the provincial headquarters of the Guardia di Finanza and it features a small historical museum of the Guardia di Finanza sixth legion.⁵¹

49 Watkin, D. (1994). (1982). pp. 363-366.
pp. 629-630. 51 Pagnotta, B. (2013,
50 Curtis, W. J. R. January 3).

Even with the new function the building did not change visually. This shows partly the use value of the building, being able to provide office space for the Guardia di Finanza, just as it could serve as the headquarters of the local Fascist party. This has spatial reasons, the layout of the offices, but also physical reasons, the high quality of the materials used.

Next to that I want to argue that the relative aesthetic value plays a large role. In architecture schools, this building serves as the example of rationalist architecture, and it is widely appreciated because of its architectural qualities, of which aesthetics is an important one. It can be admired as a context-free building, apart from its close connection with Italian fascism. While some consider the style of the building fascist, I agree with Hartmut Frank that such a thing does not exist (more on this in chapter 4.4), and there are no fascist symbols visible (anymore).

In the case of the Casa del Fascio, it is understandable that the building is conserved in its original state, maintaining the rationalist architecture that is iconic and widely known. If the focus is only on the aesthetic value of a building, conservation seems the way to go. But even more than the other values, aesthetics is subjective, that is why the value is called relative aesthetic. This could mean that in different moments in time, other aesthetic aspects of the building are appreciated and other kind of interventions are done. I could imagine



20 Casa del Fascio decorated with fascist symbols.

21 Casa del Fascio today.





22 The Nazi Rally Grounds during a rally.

23 Domenig's design of the documentation centre.



that also these ways of looking at the heritage can add onto the existing building, like Lynch states that the context of how a building is perceived through time is precious.

52 Nuremberg Municipal Museums. (n.d.). *The Nazi Party Rally Grounds*.

53 MacDonald, S. (2006).

54 Nuremberg Munic-

ipal Museums. (n.d.). *The Nazi Party Rally Grounds*.

55 Nuremberg Municipal Museums. (n.d.). *Architecture*.

2.5.6 Nazi Rally Grounds, Nuremberg (DE) – conflict value

In 1933 Hitler declared Nuremberg the City of Nazi Party Rallies and the construction of a huge area (eleven square kilometers) for the party's mass meetings in the southeastern part of the city started.

The National Socialists selected the city because of its history; as a free imperial city and one of the locations for the medieval Reichstag. By using the same location, the party could frame itself as a logical continuation of German history.

The Nazi Party Rallies were held once a year from 1933 until 1938, lasting roughly one week. Its main purpose was to create more exposure for the regime and Hitler domestically and abroad, to create a sense of 'Volksgemeinschaft' and to gain popularity for war. The whole event, including parades, military displays, speeches, music and fireworks, created an experience for the spectators and participants, aiming to involve them emotionally. Hundreds of thousands visitors came to witness the spectacle in Nuremberg.

After the war, the city of Nuremberg became the owner of the Nazi Party Rally Grounds. The site was redeveloped, demolishing some parts for housing and converting a part into a recreational area, as it was before 1933. Some of the buildings were still unfinished, for example the Congress Hall, nevertheless it was repurposed as a depot and warehouse.⁵²

A more structured way of thinking about the heritage started in the

1970s, as it became listed heritage in 1973 and could no longer be (partly) demolished. Historian Hermann Glaser, Nuremberg's commissioner for culture, proposed a strategy which he called trivialisation, letting the buildings fall into a state of semi-disrepair, looking ugly. And assigning them with banal functions like storage (this already happened for pragmatic reasons, he did it on purpose). He used this strategy as a resistance to the Nazi meanings and potential agency of the architecture, refusing to let it become any kind of glorious heritage or desirable materialisation of identity.⁵³

From 1985 onwards exhibitions took place, regarding the Nazi Party Rally Grounds as a 'learning site of German history'. People started to criticize their parents' generation for repressing their memories, and wanted to face their history. The contested heritage had to be repurposed to an educational function. In 2001 a documentation centre (explicitly not a museum, to avoid visitors to look at it as if it is art), opened in the Congress Hall.⁵⁴

Architect Günter Domenig won the competition to design the centre in 1998. The assignment did not only ask for a redesign of the existing building to fulfil its new function, it also explicitly stated a meaningful confrontation with the existing architecture. In the design a clear contrast between old and new is visible, in both materialisation and form. Domenig superimposed a new layout on top of the historic axial one. The 130 meters long glass hallway penetrates the building diagonally, leaving existing halls unfinished and open. In this way the symmetry of the building is disrupted.⁵⁵

Interesting is to see the interventions over time. In the beginning the buildings survived because of pragmatical reasons. With the strategy of trivialisation the buildings may stayed the same, but the reasons were explicitly a response to the fact that the heritage had an contested past.



24 Haache's *Germania* in 1993.

And with the latest interventions not only the reasons stayed explicit, but Domenig tried to formalise the contrast between the Nazi ideology and its disapproval in architecture. Using contrast in architecture can be seen as an easy solution, but I think it is very effective here, because of its readability. The concept of a clash is clearly visible.

56 Lehnerer, A. Ciriacidis, S. (2014).

2.5.7 Bungalow Germania, Venice (IT) – conflict value

Bungalow Germania is a project by Alex Lehnerer and Savvas Ciriacidis in the German Pavilion during the Biennale di Venezia in 2014. The pavilion, built in 1909 as the Bavarian pavilion after a design by Daniele Donghi, has undergone multiple modifications through the years. Most discussed is the intervention from 1938, to suit the National Socialist ideal. The whole building was heightened, three extra rooms were attached and a new marble floor was placed. After the war, there were plans to change the pavilion but the financing was lacking. Now the Italian heritage protection creates a barrier for intervening.

The German pavilion is an example of indirectly, secondary contested heritage, since it was not built by the Nazi regime or used as a place of terror. Because of its role as national pavilion, representing Germany, and yearly exhibition during the art and architecture biennales, the artists and architects need to take a position how to deal with the heritage. Some interventions clearly deal with the contested heritage, like Hans Haache's *Germania* in 1993, demolishing the marble floor. Every year layers are added and removed, changing the physical appearance and the perception of the pavilion all the time.

Related to the theme of the 2014 Biennale, '1914-2014, Absorbing Modernity', Lehnerer and Ciriacidis want to show hundred years of inconsistencies, interruptions and continuities. To do so, they decide to counter the national pavilion with a politically

charged building: the chancellor's bungalow in Bonn. The glass architecture of the bungalow, in International Style, should resemble transparency and democracy and even though the original bungalow was not open to the public, it has been visible in German media. On first sight the pavilion seems quite empty, lacking a traditional exhibition with pictures and drawings. But the actual exhibited object is the bungalow, superimposed onto the existing pavilion.

The aim of the project is to confront two political ideologies through buildings. By superimposing two buildings an intermediate space is created, that tells a new story. Not only the contrast between the two is visible, but also their common features as a representation of German national identity, their scenographic function and the buildings as historic monuments. The pavilion changes the bungalow by dramatizing it, while the pavilion is domesticated by the bungalow.⁵⁶

In the various media that write about this project, the conversation between two opposing political buildings is mentioned. But no one describes the content of this conversation, which should be representing German post-war politics. It starts from the conception that buildings do have meaning and are even able to characterise a moment in time. To me this conversation did not become clear only through the architectural intervention. A talk with the suppoost and the book made me understand it much better, and that made this project suitable for an event such as the biennale, since visitors are more likely to spend time to understand a project more throughout. But the effect of the project is not limited to the biennale, it also add onto the existing bungalow that is still located in Bonn. This is fascinating to me, to be able to modify the perception people have of a building without a physical intervention in the building itself.

A more elaborated version of this case study can be found in appendix C.



25 The entrance of Bungalow Germania, the bungalow's roof is intersection the pavilions walls.



26 Conceptual drawing of the two buildings superimposed.

Fascism and divided memory in Italy

To get a better understanding of the way the Italians deal with their contested heritage, the notion of *memoria divisa*, divided memory, becomes important. In the 1990s professor Contini, currently the president of the Italian Association of Oral History, introduced this term, which can help to get a grip on the Italian culture and the lack of a national memory. Starting with a brief overview of the fascist period, only highlighting the elements that are necessary to understand the divided memory, the link between this attitude towards history and its contested heritage will be explained.



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3.1 BRIEF HISTORY

Benito Mussolini proclaimed Rome as the capital for the new, fascist state with the March on Rome in October 1922, three years after the founding of the fascist party *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (PNF). It would take three more years before Mussolini claimed his role as dictator by making Italy a totalitarian state, valuing the nation higher than the individuals. In Rome, the elected city council was replaced by the *Governatorato*, directly appointed by the regime.⁵⁷

In 1932 the fascist doctrine, *la dottrina del fascismo*, was published, in which Mussolini tried to position his ideology in relation to other political ideologies and the past. However, the text lacks an explicit definition of Fascism, resulting in some freedom in explanations of the ideology, as we will see in chapter five.⁵⁸

Mussolini identified himself with the first emperor of the Roman Empire, emperor Augustus (27 BC – 14 AD), both to show how large his position was (the same as that of an emperor) and to justify his position and actions, since they were comparable. One of those actions was the occupation of Ethiopia, starting with the invasion of its capital Addis Ababa in 1935. The fascists tried to justify this act of colonialism by referring to the Roman Empire and its imperialism.⁵⁹

Mussolini informed the people on the annexation of Ethiopia in the same speech in which he announced that the World Expo would be held in Rome in 1942, coinciding with the celebration of twenty years of Fascism. With the Italian participation in the Second World War in June 1940, these plans were put on hold, to be never held. Fighting the Allies together with Germany and Japan, united in the Axis, the Nazis and the fascists started to collaborate closely until the defeat of the fascist state in 1943, when the Allies started the liberation of Italy from the south. King Victor Emanuel III moved to the south and created the Kingdom of Italy. In

July that year, Mussolini got arrested when he was visiting the king and two years later he was executed.⁶⁰

In those two years, 1943-1945, the *Repubblica Sociale Italiana* (RSI)⁶¹ was established in the north of Italy, a puppet state of Nazi Germany. Roughly one tenth of the people joined the RSI to fight, while the others hid or gathered in defence groups. In some part of northern Italy partisan republics arose.⁶² This was the start of the Resistance, the *Resistenza*.

57 Kallis, A. (2014). p. 7.

58 Mussolini, B. (1929-1939). See appendix D. 59 Etlin, R. A. (1991). p. 483.

60 Kostof, S. (1973). p. 38.

61 Also known as the Republic of Salò, though this name was invented to give the impression that the republic was less significant.

62 Contini, G. (2016).

63 Foot, J. (2009). p. 5.

64 Contini, G. (2016).

65 Foot, J. (2009). p. 7.

66 Portelli, A. and Grele, R. (2007).

67 Foot, J. (2009).

p. 14.

68 To some extent the Vatican tried to propagate this story.

69 Foot, J. (2009). pp. 9-10.

70 Ibid. p. 104.

3.2 DIVIDED MEMORY

The difference between history and memory is usually explained as the distinction between scientific, historical facts and a subjective interpretation of those facts.⁶³ According to Contini, this distinction is no longer convincing, since memory is a part of history as well and the only way to grasp the lived experiences of people and their relationship with the past, which are fragmented. He also argues that history itself is often highly politicised, and therefore unstable.⁶⁴

Next to facts, memories can give insight into subjectivity and self-representation of people. And for the people themselves memories are as true as the official history. Even if the memories do not coincide with the known facts, it can be valuable to understand the ways in which politics, collective narratives and time can transform and distort memories into myths and stereotypes.⁶⁵ Oral historian Portelli regards the study of memories as a valuable addition to history, because it enriches the possible lines of interpretations, rather

than looking for one truth.⁶⁶ Exactly this point is crucial, because when it turns out there is no one truth or at least not a collective or national memory of certain events, a nation has a divided memory.

On itself, divided memory should not necessarily be regarded as a problem, though it should be acknowledged to understand the lack of national approaches on certain topics.

3.3 DIVIDED MEMORY IN ITALY

Foot concludes that Italy has been unable to create a consensus over the past, resulting in a lack of national memory. He goes even further, stating that the Italian state is in a semi-permanent legitimisation crisis since its unification, because many Italians never accepted the political system and its laws. Instead they partly follow unwritten rules, resulting in institutionalised patronage and clientelism. This influences the ways of remembering and commemoration.⁶⁷

Regarding Fascism, the divided memory is mostly established in regard to events that happened in between 1943 and 1945. During this period violence was used by both the fascists (the RSI) and the Nazis as well as by the partisans and Allies. The stories, as written down by Contini and Portelli, show how whole generations constructed memories that do not match the facts. The communities started looking for a scapegoat that suited their stories, and became convinced that their memory was the truth.

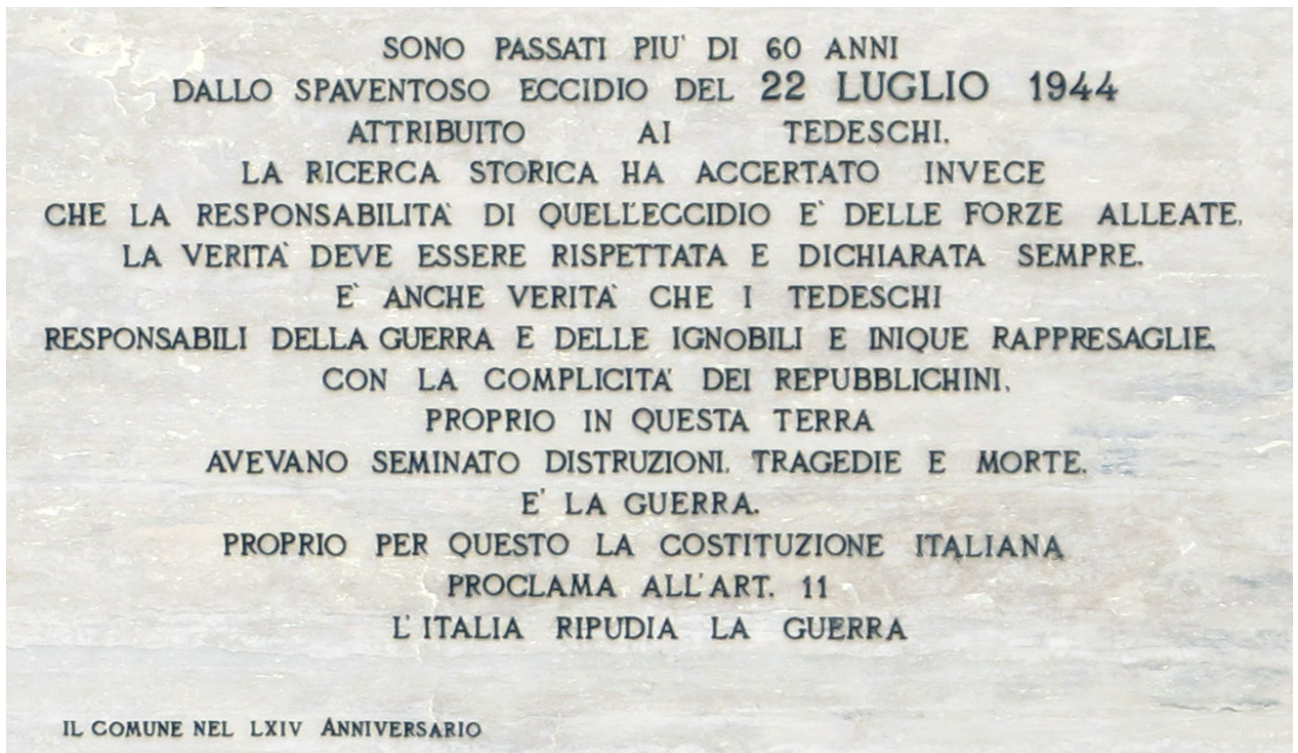
One of the examples is the massacre in Rome in March 1944, when the Nazis executed over 300 people. An anti-partisan memory arose,⁶⁸ believing that it were the partisans that provoked these actions as a kind of reprisal and that the massacre would not have happened if they had given themselves up.⁶⁹

Another example is the bombing of Rome in 1943 by the Allies, when a large part of the antifascist area San





28 Maps of the Italian Empire on the wall of the Basilica of Maxentius.



29 Plaque in San Miniato, Tuscany, shows that the divided memory can become a public memory:

More than 60 years have passed since the terrifying massacre of 22 July 1944 which was attributed to the Germans. Historical research has now shown that the allied forces were responsible for those deaths. The truth demands respect and must always be declared. It is also true that the Germans were responsible for the war, for shameful and unjust reprisals and that in this area, with the complicity of Italian fascists, they sowed death, destruction and tragedy. This is what happens in war. For this reason the Italian constitution proclaims in article 11: Italy repudiates war.

Lorenzo was destroyed. Survivors and other witnesses ascribed the bombs to the Nazis, or blamed it on the fascists since they started the war in the first place. Some preached a pacifist message, avoiding the whole issue of who actually did the bombing and reducing the different enemies to one.⁷⁰

Still many Italians oversimplify the history by separating the good things that Fascism brought them from the bad, avoiding the real debate about its lasting legacy. As an illustration, Mussolini was never repudiated in Italy.⁷¹ There was no Italian Nuremberg, many officials stayed at the same positions, including architects and urban planners. Nationally, this could be explained because there were so many people that had an interest in reposing the fascist past.⁷² Internationally, other interests were at stake. Post-war Italy was to a large extent communist, and the Americans were afraid of losing the country to the USSR. So Contini argues that by concealing the past, the Americans hoped to keep Italy on their side during the Cold War.

71 Page, M. (2014, July 13).

72 Foot, J. (2009). p. 20.

73 Next to influences from for example urban growth, mobility, education and mass media.

74 Page, M. (2014, July 13).

75 Some of the dem-

olitions were expressly political acts, as the statue of Mussolini that was melted down and transformed into a resistance monument. – Foot, J. (2009). p. 16.
76 Ibid. pp. 69-70.
77 Page, M. (2014, July 13).

connected to the nation. When this memory is differentiated, on what can the identification still be based?

In Italy, the divided memory of the fascist period is manifested in the dealing with its architectural heritage.⁷³ A national approach on the de-fascistization is lacking, resulting in local politicians deciding on what should stay and how it is contextualised. In Rome there is still a vast amount of buildings and other traces, and there is only a small minority that wants to confront this heritage.⁷⁴ While other cities, like Bologna underwent a wave of demolition in 1943.⁷⁵ Public institutions, such as post offices and train stations, and highly valued dwellings remained, since they fulfilled essential functions and it would have been a waste to destroy them. Simply the removal of the fasci and other obvious fascist symbols seemed enough. And many of the buildings are important examples of Modern architecture, and were therefor preserved.⁶⁴

Because there is no consensus on the preservation of contested heritage, it is regarded in the same way as non-contested heritage and interventions have to follow its in general quite conservative rules. The answer of Rosalia Vittorini, head of the Italian part of DOCOMOMO,⁷⁶ on the question what Italians think when they pass a 'fascist building', is significant in my opinion; posing the counter-question:

Why do you think they think anything at all?⁷⁷

3.4 DIVIDED MEMORY AND CONTESTED HERITAGE

In regard to a national identity, divided memory and contested heritage have similarities. As described in chapter 1, the preservation of heritage can be seen as a way to construct an identity. Contested heritage becomes problematic in this way, since the negative connotations should also be dealt with as a part of the identity. The same is the case with a divided memory. Preferably there is a national memory on certain main events in the country's history, so the people can identify with each other and feel

In this chapter, an impression is sketched of urbanism and architecture during Italian fascism in Rome. Key notions in both practices will be explained, in order to place the EUR and the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana in a broader context. Both the organisations and people that were in charge of major decisions, as well as the idea of a fascist style will be discussed.

Framework: urbanism and architecture during Italian fascism in Rome





4.1 ROME AND ITS CONTINUITY: URBAN PLANS

Throughout Italy the fascist regime influenced the built environment, though Rome fulfilled a special role. Mussolini called the city a symbol and the myth of Fascism and made it the capital of the fascist state.⁷⁸

Urban renewals were implemented at high speed, which was made possible with a lot of money and the power of the *Governatorato*. As happened before 1922, the outlines of these renewals were drawn out in masterplans, the *Piani Regolatori Generali*, made by the technical office of the city. The masterplan of 1909, *PRG1909*, was officially in use until 1931. This shows the continuity of the city's development, the fascists built upon the existing ideas.⁷⁹ And after the war the same happens, because the masterplan of 1931 was only substituted in 1965. For specific sites, more detailed plans, *piani particolari*, were designed.⁸⁰

During a speech in 1924, Mussolini elaborated on what kind of city he wanted to make of Rome. He identified two kinds of problems; problems of necessity and grandeur. The first kind of problems were the consequence of the growth of the city, mainly the poor hygiene and the lack of space. The latter was crucial to make the third Rome as great as the other two Romes, and could be reached by making Rome more monumental, linking its history with modernity.⁸¹

78 Painter, B. W. (2005). p. 3.

79 Though in 1925-1926 they presented the Variante, a variant on the existing masterplan that had an unofficial status but served as a guideline.

80 Kostof, S. (1973). p. 50.

81 Ibid. pp. 9-10.

82 Baxa, P. (2010). p. 56.

83 Ibid. p. 8.

84 Kirk, T. (2005).

85 Wal, van der, I. (2015).

4.2 KEY NOTIONS: SVENTRAMENTI, ROMANITA, EX NOVO AND EX NIHILO

As described in chapter 3, Mussolini identified himself with emperor Augustus. This is also expressed in the urbanism and architecture, labelled

with the term *romanità*, romanism. Third Rome had to resemble its former shape, both demographically and physically. Therefore, an expansion of the city was needed in the direction of the sea, *Mare Nostrum*, and the Albanese hills.⁸² In the architecture references to the classical past are visible in the use of classical elements such as columns and the materials.

One of the solutions of both problems was found in large scale demolitions, the *sventramenti*. Various authors use the notion of *urban palimpsest* to describe this attitude, using the urban fabric as if it is a piece of parchment that can be reused. Parts of the city were demolished and filled in with new buildings or roads, creating a higher level of hygiene. Though dwellings were not rebuilt in the same speed as they were demolished, Romans were forced to move to (new) areas outside the city centre or became homeless.

The *sventramenti* was also used to create the grandeur Mussolini was looking for, by isolating classical and other selected monuments.⁸³ Combined with the construction of new buildings, new narratives were created, linking the (classical) past with the at that time fascist present.

These two movements, the expansions of the city outside of the Aurelian wall and the demolitions and construction of buildings in the city centre, are categorised as *ex novo* and *ex nihilo* interventions. *Ex novo* are the interventions in the urban areas, and are mainly focussed on creating the grandeur by isolating monuments and constructing an ideological scenography.⁸⁴ *Ex nihilo* interventions were done outside of the city centre and mostly mono-functional.⁸⁵



31 On the building of the Italian Air Force in Rome, still marks can be seen of the fascist year (era fascista), that was placed on the right upper corner. On the left side the Gregorian calendar can still be seen.



4.3 INSTITUTIONS, PEOPLE AND MUSSOLINI'S ROLE

Mussolini called himself the father of Rome's masterplan.⁸⁶ In a way this is correct, since he created the perfect circumstances to renew the city; providing money, legislation and events. Though a lot of experts were involved, not only urbanists but also for example archaeologists and historians.

Through time some architects claimed a bigger role, such as Marcello Piacentini who made the urban plans for the EUR and the Città Universitaria, but they never became official chief architects like Speer. For some projects, the regime appointed specific architects, while for projects such as the EUR the urban designers were selected and the building designs were open competitions.

To be able to work for the regime, designers had to be member of the fascist party, and of the *Sindacato nazionale fascista architetti*, a professional syndicate.⁸⁷ This primary goal of this organisation was letting architecture express Italian values.⁸⁸

86 Kostof, S. (1973). pp. 29-30, 33.

87 Kirk, T. (2005). pp. 81, 84.

88 Nicoloso, P. (1999). pp. 54-57.

89 Kirk, T. (2005). p. 86.

90 Kallis, A. (2014). p. 133.

91 The same materiality gives easily the sense of unity, but in this case there is also

another reason for the use of Italian materials. After the conquest of Ethiopia, Italy could no longer be part of the League of Nations and international trade with the country was stopped, so they had to work with local materials. - Etlin, R. A. (1991). p. 485.

more popularity. A mix between neoclassicism and the modern rational architecture, an abstract classicistic approach, is sometimes considered as the 'fascist style', *Stile Littorio*.⁹⁰ This architecture is characterised by simplified classical elements and Italian materials such as travertine and marble⁹¹ and was supposed to combine modern technologies and a continuation of tradition.

In my opinion the 'fascist style' does not exist, since it is not one style, the architecture itself is not fascist and the used architecture styles are not exclusively Italian.

4.4 A FASCIST STYLE?

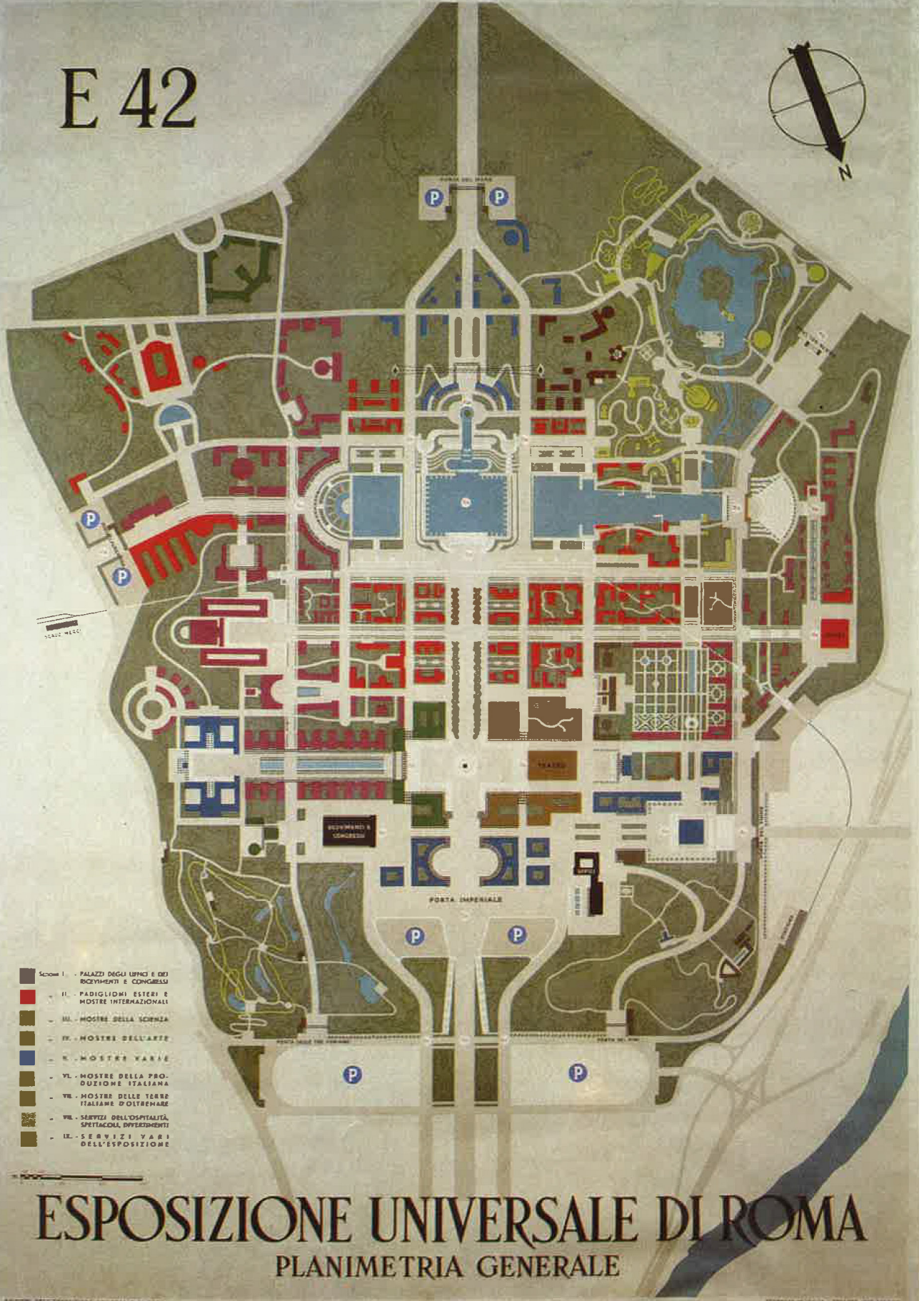
In the twenty years of Fascism, various tendencies become visible in architecture. In the 1920's, there was a lot of freedom in the designs, resulting from the lack of an explicit framework for art and architecture (as described in chapter 3). The architects could explain the link between the fascist ideology and their work themselves.⁸⁹ This led to many modern, rational buildings.

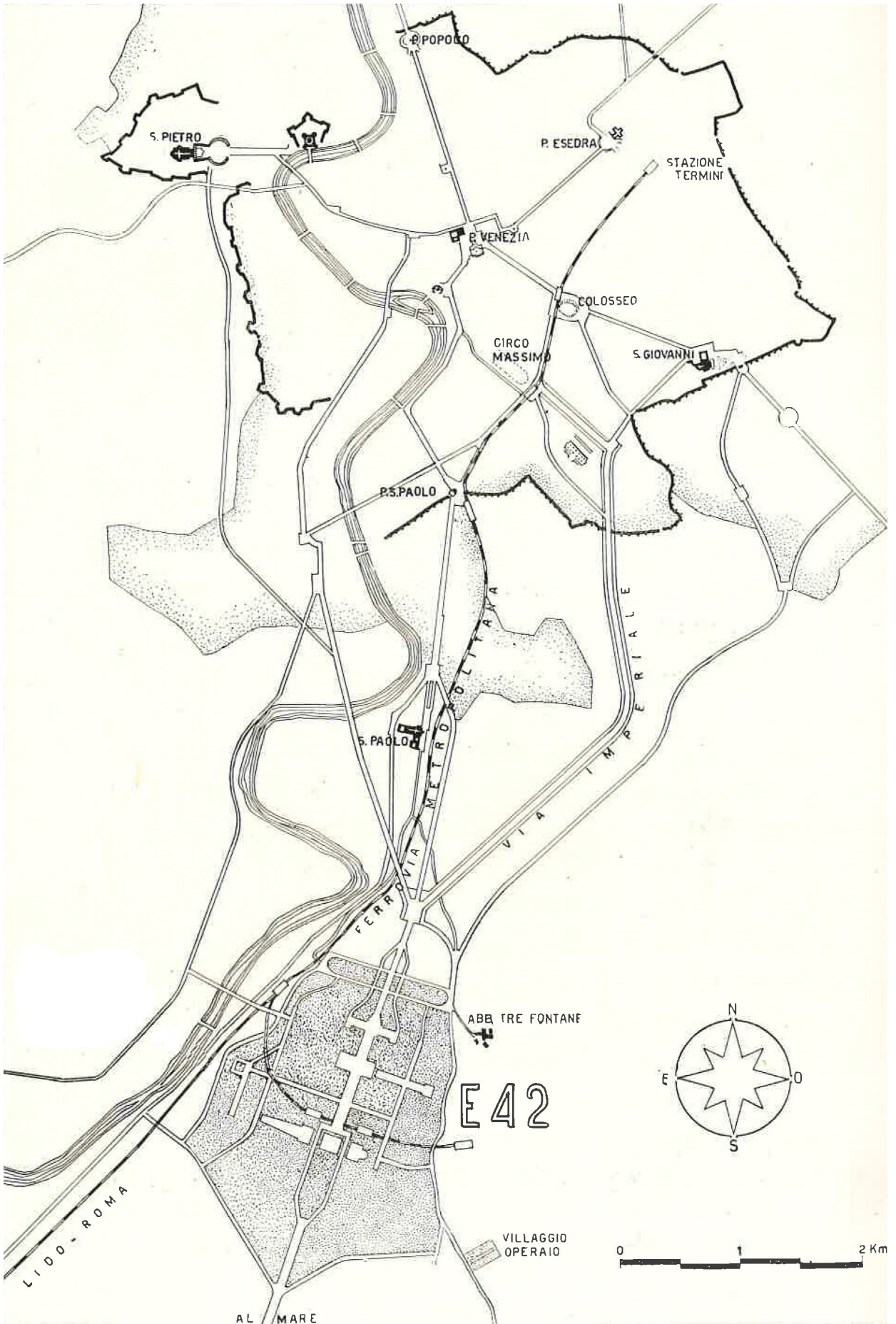
Later on, from the beginning of the 30s, neoclassicism gained more and

General information EUR

The EUR, short for *Esposizione Urbanistica Roma*, is the location of this graduation project. This chapter goes into the history of the district, its architecture and its use nowadays.

E 42





5.1 HISTORY

The EUR was built to host the World Expo of 1942, the *Esposizione Universale di Roma* (E42), coinciding with the celebration of the *ventennio*, the twenty years of Fascism.⁹² The theme of the Expo was the Olympiad of the Civilisation. The district itself was regarded as a permanent model city filled with Italian finest architecture, serving as an example for new cities all over the world.⁹³

In line with Mussolini's desire of expanding Rome towards the sea, the site is positioned in between the city and Ostia Antica, connecting both with the new road Via Imperiale (currently Via Cristoforo Colombo).⁹⁴ The *ex nihilo* location of this satellite city was proposed by senator Cini, because it was suitable for construction on the almost flat 30 meters high hill-top⁹⁵ and already easily accessible.⁹⁶ The area was known for the Tre Fontane abbey, located just next to the EUR, and its eucalyptus trees, which are integrated in the urban plan.

When Italy declared the war to France in 1940, the construction of the EUR stopped and the E42 was never held. Since the most streets were already built, the masterplan is largely implemented as intended. Only the architectural infill differs, because only a few buildings were finished by 1940, especially in the north part. This is nicely illustrated by an aerial picture from 1953. After the war, new offices and apartment buildings were built, mainly to accommodate governmental functions and young families, looking for more space than available in the city centre.⁹⁷

For the Olympic Games in 1960, the EUR-district was designated as one of the areas.⁹⁸ In the south part sport facilities were built, among others the Palazzo dello Sport by Nervi.⁹⁹

5.2 PEOPLE INVOLVED

The organisation of the E42 was done by the *Ente Autonomo Esposizione Universale di Roma*, composed by

Mussolini and consisting of two politicians (Vittorio Cini and Oreste Bonomi) and the president of the fascist syndicate, Cipriano Oppo.¹⁰⁰ The Ente picked five designers for EUR's masterplan: Marcello Piacentini, Giuseppe Pagano, Luigi Piccinato, Ettore Rossi and Luigi Vietti. In the beginning this collaboration seemed to work, as Pagano wrote in the *Casabella*, but after a while, disagreements between Piacentini and the younger members became problematic. Piacentini strived for a traditional layout, while the others wanted a more modern masterplan. This resulted in a revised version of the original plan in 1938, signed only with Piacentini's name.¹⁰¹

This was not Piacentini's first urban project for the regime, he was already known for the design of the Città Universitaria. He can be seen as one of the key figures in the urbanism during the regime, well-known for his ability to maintain unity in large scale projects. After the war it was still Piacentini how continued the developments of the EUR-district.

92 Kirk, T. (2005). pp. 133-136.

93 Kallis, A. (2014). pp. 222, 244-258.

94 Etlin, R. A. (1991). pp. 399, 481.

95 Valenti, M. (1987). p. 191.

96 Ferrara, P. (1987). pp. 73-84.

97 Kostof, S. (1973).

p. 38.

98 The other main area was Foro Mussolini.

99 Goldblatt, D. (2016). pp. 75-76.

100 Ferrara, P. (1987).

101 Calvesi, M., Guidoni, E. and Lux, S. (1987). pp. 17-73.

102 Kirk, T. (2005). pp. 133-136.

Piacentini teamed up with architect Gaetano Minucci, who designed the parks and gardens. The Ente decided on the architects for some of the buildings, like their own offices. For the permanent expo buildings, they organised competitions, decided upon by a jury consisting of mostly rationalist designers.¹⁰²

5.3 THE URBAN PLAN

One of the most noticeable elements of the masterplan is the orthogonal grid. Piacentini used the grid as a reference to the Roman settlements, to stay close to the Italian identity as he explains himself. For him this was still the base of properly functioning ur-





Previous page:

35 Aerial picture of the EUR in 1953. It is clearly visible in which extent the urban plans are realized.

ban plans. And this layout is also used in other World Expo districts, like in Paris.¹⁰³ The design as used for colonial settlements consists of two main axes, the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, with the grid equally spread in both directions and a central square on the intersection of the two axes.¹⁰⁴ In the EUR the grid is not an equally spread chessboard pattern, this may have to do with the height differences.

These differences in height are used to its advantage, to emphasis important buildings (built on the higher points) and create certain sightlines. The lowest part of the district is the artificial lake, constructed perpendicular to the main road, the Via Imperiale. The largest height differences are located at the outskirts of the quarter.

The lines in these areas derogate from the grid. This could be due to the slopes, otherwise some of these roads may have been too steep to use. Another reason, especially in the north part of the plan, could be found in the already existing parks that became part of the masterplan.

The central axis, the Via Imperiale, is both the longest as the widest road of the EUR. It was designed as the traffic artery and to house the international pavilions. The street is characterised by a specific type of tree, the Italian stone pine. This tree was already popular in ancient times, and frequently used by the fascists.¹⁰⁵ The nowadays ten lane road was designed with a tramway and bicycle paths, but those were not executed.

5.4 ARCHITECTURE

Cini considered the EUR as the perfect occasion to introduce the world to the *Stile Littorio*.¹⁰⁶ As he wrote Mussolini, this style would meet the requirements of grandeur and monumentality.¹⁰⁷ This could be one of the reasons why he selected Piacentini for the urban plan, since he already designed modern buildings with elements from classical architecture and he was actively looking for a new Italian style.¹⁰⁸

I do not regard this as the 'fascist style', but when comparing the buildings in the district there is definitely a unity visible.¹⁰⁹ Though in the original plan the international pavilions, located on the main axis, did not have to be in the same style, they could even be futuristic, because they would be demolished after the Expo.¹¹⁰

103 Etlin, R. A. (1991). pp. 504 -505.

104 Leupen, B. (2005). pp. 28, 73-74.

105 Etlin, R. A. (1991). p. 509.

106 He also calls it the 'E42 style'.

107 Cini, V. (1937). pp. 4-5.

108 Etlin, R. A. (1991). p. 418.

109 Piacentini stated that the worked with the regime for purely aesthetic reasons, not ideologically. Already before the ventennio, in 1921, he wanted a new

national architectural style, because he thought that the level of Italian architecture was low in comparison to other countries. Ciucci, G. (1989). pp. 110-111

110 Cini, V. (1937). pp. 4-5.

111 An organization paid by the Italian government and the city of Rome that owns the buildings in the EUR.

112 Bosworth, R. J. B. (2011). p. 246.

113 Teodoro, di, N. (2015, May 6).

5.5 NEW FUNCTIONS AND BUILDINGS, ATMOSPHERE NOWADAYS

Today the EUR is for a large part a business district, mixed with dwelling and leisure. The buildings remaining from the fascist period found new (temporary) uses; as a museum of the Roman civilisation, an archive, office spaces, a congress centre and the headquarters of Fendi. Other striking traces from the fascist times are for example the relief of the Roman history on the Palazzo Uffici, nowadays the office of EUR S.p.A.,¹¹¹ and the statue of the *Genio dello Sport*, transformed from *Genio del Fascisto* with the addition of a leather strap on his hand.¹¹² The main road is most of the time filled with cars and scooters, while other parts of the district can be very quiet, especially during the weekends when the offices are closed. Except for the zone around the lake, that functions as a park and contains some leisure functions.

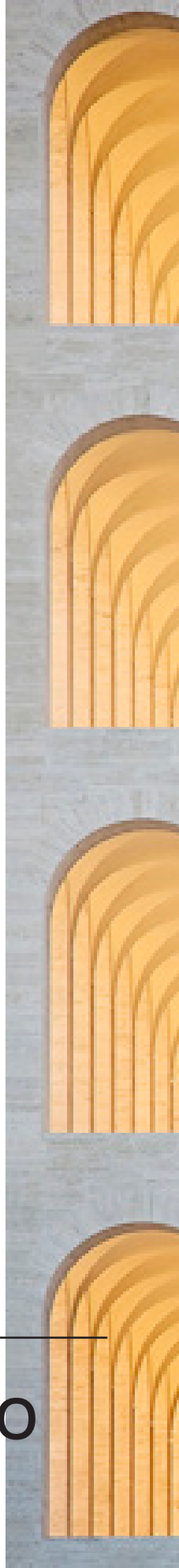
Personally, I did not feel very safe in some parts of the district, especially not in the borders of the area, near the river. The EUR is also known for the large scale illegal prostitution, that takes place in the parks and on the streets.¹¹³



ROMA 1942 XX
ESPOSIZIONE UNIVERSALE

The Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana is the building that is redesigned during this graduation project. The aim of this chapter is to understand the history of the building and the imagery of it, looking through the representations through time. Since its current function, the headquarters of Fendi, is related to its new function as headquarters and textile factory, this will be studied as well.

General information Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana





6.1 FUNCTION, LOCATION, PEOPLE

The Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana was intended to be one of the most important buildings of the EUR, hosting the permanent exhibition on the Italian civilization. Next to its appearance, the geographical location of the building, on the highest point of the neighbourhood makes the building already a landmark for the EUR. It is located at the edge of the district, partly surrounded by the *Parco del Ninfeo*, the park of the nymphaeum. The design by Giovanni Guerinni, Ernest Bruno La Padula and Mario Romano was chosen during a competition in 1937 by a jury consisting of mostly rational architects.¹¹⁴ The building was not completely finished when Italy participated in the Second World War, but an official opening was held in 1940. It never fulfilled the envisioned function.

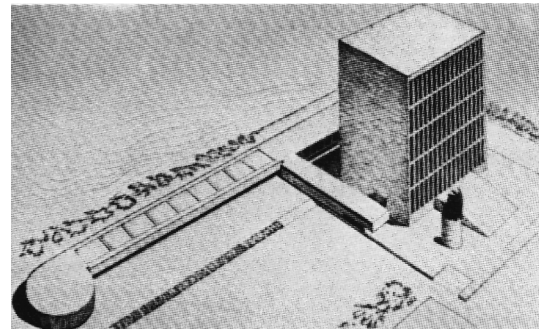
114 Oppo, Michelucci, Pagano, Piacentini, De Francisci, Portaluppi, Cafferelli and Florio. – Casciato, M. and Poretta, S. (2002). p. 240.
115 Etlin, R. A. (1991).

p. 494.
116 In English: A nation of poets, of artists, of heroes, of saints, of thinkers, of scientists, of navigators, of transmigrators.

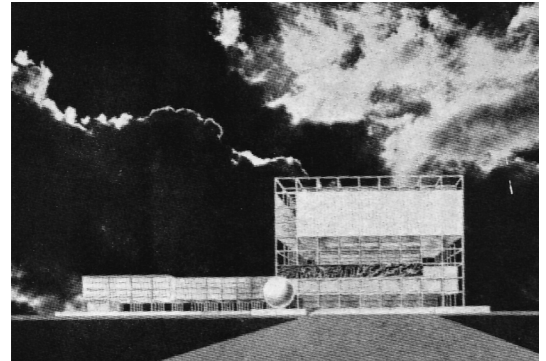
6.2 THE ORIGINAL AND THE FINAL DESIGN

The design of the original submission differs from the final design. Originally it was designed as a perfect cube, but it was vertically stretched in later designs. This had two reasons, on the one hand to accentuate the highest point of the district,¹¹⁵ on the other hand to meet the Greek principles for classical architecture. The building was stretched by adding a vertical ending materialised in a massive travertine plane, decorated with a quote.

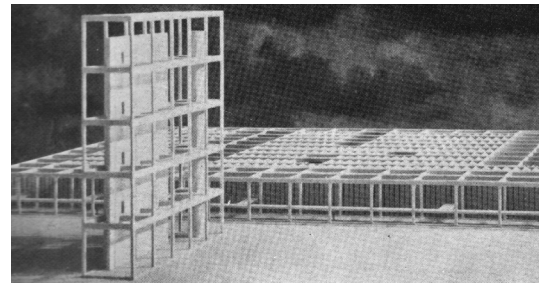
The quote about the Italian people, *Un popolo di poeti, di artisti, di eroi, di santi, di pensatori, di scienziati, di navigatori, di trasmigratori*,¹¹⁶ is taken from one of Mussolini's speeches, the speech in 1936 when he announced the conquest of Ethiopia. The corners were emphasised as well, by making the corner columns wider. In this way the outline of the building became more clear. The repetition of the



Samonà, Viola

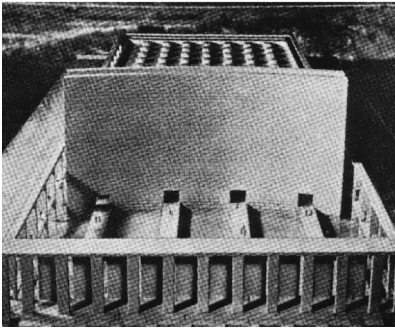


Banchetti, Pea

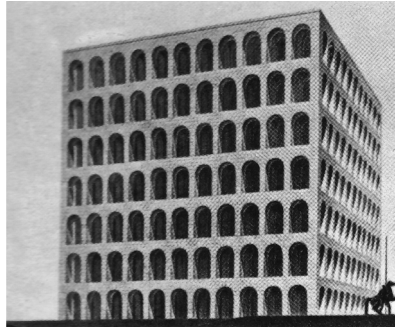


Albini, Gardella, Palanti, Romano

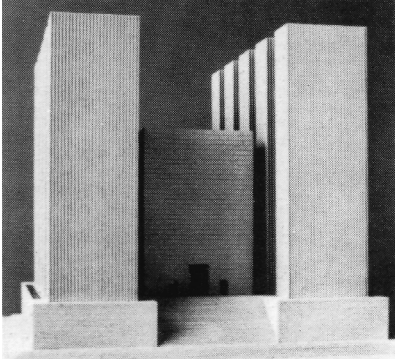
38 Competition entries.



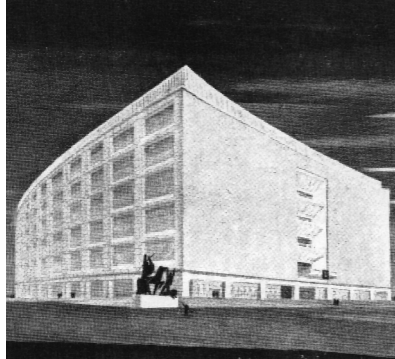
Banfi, Belgiojoso, Peressutti, Rogers (BBPR)



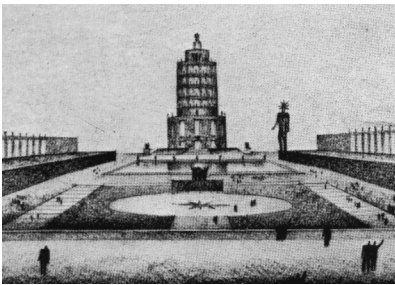
Guerrini, La Padula, Romano



Baldessari, Saliva



Luccichenti



Ortensi, Pascoletti, Santi



Nordio

arches stands for the endurance of the Roman civilisation.¹¹⁷ The number of arches changed from eleven horizontally by seven vertically into nine by six. The story goes that this stands for the letters of Benito Mussolini's name, though there is no proof. The positions of the three and a half meter high statues changed as well. The allegoric figures represent the field of work, showing the pride for the work in Italy and presenting the different fields as equal. The masonry of the ground floor was replaced by travertine plates, creating more unity in the overall building. And instead of ramps, stairs were added.

6.2.1 Rational logics in the final design

In Greek temples, the amount of columns of the front façade is always equal, so that the entrance can be placed in the middle. The kind of temples with one row of columns surrounding the whole *cella* are called *peripteros*, and the four-sided portico a *peristasis*. Classical temples normally had longer sides than the front and the back, with an unequal amount of columns. But the floorplan of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana forms a perfect square, with rows of ten columns, *deka-stylos*, on each side. The peristasis surrounds the inner arches that have a glass infill, formed the actual closed façade. The core breaks with the point symmetry, consisting of an atrium, vertical circulation and toilets.

Zoomed in on the arches, Vitruvius' theories can be tested. He made a division in the proportions between the columns and the size in between them. But it turns out that the proportions of these arches (three and a half times the size of the columns in between), does not fit one of Vitruvius' categories, but is in between the *dia-style* (three times the size of the column) and the *areostyle* (four times). But they are proportioned according to the golden ratio. The columns on the corners are wider, and they fit the *systyle* (two times the width in between). The arch is a dominant

element of the Palazzo, as a symbol for the Italian civilization and its endurance. Arches are in use since the classical times and to emphasize the timelessness of it, it is used in a way that is not accentuating particular eras or styles. The rhythmic repetition resembles the endurance of the Italian civilization, composed as a unitary mass.¹¹⁸

The platform on which the stretched cube stands is also part of the building, and refers to the crepidoma of ancient Greek buildings. At the corners four *Dioskouroi*, the sons of Zeus and Leda, are located. It covers a large floor area, of over 7000 square meters, roughly one third of the total floor area. The structure is made of reinforced concrete and hollow bricks, making it a modern structure. The structural grid become visible not only in the repetitive arches, but also in the (glass) tiles on the roofs.

117 Ettlin, R. A. (1991). p. 497.

118 Calvesi, M., Guidoni, E. and Lux, S.

(1987). pp. 353-354.

119 Casciato, M. and

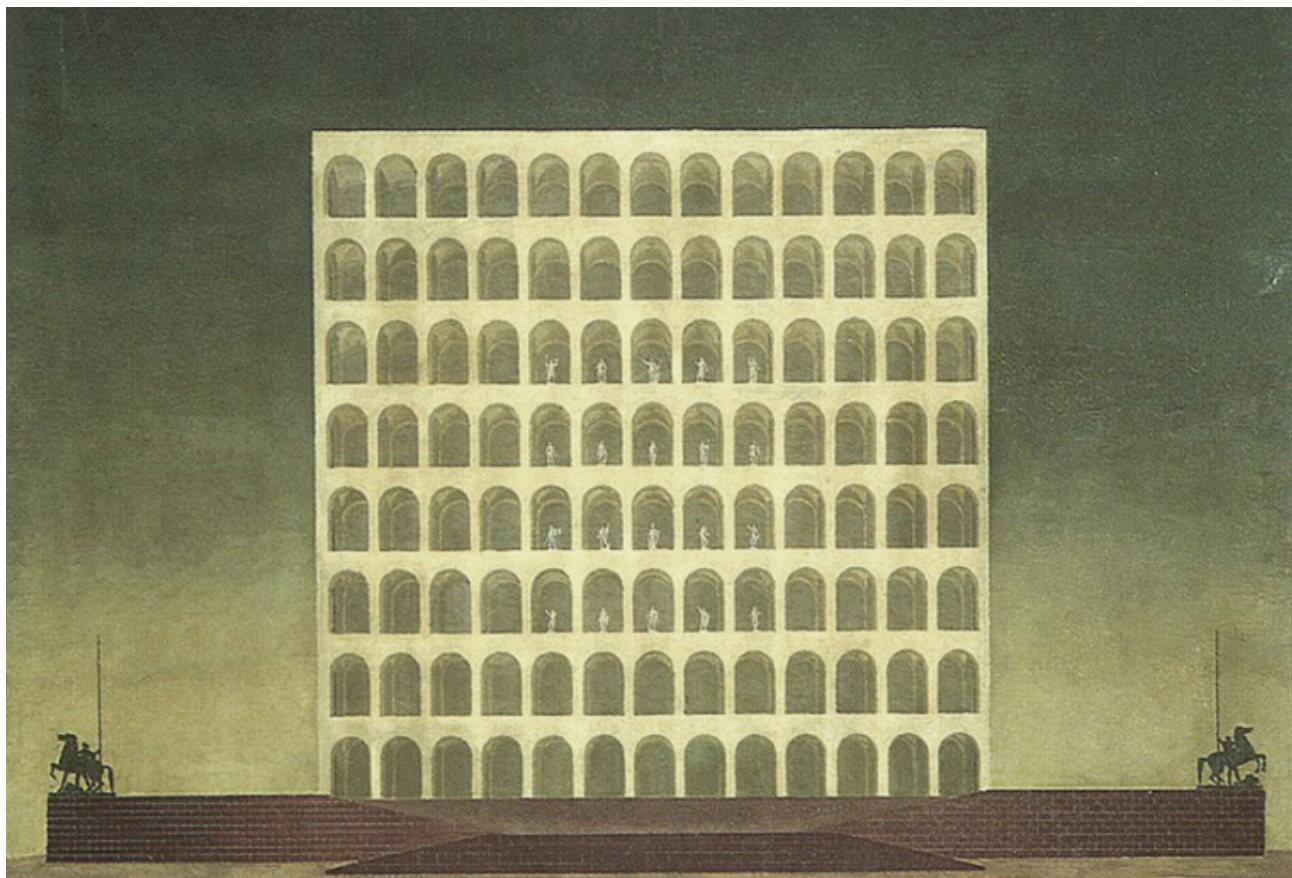
Poretti, S. (2002). pp. 243-245.

6.3 DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS AND INTERVENTIONS

Already during the war the ground floor was used for the reparations of the vehicles of the German troops. Afterwards, various ideas for new functions occurred, like a new national library (1951) or a museum of technology (1953).

The first new function it fulfilled was in 1953, when the building was momentarily used as one of the venues for the Agricultural Exhibition. For this occasion, the building was restored, since it had been exposed to the violence of the war, and damaged by grenades.

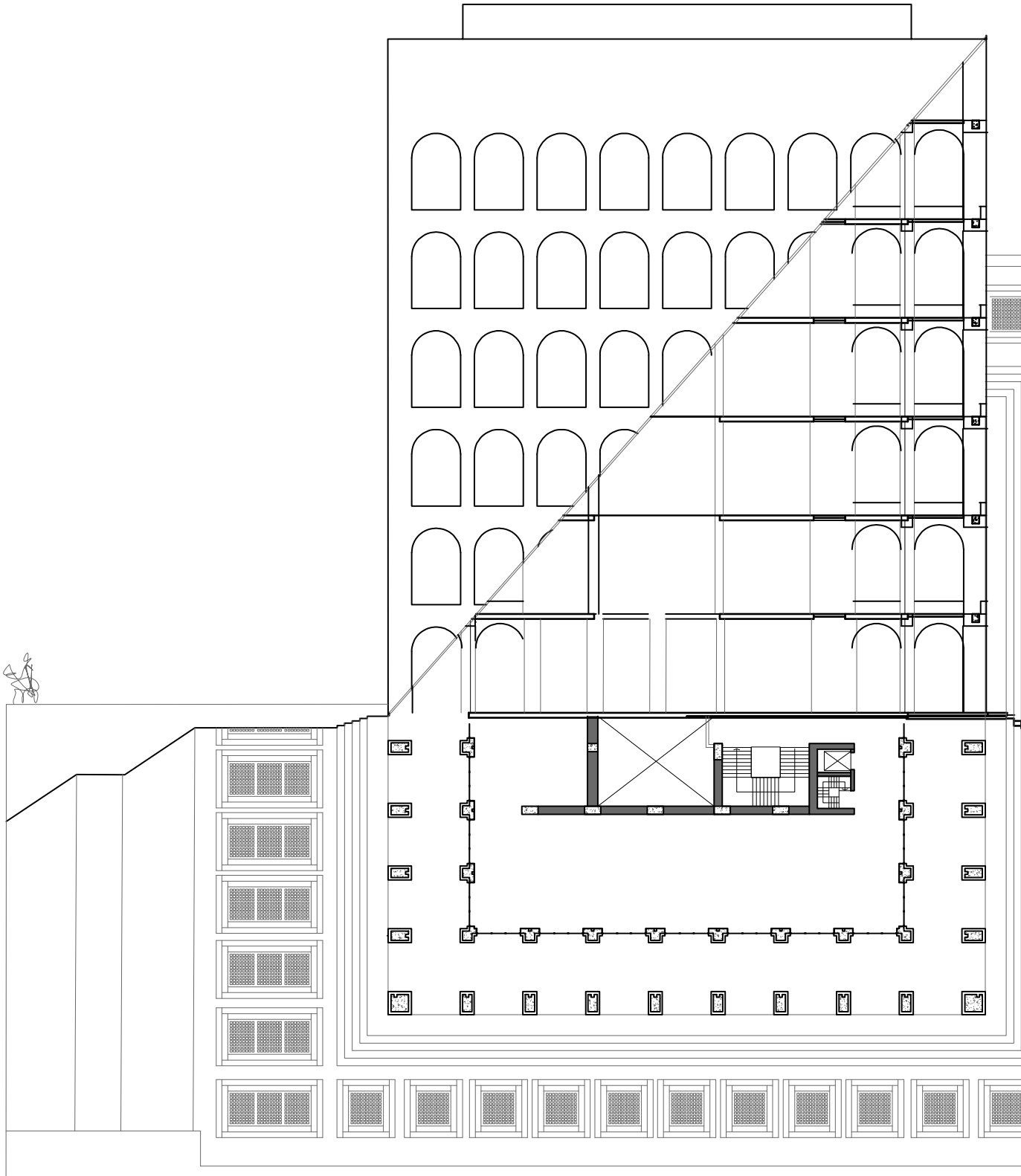
In 1956 the *Federazione dei Cavalieri del Lavoro*, a federation of businessmen, signed a contract to rent the building for twenty-nine years and changed the name into Palazzo della Civiltà del Lavoro, but whether the intervened architecturally is not clear.¹¹⁹



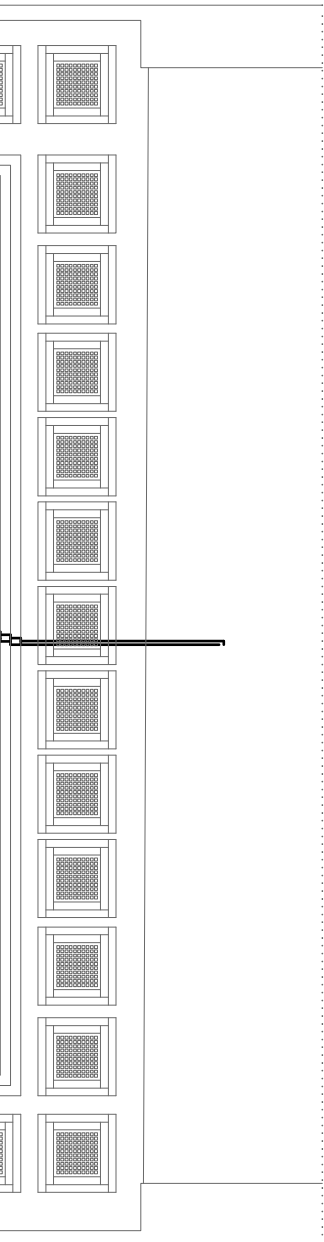
39 Earlier version of the design.



40 Part of the building today.



41 Drawing of the existing building, including the floorplan, section and facade.



Then, in 1999, the government came with the idea to start an audio-visual museum the Palazzo and restored the building between 2006 and 2008.¹²⁰

But also this was cancelled and it would take until 2015 to find a new function for the building, as the new headquarters of Fendi for the coming fifteen years. The redesign was made by Marco Constanzi Architects, an office based near Bologna. The exterior was renovated, but stayed unmodified. Also in the interior restoration work was done, maintaining details such as the original brass lighting. The openness in the floorplans is kept as well, except for some transparent structures containing meeting rooms and executive offices. On the third floor a bridge is piercing the atrium, to connect the presidential office areas.¹²¹ During the opening, a viewing platform was added on the rooftop, but due to preservation rules this was only contemporary.

120 EUR S.p.A., Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana. (2015).
121 Marco Constanzi Architects. (2015). pp. 90-91.

6.4 REPRESENTATION THROUGH TIME

The Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana is one of the most iconic examples of architecture of the Fascist period. Though its fame is not merely depending on its history. Throughout its existence, the building, or at least an image of the building gained popularity by its appearance in movies. Its graphical qualities ensure a huge recognisability, even when only a few lines are drawn. The whole EUR district is a popular filming location, once described by director Federico Fellini as a massive film studio. He praised the metaphysical qualities of its architecture.¹²²

The use of imagery of the building in other contexts, creates other narratives that add up to the building in real life. Without any modification of the building itself, the associations or memories people have of the building can be changed. From a building built in a fascist context, these new

representations can create a larger distance between the building and its past, depending on the content of the movies.

The first movie in which the Palazzo appeared is *Roma, città aperta*, directed by Rossellini in 1945. This neorealist movie is shot during the Nazi occupation in 1944, showing Rome as an open city since 1943. The story is about resistance leader Giorgio Manfredi, who is chased by Nazis. This is the only movie featuring the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana related to the Second World War, and has an anti-fascist perspective.

In a more recent movie, the comedy *Zoolander 2* (2016), the building plays a bigger role. Referring to its new function as the headquarters of Fendi, the fashion brand Atoz owns the building. Instead of Mussolini's quote about the Italian people, the company's name is visible on the facade. The fashion industry is depicted as an evil and superficial industry, this may be interpreted as a reaction on Fendi moving into this contested heritage. But the movie does not go into the actual context; the history of the building or the EUR-district.

The other movies have nothing to do with neither the fascist past, nor fashion. Other narratives are constructed, which may change the connotations people had of the building. For the complete list of movies featuring the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana and more movie stills, see appendix E.







43 Still from *Zoolander 2* (2016).

Next page:

44 Still from *Boccaccio '70 - Le tentazioni del dottor Antonio* (1962).





HOTEL DEI CONGRESSI

LIBRERIA
ANTICARIA
LUCIANO



6.5 FENDI

The Italian state does not have enough money to maintain the vast amount of heritage it possesses. Though they want to protect it, in order to preserve the memory of the national community and its territory.¹²³

That is why companies are asked to sponsor or rent monuments. In the last years, companies as Tods, Diesel and Fendi helped the Italian government in this way. Fendi seized this opportunity to stress their Roman roots, by sponsoring the restaurations of the Trevi fountain and the Quattro Fontane, and by renting the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana for at least fifteen years as their headquarters.

Fendi is a fashion brand famous for its use of fur. It was established in 1925 in Rome, so during Mussolini's dictatorship. What the founder thought of the fascist ideology does not become clear, questions regarding this subject are not answered. Karl Lagerfeld, the current creative director, quotes Nietzsche when saying that the past and history here are now beyond 'good and evil'.¹²⁴

Whereas fashion is mostly future oriented, working on the coming seasons, Fendi tries to establish a link with the past, matching their mottos *Fendi makes history* and *Timeless heritage*.¹²⁵ This can be interpreted in multiple ways; among which Fendi as an author that rewrites history or the deliberation of heritage from its moment (and meaning) in time. During the first months in the new headquarters, a small exhibition on the history of the EUR and the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana was open to public, *Una nuova Roma*. Fendi was now indeed in the position to rewrite the history of the building, making only some brief remarks on the regime that built the site, leaving Mussolini out of the story.¹²⁶

Fendi's chief executive Pietro Becari states that they only selected the building for its aesthetic qualities and to strengthen Fendi's image as a Roman brand. He regards the build-

ing as a symbol of Italian creativity, genius and craftsmanship; values that fit Fendi as well. He denies a link between the Palazzo and the fascist ideology, stating that it is beyond a discussion of politics. According to him Italians see no significance of the fascist past in the building.¹²⁷

123 Ministero per I Beni e le attività culturali. (2004). p. 13.

124 And in the same flyer he writes that Italian fashion and Italian architecture should be 100% Italian to claim their universality, which reminds of the national

proud of the fascists. - Lagerfeld, K. (2014).

125 Fendi, *La nostra storia*.

126 Kirchgassner, S. (2015, October 22).

127 Ibid.

128 Fiorentino, F. (2015, October 23).

The usage of the Palazzo is not restricted to the building itself, Fendi is also actively using its imagery for shop windows, fashion shows, photoshoots and stores. In this way they try establish an even stronger link between the building and their brand. And they have the possibility to create new narratives, taking the building out of its context. Thus the fascist past will get more and more to the background and is the building re-framed from fascism to fashion.

In June 2016 a discussion on the exclusive right of Fendi to use the image of the building started, when the gay pride organisation used the building on their posters. Fendi's first reaction was that all posters had to be destroyed, but later on they said it was a misunderstanding, and gave permission to use the posters, probably hoping that no one would suspect them of not supporting the gay movement.

Interestingly in the discussion about Fendi's move are the different positions between Italians and non-Italians. Whereas Italian articles on the opening of the headquarters do not mention the fascist past, non-Italian articles are almost entirely focussed on political insensitivity. In the *Corriere della Sera* the building is called 'A symbolic monument for the Romans', but not specified where the symbol stands for.¹²⁸ Even further goes *Il Messaggero*, calling the Palazzo one of the most symbolic buildings of the









47 Roma Pride poster

Previous page:

46 Fendi fashion show at the Trevi Fountain, celebrating the 90th anniversary of the brand.

capital and country, and a symbol for Fendi's Roman roots. According to the author the building is representing the whole Italian culture, including fascism, but without showing value because it is built as a façade without content.¹²⁹ *Il Post* mentions the fascism, by identifying the monumental style of fascist architecture, but without adding value to it.¹³⁰ Most Italians do not understand why foreigners make such a big deal out of Fendi's move, because they see the positive sides in the investments of the company in Italy, keeping the 'made in Italy' crafts in the country. It is not only a restoration of the heritage, but it involves employment and they even created a space for public exhibitions.¹³¹

- 129 Pamphili, C. T. (2015, October 31).
130 La nuova sede di Fendi nel "Colosseo quadrato". (2015, October 23).
131 Pamphili, C. T. (2015, October 31).
132 Page, M. (2014, July 13).
133 Kirchgaessner, S. (2015, October 22).
134 Hatherley, O. (2015, March 3).

The Italian architectural historian Paolo Nicoloso emphasizes the unquestionable relation between the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana and Italy's fascist past. He places the renewed appreciation for these buildings in the context of the long economic decline. The wealthy buildings remind Italians of the good sides of fascism, neglecting the dictatorship, racial laws and violence.¹³² But he is not against the re-use, only if its architecture remains intact.¹³³

According to British journalist Owen Hatherley it is correct that 'fascist architecture' remains contaminated. It can be interesting and attractive, but still is contains deeply sick values. He is against Fendi's move as he foresees a dangerous normalisation of Fascism, becoming 'just another' part of Italian history. He cannot agree with Beccari, who states that it is only a matter of aesthetics, because that would assume that fascism is something ancient, that it is dead history in Italy. But it is not.¹³⁴







49 Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana as inspiration for Fendi's Spring Summer 2015 catwalk design.

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48 Fendi's Fall Winter 2014 collection, shot at Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana.



50 Traces of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana in Fendi's window displays, 2015.

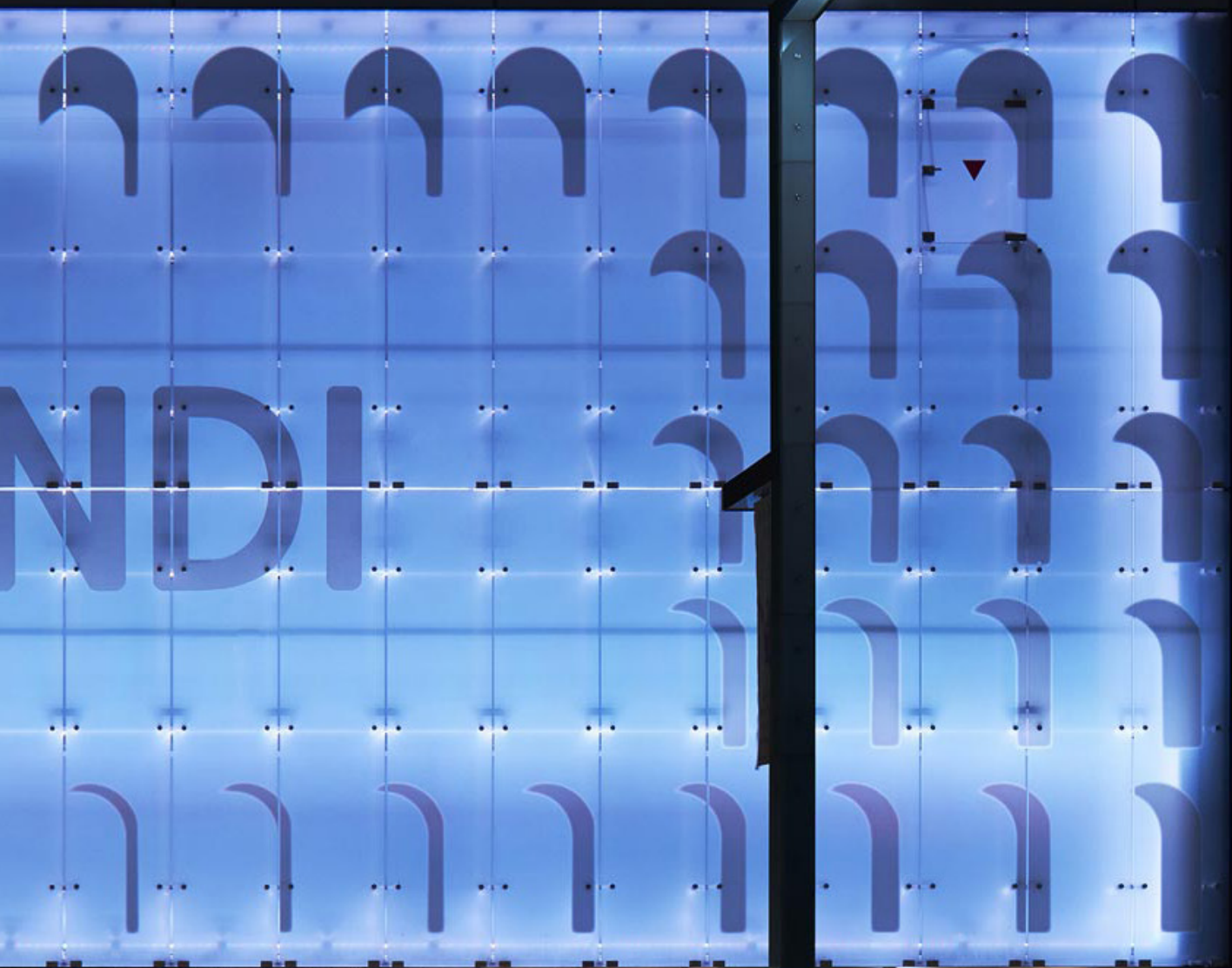
Next page:

51 Shadows of the arches in facade of pop-up boutique Tokyo, 2015.



FENDI







Conclusion and position

It is impossible to answer the main question, how to deal with architectural heritage with a contested past, with a simple, straightforward answer.

Contested heritage is not a uniform group of architectural heritage, and so are the reasons to preserve it. Already for non-contested heritage various conflicting values can be assessed, resulting in different attitudes towards an intervention. Over time, philosophical bases are recorded in international charters. The different attitudes can be traced back to differences in the valuation of heritage, which is always subjective due to the hierarchical arrangement that must be made of the dialectical values. Regarding the values of contested heritage, a new value is added to Riegl's assessment system, the conflict value. The negative sides of the past that are connected to the building are appreciated, and should not be erased, but be shown in order to construct a pluralistic image of the whole history instead of a black-and-white version of it, for the sake of education.

Though the conflict value does not have to be the only reason to preserve contested heritage. This is a difficult point in the dealing with contested heritage. Based on the case studies, it is clear that the buildings were kept for various reasons. If it was not for its conflict value, it is likely that this will come up at a later point, regarding it not only as a pragmatic object but also charged with negative connotations. For example, when after seventy years the ownership of the camp commander's house changed, the question arose how to deal with the heritage as it was now considered as contested heritage.

Regarding the link between buildings and their pasts, I agree with the Venice Charter that a monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. But practically this inseparability still needs to be defined. I state that ideological buildings do not exist, since buildings cannot think themselves. But they can be used

as a means to express an ideology metaphorically. Just as Goodman writes, buildings can be linked on a metaphorical level to certain principles of an ideology, for example to let a visitor feel very small to emphasize the smallness of the individual (versus the nation). The historical link can only be recognised, just as the historical value of Riegl, by people with knowledge of (architectural) history of the specific period and place. Symbols are easier to identify by a larger audience, but a quote from an exact speech or the use of certain materials or shapes, frequently but not exclusively used by a regime, are more difficult to position correctly in history.

Depending on the building and multiple factors, I believe that the difficult pasts should be considered as valuable in a redesign. Therefore I regarded it as a design challenge to find a balance in dealing with the physical and historical context and a pure formal approach towards the building, focusing on its architectural qualities.

Through the literature survey and the visual experiments, it became more and more clear that to understand a building fully, the specific context is essential, both the physical and historical context. But that without this (elaborated) context a building can be used for other purposes. The construction of narratives through for example collage as a technique to change the context, or featuring the building in a movie with a storyline that has nothing to do with its historical context, is a powerful tool.

Especially in the case of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana I consider it important to acknowledge its past, because of the building's fame and the situation in Italy, where the fascist past is not discussed as widely and publicly as in other countries. Precisely a building as the Palazzo, appreciated for a lot of other values than its past and easily recognisable, could be an accessible starting point for a conversation about fascism and its architectural heritage. Even the discussion on its own could be the

53 The model, volumes between atrium and facade.

Next page:

54 The model, from the outside.





best memorial as Young describes; the unresolvable debate of the preservation of memory.¹³⁵ It should be kept in mind that there is a divided memory in Italy regarding the fascist period. An objective as possible way of showing the history could be the starting point for a conversation about the past and with that about the ideas that are important today.

I felt the need to materialise the conflict value that the building possesses in an architectural way, not simply by repurposing it to for example a museum of fascism. That is one of the reasons to stick with the function of a headquarter of a fashion brand, and its production line. But materialising the conflict value turned out not to be so simple, acknowledging that fascist architecture does not exist and that buildings cannot transmit ideas literally. I started to question the role of architecture, how big it could or should be. Are historical television shows not more efficient to start talking about fascism and its heritage? Or the repurposing of a contested heritage to a documentation centre? I do not want to deny that these are options as well, but I think that as architects it is our role to work on a building in a formal way. Architecture is our discipline and we learnt the tools and skills to work in it. Precisely by intervening in the built environment that is accessible to everyone, a building could be an important tool in the dealing with a difficult past. One does not have to turn on the television or actually walk into a documentation centre, but can accidentally pass a building and reflect upon the past.

The way of dealing with the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana as it happened now, results in a physical context that does not change much, the appearance stayed the same. But the 'virtual context' is already changing through its appearance in movies, that except for *Roma città aperta* (1945) have nothing to do with the fascist past. Fendi's representations of the buildings contribute to this creation of new narratives, constructing a firmer link between the building and the brand

and overlooking its past.

This already makes clear that the building is not frozen in time, but this is not emphasized in the building itself. As Viollet-le-Duc took the position to maintain a unity in style in a building, I agree more with Ruskin's position that the pass of time could add value to a building. The building can be ideologically authored,¹³⁶ but that does not mean that this should be the only author visible. In order to keep the building alive, people should make a more personal link with the building, next to the distant link with its past.

¹³⁵ Herscher, A. (2014).

¹³⁶ Laarse, van der, R. (2015).

In the proposed design, interventions are done in various scales. Throughout the scales the same motives become visible. The first is to open up the building for the public. This happens through its function, but also architecturally by using transparent and translucent materials, and adding a public route that goes through the whole building, starting outside. This is the only element that is directly visible from outside, making clear that an intervention is made; by attaching a long ramp. Another way to make the building more approachable for visitors is adding a more human scale. By subdividing the 5,4 x 5,4 meters grid into pieces of 1,8 meter and using this for the new interventions, people can more easily relate to the size of the building.

Another theme is the interaction between the rigid character of the existing building and the playful character of the new intervention. The playful character is not superimposed by adding new shapes, but is established by movement, light and compositions within the existing grid. The qualities of the building become more clear through the new interventions, for example the monumentality of the building, when a visitor crosses (on the public route) a more comfortable, relatively intimate, new room before he or she is confronted with the complete height of the building. The focus

is not on the contrast between the old and the new, but in this interaction.

The same is visible in the layeredness of the building. This was already a quality, the double facade with its shadows and the atrium (even though it was not really used in the former design). By adding new frames in between the facade and the atrium, new layers are created and more depth is generated. This is not done everywhere, not behind every arch, so from outside a variation, a new logic, on the grid becomes visible. The various colours, relating to the functions in the building, of the glass in the new walls perpendicular to the facade that underline this, when in the evening the coloured light becomes visible.

The ramp has a large role in achieving the playfulness. I tried to make the new design subtle, though the ramp is very visible (from certain sides of the building). There it disrupts the symmetry with its presence and the way it is attached to the building. But it also has a more subtle way to disrupt the symmetry of the building and changes the perception, when you approach the building from it. Because of the curved shape, the building is not any longer approachable from the orthogonal axis. The curvature causes that the layers inside of the building seem to move relative to each other, showing that the building is layered and not necessarily static.

With this project I showed a way of dealing with contested heritage. I want to stress that by doing this research I became more and more aware that there does not exist one 'good' way of intervening in contested heritage. Every building, with its specific physical, historical and societal context, asks for a tailor made approach, and then there are still many various designs possible. This is also how my design for the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana should be interpreted, this is not an universal approach to contested heritage, but an example of how one could intervene in this specific building, with its very specific architectural qualities.

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COMMEMORATIVE VALUES

Historical value

Age value

Deliberate commemorative value

PRESENT DAY VALUES

Use value

Aesthetic value

Newness value

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(2009).
128 Roos, J. (2007).

Cultural Heritage Agency
of the Netherlands (Rijks-
dienst voor het Cultureel
Erfgoed)¹²⁷

ALGEMENE HISTORISCHE
WAARDEN (GERELATEERD AAN
MAATSCHAPPELIJKE ONTWIK-
KELINGEN)

- Belang van het object/complex als uitdrukking van (een) culturele, sociaal-economische en/of geestelijke ontwikkeling(en);
- Belang van het object/complex als uitdrukking van (een) geografische, landschappelijke en/of bestuurlijke ontwikkeling(en);
- Belang van het object/complex als uitdrukking van (een) technische en/of typologische ontwikkeling(en);
- Belang van het object/complex wegens innovatieve waarde of pionierskarakter.

ENSEMBLEWAARDEN (SAMEN-
HANG) EN STEDENBOUWKUNDIGE
WAARDEN

- Belang van het object/complex als essentieel onderdeel van een groter geheel dat cultuurhistorisch, architectuurhistorisch en stedenbouwkundig van (inter)nationale betekenis is;
- Belang van het object/complex wegens de situering, verbonden met de ontwikkeling/uitbreiding van een streek, stad of wijk;
- Belang van het object/complex wegens de wijze van verkaveling/inrichting/voorzieningen;
- Belang van het object/complex voor het aanzien van een streek, stad, dorp of wijk;
- Belang van het object/complex wegens de hoge kwaliteit van de bebouwing en de historisch- ruimtelijke relatie met groenvoorzieningen, wegen, wateren en/of de bodemgesteldheid.

ARCHITECTUURHISTORISCHE
WAARDEN

- Belang van het object/complex voor de geschiedenis van de architectuur;
- Belang van het object/complex voor het oeuvre van een bouwmeester of architect;
- Belang van het object/complex we-

gens de hoogwaardige esthetische kwaliteiten van het ontwerp;

- Belang van het object/complex wegens de ornamentiek;
- Belang van het object/complex wegens de interieurafwerking (in samenhang met het exterieur).

BOUWHISTORISCHE WAARDEN

- Belang van het object/complex voor de geschiedenis van de bouwtechniek;
- Belang van het object/complex vanwege de afleesbaarheid van de bouwgeschiedenis (historische gelaagdheid);
- Belang van het object/complex wegens het materiaalgebruik.

WAARDEN VANUIT DE GEBRUIKSHISTORIE (GERELATEERD AAN HET OBJECT VAN ONDERZOEK)

- Belang vanwege de ordening, samenhang of inrichting van gebouwen of ruimten, passend bij een (historische) functie, gebruik of productie in het object/complex;
- Belang vanwege een (historische) functie, gebruik of productie in het object/complex;
- Belang van het object/complex als herinnering aan een historische gebeurtenis of prominente bewoner/gebruiker/opdrachtgever.

Job Roos¹²⁸

Values by Job Roos, according to him the concept of 'value' is applicable to all human actions and every human consideration: in essence a value is no less than that which is desirable to obtain or keep, whether material or intangible. Roos points out the relativity of the concept 'value', since it is relative to the person for whom it is valuable. And evaluating means making choices. The values he identifies are:

- The aesthetic value
- The emotional value
- The cultural value
- The societal (social) value
- The user value
- The ecological value
- The economic value
- The architectonic value
- The cultural historic value

The last category can be subdivided in the physical and the intangible significance of the history of the building.

Appendix B - Visual experiments

In order to understand the different views on the meaning of buildings, I experimented with the representations of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana. Using three techniques, the first two based upon work of ZERO-artist Jan Schoonhoven and filmmaker Alexander Kluge, and the last based on the tool of collage.

ZERO - RELIEF

The first experiment is based on the work of ZERO-artist Jan Schoonhoven. The post-war art movement ZERO started as a reaction on the abstract-expressionism that was predominant in the art scene at that moment. Where expressionist artists embraced the freedom to express their emotions, the ZERO-artists searched for the essence of their work and distanced themselves from the idea that art should represent the mental and emotional life of the artist.¹²⁹ The ZERO-artists called their work 'the new idealism' and saw it as something optimistic. The monochromic artworks depict a new beginning, with the colour white representing lightness and purity, and endless and borderless energy.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ <http://www.stedelijk.nl/tentoonstellingen/zero> (10/05/2016)
¹³⁰ <http://www.stedelijk.nl/tentoonstellingen/zero/maak-kennis-met-zero> (10/05/2016)
¹³¹ As far as I know were almost all the ZERO-artists men, except for the Japanese Yayoi Kusama.

Jan Schoonhoven made many white reliefs, in which light and shadow play an important role. The sharp contrast between the white paint and the dark shadows on it, give his works of art an intangible layer. This quality of playing with light and shadow is in my opinion also an important part of the façade of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana. Thinking of the intention of the ZERO-artists to reach the essence and stay away from a mental or emotional representation of the artist himself,¹³¹ could it be thinkable that a ZERO-version of the Palazzo will be so abstract that it does not reflect anything of its history anymore? And maybe even could symbolise a new beginning?



The first difference between the relief and the building is of course the shift from a three dimensional object to a more or less flat scale-model. The building can be approached from all sides, and can be seen while moving. For the relief this becomes more limited, and there is no context (no stairs, no statues, et cetera). Though the building is still recognisable in the relief, since the arches are dominant in both.

For me this kind of abstraction disconnects the building from its history and context, because the symbols that link it with its past (the quote, the statues) are gone. And it is taken out of its context and therefore also from its creation in history – and its link with the ideologies at that time. The statement in the Venice Charter on the inseparability of monuments and its history is not valid anymore, because it does not bear witness to this history anymore, but it has its own history; it is made in an educational setting in 2016 in The Netherlands.

BRUTALITÄT IN STEIN – SHORT MOVIE

In 1961 the German writer, theorist and filmmaker Alexander Kluge made, together with Peter Schamoni, Wolf Wirth and Dieter Lemmel, a short movie called Brutalität in Stein, continuing on the concept of words in stone. This movie starts with the following statement:

Alle Bauwerke, die uns die Geschichte hinterlassen hat, zeugen vom Geiste ihrer Erbauer und ihrer Zeit auch dann noch, wenn sie längst nicht mehr ihren ursprünglichen Zwecken dienen. Die verlassenen Bauten der national-sozialistischen Partei lassen als steinerne Zeugen die Erinnerung an jene Epoche lebendig werden, die in die furchtbarste Katastrophe deutscher Geschichte ündete.¹³²

This makes clear that Kluge regards the buildings as still speaking their original intentions. He uses the movie to clarify this further, to make the

buildings literally speak. Shots showing the Rally grounds in Nuremberg montaged with speeches by Hitler and Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. The movie was provocative at a time in which the focus was on a new future, leaving the war behind. It expressed Kluge's fear, and of other young post-war intellectuals, of collective amnesia. He tried to address this issue without a political programme, not making a didactic documentary, but using the concept of montage to make viewers link the visual with the auditory. The movie is seen as a precursor of the political cinema that would later become the New German Cinema.¹³³

¹³² Every structure left to us by history expresses the spirit of its builder even if later used for other purposes. The abandoned buildings of the Nazi Party serve as witnesses in stone to a time that played host to the most terrible events in German history.

¹³³ Lutze, P. C. (1998). pp. 39-40.
¹³⁴ *Un popolo di poeti, di artisti, di eroi, di santi, di pensatori, di scienziati, di navigatori, di trasmigratori.*
¹³⁵ Although this space will always be there, otherwise it will not be an arch.

In order to let the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana speak through montage, I used footage from a short movie made by Fendi. They produced the movie to show the world their new headquarters in the EUR-district. The building is shot from a drone and in the original version accompanied by classical music, creating a peaceful and luxurious atmosphere. To show the contrast between the intended movie by Fendi and the new one inspired by Brutalität in Stein, I combined them in one movie. Halfway the music changes into speeches by Mussolini. In the first speech, Mussolini announces that the World Fair will be held in Rome in 1942. The other one is the speech from which the quote on the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana is taken,¹³⁴ the same speech in which the conquest of Ethiopia is announced.

In my opinion this type of montage is a powerful tool to give (a different) meaning to the visual through the use of audio. It shows that the representation of a building in movies is strongly influenced by sound or music. The

Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana and the EUR is often appearing scenery in Italian and non-Italian movies, for example in Fellini's movies. In a whole movie also other elements add on to the atmosphere and the way we perceive the buildings; the way of filming it, the colours, the storyline et cetera. These representations can change the way we think of the architectural heritage, positively and negatively.

COLLAGES

The third category of experiments are collages. The first ones are made to understand what happens if the building would be more abstract. With the other collages I want to see what happens if not the heritage itself is changed, but merely its virtual appearance and context.

The abstraction of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana consists of four levels; taking out the Dioscuri statues, taking out the allegorical statues, removing the text and finally also replace the stairs by grass.

What struck me was the little difference between the original picture and the most abstract one. By removing the most symbolic elements, the building itself did not differ much; maybe it even made the formal language stronger. The addition of grass also did not change a lot, this most probably because the perspective stayed the same, the building is still on a higher point. The arches seem to be the strongest element in this façade. But is it the shape of the arch or the contra-shape? In the following images I tried to answer this question, by making both of them transparent.

The third image emphasises the graphic quality of the building even more, creating an almost flat object. The first three images stay closer to the original building in my view, pointing out that the arches themselves are in this building more important than the space in between them.¹³⁵





The next collages shifted from the building to its context, to see what happens when interventions are done next to the building. In the first image all the four sides of the palazzo are lined up, forming a strict sequence of arches. The freestanding monolith cube is transformed into a wall. It reminded me of an image I made accidentally, in which the arches are repeated, but not in the rigorous grid. The variation in the width between the columns and the height create a more playful image.

In the next image visual similar buildings are juxtaposing the palazzo. Scaled in such a way that the buildings have the same height, the similarities become clear. Through the addition of the buildings the palazzo gets a completely different position, it is not the enormous freestanding block anymore, it becomes one in a row. It shows a continuity in form, though the buildings are from other periods and cultural contexts. The functions and intentions are different, but still the final buildings are related as a type. This tells a lot about the importance of the social, political and cultural context in which a building is built, since visual comparable buildings can be connected to completely other meanings, known by the people that understand the complete context.

When the context is filled with less expected buildings, taken from the Markt in Delft, this does not happen in the same way. There are no similarities between the buildings, and it seems just strange that these Dutch buildings have landed here. The palazzo still appears to be freestanding, because of this large contrast between the travertine and the masonry.

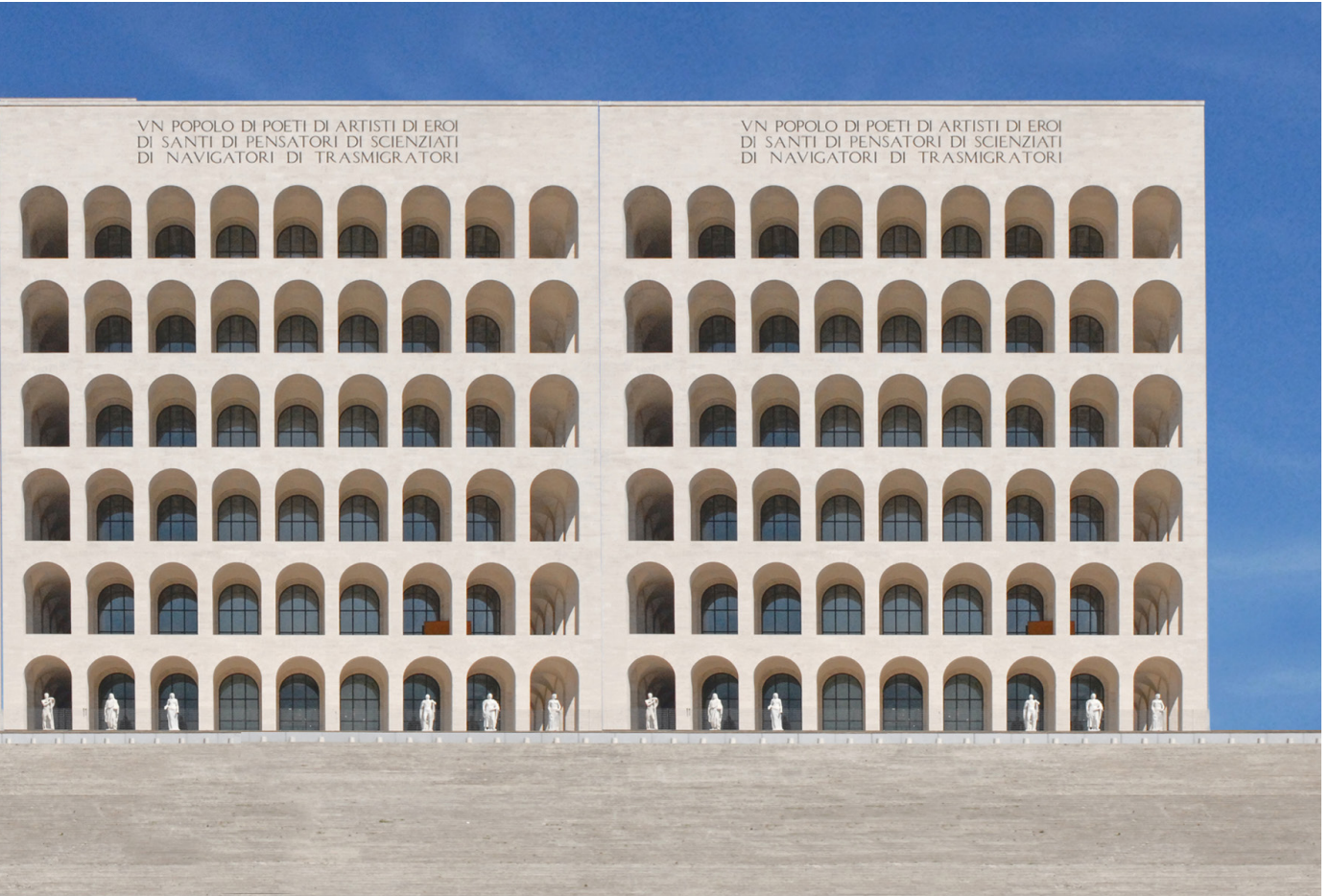
In the following collages the palazzo is inserted into other contexts; Manhattan, the real Colosseum, the Capitol in Washington and in OMA's imaginary dessert.

Taking the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana out of its context and replacing it somewhere else, creates multiple

VN POPOLO DI POETI DI ARTISTI DI EROI
DI SANTI DI PENSATORI DI SCIENZIATI
DI NAVIGATORI DI TRASMIGRATORI

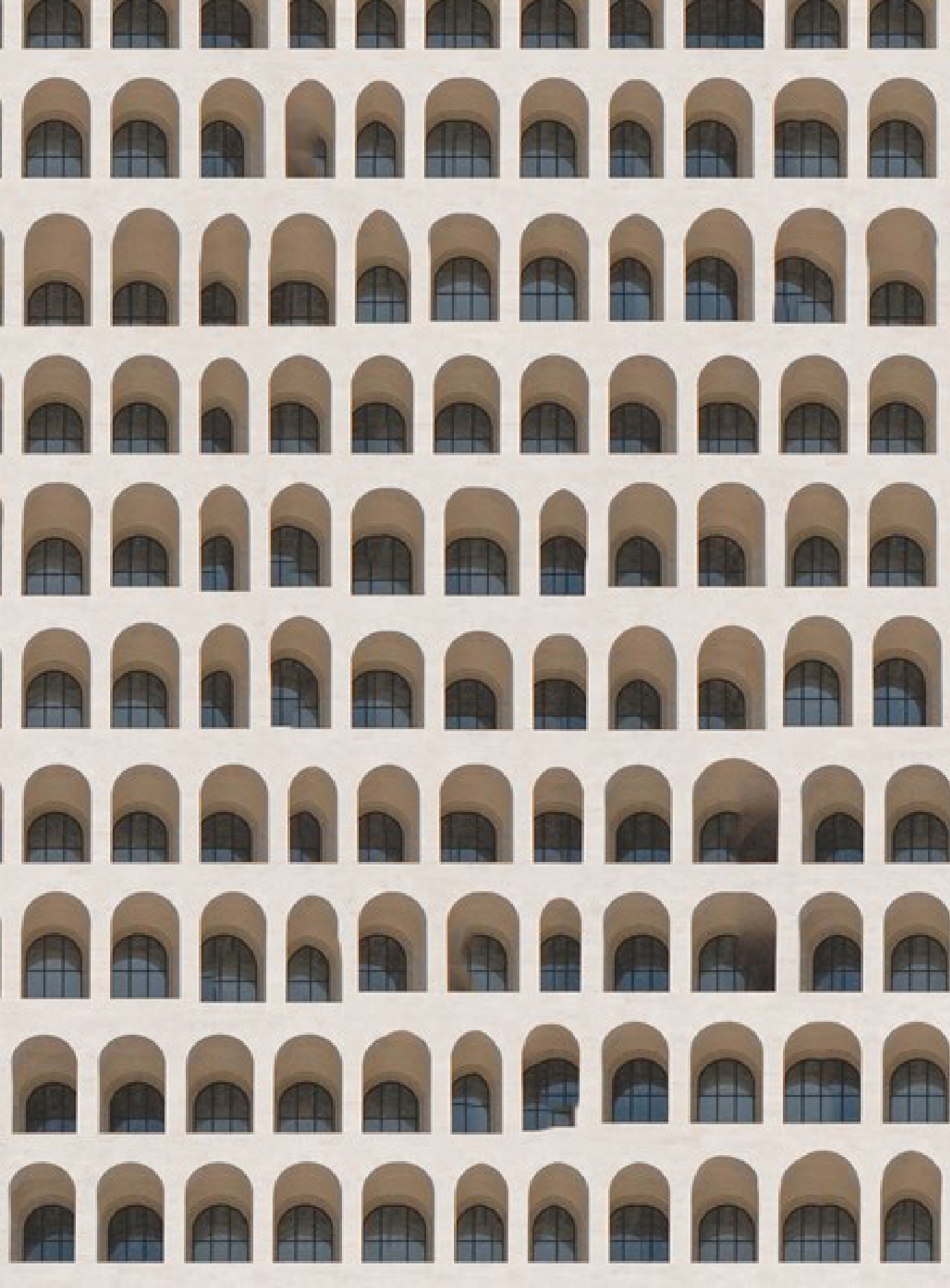
VN POPOLO DI POETI DI ARTISTI DI EROI
DI SANTI DI PENSATORI DI SCIENZIATI
DI NAVIGATORI DI TRASMIGRATORI

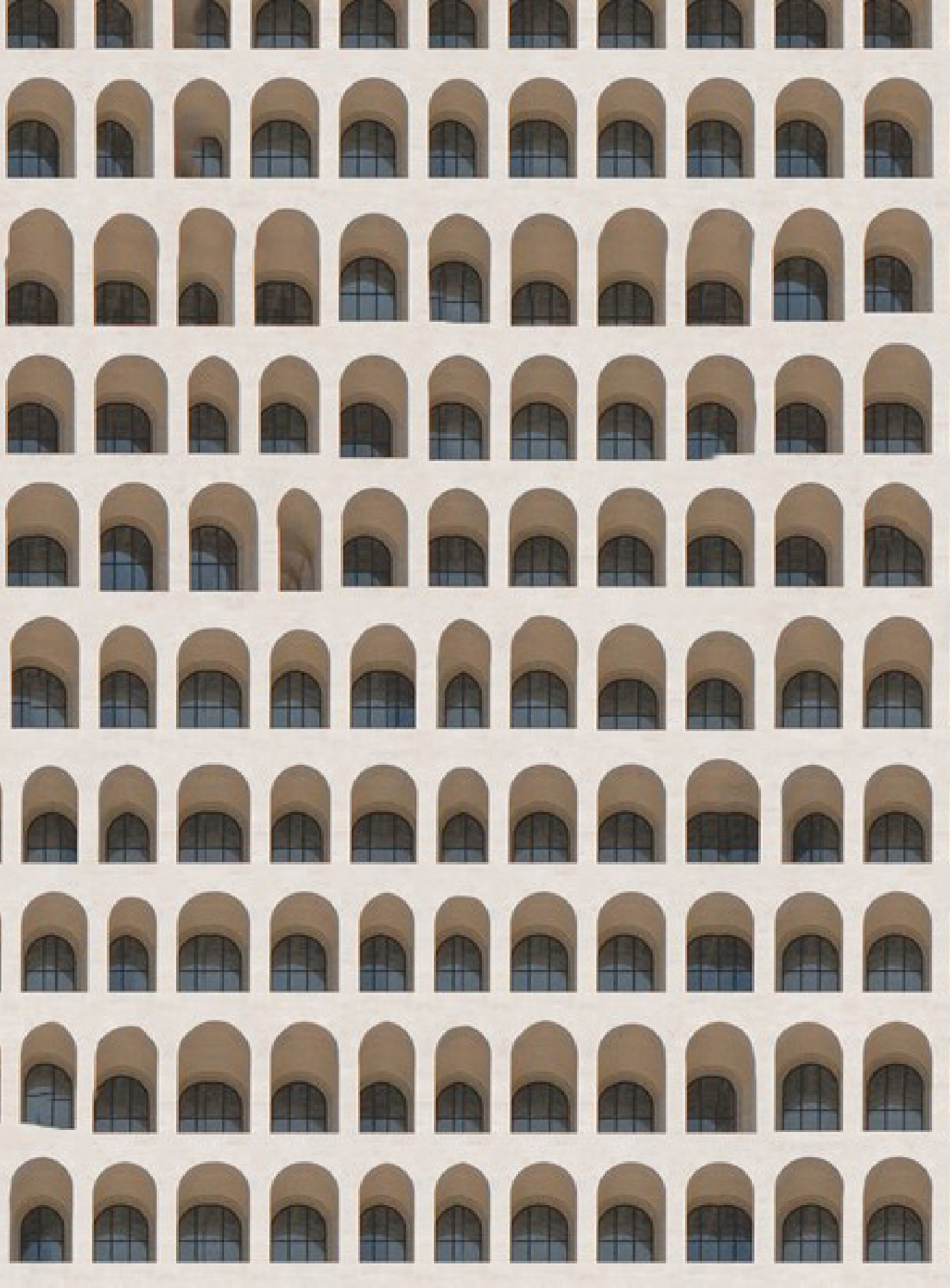




VN POPOLO DI POETI DI ARTISTI DI EROI
DI SANTI DI PENSATORI DI SCIENZIATI
DI NAVIGATORI DI TRASMIGRATORI

VN POPOLO DI POETI DI ARTISTI DI EROI
DI SANTI DI PENSATORI DI SCIENZIATI
DI NAVIGATORI DI TRASMIGRATORI





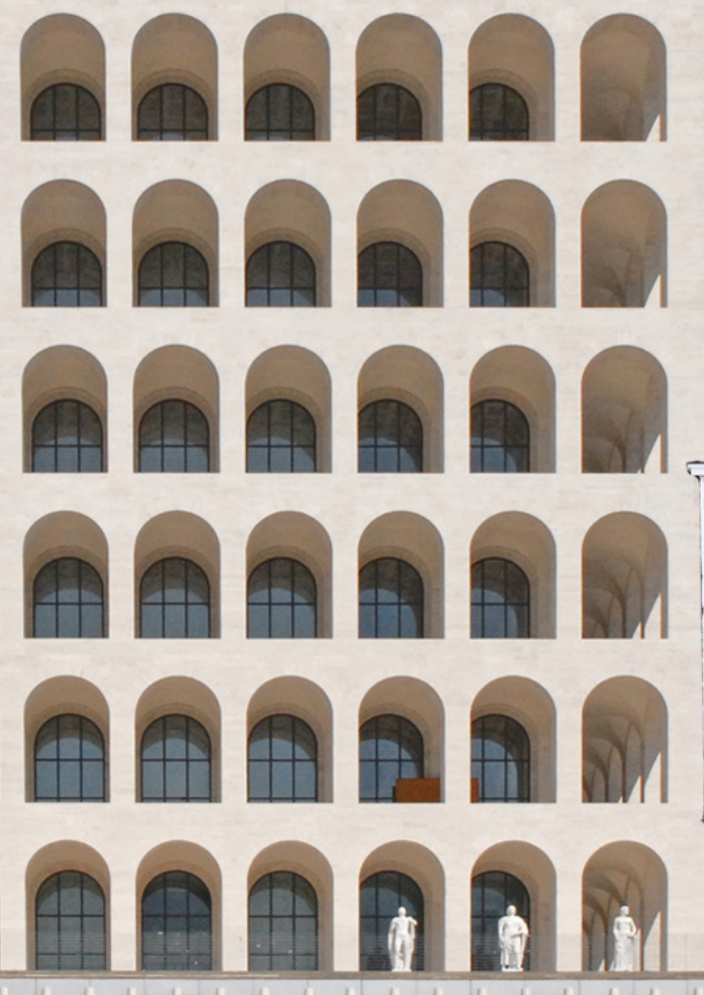


VN POPOLO DI POETI DI ARTISTI DI EROI
DI SANTI DI PENSATORI DI SCIENZIATI
DI NAVIGATORI DI TRASMIGRATORI





POLO DI POETI DI ARTISTI DI EROI
TI DI PENSATORI DI SCIENZIATI
VIGATORI DI TRASMIGRATORI



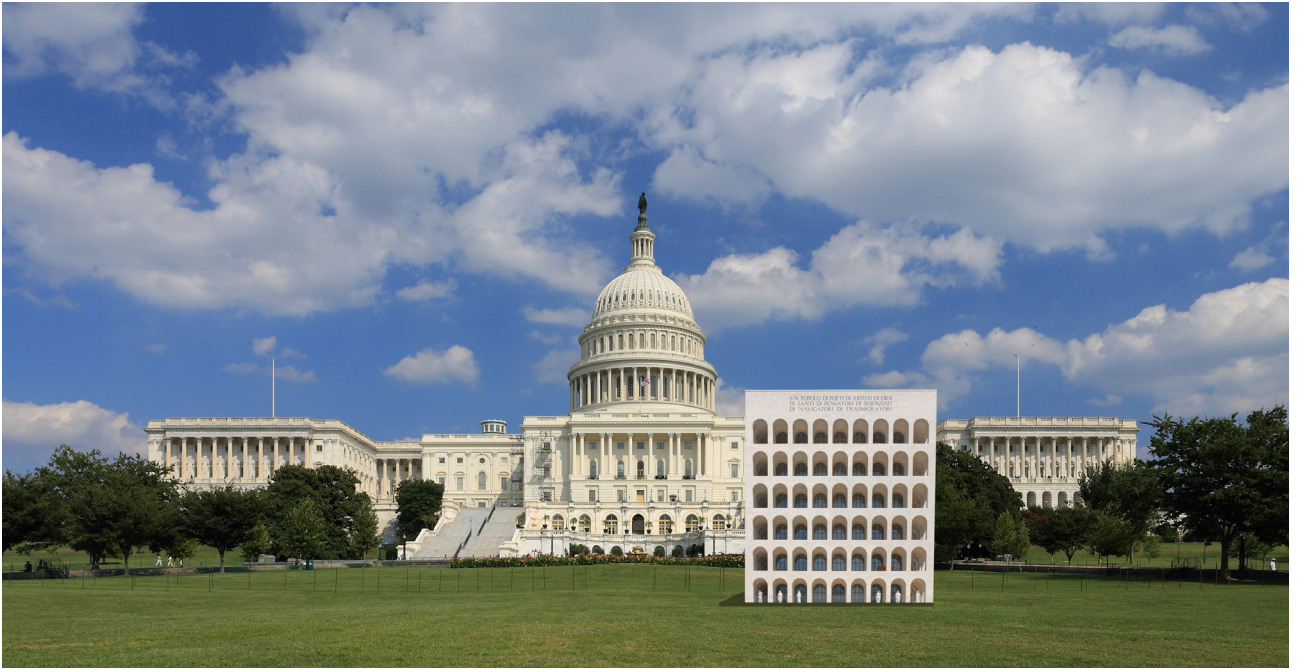
CHEESE & MORE













insights. The first is – again – the difference between the building as an autonomous object, a freestanding building on a prominent place, and the buildings as a part of a bigger picture, starting a dialogue with surrounding buildings. This becomes mostly visible in the two images of the Capitol. Also the white colour is prominent, visible in the skyline and in the dessert, it creates a contrast with the surrounding and therefore the building fits less. When placing the square Colosseum in the real Colosseum it does not really show its similarities. It has to do with the scale, the arches are not comparable in this way. The position also seems to influence the (metaphorical) meaning of the building. In the images where the palazzo is the centrepiece (in the Colosseum and on top of the Capitol), it adds the same kind of importance as it does in the EUR. In the other images it melts more together with the surroundings and looks less totalitarian in my opinion.

While doing the experiments and thinking of the different views of the meaning of a building I realised more and more that I regard buildings as being literally neutral. We cannot speak of fascist architecture, because the architecture itself is not fascist. Though I agree with the Venice Charter that buildings are inseparably linked to their history; to the time in which they were built and the intentions the architects and/or clients had. This could be visible in symbols, but not literally in the building itself. I share Goodman's view that it is possible to transfer concepts in a metaphorical manner, for example creating an immense, scale less building to transfer the feeling of the smallness of men. Though these notions are always abstract and can therefore be used for multiple goals. And they are partly subjective, which brings us to Riegl's statement that the interpretation of the viewer is more important than the purpose of the building. This interpretation is subjective and based upon own experiences. The experiments show that the representation of the building is of great importance,

because it can manipulate the interpretation of the viewer. Making it more abstract and removing the building from its (historical) context detaches it from negative connotations, while superimposing more explicit layers from history on it amplifies its past. For me the placement in different contexts express again how important the place and the historical context is, since without this the building loses a large part of its meaning. Not only a literal displacement as shown in the collages, but also the change of context when using buildings in for example movies in a totally different storyline can cause this.

When being aware of the way we can deal with heritage and its connotations, a more practical and also ethical question arises: which approach is suitable for heritage with a contested past? Is a focus on its past needed or is it better to continue upon the notion of a literal neutral buildings for as a new beginning as the ZERO-artists suggested? I do not think that one approach is the universal solution, it depends on the political and cultural context and the amount of contested heritage. Where some countries keep contested heritage as reminders of the past, using it for educational purposes aiming that if people know the past, they will not make the same mistake; others stick to the idea of literal neutral buildings, or at least talk as less as possible about the past. I want to aim for a balance between these approaches, showing its link to the contested past but at the same time regarding the building itself as a neutral object, that could fulfil other functions as well.

VN POPOLO DI POET
DI SANTI DI PENSA
DI NAVIGATORI D



DI ARTISTI DI EROI
TORI DI SCIENZIATI
I TRASMIGRATORI









Appendix C - Case study: Bungalow Germania

German Pavilion la Biennale di Venezia 2014

The first case study is a temporal exhibition in the German Pavilion during the Biennale in Venice in 2014. On first sight the pavilion seems quite empty, lacking a traditional exhibition with pictures and drawings. But the actual exhibited object is a bungalow, superimposed onto the existing pavilion.

The German pavilion, built in 1909 as the Bavarian pavilion after a design by Daniele Donghi, has undergone multiple modifications through the years. As a representation of Germany, the social and political changes in this country are also more or less visible in the pavilion. As Hassler and Kainz describe, the representation of a state through architecture can only be convincing when its history is confidently dealt with. Not surprisingly this becomes clear in the pavilion, where an intervention from 1938 is mostly discussed, since it was adjusted to suit the Nation Socialist ideal. Three extra rooms were attached to the pavilion, a new marble floor was placed and the whole building was heightened. And the symbol of Nazism, a swastika, was placed above the entrance. After the Second World War there were plans to change the pavilion, for example to remove the symmetry, but it was too difficult to finance. The last real architectural changes date from 1964, when architect Eduard Trier removed the lowered ceiling to bring in more light. Nowadays the Italian heritage protection creates a barrier for intervening. One of the critiques on the pavilion is that the building still symbolises National Socialism without critical contemporary contemplation.

Though because of its function as an exhibition space for the biennales of architecture and art, modifications take place each year. Some of the exhibitions are clearly trying to start a dialogue with the building, for example Germania made by Hans Haache in 1993.¹³⁶ The title is not only the Italian world for Germany (and ap-

pears on the façade) but it was also the new name that Hitler intended for Berlin after the war. Haache directly reacted to the contested intervention in 1938, by smashing the marble floor into pieces. Afterwards the floor was substituted, the difference between this new floor in the main room and the old one in the other rooms is still visible. In this sense the pavilion is changing all the time, with layers added and removed every year.

136 And 1976 Joseph Schneider.
Beuys and 2001 Gregor

Alex Lehnerer's and Savvas Ciriacidis' Bungalow Germania deals with the contested heritage in another way. When director of the 2014 Biennale Rem Koolhaas asked them to work with the theme '1914-2014, Absorbing Modernity', they wanted to show 100 years of inconsistencies, interruptions and continuities in the pavilion. Hence they thought of a way to counter the national pavilion, that symbolised Germany after the Second World War. They wanted a political building, charged with meaning as they write themselves to start a dialogue with the pavilion. The selected building is the chancellor's bungalow in Bonn, designed Sep Ruf in 1964, exactly in between 1914 and 2014 and in the same year as the interventions of Trier in the German pavilion. Bonn was the former (temporal) capital of the Federal Republic of Germany. The bungalow, designed in International Style, became even more political when chancellor Ludwig Erhard said in 1964:

You will find out more about me if you look at this house than if you watch me deliver a political speech.

So Erhard gives the bungalow more political meaning than his own speeches, though in a speech he can more clearly express himself than the metaphorical meaning of the bungalow. Erhard's predecessor Adenauer was sceptical about the bungalow, according to him the modern, American architecture was not gemütlich. But Sep Ruf aimed for a crossover between a home and a





meeting place in a government building. And the modern style, without symmetry, rows of columns and other elements that appeared frequently in the architecture of the Third Reich, was deliberately chosen to distance the building of the Nazi period. The glass architecture should resemble transparency and democracy. But it is the question whether it really transfers this meaning and if everyone understands it. Interestingly the bungalow is not visible to the public in Bonn, but it has been visible in the German media. By showing the building merely through secondary sources, the context could be more controlled and therefore the way the building was presented as well. This media connection disappeared when Berlin became the capital in 1999 and with it the public image of the building.

The aim of the architectural montage of the Kanzlerbungalow and the German pavilion is to confront two political ideologies through buildings. By crossing two buildings a third space – between pavilion and bungalow – is created, that Lehnerer and Ciriacidis consider as more than the sum of the two. This intermediate space arises meaning according to them, it tells a new story. They assume that visitors will know one of these buildings; regular visitors of the biennale will know the German pavilion, while first time (German) visitors may have seen the Chancellor's bungalow before. Not only the contrast between the two is visible, but also their common features as a representation of German national identity, their scenographic function and the buildings as historic monuments. Also in formal sense they show similarities, their central parts overlap. The pavilion changes the bungalow, it gets dramatized, while the pavilion is domesticated by the bungalow. Differences can be found in their temporality, the pavilion as a more or less permanent building and the bungalow that only stays for a few months. Though this exhibition adds on to the real bungalow that is still situated in Bonn. It will now also be associated with the

German pavilion, at least by the people that have seen the project. Many functional aspects of the bungalow become non-functional, turning the glass walls in undetermined objects and the canopy useless underneath the pavilion's roof. Nevertheless, this disturbs the composition of the portico, counteracting the symmetry of the pavilion that for some is linked to the Nazi regime (although the building was already symmetric before the intervention of 1938). More explicit references can be found in the official car of Helmut Kohl, as a historical artefact from the '90. While the bungalow is a (partial) replica of the existing bungalow, this car was actually used by Kohl himself. Combined with a red carpet this symbolises a state visit to the pavilion, as if Kohl is visiting the Bungalow Germania.¹³⁷

137 Lehnerer, A. Ciriacidis, S. (2014).

138 <http://www.architectural-review.com/archive/reviews/bricks-and-morals-the-german-pavilion/8664632.fullarticle> (18/05/2016)
<http://www.dezeen.com/2014/06/04/german-pavilion-venice-architecture-biennale-2014/> (18/05/2016)
<http://www.designboom.com/architecture/german-pavilion-venice-architecture-biennale-06-19-2014/> (18/05/2016)

139 While in eastern countries the form and handcraft are more important, for example the Japanese tradition of rebuilding shrines

every 20 years, in order to maintain the knowledge of the crafts and because of the lifecycle of the wooden structures.

140 As Walter Benjamin mentioned, even the most perfect reproduction is lacking its presence in time and space. The changes that something might have suffered through time are missing in a replica, and the unique existence of a work of art is determined by the history it was subject of. - Walter Benjamin in *Afterword – The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction* (2008, p. 38).

In the various (architectural) media that write about this project, the conversation between two opposing political buildings is mentioned.¹³⁸ But no one describes the content of this conversation. Maybe this is because they want to leave it open to the visitors, or maybe the conversation consists only of architecture and cannot be grasped in words. When I went there myself, I mostly noticed the contrast between both buildings in its architecture. Without foreknowledge of the bungalow (and its political meaning) I identified it as a totally different type than the pavilion; with a contrasting formal language and materiality. Only when I had a conver-

sation with one of the doorkeepers, I realized this link with the specific ideologies or moments in history.

Thinking of all the national pavilions of this biennale, the German one was very strong. While other countries tried to communicate their research on modernity mostly through text and images, Germany used architecture to do this. It does not seem to matter that one of the buildings is a replica, without a direct link between material and history, something that is regarded as an important factor in the western view¹³⁹ on heritage.¹⁴⁰ Strictly speaking, this is a representation of the representation of German post-war politics. The biennale is a suitable event for such an experiment, the visitors will be interested in architecture and are willing to spend time to understand the exhibition more deeply. What would happen if such an installation will be built in the public space, without noticing that it is some kind of experiment? I wonder whether people will still enter to see the dialogue between two buildings and secondly, whether they will think of the meaning of this dialogue, without further explanation.

This approach of superimposing two political charged buildings is an interesting example of dealing with contested heritage. It originated from the conception that buildings do have meaning and even are able to characterise a moment in time. Though from my own experience some explanation of the political contexts was needed to understand what the aim was of the intervention, to me it was not capable of transferring this idea only through architecture.

Appendix D - La dottrina del fascismo

In de Enciclopedia Italiana beschreef Mussolini¹⁴¹ de doctrine van het fascisme. Hoewel het een uitgebreide tekst is, waarin hij probeert de ideologie te plaatsen ten opzichte van andere politieke ideologieën en het verleden, wordt het fascisme niet expliciet gedefinieerd. Het fascisme is volgens Mussolini veel meer dan een politiek stelsel, het is ook een denksysteem en een manier van leven. Naast de praktische dingen, de organisatie van de partij, het educatiesysteem en wetgeving, draait het ook om het idee. Hij noemt het fascisme zelfs een spiritueel, ethisch, religieus en historisch concept, dat altijd ingaat op de werkelijkheid.

¹⁴¹ Met als ghostwriter de filosoof Giovanni Gentile.

¹⁴² Mussolini, B. (1929-1939). pp. 847-851.

Maar het belangrijkste, dat een aantal keer naar voren komt, is dat de fascistische staat anti-individualistisch is. Het individualisme is iets voor liberalen, het fascisme is voor het collectivisme. De staat is absoluut en gaat voor het individu. Hij noemt het fascisme dan ook op verschillende manieren totalitair, terwijl het ook voor vrijheid is. De democratie wordt verworpen, al wordt later beschreven dat als democratie betekent dat het volk niet in de marges van de staat wordt weggestopt, het fascisme een georganiseerde, gecentraliseerde en autoritaire democratie is. Daarnaast zijn fascistten antipacifisten, ze schuwen geweld niet. Sterker nog, geweld werd verheerlijkt.¹⁴²

Appendix E - Movies

Roma, città aperta

Roberto Rossellini (1945)

Boccaccio '70 - Le tentazioni del dottor Antonio

Federico Fellini (1962)

L'ultimo uomo della terra

Ubaldo Ragona and Sidney Salkow
(1964)

The belly of an architect

Peter Greenaway (1987)

Hudson Hawk

Michael Lehmann (1991)

Fatal Frames

Al Festa (1996)

Titus

Julie Taymor (1999)

Equilibrium

Kurt Wimmer (2001)

Zoolander 2

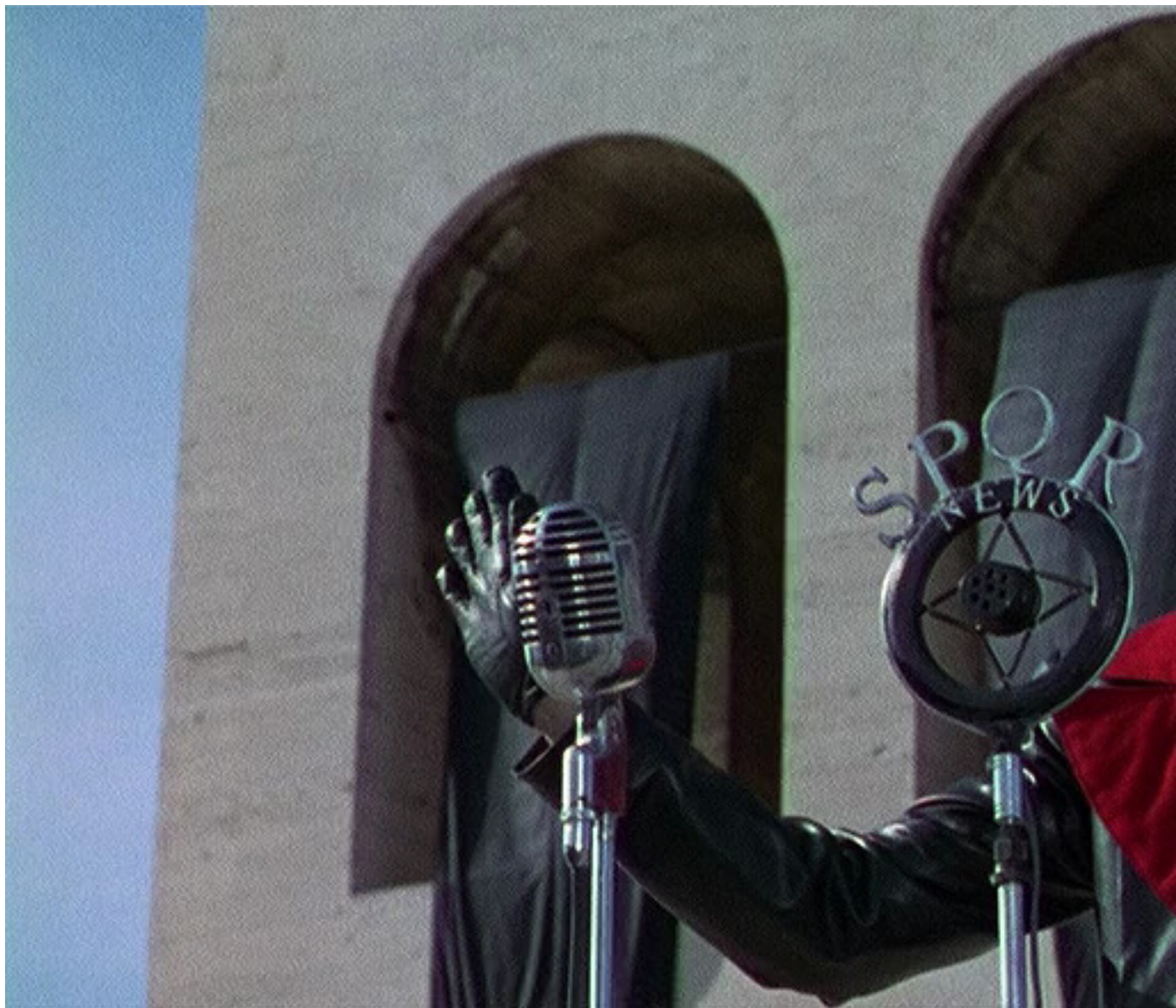
Ben Stiller (2016)



Still from *Boccaccio '70 - Le tentazioni del dottor Antonio*.







Still from *Titus*.

Previous page:
Still from *L'ultimo uomo della terra*.



Contested heritage, memory and metamorphoses
Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana

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Design mentor	Robert Nottrot
Building Technology mentor	Hubert van der Meel
External examiner	Daan Vitner

June 2017

