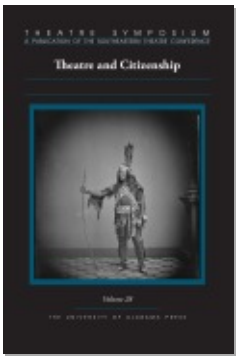
Mussolini and Marinetti: Performing Citizenship in Fascist Italy



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Theatre Symposium, Volume 28, 2020, pp. 42-55 (Article)

Published by The University of Alabama Press
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.1353/tsy.2020.0003*

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Close YOUR EYES AND imagine, if you will, Benito Mussolini, the infamous "first dictator." Picture him emphatically placed above an audience, speaking from a pedestal, striking an iconic pose—his arm struck forcefully out, his hand closed in a fist or perhaps thrusting a fascist salute, his barrel chest reverberating the echoes of his impassioned speech, his strong jaw lifted toweringly above all onlookers. This, Mussolini's public persona, was the "new Italian" citizen incarnate. Now, figuratively open your eyes, step back, and realize that you are not staring at Mussolini the orator himself, but rather at one of millions of postcards of his likeness—postcards purposefully hung around the homes of countless Italians. This act was one of many layers of Italy's communal performance of "new Italian" citizenship during the Fascist regime. However, Italy's final act of performed citizenship before the onset of its Republican era—the public display and mutilation of Mussolini's corpse—was its most iconic and, perhaps, its most definitive. Comparing the iconography of these two actions, specifically the positioning of Mussolini's body in each (strong and tall in postcards and photographs versus dangling from a service station in the end), serves to demonstrate the complete reversal of Italy's performed citizenship from the beginning to the end of Mussolini's Fascist regime.

The fledgling authoritarian government of Italy embraced Futurism because the artistic form meticulously defined, policed, and performed citizenship in both an artistic and sociopolitical sense—and Futurism's leader, Filippo Marinetti, did so according to a strict hierarchy. In defining and exploring the etymology of the term "avant-garde," Hans Magnus Enzensberger explains, "Every guard is a collective. . . . First

the group, and only then the individual, whose decisions are of no consequence in the undertakings of the guard, unless he be its leader. For every guard is most rigorously divided into the one who issues the commands and passwords of the day and the many who receive them, pass them on, and obey them."[1]

As Enzensberger clarifies, the forms of the historical avant-garde mimic the structure of authoritarian forms of government—membership is strictly curated and guided by an individual with power. Benito Mussolini in particular harnessed the potency of the avant-garde by aligning himself with Filippo Marinetti and the Futurists, and he embraced the Futurist ideology, rhetoric, and definitions of citizenship accordingly. Mussolini carefully crafted his image through specific iconographic management—much in the way Marinetti curated the public perception of Futurism through membership control and advertising—and the Italian populace embraced that image during the first half of his reign, as evidenced by contemporaneous postcard collections. I'm particularly fascinated by the revelations these postcards offer regarding Italy's performance of citizenship during Mussolini's Fascist regime. In this essay, I explore the iconographic evolution of Italy's communal performance of citizenship. After explaining Futurism's foundations in themes of citizenship, I detail the iconography of Mussolini's performed citizenship, the "new Italian," replete with Marinetti's apparent influence. With this guide, I chronicle the iconographic evolution of Italy's performance of citizenship, defined by the populace's approbation or disapprobation of Mussolini's model, drawing from the aforementioned postcards and the public desecration of Mussolini's corpse as case studies.

As Mussolini's performed iconography as leader and paragon of "the New Italian" was directly inspired by the forms of Futurism and the art of Marinetti, it's crucial that we detail the relationship between the two and define the importance of citizenship to the forms of the historical avant-garde, especially Futurism. The earliest political usage of the term "avant-garde" is accredited to Henri de Saint-Simon, a French political theorist and early Socialist thinker, writing at the cusp of the nineteenth century. In his essay *On Social Organization*, Saint-Simon presents a utopia in which humanity "marches" toward "the well-being and happiness of all mankind"; he writes that "in this great undertaking the artists, the men of imagination will open the march: they will take the Golden Age from the past and offer it as a gift to future generations; they will make society pursue passionately the rise of its well-being, and they will do this by presenting the picture of new prosperity."[2]

Saint-Simon dreamt of a society in which artists had direct sociopolitical agency in their depictions (or performances) of "pictures of new pros-

perity" (i.e., ideal citizenship). Scholars like Matei Călinescu have noted that Saint-Simon's literature is highly romanticized, but the manner in which Saint-Simon positioned artists as a vanguard for political change directly inspired actual agendas within Mussolini's Fascist regime. Mussolini, who was a rising star in the Milanese socialist scene before he defected, is known to have referenced the writings of Saint-Simon in his speeches.[3] As such, Saint-Simon was clearly in the philosophical lexicon of the socialist communities of early twentieth-century Italy.

As Marinetti was also a devoted socialist at the turn of the twentieth century, we can reasonably assume that he was also familiar with Saint-Simon's philosophy. This influence can be seen mirrored in Marinetti's Futurist theory: Marinetti deliberately constructed a political voice ("We futurists name as our sole political programme the pride, the energy, and the expansion of our nation");[4] he described a utopia ("we . . . want to free this land from its smelly gangrene of professors, archaeologists, ciceroni, and antiquarians");[5] he prescribed ideal citizenship, both as a Futurist and an ideal Italian ("Let all freedom be granted to the individual and the people except the freedom to be cowardly");[6] and he enforced traditional gender roles ("[masculinity is that which is] free of every emotional morbidity, every womanly delicacy . . . [that which is] lively, pugnacious, muscular, and violently dynamic").[7] Marinetti defined citizenship through his writings, performed it during the Futurist *serate*, and policed it through the publication of seemingly endless manifestos and a discerning curation of Futurism's public image, leaning on the writings and theories of Saint-Simon.

Thankfully, the artistic and political relationship between Marinetti and Mussolini has inspired bountiful scholarship, and the palimpsestic layers of influence between the two men have been the focus of a great deal of critical engagement. To summarize a selection: in her book *Painters and Politics*, Theda Shapiro concludes that "the methods used by Mussolini in the initial stage of fascism—the bombast and threats, the street brawling, the disregard for truth and legality—were indeed Futurist and had been learned directly from Marinetti in the course of the interventionist manifestations of 1915 and thereafter."[8] Similarly, Anne Bowler writes in her essay "Politics as Art" that the Futurists "developed important forms in their performances, notably agitprop and the spectacle, that formed the basis of later [Fascist Party] methods for crowd provocation and control."[9] Even in an essay that largely refutes the connection between the two, arguing instead that Mussolini was more deeply influenced by his fellow Milanese socialists, Walter Adamson surrenders in "The Language of Opposition in Early Twentieth-Century Italy" that Mussolini's "manner of 'seducing a crowd'" and his "knack for sloganiz-

ing" were directly inspired by Marinetti.[10] Additionally, Mussolini proclaimed himself "at heart, a Futurist" in a 1914 letter to Paolo Buzzi, a member of the artistic party.[11] During their interventionist demonstrations (and prison time)[12] together before Italy entered World War II, Marinetti's bold and brash style left its mark on Mussolini, and Mussolini later turned to these inspirations as dictator.

Ultimately, Mussolini and Marinetti became public partners. They made their first communal appearance at a Fascio d'Azione Rivoluzionaria meeting on March 31, 1915.[13] In 1919, Marinetti led a gang of Mussolini's men as they burned the offices of the journal *Avanti!* and Mussolini reciprocated by propping Marinetti up as a political candidate in the General Elections of 1919—an attempt that failed.[14] Nevertheless, the pair's relationship continued well into Mussolini's fascist reign, and the result was a web of direct influence between the men, their theories, their politics, and their practices. Much as the ideals of Saint-Simon inspired the artists of the avant-garde, Marinetti's avant-garde art inspired Mussolini to rise above the crowd, to force it to eat out of his hand and to learn to like it. In her essay "Folla/Follia," Christine Poggi clarifies that the Futurists "understood the crowd to be 'feminine' in its malleability, its incapacity to reason, its susceptibility to flattery and hysteria, and its secret desire to be seduced and dominated."[15] Inspired by Marinetti, Mussolini targeted the "malleability" of the Italian populace, its desire to be "dominated" by a powerful, definitive force.

Mussolini, a professed Futurist, maintained a strict public image as the de facto head of the Italian Fascists and eventual exemplar for the "new Italian." Mussolini, like Marinetti and also inspired by Saint-Simon, sought to define ideal citizenship. In the manner of the Futurist *serate*, during which Futurists would read directly from their prescriptive manifestos and demand compliance,[16] Mussolini performed that ideal citizenship, the "new Italian," immediately in the form of his public persona. He supplemented this image with bombastic propaganda, and he laced schoolbooks with pro-Fascist rhetoric in order to create a highly specified iconography.[17] Ultimately, Mussolini sought to represent in Nietzschean terminology, the Übermensch (or "superman")—a concept with which both he and Marinetti were deeply familiar.[18]

Mussolini was directly familiar with Saint-Simon's theories, and Marinetti's practices directly aligned with them. Dutifully, both men embraced the power of art and the media in realizing their political agendas—with an apparent level of overlapping influence between them. Understanding this, it is now possible to analyze Mussolini's performed persona as a piece of Futurist art, and it is fruitful to unpack the iconography of that performance. Mussolini, in the role of Il Duce, is remem-

bered by his dominating physical characteristics; as Marinetti paints in his *Portrait of Mussolini*: "Physiological patriotism, because physically he is built all'italiana, designed by inspired and brutal hands, forged, carved to the model of the mighty rocks of our peninsula. Square crushing jaws. Scornful jutting lips that spit with defiance and swagger on everything slow, pedantic, and finicking. Massive rock-like head, but the ultradynamic eyes dart with the speed of automobiles racing on the Lombard plains. To right and left flashes the gleaming cornea of a wolf."[19] Mussolini, according to Gigliola Gori, performed his character "by means of theatrical gestures, which were rough but effective. Hands on hips, legs wide apart, with set jaw and rolling eyes, the orator Mussolini spoke to the crowd in a virile, stentorian voice."[20] Moreover, Mussolini performed the paragon of the masculine body by engaging the contemporary cultural memory. He decorated himself, Alessandra Swan notes, as a "virile Roman" and ensured he was regularly pictured on horseback, as both motifs are laced with historical connotations of leadership and testosterone. Swan notes, too, that the modern Italian culture was "predicated on physical prowess, the powerful male physique was now disciplined publicly. Men exercised outdoors, on the beach, and displayed their physically fit bodies in still or moving images, in the sports tabloids or at the cinema."[21] Mussolini engaged this popular imagery. His performed image consciously referenced popular figures like the cinematic strongman Maciste and the frequently photographed boxer Primo Carnera, ensuring that his masculine reputation preceded him, leaving an effective imprint on the Italian populace—an imprint that Mussolini could then fill with definitions of "new Italian" citizenship.[22]

Mussolini curated his carefully constructed character much in the style of Erving Goffman's "front," Goffman's term for the external demonstration of our performed identity. Goffman defines the "front" as "that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe [a] performance."[23] Mussolini was careful to present only an idealized, "new Italian" side of himself when in the public eye. As such, his very image came to define the concept to the Italian populace, just as Goffman's concept suggests. Almost serendipitously, Mussolini curated his "front," his image of the "new Italian," during the newfound age of media (notably photography and radio), allowing for the proliferation of this paragon image throughout Italy. The population of Italy then embraced this image as their collective "front" in their performance of citizenship, a performance to which this essay will turn in a moment.

Beneficially, Mussolini's eager use of photography and radio leaves us with direct evidence of his performance. For the sake of this essay, I'm

most interested in his photographs, as they allow for and welcome direct iconographic comparison and analysis. Specifically, I'm fascinated by the dual nature of postcards, the image-as-object. Postcards bear examination both as images and as objects—the images on them offer one revelation, the manner of their use another. In the case of these Mussolini postcards, the images printed on them demonstrate the sentiments of the memento (was it pro-Mussolini or anti-fascist?); the manner of their use evidences the level of import of these objects. Regarding the imagery of Mussolini's captured performance, the photographs available in the Library of Congress archive depict such images as Mussolini saluting with Hitler from a balcony, Mussolini standing on a stage surrounded by members of his regime, and an image,[24] reproduced here, of Mussolini orating in front of a crowd (figure 3.1).

We see Mussolini enthusiastically gesticulating in front of a large tapestry that reads "Arx Omnium Nationum" ("The center of all nations"), his arm powerfully stretched before him, his fingers seemingly reaching for something only he can grasp; his barrel chest adorned with regalia; his strong jaw casting a dark shadow underneath his face (naturally mirroring a common depiction of his face in isolation surrounded by smoke or shadow).[25] Notably, these images position Mussolini physically above the viewer, a trend confirmed by Gori—who notes that this was likely due to Mussolini's naturally stocky stature.[26] Mussolini meticulously managed his public image in order to present (i.e., to perform) the ideal "new Italian." Moreover, his use of photography also engaged cultural memory. Allesandra Swan writes that "before Fascism and the rise of Mussolini, photographs were used to create an emotional link between the powerful and the people, as later they were used to forge a relationship between the Fascist hierarchy and the Italians during the regime."[27] Ultimately, through public performances and photography, Mussolini charismatically exploited the Italian cultural memory in order to present (and perform) citizenship. The Italian response to Mussolini's political performance can be seen as its performed public opinion, and the evolution of this performance demonstrates Italy's conclusions concerning Mussolini and his personal brand of citizenship.

Initially, Italians performed their approbation of Mussolini's photographed "new Italian" through their collection and presentation of those photographs in the form of postcards. Enrico Sturani exhaustively details the postcard-keeping practices of Italy during the fascist era in his essay "Analyzing Mussolini Postcards," in which he estimates a total of roughly 100 million Mussolini postcards were produced during his reign—in a country with a 1945 population of only 45 million. Sturani confirms that many of the common images on these postcards depicted

Figure 3.1. Benito Mussolini, 1940. (Courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

a Mussolini who was powerful, popular, and paternal. One such postcard depicts Mussolini orating on a battlefield, standing in a pose almost identical to that he took in the earlier-analyzed image.[28] Others show Mussolini carrying a small boy on his shoulders or listening intently to a woman in a crowd. Others portray the repeating motif[29] of Mussolini as Napoleon Bonaparte—demonstrating that, once again, Mussolini carefully engaged cultural memory in crafting his image. These postcards, these mementos of Mussolini-defined "new Italian" citizenship, were produced overwhelmingly by private publishers and purchased in a completely capitalist manner—as Sturani notes, "They were easy to sell,"[30] people wanted to purchase mementos of Mussolini's image, and they did en masse. It wasn't until the 1930s and Italy's highly unpopular invasion of Ethiopia that official, propagandist postcards dominated the market.[31] For the majority of Mussolini's reign, these postcards proliferated because of Mussolini's popularity and the populace's approbation of his character, not some enforced sycophancy. Additionally, Sturani notes that the vast majority of these postcards were unused, unhandled; rather, "[once] purchased, they were then religiously kept like holy images, stuck in the frame of a mirror alongside images of Christ and the pictures of family members living abroad, pinned on a bedroom wall or gathered in albums."[32] These postcards were not simply mailed, Italians showed them openly in their homes and flaunted them like Christ-like iconography.

I argue that the communal act of collecting and displaying these postcards was a performative one: the commons performing its collectivity in the more public spaces of the home (the foyers, the living rooms, the hallways), per the theories of Elizabeth Dillon—also recalling the work of Jürgen Habermas. In her book, *New World Drama*, Dillon develops the theory of a "performative commons,"[33] a populace's ability to publicly perform its opinions. Dillon writes that "[in] the space of the theatre . . . audience and actors together form an assemblage that both embodies and represents the collectivity of the people."[34] Any collective body in a performative space, Dillon writes, performs its collectivity, the public opinion. Expanding our mind somewhat, it is possible to see that the performative commons can, and does, exist outside the walls of the theatre, in any space in which an actor and audience exist. We see the performative commons in Italy during this period most obviously at the rallies and speeches of Mussolini. However, the manner in which the Italians collected and displayed Mussolini postcards is also an act of performance. Richard Schechner writes that the subject of performance is transformation, "the startling ability of human beings to create themselves."[35] The act of hanging a photograph of Mussolini beside a portrait of Christ, or

arranging it neatly in a scrapbook to be shown, is an act of identity creation. To place these images in the public spaces of the home, to show them off proudly, is to perform that identity. As such, we can consider this communal act of postcard collection to be Italy performing its approbation of Mussolini's definition of citizenship, the "new Italian." In this act, we also see the Italians promoting Mussolini's iconography of citizenship through the proliferation of a specific paragon image.

Moreover, this performed presentation of postcards engages Mussolini's "front," as discussed earlier. In defining the concept, Goffman writes first of "setting," or the "furniture, decor, physical lay-out, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it."[36] Goffman continues that the "setting" is filled with "sign-signifiers" that carry meaning during the performance of self within that space. For the myriad Italians who presented these postcards in the public spaces of their homes or included them in photo albums to be shown to guests or family members, these postcards were pieces of the "setting" of their performed identity, and they carried a tremendous amount of meaning through their connection to Mussolini's defining image of the "new Italian." In Goffman's terms, these postcards were a primary aspect of the Italian's performed identities whenever they welcomed another person into their homes—friend, family, stranger, or otherwise—especially as the regime continued accumulating power and the societally and government-enforced expectation to perform Mussolini's "new Italian" rose.

From Mussolini's rise to power in 1922 until the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, the Italians performed their approbation of Mussolini's "new Italian" through the capitalist proliferation of postcards, but also through performances of gender and childhood, as explored in works by Gori[37] and Foss.[38] In her book *Italian Fascism and the Female Body*, Gigliola Gori exhaustively details the ways in which women were encouraged to fall into supportive, often domestic and traditional, roles for the male soldiers in their lives. Clive Foss's essay "Teaching Fascism" is a survey of fascist Italian schoolbooks at several levels of basic education that analyzes the rhetoric of the propaganda employed—again, these schoolbooks encouraged children to fall into roles expected of their sex.

After 1936, however, the Italian obsession with Mussolini began to fade. As noted earlier, this is evidenced by the rise of officially produced, propagandist postcards. Additionally, as Martin Clark notes in his biography of Mussolini, a "marked shift" was reported between 1936 and 1938 when a "wave of pessimism" swept the country.[39] Outside Italy, the rise of anti-fascist postcards beginning in 1935 represented a similar global distaste for Mussolini.[40] After ten years of growing dissatisfaction, fueled

by an increasingly anti-fascist public sentiment, Italy's bubbling performance against Mussolini's brand of "new Italian" citizenship reached a boil on the morning of April 29, 1945, in the Piazzale Loreto when the Milanese public desecrated Mussolini's corpse.

Before dawn, the recently executed bodies of Mussolini, his mistress, Clara Petacci, and fourteen other fascists were dumped onto the ground of the Piazzale Loreto, a square rife with cultural memory, where eight months earlier Hitler's Schutzstaffel (or SS) had publicly displayed the bodies of fifteen executed anti-fascists. This began a roughly twelve-hour period when the citizens of Milan, representatives of the Italian populace, defiled the corpses of Mussolini, his mistress, and the other fascists. Mussolini's body was kicked, spat on, and beaten before being hung upside down from the girders of a nearby gas station. His hanging corpse now more accessible, the crowd continued to beat, shoot, and hurl insults and projectiles at it. Notably, it is recorded that one woman emptied five shots into Mussolini's body in retribution for the execution of her five sons. By the time American troops were ordered to remove his body and place it in a nearby morgue, Mussolini's iconic semblance was mutilated beyond recognition. As a thematic bookend to the performed opinion of Mussolini, Sturani notes that postcards depicting Mussolini's bullet-ridden corpse proliferated immediately following his death.[41]

This ultimate, highly performative act of citizenship marked a Bakhtinian carnivalesque usurpation of Mussolini's "new Italian," and this final iconographic evolution demonstrated Italy's ultimate opinion of Mussolini and his brand of citizenship. In her introduction to Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*, Helene Iswolsky writes that the carnivalesque celebrates "liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it [marks] the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions. . . . [It is] the true feast of becoming, change, and renewal."[42] The carnivalesque champions the utter reversal of social foundations; and the desecration of Mussolini's corpse was arguably modern Italy's most carnivalesque political performance. In this performative act, the Italian populace also reversed Mussolini's performed iconography. After two decades of seeing Mussolini presenting himself from on high, standing tall and powerfully, the Italians hung him by his feet for all to see—mocking his loftiness by presenting him with similar visibility, but usurping his power by flipping his image upside-down. This inverted iconography recalls centuries of anti-Christian imagery, including that proliferated throughout avant-garde art by Alfred Jarry, who regularly portrayed his Caesar Antichrist upside-down, bathed in a black sun, sometimes labeled with backward lettering to create an exact opposite of Christ (figure 3.2).[43]

Figure 3.2. The frontispiece from the original, 206-piece print run of Alfred Jarry's *César antechrist* (1895), which depicts Saint Peter both upright and inverted. The inverted position of the saint's body bears resemblance to both Christlike iconography and the display of Mussolini's dangling corpse as infamously photographed.

So too did the Italians create their anti-Mussolini in that moment. In those twelve hours on April 29, 1945, Italy liberated itself from Mussolini's established order and definition of citizenship. In rendering Mussolini's corpse unrecognizable, the Italians also destroyed the image of the "new Italian," performing the populace's new definition of citizenship. In inverting his image, the Italians defined themselves as the anti-Mussolini, vowing to place their new definition of citizenship as far from fascism as possible.

This creation of a new definition of citizenship began what Sturani calls a "new, democratic political phase."[44] Just over thirteenth months after the desecration of Mussolini's corpse, the Kingdom of Italy was dissolved and replaced by the Republic of Italy. Umberto II, king of Italy, abdicated and was exiled. In just over a year, the Italian populace had forcibly removed any threat of individual rule, defining their new ideal citizenship. Continuing this definition, the first prime minister of the new republic, Alcide De Gasperi, was a renowned centrist who, as Aldo Agosti writes, was "guided by a conception of state that, superior to the parties, was to be based on a balance between the guarantee of freedom for its citizens and the assertion of its authority."[45] The Italians chose as their representative a man who would uphold their individual freedoms, firmly cementing the new popular definition of Italian citizenship in the public memory. Holding office for nearly eight years, De Gasperi was the second-longest-serving prime minister of the Italian Republic, evidencing his support among the Italian populace.

As we can see, Italy's performance of citizenship was immensely polarized during the final twenty years of the kingdom, swinging madly from rampant support of the "new Italian" as Mussolini defined (and performed) it, to a visceral denunciation of this brand of citizenship and the subsequent development of not only a new "new Italian," but an entirely new Italy. This performance was decidedly avant-garde, per Enzensberger's definition. First, these Italians, while many, served as representatives of a larger communal entity in their upright postcard-collecting and their upside-down usurpation of Mussolini and his performed brand of citizenship. Second, as repeatedly discussed, this performance was deeply political, as Mussolini's image (again in the form of postcards and an inverted corpse) was a political signifier, and any reaction to it was either imbued with or read to have political intent.

Interestingly, an examination of the photographs of Mussolini and the Italian populace's swooning collection of those photographs in the form of postcards allows for a telling iconographic analysis of the communal performance of citizenship in Italy throughout the Fascist regime. Exploring the evolution of this iconography allows us to isolate Italy's defi-

nition of ideal citizenship and demonstrates the weight of this definition. Ultimately, the carnivalesque usurpation of Mussolini's power and stature during the public desecration of his corpse marked the beginning of Italy's performance of contemporary citizenship, laying the foundation for the last seventy years of the Italian Republic.

Notes

1. Hans Magnus Enzensberger and Michael Roloff, *The Consciousness Industry: On Literature, Politics and the Media* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), 28.

2. As quoted in Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 102.

3. James B. Whisker, "Italian Fascism: An Interpretation," *Journal of Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (1983): 5–27.

4. As quoted in James Joll, *Intellectuals in Politics: Three Biographical Essays* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), 141.

5. F. T. Marinetti and R. W. Flint, *Let's Murder the Moonshine: Selected Writings* (Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1991), 50.

6. As quoted in Joll, *Intellectuals in Politics*, 158.

7. Marinetti, *Let's Murder the Moonshine*, 86.

8. Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society: 1900–1925* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 184.

9. Anne Bowler, "Politics as Art," *Theory and Society* 20, no. 6 (1991): 763–94, quotation at 785.

10. Walter Adamson, "The Language of Opposition in Early Twentieth-Century Italy: Rhetorical Continuities between Prewar Florentine Avant-Gardism and Mussolini's Fascism," *Journal of Modern History* 64, no. 1 (1992): 22–51, quotation at 50.

11. Graziella Marchicelli, "Futurism and Fascism: The Politicization of Art and the Aestheticization of Politics, 1909—1944" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1996), 60.

12. Bowler, "Politics as Art," 784.

13. Joll, *Intellectuals in Politics*, 168.

14. Bowler, "Politics as Art," 763, and Shapiro, *Painters and Politics*, 184.

15. Christine Poggi, "Folla/Follia: Futurism and the Crowd," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 3 (2002): 709–48, quotation at 712.

16. Berghaus Günter, *Italian Futurist Theatre, 1909–1944* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 88.

17. See Clive Foss, "Teaching Fascism: Schoolbooks of Mussolini's Italy," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (1997): 5–30.

18. See Günter Berghaus and Society for Italian Studies, *The Genesis of Futurism: Marinetti's Early Career and Writings 1899–1909*, Occasional Papers No. 1 (Leeds: Society for Italian Studies, 1995), 13–16; also Gigliola Gori, *Italian Fascism and the Female Body: Sport, Submissive Women and Strong Mothers* (Milton Park, UK: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 16–17.

19. Marinetti, *Let's Murder the Moonshine*, 166.

20. Gori, *Italian Fascism and the Female Body*, 13–14.

21. Alessandra Antola Swan, "The Iconic Body: Mussolini Unclothed," *Modern Italy: Journal of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy* 21, no. 4 (2016): 361–81, quotation at 363.

22. Swan, "The Iconic Body: Mussolini Unclothed," 363.

23. Erving Goffman, "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life," Monograph no. 2 (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre, 1956), 13, https://monoskop.org/images/1/19/Goffman_Erving_The_Presentation_of_Self_in_Everyday_Life.pdf.

24. *Benito Mussolini* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, 1940), black-and-white film negative, under 5 × 7 inches, LC-USW33–000890-ZC.

25. Alessandra Antola, "Photographing Mussolini," in *The Cult of the Duce: Mussolini and the Italians*, edited by Gundle Stephen, Duggan Christopher, and Pieri Giuliana (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 178–92, at 183.

26. Gori, *Italian Fascism and the Female Body*, 17.

27. Antola, "Photographing Mussolini," 178.

28. See figure 7 in Enrico Sturani, "Analyzing Mussolini Postcards," *Modern Italy* 18, no. 2 (2013): 141–56, image at 147.

29. Sturani, "Analyzing Mussolini Postcards," 149–50.

30. Sturani, 143.

31. Sturani, 142.

32. Sturani, 143.

33. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, *New World Drama: The Performative Commons in the Atlantic World, 1649–1849* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 2.

34. Dillon, 4.

35. Richard Schechner, "A Student's Guide to Performance Studies," Harvard Writing Project, Harvard University, http://hwpi.harvard.edu/files/hwp/files/peformance_studies.pdf.

36. Goffman, "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life," 13.

37. See Gori, *Italian Fascism and the Female Body.*

38. See Foss, "Teaching Fascism."

39. Martin Clark, *Mussolini* (London: Routledge, 2016), 225.

40. Sturani, "Analyzing Mussolini Postcards," 152–53.

41. Sturani, 153.

42. Helene Iswolsky, introduction to *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 10.

43. Alfred Jarry, *César antechrist* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1895), 39, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1054662z.

44. Sturani, "Analyzing Mussolini Postcards," 153.

45. Aldo Agosti, "Alcide De Gasperi and Palmiro Togliatti," in *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, edited by Erik Jones and Gianfranco Pasquino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 351.