

# Geschichte und Region / Storia e regione

28. Jahrgang, 2019, Heft 1 – anno XXVIII, 2019, n. 1

## Studentische Gewalt / Violenza studentesca (1914–1945)

herausgegeben von / a cura di  
Martin Göllnitz und / e Matteo Millan

**StudienVerlag**

Innsbruck  
Wien  
Bozen/Bolzano

**Ein Projekt/un progetto** der Arbeitsgruppe/del Gruppo di ricerca „Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione“

**Herausgeber/a cura di:** Arbeitsgruppe/Gruppo di ricerca „Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione“, Südtiroler Landesarchiv/Archivio provinciale di Bolzano und/e Kompetenzzentrum für Regionalgeschichte der Freien Universität Bozen/Centro di competenza Storia regionale della Libera Università di Bolzano.

**Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione is a peer reviewed journal.**

**Redaktion/redazione:** Andrea Bonoldi, Francesca Brunet, Siglinde Clementi, Andrea Di Michele, Ellinor Forster, Florian Huber, Stefan Lechner, Hannes Obermair, Gustav Pfeifer, Karlo Ruzicic-Kessler, Martina Salvante, Philipp Tolloi.

**Geschäftsführend/direzione:** Michaela Oberhuber

**Redaktionsanschrift/indirizzo della redazione:** Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione, via Armando-Diaz-Str. 8b, I-39100 Bozen/Bolzano, Tel. + 39 0471 411972, Fax +39 0471 411969  
E-mail: [info@geschichteundregion.eu](mailto:info@geschichteundregion.eu); web: [geschichteundregion.eu](http://geschichteundregion.eu); [storiaeregione.eu](http://storiaeregione.eu)

**Korrespondenten/corrispondenti:** Giuseppe Albertoni, Trento · Thomas Albrich, Innsbruck · Helmut Alexander, Innsbruck · Agostino Amantia, Belluno · Marco Bellabarba, Trento · Laurence Cole, Salzburg · Emanuele Curzel, Trento · Elisabeth Dietrich-Daum, Innsbruck · Alessio Fornasin, Udine · Joachim Gatterer, Innsbruck · Thomas Götz, Regensburg · Paola Guglielmotti, Genova · Maria Heidegger, Innsbruck · Hans Heiss, Brixen · Martin Kofler, Lienz · Margareth Lanzinger, Wien · Werner Matt, Dornbirn · Wolfgang Meixner, Innsbruck · Luca Mocarelli, Milano · Cecilia Nubola, Trento · Tullio Omezzoli, Aosta · Luciana Palla, Belluno · Eva Pfanzelter, Innsbruck · Luigi Provero, Torino · Reinhard Stauber, Klagenfurt · Gerald Steinacher, Lincoln/Nebraska · Rodolfo Taiani, Trento · Michael Wedekind, München · Rolf Wörsdörfer, Darmstadt/Regensburg

**Presserechtlich verantwortlich/direttore responsabile:** Günther Pallaver

Titel-Nr. STV 4036 ISSN 1121-0303

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek. Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2019 by StudienVerlag Ges.m.b.H., Erlersstraße 10, A-6020 Innsbruck

E-mail: [order@studienverlag.at](mailto:order@studienverlag.at); Internet: [www.studienverlag.at](http://www.studienverlag.at)

Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione erscheint zweimal jährlich/esse due volte l'anno. Einzelnummer/singolo fascicolo: Euro 30,00 (zuzügl. Versand/più spese di spedizione), Abonnement/abbonamento annuo (2 Hefte/numeri): Euro 42,00 (Abonnementpreis inkl. MwSt. und zuzügl. Versand/IVA incl., più spese di spedizione). Alle Bezugspreise und Versandkosten unterliegen der Preisbindung. Abbestellungen müssen spätestens 3 Monate vor Ende des Kalenderjahres schriftlich erfolgen. Gli abbonamenti vanno disdetti tre mesi prima della fine dell'anno solare.

Abo-service/servizio abbonamenti: Tel.: +43 (0)512 395045 23; Fax: +43 (0)512 395045 15

E-Mail: [aboservice@studienverlag.at](mailto:aboservice@studienverlag.at)

Layout: Fotolitho Lana Service; Umschlaggestaltung/copertina: Dall'Ò&Freunde.

Umschlagsbild/foto di copertina: Disegno di Enrico Mercatali. In: Libro e Moschetto, settimanale dei Gruppi Universitari Fascisti, Milano, IX, 11, 9 marzo 1935, p. 3; Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 47, Nr. 1092, Protestankündigung der Kieler Studierenden, 1930.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Kein Teil des Werkes darf in irgendeiner Form (Druck, Fotokopie, Mikrofilm oder in einem anderen Verfahren) ohne schriftliche Genehmigung des Verlags reproduziert oder unter Verwendung elektronischer Systeme verarbeitet, vervielfältigt oder verbreitet werden. È vietata la riproduzione, anche parziale, con qualsiasi mezzo effettuata, compresa la fotocopia, anche ad uso interno o didattico, non autorizzata. Gedruckt auf umweltfreundlichem, chlor- und säurefrei gebleichtem Papier. Stampato su carta ecologica. Gefördert von der Kulturabteilung des Landes Tirol. Pubblicato con il sostegno dell'ufficio cultura del Land Tirol.



AUTONOME  
PROVINZ  
BOZEN  
SÜDTIROL



PROVINCIA  
AUTONOMA  
DI BOLZANO  
ALTO ADIGE

—  
unibz  
—

## Inhalt / Indice

## Editorial / Editoriale Studentische Gewalt / Violenza studentesca (1914–1945)

- Dmitar Tasić ..... 22  
*The Macedonian Youth Secret Revolutionary Organization (MYSRO) 1922–1927:  
A New Moment in Macedonian Struggle*
- Florian J. Schreiner ..... 44  
*Die „Ausgelesenen“. Akademische Netzwerke und die Niederschlagung der  
Münchener Räterepublik 1919*
- Juliane Deinert ..... 65  
*Studierende im Ausnahmezustand. Ausschreitungen an der Rostocker Universität  
vor und während der Machtergreifung der Nationalsozialisten*
- Irene Bolzon ..... 86  
*La lunga durata dello squadristico di confine. Comunità studentesche,  
società e pratiche della violenza a Trieste (1900–1945)*
- Simone Duranti ..... 110  
*“Basta la sola camicia nera”. Propaganda e attività politica dei fascisti universitari trentini*

## Forum

- Flaminia Bartolini ..... 131  
*Dealing with contested heritage. Contemporary art and the Fascist monument debate*

## Rezensionen / Recensioni

- Maria Wirth/Andreas Reichl/Marcus Gräser (Hg.), 50 Jahre Johannes Kepler  
Universität Linz, Bd. 1: Eine „Hochschule neuen Stils“  
Maria Wirth/Andreas Reichl/Marcus Gräser (Hg.), 50 Jahre Johannes Kepler  
Universität Linz, Bd. 2: Innovationsfelder in Forschung, Lehre und  
universitärem Alltag ..... 139  
*(Stefan Paulus)*
- Elisabeth Gruber/Andreas Weigl (Hg.), Stadt und Gewalt ..... 144  
*(Clemens Zimmermann)*
- Siglinde Clementi, Körper, Selbst und Melancholie. Die Selbstzeugnisse des  
Landadeligen Osvaldo Ercole Trapp (1634–1710) ..... 147  
*(Michaela Hobkamp)*

Miloš Režnik, Neuorientierung einer Elite. Aristokratie, Ständewesen und Loyalität in Galizien (1772–1795) . . . . .	151
<i>(Elisabeth Lobenwein)</i>	
Wolfgang Strobl, Zu Gast in Schluderbach. Georg Ploner, die Fremdenstation und die Anfänge des Tiroler Alpintourismus . . . . .	155
<i>(Hester Margreiter)</i>	
Nicola Labanca/Oswald Überegger (a cura di), La guerra italo-austriaca (1915–18) . . . . .	159
<i>(Martina Salvante)</i>	
Maddalena Guiotto/Helmut Wohnout (a cura di), Italien und Österreich im Mitteleuropa der Zwischenkriegszeit / Italia e Austria nella Mitteleuropa tra le due guerre mondiali . . . . .	162
<i>(Giovanni Schininà)</i>	
Roberta Pergher, Mussolini's Nation-Empire: Sovereignty and Settlement in Italy's Borderlands, 1922–1943 . . . . .	165
<i>(Valeria Deplano)</i>	
Thomas Casagrande, Südtiroler in der Waffen-SS. Vorbildliche Haltung, fanatische Überzeugung . . . . .	169
<i>(Gerald J. Steinacher)</i>	
Rolf Steinger, Toni Ebner (1918–1981). Südtiroler Politiker, Journalist, Unternehmer . . . . .	171
<i>(Leo Hillebrand)</i>	

Abstracts

Autoren und Autorinnen / Autori e autrici

# Dealing with contested heritage

## Contemporary art and the Fascist monument debate

*Flaminia Bartolini*

Taking the period since 2010, with increasing public debate about how to deal with Fascist remains, and following the Charlottesville debate on Confederate monuments, this paper looks at case studies that can aid our understanding of Fascist monument culture in contemporary Italy. It will examine how the city of Bolzano has dealt with a Fascist frieze on the *ex-Casa del Fascio* representing Mussolini on horseback, and how the monument has been ‘re-semanticized’ through the addition in 2017 of an installation by the artists Arnold Holzknicht and Michele Bernardi. The use of contemporary art in the renegotiation of dictatorial heritage can be one effective way to re-interpret the legacy of a difficult past. The differing responses given by artists to these monuments reflect a trans-national need to re-interpret public spaces and to distance our societies from values we no longer support.

**Contextualising architectural propaganda: Mussolini’s frieze in Bolzano**

The theoretical framework of this article begins with and challenges Sharon Macdonald’s book on Nazi heritage in Germany. Heritage is defined as *difficult* by Macdonald when a past is re-cognised as worth remembering but at the same time creates difficulties in the present, as it generates conflict in dealing with contemporary identity as it generates a fear of perpetuating social division and fuelling divided memories in the present.<sup>1</sup> When, after a global or civil war, a country needs to rebuild its identity, negotiating a dictatorial past creates tremendous tensions around the concept of “shared memory”. Aside from national memorials to the victims – which might also reveal some contested memories – other places associated with the dictatorship may be “forgotten” and therefore be an expression of taboo, amnesia or denial.<sup>2</sup> Given that the ideologies conveyed by such heritage produce dissonance, contested memory and social division, this paper will show how Mussolini’s frieze is an example of a national struggle to come to terms with a particular regime.<sup>3</sup> In the last couple of years, the fate of Fascist monuments still standing in Italy has been debated

1 Cft. Sharon MACDONALD, *Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg*. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12 (2006) 1, p. 9–28; Sharon MACDONALD, *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg*, Milton Park/Abingdon/Oxon/New York 2009.

2 Cft. Paul CONNERTON, *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge 2009; Gilly CARR, *Legacies of Occupation: Archaeology, Heritage and Memory in the Channel Islands*, New York 2014.

3 Cft. John TUNBRIDGE/Gregory ASHWORT, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, New York 1996; Anna CENTO BULL/Hans LAUGE HANSEN, *On Agonistic Memory*. In: *Memory Studies* 9 (2016), 4, p. 390–404.

in the academic world as much as in the popular press and social media. From the columns of *The New Yorker*, Ruth Ben-Ghiat generated outrage in Italy by questioning why, at a time of monument debate following Charlottesville and the removal of Confederate monuments, Fascist monumental architecture had been left unquestioned in Italy.<sup>4</sup> At national level, the debate surrounding some of the most iconic monuments saw the politician Laura Boldrini campaigning for the removal or covering of the words *Mussolini DUX* from the obelisk at the centre of the Foro Italico complex in Rome on the grounds that to some this imposing presence might appear offensive.<sup>5</sup> In this case, as also in the Ben-Ghiat article, public debate was quite unanimous in criticising any re-working or removal of such monuments, arguing that such monuments are not controversial at all. It is, in fact, true that Fascist monuments in contemporary Italy are seen simply as one part of the country's vast cultural heritage legacy.<sup>6</sup> Iconoclasm or de-fascistization of the material legacy of the dictatorship was limited and the heritage of the dictatorship has been left largely undisturbed in the landscape, very often reused for its original purpose or given a new use. Actual destruction was very limited and stemmed largely from aerial bombing in WWII or the actions of the Allies during their government of the country in the immediate post-war period. The so-called de-fascistization process saw the removal of fasces and other fascist symbols from public buildings, but was very often limited to the removal of Mussolini's iconography.<sup>7</sup>

Arguably, a different fate was reserved for sculpture symbolising Fascism or Mussolini himself, who has been at the centre of the most vehement iconoclastic attack, both spontaneous outbursts from the people and institutional reaction. One iconic example is the sculpture of Mussolini on horseback in Bologna, studied by Simona Storchi, which was first be-headed and then dragged around the city with a rope. In 1944, a member of the military in the Social Republic of Salò took Mussolini's head as a relic and it is now dis-

4 Cft. Ruth BEN-GHIAT, Why are Fascist Monuments Still Standing in Italy? In: *The New Yorker*, 5 October 2017.

5 Cft. Joshua ARTHURS, Fascism as 'Heritage' in Contemporary Italy. In: Andrea MAMMONE/Giuseppe VELTRI (ed.), *Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe*, London/New York 2010, p. 114–127; Nick CARTER/Simon MARTIN, The Management and Memory of Fascist Monumental Art in Postwar and Contemporary Italy: the Case of Luigi Montanarini's *Apotheosis of Fascism*. In: *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 22 (2017), p. 338–364; Hannah MALONE, Legacies of Fascism: Architecture, Heritage and Memory in Contemporary Italy. In: *Modern Italy* 22 (2017), 4, p. 445–470; Flaminia BARTOLINI, From Iconoclasm to Museum. Mussolini's Villa in Rome as a Dictatorial Heritage Site. In: *Martor* 23 (2018), p. 163–173, URL: [http://martor.muzetalaranuliuroman.ro/archive/martor-23-2018/bartolini\\_2018/](http://martor.muzetalaranuliuroman.ro/archive/martor-23-2018/bartolini_2018/) (accessed on 5.7.2019); Håkan HOKERBERG (ed.), *Architecture as Propaganda in Twentieth-Century Totalitarian Regimes, History and Heritage*, Firenze 2018; Mia FULLER, Equivocal Mussolinis. In: *Passés Futurs* (2019), URL: <https://www.politika.io/fr/notice/equivocal-mussolinis> (accessed on 27.3.2019); Flaminia BARTOLINI, Dealing with a Dictatorial Past: Fascist Monuments and Conflicting Memory in Contemporary Italy. In: Laura MACALUSO (ed.), *Monument Culture, International Perspectives on the Future of Monuments in a Changing World*, London 2019, p. 233–242.

6 Cft. BARTOLINI, From Neglect to Museum; BARTOLINI, Dealing with a Dictatorial Past.

7 Cft. Joshua ARTHURS, *Excavating Modernity: the Roman Past in Fascist Italy*, Ithaca/London 2014; BARTOLINI, Dealing with a Dictatorial Past.

played in the Historical Institute of the Social Republic of Salò.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the relief of Mussolini at the entrance to the Palazzo Uffici in EUR has been defaced many times but continuously restored by EUR s.p.a. When confronted, EUR s.p.a. told this author they did the restoration for ‘aesthetic reasons’, but in the context of the present argument there might also be an underlying intent of *anti-iconoclasm* – a counter-narrative within the current monument debate.



Fig. 1: Bolzano, ex-Casa del Fascio, Arnold Holzknrecht and Michele Bernardi installation ‘No one has the right to obey’. Photo: Laura Egger©.

Within this hotly contested debate stands the artistic project for the monumental frieze of Hans Piffnader on the top of the Palace of Financial Offices in Bolzano which sees Mussolini next to the Fascist motto ‘Believe, Obey, Fight’.<sup>9</sup> This frieze, originally meant for the Fascist Party headquarters, is the largest Fascist symbol on a public building still standing in Italy and represents the History of Fascism in 57 panels over some 36 metres. Following the success in Bolzano of the recontextualization of the Victory Monument, the town hall decided to approach the issue of neo-fascist parades reclaiming fascist monumentality by a public consultation: what emerged was that Fascist monuments are still divisive and the need for the ideological message this building still conveyed to be ‘rewritten’ (fig. 1).

The issue of how to deal with Fascist monuments was not new to the town of Bolzano: in 2014 the city opened an exhibition curated by Andrea Di Michele, Hannes Obermair, Christine Roilo, Ugo Soragni and Silvia Spada beneath the Victory Monument, a Fascist triumphal arch celebrating Italy’s

8 Cft. Simona STORCHI, *Mussolini as Monument: The Equestrian Statue of the Duce at the Littoriale Stadium Bologna*. In: Christopher DUGGAN/Stephen GUNDLE/Giuliana PIERI (ed.), *The Cult of the Duce. Mussolini and the Italians*, Manchester 2013, p. 193–208.

9 Cft. Carlo INVERNIZZI-ACCETTI, *A Small Italian Town Can Teach The World How to Defuse Controversial Monuments*. In: *The Guardian*, 6 December 2017; Wolfgang STROBL, *Mussolini im Gewande Neros. Subversives und Zensur in der Kunst einer Grenzregion des faschistischen Italien (Zu Hans Piffnaders Fries für die Casa del Fascio in Bozen)*. In: *Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione* 24 (2015), 2, p. 170–184; BARTOLINI, *Dealing with a Dictatorial Past*.

WWI victory in the Alto Adige.<sup>10</sup> At present this is still the only example in Italy where a place of Fascist propaganda has been recontextualised and made accessible to a wider audience, a process which might have been facilitated by the presence in the region of both Italian and German cultural identities. Following public interest and the general success of the Victory Monument project, which addressed the issue of the monument being at the centre of neo-fascist marches, the town hall looked for a new contemporary dialogue on Fascist symbols, and consequently values, which did not just leave them unquestioned. The consultation process resulted in an invitation for artistic projects to express a contemporary reinterpretation of the specific monument and of Fascism more broadly; that of Arnold Holzknacht and Michele Bernardi was finally selected from some 486 submissions.<sup>11</sup>

The concept was of an illuminated phrase projected onto the frieze, luminously covering Mussolini's face, showing a re-adaptation of a famous motto of the philosopher Hannah Arendt. In a rephrasing of Kant, Arendt said 'No one has the right to obey' as an answer to Mussolini's notorious motto of 'Believe, Obey, Fight'. This project, I would argue, recalls a long tradition of counter-monument production which has been seen more often in Germany in response to monuments conceived by the Nazi or as memorial in places of Nazi violence.<sup>12</sup> Following Stevens, Frank and Fazakerley's theoretical approach of anti-monuments and dialogic monuments, I would argue that the Bolzano case is fulfilling both interpretative tools. The luminous installation, which covers the entire length of the frieze and is repeated in Latin, Italian and German, simultaneously gives a new layer of dialogic meaning and breaks down the monumental visually and symbolically, re-coding its semantic value. The installation is minimalistic compare to the over-imposing materiality of the ex-Casa del Fascio, as it also plays with the contrast of the light of the installation against the gravity of the building. Using the words of Hannah Arendt as a symbol to oppose the dictatorship, as a battle between dialogue and imperative orders, has proved to be a non-invasive means of re-interpreting a contested monument. Proof of the effectiveness of this new added meaning as an open rejection of

10 Cft. Ugo SORAGNI, *Il Monumento alla Vittoria di Bolzano*, Vicenza 1993; Gerard STEINACHER, *Fascist Legacies: The Controversy over Mussolini's Monuments in South Tyrol*. In: *European Yearbook of Minority Issues* 10 (2011), p. 647–666; Città di Bolzano (ed.), *BZ '18-'45. Un monumento, una città, due dittature. Un percorso espositivo nel Monumento alla Vittoria, Vienna/Bolzano* 2016; Håkan HOKERBERG, *The Monument to Victory in Bolzano: Desacralisation of a Fascist Relic*. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23 (2017), 8, p. 1–16; Malcolm ANGELUCCI/Stefano KERSCHBAMER, *One Monument, One Town, Two Ideologies: The Monument to the Victory of Bolzano-Bozen*. In: *Public History Review* 24 (2017), p. 54–75, URL: <https://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/phrj/article/view/5776/6270> (accessed on 22.3.2019); Adina GUARNIERI, *Zur Rezeptiongeschichte des Bozner Siegesdenkmals nach 1945*. In: *Geschichte und Region / Storia e regione* 26 (2017), 2, p. 135–154.

11 Cft. URL: <http://www.bassorilievomonumentale-bolzano.com/it.html> (accessed 23.3.2019); URL: [http://www.bassorilievomonumentale-bolzano.com/fileadmin/user\\_upload/images/Die-Installation/Relazione\\_commissione.pdf](http://www.bassorilievomonumentale-bolzano.com/fileadmin/user_upload/images/Die-Installation/Relazione_commissione.pdf) (accessed 23.3.2019).

12 Cft. Quentin STEVENS/Karen FRANK/Ruth FAZAKERLEY, *Counter-Monuments: The Anti-Monumental and the Dialogic*. In: *The Journal of Architecture* 17 (2012) 6, p. 951–997.



Fascist values can be seen in protests from the far-right party CasaPound. On the opening of the Bolzano installation, militants of this party, who openly call themselves ‘Fascists of the Third Millennium’ protested with slogans of ‘not in my name’. This protest validated the efforts of the town hall in taking a firm position against fascist values and once again underlines the nostalgic effect that Mussolini’s iconography still invokes in contemporary neo-fascist beliefs.

When looking at how the Confederate debate has developed in the US, similarities can be seen in how the city of Bolzano reacted to its Fascist past. As Upton and Allison tell us, the shameful presence of Confederate monuments in American public places is a matter of concern for the integration and sense of place of different communities affected by the legacies of colonialism.<sup>13</sup> Upton rightly underlines that:

“These monuments were surrogate for another kind of discussion, one about race and citizenship in the post-slavery nation. Confederate monuments offered a reading of the war that disguised but did not deny its origin in slavery. They depicted the war as a tie, one in which whites on both sides emerged with honour and principle intact, while slavery and African Americans were ignored.”



Fig. 2: Philadelphia, Vernon Park, Karyn Olivier installation ‘the Battle is Joined’.

Photo: Karyn Olivier©.

13 Cft. Dell UPTON, *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift and Monument Building in the Contemporary South*, Yale 2015; Dell UPTON, *Confederate Monuments and Civic Values after Charlottesville*. In: SAH blog, 13.9.2017, URL: <https://www.sah.org/publications-and-research/sah-blog/sah-blog/2017/09/13/confederate-monuments-and-civic-values-in-the-wake-of-charlottesville> (accessed 23.3.2019); David ALLISON, *Controversial Monuments and Memorials. A Guide for Community Leaders*, London 2018.

When dealing with symbols of troubled and divisive pasts the role played by public spaces is crucial in opposing or validating certain values and certain pasts. As in the case of Confederate monuments or Fascist symbols, the way we interpret these material legacies in the present tells a great deal about what our contemporary values are, and assuming that democratic societies are willing to reiterate their egalitarian and human rights' values, reframing these difficult monuments shows a willingness to re-semanticize values through the production of a new layer of meaning.

I would argue that one of the best solutions for dealing with controversial monuments is to have an artistic reinterpretation of their legacy, given the dialogic nature of contemporary art forms. For the American case-study I would like to present the work of Black-American artist Karyn Olivier and her installation for Monument Lab called 'the Battle is Joined' in the city of Philadelphia (fig. 2). Karyn was asked to reinterpret controversial monuments within the historic Vernon Park in Philadelphia, in order to respond to colonial messages that are still attached to some of them.<sup>14</sup> Olivier created a dialogue between two existing monuments, the Pastorius Monument, which honours Francis Daniel Pastorius, a German settler who led the first Quaker protest against slavery in 1688, and the Battle of Germantown Memorial, commemorating a battle during the Revolutionary War in which George Washington fought. Interestingly, during both World Wars the Pastorius Monument was boxed in because the look of the monument was perceived to be 'too Germanic'. Olivier explains:

"I thought about the paradox of an immigrant (Pastorius), fighting for blacks' freedom from slavery, and Washington, who was fighting for the freedom of America from British rule, while owning slaves. I replicated the concealment, but covered the Battle Memorial instead. A mirrored facade was added, reflecting in real-time viewers and the ever-changing landscape."

The decision to cover the Washington monument with reflective material, simultaneously eliminating materiality and monumentality and allowing for our own reflections to be seen, is an extremely effective way to spark dialogue with surrounding communities, and to allow them to really own the monument and for them to be able to 'reflect' on it. In this case we face an anti-monumentality stance, as reflected in the vanished materiality of the reflective material, and a dialogic questioning of values no longer perceived as representatives of local communities.

### Reinterpreting controversial pasts: an ongoing process

As these two case studies have shown, dealing with difficult heritage is a complex process for contemporary societies. Monuments to past 'glories' are still

14 Cft. Karyn OLIVIER, Witness. In: Art, Freedom, and the Politics of Social Justice, Arts Everywhere, National Coalition Against Censorship, June 2018, <https://artseverywhere.ca/roundtables/politics-of-social-justice> (accessed on 27.3.2019); Crispin SARTWELL, What I learned in the Monuments War. In: Monument Lab' is a Memorial to Philadelphia Attitude – CityLab, 6 October 2017, URL: <https://www.citylab.com/design/2017/10/what-i-learned-in-the-monument-wars/542292> (accessed on 28.3.2019).

a constant reminder to some of traumatic memories of a difficult time while to others they are just material traces of once-glorious pasts. In Italy, the post-war process of visual cleansing of iconoclasm expressed the need to challenge and publicly question past values, but it left unquestioned the issue of fascist monumentality which remains a heavy present in public spaces. In this edited version without symbols, fascist monuments remain in public places, but are read differently by different parts of society: for anti-fascists they will always represent traumatic memories of the past regime; for sympathisers of *Il Duce* they will stand in memory of his past glories.

Finding new ways to add a contemporary layer of meaning to monuments that carry unacceptable values from the past is challenging, as post-dictatorial societies usually have multiple conflicting memorial narratives of this past. These same narratives can foster social division as they question ideas regarding identity, sense of place and ownership of the past.

As we saw in the case of the two monuments in Philadelphia, art forms can renegotiate the distance and imposing effect of monumental materiality, allowing for more inclusive forms of dialogue regarding art forms and local communities. From a diverse geo-political perspective, the installation on the Fascist frieze at Bolzano stands as one way to deal with a dictatorial past. In explicit disapproval of the values that this monument still represented, the luminous words are visibly and symbolically a new layer that builds on the monument, without taking anything away from it, preserving its materiality but working on the semiotic of the heritage discourse. I would argue that the artistic medium addresses also a core issue in heritage preservation, which is the importance of preserving the material integrity of the work of art. This poses questions on how to reframe monuments without any form of iconoclasm. As we saw in both Philadelphia and Bolzano, the installations are removable, allowing for a different form of interpretation to be given should this new added meaning be superseded in the future, while at the same time giving a very powerful message which breaks the monumental rhetoric of order and obedience. In the light of the rise of far-right movements in Italy and beyond, considering how the symbolic power of these monuments can still be exercised and how easily they could be instrumentalised, I would argue it is crucial to find ways to disempower memories of dark times.<sup>15</sup>

15 I would like to thank my supervisors for their constant support, Dr. Simon Stoddart and Prof. Robert Gordon at the University of Cambridge, and the Cambridge Heritage Research Group for their assistance. A special thanks go to Arnold Holzknicht and Michele Bernardi for discussing their work with me, to Catrina Appleby for reading it, and to Laura Egger for her photography. I am grateful to the Director of the American Academy in Rome, Prof. John Ochsendorf, Director of the Biblioteca Hertziana, Prof. Tristan Weddigen and Dr. Carmen Belmonte for inviting me to present my PhD project, and Karyn Olivier, Prof. Dell Upton, Adachiara Zevi and Prof. Giuliana Bruno for the stimulating conversations. I would like to thank the following for their financial support: Department of Archaeology (University of Cambridge), St. John's College, Cambridge, the Dorothy Garrod Trust, the Anthony Wilkinson Fund and the DAAD Cambridge Hub.