

# A

Aisu International  
Associazione Italiana  
di Storia Urbana

# SU

# CITTÀ CHE SI ADATTANO?

# ADAPTIVE CITIES?

**4** TOMI  
BOOKS | **1**

INSIGHTS

4

# CITTÀ CHE SI ADATTANO? ADAPTIVE CITIES?

a cura di  
edited by

Rosa Tamborrino

1

Adattabilità o incapacità adattiva di fronte al cambiamento  
*Adaptability or Adaptive Inability in the Face of Change*

a cura di / edited by Cristina Cuneo

2

Adattabilità in circostanze ordinarie  
*Ordinary Conditions Adaptability*

a cura di / edited by Chiara Devoti, Pelin Bolca

3

Processi urbani di adattamento e resilienza tra permanenza e precarietà  
*Urban Processes of Adaptation and Resilience Between Permanence and Precariousness*

a cura di / edited by Andrea Longhi

4

Strategie di adattamento e patrimonio critico  
*Adaptive Strategies and Critical Heritage*

a cura di / edited by Rosa Tamborrino

# **CITTÀ CHE SI ADATTANO? ADAPTIVE CITIES?**

TOMO  
BOOK

1

**ADATTABILITÀ O INCAPACITÀ ADATTIVA  
DI FRONTE AL CAMBIAMENTO**

**ADAPTABILITY OR ADAPTIVE INABILITY  
IN THE FACE OF CHANGE**

a cura di  
edited by

**Cristina Cuneo**

---

## INDICE GENERALE / OVERALL TABLE OF CONTENTS

**TOMO / BOOK 1**

a cura di / edited by CRISTINA CUNEO

### **ADATTABILITÀ O INCAPACITÀ ADATTIVA DI FRONTE AL CAMBIAMENTO**

#### **ADAPTABILITY OR ADAPTIVE INABILITY IN THE FACE OF CHANGE**

##### **1.01**

Urbs e/o civitas. Città e cittadinanza alla prova dei cambiamenti traumatici  
*Urbs and/or Civitas. Cities and Citizenships Under the Threat of Traumatic Changes*

##### **1.02**

Difficult Heritage e trasformazioni urbane  
*Difficult Heritage and Urban Trasformations*

##### **1.03**

Le città-porto nella nuova geografia adriatica post Grande guerra (1919-1939)  
*Port-Cities in the New Adriatic Geography post World War I (1919-1939)*

##### **1.04**

Commercio, architettura e città tra continuità, adattabilità e cambiamento  
*Commerce, Architecture and Cities Between Continuity, Adptability, and Change*

##### **1.05**

Frammenti per ricostruire la memoria. Sopravvivenza, riuso e oblio del patrimonio dopo la catastrofe (XV-XVIII sec.)  
*Fragments to Rebuild the Memory. Heritage Survival, Reuse and Oblivion After the Catastrophe (XV-XVIII Centuries)*

##### **1.06**

Ri-costruzioni. L'Italia sismica da Messina 1908 a oggi  
*Re-constructions. Seismic Italy from Messina 1908 Until Today*

##### **1.07**

Tabula rasa: le reazioni ai traumi della ricostruzione tra Occidente e Oriente  
*Tabula Rasa: Reactions to the Traumas of the Reconstruction Between West and East*

**1.08**

L'architettura di regime in Italia e nelle sue terre d'oltremare durante il ventennio fascista: passato, presente, futuro

*Regime's Architecture in Italy and its Overseas Territories During the Fascist Period: Past, Present, Future*

**1.09**

Spazio pubblico ed estetica urbana nelle città del secondo dopoguerra: ricostruzione, trasformazione e innovazione

*Public Space and Urban Design of the Cities Post-World War II: Reconstruction, Transformation and Innovation*

**1.10**

Ripensando alle strategie urbane dopo la crisi petrolifera degli anni settanta. Nuove sfide, nuovi tipi di mobilità alla luce della svolta ecologica

*Reconceiving Urban Planning Strategies and Cities After the Big Oil Crisis of the 1970s. New Challenges and the New Mobility and Ecology Turn*

**1.11**

Strutture di accoglienza e cura, strutture di confinamento. Storia e attualità

*Shelter and Cure Structures, Confinement Structures. History and Current Situation*

**1.12**

Spazi di un altrove. Il ruolo delle architetture eterotopiche nella città contemporanea

*Spaces of an 'Elsewhere'. The Role of Heterotopic Architecture in the Contemporary City*

**1.13**

Gli ex Ospedali Psichiatrici. Luoghi in bilico tra memoria e oblio. Una rilettura operativa e strategica per la città contemporanea

*The Former Psychiatric Hospitals. Places Poised Between Memory and Oblivion. An Operational and Strategic Reinterpretation for the Contemporary City*

**TOMO / BOOK 2**

a cura di / edited by CHIARA DEVOTI, PELIN BOLCA

**ADATTABILITÀ IN CIRCOSTANZE ORDINARIE**  
**ORDINARY CONDITIONS ADAPTABILITY**

**2.01**

Norme e regole, tra adattamento e resistenza, nella città e negli insediamenti: la documentazione d'archivio e la costruzione reale

*Norms and Rules, Between Adaptiveness and Resistance, in Towns and Settlements: Archival Documents and True Realisations*

## 2.02

La regola, l'adattamento, la resilienza: trasformazioni di spazi e funzioni dei complessi per la vita religiosa

*Rule, Adaptation and Resilience: Transformations of Spaces and Functions of Complexes for Religious Life*

## 2.03

Uno "Stato nello Stato": città e Ordine di Malta tra persistenza e nuove adattabilità

*A "State in a State": the City and the Order of Malta Between Continuities and Adaptability*

## 2.04

Autorità centrale e potere locale: dialoghi per l'adattabilità delle città

*Central Authority and Local Power: Dialogues on the Adaptability of Cities*

## 2.05

Forme di controllo e resistenza nella città tra Ottocento e Novecento. Casi di studio attraverso l'analisi delle fonti espresse dal territorio urbano

*Forms of Control and Resistance in the City Between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Case Studies Through the Analysis of Sources Expressed by the Urban Area*

## 2.06

La città mediterranea e i suoi margini nella *longue durée*

*The Mediterranean City and its Edge on the Longue Durée*

## 2.07

La ricerca della giusta dimensione. Progettare la città e il territorio per unità spaziali 'adeguate'

*The Research for the Right Dimension. Designing the City and the Territory*

## 2.08

Fabbriche e città in rapporto di reciproca adattabilità

*Relationship of Mutual Adaptiveness Between Factories and Cities*

## 2.09

L'industria e il territorio: politiche industriali e trasformazioni urbane nell'Europa del secondo Novecento

*Industry and Territory: Industrial Policies and Urban Transformations in Europe in the Second Half of the 20th Century*

## 2.10

Abitare il cambiamento. Studiare le trasformazioni ordinarie del patrimonio residenziale urbano

*Inhabiting Change. Studying Ordinary Transformations of the Urban Residential Stock*

**2.11**

“Megastrutture”, fra Welfare e nuove forme dell’abitare. Enclave o spazi di resilienza sociale e insediativa?

*“Megastructures”, Between Welfare and New Forms of Living. Enclaves or Spaces of Social and Settlement Resilience?*

**2.12**

Paesaggi funebri urbani. Restauro e riconfigurazione tra memoria e contemporaneità  
*Urban Funeral Landscapes. Restoration and Reconfiguration Between Memory and Contemporaneity*

**2.13**

Spazi collettivi “introversi”: trasformazioni, mutazioni, evoluzioni del palazzo città  
*“Introverted” Collective Spaces: Transformations, Mutations, Evolutions of the City-Palace*

**2.14**

L’azione della “creatività urbana” nella città contemporanea: gli effetti sui contesti  
*The Action of “Urban Creativity” in the Contemporary Cities: the Effects on the Contexts*

**2.15**

Città e architetture per l’infanzia  
*City and Architecture for Children*

**2.16**

Cambio di passo. La fruizione del patrimonio architettonico dopo la pandemia  
*Step Change. The Use of the Architectural Heritage After the Pandemic*

**TOMO / BOOK 3**a cura di / edited by **ANDREA LONGHI****PROCESSI URBANI DI ADATTAMENTO E RESILIENZA  
TRA PERMANENZA E PRECARIETÀ****URBAN PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION AND RESILIENCE  
BETWEEN PERMANENCE AND PRECARIOUSNESS****3.01**

Anfiteatri romani e antichi edifici per lo spettacolo: sopravvivenza e adattamento  
*Survival and Adaptation of Roman Amphitheaters and Ancient Buildings for Public Spectacles*

**3.02**

Spazio urbano e architettura in Italia meridionale nel Medioevo: fenomeni di adattamento e resilienza al mutare degli scenari politici  
*City Planning and Architecture in Southern Italy in the Middle Ages: Phenomena of Adaptation and Resilience to Changing Political Scenarios*

**3.03**

L'architettura civica come specchio e strumento dell'adattabilità urbana, secoli XII-XX  
*Civic Architecture as a Mirror and Tool of Urban Adaptability, 12th-20th Centuries*

**3.04**

Venezia in una prospettiva storica: paradigma di resilienza  
*Venice from a Historical Perspective: a Paradigm of Resilience*

**3.05**

La città e le opere di canalizzazione idraulica. Reazioni, trasformazioni, adattamenti  
*Cities and Hydraulic Canalization Networks: Reactions, Transformations, Adaptations*

**3.06**

La città e le leggi. Topografie della resilienza nell'Italia del Novecento  
*The City and the Laws. Topographies of Resilience in Twentieth Century Italy*

**3.07**

'Città nelle città'. I grandi innesti urbani del fascismo nella città contemporanea  
*'Cities in Cities'. The Great Urban Additions of Fascism in the Contemporary City*

**3.08**

Patrimonio religioso e catastrofi: strategie di adattamento e pretesti di resilienza  
*Religious Heritage and Catastrophes: Adaptation Strategies and Resilience Pretexts*

**3.09**

Le trasformazioni dello spazio del sacro  
*Sacred Space Transformations*

**3.10**

Resilienza e patrimonio  
*Resilience and Cultural Heritage*

**3.11**

Paesaggio e biodiversità per la resilienza del territorio  
*Landscape and Biodiversity for Territorial Resilience*

**3.12**

Spazio pubblico adattivo  
*Adaptive Public Space*

**3.13**

Complesso, Complessità e Spazio Costruito  
*Complex, Complexity and Built Space*

**3.14**

Centri storici, approvvigionamento dei materiali e storia della costruzione  
*Historic Centers, Procurement of Materials and Construction History*

**3.15**

Muovere dalle città verso i piccoli centri. Dinamiche storiche e prospettive attuali  
*Moving from Cities to Small Towns. Historical Dynamics and Current Prospects*

**3.16**

Ri-Abitare/Dis-Abitare. Strategie e progetti per luoghi e spazi in attesa  
*Re-Inhabiting / Un-Inhabiting. Strategies and Designs for Suspended Places and Spaces*

**TOMO / BOOK 4**

a cura di / edited by ROSA TAMBORRINO

**STRATEGIE DI ADATTAMENTO E PATRIMONIO CRITICO**  
**ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES AND CRITICAL HERITAGE****4.01**

Eredità di chi? Siti espositivi, monumenti, festival e musei nello spazio urbano  
*Whose Heritage? Exhibition Sites, Monuments, Festivals and Museums in Urban Space*

**4.02**

Dopo il piano: eredità del moderno e pratiche di decolonizzazione nel Global South  
*Cities After Planning. Modern Legacy and Decolonization Practices in the Global South*

**4.03**

Verso una interpretazione patrimoniale delle transizioni energetiche nella storia industriale e postindustriale  
*Towards a Patrimonial Interpretation of Energy Transitions Throughout Industrial and Post-Industrial History*

**4.04**

“Tra donne sole”. L’incedere paziente delle donne nelle storie di cose, di case e di città  
*“Tra Donne Sole”. The Patient Progression of Women in the Stories of Things, Houses and Cities*

**4.05**

Smantellare il canone attraverso incontri multidisciplinari: il caso delle delegazioni diplomatiche in città  
*Dismantling the Canon Through Multidisciplinary Encounters: the Case of Diplomatic Legations in the City*

**4.06**

Ambientare l'architettura: il disegno come strumento della memoria  
*Architecture in Its Setting: Drawings as Tools of Supporting Memory*

**4.07**

Città, musei e storie. Metodiche inclusive e approcci interpretativi  
*Cities, Museums and Histories. Inclusive Methods and Interpretative Approaches*

**4.08**

Domande aperte sui processi collaborativi di costruzione dell'heritage  
*Open Questions About Collaborative Processes of Heritigisation*

**4.09**

Narrative sullo scenario urbano del post-crisi  
*Narratives on the Post-Crisis Urban Scenario*

**4.10**

La fotografia del trauma  
*The Photography of Trauma*

**4.11**

In guerra e in pace. Minacce belliche e mutazioni della città europea in epoca contemporanea  
*In War and in Peace. War Threats and Mutations of the European City in the Contemporary Era*

**4.12**

La città storica come modello di sviluppo urbano innovativo  
*The Historical City as a Role Model for Innovative Urban Development*

**4.13**

Città di antica fondazione in Europa. Genesi della forma urbis e dell'immagine storica del paesaggio urbano  
*Cities of Ancient Foundation in Europe. Genesis of the Forma Urbis and the Historical Image of the Urban Landscape*

**4.14**

Archeologia, architettura e restauro della città storica  
*Archeology, Architecture, and Preservation of the Historic City*

**4.15**

Verde, orti e giardini per una "città rigenerativa"  
*Green Areas, Vegetable Gardens and Gardens for a "Regenerative City"*

**4.16**

Il paesaggio montano tra cambiamento climatico e degrado antropico

*The Mountain Landscape Between Climate Change and Anthropic Degradation*

**4.17**

Patrimonio, paesaggio e comunità: ricerche ed esperienze tra conoscenza, valorizzazione e sviluppo

*Heritage, Landscape and Community: Research and Experiences Between Knowledge, Enhancement and Development*

**4.18**

L'espressione de "la longue durée", il tempo nella modellazione 3D

*Expressing the "Longue Durée", 3D Modeling Change over Time*

**4.19**

Digital Humanities per la storia urbana: analisi di reti, basi di dati e GIS

*Digital Humanities for Urban History: Network, Database and GIS Analysis*

**4.20**

e-Culture: formati pandemici e oltre. Digitale e patrimonio culturale in questione

*e-Culture: Pandemic Formats and Beyond. Digital and Cultural Heritage in Question*

# DIFFICULT HERITAGE E TRASFORMAZIONI URBANE

## DIFFICULT HERITAGE AND URBAN TRASFORMATIONS

ANNUNZIATA MARIA OTERI, NINO SULFARO

Cancel Culture, as is well known, is a controversial phenomenon linked to woke ideology and the Black Lives Matter movement, which has recently inundated cultural, social, and political debates. Initially, it has brought issues associated with particular historical events to the centre of the debate, especially slavery, gender, and colonization; progressively, it ended up accusing *ex-post* books, movies, and fairy tales of the not exactly irreprehensible conduct of their authors.

Despite the potential wide range of targets, the most frequent objects of cancellation are the signs that occupy public spaces: the *déboullonage* of statues of politicians and historical figures, to name the most spectacular manifestations, reveals a generalized malaise, originating often from a strong economic and cultural crisis, but above all from unresolved issues, from a lack of historical and social pacification to increasingly profound discrimination (at an economic, social, and educational level): active intervention by the State in the dual role of memorial agent and educator has been notably lacking. Furthermore, the ambiguity surrounding Cancel Culture, together with the controversial debates that have rounded to this notion in recent years, have the ‘merit’ of having shown the impossibility of reconciling once and for all the traumatic events and the controversial practices of the past with the ever-changing social, cultural, and political demands of the present. The debate which arose after the article by Ruth Ben Ghat published in 2017 in *The New Yorker* “Why Are So Many Fascist Monuments Still Standing in Italy?” is enlightening. The historian wondered how much the symbols that surround us affect our life, and, above all, if the fascist symbols remaining in Italy represent today a warning or a memory to dust off. Most of the reactions from Italian academics and intellectuals concerned the impossibility of canceling history, especially in light of the fact that most of the monuments erected during the Fascist period present indisputable values in terms of history of architecture [IRACE 2017]. Both positions seem to be supportable considering that the need to maintain the memory of trauma or a controversial period or a person, and, at the same time, the legitimate desire for the removal of its traces in the present, have always been a conflictual process within a community. In 2008, Sharon Macdonald called it ‘difficult heritage’: «a past that is recognized as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity. “Difficult heritage” may also be

troublesome because it threatens to break through into the present in disruptive ways, opening up social divisions, perhaps by playing into imagined, even nightmarish, futures» [MACDONALD 2009, p. 1].

The essays that follow are linked by a common reflection on the fate of “difficult heritage” in its urban and architectural dimension after the fall of totalitarian regimes, particularly after the collapse of the Iron Curtain, with well-known consequences in Eastern Europe. As rightly noted by Mariacristina Giambruno and Sonia Pistidda in the essay on the problematic legacy of post-socialist regimes in Albania and Armenia, the negative perception of an unwanted past primarily affects commemorative monuments, not only because they are easier to remove but also because they often physically represent the oppressor or the ideology that guided it. In these cases, therefore, material removal coincides with the psychological erasure of the trauma or pain it caused. What happened in 1945 to the “young man of virile, harmonious forms, in full development, firmly planted on feet and legs resembling columns” (the so-called Bigio) positioned in the centre of Piazza Vittoria in Brescia (one of the most representative squares of the fascist regime) is emblematic in this sense, as narrated by Carlotta Coccoli and Maria Paola Pasini. The toppling of statues was also one of the most powerful tools of “decommunization” in post-communist Poland, as recounted by Blazey Ciarkowski, but also in Tirana in the aftermath of the fall of Enver Hoxha (Giambruno, Pistidda) and many other places not explicitly mentioned in this volume. It is worth noting, moreover, that initially, the target of communities is very specific: for example, returning to the case of Piazza Vittoria, the removal process concerns the Bigio, but, on the other hand, it does not involve the nearby podium or the Piazza in itself, which stem from the same culture and political ideology. Processes of complete demolition of architectures and urban contexts are slower, sometimes even unthinkable, not only for practical reasons but also because they often become subject to renegotiation for reasons of utility or economic convenience or simply because over time – after overcoming the initial trauma and anger – they become associated with other meanings. Overwriting, renegotiation, normalization, reinterpretation, decommunization, are some of the terms that recur in the following essays, indicating the different modes of intervention but also the other impulses towards the transformation of these “difficult architectures” that ultimately have the same outcome: a reconfiguration not only physical but also of the meanings assigned to this heritage, sometimes in a shared way (with community participation or at the community’s request), other times with political or ideological impositions that paradoxically recall ways and habits of seasons that one wants to forget. To cite the cases recounted below, this happens to the symbol buildings of Nazifascism in Munich, described by Raffaele Amore and Chiara De Vuono, which undergo very different fates even though they are located within a few meters of each other. Some were demolished (such as the *Ehrentempel*, with characteristics that made reconfiguration difficult), posing the thorny issue of managing the resulting void. In contrast, others, such as the *Füherebau* – a product of the same ideologies – were reused (or “normalized,” to use an effective expression of the authors), sometimes without even initiating a debate on whether or not to preserve them. In this regard, the influence of public opinion is

undoubtedly significant, as sometimes inexplicably it focuses on certain symbols and ignores others that may be equally “controversial”; or it mobilizes to save architectures that are closely linked to a period that one wants to forget. In this perspective, the grassroots battle for the preservation of Katowice station in Poland, which was eventually demolished, as recounted by Blazey Ciarkowski, is particularly interesting. Renegotiation of the “difficult heritage” label assigned to architectures and contexts with the fall of regimes can have various reasons. Firstly, ideological, if not political, often leads to reflections on the ethics of these operations that ultimately perpetuate the imperative, sometimes propagandistic, ways of the regimes one wants to forget. Usually, in fact, under the pretext of eliminating symbols of painful memories, political transformation operations (overwriting) are carried out, which end up being just as oriented and manipulative as those they intend to erase: the case of the Budapest Castle and the Castle District in general, as narrated both in Paolo Cornaglia’s and Franz Bittenbinder and Rachel Györfy’s essays, clearly describe this aspect. A similar example regards the post-socialist reinterpretation of Romanian history through a “historical reinterpretation” of medieval walls and the historic centre, as narrated by Oana-Cristina Tiganea and Diana Minhea. Also, the long and still current debate on the preservation or demolition of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, with all its controversies and ambiguities, invites reflection in this regard, as noted by Magdalena Staniszkis cited by Ciarkowski, according to whom the preservation of the palace, still demanded by many today, represented a symbolic gesture of the nonviolent revolution of the Poles and the victory of rationalism over emotions. Another theme emerges from the essays presented here. It is worth noting, if only because it implies new paths that sometimes have little to do with the difficult management of the memory of painful events. Over time, other issues have arisen, sometimes to reinforce the symbolic aspects and denial of a difficult past, but often only for reasons of utility: economic issues related to the problematic management of these sometimes monumental heritages that post-regime administrations struggle to manage and maintain (see the essays by Giambruno, Pistidda, and Bittenbinder); but also the idea, sometimes, that these architectures are a more or less faithful mirror of a *décalage* not only in design quality (an exaggerated monumentality and sometimes in poor taste) but also in the use of materials, autarchic, standardized, and far from Western quality standards in the same years. These aspects seem to recall the voluntary isolation in which regimes confined communities persistently. The anti-communism iconoclasm in the Polish case, but not only, is an example of this, as are many of the more or less recent battles for the demolition of socialist modernist architectures. It is primarily a desire for cultural redemption that almost always mixes with or is even instrumentalized in favour of other pressing reasons. On the one hand, ideological reasons, rejecting late modernism aesthetics in favour of revivals of eclecticism much loved by the nationalist governments of this newest season; on the other hand, economic reasons and related, for example, to the attractiveness of these areas, almost always located in the heart of cities, to capitalist investors, to the increasingly tempting push of tourism (including dark tourism, or in any case the growing interest in these controversial places) – the Albanian and Armenian cases, for example, are pretty emblematic – which often also drags along

certain unsettling revisionism. In any case, as many of the collected essays document, and whatever the impulse for transformation, there remains a question mark about the fate of these spaces and objects, sometimes cumbersome, in rapidly transforming cities and also about the sense of these operations, however, they are defined, of rewriting the difficult memories they represent.

## References

- IRACE, F. (2017). *Il populismo giornalistico che ignora i capolavori dell'architettura fascista*, in «Il Sole 20 ORE» October 9, 2017.
- MCDONALD, S. (2009). *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*, Routledge, New York.

## Website

<https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/why-are-so-many-fascist-monuments-still-standing-in-italy/> [February 2024].