RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES AT THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME (2018—2019)

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Source: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 2018/2019, Vol. 63/64 (2018/2019), pp. 332-349

Published by: University of Michigan Press for the American Academy in Rome

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26989850

RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES AT THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME (2018–2019)

Ancient Studies

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation/Samuel H. Kress Foundation Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize

Corporeal Connections: Tomb Disturbance, Reuse, and Violation in Roman Italy

During the course of my two-year fellowship at the American Academy in Rome, I completed my dissertation on the topic of Roman funerary archaeology and began research for a number of related projects. My dissertation, "Corporeal Connections," explores Roman burial practices that involved post-depositional contact with dead bodies, including disturbance, reuse, and violation. The topic of Roman tomb violation has been explored through a wealth of Latin anecdotal, epigraphic, and juridical evidence, although the archaeological aspects have rarely been addressed. Too often reopened and reused graves are glossed over in archaeological site reports, without further attention to the post-depositional and continuing commemorative rituals that dealt with the physical remains of an individual in a mortuary deposit.

My research prioritizes human remains from archaeological contexts, with consideration of textual, epigraphic, and visual representations of dead bodies. It considers the handling of skeletal remains at the time of grave opening in non-monumental cemeteries throughout Roman Italy from the late first to the fourth centuries C.E. using the methods of archaeothanatology. By investigating human remains in different states of decomposition at the time of grave opening, my research argues that the addition of individuals and the manipulation of human skeletal elements could create and maintain inter-generational corporeal connections between the deceased and the living. This project is unique for its emphasis on the physicality of the body in the ongoing use and adaptive reuse of funerary structures in the Roman world.

A number of other projects related to mortuary landscapes developed during my time in Rome. One included a ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey of the Bass Garden at the American Academy in Rome in collaboration with geoarchaeologist Pier Matteo Barone. In 1999, a Roman burial was discovered and excavated in the garden, so the survey was designed to examine evidence for ancient roads and mortuary deposits in the area using non-invasive techniques. The preliminary results show evidence for electromagnetic anomalies in the subsoils, which can be interpreted as additional burials.

In another project related to roads and mortuary landscapes, I traced the route of the Via Appia Antica on foot from Brindisi back to Rome. This three-week walk challenged me to think about roads as monuments that no longer survive in some places and about the Via Appia as a literary and archaeological journey that spans more than 2,300 years. Walking along the road allowed me to think about how topography shaped the location of ancient and modern settle-

ments, the often-invisible borders between regions, and about the movement of people between central and southern Italy. Furthermore, I traced the reuse of material from funerary contexts in towns like Venosa, Benevento, and Terracina, which is part a new project that expands on my dissertation research. This was just one of many invaluable experiences that was made possible by my fellowship at the American Academy in Rome.

LIANA BRENT, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Emeline Hill Richardson Post-Doctoral Rome Prize

Urbanism on the Margins: Life and Death in the Roman Suburb

A Roman city was a bounded space, confined by borders both physical and conceptual, which separated the urban zone and the life that occurred within it from all that stood outside. Such boundaries had particular relevance for the tombs of the dead, which Roman law barred from the urban center. Given this strict separation, something curious happened in the late Republican and (especially) early Imperial periods, a phenomenon that remains clearly evident in the archaeological record: Roman cities began to develop *suburbs*, that is, urban neighborhoods outside the boundaries of the city proper, where tombs of the dead intermixed freely with urban structures of all types. *Life and Death in the Roman Suburb*, the book manuscript I have been preparing as a Rome Prize Fellow, explores the archaeology of these neighborhoods at Rome and other Italian cities large and small. I argue that suburbs were integral parts of their cities, but that the presence of tombs gave them a distinct urbanism that differentiated them from the city center. My aim, therefore, is not only to contribute to major debates on the character and development of Roman cities, but also to provide new perspectives on Roman attitudes toward death, emphasizing the relationship between the dead and the living as a fundamental aspect of Roman life.

This project joins several recent studies that have attempted to understand urban space outside the formal boundaries of Roman cities. Current work has tended to emphasize growing populations and urban overspill as the motivators of suburban development, but that approach risks overlooking equally important and potentially more revealing factors. Working from recent excavation and survey evidence, I identify a collection of overlapping and interrelated forces that played roles in the emergence of suburban urbanism and that help to isolate its characteristic elements. Among the most significant of these forces was the presence of suburban tombs. Rather than passive markers of separation, my analysis reveals that funerary spaces, and especially monumental tombs, were key drivers of urban growth, functioning as active forces in the social and economic worlds of their neighborhoods. Tombs made up what are often referred to in scholarship as cemeteries, necropoleis, or streets of tombs, but those terms obscure the extent to which such neighborhoods could incorporate other suburban features: from rubbish dumps to shrines and sanctuaries; from shops, inns, and restaurants to major entertainment buildings; from the shacks of the humble to the villas of society's most powerful. Such features did not simply neighbor tombs, flowing around once-excluded funerary spaces as the city breached its original boundaries, but responded to and interacted with them. These interactions, moreover, reveal diachronic changes in suburban life. As suburbs arose, monumental tombs became increasingly common, attracting further development in a mutually reinforcing cycle. For cities that continued to grow and densify, funerary spaces adopted a different role and began to serve as space-holders for new

development, which increasingly destroyed and supplanted them. My project is, therefore, a book about urbanism, but it is also a story of the living and the dead, and how they came together at a particular moment in time to create a particular type of city.

This time at the AAR has been a gift, during which I've the opportunity to visit sites both new and familiar, to spend many fruitful hours in the stacks or hidden away in my study, and of course, to eat some of the best meals that can be found in a city of fantastic food. The greatest discovery of all, however, has been the community. My fellow Fellows have challenged my thinking and pushed me in unexpected new directions, a process that has been an utter delight. The experience will stay with me throughout my life, and I will be eternally grateful for it.

ALLISON L. C. EMMERSON, TULANE UNIVERSITY

Andrew Heiskell Post-Doctoral Rome Prize

Tribunes of the Plebs in the Roman Republic: 493–31 B.C.E.

Roman tradition attributes the creation of the plebeian tribunate to the First Secession, during which two or five men were elected as leaders of the plebs who had abandoned patrician-led Rome in 494 B.C.E. over serious political disagreements. They empowered the tribunes to pass plebiscites, or resolutions, binding only on plebeians, and to defend them against abusive patrician magistrates. By 287 B.C.E., after centuries of agitation and civil struggle, the tribunate was formally recognized in the *lex Hortensia* as Rome's principal institution for creating laws that would apply to *all* Romans, including patricians. For over a century, the tribunes, senate, and other magistrates worked well together (for the most part). But, in 133 B.C.E., to address an obvious and ever-widening gap of economic inequity, tribune of the plebs Tiberius Gracchus forcefully passed legislation to create a commission empowered to confiscate public lands illegally occupied by elite Romans and Italians and redistribute it to Rome's indigent citizens. Gracchus' aims and methods engendered a violent response from the elites (including fellow tribunes and senators), resulting in his murder and the beginning of the so-called "Roman Revolution," a century of bitter political feuds and bloody wars that ended with the collapse of the Republic, the establishment of the Principate of Augustus, and the reduction of the tribunate to a shadow of its former self.

While tribunes are perhaps best known for the tumultuous political activity which Gracchus and his successors made famous, the tribunate as an institution was, historically, an important factor in shaping the Republic's history as well as its legal and political institutions and culture. Indeed, it contributed much to the administration and smooth functioning of the city of Rome and its growing empire. For these and other reasons, the tribunate has always attracted scholarly attention, most of which has focused on legislative programs, prosecutions, or prosopography.

The book project I am working on at the American Academy in Rome is a macro-history of the tribunate as an institution, from its inception down to the age of Augustus, based on micro-histories of tribunician activity preserved in documents that survive from antiquity. These micro-histories, assembled in a massive and detailed "Chronology of Tribunes," include the work of many lesser-known tribunes—even anonymous tribunes whose actions alone have been preserved in our sources (over 600 between 493 and 31 B.C.E.). The "Chronology of Tribunes," itself a significant advance in available resources essential for new work on the tribunes, makes it possible to distinguish major patterns in tribunician activity, patterns that counter the natural tendency to

comprehend the tribunate only through the actions of the notable and notorious. It thus lays the groundwork for a substantial reassessment of debated issues, such as the tribunate's central role in Rome's administrative functioning and popular participation in politics and legislation. The book addresses a number of issues, including the overall development of the tribunate, the nature of tribunician activity and interaction with constituent elements of the SPQR, and concludes with an examination of Augustus' appropriation in 23 B.C.E. of *tribunicia* potestas—without holding the office of tribune—as a key component of the emperor's bundle of powers.

My time at the American Academy in Rome has allowed me to move my book project toward completion. Proximity to the excellent AAR library and its affiliates has afforded me many opportunities to expand or clarify my research and to answer new questions as they crop up (without the interminable delays that come with using inter-library loan systems). It has also afforded numerous opportunities to meet other scholars and writers—informally or at conferences—who share my research interests; have provided valuable feedback, insight and advice; and have inspired me to extend my (future) research endeavors into new areas. Just as important has been the opportunity to greatly increase my knowledge of Rome and its urban history, especially for periods outside of my main discipline, thanks to Humanities Director Lynne Lancaster's weekly "Walks and Talks" and to my fellow Fellows who have generously shared their expertise with the AAR community.

ERIC J. KONDRATIEFF, WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY

Paul Mellon/Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize Fellow

Christianizing Knowledge: A New Order of Books in the Theodosian Age

I research ways in which the rise of Christianity in the later Roman empire effected not only what elite Romans believed, but how they believed. My dissertation, "Christianizing Knowledge," traces the peculiar structure of knowledge that theologically minded scholars of the fourth century constructed in the aftermath of the Council of Nicaea (325 C.E.). I follow that structure of knowledge as it proliferated through other domains of technical, scholastic knowledge production in the years after Christians came to hold significant political power, during the Theodosian Dynasty (379–457). Through the fourth century Christians devised a new way of forming and supporting arguments—arguments centered on almost impossibly precise questions of theological metaphysics and ontology. But those argumentative tactics did not long stay solely the purview of doctors of the Church. The rise of Nicene and anti-Nicene Christians to the upper echelons of society effected a near-wholesale changeover in the dominant epistemic regime. My project approaches the age-old question of Christianization in a new way. Rather than investigating how many people believed a certain set of propositions, I want to know how any proposition could (and ought) to be weighed in a Christianized intellectual environment.

For instance, the tradition of Roman law was a coherent intellectual discipline during the Theodosian Age. But the most significant overhaul of the system—the Theodosian Code—occurred under a vehemently and violently Nicene Christian emperor, and the new legal regime shows signs of integration with the dominant Nicene epistemic regime. Likewise, historians during the Theodosian Age continued to write history, but they did so with new methods and new aims. Theologians of the early fourth century invented a new set of tools and gifted them to the wider scholastic environment. My work this year at the American Academy in Rome focused first on

clarifying the contours of these tools, and subsequently followed the cascade of changes in the material presentation of scholarly knowledge visible in the manuscript evidence from this period held at the Vatican Library and in other archives throughout Europe. D. F. Mackenzie demonstrated that "new readers of course make new texts, and their new meanings are a function of their new forms."[1] The first half of my work investigated innovative Nicene Christian writers, who wrote new texts in novel formats. The second half investigated the new meanings that late ancient scholars brought to and read from their texts as a result of these texts' new material forms and epistemic framework.

At the end of my time at the American Academy I shifted focus to a new project which intends to describe how it is that ancient people came to think that theology was something like law—that it could be distilled, legislated, codified, and promulgated; that the objects of an individual's belief could be exposed as a matter of justiciable fact. The development of Christian doctrine into the metaphor of "law" has only been cursorily described, it has not been explained. My central argument is that the invention of Christian jurisprudence, and the correlating consideration of Christian doctrine as somehow akin to "law," arose initially out of material innovations in the presentation of doctrine. Function followed form. The coalescence of technical literature into a circumscribed set of forms that I describe in my dissertation serves to explain the "juridification" of ancient Christianity, and sets the stage for transition from the great doctrinal disputes and conciliar pronouncements of the fourth and fifth centuries to the handbooks and compendia of "canon law" of the early Middle Ages.

Both of these projects are fundamentally histories of ancient book forms and the ideologies that undergird them. They aim to serve as a bridge between histories of two different types: those of politics and religion in Late Antiquity, written always in the shadow of a Roman Empire with its own institutions in which Christians appear as interlopers, and works of late ancient social history, in which the ideological structures that undergird an ascendant Catholic bureaucracy seem always already part of the fabric of Christianity.

MARK LETTENEY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Lily Auchincloss/Samuel H. Kress Foundation/Helen M. Woodruff–Archaeological Institute of America Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize

The Zooarchaeology of Early Rome: Meat Distribution and Consumption in Public and Private Spaces (Ninth–Sixth centuries B.C.E.)

Rome was a significant population center by the end of the sixth century B.C.E., but exactly what the emergence of urbanism entailed and the mechanisms of Rome's growth between the Iron Age and the end of the Archaic period are the subjects of much debate. My Rome Prize project uses zooarchaeology, or the study of animal remains from archaeological sites, to study early Roman religious practices, the changing economy, and the formalization of social roles during the Iron Age through Archaic periods. The growing city would have required more animals to feed the growing

[1] McKenzie, D. F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge 1999) 23.

populace in their homes and to provide animals for sacrifice in sanctuaries. I have analyzed the faunal remains from five sites dating from the ninth century to the sixth century B.C.E. to add new archaeological data that can show how early Roman urbanism affected meat production, distribution, and consumption and my project shows how these are connected to Rome's social structure.

With the newly urban populace came a higher demand for animals to sacrifice. Alongside the increased establishment of formal social roles came new rituals and also an intensification of existing religious practices. The Roman religious framework was in place by the end Archaic period, so animal sacrifice from this period of change gives insights into the ritual practices that laid the foundations for Roman religion. Animal sacrifice was not only a way to interact with the gods but could express power through the control and redistribution of resources. Large-scale animal sacrifices provided meat for the people and allowed their sponsors to play a prominent part in these rites.

The animals for sacrifice and for consumption in the home were produced as part of a complex economic web that shifted with urbanization. The higher population density and centralization of domestic and public spaces would have greatly affected who controlled meat production and where animals were raised. The zooarchaeological remains from the ninth to sixth century B.C.E. can show differential access to meat in the home and in sanctuaries and how it was produced and distributed to these spaces. The food system reflected the economy and social roles of early Rome.

The sites included in this study involve both domestic spaces and sanctuaries, including my analysis of three sites from the heart of Rome (the *Area Sacra di Sant'Omobono*, the Palatine-*Curiae Veteres* sanctuary, and the *Regia*), and my analysis of nearby urban centers of *Veii*, and *Gabii*. At Sant'Omobono, the Archaic sanctuary hosted animal sacrifice and interment of mostly farm animals, namely young sheep, goat, pig, cattle, as well as a significant number of puppies. Nearby at the *Curiae Veteres* sanctuary, cattle skulls were affixed to the walls and a range of animals were sacrificed, including large birds as well as sheep, goat, cattle, pig, and dog. The *Regia* changed from huts to a monumental structure that was repeatedly reorganized, reflecting a shift from a simpler domestic space to a larger, permanent building. At *Veii*, the Iron Age settlement was reorganized into an Etruscan open-air sanctuary, showing diet and ritual practice as the city became more urban. At *Gabii*, two adjacent hut compounds show distinct consumption practices and changes over time as *Gabii* grew alongside Rome. Together, these sites reveal new evidence for early Roman urbanism through production, distribution, and consumption of meat during the city's foundation.

VICTORIA C. MOSES, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Arthur Ross Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize Fellow

***Carmina Qui Quondam*: Poetry, Identity, and Ideology in Ostrogothic Italy**

While stopping on the road from Rome to Milan in the summer of 509 C.E., the deacon Ennodius, deep in sleep, beheld a spirit. The ghost was none other than his recently deceased kinswoman, Cynegia. What was the reason for this midnight haunting? To chide Ennodius for allowing Cynegia to rest un-honored by a poetic epitaph (*Epistles* 7.28–9). While he was unsure whether this vision was actually the ghost of Cynegia or merely a bad dream, Ennodius determined so noble a lady deserved a fitting poetic commemoration, and so resolved to write the epitaph himself. Ennodius's

tale of a ghostly Roman elite haunting the earth for the sake of some verses would not have seemed far-fetched to his contemporaries.

During the Ostrogothic period (ca. 493–554 C.E.) the entire life of the Roman elite—social, political, religious, and cultural—was enveloped by the reading, writing, and performance of verse. Roman education was centered on poetry; *epithalamia* were composed and performed at weddings; buildings—sacred and secular, public and private—were adorned with epigrams; hymns were composed and sung in churches; missteps in the social order were castigated by invective epigrams; and the deaths of significant men and women were commemorated with verse epitaphs. Moreover, nearly every elite Roman aristocrat wrote verse. Despite the all-encompassing importance of poetry to the life (and apparently the afterlife) of the Roman elite during the Ostrogothic period, few have asked why this was the case. My dissertation project, "*Carmina Qui Quondam*: Poetry, Identity, and Ideology in Ostrogothic Italy," started from this question: why did the political elite associate themselves so intimately with poetry?

"*Carmina Qui Quondam*" argues that during the Ostrogothic period the Roman elite in Italy utilized poetry both to maintain class cohesion and to exert political power. The period is named for the Ostrogoths, an ethnically distinct military elite that governed along with the Roman elite (including the Senate). Ostrogothic and Roman elites co-ruled a wounded but resilient multi-ethnic Roman empire, with both groups appealing to their own "natural" superiority to justify the joint rule. Erudite Latin poetry, as a sign of education, wealth, and Roman tradition, was thought to demonstrate the intellectual and moral superiority of the Roman elite. As a result, Latin verse was an integral component of elite Roman identity. Moreover, because poetry was a public form, Roman elites used it to project competing ideological agendas not only among factions of Roman aristocrats but also to Ostrogothic elites and the humbler citizenry. My dissertation traces these competing identities as well as changing ideological positions from the beginning of the Ostrogothic period until the destruction of the Ostrogothic state in the ruinous 20-plus-year Byzantine-Gothic Wars.

My tenure at the American Academy has been invaluable for the completion of this project. First and foremost, my stay at the Academy allowed me to finish and defend the dissertation. Secondly, the project benefited immensely from conversations with my fellow Fellows, Academy advisors, and visiting scholars. Thirdly, my stay in Rome allowed me to expand the scope of this project by incorporating more discussion of the material elements of poetic discourse in Ostrogothic Italy. I was able to view inscriptions housed at various museums and churches in Rome, and analyze size, layout, letterforms, and other aspects of these inscriptions that bore on the meaning of the poems. I also developed a deeper understanding of the topography and monuments of the city while exploring Rome, which has influenced my readings of the Ostrogothic period's political poems.

I anticipate advancing my understanding of Roman topography and monuments even further this summer as I will have the privilege of acting as the assistant for this year's Classical Summer School. I have also had the opportunity to present on several of our regular "Walks and Talks" throughout the year. These experiences, along with the several thousands of photos I have taken, have provided me with teaching resources for future courses. My tenure in Rome has greatly benefited every area of my academic life, and I look forward to building on my experiences here in the years to come

SEAN TANDY, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Donald and Maria Cox/Samuel H. Kress Foundation Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize

Visualizing the Cosmos in 14th-century Padua: From Francesco da Barberino to Giusto de'Menabuoi

319 images of the zodiac signs, planets, constellations, and their influence on humankind wrap around the walls of the Sala di Ragione, the seat of the civic tribunals, found on the second floor of Padua's Palazzo della Ragione. The frescoes are a diagrammatic image of the cosmic laws binding terrestrial to celestial bodies. They are framed by an architectural grid which forms both the mechanism of the diagram's internal order and simultaneously appears to bind the painted images to the real architectural space. The internal diagramming function of the astrological cycle reaches into the Sala di Ragione, transforming the space into an extension of the frescoes' vision of cosmic order. It was here that Padua's civic tribunals were conducted—mechanisms for judicial order that parallel the frescoes' representation of macrocosmic order. To understand the function of the astrological cycle in the Sala di Ragione we must take account not only of its iconographic content, but of how the astrological cycle acted on the bodies and lives of Paduan citizens, both through its tangible influence on the architectural order of the Sala and its intertwinement with a legal practice that was informed by astrology.

The extant fresco cycle in the Sala della Ragione was painted ca. 1425–1435 by the Paduan artist Nicolò Miretto and an anonymous Ferrarese artist. The quattrocento cycle was executed after a major fire of 1420 destroyed an earlier astrological cycle by Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1309–1312), which was painted on the same site but not in precisely the same form. These two astrological cycles at the Palazzo della Ragione delimit the chronological scope of my dissertation, which also considers two other Paduan fresco cycles with astrological content: Guariento's images of planets around the high altar of the Eremitani Church (ca. 1361–1365), and the frescoes painted in the Baptistery by Giusto de'Menabuoi (ca. 1375–1378). The century covered by my dissertation was one of rapid political and social change; during this time Padua shifted from an independent commune, to a *signoria* under the Carrara family, to a subject community under the Venetians. Each fresco cycle proffers a different model of astrological theory and practice, attesting to the various ways that astrology was intertwined with institutions of socio-political control, as well as the shifting place of astrology within the natural and political cosmology of the city.

While studies on scientific imagery in the medieval and early modern worlds frequently focus on manuscripts, my focus is instead on monumental pictorial cycles. I contend that it is through these monumental works integrated into spaces that serve as stages for political and social life that abstract astrological theorems come to act as real agents in the lived experiences of Paduans. My time in Rome has furnished me with the opportunity to consult comparative and archival materials both in Rome and Padua. But most influential for me has been the opportunity to consider the relation between these monumental pictorial cycles and their architectural environments. In reproduction these cycles are decontextualized, flattened, and their powerful impact on space and the body is lost. My experience and close observation of these spaces has allowed me to rethink my approach. I have come to understand that it is by considering these works as fully integrated with their architectural context that we can understand their true power and function. These integrated "pictorial spaces" are the real agents for the dissemination of astrology's celestial forces, spaces

in which natural and political cosmologies are entangled, brought into relation with government bureaucracy or religious ritual, and which collectively shape and order the bodies of Paduans.

ANNA MAJESKI, INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS, NYU

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize

Charisma, Community, and Authority: Dominican Epistolary Practice in Italy, 1300–1500

In the late 1330s, while the popular preacher Venturino of Bergamo was barred from preaching, he began a correspondence with his followers. Having led a pilgrimage of thousands to Rome in 1336, Catholic authorities had revoked Venturino's preaching license, mistaking his pious intent for insurrection. After his death, his biographer wrote that some who had received his letters "were cured from diverse illnesses by reading, or touching, or seeing his letters." Despite Venturino's contested ministry, his supporters remained convinced of his holiness and divine inspiration. His disciples believed his letters were proxies for his censured voice and manifestations of his saintly authority which, like a relic, could perform miracles for those who possessed them. My dissertation investigates the role of written correspondence in constructing spiritual authority and advancing religious reform in late medieval Italy. In particular, I am investigating the letters of spiritual direction which reforming leaders of the Dominican Order wrote to their disciples during the 14th and 15th centuries in Italy.

My project especially examines the ways in which medieval people engaged with these letters as physical objects. This requires studying the 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts into which people hand-copied and bound the letters for future generations of readers. During my Rome Prize fellowship I have been able to continue conducting my research at rare book libraries in Rome, Siena, and Florence. When examining a book, I pay attention to the size of the manuscript, the quality of the materials or handwriting used to compile it, which other texts bookmakers bound with the letters in a given manuscript, and whether 14th- and 15th-century readers had inserted notes to the margins. By doing this, I hope to address who it was that continued reading these texts for decades after their authors had died? What did these letters mean to later readers? How did they adapt them to new uses? And in what ways could late medieval people use the letters to shape both their memories of the letters' authors and their own communal identities?

The quality and size of most of the manuscripts I have examined suggest that they were typically part of libraries in monasteries or convents, available for members of the community to use. This is confirmed by notes in a few of the books identifying them with specific monastic institutions. I have also found that the letters of spiritual direction which bookmakers most often chose to copy and preserve were those which male and female reformers wrote to women. These they often bound beside letters which the ancient church father St. Jerome of Stridon had written to penitent women one thousand years earlier. I suggest that by doing this, the bookmakers were arguing that the religious reforms they supported were not novel innovations but instead reached back to an ancient and authoritative Christian tradition. I have also identified in some manuscripts accent marks which readers placed into the texts, revealing that individuals would read the letters out loud likely to the entire monastic community as they gathered together to eat their meals. Further, by recording the hundreds of identical notations scribbled in the margins of a few manuscripts, I have sought to identify the particular spiritual themes on which readers meditated and

memorized, sometimes as many as one hundred years after the letters' authors had died. I hope the work I have accomplished during my year in Rome will help us better understand how communities used texts to shape their collective memories of important individuals and enact religious reform in their present.

AUSTIN POWELL, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Millicent Mercer Johnsen Post-Doctoral Rome Prize

Tolerance of Liturgical Diversity in Medieval Europe

A lone manuscript discovered in 1886 by an American missionary in Kurdistan provided the narrative that would inspire my research. Its pages held the story of one Rabban ("Master") Sauma, a figure celebrated as a "reverse Marco Polo" for having traveled from the East to the West. Sauma was a priest and monk of the Church of the East, a church sometimes referred to derisively as "Nestorians" by outsiders. Sauma had intended to take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with his friend Markos, but their joint voyage was interrupted by the politically dominant Mongols, and they were pressed into service. Sauma's most important mission was in 1287–1288 as the ambassador of the Mongols to Western Europeans, and above all, to the pope. The hope was that Sauma would be able to negotiate the entry of Western Europeans into a new Crusade that would combine with a Mongol attack to converge on Muslims in the Middle East. This plan would come to naught, and Sauma's account of his journey became more of an historical curiosity than a new chapter in religious wars against Muslims.

While Sauma made little headway in convincing the pope to preach a Crusade, he did manage to arouse suspicion that he was a heretic. Sauma had a distinct understanding from Western theologians on the relationship between the human and divine sides of Jesus. While in Rome, some cardinals interrogated him in an attempt to expose his objectionable beliefs. The linguistic barrier, the cardinals' confusion over how he deviated from their creed, and Sauma's insistence that he was not there on a religious mission saved Sauma from any condemnation of heresy. Yet in spite of fundamental questions related to the teachings of his church, Sauma was still allowed to publicly celebrate Mass in Rome according to his church's rite, and on Palm Sunday, to receive the pope's Eucharist. Sauma further performed a Mass in front of King Edward I of England. These were not normally things that orthodox Christians would have been permitted to do with a heretic. What this anecdote suggests is that Western European clergy put more emphasis on belief than practice: it was more important what one believed about God, not how one worshiped him.

My study seeks to find the intellectual background to put Sauma's story into a broader context. To what degree did Western European intellectuals in the Middle Ages tolerate diverse forms of worship? What were the limits of their tolerance? I am closely reading intellectuals who wrote on this theme from Augustine in ca. 400 to Nicholas of Cusa in 1453. My initial findings suggest that a majority of thinkers opted to tolerate diverse forms of worship, even those who would say that the pope's liturgy was the ideal form. The same writers would never have accepted a free-for-all when it came to ecclesiastical teaching. There was a need to celebrate important festivals, like Jesus' passion and resurrection, but far fewer universally accepted guidelines of how to do so. One had to recognize certain authorities in formulating liturgy like Scripture and clerical tradition, but this still left much up to the local level. In most liturgical customs the clergy had

freedom to choose, and the multiplicity of worship on the ground demonstrates that they took advantage of this freedom. So depending on where one attended church, different prayers, music, and readings were heard. The diversity extended to the form of baptism, the frequency of reception of the Eucharist, and the periods dictated for fasting. No attempt was made to censure these divergent customs when they appeared in standard liturgical handbooks.

By this argument, I hope to demonstrate that one cannot when analyzing medieval religion speak about belief and practice as if they were always two sides of the same coin; the relationship between the two was complicated, and it cannot be said that belief always directly informed practice or vice versa. In addition, I wish to problematize the idea that Western Europe starting in the 12th century was a monolithic "persecuting society," especially when it came to religion. People were willing to tolerate more difference in religious practice than has normally been recognized.

JOHN F. ROMANO, BENEDICTINE COLLEGE

MODERN ITALIAN STUDIES

National Endowment for the Humanities/Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Post-Doctoral Rome Prize

Against Redemption: Literary Dissent during the Transition from Fascism to Democracy in Italy

As a Rome Prize Fellow at the American Academy in Rome, I was able to finalize my book manuscript, tentatively titled *Against Redemption: Literary Dissent during the Transition from Fascism to Democracy in Italy*. My book concentrates on the momentous years between the downfall of Mussolini in July 1943 and the postwar victory of the Christian Democrats in the 1948 elections. The aim of my study is to restore the intellectual complexity and debate that occurred during the transition to post-Fascism by reconsidering the fundamental cultural and intellectual challenges that Italy—in a pivotal moment for European history—confronted after dictatorship, war, and military defeat.

The post-Fascist transition is still today a controversial period in Italian culture and history, subject to increasing historical, political, and juridical research. Neorealist films and literature epitomized worldwide a country shattered by WWII and twenty years of Fascist rule. Most cultural representations of the time, however, portrayed Italy as experiencing a moral rebirth after the war. Recently, eminent scholars on both shores of the Atlantic challenged this consoling view from different angles. After Claudio Pavone's groundbreaking study *A Civil War: An Essay on the Morality of the Resistance* (1991), Ruth Ben Ghiat, Silvio Lanaro, John Foot, Robert Gordon, and Michele Battini have argued that Italy constituted an astounding instance of political and institutional continuity for the elites wielding power. Their multidisciplinary contributions shed new light on the role of cultural policies in institutionalizing collective memory or silencing dissenting views. In this broader debate, my work is the first to focus on the intellectual and cultural fluidity of the 1943–48 early postwar Italy, in which pre-war worldviews were not completely discredited and new ideological oppositions were not clearly defined. *Against Redemption* strives to restore the full picture of the post-Fascist transition, and its variegated intellectual and aesthetic scenario, in which the cultural and the literary were key battlefields for political hegemony.

The 1948 elections determined the partition of Italian culture in line with Christian Democrats and Italian Communists, the two political forces that would dominate the country in the postwar period following transnational Cold War divides. I argue that before that consequential watershed, leading Italian writers such as Alberto Moravia, Carlo Levi, Curzio Malaparte, and Antonio Brancati contested the narratives of national redemption promoted by both Communist and Christian Democrats by disputing the commonplace of Italy's moral rebirth after Mussolini's demise. Through fiction and journalistic reportages, memoirs, and political essays, they raised questions such as the memorialization of war violence and the persistence of anti-democratic practices despite Fascism's military defeat.

While at the AAR, I had the opportunity to conduct research in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale and work on a new chapter, titled "Ghosts of a Recent Past." The chapter addresses the unconventional works of Umberto Saba, Ennio Flaiano, and Elena Morante. Polemical publications such as Saba's volume of aphorisms *Shortcuts* (1946), Flaiano's novel *Time to Kill* (1947), and Morante's *House of Liars* (1948) underscores the persistence of Fascist mentality in the aftermath of the war. Their vivid depictions tackle harrowing questions that the new political forces left unaddressed, such as the return of traumatized soldiers from the front, with their unbearable load of unsayable memories; Italian women's only partial emancipation after Fascism's defeat; and, finally, Italian responsibility in WWII, which Mussolini and his cohorts unleashed for imperial pretenses and hurriedly justified on racial grounds.

The aim of my study is to restore the intellectual complexity and debate that occurred during the transition to post-Fascism in Italy by highlighting understudied archival materials and reappraising works that have been previously neglected. Thanks to the daily exchange with the AAR community I was able to hone my approach to literary and intellectual history through challenging new questions that are inherently multidisciplinary. In particular, I enlarged the scope of my research with issues such as the persistence of the ideological heritage of Fascism after WWII through its monuments and architecture, and the influence of Catholic imaginary in shaping postwar Italy.

FRANCO BALDASSO, BARD COLLEGE

Marian and Andrew Heiskell Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize

Communities of Labor: Adriano Olivetti and the Humanization of Industrial Society

I spent the year in Rome conducting research for my dissertation, titled "Communities of Labor: Adriano Olivetti and the Humanization of Industrial Society." This involved extensive archival work at the Fondazione Adriano Olivetti, the Archivio dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca and, south of the city, the Archivio di Stato di Napoli.

Adriano Olivetti (1901–1960) became General Director of the Olivetti typewriter company in 1933, and with his promotion to President in 1938 sat atop one of Italy's most economically and politically powerful industrial enterprises. He was also a journalist, a publisher, a politician, a social theorist, and an urban planner, penning more than 750 articles on subjects of interest to Italian modernity. In my dissertation, I look closely at these writings, and at the large secondary literature, in order to draw out from them a coherent philosophy of industrial society that advocated the reconciliation of mid-century capitalism with perennial human needs.

At the heart of Adriano Olivetti's philosophy is a key terminological couplet: 'community' and 'labor'. Community is the product of labor, and labor provides the building blocks of community. All of Adriano Olivetti's efforts were directed toward the conjugation of community and labor, an ideal that has a long (but often silent) development in European thought. In the hands of Adriano Olivetti, communities of labor received not only explicit intellectual attention; they also became the model for social development and experimentation in geographies like Ivrea (Piedmont), La Martella (Basilicata), and Pozzuoli (Campania). Adriano Olivetti intervened at these sites, building factories, schools, houses, cultural centers, and more, much of which is recounted in the dissertation.

My dissertation thus explores Adriano Olivetti's thought in relation to the changing material conditions of mid-century Italy, but it does so in ways that are not consonant with most of the Italian-language historiography. In Italy, the public memory of Adriano Olivetti is extremely positive: he was a visionary entrepreneur who opposed the Fascist regime, created tens of thousands of jobs, developed the South and nourished the arts. All of these things are true, but not without qualification. I take a more critical approach to Olivetti history, using archival documentation to show how the 'standard narrative' has actively written out complex relations to Christianity, Fascism, orientalism, and capitalism. My intent is not to unduly stain the memory of Adriano Olivetti; it is merely to avoid, in the moment of its translation to English (where no scholarly account has yet been published) some of the interpretive pitfalls into which an otherwise commercially flourishing Olivetti memory industry in Italy has stumbled.

JIM CARTER, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Post-Doctoral Rome Prize

Resonances of the Rural across the Mediterranean: Music, Sound, and Migrant Moroccan Men in Italy

In this project I explore *l-ʿarubiya*, the rural and its role in sound, as I have come to understand it through ethnography. For millions of Moroccans from the plains and plateaus who have crossed, are crossing, or imagine crossing the Mediterranean to Italy, *l-ʿarubiya* continues to be the most resonant notion with which they summarize their sense of self and frame their knowledge about the world. It is a site of aesthetic behaviors, performative acts, and signifying practices; a constellation of ideas, embodied dispositions, experiences, and meanings; a notion that is grounded in a cultural history of the Moroccan plains and plateaus, and entangled with an Arab identity associated with a Bedouin past.

In grappling with a notion of the rural that is both intensely local and part of a transnational network, this project aims to provide a different point of entry, through sound, to explore burning political questions in an emblematic geo-cultural zone where historically determined differences between North and South are increasingly acute: the Mediterranean. In reorienting readers to the layering of the sound of *l-ʿarubiya* into the Mediterranean, I argue that an ethnography centered on migrant Moroccan men in Italy provides a solid basis for reflection on a critical sonorous undercurrent reshaping the contemporary Mediterranean. By linking *l-ʿarubiya* to a postcolonial notion of this sea by way of contemporary Arab thought, this book posits that the sound of *l-ʿarubiya*

voices a conflict of transformation, challenging a hegemonic idea of modernity, late capitalism, European migration politics, ideas of citizenship and belonging in Europe and the contemporary Mediterranean. To place *l-ʿərubiya* at the center of an ethnomusicological analysis means to examine how a particular migration impacts the formation of the contemporary Mediterranean through a construct of the rural in sound, whose resonances continue to be meaningful in the everyday lives of migrant Moroccan men in Italy.

This notion of the rural is associated with a sound whose timbre is thought to be unaffected by urban influences and, as such, tied to a set of aesthetics that is said to reflect the roughness of rural life, the land, the environment, the hard work of the peasants, their verbal expressions, and the use of a vernacular Arabic characteristic of the region. A sound that, just as significantly, is entangled with a construction of masculinity defined in relation to the sense of duty a man shows toward his family and his community, the respect he has earned in both the private and the public sphere, his generosity, his physical but also moral strength, and, last but not least, his virility. Manhood, in fact, is critical to *l-ʿərubiya*.

This complex notion of *l-ʿərubiya* is entrenched in two related traditional musico-poetic genres, *ʿaiṭa* and *ʿabidat rma*, and in their contemporary renditions classified nowadays as *shʿabi*; a category at the juncture between the folk and the popular that questions Western ontological categories of tradition and modernity in music. In this project, the sound of *l-ʿərubiya* refers to the ways in which this complex notion is voiced, performed, listened, understood, and experienced in reference to these genres. Focusing on the multiple concepts intertwined in the Arab concept of *ṣawt,* my analysis engages with sound, music, song, poetry, language, voice, and its corporal connotation.

This project is concerned with a complex geography of space, with the dialectical relationship between the colonial and the postcolonial Mediterranean, tradition and modernity, the rural and the marine, the Moroccan countryside and the Mediterranean, and in the way in which this dialectic is played out through music and sound by different generations of migrant Moroccan men in Italy. Anchored at the intersection of ethnomusicology, history, memory, affect and poetics, the project aims to introduce the voices and the perspectives of these migrants in order to understand what it means to live in the contemporary Mediterranean. It argues that through the sound of the rural it is possible to examine the complex processes involved in redefining center-periphery relationships in the Mediterranean, in a crucial arena in which conflicting notions about Europe, citizenship, subjectivity and belonging, are being forged in the midst of the current political turmoil and anxiety over Muslim migration.

ALESSANDRA CIUCCI, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

RENAISSANCE AND EARLY MODERN STUDIES

Anthony M. Clark/Samuel H. Kress Foundation Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize

Christian Archaeology in Rome: The Early Church Reborn and New Empiricism of the Sacred, 1592–1644

My project examines a series of excavations of early Christian bodies, homes, and church spaces in Rome between 1590 and 1644. While Christian archaeology in the early modern period is usually

dismissed as a confessional reading of hagiography onto Rome's topography, my work seeks to take these excavations at face value. I emphasize how the Church reacted to and employed shifting criteria and methods used to establish "truth" in the post-Reformation period, thereby exploring the intersection of religion and science, invention and truth, and object and text. Bodies of early Christian martyrs excavated from underneath tombs in several of Rome's churches were deemed authentic, for example, not because of miracles or the reading of signs of sanctity onto their corpses. Rather, they were "positively" identified based on a haphazard reading of anatomical terminology onto their bodies. Archival records, manuscripts, and printed histories tell us how bones were carefully extracted under the eyes of witnesses, studied, sorted, and displayed. Moreover, detailed analyses of topography, and the discovery of objects and materials such as sepulchers, piping, ash, and mortar were used to show that subterranean spaces had been the homes of early Christians, which were later converted into churches.

I have found that the most pronounced excavations occurred under the Barberini in the 1620s and 1630s: bodies under the altars of the churches of Santa Bibiana, Santi Quattro Coronati, and Santa Martina; the uncovering of an oratory supposedly built by Pope Sylvester under San Martino in Monti; and the union of the supposed body of Pope Caius from the catacombs with ruins thought to have been his home on the Quirinal. In these cases, the early Christian history of Rome was not only substantiated, but in some cases rewritten according to the bodies, objects, and spaces that were dug up throughout Rome's center. Archaeology therefore allowed patrons to tell more triumphant versions of the histories of the martyrs, popes, and church building by making them more physically present in the city. Patronage of Christian antiquities was integral to the cultural and political patronage of the Barberini, yet has been an understudied aspect of Urban VIII's pontificate.

The time spent in Rome has allowed me to simultaneously expand and focus my project by granting me special access to sites and archives, and conversations with local experts. Visits to Rome's churches, catacombs, and ancient structures with other fellows have given me a wider understanding of the interaction between monuments, history, invention, and power that frames my project. Invaluable conversations and collaboration with fellows and residents at the Academy have prompted to me think about my project in new ways across time and discipline.

TALIA DI MANNO, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Phyllis W. G. Gordan National Endowment for the Humanities Post-Doctoral Rome Prize

Marsilio Ficino Editions Project

During my time at the American Academy in Rome I have been preparing critical editions of Greek to Latin translations of Iamblichus's *De secta Pythagorica* (ca. 245–325 C.E.) and Theon of Smyrna's *Mathematica* (fl. first century C.E.) by the 15th-century humanist and philosopher, Marsilio Ficino for the *Ficinus Novus* series of Nino Aragno Editore (Turin). My editions will include a book-length study of Greek to Latin translations of philosophy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, paying close attention to Ficino's own development as translator and philosopher. I will also explain the importance of Ficino's reintroduction of late ancient philosophy in the 15th century for the history of philosophy, science, and religion, as well as for the classical tradition. Ficino is most famous for being the first to translate and print all of Plato into Latin (which I

studied in my first book), but his translations of Iamblichus's (a Syrian who lived ca. 245–325 C.E.) *De secta Pythagorica* and Theon of Smyrna's (fl. first century C.E.) *Mathematica* remain unprinted. They were thought lost before Paul O. Kristeller identified their manuscripts (some of which were later thought to have been destroyed during WWII). Yet, they have still not been studied extensively, and recent editions of Iamblichus and Theon ignore their existence.

Theon, the mathematician from Smyrna (in modern-day Turkey), and Iamblichus, a Syrian philosopher who studied in Rome before establishing his own important school in Apamea, share certain similarities despite being separated by a few generations. They come from a period when philosophy was a shared tradition across the Mediterranean world and was increasingly devoted to exegetical commentaries on a corpus of authoritative texts from a school's founder. They are among the earliest authors to organize their writings according to the four branches of Platonic mathematics, namely arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy (which would later become known in the Middle Ages as the *quadrivium*). Their books comprise Pythagorean arguments on mathematical theorems, the immortality of the soul, heliocentric theories, and the doctrine that astronomy and music were "sister sciences." These texts further argue for geometry's relationship to the mind, imagination, and reason, for the relationship of mathematics to theology and ethics, and for a complete ordering of mathematics and knowledge according to universal principles (a *mathesis universalis*). They also contain a large number of pseudepigraphic texts in an artificially archaic Doric Greek that were attributed to Pythagoreans before Plato, which in fact date to the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.. By translating these texts, Ficino, therefore, introduced the largest single corpus of Pythagoreanism to the Renaissance.

Theon is part of the tail end of the period that most modern scholars call Middle Platonism. His *Mathematica* is less a full commentary on Plato than an explanation of mathematical theories useful for interpreting Plato and proposes a systematic order to knowledge and mathematical sciences. Iamblichus was one of the most influential philosophers in the later movement commonly called Neoplatonism. He wrote about philosophy, religion, mathematics, and organized a philosophical curriculum to study Plato and Aristotle that was adopted in schools throughout the Mediterranean. His *De secta Pythagorica* once contained ten volumes. Of these only the first four, which Ficino translates, are extant. Volumes five, six, and seven were known and quoted by the Byzantine writer Michael Psellus (ca. 1017–1078) but have not survived.

Despite the fact that Ficino's translations were never printed, I can document that they were known by a number of his contemporaries and that they circulated in scholarly, philosophical, and ecclesiastical communities across Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. The AAR has permitted me to work on site with manuscripts at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vatticana, and elsewhere in Rome, Italy, and Europe. I have discovered an unknown copy of Ficino's work and identified a number of texts for future studies. During my time in Rome, in addition to presenting my work at the AAR and at the annual conference of the Renaissance Society of America, I have also been invited to present my research at the Istituto Ellenico, the Università of Ca' Foscari, and the Scuola Grande di San Marco, all in Venice, as well as the Foro di Studi Avanzati Gaetano Massa in Rome. My fellowship has also afforded me the time to complete a number of articles the richness of conversation with and inspiration from the scholars and artists who pass through the Academy's doors.

DENIS J.-J. ROBICHAUD, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

ITALIAN FELLOWS

Italian Fellow in Medieval Studies

Byzantine Imagery and the Modern Beholder: The Exposition Internationale d'art byzantin, Paris 1931

During my fellowship at the American Academy, I have been working on a project on the reception of Byzantine imagery in the late 19th and early 20th century. I am specifically interested in the means that Byzantium has achieved outside its borders, both in space and time: in this case, France during the Third Republic (1870–1940).

The nineteenth century brought a new appreciation of Byzantine culture and imagery. In particular, 1870 marked a pivotal shift in Byzantine historiography: for at that time, Alfred Rambaud published *Constantin Porphyrogénète*. Its introduction is an unapologetic manifesto praising Byzantium. "*L'Empire byzantine a été chez nous séverement jugé,*" wrote Rambaud, who asked, "*d'ou vient cet oubli ou cette ingratitude de l'Europe?*" Gustave Schlumberger, later commenting on *Constantin Porphyrogénète*, described it as an epiphany for the scholars of his generation—and they proceeded with serious study of Byzantium. Soon, scholarly interest spread to larger audiences: in 1874 Augustin Marrast wrote the *Esquisses byzantines*, a collection of *tableau vivants* set in the glory days of Constantinople. His book quickly became a bestseller and he was praised by the critics. That same year, Paul Abadie won the design competition for the Basilica of the Sacré-Cœur on Montmartre hill of Montmartre, a bold and iconic Neo-Byzantine design. *Byzantinomania* reached a fevered pitch a decade later, with the debut of Victorien Sardou's *Theodora* at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin on December 26, 1884. With Sarah Bernhardt in the role of the empress, and the jewels specifically designed in the Byzantine style by Alphonse Mucha, the pièce had an astounding success: 257 encore performances and tours in the United States and Great Britain. Thus, Rambaud's "*renaissance des études byzantine*s" acted as the catalyst for the spread of *Byzantinomania* outside academia.

My time at the American Academy in Rome was spent writing the manuscript for a book about the *Exposition internationale d'art byzantin*, held at the *Musée des arts decoratifs* in 1931. By any standard, the *Exposition* was the first exhibition of Byzantine art, far beyond the dimension and aspiration of the Italo-oriented *Esposizione d'arte italo-bizantina* held at the abbey of Grottaferrata in 1905. The book aims to explore the importance of the exhibition, which marked a pivotal turning point in the history of Byzantine studies for multiple reasons. First, practically every moment of the cultural history of Byzantium had its artistic representative (e.g., Late Antique ivory diptychs, coptic tapestries, post-Byzantine icons, illuminated manuscripts) in order to enhance the *varietas* of Byzantine art against its numerous detractors and against the stereotyped representation of Byzantium evoked by Victorien Sardou's *Theodora* and the so-called *Romans byzantins*. Second, it gathered together the whole world of connoisseurs: scholars, museum curators, collectors, and art dealers. Third, it outdid any geographical boundary, typical of interwar exhibition—for example the *Ausstellung Gotik in Österreich* (1926) or *English Medieval Art* (1930), not to mention the monumental *Größe Deutsche* (1940–1942)—in order to present an international production. It was "*l'art régulateur de l'Europe medieval*," as Charles Diehl wrote in the catalogue.

FRANCESCO LOVINO, MASARYK UNIVERSITY, BRNO

Italian Fellow in Modern Italian Studies

Between Censorship and Preservation: The Afterlife of Fascist-Era Monumental Art in Italy

The project I developed during the semester I spent at the American Academy in Rome as an Italian Fellow focuses on the afterlife of Fascist-era monumental art in Italy. My main case study was the mural painting representing Italy between Arts and Sciences by Mario Sironi, located at the Aula Magna of the University of La Sapienza in Rome. By exploring the 'biography' of this work, the interventions of censorship and its restorations, it was possible to analyze diachronically the complex dynamics of postwar censorship and the attendant obliteration of Fascist propaganda, as well as the subsequent commitment of art historians (starting from the 1980s) instead to study, restore, and preserve neglected monuments and works of art from the *Ventennio*. The evolving history of their reception and preservation since the fall of the regime casted a new light both on the peculiarities of the Italian history and management of Fascist-era cultural heritage.

As part of this research, I also examined the potential role of contemporary art in deconstructing and reinterpreting the original ideological meaning of artifacts commissioned by the Regime. In particular, I analyzed the 2017 installation by Arnold Holzknecht and Michele Bernardi superimposed on Hans Piffrader monumental bas-relief representing the Triumph of Fascism at the ex Casa del Fascio in Bolzano. The installation consists in a multilingual quotation in German, Italian, and Ladin, from Hannah Arendt "Nobody has the right to obey" that challenges the fascist motto "believe, obey, fight" carved on the relief. In this dialogue, the monument is reactivated and critically reinterpreted. During my months at the AAR, I had the possibility to visit several Fascist sites in Rome closed to the public, such as the Casa Madre dei Mutilati e Invalidi di Guerra, the institutional spaces and Mussolini's bunker at Palazzo degli Uffici at the EUR, and Palazzo H at the Foro Italico.

I organized an international conference on the topic of "A Difficult Heritage: The Afterlife of Fascist-era Architecture, Monuments, and Works of Art in Italy," which took place at the Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte and at the AAR on March 11–12, 2019. Both institutions sustained the project, which was made possible in part by the Fellows' Project Fund of the AAR.

The conference focused on the material history of Fascist-era works of art, monuments and architecture in Italy, and examined their afterlife and reception in the *longue durée*. In order to frame the contemporary debate, a transdisciplinary approach and a historical perspective took as its starting point the iconoclasm following the Fall of the Regime (July 25, 1943). Papers explored artistic historiography, together with the main narratives of the history of Italian art, aiming to underline elements of continuity throughout the twentieth century. Probing the theoretical concept of "difficult heritage" in relation to the peculiarities of the Italian case, and in a comparative perspective with other nations, the conference addressed issues of restoration, display, and critical preservation of Fascist-era artifacts located in public and institutional spaces. The event fostered a discussion open to different disciplines (History, History of Architecture, Heritage Studies, Literature, Philosophy, and Anthropology) and examined the potential contribution of Art History to the topic. Strategies of memorialization and the role of contemporary art interventions were discussed in an open dialogue with artists focusing on political monuments and multilayered memories in public space.

CARMEN BELMONTE, BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA,
MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME