

“Saturating the Surface: Cultural Reflections on Italian Modernist Architecture”*

Fascist Italy simultaneously sanctioned both traditional, neo-classical and stark, modernist constructions, as seen in the contrasting styles of Marcello Piacentini, a modern neo-classicist, and Giuseppe Terragni, a Corbusier-inspired rationalist.ⁱ Considered together, Piacentini’s *Monument to Victory* of 1928 in Bolzano and *Giuseppe Terragni’s Casa del Fascio*, or the fascist party headquarters, of 1936 in Como, envision the heterogeneity implicit in the history of what Dennis Doordan has termed “building modern Italy.”ⁱⁱ While the curious plurality of architectural styles in Fascist Italy has gained a significant amount of attention in the work of scholars including Richard Etlin, Giorgio Ciucci, and Thomas Schumacher during the last twenty years,ⁱⁱⁱ what remains to be studied are the ways in which these modernist buildings created a unique visual rhetoric of cultural expression in the Italian context from the 1930s onward.

Although such buildings presented themselves as belonging stylistically to the larger international modernist movement, these structures can be better understood both formally and intellectually if situated within their own national context. As Diane Ghirardo has shown, Italian rationalist architecture “shed the left-wing associations of Northern European Modernism and became instead [the] vehicle for representing fascism as a forward-looking, modern, and revolutionary agent in Italian society.”^{iv} The present paper builds on existing scholarly analyses of Italian modernist architecture with a new reading of how the planar surfaces of modernist buildings functioned in the aestheticization of politics. How Italian fascist architecture, whether projected or built, both embraces and denies the presence of architectural sculpture and decoration and, more specifically, how buildings devoid of such ornament generated a new visual language of decoration, one that linked public space to spectator and past to present, remain the central concerns of my paper. In short, I argue that the surfaces themselves of Italian modernist buildings gained new importance as screens onto which various contemporary cultural motifs were literally and metaphorically projected in the absence of traditional architectural sculpture derived from the classical idiom.

Just as the architectural decoration and sculpture on neoclassical buildings invoked Italy's classical heritage, so too did their more minimalist counterparts allow for the expression of the inheritance of the past. Focusing on these architects' preference for smooth materials including glass, metal, and polished stones, I argue for an architectural strategy that facilitated a dynamic interplay between buildings and spectators, thereby constructing a relationship between spaces and their public. I should say at the start that my argument derives from the experience of fleeting visions of ephemeral reflection that remain by nature difficult to pin down, and hence nearly impossible to record. I ask you then, as audience, to indulge in a discussion that is visually problematic to represent, but conceptually and theoretically more tangible. Formally, these reflective surfaces offered possibilities for absorbing their local landscape, as they rendered an auratic visual matrix predicated on the presence of both building and environment.^v Thus, exploited for their various ephemeral effects, I argue that these shiny materials would have functioned as cultural mirrors, literally producing an architecture of theatricality that could weave the history built into the structures surrounding them, whether building or piazza, into the a new architectural fabric, suddenly traditional and modern.^{vi} By cultural reflection, I refer to a political reflection of the fascist self as consolidated within a collective.^{vii} Moreover, the masses themselves were projected back onto these façades on which they appeared in a uniquely self-reflexive architecture that allowed for instant historicization. Conceived at the moment of growing political import for the arts of cinema and photography as unifying media in the inscription of the masses into the spiritual rebirth of the nation, these reflective buildings monumentalized their own mass culture. As subject and object, these bodies when reflected were entrapped onto the cultural screen and compressed fleetingly between architectural fixtures, past and present.

To illustrate my theory of cultural reflection, I rely on Giuseppe Terragni's *Casa del Fascio* in Como as a case study, shown situated within its local setting in an aerial view (fig. 1).^{viii} As the name implies, each city's *casa del fascio* housed the local administrative headquarters for the fascist party, symbolized by the *fasces*, or bundle of rods containing an ax originally born by ancient Roman magistrates. Moreover, the casa would also house the *sacrario*, or shrine to fallen heroes whose martyr-like deaths would ensure the ongoing life of the State. By synecdoche, these local icons signaled as well

the regime's greater imperial network.^{ix} Scholars have grappled with this enigmatic example of the building type for decades, producing numerous formal, socio-political and historical inquiries, the combination of which frames my argument here.

Seeing the building as the spiritual heir to classical façades and the skeletal remains of the Renaissance *palazzo*, scholars have strived to elucidate how this emphatically modern structure sits in dialogue with traditional architecture, such as the nearby Renaissance Cathedral, complete with its own imperfect history.^x Alternatively, scholars have eschewed categorically any connection between the *Casa del Fascio* and traditional architecture, arguing that the building refutes connection and speaks as an architecture of contradistinction.^{xi}

Interpreting the fascist dream of the building façade as billboard, Diane Ghirardo has treated this building's surfaces in her examination of the unresolved controversy regarding proposals for photomontage decoration for the building's façade.^{xii}

My own reading of the surfaces explores the inherent magnetism of these mirror-like panels rather than the masks physically placed upon them. Indeed, Terragni's emphasis on windows, shiny stone, and glass block thematizes reflection, translucency, and transparency both inside and outside of the *Casa del Fascio*.^{xiii}

Most strikingly, the façade of this building opens onto the piazza through a battery of eighteen glass doors arranged in an L-shaped formation, all linked electrically to open at the touch of a single button, granting the masses physical access to the infrastructure of their house of secular religion, incidentally situated diagonally across from the Cathedral, their more explicitly divine house of worship. In theory then, even when closed, these colossal, transparent doors would still allow for visual access into the casa, laying bear the entrails of the mystical body of the cult of fascism.

But what can we make of impermanent reflections on the glass, as captured in this 1936 photograph of the building's surface (fig. 2)? In order to increase the legibility of the surface in Terragni's work, I turn to Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky's distinction between real or *literal* and a *phenomenal* or seeming transparency.^{xiv} While seeing through the doors and other openings of the building illustrates their *literal* transparency, the projection-like reflections onto the surface embody their *phenomenal* transparency, here "discovered in the haphazard superimpositions provided by the accidental reflections

of light playing upon a translucent or polished surface.”^{xv} The unpredictable dynamism of this surface generates phenomenal transparency whose transient conditions provide unpredictable, inconsistent, and arguably irrecoverable visions of an uncanny fascist present.

The *Casa del Fascio* is often cited with this image published by the fascist architectural journal *Quadrante* in 1936 (fig. 3). Figuring the *Casa del Fascio* as an activated fascist site with its fully populated piazza, this photograph memorializes the spectacular function of the building performing its magic upon the crowd that in turn makes the building meaningful. Siegfried Kracauer’s seminal essay of 1927 on “The Mass Ornament,” anticipates how the screen of glass doors would have absorbed the onlookers into a collective unit, that is the building that was both fascism and its signifier.^{xvi} As Kracauer explains,

“[t]he bearer of the ornaments is the *mass* and not the people, for whenever the people form figures, the latter do not hover in midair but arise out of a community. A current of organic life surges from these communal groups which share a common destiny [with] their ornaments, endowing these ornaments with a magic force and burdening them with meaning to such an extent that they cannot be reduced to a pure assemblage of lines.”^{xvii}

In seeing these surfaces, the spectator is seen along with not only bodies, but also the landscape that precedes with its own emblems that bear meaning. Thus, a magical matrix conceived by the multiple and simultaneous mappings that are imprinted impermanently on this smooth, monolithic mass. Landscape and figure as the indices of past and present are woven together on an enlivened stage of transient seduction that materializes the connection between them by compressing the spectator into the plane of the mirror that is alternatively deceptively blank and potentially full, though ultimately a flattened illusion of architectural intertextuality. It is precisely this flattening of the three-dimensional world into the two-dimensional, manipulative filmic surface that dangerously warps truth into propaganda. After all, the mirrored surface profits from its status as the object that cannot lie. And so, these glossy panels subtly aestheticize precisely what Mussolini’s

rhetoric of the Third Rome sought to do in other spheres of arts and culture as the individual's subjectivity melds into and conjoins with the narrative produced of and before her.^{xviii}

The experiential temporal collapse enacted by the piazza surrounding the Casa del Fascio was not an isolated visual phenomenon. Indeed, *Quadrante's* special exposé dedicated to the Casa del Fascio at Como featured a second, more constructed photomontage. Self-consciously manipulative, this mass-produced image collapses together distinct architectural temporalities in its willful juxtaposition of the medieval Palazzo del Broletto, the Renaissance Cathedral and Terragni's recent Novocomum apartment project of 1929 (fig. 4). Thus photomontage (a single example of a pervasive phenomenon) constructs a reproducible architectural history of Como in which the past and present converge, much like its elusive cinematic counterpart as projected onto the façade of the *Casa del Fascio*.^{xix}

Before abandoning my theory of the cultural reflection, I turn briefly to two additional examples of the political function of reflective architectural surfaces. Terragni and Lingeri's Project A, 1934 competition entry for the prominent Lictor's Palace commission in Rome provides another interesting instance of this phenomenon (fig. 5).^{xx} The projected surface of the wall from which Mussolini's speaking platform would have protruded would have been highly polished porphyry. We can easily imagine then that what remained of the Basilica of Maxentius would have been reflected back into the mural surface along with crowds attending Mussolini's theatrical speeches. Though never actually realized, this building remains nevertheless instructive for its potential architectural theatricality.

We find a similar dynamism at work in two of the principal buildings at EUR, the colonial community just outside of Rome planned for a universal exposition that would have celebrated in 1942, the 20-year anniversary of Mussolini's March on Rome.^{xxi} The glass curtains that line the exostructures of Adalberto Libera's *Palazzo dei Congressi* and the *Palazzo della Civiltà* by Ernesto La Padula, Giovanni Guernini and Mario Romano function similarly to the expansive battery of glass doors in Terragni's *Casa del Fascio*.^{xxii}

My last two examples map Italian fascist identity and hegemony onto mural surfaces in a more common and less ephemeral fashion, evidenced by their mutual and perpetual survival today. While painted slogans make announcements such as “Italy will have her great place in the world,”^{xxiii} the four map panels prominently displayed since 1934 on Mussolini’s *Via dei fori imperiali*, the new main artery through the heart of ancient imperial Rome, visually document and announce Rome’s expansive imperialist history.^{xxiv} Suggestive too of a *tabula rasa*, modernist buildings and mural surfaces alike announced themselves as new and innovative, representing a cultural rebirth that rejected traditional forms of classicism. As backgrounds for public announcements and events, ranging from death notices to cinema posters, advertisements to photomontage, graffiti to flags, these magical surfaces inscribed the ever-changing present onto their solidly formed and seemingly permanent bodies, introducing an architecture evocative of cinematic technology which reflects bodies, whether human or architectural “[o]nly as parts of a mass, not as individuals who believe themselves to be formed from within, [and] people become fractions of a figure,” as Kracauer had described.^{xxv} Writing on his *Casa del Fascio*, Terragni famously paraphrased Mussolini’s metaphor for the regime, explaining that “Mussolini’s concept of fascism as a glass house into which everyone can peer gives rise to this interpretation wwhich is a continuation of the former: no obstacles, no barriers, nothing between the political leader and his people.”^{xxvi} In response, I close with the following question: but did fascism not equally reflect back, both literally and metaphorically, its own architecture, its very followers, the masses now transfixed by their already historically burdened cultural landscape?

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List of Illustrations

1. Giuseppe Terragni, *Casa del Fascio*, 1933-36, Como. Taken from Daniele Vitale, “An Analytic Excavation: Ancient and Modern, Abstraction and Formalism in the Architecture of Giuseppe Terragni”, *9H 7* (1985): 5 (bottom image).
2. Photograph of *Casa del Fascio* from *Quadrante* 1936.
3. Photograph of *Casa del Fascio* with the masses from *Quadrante* 1936.
4. Photomontage from *Quadrante* 1936.
5. Giuseppe Terragni, Pietro Lingeri, Giuseppe Terragni, Luigi Vietti, Ernesto Saliva, Marcello Nizzoli and Mario Sironi, *Palazzo del Littorio Progetto A*, 1934. Preso da Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890-1940* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989): 431 (fig. 236).

Illustrations



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

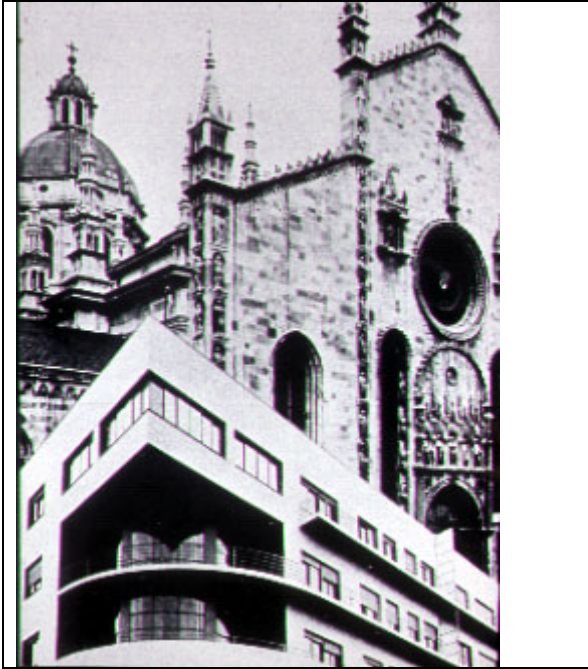


Fig. 4

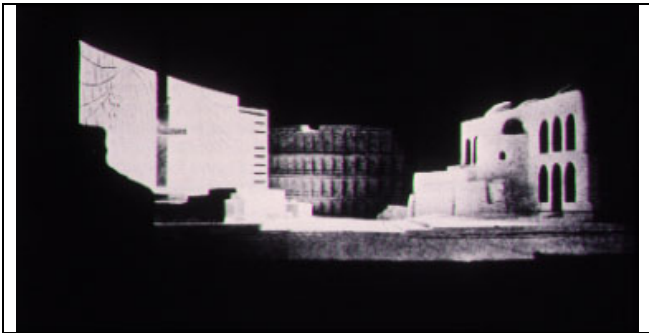


Fig. 5

* I owe many thanks to my mentors in the Department of History of Art at Bryn Mawr College: Professor Steven Z. Levine, Professor David Cast, and Professor Lisa Saltzman. A special thanks goes to Professor Barbara Miller Lane, now emerita at Bryn Mawr College, for all of her encouragement of my study of modern Italian architecture. I thank as well my mentor and friend Professor Emily Braun of Hunter College of the City University of New York, for both her comments on this paper and for all of her contributions to the field of fascist aesthetics.

ⁱ See Dennis Doordan, "The Political Content in Italian Architecture during the Fascist Era," *Art Journal* 43 (Summer 1983): 121-131, for a discussion of the formal multiplicity of fascist architecture as a strategy of evasion in relation to the definition of fascism itself.

ⁱⁱ I borrow this phrase from the title of Dennis Doordan's *Building Modern Italy: Italian Architecture 1914-1936* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988). For a general introduction to Mussolini's pluralistic policy toward the arts, see Philip Cannistraro, "Fascism and Culture in Italy, 1919-1945," in *Italian Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Emily Braun (Munich: Prestel, 1989): 147-154. Emily Braun has written extensively on Mussolini's pluralistic attitude toward the arts, as well as the relationship between art and politics in Fascist Italy. See, for example, *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics under Fascism* (New York: Cambridge, 2000). Braun has written extensively on the use of surfaces in the context of mural painting. Given that architecture rather than painting or mosaic work is my primary focus in this paper, I do not cite her explicitly, though my approach is indebted to her work.

ⁱⁱⁱ See Richard Etlin, "Nationalism in Modern Italian Architecture 1900-1940," *Nationalism in the Visual Arts: Studies in the History of Art* 29, ed. Richard Etlin (Hanover: University Press of New England,): 89-109. This essay is excerpted from Etlin's larger project on modernity and nationalism in Italian architecture, *Modernism in Italian Architecture 1890-1940* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989). Some other interesting considerations of modernist architecture produced under fascism include the following: Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: Architettura e città 1922-1944* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*, exhibition organized by the University Art Museum at the University of California at Berkeley in collaboration with the Gabinetto fotografico nazionale (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1973), and Henry Millon, "Some New Towns in Italy in the 1930s," in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978): 326-341. Doordan, *op. cit.*, 124, notes that "the definition of a series of architectural and urbanistic canons would have required a definition of the essence of fascism....Not by chance, Mussolini avoided defining in any way any question that could contain the embryonic or explicit formulation of the ideological system in an unequivocal or absolute way." Doordan cites, in turn, Riccardo Mariani, *Fascismo e città nuove* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976): 126 and Alexander DeGrand, *Bottai e la cultura fascista* (Bari, 1978): 280-281.

^{iv} Diane Ghirardo, "City and Theater: The Rhetoric of Fascist Architecture," in *Fascism and Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Schnapp and Barbara Spackman. Special volume of *Stanford Italian Review* 8:1-2 (1990): 166. See also Ghirardo, "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39 (1980): 109-127. For a study of how Le Corbusier had looked back to classical models as inspiration for his modernist buildings, see Richard Etlin, "Le Corbusier, Choisy, and French Hellenism: The Search for a New Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 62:2 (June 1987): 264-278.

^v My invocation of the word "aura" here is intended to allude to Walter Benjamin's classic essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. with introduction by Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1988 reprint): 217-251. The relevancy of this essay for the present argument is Benjamin's distinction between architecture and cinema. Whereas architecture allows its observers to maintain their subjectivity insofar as they typically move freely around a given space, cinema does not allow for such freedom. Rather, films force their spectators to follow a fixed narrative, thereby eliminating the possibility of individual subjectivity. Insofar as cinematic architecture would break down the distinction asserted by Benjamin throughout this paper, I cite it for its limitations. Insofar as Benjamin's essay fails to consider the filmic qualities of works of art that are not traditionally defined films, his reading breaks down when confronted with the experiential reading of reflective architecture proposed by the present paper. I will include a fuller consideration of the ramifications of the distinction drawn between architecture and cinema in Benjamin's account in an expanded version of this project, here written in abbreviated form.

^{vi} Diane Ghirardo has written about the theatricality of appropriation of fascist and traditional architecture in the service of public demonstrations and rallies in the contexts of both Ferrara and the New Italian towns, or the microcosmic utopian communities carefully envisioned as domestic colonies under Mussolini's design. She writes, "[m]ass civic events became a fascist trope, a means of forging a new, postdemocratic collectivity and of inscribing the public character of the new political formation into the urban realm." (325). See her "Surveillance and Spectacle in Fascist Ferrara," in *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge*, ed. Martha Pollak (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997): 325-361. For further consideration of the interaction between public fascist events and architecture, see her "City and Theater: The Rhetoric of Fascist Architecture," *op. cit.*

^{vii} See Mabel Berezin, *Making the Fascist Self: The Political Culture of Interwar Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997) for a group of focused case studies on individual identity within the fascist

collective. Berezin's study considers carefully the ways in which secular public spaces make possible the melding of single and multiple identities.

^{viii} In 1936, an entire double issue of the architectural periodical *Quadrante*, founded by and run by the art critic and gallery owner Pier Maria Bardi, was dedicated to a complete study of the *Casa del Fascio* at Como. See *Quadrante* 35-36 (October 1936).

^{ix} Marita Sturken has written on the way in which visitors to the *Vietnam Memorial* in Washington, D.C. could identify with the loss represented by the monument through the reflective powers of its massive, highly polished, stone surface. See Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Though the political contexts for the *Vietnam Memorial* in Washington D.C. and the shrines to fascist martyrs are arguably radically different, I see the politicized function of the architectural surface as operating under a similar logic. I thank Deborah Barkun of Bryn Mawr College for bringing this reference to my attention.

^x William Curtis, "Modern Transformations of Classicism," *The Architectural Review* 176 (August 1984): 39-47. Curtis describes the building as "modern architecture in a Latin mode," seeing it as "a transparent version of a Classical façade." Moreover, Curtis observes the survival of the "inner atrium" of the Renaissance *palazzo* with its inner cortile with mass as a whole governed by proportions related to the square plan. See also Thomas Schumacher, "Terragni and Classicism: Fence Sitting at the Barricades," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41 (Summer 1988): 11-19. Diane Ghirardo disputes Schumacher's point. She writes that "[i]nstead of fence-sitting between the modern and the classical, as one scholar has recently charged, Terragni in fact deliberately sought that delicate point embracing both the security of a revered past and the challenge of the future." See her "Terragni, Conventions, and the Critics," in *Critical Architecture and Contemporary Culture*, ed. William J. Lillyman, Marilyn F. Moriarity, and David J. Newman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 91-103.

^{xi} See Daniele Vitale, "An Analytic Excavation: Ancient and Modern Abstraction and Formalism in the Architecture of Giuseppe Terragni," in *9H 7* (1985): 5-24. Eschewing Schumacher's readings, Vitale rejects all attempts to see dialogue through direct or mimetic connection; rather he sees the *Casa del Fascio* in dialogue precisely through its refusal to connect, that is, its opposition.

^{xii} See Diane Ghirardo, "Politics of a Masterpiece: The *Vicenda* of the Decoration of the Façade of the Casa del Fascio, Como, 1936-39," *The Art Bulletin* LXII 3 (September 1980): 166-178.

^{xiii} For a thoughtful analysis of transparency in a variety of Terragni's designs, see Maria Bottero, "La ricerca della trasparenza," *Abitare* 278 (October 1989): 250-255. Concentrating on Terragni's *Asilo Sant'Elia*, Bottero focuses on the role of glass walls as both enablers of visions calculating filters that permit an "attenuated" union with the landscape. Glass has always been reflective by nature, but the use of it in fascist architecture becomes particular insofar as the percentages of glass used in overall building projects skyrocketed. See Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, op. cit.*, 475. See Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream – Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XL:1 (March 1981): 20-43, for a history of philosophical and metaphorical meanings of glass. Bletter includes Gothic, Moslem, and Spanish Moorish buildings as well as the importance of glass in the Medieval and Renaissance Western literary traditions in her thoughtful analysis.

^{xiv} See Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky, "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal," *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976): 160ff.

^{xv} Rowe and Slutzky rely on Gyorgy Kepes' analysis of transparency as the force that enables interpenetration of different planes and figures so as to allow for their simultaneous perception. See Kepes, *Language of Vision* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944): 77. Rowe and Slutzky also invoke Siegfried Giedion's reading of the glass curtain wall at the Bauhaus. See Siegfried Giedion, *Walter Gropius* (New York, 1954): 54-55 and Siegfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (Cambridge, 1954): 490-491. Whereas Le Corbusier was interested in the planar qualities of glass, Gropius was taken with its translucency.

^{xvi} Matthew Witkowsky, "Truly Blank: The Monument to National Liberation and the Interwar Modernism in Prague," *Umění* XLIX (2001): 42-60.

^{xvii} See Siegfried Kracauer, "The Mass Ornament," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans., ed., with introduction by Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995): 76.

^{xviii} For a discussion of the vast amount of building and renovation that took place under the rubric of the "Third Rome," see Spiro Kostoff, *The Third Rome 1870-1950* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1973).

^{xix} See Brian McLaren, "Under the Sign of Reproduction," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45 (February 1992): 98-106. McLaren shows that such photomontage often featured in Italian architectural journals in the fascist period, disrupted the logic of accessing the past, substituting historical materialism for historicism, just as Benjamin had contrasted in his "Theses on the Philosophy of History." See Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, *op. cit.*, 253-264.

^{xx} See *Architettura* 1934 published all of the entries. 13 (1934). Vedi anche Richard Etlin, "The Palazzo del Littorio: The Designs", in *Modernism in Italian Architecture*, *op.cit.*, 430-434 for a stimulating debate on the different projects submitted in this competition. Although Etlin does not consider the porphyry wall's reflective potential in relation to the crowd and surrounding monuments, he does underline the role of the great stone structure as a background in his analysis of Mussolini's presence in relation to the crowd assembled to see and listen to the Duce.

^{xxi} See Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture 1980-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989): , discusses the planning of EUR. Mia Fuller has analyzed EUR as an ideal colony set up within domestic borders. See Mia Fuller, "Wherever You Go, There You Are: Fascist Plans for the Colonial City of Addis Ababa and the Colonizing Suburb of EUR '42," in the *Journal of Contemporary History* 31:2 (April 1996). Special Issue on "The Aesthetics of Fascism." See also Riccardo Mariani, "La progettazione dell'E42: La prima fase," *Lotus International* 69 (1990): 90-126.

^{xxii} In adapting William Shakespeare's play *Titus Andronicus*, Julie Taymor exploits precisely this interaction between the reflective surface and the politically organized crowd in her cinematic work *Titus* of 2000.

^{xxiii} See Ariberto Segàla, *I muri del duce* (Gardolo: Edizioni Arca, 2001) for recent photographs of painted murals featuring slogans and fascist iconography throughout northern Italy. This particular image is reproduced from a postcard printed in the 1930s, though the same slogan features in various other instances

^{xxiv} For an interesting study of these map panels, see Heather Hyde Minor, "Mapping Mussolini: Ritual and Cartography in Public Art during the Second Roman Empire," *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 147-162.

^{xxv} Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 76.

^{xxvi} See Giuseppe Terragni, "The Construction of the Casa del Fascio in Como," trans. Debra Dolinski and reprinted in Thomas Schumacher, *Surface and Symbol* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991): 143.