The 2015 Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II Restoration:
Expo Milano’s Legacy and the Revival of Civic Identity

by

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Abstract

In recent years, Italy has relied on private sponsors, particularly those in the fashion industry, to preserve its cultural heritage. In 2015, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan participated in this tradition when Prada, Versace, Feltrinelli, and Alessandro Rosso offered to sponsor its restoration in preparation of the world’s fair that was held that same year. This thesis contends that a better explanation of the Galleria’s current cultural meaning and the significance of its most recent renovation in 2015, might be achieved through an understanding of the cultural contributions of the Milanese exhibition tradition.

In my first chapter, I would like present the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II as a product of the Milanese exposition that took place in 2015. This will be done through a comparison of Turinese and Milanese exhibition practices in order to establish the origins and distinctive qualities of Milanese modernity. This historical background will then allow for a more meaningful analysis of the planning of the 2015 Expo. This chapter will conclude with an evaluation of the event and how it drew upon and echoed the values and history of the Galleria. In my second chapter, I will study the Galleria’s restoration process as a reflection of Milanese modernity, that is of Milanese craft. This chapter will begin with a discussion of art conservation practices in Italy and their development over time. This will be followed by a second discussion concerning the impact of private sponsorship on restoration and will argue that the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is an example of how the two forces, conservation and sponsorship, can be successfully combined. This combination of the Galleria’s restoration methods and supporting sponsorship will thus be presented as the reasons for the project’s success. In my third and final chapter, I will discuss the
marketing strategy that accompanied the restoration and the ways in which the curation of the space participated in the revival of this Milanese civic identity. This will be achieved through an examination of the different levels of patronage that the Galleria attracts, national, municipal, and local, and the site’s ability to curate to each. This thesis ultimately proves that the Galleria’s restoration successfully revived the arcade’s status as a historical monument to Milanese civic identity and, in so doing, promoted a new Milanese tradition concerning for fashion and art conservation.
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**Introduction**

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is a glass arcade located in the historical center of Milan, Italy. It was designed and constructed by Giuseppe Mengoni between 1865 and 1877. Conceived as a monument to the unification of Italy, the Galleria has always maintained an intimate bond with the Milanese as a communal space for the middle class. These ties were recently renewed in 2015 when the arcade was restored to accommodate and impress the expected masses attending the Milanese World’s Fair. These circumstances revived interest in the site, which was celebrating its 150th anniversary, and encouraged both Milanese and tourists alike to seek a deeper understanding of its cultural and historical background.

**Historical Background**

This history began after Milan was freed from Austrian rule by the French-Piedmontese troops in June 1859 and the city council considered a long overdue urban reconfiguration.¹ This urban renewal, known as *risanamento*, occurred throughout the country in the form of piazzas and other architectural forms and often led to the destruction of the cities’ historical centers.² The hope was to create an architectural identity, which would reflect the ideals of the newly formed state, as well as obtain recognition from abroad.³ By visually transforming and imposing a new environment, the Italian government hoped to shape the identity of its people to conform with its standards. The Milanese renovations were expected to reflect the

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city’s political and economic importance in the wake of its newfound autonomy. They would also serve as an opportunity for the city to modernize its infrastructures and achieve hygiene standards similar to those of its European counterparts. The renovations would also accommodate the rapid growth in population, the result of a mass exodus.

The construction of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was a result of this and an older and broader desire to renovate the historical center surrounding the Duomo. Documents in fact mention this concept as early as the 1500s. When the historical and economic context finally allowed for ideas to be made realities, tensions arose regarding the attributes that the piazza should embody. Some argued that the piazza should be a “urban space with its own specific civic and religious identity that would embody the influence of time, while inevitably transforming it,” while others believed it should be “a ‘monumental space’ that would be mainly figurative and celebrative and that would reform the ancient and predestined fate of the city to match its current needs.” Regardless of each of the aspiring architects’ positions, the idea of an arcade reoccurred frequently and was consequently adopted as an essential structural component.

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7 “luogo urbano con una sua specifica identità storica civile e religiosa, come stratificazione viva di varie epoche di cui vanno mantenute le tracce, seppure con le inevitabili operi di trasformazione,” “uno ‘spazio monumentale,’ eminentemente rappresentativo e celebrativo, che si fonda principalmente sul presupposto di correggere e riformare drasticamente l’antico tracciato, non più consono alle nuove esigenze della città,” Ibid., 41; Ibid., 42.
The enthusiasm spurred by the arcade was most certainly caused by the success of Milan’s original arcade, Galleria De Cristoforis. Designed thirty years prior in 1831 by Andrea Pizzala and heavily inspired by the Parisian passages, this gallery was the first example of arcade architecture in all the kingdoms of Italy, as well as a home to a multitude of shops and cafés. It was located along Corso Vittorio Emanuele, a few steps away from the Galleria. Though destroyed in 1935, during its lifetime the Galleria De Cristoforis was pivotal in blazing the path for bourgeois recreation.

To art historians studying the matter, the inspiration is evident. As Zanichelli observes, “‘capital, industry, and courage are the three material elements that contribute to the prosperity of a country, all of which may be interpreted as symbolic of the Galleria De Cristoforis’: as was said at the time. It is a logical assumption that these same values, to which was added the celebration of the Unification, were consolidated into a similar image [in the case of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele.]” Geist also claims that, “the basic schema of the interior facades is repeated in the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, except there we find two additional stories.”

It wasn’t until Antonio Beretta was elected mayor in February 1860, however, that these projects were seriously considered. He encouraged the Milanese to put forward their own ideas by offering models of the space surrounding the Duomo at

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9 Ibid., 366.
10 Zanichelli, 23.
11Capitali, industria, coraggio sono tre elementi della prosperità materiale d’un paese: e tutt’e tre potrebbero dirsi simboleggiati nella Galleria De Cristoforis”: così s’era scritto a quel tempo, ed è logico che gli stessi valori, cui ora si aggiungeva la celebrazione della recente Unità, tendessero a consolidarsi un’un’immagine analoga,” Ibid.
12 Geist, 371.
13 Ibid., 373.
the city hall to architects and non-architects alike.\textsuperscript{14} Two hundred and twenty proposals were received, only one hundred and forty two of which were conceived by architects, and exhibited in the Brera Gallery for the Milanese to see.\textsuperscript{15} None of these plans was deemed satisfactory and, as a result, the council decided in November of that same year to draft guidelines with the help of Luigi Tatti to define the core elements of the project.\textsuperscript{16} These stipulated the need for “a rectangular symmetrical piazza lined with porticoes, the gutting of the blocks to the north, the tracing of a new street to form a direct connection between the Duomo and La Scala, and the covering of the street.”\textsuperscript{17}

Giuseppe Mengoni, a young and unknown architect from Bologna, stood out amongst his competitors by respecting these prerequisites and by adopting a reasonable and modern approach to the problem. His experience in designing railway systems and stations and his exposure to the Bolognese arcades enabled him to gracefully “respond to the material and economic reality of Italian unity,” unlike Alessandro Antonelli’s Mole in Turin erected twenty years later.\textsuperscript{18}

This was not the only obstacle the city council faced as financing the project also proved to be a challenge. The original plan to fund the refurbishments through a lottery failed miserably. Of the five million lire expected, only one million was raised.\textsuperscript{19} The Milanese grew impatient and protested the demolition of their homes

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{14} Geist, 371.
\item\textsuperscript{15} Kirk, Terry, \textit{The Architecture of Modern Italy} (New York: Princeton Architectural, 2005), 57.
\item\textsuperscript{16} Geist, 373.
\item\textsuperscript{17} Kirk, 201.
\item\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 203.
\item\textsuperscript{19} Kirk, 57.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
and businesses. The newspaper *Pungolo*, whose headquarters were located in the area, played a significant role in instigating these protests.\(^{20}\)

Despite these hostilities, Giuseppe Mengoni’s model was finally received and approved in August 1860, over that of Camillo Boito, a prominent architect whose proposal was deemed too romantic.\(^{21}\) From the plans Mengoni submitted, however, only the arcade was retained. The council requested that he collaborate with two other architects, Matas and Pestagalli, to redesign the piazza portion of the site. Matas refused and left Pestagalli and Mengoni to reconfigure the model alone. Though they differed on certain points, notably Mengoni’s wish to build a triumphal arch and Pestagalli’s desire to build three separate structures, the architects worked together harmoniously. The design of the piazza and the arcade was eventually finalized on September 15\(^{th}\) 1860, three years after the initial project was presented to the public. It would take another two years for the first cornerstone to be set and another four for the official plan of the Galleria to be finalized.\(^{22}\)

On July 21, 1864, the financial quandary was resolved through the involvement of an English company, the City of Milan Improvement Company, Ltd.\(^{23}\) This company promised to finance and complete the arcade in two years and the piazza in six.\(^{24}\) In return, Milan agreed to return a five percent profit on the firm’s investment.\(^{25}\) Foreign interest and aid in the matter extended to the dome of the arcade as well, which required the expertise of the French arcade specialist Henri

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\(^{20}\) Geist, 373.
\(^{22}\) Geist, 384.
\(^{23}\) Ibid., 385.
\(^{24}\) Ibid.
\(^{25}\) Ibid.
These external contributions drew international attention to the arcade, an unusual occurrence for the time.\textsuperscript{27}

The arcade portion of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was eventually built within two and a half years with the help of over a thousand onsite workers.\textsuperscript{28} It was officially inaugurated by King Vittorio Emanuele II on September 15, 1867 and was, overall, well received.\textsuperscript{29} In December of that year, Mengoni fell to his death from the scaffolding of the dome and died, a tragedy that many have speculated may not have been accidental.\textsuperscript{30} By some strange turn of fate, Vittorio Emanuele II passed away few days later.\textsuperscript{31} With the triumphal arch still to be finished, a terrific hailstorm on June 13, 1874 delayed the project further.\textsuperscript{32} The hail fractured a large portion of the glass roof and left the Galleria uninhabitable for some time. Many mocked the incident, claiming that the British as well as Mengoni had been careless in wanting to build such a fragile infrastructure.\textsuperscript{33} The City of Milan Improvement Company eventually announced bankruptcy, which led to further delays as the City Council took over the project.\textsuperscript{34} This absence of the triumphal arch during the first decade of the Galleria’s existence is noteworthy as it suggests that the site’s monumental associations were shaped independently of this addition. Four years later, on February

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Geist, 385.
\item Ibid.
\item Ibid.
\item Emilio Pozzi, \textit{In Galleria, cuore e specchio di Milano} (Milan, It.: Comune di Milano, 1988), 114.
\item Caterina Criscione, “Quell’ultimo, tragico istante,” in \textit{La Galleria Vittorio Emanuele e l’Architetto Mengoni} (Milan, It.: La Mandragora, 1997), 56.
\item Geist, 392.
\item Leopoldo Marchetti, \textit{La Galleria di Milano} (Milan, It.: Tip. A. Cordani, 1967), 84.
\item Marchetti, 84.
\end{itemize}
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24, 1878 the inauguration of the triumphal arch connecting the Piazza to the arcade, would mark the completion of the entire project.\textsuperscript{35}

The result of these arduous efforts is a sumptuous gallery composed of two intersecting passages, which form a Latin cross (Figure 1). The nave of the arcade measures 196.62 meters in length and connects the Piazza del Duomo to the Piazza della Scala, while the transept measures 105.1 meters and links Via Ugo Foscolo, once Via S. Raffaele, to Via Silvio Pellico (Figure 2).\textsuperscript{36} Each passage is 14.50 meters wide and is lined with stores on either side.\textsuperscript{37} The point at which the two walkways meet is shaped like an octagon and is 39 meters wide.\textsuperscript{38} Directly above this central portion of the gallery is a large glass dome, which extends 41.83 meters from the ground and is held together by sixteen cast iron ribs (Figure 3).\textsuperscript{39}

Each storefront is covered by a sheet of plate glass and is framed by Ionic pilasters, which extend to the first floor and are ornately decorated in \textit{bas-relief} (Figure 4).\textsuperscript{40} The columns culminate in a Rococo entablature that doubles as a balcony for the windows that adorn the second floor.\textsuperscript{41} Rhythmically placed along the ironwork of the balustrade are one hundred medallions, each symbolic of an important city in Italy.\textsuperscript{42} Above this on the third floor are ornately decorated windows that are divided by caryatids that appear to carry the weight of a second entablature,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Geist, 392.
\item Venosta, and Brigola, 20.
\item Geist, 371.
\item “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 297.
\item Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
which forms the base of the gallery’s vaulted glass ceiling. The apex of each iron-ribbed roof rises slightly above the rest to allow proper ventilation.

The floor of the Galleria is paved with colored pieces of enamel set in cement, which form geometric patterns reflective of the Venetian origins of their creators.

At the center of the octagon are four mosaics representing the coats of arms of the Savoy kingdom, the city of Milan, and the United Kingdom (Figure 5). Orbiting around this area are the coats of arms of a number of Italian cities. Of these the Turinese bull receives the most prominence due to a superstitious belief that twisting the heel of a foot around the genitalia of the animal will bring good luck. Underneath this is a cellar used for gas and water pipes. At the other extreme, the dome of the Galleria measures 30.15 meters in diameter, dimensions that shamelessly match those of Saint Peter’s in Rome. Another 6 meters above the apex of the dome is a lantern, which enables the site once again to be ventilated.

Beneath the spandrels that support the dome are sculptures of eagles, which sit upon either the Savoy or Milanese coat of arms. Above each of the four central storefronts are four 7.50 meter high by 15 meter wide frescoes of female figures personifying Europe, America, Asia, and Africa, conceived by Pietrasanta, Casnedi, Giuliano and Pagliano, respectively. Europe stands out as she is shown as a queen

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43 “The Ornamental System.”
44 “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 297.
46 “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 298.
47 Geist, 399.
48 “The Ornamental System.”
49 “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 298.
50 Geist, 371.
51 “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 298.
52 Ibid.
53 Venosta, and Brigola, 20; Geist, 401.
on her throne projecting notions of supremacy and monarchical grandeur (Figure 6).\textsuperscript{54} At each entrance of the Galleria are arches that measure 24 meters by 24.40 meters at either end of the nave and 23 meters by 12 meters on either end of the transept.\textsuperscript{55} Above the transepts archways are four other frescoes representing Agriculture, Industry, Science, and Art, by Pagliano, Pietrasanta, Giuliano, Casnedi, respectively.\textsuperscript{56} On the inner face of these same arches are the coats of arms of the cities of Florence, Monza, Venice, Treviso, Fiori, Padua, Begamo, and Milan.\textsuperscript{57} To complement these ornamentations, are twenty-five sculptures of famous Italian politicians, artists, writers, mathematicians and scientists at the level of the entresol.\textsuperscript{58}

The belated triumphal arch sits stoically amongst the colonnades of the Piazza del Duomo (Figure 7). The entrance into the arcade is almost the same height as the barrel ceiling of the nave passage, which allows for the eye to be effortlessly led inside.\textsuperscript{59} Above this same arch is a dedicatory inscription, which reads “A Vittorio Emanuele II. I Milanesi.” At the opposite entrance is yet another arch, which is entered at a 45 degree angle so as not to disrupt the façade of Piazza della Scala.\textsuperscript{60}

At the time of the Galleria’s inauguration, the ground floor was designed to accommodate cafés and stores, the second floor businesses and private clubs, and the third floor residences.\textsuperscript{61} Before dissolving, the City of Milan Improvement Company reserved exclusive rights to the cellar.\textsuperscript{62} Today, the organization of the space remains the same with the exception of the third floor, which has also been adopted as office

\textsuperscript{54} Geist, 401.
\textsuperscript{55} Venosta, and Brigola, 20.
\textsuperscript{56} “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 298.
\textsuperscript{57} Geist, 399.
\textsuperscript{58} Venosta, and Brigola, 20.
\textsuperscript{59} Geist, 392.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 394.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
space, and the addition of a hotel called Seven Stars Galleria, which occupies the whole upper area of the north-eastern corner of the arcade.

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II subsequently evolved as Italy, and especially Milan underwent a period of industrialization and economic prosperity. The latter increased the Galleria’s real estate appeal and allowed for its commercial spaces to be quickly licensed to businesses that found the idea of an alternative communal space attractive. By the time of its inauguration the Galleria was home to “eight hotels, five caffès, forty-two shops, a concert hall, public baths, and a pharmacy.” After a slow start, they were all very successful.

Although the Municipality of Milan struggled to complete the Galleria’s triumphal arch, it decided to host the city’s first national exhibition. The 1871 Milanese fair was largely in response to the Florence fair in 1861 that had served more as a political gesture to celebrate the country’s unification than a true attempt at rivaling other European examples. It is for this reason that, in many ways, the Milanese version is considered the first national exhibition. The theme of this exhibition revolved around Italy’s recent and belated efforts to industrialize the country, the focus of which was concentrated in Milan. In this fertile environment, the presence of the Galleria was also understood as a symbol for modernity. In the years preceding this occasion, it had become customary for cities hosting large prestigious events like the world’s fair to build galleries, which were used as exhibition spaces and preserved once the fair was over. Such examples could be

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62 Geist, 392.
63 Varni, 7.
64 Kirk, 201.
65 Kirk, 203; Ginex, 37.
observed in London in 1851, Paris in 1855 and in Austria in 1873.\textsuperscript{68} By following this tradition, Milan signaled its intention of becoming a significant player on the European stage.

A few years later in 1881, Milan hosted Italy’s first industrial fair.\textsuperscript{69} For the occasion, the city bought rights to Edison’s electrical invention and lit up the Galleria.\textsuperscript{70} After this event, there was talk of making the Galleria the first lit public space in Milan.\textsuperscript{71} Caffè Gnocchi, situated within the Galleria, succeeded in financing the project first.\textsuperscript{72} The rest of the Galleria would have to wait until the early 1900s.\textsuperscript{73} By the 1880s, Milan’s population had also increased to 400 000 people, 2\% of which were foreign investors.\textsuperscript{74} The textile, chemical, mechanical and metal industries surged and allowed Milan to match the value of imports with that of exports by 1887.\textsuperscript{75} Some say this international success was inspired by the decorative continental depictions within the Galleria.\textsuperscript{76}

In 1906, Milan finally hosted the city and the nation’s first world’s fair. Following the success of the 1881 fair and its attempts to reach a larger and more international audience, the Milanese Municipality expanded and embraced this quality by choosing to address the theme of technology and transport.\textsuperscript{77} To commemorate the fair and provide a lasting legacy, the Sempione Tunnel was built to

\textsuperscript{67} Granata, 23.
\textsuperscript{69} Granata, 28.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{71} Marchetti, 84.
\textsuperscript{72} Marchetti, 85.
\textsuperscript{73} Marchetti, 86; Ibid., 87.
\textsuperscript{74} Ginex, 38.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} Lucia Pini, “Pittura e scultura nella decorazione della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele,” in La Galleria Vittorio Emanuele e l’Architetto Mengoni, ed. Caterina Criscione and Learco Andalò (Milan, It.: La Mandragora, 1997), 46.
connect Northern Italy to the rest of Europe. This fair became both symbolically and materially a crucial turning point for Italy’s relationship with its European peers and ascension in the race to modern standards.

In 1910, Umberto Boccioni painted *Rissa in Galleria*, a tumultuous depiction of the Galleria experiencing a riot.\(^7^8\) The style of the painting recalls earlier Divisionism techniques but more importantly embodies Filippo Tommaso Marinetti’s Futurist philosophy through the use of primary colors.\(^7^9\) Boccioni’s interpretation of the space is made from the third floor of the Galleria and therefore offers an unfamiliar perspective.\(^8^0\) Zuffi believes that “Boccioni charges the scene with satire: the very middle class that deplored the thunderous theatrical performances staged by the Futurists was now making a spectacle of itself, and the painter looks on with amused detachment.”\(^8^1\) In 1911, a similar portrayal of the Galleria by Carlo Carrà can be observed. His painting, *The Funeral of the Anarchist Galli*, embodies the same “vibrant colors of divisionism and taut, jagged style of Futurism.”\(^8^2\) The subject choice of these paintings is all the more relevant when considering the affectionate relationship the Futurists maintained with the site, believed to epitomize all the modern values of progress and technology that the movement sought to convey.\(^8^3\)

The beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century also proved to be more hostile as the consequences of World War I reverberated throughout Milan. Though the war did not directly affect the arcade, the increased number of soldiers in the Galleria’s

\(^7^7\) Granata, 56.
\(^7^9\) Zuffi, 102.
\(^8^0\) Ibid.
\(^8^1\) Ibid.
\(^8^2\) Ibid.
\(^8^3\) Ibid., 100.
passageways made the presence of the war felt.\textsuperscript{84} Between the wars was a brief period of respite, where life in the Galleria resumed its course. It was also at this time that the Futurist movement gained political agency and was embraced by none other than the Fascists.\textsuperscript{85}

Once in power, Benito Mussolini preferred the Piazza del Duomo to the Galleria, which had weaker associations with the bourgeoisie and the arts, two institutions that he reviled. Thus began a period of neglect, during which the Galleria ceased to resonate with the Milanese. The bombing of Milan’s historical center on the 13\textsuperscript{th} of August 1943, would only increase this alienation.\textsuperscript{86} This left the arcade once again in disuse until it was reopened in 1948.\textsuperscript{87} The Milanese still turned to the Galleria on the 14\textsuperscript{th} of July 1945 to celebrate the French and their help in the ending of the war.\textsuperscript{88} Leopoldo Marchetti claims that this proves the political and social significance the Milanese continued to attribute to the space. Renovations eventually began in the summer 1953 and were finished by December of 1955.\textsuperscript{89}

Despite the relative economic prosperity of Milan during this period, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II suffered financially once it reopened. The Associazione Salotto di Milano attempted to revive its businesses by commissioning art for display in the store windows.\textsuperscript{90} The thought was that these exhibitions would encourage the public to visit the arcade and perhaps linger afterwards.\textsuperscript{91} The Milanese however had

\textsuperscript{84} Zuffi, 116.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 126.
\textsuperscript{86} Marchetti, 91.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 92.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{89} Marchetti, 94; Ibid., 96.
\textsuperscript{90} Franco Colnaghi, and Giacomo Lodetti, Emozioni di luce (Milan, It.: Associazione Salotto di Milano, 2003), i.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.
lost interest in the arcade and had relocated their business to via Montenapoleone.\textsuperscript{92} Hopes were further dampened by the then Minister of Finance, Trabucchi, who demanded that the Galleria’s denizens be thoroughly audited for tax evasion.\textsuperscript{93} This greatly upset the storeowners within the Galleria who felt that this, ironically, degraded the luxurious nature of the Galleria.\textsuperscript{94} The negative press that the minister attracted slowly but surely led the bourgeois class to avoid the Galleria entirely.\textsuperscript{95}

In the 1960s, the Galleria’s well-to-do clientele was replaced by protesters, most of whom were students. “The times now decreed that it become the uneasy monk between the Piazza del Duomo- ‘the traditional place for demonstrations, rallies, knots of people engaged in spontaneous debate and dispute’- and Piazza della Scala, the site of Palazzo Malino, upholder of the civic virtues of Milan.”\textsuperscript{96} These tumultuous years would profoundly change the Galleria as it ceased to be considered a space of bourgeois delight and instead was adopted as simple passageway. In 1967, the 100\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Galleria’s construction welcomed a renewed interest in the landmark. In order to mark this anniversary, the mosaic floors of the Galleria were entirely restored.\textsuperscript{97} The 50\textsuperscript{th} edition of an important Italian cycling race, il Giro d’Italia, also rode through the glass atrium to mark the occasion.\textsuperscript{98} This event inspired the Milanese to recall the Galleria’s original intentions as a symbol of hope and prosperity.

\textsuperscript{92} Daniel Rey, \textit{La Galleria Vittorio Emanuele: Quattro passi sotto il cielo di vetro} (Viareggio, It.: Idea Books, 2006), 133.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 131.
\textsuperscript{94} Rey, 131.
\textsuperscript{96} Rey, 141.
\textsuperscript{98} Rey, 97.
It wasn’t until the 1980’s however that these intentions became realities. For the first time since World War II, Italy’s influx of migrants surpassed the outflow of emigrants. The Galleria’s original purpose as a “punto d’incontro” was revived and people of all backgrounds came to celebrate their arrival in Milan. It was also here that the city’s first payphone was installed, which led to a large number of migrant workers to come frequently to call home. These functional changes impacted the tenants of the Galleria as well. The cafes, which had once been symbolic of bourgeois delight, where now replaced by less prestigious establishments, such as fast food chains. Artists and cultural influencers responded to this transformation by occupying the space with artistic interventions. The director Luca Ronconi incited this movement with his adaptation of Rossini’s “Il viaggio a Reims” in 1984, which took place within the Galleria. Others such as Riccardo Muti and the Cirque du Soleil followed suit.

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II would only truly flourish once again in the 21st century with the celebration of its 150th anniversary coincidental with the Milan world’s fair in 2015. The intense media attention as well as the renewed interest in heavily ornamented architecture prompted the Milanese to embark upon a renovation of the entire arcade, which still bore the scars of the war. This restoration project was the culmination of a number of initiatives that had begun three years earlier and that included the reparation of two vaulted passageways on Piazza del Duomo, the Leonardo da Vinci statue on Piazza della Scala, and the repaving of via Foscolo, via Rey, 97.

http://www.ingalleria.com/en/media

Berchet, and via San Raffaele.\textsuperscript{104} Much like for the original construction, issues concerning funding challenged the 2015 restoration as well. Versace, Prada and Feltrinelli, all patrons of the arcade, agreed to sponsor the renovations with varying contributions. This sponsorship attracted a lot of negative press, as many criticized the luxury brands of exploiting the Galleria for the purpose of marketing. The brands responded to these accusations by claiming that their desire to help stemmed from their “cultural responsibility” towards the Galleria and not a need for profit. The restorations undertaken by the Italian firms Gasparoli and Impresa Percassi were completed in April 2015, shortly after the opening of the Expo.\textsuperscript{105} The timing of this project elucidates the fair’s intentions of reviving certain of the arcade’s qualities of innovation and glory. In addition to these refurbishments, on the first of May, a walkway constructed around the exterior of the dome was inaugurated. The Highline Galleria was considered to be one of the main attractions of the Expo and suggested through by its Anglicized name and reference to its New York and Paris counterparts a desire to keep up with other prosperous cities.

\textit{Historiography}

Literature on the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is abundant and has existed since the time of its inception. These scholarly opinions present a wide set of views relating to, but not limited to, urbanistic, architectural, and socio-historical concerns.

\textsuperscript{103} Ray, “Il Salotto di Milano.”
\textsuperscript{105} Marta Casadei, “Rival Fashion Houses Join Forces to Give Milan’s Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II a Makeover,” \textit{Italy Europe} 24, March 5, 2015, accessed March 20, 2015.
This chronological evaluation of the site reflects upon the evolution of cultural and political attitudes and allow for a greater understanding of the Galleria over time.

The first critical texts to document the Galleria were street pamphlets distributed around the time of its inauguration, which described the physical aspect of the arcade and the timeline leading up to its completion. One such pamphlet published in September 1867 eloquently refers to the building as, “the magnificent Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, which will remind our successors of our grandeur and merit as the land of laurels and heroes, the beautiful Italy!”\(^\text{106}\) This patriotic vision of the Galleria is shortly then after overshadowed by Edoardo Malacarne’s comment on the tensions that arose from its construction in a passage describing the financing of the work. The author describes the Milanese’s anger over the cost of the work as it diminished the town’s resources for renovating the Piazza del Duomo, a project that had long been contemplated.\(^\text{107}\) The author swiftly offers a rebuttal to this by enumerating the ninety-six stores that will be located within the Galleria, most of them involved in the textile industry\(^\text{108}\) He believes that the Galleria will attract investors and allow for a true Italian industrial revolution to take place.\(^\text{109}\)

In another pamphlet released on September 10, 1867, the tone is far more optimistic and complimentary. The anonymous author offers a glorified and nationalistic take on the unification of Italy and Vittorio Emanuele’s role in it.\(^\text{110}\) Giuseppe Mengoni is praised for his youthful and modern approach, though


\(^{107}\) Ibid., 9; Ibid., 10.

\(^{108}\) Ibid., 16; Ibid.; 119.

\(^{109}\) Ibid., 26.
ironically, the paper misspells his name as “Mingoni,” reminding contemporary readers of his sudden rise to fame.\textsuperscript{111} The author presents a detailed depiction of the work, carefully noting the various statues and frescoes. He dedicates an entire subchapter to the “illuminazione,” or “lighting,” of the Galleria, a feature embodied by the “ratin”, which was truly considered an invention of modern times.\textsuperscript{112} The sheer size and volume of the Galleria as well as its “splendid” and “sumptuous” esthetics are emphasized all throughout.\textsuperscript{113} The author only discusses the cost of the project after having concluded and signed his name, as if to preserve the purity of his prose.\textsuperscript{114}

\textit{Corriere delle Dame} also published a review of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II on September 23, 1867, days after its inauguration. Their description of the building is complimentary overall except regarding “the second floor, which is quite low and is completely hidden by the balustrade. This is, in our opinion, a real drawback, as it does not fit with the rest of the design.”\textsuperscript{115} The article also commends Giuseppe Mengoni on his tactical use of an archway to disguise the awkward diagonal entrance.\textsuperscript{116} Multiple times the author emphasizes the use of glass, indicative of a modern infrastructure. The overwhelming number of businesses and the general elegance of the space are underlined as well.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 14; Ibid., 3.
\textsuperscript{112} V.P., 11.
\textsuperscript{113} “splendida” “sontuosa,” Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 15; Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{115} “secondo piano assai basso e quasi completamente mascherato dalla balaustra della loggia, che, secondo noi, costituisce un vero difetto, perché evidentemente non risponde all’insieme del disegno,” “The Ornamental System.”
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
The Builder published an article on April 25, 1868, which announced the completion of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s construction. After a lengthy and detailed description of the arcade, the author of the article applauded the city of Milan and Giuseppe Mengoni for this clever and awesome use of space. Throughout the article, the author insists on the relationship between the Galleria and the rest of the refurbishments that are taking place in the historical center and describes the arcade as “a magnificent line of axis between the two great foci of attraction to all visitors to Milan.” In noting the surroundings of the arcade, the author is clearly suggesting that the Galleria is a product of urban planning. This point is reiterated through the mention of the Milan Improvement Company and their subsequent projects in the historical center. The author mentions Mr. Digby Wyatt’s thoughtful contribution and the number of awards he consequently received from the King of Italy and the Academy of Fine Arts of Milan. A Mr. Charles Barry is also mentioned as a financial consultant. Despite the author’s praise of the Englishmen’s work, he does not seek to diminish the importance of the creative genius of Mengoni or Milan’s enthusiastic initiative. This point is crucial as it encourages a more positive and modern view of Italy, though especially Milan, abroad. The Builder also emphasizes the commercial success the Galleria had already begun to experience. The author notes that “almost every shop and a large proportion of the apartments it contains” had already found tenants at the time the article was written. Furthermore, the author states that “no one acquainted with the great commercial importance of the

118 Ibid., 298.
119 Ibid.
120 Ibid.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
city of Milan, and who has once seen the crowds who continually throng, and make purchases in the Gallery we illustrate, can doubt that, sooner or later, the tree the company have succeeded through so many difficulties in planting will bear a due amount of golden fruit."123 The author stepped back from previous mentions of monumentality and instead focused on the social aspect of the site, one that is both pleasurable, that is commercial, and practical, that is as a passageway.

*La Sera a Milano*, a collection of satirical illustrations from the time of the design and construction of the Galleria, highlights the financial difficulties the authors tried to conceal. Massimo Donati, the author who compiled the comics a century later, stresses two aspects in his introduction, one being the impact of the industrial revolution on Milan, and the other being the skeptical and critical approach towards Mengoni’s “absurd” designs, which were epitomized by the destruction of the glass ceiling after the terrific hail storm in 1874. One image worthy of note depicts a man walking towards the Duomo but being physically pulled back by a hand extending from the Galleria’s triumphal arch. The caption of the illustration published on October 21, 1869 reads as follows, “Once upon a time a visitor arrived in Milan and ran to see the Duomo, now they are stopped by the Galleria V. E. who wants parts of their admiration…”124 This drawing not only signals a shift in focus in the historical center of Milan, but also the recognition the Galleria had gained outside of the city.

Italian and foreign authors alike recognized the cultural significance of the Galleria and its symbolic role in marking an ideological transition in history. Mark Twain records the arcade’s impact in 1880 in *A Tramp Abroad*, where he dedicates

123 “The Victor Emanuel Gallery, Milan,” 298.
the introduction to his time in Milan to the Galleria. He describes it as follows, “In Milan we spent most of our time in the vast and beautiful Arcade or Gallery, or whatever it is called. Blocks of tall new buildings of the most sumptuous sort, rich with decoration and graced with statues, the streets between these blocks roofed over with glass at a great height, the pavements all of smooth and variegated marble, arranged in tasteful patterns—little tables all over these marble streets, people sitting at them, eating, drinking, or smoking—crowds of other people strolling by—such is the Arcade. I should like to live in it all the time. The windows of the sumptuous restaurants stand open, and one breakfasts there and enjoys the passing show.”

This passage illustrates the successful assimilation of the Galleria into the city’s urban landscape as well as its integration into Milanese culture. This chapter also expresses the Galleria’s shift from a patriotic symbol to a city attraction only years after its inauguration.

Luigi Capuana shows the same enthusiasm in his poem dedicated to the Galleria in honor of Italy’s first industrial fair, which was held in 1881. In this anthology, Capuana’s piece refers to the Galleria as “the heart of the city,” where “the city’s pulse resides.” The fact that this poem was featured in the fair’s catalog signifies that the Galleria was perceived as an iconic piece of architecture, which embodied the qualities the fair wished to promote. This choice also implies a suggested link between the Galleria and the industrial revolution, which swept

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through Italy shortly after its inauguration. Similar claims were made in the 1906 exposition catalog, with an added emphasis on the Galleria’s modern associations.\textsuperscript{127}

In 1921, Sir Bannister Fletcher argues that the project was a beautiful and well-executed example of the arcade tradition.\textsuperscript{128} His opinion of the Galleria differs from Hitchcock regarding the infrastructure’s contributions to Milan and the Milanese. He limits its social function to a “shopping arcade,” which negates the symbolic meaning the Italian government infused it with and the collective memory that was shaped consequently.\textsuperscript{129} Fletcher is also guilty of undervaluing the Galleria’s provenance by consistently recalling the origins of the arcade tradition. He reminds his readers that the majority of notable arcades are found in England and in France, and that the first use of glass-tunnel vaulting was in Paris for the Galerie d’Orléans, which was designed by Fontaine between 1829-31.\textsuperscript{130} This leads Fletcher to consider this project “ambitious” by Italian standards.\textsuperscript{131} John Agnew’s concept of “backwardness” comes out once again in this critique.\textsuperscript{132} Despite these slight drawbacks, Fletcher does make a significant comment concerning the triumphal arch entryway. He physically dissociates the entrance of the arcade from its interior and places it in a separate monumental category.\textsuperscript{133} This suggests a larger question about the value of placing a monument and a functional space side by side as well as the impact such an experience could have.

\textsuperscript{129} Fletcher, 1126.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{133} Fletcher, 1126.
Ernest Hemingway provided a vivid testimonial of the Galleria during the period of the First World War in his novel *A Farewell to Arms*, published in 1929. He depicts his love affair with Catherine Barkley, a nurse who he met while being treated in a Milanese hospital. He describes their summer together in the following way, “Afterwards when I could get around on crutches we went to dinner at Bifi’s or the Gran Italia and sat at the tables outside on the floor of the galleria. The waiters came in and out and there were people going by and candles with shades on the tablecloths and after we decided that we like the Gran Italia best, George, the head waiter, saves us a table. He was a fine waiter and we let him order the meal while we looked at the people, and the great galleria in the dusk, and each other.”134 This image of the Galleria conveys the grandeur that was associated with the site, as well as the recognition it had abroad.

It is difficult to conduct an analysis of arcades without referring to Walter Benjamin’s work, *Arcades*, written between 1927 and 1940. In his architectural analysis, Benjamin retraces the history of arcades to the first *passages* in Paris. He notes that the first prototypes struggled financially as people considered these areas to be *lieux de passage* and not places of commerce.135 This attitude changed however after the Crystal Palace was built for the world’s fair in London. A new term, “arcade,” was introduced shortly after.136 This lexical shift allowed for a renewed interest in the architectural form, which led to an increase in the financial success of its storeowners.137 Furthermore, the technological developments that were made at that time encouraged bolder designs. Regardless of these variations, Buse believes a

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134 Zuffi, 120.
136 Ibid.
general consensus can be reached concerning the common structural elements, which unite all arcades, “use of natural and artificial light, their confusion between internal and external space and their systematic use of modern materials.”

It was also around this time that the bourgeoisie rose in Western Europe and began contributing to the economy more forcefully. This historical coincidence offered this new population an area within the urban landscape to call their own. The arcades were an ideal solution to this need as they had the “exoticism of a world of luxury, decorum and leisure.” Many of the stores sold “pointless objects” and “trinkets,” which capitalized on the disposable income of the bourgeoisie. In fact, “the arcades opened up the world of conspicuous consumption to those whose consuming powers were negligible: servant women or even children.” These novel commodities gained so much importance that they became the primary focus of the 1851 Parisian Grand Exposition for decorative arts. The arcades’ function extended beyond that of trade, they were also social spaces. Within these areas there could be found cafés, which provided a sense of homeliness and provided customers with the comfort of “intimate anonymity.” This flexibility emphasizes the arcade’s ability to confuse the private and the public, the outdoors and the interior. In all, the arcades served as place for entertainment while offering protection from the weather protection.

137 Buse, 14.
138 Ibid.
139 Ibid., 15.
140 Ibid., 18.
141 Ibid.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid., 25; Ibid., 15; Ibid., 16.
144 Ibid., 14.
Benjamin’s interest in arcades is limited to its earlier models, mostly those in Paris, which had aged and were then ripe for reflection.\textsuperscript{145} He focuses his study on four cardinal points, Paris, Berlin, Naples and Moscow.\textsuperscript{146} Benjamin believes that public spaces had the ability to affect the mind of their patrons.\textsuperscript{147} In other words, “the phenomena -buildings, human gestures, spatial arrangements- are ‘read’ as a language in which a historical transient truth […] is expressed concretely, and the city’s social formation becomes legible within perceived experience.”\textsuperscript{148} The galleries were, in this sense, “the unconscious of the dreaming collective.”\textsuperscript{149} In theorizing these examples, Benjamin came to the conclusion that passages are a form of utopic architecture in which the “glorification of the street as public and communal” complemented “this architecture of leisure and life, sheltered from the elements and the forces of history.”\textsuperscript{150} This idealized vision stemmed from the seemingly effervescent existence of the original arcades.\textsuperscript{151} Due to the limited technological resources, the passages difficulty withstood the test of time. “It’s as though the architect himself was not entirely confident in his own work and therefore gave them a finite life, such as the duration of an exhibition.”\textsuperscript{152} This short existence gave a dreamlike quality to the structural form, a quality that would later be revived through the use of newer technologies that would successfully extend the arcade’s existence. This relationship with the future also allowed for the cities in which these

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{145} Buse, 15.
  \item \textsuperscript{147} Walter Benjamin, \textit{The Arcades Project} (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1999), 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{148} Buck-Morrs, 27.
  \item \textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 39.
  \item \textsuperscript{150} Buse, 26.
  \item \textsuperscript{151} Benjamin, 5.
  \item \textsuperscript{152} “Comme si le constructeur lui-même n’avait pas une entire confiance dans ses oeuvres, il leur assigne d’emblée une durée limitée, celle par exemple d’une exposition,” Missac, 159.
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infrastructures were present to set themselves apart as the modern leaders of the world.\textsuperscript{153}

Benjamin challenges the identity of the Galleria as an example of typical arcade architecture by omitting it from his commentary completely. Instead, Benjamin chose to include the Galleria Umberto I in Naples, which was built between 1887 and 1890 and was heavily inspired by its Milanese sister.\textsuperscript{154} While the Napolitano version is also dedicated to a king of Italy, its associations are far less nationalistic than the Milan Galleria given the large amount of time that had elapsed since the country’s unification. This suggests that the Galleria introduced new types of qualities that, according to Benjamin, set it apart from the traditional architectural type.

Emilio Lavagnino, on the other hand, proudly features the Galleria in his work on Italian art entitled \textit{L’Arte Moderna}, which was published in 1956. He notes its successful combination of old and new, which he describes as “a hybrid combination of scholastic and utilitarian shapes. Inside the magnificent glass roof resides the pleasing octagonal center, which is burdened by an overload of ornamentation.”\textsuperscript{155} Lavagnino’s interpretation lingers on the utilitarian function of the space, which extends the understanding of the Galleria beyond that of a monument.

A few years later, in 1963, Henry-Russell Hitchcock regards the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II as one of the few Italian pieces of architecture of the late 19\textsuperscript{th}

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\textsuperscript{153} Buck-Morris, 40.
\textsuperscript{154} Geist, 429.
\textsuperscript{155} “un ibrido connubio di forme interpretate con spirito scolastico ed utilitario, mentre all’interno la grandiose copertura a vetri, indubbiamente felice nella soluzione a cupola dell’ottagono centrale, grava su parenti illogicamente sovraccariche di una stucchevole decorazione,” Emilio Lavagnino, \textit{L’Arte moderna: Dai neoclassici ai contemporanei} (Torino, It.: Unione Tipografico Torinese, 1956), 547.
\end{flushright}
century worthy of mention. He believes that it was set apart from the rest through its ability to organically integrate Milan’s cityscape. The infrastructure’s cruciform shape most easily illustrates this as it allowed for a more fluid passageway between Milan’s two iconic sites, the Piazza del Duomo and La Scala. Hitchcock believes that Mengoni’s mindful approach and sensitivity regarding the use of the space makes the Galleria in fact “more a work of urbanism than of architecture.” The size of the building, and attention to detail also help to exude an “unqualified assurance,” which, though luxurious in taste, still remains relevant to the people. Even the Galleria Umberto I in Naples, though inspired by the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, was only a “rather inferior imitation” in his opinion.

Though Hitchcock mentions the financial and structural aid that the Milanese received from abroad, he does not let that negate the genius behind Mengoni’s thoroughly Italian design. He even goes so far as to say that the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II “rivals the greatest Victorian railway stations of London.” This statement must be appreciated in the context of most scholarly views that restrict the conception of the Galleria to a collaboration between Italy and its “more powerful” European counterparts, England and France. This point is also important in that it does not reinforce the common stereotypical vision of Italy being backwards. John Agnew attributes this notion of “backwardness,” which flourished shortly after the Renaissance, to modern historians choosing to view Italy solely in terms of

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156 Hitchcock, 146. 
157 Ibid. 
158 Ibid. 
159 Ibid. 
160 Ibid., 147. 
161 Ibid. 
162 Ibid., 146. 
163 Ibid.
modernity. In this study of the Galleria, I would also like to refrain from adopting this Northern European perspective, as I believe it restricts the understanding of the work to the ideals and standards of external influences.

In 1966, Carroll L. V. Meeks contributes to this complex analysis by underscoring the entertainment value of the Galleria. He notes this “novelty” as the distinguishing factor between the Galleria and other arcades of its time. The passage of time within the Galleria is described through the mention of cafés and restaurants, which were always cool and inviting, “however lavish and unpuritanical.” Meeks’ overall opinion was that the Galleria “is a respectable urban solution, orderly yet not monotonous, traditional yet not imitative, fully deserving of its great fame.” Meeks’ use of the expression “urban solution” points to a modern approach to the topic. This effort to redesign Milan’s cityscape indicated a desire to provide comfort and hygiene to all citizens and not simply the privileged few. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was, in this sense, Milan’s first attempt at urban planning.

Leopoldo Marchetti also understood the Galleria as an edifice built by the people for the people. He pushes Meeks’ argument further by suggesting that this variety in social backgrounds was conducive to an artistic and political atmosphere, much like the Parisian salons. Though business owners within the Galleria weren’t financially successful at first, they soon became renowned throughout the city. Two such examples are the bookstore communities and the cafes. It was in these

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164 Agnew, 24.
165 Meeks, 292.
166 Ibid.
167 Meeks, 292.
168 Marchetti, 79.
169 Ibid., 75.
communal spaces that artists, such as the Futurists, and authors, such as Verga and Hemingway, congregated to discuss their work as well as other cultural phenomena.\textsuperscript{171} Due to its vicinity to La Scala, patrons and actors also frequented and contributed to the harmony of the space.\textsuperscript{172}

The Milanese weren’t however the only ones to utilize the arcade, tourists and immigrants also felt drawn to the energy of the Galleria. In fact, the Galleria was usually the first stop visitors made upon arrival in Milan.\textsuperscript{173} These eclectic communities brought so much attention to the Galleria that some thought Milan would become the epicenter of united Europe.\textsuperscript{174} This multipurpose nature seemingly allowed for the Galleria to gain political significance on a local, national and international level. Marchetti concludes this analysis on a rather dreary note in which he expresses the Milanese’s nostalgia over the glorified past the Galleria recalls.\textsuperscript{175}

Johann Friedrich Geist was the first to fully study this desire to revive the commemorative nature of the Galleria and to classify it as a monument arcade in 1969. In his work on the history of arcades, he argues that the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was in fact the first to mark the beginning of a new monumental phase.\textsuperscript{176} He believes that the building’s influence expanded beyond a simple reconfiguration of the city’s center and led to three architecturally and historically significant results: the erection of many arcades in competing Italian cities, a recognition of the Galleria’s innovative and artistic qualities in the Anglo-Saxon world, as witnessed by an article published in *The Builder,* and, finally, the stylistic

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\textsuperscript{170} Marchetti, 77.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., 78.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 81.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., 83.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., 183.
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impact it had on the Kaisergalerie in Berlin.\textsuperscript{177} Having written this review of the Galleria a few years after its centennial, Geist reflects on the evolution of the Galleria and its integration into Milanese collective memory. He notes the pivotal role that it plays in the social and political interactions within the city as well as the immense amount of attention that is drawn to it by locals and visitors alike. He writes, “For 100 years it has been the backdrop for favorite stories, the mirror of daily life in Milan; political events can be felt there as at a stock market.”\textsuperscript{178}

Geist also remarks that despite the architectural and decorative elements that served to convey a nationalistic sensibility and “[legitimatize] the new nation by calling on a widespread background of tradition,” “the arcade is embedded in a network of references no longer meaningful to today’s visitor.”\textsuperscript{179} “Historical and regional allusions, references to the purpose of the building to serve industry and trade, and the dedication to Italy’s unifier, King Vittorio Emanuele II, make the arcade a memorial to the era, a secular counterpart of the cathedral, which celebrates the moment of rebirth of national self-consciousness. That such notions should be embodied in an arcade must appear to us today a fine piece of irony.”\textsuperscript{180} This description of the Galleria references its original purpose and reveals the intricate planning that went into creating a monument, which exuded nationalistic pride as well as how poorly this allegories have aged. Geist is the first to concede that the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s symbolic value has evolved since its creation.

In his consideration of the Galleria, Geist makes a few significant points. First of all, he comments on the symbolic value the building has on a local and

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{176} Geist, 74.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid, 75.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 392.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., 371; Ibid., 399.
\end{footnotesize}
international level, which was facilitated by the media exposure it received during the time of its construction.\textsuperscript{181} Secondly, Geist understands the Galleria as a microcosm of Milan as well as an indicator of the general economical and political well being of the city. Thirdly, he identifies a clear shift in its perception and use, which he believes is an effort to remain relevant. Lastly, he hints at the fact that the Galleria may have only served as a superficial symbol unity. Italy had not been entirely unified at that point and the clear presence of competition between cities suggests a more aggressive rivalry than camaraderie. This contends that the Galleria may have been more impactful locally and internationally rather than nationally, nuancing Marchetti’s original claim.

Emilio Pozzi articulates this local affection in In Galleria, cuore e specchio di Milano, which compiles a number of essays written by various authors on the Galleria in celebration of its centennial in 1988. In this anthology, the Galleria is shown as a physical and symbolic focal point in Milan, which embodied the social and industrial changes that had occurred in the previous century. Vittorio Gregotti introduces the Galleria as part of the tradition of arcades as a building type and claims that it was “the most relevant urban invention of the first part of the XIX century.”\textsuperscript{182} This opinion refers to the novel combination of art and technology that Mengoni had proposed. This change was in part promoted by the use of cast iron, which was a new and curious material, symbolic in a way of the industrial revolution. The Galleria struck the Milanese as not only a technological feat but also as an object of fascination and beauty.\textsuperscript{183} This enchantment with the Galleria was expressed on

\textsuperscript{180} Geist, 399.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid., 75.
\textsuperscript{182} “la più rilevante delle invenzioni urbane della prima metà del XIX secolo,” Pozzi, 13.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 18
multiple occasions around the time of its inauguration through terms such as “salon,” “large bazar,” “atrium of an imaginary building,” or “Baldassare ball.” This physical appreciation marked a change in taste and esthetics.

The confirmation of this assimilation can be seen through the political and cultural importance the Galleria was given shortly after its inauguration. Ornella Selvafolta argues that this importance is rooted in its physical relationship to the Duomo and La Scala, which immediately made it relevant to the Milanese. The Galleria became a manifestation of the national urban renaissance as well as of an ideological shift in which Milan was viewed as part of a larger collective. It had both a retrospective value, which commemorated King Vittorio Emanuele II, as well as a proactive outlook towards a more prosperous civic future. The arcade was also perceived as the epitome of the Divisionist, and later the Futurist, movement in Milan. The technology and modernity that the Galleria inspired seemed to lend itself to the values of their artistic movement. The political stirrings, which frequently animated the Galleria, also served as a creative platform for the artists of the time. Raffaella De Grada however notes that the Galleria overtime became less frequently portrayed. He attributes this absence to the fact that the Milanese no longer saw it as a curiosity but more as a backdrop for their daily routines. This integration made them forget its artistic connotations.

185 Ibid, 108.
186 Ibid.
187 Ibid.
188 Ibid., 40.
189 Ibid., 108.
190 Ibid., 112.
191 Ibid., 110.
Many of the contributors of this collection emphasize their relationship to the Galleria as a comforting and familial. Enzo Biaggi, and others similarly, begins his piece with “the Galleria is a sentimental place for me.”192 Biaggi characterizes his personal relationship as comparable to the love and adoration that exists between family members, “It is not true that the Galleria is ugly; I find it beautiful. Maybe it is like a family photograph that is part of your upbringing: your mother with an esprit hat doesn’t make you laugh, it’s an endearing image.”193 The banality of the Galleria is mentioned numerous times, notably in the context of the traditional Sunday afternoon stroll.194 It was, and still is, considered a place of passage and a place for meeting. Biagi describes how in his day it was common to suggest a meeting point at the Camparino.195 This custom gave a sense of ease and wellbeing, which Biagi believed was only further underscored by the intimate relationship that each and every Milanese maintained with the site.196 This air of nostalgia is also reflected in the architecture, which Marisa Bellisario attributes to its convivial town square air, which contrasts with the industrial setting of Milan.197 In each of these testimonies, the concept of the arcade being part of the past is emphasized. Despite its then considered less than appealing ornamentation, each contributor agrees that the Galleria remains the symbol of Milan on a cultural and collective level.198 “‘I have been to the Galleria’ means I have been to Milan, that I know Milan well.”199 De Grada concludes with the reality that in the twenty years preceding the publication of

192 “la Galleria è un posto del sentimento, per me,” Pozzi, 145.
193 “Non è vero che la Galleria è brutta; io la trovo bellissima. Forse è come le fotografie di famiglia, fa parte della tue consuetudini: tua madre con il cappello con l’esprit, non fa affatto ridere, è una immagine gentile,” Ibid.
194 Ibid.
195 Ibid.
196 Ibid.
197 Ibid., 156
this anthology, released in 1988, the Galleria had been forgotten, and that it was time to revive its cultural significance.\(^{200}\)

*In Galleria* also manifests the Galleria’s tie to the industrial revolution as well as to the technological advancement, exemplified by the use of cast iron. This argument stresses Milan’s attempt to achieve modernity and match, and perhaps even surpass, its European counterparts. The Galleria is also presented here as a symbol of social and political change. Its structure and decorative elements lend themselves to a promising vision of what Italy could hope to be. The combination of a nationalistic agenda and an innovative concept also inspired artists of the time to adopt a more modern approach as well. Ultimately, what *In Galleria* is proving is that the Galleria has become a comfortable and familiar setting to the Milanese in which memories and habits have been shaped.

In 1997, *La Galleria Vittorio Emanuele e l’Architetto Mengoni* extends the study of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele to the life of its architect as well as its surroundings, the city of Milan. During the period of industrialization, Milan doubled in size while smaller cities such as Bologna, home to the Mengoni family, struggled to keep up with these changes.\(^{201}\) It was in this environment that Giuseppe Mengoni was asked to conceive a plan to renew the urban landscape of Milan. His approach to the topic was groundbreaking in that it used “the existing as evolving material.”\(^{202}\) This ability to personalize and reinvent the past to conform to present ideals is what set him apart most from his competitors and eventually allowed him to claim the

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199 “‘Sono stato in Galleria’ [significa] sono stato a Milano, conosce bene Milano;” Ibid., 170.
200 Ibid., 114.
201 Varni, 8.
project as his own. Giovanna Ginex claims that it is this distinguishing quality that allowed for a relationship with the ongoing industrial revolution to flourish. Milan witnessed during this time a financial renaissance marked by occasions such as the publishing of its first financial newspaper, Il Sole, in 1863 and Italy’s first ever industrial fair in 1881. During the fair, the city specifically chose the Galleria to embody the industrial movement by illuminating it with electricity.

The Galleria’s influence lives on today primarily as a form of consumerist architecture, which has inspired many shopping malls around the world, particularly in the United States. Georgio Gentili attributes this success to a number of things. First and foremost, he believes that the Galleria’s relationship to the Milanese and their wellbeing allowed for it to be easily integrated within the cityscape. This is demonstrated by the Milanese’s involvement in its design as well as the arcade’s ambition to create higher hygiene standards. The Galleria’s “mixed montage” was also according to Gentili influential in determining its success. This collaboration between the city of Milan and foreign advisors shaped the Galleria’s reputation abroad while accomplishing architectural feats unbeknownst to Italy. The Galleria’s use of space and ability to create a physical link between religion and

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204 Ibid.
205 Ibid., 38.
207 Ibid., 58
208 Ibid.
culture impacted the center of town as well.\footnote{Gentili, 58; \textit{Ibid.}, 59.}\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, 59} Lastly, the arcade revolutionized the arcade as a building type by having multiple purposes. Gentili considers this the link between the Galleria and modernity.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

Terry Kirk chooses to express the social impact of the Galleria in \textit{The Architecture of Modern Italy} in 2005, and therefore return to the notion of the Galleria as an integral part of Milan. According to him, the commission of the Galleria is indicative to the development of living standards and modernity within Italy.\footnote{Kirk, 203.} The arcade was supposed to serve as a new type of piazza in which the Milanese could congregate in a luxurious setting. Kirk argues that despite being a “speculative capitalist [instrument], [its] dedication to royalty charged [it] with collective imagination.”\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} It all in all was able “to respond to the material and economic reality of Italian unity,” unlike its Turin counterpart.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

In 2006, Daniel Rey offered an interesting retrospective in \textit{Quattro Passi Sotto il Cielo di Vetro}, which was sponsored by Prada, Massimo Dutti, Libreria Bocca, Swarowski, Libreria Rizzoli, Borsalino and Bernasconi, who were all tenants of the Galleria at the time. In this work, the author traces the historical chronology of the Galleria while inflicting upon it a nostalgic air. The glamour and luxury surrounding the arcade are emphasized, which questions the author’s intentions in light of his collaboration with these luxury labels.

Rey’s main point in his commentary of the Galleria is the hope that was inspired by its innovative nature. Mengoni, whose background as a railway designer...
in Bologna draws interesting connections with his design of the Galleria’s vaulted dome, aspired to make the arcade “a work destined to seal the success of a political design and the monumental expression of capital.”215 216 This project gave the Milanese hope of financial success. Rey records an anecdote in which a passerby notes the absence of a fifth continent, South America, to which their companion replies, “The fifth is here beneath your feet. It is called Milan!”217 This enthusiasm portrays this willingness of the Milanese to become one of the great European cities.

Rey notes that the Galleria very quickly became part of Milanese culture through the presence of bookstores and cafes. The middle class citizens of Milan would come to the Galleria regularly to stroll, a ritual that came to be known as “il quatter pass in Galleria.”218 This use of the arcade is interesting in that it distinguishes itself from other types of architecture, which serve a specific purpose. Here, the Galleria is an object of social interaction and entertainment. Rey’s portrayal of the Galleria is bittersweet, as it seems to reproach the Milanese for no longer caring for it. His opinion reveals a perhaps unfortunate truth that the Galleria’s relevancy is restricted to the income it generates as a tourist attraction.

Jean Castex also highlights the novelty of the Galleria as a new type of social space in 2008. He believes that Mengoni had no qualms about disguising the innovative nature of his arcade, particularly when he decided to replicate the exact dimensions of the dome of Saint Peter’s in Rome.219 He describes the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II as “a large communal building,” which “signified the accommodation of vast crowds of the rising middle class of Milanese society” as well

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215 Rey, 27.
216 Ibid., 61.
217 “Il quinto è lì, sotto i vostri piedi. Si chiama Milano!” Ibid., 67.
218 Ibid., 101.
as “a central space for secular activities that was equal to the religiously oriented Piazza del Duomo.”

What transpires most from this passage is the Galleria’s ability to adapt. It is a space that is open to all people and separate from Church and State. Its existence points to the necessity of having a variety of social spaces. Castex does however recall that the Galleria was not void of tension as many demonstrations occurred there. This according to him “showed how much the citizens of Milan recognized [the Galleria’s] public utility.”

Castex’s opinion of the Galleria points to its “otherness” and its relationship to the rising middle class that required new spaces for entertainment.

The latest author to study the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is Stefano Zuffì in 2015 in his *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele: Dalla storia al domani*. This work was published in 2015 in celebration of the Galleria 150\(^{th}\) anniversary and was sponsored by the Municipality of Milan, Gasparoli S.r.l., Gianni Versace S.p.A., Impresa Percassi S.r.l., Prada S.p.A. and published by Feltrinelli. *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele* considers the existence of the Galleria from the moment of its design up until the 2015 restorations were completed from a social perspective. This emphasizes the historical integration of the Galleria into Milan’s collective memory while noting the restoration’s role in reviving this affection. As Antonella Ranaldi comments in the preface, the restoration is without a doubt the legacy of the 2015 Expo that was held in Milan.

**Thesis Outline**

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220 Ibid.
221 Ibid.
As can be observed by the length of this historiography, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II has from the time of its conception been at the heart of a literary tradition. As a benefactor of this inheritance, I would like to contribute to its study by suggesting that a deeper understanding of the Galleria’s current cultural position and its most recent renovation in 2015 may be reached by linking the site to the question of exhibitions, which inherently exists as a Milanese component. By studying this alternate historical stream, I believe that the Galleria’s role within Milanese civic and collective memory will more easily distinguished and understood when considering the environment and process of the 2015 restoration.

In my first chapter, I would like present the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II as a product of the Milanese exposition that took place in 2015. This will be done in three parts, the first of which will establish the nature of Milanese modernity in contrast to Turinese within the context of their respective exposition histories. This comparison will offer a greater understanding of how the notion of craft has over time been integrated into Milanese identity. This will offer the necessary background to discuss the planning of Expo Milano in 2015. This second section will expose the city’s intentions and references to its own practices as well as to previous examples of sustainable themed venues. The third section of this chapter will evaluate the success of this endeavor and the ways in which parallels may be drawn between the event and the Galleria.

In my second chapter, I will consider the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration within this context, while preserving this focus on craft. The first part of this chapter will provide a historical framework from which to study the Galleria’s restoration within the tradition of art conservation in Italy. This will allow for a
second point to be made concerning the evolution of these conservation practices in recent years to include private and corporate sponsorships, a phenomenon of which the Galleria is a part of. A detailed analysis of the Galleria’s restoration as an exercise of modern craftsmanship will then follow. The second chapter will conclude with a passage dedicated to the sponsors of the restoration, of which Prada and Versace stood out as the most significant donors. This section will argue that the success of the restoration was a result of this sponsorship and its ability to speak to the Galleria’s intrinsic qualities.

In my third and final chapter, I will discuss the marketing objectives that accompanied the restoration and the ways in which the curation of the space participated in the revival of Milanese civic identity. This achievement will be evidenced by the sponsors’ inclusion of each type of patronage present on the site that is the Galleria’s national, municipal, and local audience. The involvement of each of these populations will be presented in individual sections.
Chapter I: The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele and Milanese Expositions

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s cultural and historical significance is best understood within the context of arcades as a building type. This arcade tradition is closely linked to the advent of certain technological innovations and, consequently, concepts of modernity. The history of the Galleria, in terms of Milanese modernism, is informed by the history of Milanese exhibitions, which developed in conjunction with those of its rival, Turin. By examining each city’s interpretation of the practice, Milan’s brand of modernism is made evident and explains the ideological connection to the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II. This historical tie explains Milan’s desire in 2015 to renovate the Galleria in celebration of the site’s 150th anniversary and, consequently, renew its identity as a fuori-expo site. The intentions of Expo 2015 helped solidify this connection by addressing a theme that spoke to both venues: sustainability. While the exhibition may have been primarily advertised as a platform for discussing global food inequalities, it was also an opportunity for Italy to boast and revive its culinary heritage. The implementation of these intentions did not, however, crystallize these ambitions but instead highlighted some major flaws existing within Italy. While accusations of corruption and inefficiency reflected poorly on the Expo, they also emphasized the success of the restoration in invigorating Milanese civic identity. This chapter will begin with a section dedicated to the history of Milanese exhibition practices in relation to those of Turin. From this comparison should transpire the defining characteristics of Milanese modernity. From this point, we will observe how this history and this sensibility have evolved in the context of Expo Milano 2015. In this section the Expo committee’s intentions will be studied in
reference to previous fairs that have addressed the theme of sustainability. Following this, the result of this planning will be described and juxtaposed with the Expo’s master plan. This chapter will then conclude with the presentation of parallels existing between the exposition and the Galleria.

**Milanese Modernity in Relationship to Exhibition Practices**

At the time of Italy’s unification, Turin, Milan and Genova played an important part in driving the country’s industrialization. These Northern cities were united by common geographical and demographic factors, which led them to be considered as the Industrial Triangle of Italy. Turin, Milan and Genova sought to affirm their presence outside of the confines of Italy by hosting expositions, which had, at the time, become “catalysts of popular taste and promoters of mass culture.”

Of the three, Turin and Milan organized the most fairs, which ignited intense competition between these dominant points of the Industrial Triangle. This rivalry led to a number of fairs being organized with the clear objective of surpassing the other city’s previous fair, forcing each city to constantly strive for more.

Turin and Milan’s rivalry is best understood within the context of the first world’s fair in 1851 in London. This event represented the culmination of a long history of exhibitions, which began during Romans times. These were initially small and local events, which evolved to be more cosmopolitan in the 1700s. In the

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225 Ibid.
following century, the London World Fair marked a decisive moment in this tradition by extending the educational goal of these events to include the concept of progress.\textsuperscript{226} The experimental and modern quality that so deeply infused “The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations” in 1851 and those following it was a result of the Industrial Revolution, which swept across Western Europe at the time.\textsuperscript{227} In this prosperous environment, countries were all the more eager to flaunt their modern inventions as a way to prove their worth.\textsuperscript{228} From this point on, these fairs were referred to as exhibitions. The word choice, “exhibition,” comes from the Latin “ex” meaning “out” and “habere” meaning “to hold,” and translates as “to hold out” or to “to hold forth.”\textsuperscript{229} This meaning perfectly encompassed these fairs’ desire to distribute knowledge, in other words, the exhibition as a social act. These lexical shifts and nuances are not present in English as can be noted by the loose usage of the word “fair.” Today, “exposition,” relative to “exhibition,” connotes international implications.

“The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations,” headed by Prince Albert, promoted modern solutions and international collaboration. This emphasis provided a platform for visitors to experience the broader world around them, which was being made more accessible through modern technology. The addition of the Gastronomic Symposium of all Nations also allowed for this international sensibility to arise through the display of a variety of foods from different nations that could be tasted and experienced collectively.\textsuperscript{230} This device

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{226} Visconti, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{227} Granata, 20.
  \item \textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{230} Visconti, 3.
\end{itemize}
would later be recalled in the master plan of the 2015 exposition in Milan. The modern quality of the 1851 fair was also embodied in the design of its venue, which consisted of a glass-vaulted building. This innovative exhibition hall known as the Crystal Palace was derived from Sir Joseph Praxton’s greenhouse architecture.\textsuperscript{231} Its erection inspired the reinterpretation of the Parisian \textit{passage}’s materiality and identity to form a new type of building referred to as the “arcade.”\textsuperscript{232} In addition to this lexical shift, the perception of this architectural type changed as well, they were no longer mere passageways but instead destinations. The Crystal Palace was also the first instance of steel and glass fusing together on such a large scale, a technological feat that was instantly adopted by the public as the centerpiece of the show. “It was the symbol of the victory of steel, that is industry, but also recalled the influence that nature continued to maintain over manufacturing design.”\textsuperscript{233} This allusion to nature points to the arcade type’s ambiguous melding of outdoor and indoor space. This offered patrons the opportunity to experience nature within the comfort of a shelter. The Crystal Palace is also noted as the first example of a building erected and dedicated to expositions, an innovation that would soon become the norm. Despite initial difficulties with funding, the 1851 exposition successfully accomplished its goal of creating a new exhibitory environment, seeking to include a larger international audience.\textsuperscript{234}

This exposition spurred a succession of expositions around Europe and in the United States. The following exposition to be acknowledged by the Bureau of

\textsuperscript{231} Visconti, 2.
\textsuperscript{232} Buse, 14.
\textsuperscript{233} “Era l’emblema della vittoria del ferro, ossia dell’industria e però nello stesso tempo la forma della serra ricordava quanto ancora la produzione manifatturiera fosse strettamente legata alla natura,” Visconti, 2.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid.
International Expositions was in Paris in 1855. This exhibition was dedicated to peace and social progress, themes particularly relevant to the French after the revolution of 1848. Nature again featured prominently through the display of New World foods, such as coffee and cocoa, grown in greenhouses. This technique allowed for the growth of warmer climate foods as well as the development of new vegetal varieties. In response to the 1851 fair, the city erected three separate buildings that would represent industry, agriculture, and fine arts. One of these buildings was the Palais de l’Industrie, a grandiose arcade that Napoleon III commissioned as a challenge to Paxton’s design. Unlike the Crystal Palace, however, the Palais de l’Industrie was to remain permanent fixture. Jean-Marie Viel, the architect of the winning design, included masonry on the glass and steel vault, a material that had also been used for the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and railway stations at the time. Though immensely popular, the arcade did display some technical deficiencies with its glass ceiling, specifically regarding the absence of shade and the presence of glare. The Palais de l’Industrie was later destroyed and replaced by the Grand and Petit Palais for the 1900 World Fair, at which time the Eiffel Tour was also erected.

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235 Expo Timeline,” *Bureau International des Expositions.*
236 Visconti, 3.
237 Ibid.
238 Ibid.
240 Ibid.
241 Ibid.
242 Ibid.
During this time, Italy was experiencing the slow and grueling process of unification. As previously noted, Milan was freed from Austrian rule in 1859 and integrated into the Kingdom of Sardinia, which slowly gained control over the rest of the country before being renamed the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. It was at this point that Turin was proclaimed the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. After the tumultuous uprisings that occurred between September 21 and September 22 1864, Turin ceased to be the capital.\textsuperscript{244} Though Florence was declared the official capital of united Italy, Turin chose to defy this, maintaining that it was “Italy’s moral and intellectual core.”\textsuperscript{245} Turin was in many ways different from its peers. The effects of the Napoleonic invasion had made a great impact on Torinese culture and had opened it to the rest of Europe.\textsuperscript{246} With this international sensibility, the Turinese believed that they were the best placed to represent the rest of the country. This idea of supremacy was further strengthened by the many Italians who fled to the North, as a result of the War of Independence.\textsuperscript{247} Turin used this influx to its economic and political advantage, claiming that it had become the most Italian city of all of Italy.\textsuperscript{248} The effects of \textit{piemontesismo}, which promoted “efficiency, sound administration, moderate liberal reforms, and organic process,” also enabled Turin to be politically and economically independent from the late 1860s into the 1870s.\textsuperscript{249}

The Municipality of Turin quickly understood that in order to preserve its influence in the country it would have to build and propagate a national identity. In forming this collective ideology, a process of selection was made, one that was

\textsuperscript{244} Coletta, 15.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{247} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{248} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{249} Ibid., 19.
evidently biased towards Turin and the “heroic” role it had played in the *Risorgimento*. As the home to Garibaldi and Cavour, Turin reshaped Italy’s collective past by presenting itself as the originator of the unification through published histories and the inauguration of national museums and libraries.  

These museums were also opportunities for Turin to help educate its population on the evolution of sciences through their extensive collection of objects and catalogs from world’s fairs.  

The hope was that this exposure would encourage local entrepreneurship. The first manifestation of Turin’s desire to host an international fair was in 1867, with the declared intention of holding it in 1872 at the Piazza d’Armi.  

The hope was that the event’s “universal language” would encourage a sense of national unity within the context of a Turinese tradition of fairs. While this event was eventually postponed until 1884, its organization promoted the creation of the *Regio museo industriale*, which was inspired by the British South Kensington museum.  

The foundation of Milan’s exposition practices can be traced back to 1871, only ten years after Italy’s unification. The success of this fair was crucial, as the Italian government did not want to replicate the type of venue that had been hosted in the disused train station of Leopolda in Florence in 1861. This had proved to be more of a “political gesture” to celebrate the unification than a display of knowledge.  

The 1871 fair was to be more focused on technology in order to project an image of confidence and sophistication to the rest of Europe. This project was

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250 Coletta, 18.  
251 Ibid., 20.  
252 Ibid., 19.  
253 Ibid., 8.  
254 Ibid., 21; Ibid., 19.  
255 Granata, 20.
supported by the Italian Industrial Association (A.I.I.), which was an organization founded in 1867 that strove to “spread throughout the working class well-being and the love of work, social security and education, in particular by establishing benefit associations, cooperative banks, cooperative production and consumer companies.”

The A.I.I considered Milan, which was also its headquarters, the most appropriate choice for the occasion, as it was the only Italian city to have successfully engaged with the Industrial Revolution. Though lagging behind its Western European counterparts, Milan’s transition to modernity also allowed the working class to gain prominence and influence on the city’s political stage. This combined with the rise of the newly formed middle class, whose discretionary income contributed to the development of new businesses and Milan’s international stature, made the city decisively modern, and thus the perfect setting for the exhibition.

The Industrial Expo was held from September to October of that year in the public gardens of Porta Venezia. The exhibition theme, dedicated to “customary arts,” attracted over ninety thousand visitors, most who were local. The fair focused on the technological innovations that had been made in the years preceding the fair as well as the artistic quality of craftsmen, the highlight of which was the porcelain and ceramic display. This idea of a distinctive Italian style persisting despite the introduction of industrial, and therefore non-traditional products was key.

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http://www.digitami.it/opera.do?operaId=454&visual=img&paginaN=1  
257 Granata, 22.  
258 Ibid., 23.  
259 Ibid.  
260 Ibid., 3.  
261 Ibid., 7.  
262 Ibid., 23; Ibid., 24.  
263 Ibid., 23; Ibid., 25.  
264 Ibid.
to maintaining the reputation of Italy as a country of craft and quality.\textsuperscript{265} Italian companies, such as Richard and Ginori, also participated in the fair in order to showcase their products.\textsuperscript{266} The exhibition maintained a comforting “country fair” quality, however, through the presence of food stalls and performances.\textsuperscript{267} The official guide of the exhibition took inventory of the different areas of the venue, though made no attempt to link the fair to the city.\textsuperscript{268} In a guidebook to Milan that was released that same year, the Galleria is however featured and acclaimed.\textsuperscript{269} While the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II had been inaugurated in 1867, additional work was still being carried out. The work and proportions of the site are emphasized throughout the lengthy description of the site, which according to the author is “unique in the world.”\textsuperscript{270} The author also mentioned that the arcade sheltered the most beautiful stores and elegant cafes of the city.\textsuperscript{271} No comment is made concerning the unfinished arch. The 1871 fair was not by any means a pivotal point in exposition practices, but did present Milan as a capable contender for following venues, notably by accumulating a small profit from the event.\textsuperscript{272}

Following the examples of Great Britain and France, the rest of Europe scrambled to reach the same level of prestige that the organization of a World Fair guaranteed. In 1873, Austria was the first outside of the European leaders to attempt a similar event in Vienna. The fair was located in the Park of Prater and once again

\textsuperscript{265} Granata, 26.  
\textsuperscript{266} Ibid., 25.  
\textsuperscript{267} Ibid., 24.  
\textsuperscript{269} “Milano percorsa in omnibus,” 20.  
\textsuperscript{270} “unico al mondo,” Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid., 21.  
\textsuperscript{272} Granata, 27.
addressed themes pertaining to agriculture and technology. The Weltausstellung, or World’s Fair, is most vividly remembered for Japan’s first pavilion, that later encouraged an even wider spread of Japonism in Europe. J. Scott Russell, a British engineer, designed the exposition venue, the Rotunda, which, unsurprisingly, was also an arcade. This arcade distinguished itself however from its European peers by the impressive size of its dome, which, measuring a diameter of 440 feet, was 2.22 times the size of the Crystal Palace. The hydraulic technology used to manufacture and raise the glass and steel vault was also noteworthy for the time.

The 1873 Expo is also a crucial point in terms of this thesis as it was at this event that a model of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was displayed for the exhibition’s international audience. The Galleria can be understood as a direct response to the competition between European nations, that Italy sought to win by building an arcade of its own in its most modern city in celebration of its recent unification. In exhibiting this model, Italy wished to prove to the rest of Europe that it was capable of adapting to modern times. It is also interesting to note, that for both the Rotunda and the Galleria’s design, Austria and Italy sought help, and perhaps validation, from the exposition masterminds of the time, Great Britain and France. The cost of this project left room for little else than art to be displayed at the Italian pavilion that year. This, however, did not seem important to the Italians who believed that the Galleria would be the confirmation of their status within Europe. The

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274 Ibid.
276 Ibid.
277 Ibid.
278 Visconti, 4.
Viennese 1873 exhibition is therefore evidence of the fact that arcades had become a reflection of current taste as well as a symbol of modernity.

Milan would wait another ten years before hosting its first, and Italy’s second, national fair in 1881. This fair was considered an opportunity for Italy to remedy the embarrassment caused by the 1861 fair in Florence and for Milan to develop its urban infrastructure. The installation of a new system of transportation came in response to the significant growth the city had experienced between 1871 and 1881. The six-month exhibition took place once again at the Porta Venezia, though this time occupied a larger area, which included the Piazza d’Armi. Much like current World Fairs, the 1881 exhibition lasted six months and included “cultural and social events,” “bar, restaurants and wide swathes for resting in the green spaces of the public garden.” Additional focus was placed on the presentation of displays, which were organized by degrees of transformation. This meant that visitors could experience a product’s evolution from its origins as a raw material to a finished state that embodied advanced technology. This venue was largely inspired by the 1876 Philadelphia fair that the city hosted in celebration of the centennial of the United State’s independence. The Philadelphia exhibition, although not focused on progress and innovation like its predecessors, was organized around the construction of a park considered at the time as the largest in the world. This new interpretation of the exposition space was not only a more holistic approach but also offered a positive impact on the urban landscape and its community.

279 “Guida del visitatore alla esposizione italiana del 1881 in Milano,” 22.
280 Granata, 28.
282 Granata, 33.
283 Coletta, 33.
284 Visconti, 5.
In the planning of the 1881 fair, Milan made a special effort to publicize the event in order to revive Italy’s economy as a whole and attract foreign investors’ attention. Food continued to feature prominently though this time through a more commercial lens by emphasizing brands associated with the product. The general aesthetic of the fair was also more staged than it had been previously as the following quote demonstrates, “In a chalet prepared in characteristic style, furthermore, a special commission had concentrated the many objects relative to mountaineering, a ‘new gymnastic exercise that […] strengthening the limbs raised the minds of men to the serene spheres of nature.’” This new approach to exhibition design indicates a transition in the perceived function of these events. What once was an opportunity to match Western European practices was now a commercial event focused on the visitor’s experience. This new presentation of Italian industry was also important in making Italian craft appealing to foreign investors. While intending to represent the country as a whole, the focus remained nevertheless on Milan, as witnessed by the provenance of the vendors, a total of 1,500 from Milan, 157 from Naples and 2 from Basilicata. This disparity is also reflective of the industrial and financial gap between the North and South. In the 1881 exhibition guide, efforts were made to include information concerning Milan in order to encourage visitors to tour other attractions within the city. Such was the case for the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, which is mentioned under the section entitled “La Vita a Milano,” or Life in Milan. In the introduction to this chapter, the author explains that life in Milan has always

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285 Visconti, 4.
286 Granata, 30; Ibid., 33.
287 Ibid., 32.
288 Ibid.
289 Coletta, 87.
revolved around nature and theatre.\textsuperscript{290} When describing the theatre culture, the author included the Galleria as the “ongoing theater” of Milan.\textsuperscript{291} They describe the arcade as “one of the grandest architectural monuments of Europe,” which entices the Milanese and foreigners alike.\textsuperscript{292} This description is followed by descriptions of other notable monuments in Milan.\textsuperscript{293} By treating the Galleria separately and tying it to the city’s quintessential qualities, the author suggests that the Galleria is representative of Milan. These new associations, instilled in Milanese exhibition tradition, made the city more internationally relevant than it had been previously and set the foundations for Milan to become Italy’s “main interpreter of the ‘new world.’”\textsuperscript{294}

The first Turinese fair to be truly considered on a national and international level like this one was, as previously noted, in 1884. Turin was familiar with fair practices as well and had been hosting these local events since 1829, holding them first every three years and then every six.\textsuperscript{295} Its first national industrial exhibitions were held in 1850 and 1858.\textsuperscript{296} “These fairs were modern because they no longer exclusively featured objets d’art and artisans’ products for the upper classes, but introduced mass-produced goods intended to invade foreign markets as well as local ones.”\textsuperscript{297} These fairs promoted the industries that Turin had mastered, notably transportation.\textsuperscript{298} The extent of these skills would later be made evident in 1871 when the Fréjus tunnels connecting Italy to the rest of Europe were built.\textsuperscript{299} It was also at

\textsuperscript{290} “Guida del visitatore alla esposizione industriale italiana del 1881 in Milano,” 175.
\textsuperscript{291} “teatro continuo,” Ibid., 176.
\textsuperscript{292} “uno dei più grandiosi monumenti architettonici d’Europa,” Ibid.
\textsuperscript{293} Ibid., 177.
\textsuperscript{294} Granata, 3.
\textsuperscript{295} Coletta, 20.
\textsuperscript{296} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{297} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{298} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{299} Ibid.
this time that businesses involved in food, such as Cirio, and publishing, such as UTET, began to develop.³⁰⁰

The 1884 fair was set in Castello Valentino park, an idea that had been inspired by London’s 1851 fair in Hyde Park and Philadelphia’s 1876 fair in Fairmount Park.³⁰¹ The architecture of this fair mimicked both Italian and foreign styles, such as the Chinese pagoda and Swiss chalet.³⁰² Evidence of Milanese and Turinese rivalry may be noted here, as Milan also included a chalet in their 1881 design. One of the most popular attractions was the castle itself, which was designed to showcase medieval life in Turin and featured live actors.³⁰³ This idea originated from Roland-Barthes’ “reality-effect,” which encouraged viewers to experience the fair as a microcosm of the world.³⁰⁴ The 1884 exhibition also drew inspiration from the 1881 fair in Milan, by adopting their presentation of raw versus transformed materials.³⁰⁵ Perhaps in an attempt to differentiate itself from its rival, Turin switched the order of this display to showcase transformed elements first.

The main emphasis of this exhibition remained on recreation and technology’s contribution to this.³⁰⁶ Attractions such as a roller coaster, a toboggan and a “Luftbahn,” an “elevated railway,” provided vivid examples of the type of thrills that technology could produce.³⁰⁷ A funicular railway was also put in place to carry visitors up the Superga hills to the royal family’s mausoleum.³⁰⁸ This attraction offered not only a breath-taking view, but also “strengthened [visitors’] sense of

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³⁰⁰ Coletta, 21.
³⁰¹ Ibid., 24.
³⁰² Ibid.
³⁰³ Ibid., 39.
³⁰⁴ Ibid. 35.
³⁰⁵ Ibid.
³⁰⁶ Ibid., 24.
³⁰⁷ Ibid., 26.
collective identity and national pride” by facilitating a pilgrimage to the Savoy family’s resting grounds. The main attraction, however, remained electricity, which was used to light the city’s railway station and fountains. The high level of attendance as well as the quality of the venue dispelled stereotypes of Italian laziness and confirmed Turin’s role as the capital of labor and industry.

The unrest that was spurred by the agricultural depression of the 1880s drove fairs in the 1890s to be more conscious of social disparities. Workers, for example, were offered free admission to the exhibitions as well as discounts for other related activities. The First Italian Exhibition of Architecture was hosted in 1890 in an attempt to promote this national agenda. The centerpiece of the show was the Mole Antonelliana, which had just been completed the year before. What had originally been intended as a synagogue became a monument to the unification of Italy that was, like the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, dedicated to the first king of the country. Many complimented Alessandro Antonelli’s work and particularly the *sistema antonelliano* that he had put in place. This alternative to steel consisted of “a masonry skeletal system of construction.” Antonelli’s preference for innovation over imitation spoke to Turin’s desire to develop a national architectural style. This motive is made further evident when considering the symbolic similarities the Mole bears to the Galleria. Turin was clearly trying to communicate to its rival that while the Galleria may have surpassed others, the Mole began a new tradition altogether,

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308 Coletta., 27.
309 Ibid., 28.
310 Ibid.
311 Ibid., 32.
313 Ibid., 18.
314 Etlin, 18.
one that was infinitely more Italian. The 1898 Turin fair also addressed these issues through the inclusion of the *Galleria del lavoro*, which exhibited technologies related to various industries while provoking admiration of the exhibit hall’s arcade technology.\(^{315}\)

In 1902, Turin continued to provoke innovative social thinking when it presented *art nouveau* designs for a multitude of budgets.\(^{316}\) The combination of luxurious models and affordable alternatives was in line with the French initiative to create *art public*, public art, and *art social*, social art.\(^{317}\) While the rest of Europe acclaimed the fair as direct contributor to the *art nouveau* discussion, some criticized Raimondo D’Aronco for imitating other artists, such as Olbrich, and not effectively producing an Italian interpretation of the movement.\(^{318}\) This in some ways dampened the success of the exhibition as it failed to present a national architectural style. This fair and the fair of 1890 did, however, inspire a next generation of architects, such as Antonio Sant’Elia, that tried to compensate for this deficiency.

The first Italian world’s fair, and therefore exposition, took place in Milan in 1906, the same year that Turin became the seat of the *Lega degli industriali* and, shortly after, of the *Confederazione Italiana dell’industria*.\(^{319}\) This event chose as its theme the development and impact of transportation on the urban landscape. To commemorate and directly illustrate the exhibition, the Sempione Tunnel was built in order to connect Italy to Switzerland and in doing so the rest of Europe.\(^{320}\) The road connecting the tunnel to Milan met the park where the exhibition was held, which

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\(^{315}\) Coletta, 35.
\(^{316}\) Etlin, 28.
\(^{317}\) Ibid.
\(^{318}\) Ibid., 18.
\(^{319}\) Granata, 53.
\(^{320}\) Ibid.
was subsequently called the Sempione Park.\footnote{Nicola Russi, “Expo Milano 2015 an alternative approach,” \textit{Architecture Ireland} 264 (2012), 22.} The tunnel was used as a marketing tool by the exhibition committee, who presented it alongside Hermes and the personification of Industry marching towards a prosperous future.\footnote{Visconti, 6.} The emphasis on the Sempione was also reflective of how Milan chose to invest its money in durable projects rather than temporary infrastructure, which produced more attractive returns on investment.\footnote{Russi, 22.} This idea of longevity was also addressed in Turin in 1884 through the addition of the funicular as a new urban attraction. The 1906 exhibition, much like the last, was realized with the support of private investors.\footnote{Granata, 54.} The event was in fact hosted by Banca d’Italia and the Gondrand Transport Company with the help of wealthy Milanese sponsors and institutions, such as La Scala and the University of Bocconi.\footnote{Ibid.} This association with various stakeholders of Milan ensured financial success and demonstrated a spirit of collaboration and a desire to impress foreign visitors. The targeted audience for this exposition was further impressed by the construction of a large number of hotels.\footnote{Ibid.} The exposition was officially inaugurated twice, once on April 28, 1906 at the Sempione Park by Giuseppe Giacosa, a well-respected playwright, and then two days later at the Piazza d’Armi for the King and Queen.\footnote{Ibid.} Over the fair’s six-month duration, the exposition was inaugurated a third time to celebrate the reconstruction of a few pavilions, which had been burnt by a fire on August 3, 1906.\footnote{Ibid., 55.}
The venue extended over an area of one million square meters and “included the Arena, the Castle, the Piazza d’Armi and the Simplon Arch, with an elevated electric railway to join the various parts of the exhibition.”329 The fair was designed by Sebastiano Locati, who had collaborated with G. Ceruti in 1881, and included 24 participating countries.330 Locati’s vision for the exhibition was similar to the previous one in that many of the areas were staged and thematic. The entrance to the fair, for example, replicated on a smaller scale that of the Sempione Tunnel.331 There was also a pavilion dedicated to the city of Cairo, which featured “a bazaar, camels and Egyptian shops.”332 Another element adding to the theatrics of the fair was electricity. Every night from nine to midnight the avenues of the pavilions were illuminated by this novel luxury.333 This image of Milan lit up “was widely circulated for the first time through the massive use of photography, souvenir postcards and watercolours which spread in large quantities throughout Italy and beyond.”334 Locati also attempted to be cost efficient by commissioning two hundred and twenty five buildings in Liberty style made of plaster and paper-mâché.335 The only building that remained after the fair, but later burnt down, was the Aquarium.336

The focus of the exposition, however, was transportation. Each method of transportation was granted its own pavilion. The Piazza d’Armi, for example, had on display over twenty kilometers of railway tracks, while the aeronautical pavilion

329 Granata, 55.
330 Ibid.
331 Ibid.
332 Ibid.
333 Ibid.
334 Ibid.
335 Ibid.
336 Ibid., 59.
included demonstrations of recent inventions, such as “flight balloons.” The exhibition committee also chose to include the Galleria del Sempione, which explained the various technologies used in its construction. Another memorable pavilion was “the gallery of work.” This area showcased the most prominent industries of the time, and indirectly Italy’s contribution to them. In addition to this pavilion, was an area dedicated to “social security.” This served “to demonstrate how the fabric of social organisations was active and interconnected.” Due to Milan’s social and economic history, this issue spoke to many locals who attended the fair and arguably influenced the advent of the first unemployment convention, which occurred a few months after the exhibition ended in Milan.

Once again, this inclusion of social topics speaks to Milan’s rivalry with Turin and its desire to surpass its competitor.

In the exposition’s official guide, a detailed account of the city’s history and its points of interest was given, as it had been in 1881. The Galleria was listed under the category “Monuments and Modern Buildings,” thus confirming its status within Milan after its few short years of existence. The Galleria was also one of the few buildings to be depicted photographically in the pamphlet. This attention to the Galleria presents the arcade as a complementary site to the exhibition, a relationship that would today be described as fuori-expo, meaning an offsite embodiment of the fair. Furthermore, the guide comments on the Galleria’s most recent restorations,

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337 Granata., 56.
338 Visconti, 6.
339 Granata, 56.
340 Ibid., 57; Ibid., 58.
341 Ibid., 58.
342 Ibid.
343 Ibid.
344 “Monumenti ed edifici moderni,” “Guida Album di Milano e dell’Esposizione, 1906,” 45.
hinting at the value of its legacy within Milan. Exhibition tradition can be interpreted in this sense as the originator and disseminator of the Galleria’s physical and symbolic identity both internationally and nationally. This duality imbued the Galleria with an innovative and modern quality, which continues to be exuded today. In this guide there were also a far larger number of advertisements for local and regional products and sites than there had been in any previous edition. This is once again indicative of technology as a creator of consumerism.

It was also during this time that Futurism gained momentum within the cafes of the Galleria. The modern and international environment of the 1906 exhibition surely acted as a source of inspiration for these artists who in turn focused their modernist gaze upon the Galleria. These artistic interpretations of technology suggested a budding Milanese aesthetic, or craft, that melded art and technology. The exposition guide’s distinction between historical and modern monuments confirms this shift in ideologies, as, for example, the Galleria’s design is considered too innovative to be simply perceived as monumental. It is perhaps this distinctive taste that granted Milan national and international success in the way that Turin had aspired to in 1902 during its art nouveau fair.

The 1906 fair attracted over seven million visitors and was considered a success by many, including the French Commission, who described the fair as “an immense effort […] followed by a very honourable result.” The exhibition indeed provided Milan with the international credibility, which it had lacked before. In displaying their products and innovations alongside those of France, Germany and

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345 “Guida Album di Milano e dell’Esposizione, 1906,” 44.
346 Ibid., 45.
347 Granata, 60; Ibid., 58.
Great Britain, Italy communicated an image quality and craft equal to that its counterparts. Furthermore, by including pavilions that raised issues pertaining to Milan such as social justice, the exposition committee presented Italy as cutting-edge and modern. In addition to the exposition’s themes, the staging of the displays connoted ideas of design and wealth.\textsuperscript{348} The 1906 exhibition overall provided Milan with the symbolic and physical resources, notably through the facilitated access in Switzerland, to become an additional European hub with a vibrant economy.

In 1911, Turin responded to this success by hosting an exhibition in celebration of Italy’s 15\textsuperscript{th} anniversary, which sought to honor the country’s three capitals, Turin, Florence and Rome.\textsuperscript{349} For this occasion the municipality of Turin focused its efforts on displaying its power within Italy and Europe. This was accomplished through consistent emphasis of the role the city played in the \textit{Risorgimento} and the country’s Industrial Revolution.\textsuperscript{350} In fact, during that year Turin surpassed Milan in number of factories and workers employed, which confirmed its position as the dominant industrial city.\textsuperscript{351} This idea of supremacy was further emphasized through the production of extensive catalogs explaining the technologies displayed and the decision to use the Turin baroque, embodied by Filippo Juvarra’s whimsical designs, rather than the traditional \textit{mélange} of styles generally present at World’s Fairs.\textsuperscript{352} In doing so, Turin presented its style of baroque as the model for Italy and “[inspired] ideas of historical continuity and social stability”\textsuperscript{353} While this fair asserted Turin’s status within Italy, its absence from

\textsuperscript{348} Visconti, 6.
\textsuperscript{349} Coletta, 79.
\textsuperscript{350} Ibid., 80.
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid., 79.
\textsuperscript{352} Ibid., 80; Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{353} Ibid., 84.
world’s fair history suggests that it did not receive the same degree of international success as Milan in 1906. This can perhaps be explained by Turin’s focus on patriotism, which might have seemed irrelevant in the context of technology and innovation.

While exhibitions in Turin gradually became less frequent, in Milan they became part of the city’s civic identity. Following the positive economic impact of the 1906 fair, Milan hosted its first Trade Fair in 1920, which occupied an area of 15,000 square meters between Porta Venezia and Porta Garibaldi.\textsuperscript{354} As a result of the First World War, an emphasis was put on eliminating waste and constructing pavilions using recyclable materials.\textsuperscript{355} The popularity of the venue led King Vittorio Emanuele III to establish in 1922 the “Ente autonomo fiera campionaria internazionale,” or International Trade Fair Entity, that would be in charge of aligning the fair with international standards.\textsuperscript{356} That same year in May a meeting was held at the Castello Sforza in order to reflect on the Italian product and its place in the European market.\textsuperscript{357} This conversation between intellectuals and entrepreneurs resulted in the first Biennale of Figurative Arts in 1923 near Milan, in Monza.\textsuperscript{358} Based on the success of this exhibition, the B.I.E. adopted the event and renamed it “Esposizione triennale internazionale delle arti decorative ed industriali moderne e dell’architettura moderna,” that is International Triennale Exposition of Decorative and Modern Industrial Arts and Modern Architecture.\textsuperscript{359} The scope of the exhibition was to be “the mirror of contemporary civilization,” and, as such, reflect notions of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{354} Granata, 114.
\item \textsuperscript{355} Ibid., 115; Ibid., 112.
\item \textsuperscript{356} Ibid., 115; Ibid., 116.
\item \textsuperscript{357} Ibid., 106.
\item \textsuperscript{358} Ibid., 108.
\item \textsuperscript{359} Ibid., 109.
\end{itemize}
“‘modernity,’ ‘originality,’ ‘technical perfection,’ and ‘efficiency of production.’” Designed to occur every three years, the first Triennale took place in 1933 at the newly erected Palazzo dell’Arte situated within the Sempione Park. The Palazzo dell’Arte housed a library, an area for temporary exhibitions, a theater, a concert hall, a restaurant, a cafe, and artists’ ateliers for rent. This design was innovative in that it allowed for Milan to have access to a permanent exhibition hall as well as reuse the 1906 site effectively for tourism and investment. During Italy’s period of Fascism, these fairs gained international significance, as they were the only opportunities citizens had to interact with foreigners. Since this original Triennale, Milan has hosted seventeen others, the next of which will be held in 2016.

The importance of exhibitions within Milanese culture continues to persist today as can be noted by the design and erection of Milan’s most recent exhibition site. Designed by Massimilano Fuksas, the Fair Exhibition Centre hosts a variety of events, which attract over 5 million visitors every year, the most anticipated of which is the Salone del Mobile, or Furniture Salon. These venues are not restricted to the Fair Exhibition Centre, however, and, in fact, impact the city as a whole. This phenomenon has become so common that it is now referred to as “Fuorisalone,” or outside-exhibition. During these exhibition periods, Milan celebrates whichever theme or craft is being showcased though commercial events and parties. “All the energy of the city is involved every year in [these events] to the point that fashion

360 Granta, 109.
361 Ibid.; Ibid., 106.
362 Ibid.
363 Ibid., 120.
365 Russi, 22.
366 Ibid.
shows have been overshadowed by the Furniture Design Week and all the big companies and associations, including those not directly related to design, invite designers and creative people to investigate new shapes for their products or to find special locations to show their goods. These events momentarily alter the urban landscape as well as disused spaces, such as factories and ancient buildings, are repurposed as galleries, gift shops, design stores and restaurants. Public spaces, such as universities and piazzas, are also infused with the energy of these exhibitions through temporary installations, such as those featured at the University of Milan.

The history of Turin and Milan’s exhibition practices demonstrates the evolution of their identities as industrial cities and their evolution towards modernism. Turin, on the one hand, hosted a larger number of fairs and sought to maintain its political and cultural influence in Italy through them. Milan, on the other, did not have the privilege, or burden, of maintaining an established reputation and used exhibitions as a way to promote its potential to its peers and abroad. These different approaches to exhibitions are manifested in the ways they shaped each city’s identity. In Turin, for example, the fairs emphasized the importance of innovation, particularly in the fields of science and engineering, a choice that was made clear in the construction of the Mole and the 1898 architecture exhibition. In Milan, however, the focus was placed on the development of craft, a methodology encompassed by the Galleria. This attention to aesthetics offered the ideal foundations for the Futurist movement to build their ideologies upon. The Futurists allowed for the creation of a true Milanese modernist identity, one that over time would gain political currency.

367 Russi, 22.
368 Ibid.
369 Ibid.
370 Ibid., 23.
Benito Mussolini would later take advantage of this activist sensibility, which would mark the end of Turin’s political influence in Italy.

**Milan 2015 and Sustainability**

Today, modern cities define innovation not in terms of production but instead in terms of sustainable actions. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “sustainability” as “The property of being environmentally sustainable; the degree to which a process or enterprise is able to be maintained or continued while avoiding the long-term depletion of natural resources.”

In Italy, sustainability has historically been addressed in reference to the country’s cultural heritage. This conversation began at the turn of the 20th century when the effects of the Industrial Revolution began to take their toll on the country’s landscape.

While obviously an environmental factor, government officials also felt that citizen’s surroundings influenced local identity and the understanding of art.

For this reason, some measures were taken in 1909 to raise awareness and monitor industries’ harmful impact.

In 1948, additional actions were taken to include the conservation of the Italian landscape as part of the ninth amendment of the constitution, which pertained to citizens’ right to access cultural heritage and the state’s duty to protect it.

This attention to the environment was not an isolated case, as can be observed by

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373 Ibid.

374 Ibid.

375 Ibid.
Theodore Roosevelt’s gigantic efforts to address the issue in his fight for national parks and environmental laws around the same time.³⁷⁶

The 2015 Expo committee’s choice to apply the concept of sustainability to food speaks directly to this relationship between heritage and the environment, in other words, nature as a producer of culture. This theme also references Italian tourism practices and the government’s use of food as an authentic medium through which to experience Italian culture. This alternative understanding of sustainability as preservation of cultural heritage will be further discussed in Chapter III in the context of the Galleria’s restoration. The theme “Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life” considered “how mankind can, simultaneously, feed itself and the planet, through research and the sharing of sustainable models of production and consumption, following a multidisciplinary approach […] so as to stimulate and develop relationships and connections that can engage all levels of society.”³⁷⁷ The Expo committee chose to address this topic through the scope of science in order to better persuade its audience of the benefits that could flourish from technological innovations in the food sector.³⁷⁸ This scientific sensibility was also expressed through the Expo’s elected symbol, Leonardo da Vinci’s Vitruvian Man, which acted as a reference to the collaboration of arts and sciences and to Milanese cultural heritage.³⁷⁹ This idea of revival and adaptation was further emphasized on the official Expo website in a comment that stated, “The Universal Exposition of 2015 represents an excellent opportunity for Italy to revive and promote its many points of excellence

³⁷⁶ Settis, “Perché gli italiani…”
³⁷⁷ Iraldo, 142
³⁷⁹ Ibid.
in manufacturing, technology and science.” The committee’s intentions were therefore to use the exhibition as a platform to liaise existing tourist expectations to current issues.

Sustainability as an exhibition theme is not a novel concept and, in fact, has existed since the First World War, when technology’s utopic connotations became questionable as a result of the war’s disastrous consequences. This reformed vision combined with the economic burden that many European countries faced, offered a conducive environment for the Bureau International des Expositions to be formed in Paris in 1928. The Bureau’s role was to ensure the continued quality of the fair as an institution as well as resolve previous issues involving the transparency of its organization and the proliferation of less suitable events, such as colonial fairs, that could harm the concept. The thirty-one countries that signed this petition significantly altered the design and values of the Expo, which were now aimed at fostering peaceful and collaborative surroundings. Furthermore, with the growing number of countries joining the fairs as a result of decolonization it became all the more necessary to utilize these platforms as discussion facilitators.

Italy’s responded to these ideological changes by suggesting a new genre of world’s fair, the Esposizione Universale di Roma. The project’s dossier argued that, “The site will be of unsurpassed scenic and practical value. Each nation will be able to build its buildings and its pavilions in such way that will offer visitors an

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383 Ibid.
384 “A Short History of Expos.”
educational trip around the world.” Though intended for 1941, the event was quickly pushed back to 1942 due to delays in construction. These setbacks were the result of the committee’s ambitious project to build a permanent exhibition complex outside of the city’s walls, an area referred to as EUR. This fair’s intentions of shaping a legacy surpassed previous examples as it attempted to create permanent infrastructure that could later be interpreted as a monument to modernity in a city that was and still is primarily associated with the ancient world. While the event never took place due to Second World War, it can be imagined that this site might have been reused for future expositions. This foresight would have allowed for a more sustainable approach to the concept of expositions, which were at the time associated to technology as a form of production and consumption.

Following the war, the B.I.E. shifted to a wider focus on education and the environment. In 1974, Spokane was the first exhibition to fully embrace the theme of ecology, only two years after the United Nations proclaimed June 5th as Earth Day. Okinawa continued this conversation in 1975 when it examined the ocean as an alternative to land through the design of a “water city” exhibition site. In 1987, Genova built upon these themes by raising awareness about the human impact on the ocean. This fair was also important in terms of urban renewal as it enabled the renovation of an impoverished area.

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386 Ibid.
387 Ibid.; Ibid., 10.
388 “Our History.”
389 Visconti, 11.
390 Ibid., 12.
391 Ibid.
392 Ibid., 13.
Rio di Janeiro, it was Lisbon’s turn to serve as the world’s fair host in 1998. Like Genova’s, this exhibition was an opportunity for Lisbon to modernize its infrastructure and present itself as an international city. It was also at this time that the B.I.E. asked hosting countries to address global issues that promoted sustainability.

In the 21st century, the world’s fair as an institution has continued to evolve and now includes four different types of events, the World Expo, the International Specialized Expo, the Horticulture Exhibition, and the aforementioned Triennale di Milano, all overseen by the Bureau International des Expositions. The association’s website distinguishes the World Expo from these other exhibitions as “a global event that aims at educating the public, sharing innovation, promoting progress and fostering cooperation.” The website further explains that the fairs are expected to occur every five years for the period of six months, in any country of the world, while giving priority to the 169 members of the B.I.E, on an unlimited area of land. The World Expo is also mentioned as being beneficial to “the international community” as “a dialogue platform for progress and cooperation,” “the general public” as “an educating and entertaining experience,” “the host country” as “a tool for nation branding and development,” and the “participants” as an enabler of “international outreach and economic opportunities.”

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393 Visconti, 13.
394 Ibid.
395 “Our History.”
397 Ibid.
398 “World Expos.”
399 “Our History;” “World Expos.”
400 “The Expos.”
To celebrate the millennium and this new chapter in exhibition tradition, Hannover was chosen to host the Expo in 2000.\textsuperscript{401} During this event, the city attempted to cover a multitude of themes ranging from the unification of Germany to technology in the new millennium, while considering the traditional topic of man versus nature.\textsuperscript{402} Though unsuccessful perhaps in conveying these messages due to their number and depth, the exhibition did offer interesting insight into sustainable pavilion design through the use of recyclable materials, notably wood.\textsuperscript{403} Learning from Hannover’s mistakes, Aichi in 2005 relied on simpler terminology and topics to attract the public eye to “the wisdom in nature.”\textsuperscript{404} The final exhibition to be hosted before that of Milan in 2015 was in 2010 in Shanghai.\textsuperscript{405} This event, centered on the concept of urban planning, was greatly appreciated by the press and visitors who perceived it as a reputable example of sustainable development and modern technology.\textsuperscript{406}

As part of this tradition, Milan used the 2015 Expo as an opportunity to try its hand at sustainable design. In recent years, events promoting sustainability have had to contend with the added difficulty of having to strictly abide by the measures that they recommend themselves. The cost and impact of such undertakings have been recognized by the Bureau of International Exhibitions, which now requires a complete dossier of the city’s plans in order to ensure that harmful repercussions on the community are avoided. This sensibility mirrors Italy’s historical understanding of sustainability as socially and culturally important. Milan acknowledged these

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\textsuperscript{401} & \text{Visconti, 13.} \\
\textsuperscript{402} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{403} & \text{Ibid., 14.} \\
\textsuperscript{404} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{405} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{406} & \text{Ibid.}
\end{align*}
difficulties in its petition dossier and drew upon past large-scale events, such as the 2006 Winter Olympic Games in Turin, to solidify its methods and support the city’s candidacy to host the 2015 Expo. This reference to Turin recalls traditional Milanese exhibition practices as well as the innovative solutions that were inspired by this rivalry.

In the twenty-first century, the focus of the Olympics, much like with expositions, has broadened to include environmental considerations and public and private collaborations. In 2006, Turin addressed these issues while seeking to revive its economy through Olympic tourism. The decision to host a large-scale event can be perilous, as it can either successfully establish the city as a tourist destination to be visited subsequently and independently of the event or create a tourist “aversion” if its design proved to be dissuasive. With this in mind, Turin utilized previous Olympic Games’ tactics to create an image that would be attractive to both local and national audiences. In order to do this, it relied heavily on the Barcelona model, a strategy that has been extensively studied since the city’s 1992 Games. These Olympics challenged the prevailing skepticism about the financial attractiveness of hosting an Olympic event. Financial setbacks were common amongst Olympic hosts who often felt the pressure to take on large renovation projects. This had been the case, for example, in Rome in 1960, which in preparation for the Summer Olympics had completely refurbished its airport, sewage system,

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409 Ibid., 195.
410 Ibid., 200.
411 Ibid.
street lighting, and historical sites.\textsuperscript{412} While these ameliorations were necessary and appreciated, they were beyond the city’s means.\textsuperscript{413} Barcelona’s solution to this issue was to rely on “long-term and strategic” planning.\textsuperscript{414} Initiatives, such as the restricting new buildings to areas that lacked “stimulation,” enabled the city to satisfy the practical requirements of hosting the event while improving citizens’ quality of life.\textsuperscript{415} “Important historic buildings and monuments were refurbished and preserved, innovative architectural thinking was encouraged, green and open space were designed so as to maximize the opportunity for social mixing, and an emphasis was put on high quality refurbishments for which tax incentives were given.”\textsuperscript{416} By creating these associations, Turin hoped to be perceived as equal if not superior to Milan.\textsuperscript{417}

Inspired by these methods, Turin developed a strategy that encompassed all stages of the exhibition’s lifecycle.\textsuperscript{418} This initiative led the committee to incorporate the city of Turin as part of the event, in hope that this would promote a continuous flow of tourism before and after the Games.\textsuperscript{419} A new transportation system that linked Turin’s city center to the Alps was also built, an addition that allow tourists in the future to consider alpine activities as part of the Turin experience.\textsuperscript{420} This situation was not dissimilar to when the funicular was installed in 1884 to complement the Turin fair. These efforts were maintained even once the Games were

\textsuperscript{412} Coaffee, 183.
\textsuperscript{413} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid., 185; Ibid., 186.
\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., 186.
\textsuperscript{416} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{417} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{418} Weed, 201.
\textsuperscript{419} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{420} Ibid.
over through the repurposing of each of the new facilities.\textsuperscript{421} This ensured the longevity of the infrastructure as well as the positive inclusion of the community.

By once again imitating and improving, Milan included as part of its dossier a similar sustainability plan. One of the items presented was a \textit{feasibility study}, which evaluated the environmental impact of the Expo, its impact on its surroundings, and its level of sustainability.\textsuperscript{422} This dossier was divided into three parts, the first concerned the general organization and objectives of the Expo, which involved sponsorship and environmental issues, the second considered the timeframe of the exhibition and its relationship to sustainability, which “[emphasized] how each phase [involved] both public and private actors and has its own specific implications,” and the third addressed the environmental impact of the event at large, which took in to consideration the OECD’s Pressure-State-Response (PSR) Model.\textsuperscript{423} The PSR Model “considers that: human activities exert pressures on the environment and affect its quality and the quantity of natural resources (‘state’); society responds to these changes through environmental, general economic and sectoral policies and through the changes in awareness and behavior (‘societal response’).”\textsuperscript{424} The use of this study enabled the Expo committee to assess Milan’s compliance with these requirements and make the appropriate adjustments. The \textit{feasibility study} also encouraged the use of a number of tools, such as the \textit{Strategic Environmental Assessment} (SEA), a charter of values and an environmental management system. The SEA was used for the first time for the Turin Winter Olympics and is helpful in preventing effects that

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{421} Weed, 201.
\textsuperscript{423} Ibid.; Ibid., 143.
\textsuperscript{424} Ibid., 143.
\end{footnotesize}
are detrimental to the environment, while the charter of values and environmental management system served as organization and consumption guidelines.\textsuperscript{425} These methods were not solely for the Expo committee’s benefit and were in fact also designed to provide guidance to participating countries. For example, each country was asked to provide a detailed provenance list of the materials they used as well as an environmentally friendly solution for the dismantling and reuse of their pavilions.\textsuperscript{426} This concern with sustainable building measures was also addressed in reference to the amount of CO\textsubscript{2} produced by the Expo and its participants. To rectify these damages “local replanting projects” and “energy efficiency improvement of several Milan City Council’s buildings” were carried out.\textsuperscript{427}

These efforts were finally rewarded on March 31, 2008 when the BIE announced that Italy had been chosen over Turkey to host the 2015 Expo.\textsuperscript{428} In 2010, Milan submitted its \textit{Registration Dossier} to the BIE in which these methods were reiterated and approved by the 148\textsuperscript{th} General Assembly of the BIE.\textsuperscript{429} These efforts were “practically implemented” using the \textit{Guidelines for Sustainability Reporting} of the \textit{Global Reporting Initiative} (GRI-G4), which was first applied to the London Olympics in 2012.\textsuperscript{430} While this method tends to work best for permanent institutions, its focus on materiality was helpful in carrying out the committee’s intentions.\textsuperscript{431} These elements were crucial in determining what fell under the committee’s responsibility and what did not.

\textsuperscript{425} Iraldo, 145.
\textsuperscript{426} Ibid., 146.
\textsuperscript{427} Ibid., 156; Ibid., 157.
\textsuperscript{428} “Italy”
\textsuperscript{429} Iraldo, 147.
\textsuperscript{430} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{431} Ibid.; Ibid., 149.
The Milanese Expo additionally referred to the international standard ISO 20121:2012, *Event Sustainability Management systems –Requirements with guidance for use*, and the *European Regulation n. 1221/2009/EC (EMAS)* for objective input.\(^{432}\) The ISO 20121 focuses on “the environmental and the economic dimensions as well as the workers’ social and safety dimension” while the *EMAS* offers a resourceful *Initial Environmental Review*, which outlines the event’s direct and indirect impact on its surroundings.\(^{433}\) In 2014, Expo Milano’s design was deemed ISO 21012 compliant, a recognition that had never before been awarded to a World’s Fair.\(^{434}\) By including these third parties, the Expo increased its public level of transparency and benefited from periodic updates concerning its sustainable management systems (SMS).\(^{435}\)

To ensure the continued reinforcement of sustainable measures, the committee offered to release three sustainability reports that would span the event’s lifetime. The first report was released in January 2014 and dealt with the initial preparations from the time Milan submitted its candidacy dossier to mid 2013. The second report was published in January 2015 and discussed the final planning stage before the exposition’s inauguration. The final report, which was never published, was meant to be drafted once the Expo had been dismantled and the impact of the exposition could be appraised.\(^{436}\) These reports were handled differently in order to convey the peculiarities of each phase of the fair’s organization. The two initial reports, for example, assessed the exposition’s progress using interviews as a way to gain

\(^{432}\) Iraldo, 153.
\(^{433}\) Ibid., 154.
\(^{434}\) Ibid.
\(^{435}\) Ibid.
\(^{436}\) Ibid., 149.
perspective.\textsuperscript{437} Iraldo, Melis and Pretner also emphasize the importance of these reports in protecting the committee from having to assume additional responsibilities for symbolically associated sites.\textsuperscript{438} These reports serve to exclude the assumption of any unwarranted obligations and clearly clarify the Expo committee’s direct involvement. This addition to the Milanese exposition was groundbreaking as it was the first time an exposition openly divulged “its environmental, social and economic performance” to the public throughout its lifecycle, an action that would later come to define its legacy.\textsuperscript{439} In an attempt to pay as much attention to sustainability as Turin had, the 2015 Expo also implemented \textit{The Feeding Knowledge Programme} in 2012 to encourage “research and innovation for food security aimed at the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean Scientific Network.”\textsuperscript{440} In March 2015, a total of “3,445 organisations, 208 scientific actors, 877 researchers and 945 articles” were recorded.\textsuperscript{441}

The Expo’s master plan was designed to reflect these ideas of sustainability and, in so doing, once again highlighted Milanese modernity and design. Devised by world acclaimed architects Jacques Herzog, Ricky Burdett and Stefano Boeri, the master plan reflected the Yeosu exhibition’s “sobriety” and sought to exclude any “massive and monumental architectures.”\textsuperscript{442} The architects’ vision of the fair appeared as a Roman inspired market with stalls radiating from two axes, the Cardo and the Decumano.\textsuperscript{443} As part of this layout, each country was given a stall and a small patch of earth to grow a food representative of their home, which would later be

\textsuperscript{437} Iraldo, 149; Ibid., 150.
\textsuperscript{438} Ibid., 148.
\textsuperscript{439} Ibid., 147.
\textsuperscript{440} Ibid., 159.
\textsuperscript{441} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{442} Russi, 22.
brought to a kilometer long table located along the Cardo for what Herzog described as a “global last supper.” Stefano Boeri believed that this would eliminate all type of hierarchy as each country would be given “the chance to express and showcase their own wealth of food and produce and let visitors taste their fare: a one-kilometer long sensorial experience; a walk through different lots, with a new country every twenty meters and a variety of aromas and flavors that correspond to all the different interpretations of the theme.” Jacques Herzog, Ricky Burdett and Stefano Boeri also chose to honor the presence of water in their design, which they considered to be a “fundamental element in the city’s traditional economy” as well as a crucial component in agriculture. A 110 acre plot of land was set aside next to the Fair Exhibition Centre to accommodate this vision.

To extend the exhibition to the city of Milan as a whole as Turin had done for the Winter Olympics, the Polytechnic University of Milan investigated the possibility of including “Fuorisalone” initiatives in the organization of the Expo as a sort of “Fuori Expo.” Despite the anticipated reluctance of the Bureau International des Expositions, Emilio Battisti, a professor at Polytechnic, argued that it “would be a great opportunity for each country to be among citizens and tourists and to take advantage of the prestige and of the energy throughout the city centre.”

While this discussion was taking place, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II maintained its status as an unofficial fuori-expo site from the moment the results of

444 Wainwright.
445 Ibid.; Russi, 22.
447 Russi, 22.
448 Ibid., 23.
449 Ibid.
the 2015 World’s Fair were announced. This was explicitly done through Milan’s choice to renovate the site and consequently call attention to the arcade’s 150 th anniversary. Both the Municipality of Milan and the 2015 Expo websites followed the project’s progress until the work was completed a few days before the exhibition was inaugurated. The Galleria responded to the Expo’s theme by temporarily hosting the Friends of the USA Pavilion Milan 2015 at the TownHouse Galleria hotel restaurant, La Sinfonia. This collaboration alternated well-known American chefs for the duration of the exhibition. The owner of the hotel also commissioned the construction of the Galleria highline, built to circumvent the dome. This offered a new vision of the arcade while referencing the popularity of the New York, Paris and perhaps soon London examples. An Expo souvenir shop was also located within the exterior façade of the Galleria on Via Tommaso Marino. This suggests that the 2015 Expo revived its traditional relationship with the Galleria by inspiring both ideological and physical changes.

The Expo as Built

After some consideration, the master plan was denied and adjustments were requested to ensure compliance with the B.I.E’s regulations. As a result of this, Jacques Herzog, Ricky Burdett and Stefano Boeri refused to continue their collaboration with the Expo and the project was handed over to Matteo Gatto. Gatto explained that the true reason for these alterations was the participating countries’

451 Ibid.
unwillingness to conform to the universal aesthetic of the master plan. As the B.I.E. forbids hosting countries to influence participants’ designs, Milan had to rethink its own. These adjustments challenged the spirit of equality that the master plan had aspired to and, as a consequence, brought to light a number of issues relating to Italian politics. However, what seemed to be lacking in the context of the Expo, contrasts with what was successfully accomplished in terms of the Galleria’s restoration. Expositions are often impetus for these types of refurbishments, and can thus create a lasting legacy. As part of this tradition, the Galleria’s physical and ideological revival effectively assimilated these values of craft and heritage, and, in doing so, confirmed its inherited relationship to exhibition practices. This third section of the chapter will consider the adjustments that were made to the master plan and the public’s reaction to it and will conclude with the consideration of the Galleria as an urban analogy for the Expo.

The first issue that arose from this redesign concerned the implementation and funding of the master plan. The initial idea of preserving the agricultural land beneath the Expo’s site was forgotten once a cement slab was installed to facilitate construction. This costly choice of 224 million euros, which had originally been estimated at 60 million, also called attention to the price that had been paid to purchase the plot of land in the first place. The area, which at the time generally had a value of 8 to 12 euros per square meter, was sold to the committee for 160 euros per square meter, around 13 times the usual price. This is one of the Expo’s

452 Gianfranchi.
453 Wainwright.
454 Ibid.
455 Ibid.
456 Ibid.
457 Ibid.
many instances of unexplained discrepancies. This manipulation of the site’s value was criticized for obvious financial reasons. In addition, the cement slab actually decreased the plot’s value. This was most vividly experienced when Milan tried to list the real estate for 315 million euros, which, due to the presence of the cement slab, was considered very unreasonable.\textsuperscript{458} Milan’s city council later hinted that if no buyers could be found, the land would be used to build a new stadium or a satellite campus for the University of Milan.\textsuperscript{459} Subsequent funding was also requested to facilitate access to the site, which was done through the installment of a new highway and subway line that connected the center of the city and its northern neighborhoods to the fair grounds.\textsuperscript{460}

In 2014, the cost of the exposition was estimated at 23.6 billion euros, with an additional 10 billion euros reserved for the 191,000 employment positions it was expected to generate.\textsuperscript{461} To finance these expenses, the Expo’s committee relied on public funding for “essential works,” which included urban renewal project that would benefit the community as a whole.\textsuperscript{462} This amounted to a total of 1,305.6 million euros.\textsuperscript{463} For all additional expenses, the committee reached out to private corporations.\textsuperscript{464} This distribution of financial responsibility lead to a series of criticisms, which held that public funding should be preferred as it guaranteed “an

\textsuperscript{458} Wainwright.
\textsuperscript{459} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{461} Iraldo, 150.
\textsuperscript{462} Ibid., 152.
\textsuperscript{463} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{464} Ibid.
appropriate degree of transparency and control in the management of the funds” and lessened the risk of “financial losses after the closing of the event.”

In a report on the progress of the Expo’s construction, Gianni Biondillo noted that, “the building site of this Expo is stationary. There is so much emphasis on not getting things wrong, on doing everything in the manner required by accident-prevention regulations, that in the end it’s getting nowhere. It’s immobile, like the country that is hosting it.” Biondillo also commented on the exasperation of the workers on the site, who despite all the time and energy they had invested, were doubtful of accomplishing the project on time. This shortage of time ultimately caused the 1.1 million square meter design to shrink to 400,000 square meters, one fifth of Shanghai’s 2010 model. In May 2015, the total expense were estimated at 13 billion euros, 1 billion of which was needed to hide buildings that weren’t completed in time for the inauguration. Similarly to Shanghai as well, corruption scandals arose a year prior to the opening of the exposition involving seven managers and former members of parliament who were arrested. This incident raised questions about the Expo’s investment sources as well as the previously mentioned cost of the site. These were, needless to say, inconsistent with the sustainable image the Expo committee was attempting to portray.

The second set of issues that were addressed dealt with the reconfiguration of the master plan (Figure 8). These changes divided the site into five sections: the Pavillon Zero, a background of the Expo’s theme, food, and its relationship to

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465 Iraldo, 152.
466 Gianni Biondillo, “Notes from the Construction Site,” Abitare, no. 541, 3.
467 Ibid., 4.
469 Wainwright.
humans over time, the Future Food district, a display outlining the latest innovations in the field, the Children’s Park, an interactive and educational area dedicated to younger visitors, and the Biodiversity Park, a greenhouse containing a variety of fruits and vegetables.\textsuperscript{471} The original concept of two axes, the Cardo and the Decumanus, was preserved with the addition of awnings covering adjacent public spaces to protect visitors from rain and heat.\textsuperscript{472} This display also served as a reference to greenhouse structures, a gesture perhaps to Praxton’s design of the Crystal Palace.\textsuperscript{473} Another element that was preserved from the master plan was water. Its importance was embodied by the Lake Arena, a large square surrounding a fountain with, at its center, a 30-meter sculpture called “The Tree of Life.” This arrangement referenced the Lake District to the North of Milan as well as the literal fertility of the Italian soil and the conceptual fertility of the exhibition.\textsuperscript{474} The roots of the tree were also a manifestation of the ties existing between the different areas of the fair as well as the other regions of Italy.\textsuperscript{475}

Located across from the Lake Arena was the Italian Pavilion, which was divided into nine different infrastructures.\textsuperscript{476} Of these, only the Palazzo Italia was designed to remain permanently once the exhibition was dismantled (Figure 9).\textsuperscript{477} This building reaches 35 meters in height and 60 meters in width and length, which made it the most impressive building of the fair in terms of volume.\textsuperscript{478} The Nemesi architectural firm emphasized the concept of sustainability in the design of the

\textsuperscript{470} Biondillo, 6; Wainwright.
\textsuperscript{471} “World Expo Milano 2015,” Future arquitecturas, 29.
\textsuperscript{472} “Expo Milano 2015,” 67.
\textsuperscript{473} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{475} “Italy.”
\textsuperscript{477} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{478} Ibid.
building through the materials used. This can be seen with the Palazzo’s roof, which is made of photovoltaic glass, a material that converts light into electricity, as well as through the building’s white branch-like façade formed by photocatalytic and biodynamic panels, which transform pollution in the air into inert salts. Environmental preservation and innovation were symbolically alluded to in the design of the Palazzo as well. The branch-like exterior of the building suggested trees and forests, while the interior courtyard embodied “the community’s energy.”

Nemesi’s vision for the Palazzo strove to redefine “Made in Italy excellence” in order to “[generate] a rediscovered sense of community and belonging.” In this vein, each story of the building was dedicated to a different quality representative of Italian strength, including “power of workmanship,” “power of beauty,” and “power of limits and future.” Within the Palazzo, the committee of architects also “[displayed] a map of Europe from which Italy has been removed. A voice, preceded by a siren, [asked] what the world would be like without Italy, while projections [showed] samples of the country’s artistic, cultural and gastronomic treasures, and discoveries, creations and inventions made by Italians through the centuries.” The Palazzo Italia is today preserved as “a center of technological innovation.”

Running alongside the Palazzo was the Cardo walkway, which measured 35 meters wide and 325 meters long. It was here that the other temporary exhibition spaces of the Italian pavilion were placed. Unlike the Palazzo, which represented

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480 “Palazzo Italia;” “Italy Pavilion – Milan Expo 2015 / Nemesi.”
481 “Italy Pavilion – Milan Expo 2015 / Nemesi.”
482 “Palazzo Italia.”
483 “Italy.”
Italian institutions, the Cardo buildings were designed to showcase the different regions of Italy.\textsuperscript{486} This depiction of Italy was equally reflected in the pavilion’s food truck and a gift store. The food truck featured fried Napolitano street food, while the gift shop stocked “an assortment of items such as Bialetti mokas, some of which were specially designed for Expo; tricolore plants for growing basil, spring onions and tomatoes; baking molds; cooking attachments; pasta from Milan’s beloved Peck gourmet shop; Ferrari sparkling wine.”\textsuperscript{487} The well-known Eataly also contributed to this regional focus through their culinary stand, which displayed regional specialties from across Italy. Though not sponsored by the B.I.E., an unofficial “Fuori Expo” was organically generated by the city. Milan’s Triennale Museum participated in this movement by hosting an exhibition called “Art and Food.”\textsuperscript{488}

Along with the traditional national pavilions and in an effort to maintain the collaborative sensibilities of the master plan, a new feature referred to as “Clusters” was devised specifically for the occasion. The Cluster formations gave countries that could not financially afford to construct their own pavilions the chance to display their heritage and value to the world.\textsuperscript{489} Cianti described the experience as an attempt to render a possible “model of cohabitation […] with all the activities that turn around it: the market, the bakery, the vegetable garden, the theater.”\textsuperscript{490} The inclusion of architectural students from local Milanese universities in the clusters’ configuration

\textsuperscript{484} “Palazzo Italia.”
\textsuperscript{485} “Italy.”
\textsuperscript{486} “Italy Pavilion – Milan Expo 2015 / Nemesi.”
\textsuperscript{488} “World Expo Milano 2015,” 29.
\textsuperscript{489} Biondillo, 6.
\textsuperscript{490} Sara Banti, “Villages of Good Nutrition,” Abitare, no. 541, 7.
also contributed to their communal aspect. As part of the Expo’s goal to honor sustainability, these students were asked to design thematically distinctive clusters using prefabricated constructions and recyclable materials. This ability to repurpose pavilions was emulated by other national pavilions architects, such as James Biber in charge of the USA pavilion.

The Clusters’ facilitation of collaborations between professionals and amateurs, foreigners and locals, was thought to be a brilliant way to engage the city as a whole. Filippo Cianti, in charge of the Cluster formations, explained that the idea sprung from this desire to initiate dialogue. The hope was that these spaces would force countries and visitors to consider the world differently through the prism of food, where for example, “China and Vietnam [would] speak of rice together, […] Palestine and Spain [would] exchange views on the problems of the arid zones, Israel and Africa [would] deal with fruit and legumes. And on the delight of cocoa, it [would] be intriguing to see the points of contact between two such contrasting nations such as Mexico and Switzerland.” The project resulted in nine Clusters, which occupied an area of 36,650 square meters and were organized by the following food groups, Rice, Cocoa and Chocolate, Coffee, Fruits and Legumes, Spices, Cereals and Tubers, Bio-Mediterranean, Island, Sea and Food, and Arid Zones. At the time of their design, Cianti expected between 70 and 75 countries to participate. In addition, a three-dimensional representation of the Expo was provided online.

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491 Biondillo, 6.
492 Banti, 7.
494 Banti, 4.
496 Banti, 4.
Expo Milano 2015 was in any case inaugurated on time and assembled more than 169 participating countries, 54 of which invested in their own national pavilions. Reactions to the Expo were mixed. Stefano Boeri, who had been part of the architectural team to design the Expo’s master plan, expressed his disappointment over the final plan’s inability to improve the organization of the World Expo and to “leave a serious legacy.” Jacques Herzog, another member of the original committee told journalists that, “We really wanted to get away from the usual vanity fair of competing architectural ‘innovations.’ […] We wanted to focus on the content, and use the site as a laboratory for creating something useful for Milan, which wouldn’t leave the usual wasteland of ruins.” The predicted absence of a strong public-private partnership, which had also been in an issue in Turin, as well as a lack of “competence and awareness” amongst the personnel and volunteers also emphasized these weaknesses. James Haldane responded to Herzog’s statement in an article he published entitled, “Expo is not a vanity fair,” which contrarily sung the praises of the fair’s organization and variety. He applauded the pavilions’ ingenious interpretations of the theme, notably Bahrain’s that featured “10 walled fruit gardens,” which each “[contained] a species selected to bloom at a particular point in the fair’s run.” The inclusion of sustainability reports and the consistent reference to sustainability throughout the Expo’s design contributed to his argument.

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497 “The Expos;” Lasky.
498 Wainwright.
499 Ibid.
500 Iraldo, 162; Ibid., 163.
502 Ibid.
503 Iraldo, 164.
While Haldane does make some valid points, even these positive attributes contain weaknesses. For example, the Expo committee failed to present its third and final sustainability report, which was meant to offer factual data to support its claims of success. Without this last report it is impossible to rigorously evaluate the positive or negative impact that the Expo had on the community. In addition to this, the Expo’s problematic finances and sponsorships did not, as previously mentioned, support their sustainable agenda. The Expo’s consumerist sensibilities were highly criticized in the general context of the world’s fair institution not living up to its charitable intentions. “For countries participating in Milano 2015, their pavilions must at once convey economic and industrial prowess while also demonstrating a willingness to sacrifice national interests at the altar of humanistic cooperation.”  

Gianni Biondillo also addressed this issue when he visited the Expo’s construction site and questioned how the Expo grounds could be repurposed and serve as “an opportunity for the community and not just for private speculation.” This concern was again highlighted on the day of the Expo’s inauguration when No Expo protesters marched through the streets of Milan. One protester explained to a journalist that he believed that, “The Expo is a machine for burning public money. [...] It promised to bring jobs and boost the economy, but it’s being run by voluntary labour and has wasted billions on pointless infrastructures.” Another person added that the Expo’s “official motto is Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life, but it is

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504 James Haldane.
505 Biondillo, 6.
506 Wainwright.
507 Ibid.
sponsored by corporate giants like Coca-Cola and McDonald’s. The whole thing is beyond a joke.”

While counter movements are fairly common in the history of world’s fairs, the most notable of which being the 1931 Paris “Contre-exposition,” “No Expo” did raise many questions about factual and financial manipulation. These accusations relate to the phenomenon of “greenwashing,” a term coined by Jay Westerveld that refers to corporations marketing their products or services as being in harmony with nature. This concept began in the 1970s and 80s when consumers became aware of the toxic effects their favorite products had on their environment. In order to appease this uproar, companies’ created new departments in charge of public relations to support them in their fragile positions. By the 1990s, corporations no longer had a choice in the matter as “global environmentalism was significantly influencing markets as well as the regulatory climate for investing and trading.” It was also at this point that corporations began to market their neutral effects and harmonious relationship with nature as a point of pride to their customers through reports and other schemes. The 2015 Expo clearly referred to this tactic in the presentation and marketing of the exhibition, which all in all did not fulfill the objectives listed in its dossier. While Milan did offer an interesting perspective on the question of sustainability and the future of the world’s fair institution through the inclusion of the cluster formations and the Expo’s reports, more efforts need to be made to increase the feasibility of these projects in the long term.

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508 Wainwright.
511 Ibid., 30; Ibid., 31.
512 Ibid., 31.
Conclusion: Expo 2015 and the Galleria Restoration

When considering the themes attached to the 2015 Expo, we may note a program of priorities relating to sustainability and Italian cultural heritage. Those assuming the responsibility of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration incorporated these elements in the staging of the project. This can be observed through the negative press that each site generated in terms of its funding and sponsorship. In the case of the Expo, this arose from the choice of private sponsors and excessive spending. In the case of the Galleria, this manifests itself through the controversial private sponsorship of the site. While the Expo’s funding betrayed the event’s publicized intentions, the Galleria’s private sponsorship did not affect the integrity of its restoration as will be noted in Chapter II. The Galleria’s restoration can also be considered as another mode of sustainability, one that preserves the building and its longevity within the Milanese community, an idea will be discussed in Chapter III. As the 2015 Expo’s master plan suggested, the erection of a building is only made sustainable if it is consistently used, repurposed or ecologically dismantled. The restoration of the Galleria therefore reasserts its presence within the cityscape and Milanese collective memory and protects it from falling into disuse.

The Galleria also functions as an urban analogy to the Expo and, more concretely, as a monumental supplement to the Palazzo Italia. The premise of “Made in Italy” excellence articulated in the design of the Palazzo Italia also frames the restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele. This sensitivity to design and craft as an attribute of Milanese identity and modernity resonates with the nature of the

513 Dauvergne, 31.
514 Ibid.
Galleria’s restoration sponsors. Prada and Versace in particular utilize this quality in their corporate branding and assimilated these values in the marketing of the restoration. The manifest similarities between the Galleria restoration and Expo Milano 2015 were not a coincidence, but instead were evidence of the desire to shape the Galleria into a parallel enterprise, one that would embody the spirit of a fuori-expo site. These intentions inscribed the Galleria as part of the Expo’s legacy, reviving its historical relationship to the exhibition institution. This background into Milanese exposition practices in relationship to Expo Milano 2015 develops a sense of Milanese identity as associated to craft, a focus that continued to prevail in the restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuel II.
Chapter II:  
The Restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II

Expositions and restorations share a similar set of priorities, which focus on projecting nationalistic attributes to fit an international agenda. While expositions specifically entice international investments and tourism through innovation, restorations are generally related to notions of civic identity and cultural heritage. Despite addressing different audiences, both practices successfully generate media attention and are evidence of economic stability. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration was such an example in the context of the world’s fair in Milan. Its restoration, while privately funded, was part of a larger tradition of art conservation in Italy. Due to cuts in Italy’s cultural patrimony budget, institutions have in recent years sought the help of private investors, in particular those of the fashion world who express similar craftsmanship sensibilities. While this new form of art conservation has been heavily criticized for being too commercial, I would like to argue that the identity of the Galleria as a shopping arcade and monument to Italy’s unification and Milanese cultural heritage has in fact been strengthened by this partnership with private investors. Furthermore, the planning of the Galleria’s restoration and, more precisely, the decision to elect local patrons as sponsors reinforced this understanding of the site as a multifaceted enterprise. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration is, in this sense, an unprecedented example within the Italian tradition of privately sponsored art restoration, much as it had been at the time of its construction. This chapter will first discuss the history of art conservation in Italy in reference to other countries. This will provide background to the conditions under which art conservation in Italy has evolved into a form of private practice. The restoration of
the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II will then be presented as a case study for this type of conservation. This chapter will conclude with a section dedicated to the sponsors of the restoration and the ways in which their identity shaped its success.

**Italian Art Conservation and its History**

It is a common saying that Italy possesses 40% of the world’s heritage.\(^5\) Although this conveys a very Eurocentric and unsubstantiated view, this idea speaks to the status of art preservation in Italy.\(^6\) Salvatore Settis argues in *Italia S.p.A.: L’assalto al patrimonio culturale*, that cultural heritage is, in fact, the defining characteristic of Italian identity and collective memory.\(^7\) He believes that this is a consequence of Italy’s historical relationship with art and its preservation. From early on, the various kingdoms that would one day compose Italy, expressed an understanding of culture as both a form of a common past and a collective future.\(^8\) For this reason, much of Italy’s art was, and still is, integrated into civilian life and therefore publicly accessible.\(^9\) This immersive and integrated experience of art and local culture shaped Italians “into a single body, whose binding agent cannot be referred to as anything else but ‘national tradition’ and ‘national identity,’” in other words, their awareness of Italian cultural heritage, its specificity, and the need to preserve it *in situ.*\(^10\)

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\(^6\) Ibid.; Ibid., 15.
\(^7\) Ibid., 14.
\(^8\) Ibid., 9.
\(^9\) Ibid., 10.
\(^10\) “comporsi in un tutto unico, il cui legante non saprei chiamare meglio che ‘tradizione nazionale’ o ‘identità nazionale’, e cioè la consapevolezza del proprio patrimonio, della sua unità e unicità, della necessità di conservarlo *in situ,*” Ibid., 9.
From this was born the “Modello Italia,” the Italian model for art conservation, which embraced both innovation and local particularities in constructing the museum institution. The history of Italian museums began in the Middle Ages in the form of royal collections, which consisted of rare objects and artworks.\textsuperscript{521} In the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries, this practice evolved with the discovery of Ancient Roman artifacts, which were exhibited alongside contemporary works.\textsuperscript{522} While these private collections did remain limited to an elite audience, they served as indicators of wealth and prestige for the community as a whole.\textsuperscript{523} Many European courts imitated this model, marking the beginning of the influence of Italian conservation methods early on.\textsuperscript{524} It was only during the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries that collections became public, which instilled in Italians a greater pride and connection to their heritage.\textsuperscript{525} It was during this time that the modern understanding of museums was inspired and that citizens began to cultivate an appreciation for the arts as a reflection of the community to which they belonged.\textsuperscript{526} Renaissance scholars studied the phenomenon and established that these private collections and art publicly displayed, found in churches for example, shared the same “common awareness."\textsuperscript{527} To preserve the integrity of this collective identity, strict rules were put in to place regarding the urban planning and modifications of cities.\textsuperscript{528}

The Gothic revival in England addressed similar issues. This period took place in the second half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century and was intended to revive Gothic architecture

\textsuperscript{522} Ibid.; Ibid., 22.
\textsuperscript{523} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{524} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{525} Ibid.; Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{526} Ibid., 22.
\textsuperscript{527} “coscienza comune,” Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{528} Ibid.
and dissociate it from notions of poverty and dilapidation. This movement’s origins can be traced back to the first half of the century when the country feared similar upheavals as those occurring in France and chose to build and preserve a multitude of churches as a symbol of patriotism. This resurrection of the Gothic style was an important evolution in the history of architecture as it demonstrated a desire to value past designs instead of “improving” buildings with contemporary style. While this conservation was rooted in religion, this attention to churches as a building type also brought to scholars’ attention the need to conserve them. James Wyatt shed some light on the matter when he produced three surveys regarding the cathedrals and their deterioration in Salisbury (1787-1792), Lichfield (1787-95) and Hereford (1788). John Carter continued these efforts through a number of publications, notably “An Architect” released in 1798, which discussed the history of England in terms of its architecture, focusing specifically on buildings from the Middle Ages. Similar efforts were being made in Germany at the time, as can be shown by the restoration of the Speyer cathedral. The committee was shaped by influential architects of the period, such as Balthasar Neumann, and sought to preserve the cathedral’s “purity of style.” This desire required extensive research and care so as to carefully replicate the design and methods used centuries before.

Meanwhile in France, François René Vicomte de Chateaubriand was writing *Génie du christianisme*, an innovative work that integrated history into literature.  

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530 Ibid., 109.
531 Ibid., 104.
532 Ibid., 108.
533 Ibid., 113.
534 Ibid.
535 Ibid., 127.
This 1802 publication brought to light the value of medieval infrastructure and their dire physical state. A few years later in 1813, Madame de Staël undertook a similar project in her *De l’Allemagne*, which was France’s first exposure to German literature. In her work she stressed the nationalistic significance of the church as a building type. These works laid down the foundation for Victor Hugo’s 1831 masterpiece *Notre-Dame de Paris*, which reinforced the cultural and historical value of these older buildings, such as the cathedral of Notre-Dame. This work was the culmination of many other writings that Hugo had published like *Guerre aux Démolisseurs* (1825), which criticized the absence of any form of architecture conservation in France, an omission that often led to the deterioration or sale of priceless pieces. Once the monarchy had been restored in 1830, Louis Philippe I, the king’s successor, appointed an *Inspecteur général des monuments historiques de la France*, or “General Inspector of Historical Monuments in France,” who had the responsibility of taking inventory and preserving all national architectural heritage.

In 1837, this position was supplemented by the *Commission des monuments historiques*, or “Committee of Historical Monuments,” which lightened the inspector’s task. The first two men to assume this responsibility were Ludovic Vitet between 1830 and 1834 and Prosper Mérimée between 1834 and 1853. Vitet was influential in the way he understood all buildings and not simply those that were

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536 Jokilehto, 127.
537 Ibid.
538 Ibid.
539 Ibid., 128.
540 Ibid.
541 Ibid., 129.
542 Ibid.
543 Ibid.
more monumental as contributions to France’s national heritage. This sensibility matches that of Italy’s in terms of high and low art illustrating the country’s culture and past. Prosper Merimée contributed to the development of art conservation by educating restorers on the appropriate ways to handle the buildings. During his time in office, Mérimée expanded the list of nationally recognized monuments in France, a number that soar from 934 in 1840 to 3000 in 1849. Unlike in England during the Gothic Revival, this conservation was rooted in an effort to create a sense of national belonging, an intention that once again mirrors that of Italy.

A century later in 1861, the authority of the King of Italy was handed over to the Italian people as a result of the unification of the kingdoms of Italy, which had been inspired by the French Revolution. During this period of upheaval and others, the Catholic Church played a crucial role in preserving the majority of Italy’s artwork in situ, a privilege that the French, throughout the Revolution, and Northern Europe, as a witness of the Protestant Reform, had not benefitted from. After the unification, citizens gained greater access to these artworks and consequently were made responsible for the preservation and protection of their cultural memory. “Citizens [became] the heir and proprietors of cultural heritage, both in terms of its monetary value and its symbolic and metaphorical value, as the embodiment of the State and its historical memory, as a sign of belonging, as an indication of citizenship.

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544 Jokilehto, 129.
545 Ibid., 131.
546 Ibid., 132.
548 Ibid., 19; Ibid., 20.
549 Ibid., 24.
and national identity. Cultural heritage embodied in this sense a new civic function.

For this reason, in 1875 Giuseppe Fiorelli, the Director of Antiques and Fine Arts, expressed the need to “prioritize the roots of the collections and artworks according to their historical origins.” In doing so, Fiorelli hoped to solidify citizens’ local cultural awareness and consequently their affiliation to the community. This sensibility also effected the perception of art and museum configuration, as both high and low art intermingled on equal planes of historical and collective value. The first concept of a law protecting this heritage also surfaced around this time in 1872. It was until 1902, however, that it was made official and perfected in the interest of the public. To strengthen nationalistic ties, Italy hired the Alinari brothers to photograph monuments representative of each region of the recently unified Kingdom of Italy between 1873 and 1887. The impact of these photographs will be discussed later in Chapter Three. This album was inspired by an earlier effort the French Commission des monuments historiques had made to preserve and distribute knowledge concerning its heritage. In 1851, the French government commissioned Edouard Baldus, Hippolyte Bayard, Gustave La Gray, Henri Le Secq, and Auguste Mestral to perform what was later referred to as the Missions

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551 “privilegiare il radicarsi nel territorio di collezioni e opera secondo le loro sedimentazioni storiche,” Ibid., 10.
552 Ibid., 32.
553 Ibid., 31.
554 Ibid., 32.
Héliographiques, which consisted of photographing each building considered a part of French heritage.556

The “Modello Italia” can therefore be defined by three principles. One, that cultural heritage is at the heart of Italian identity. This understanding of Italy is the foundation of Settis’ argument, which allows him to justify the significance of art preservation as well as its urgency.557 This concept is developed in a second assumption, which requires the State to view the preservation of its “beni culturali” as a responsibility towards its citizens, regardless of whether or not the objects are privately or publicly owned.558 This means that artworks owned by private institutions, such as the Church, are still protected by the State and regarded as “memoria storica che appartenne ai cittadini.”559 Third, that the artworks and artifacts exhibited in the museum are connected to the region in which they reside.560 In other words, that an item cultural significant to Florence and its collective memory remain there and not be moved to Naples.

Settis defends the specificity of the Italian Model by comparing its methods to other countries’, such as Germany, whose similar history and unification offer an appropriate analogy.561 The first distinguishing factor of German art conservation is the precedence given to the individual states, or lander, in terms of which artworks are inalienabili and inesportabili, meaning inalienable and not exportable.562 This localized authority allows for a multitude of definitions and regulations to be

558 Ibid.
559 Ibid., 15.
560 Ibid., 21.
561 Ibid., 16.
562 Ibid.
conceived, which fluctuate from one state to the next.\textsuperscript{563} This encourages the idea that only certain works are worthy components of the country’s cultural heritage and that others can be traded freely.\textsuperscript{564} This attitude towards art differs from the Italian model, which relies on national homogeneity, and is consequently less critical to the formation of a German identity and sense of belonging. Settis cites the United States as another example of Italy’s unique relationship with the arts. Unlike Italy, the United States of America identifies the responsibilities’ of private and public collections differently. If an individual, for instance, uncovers an artifact on their property, they are entitled to keep it and do with it what they please.\textsuperscript{565} This attitude towards cultural artifacts gives priority to the individual over the community while underscoring the monetary rather than the cultural value of the object. Settis argues that this undermines America’s sense of community by denying a sense of communal belonging and responsibility.

Italy preserved this sensibility preemptively by continuously adapting its legal procedures to the needs of the time. This can be noted in 1947 in the case of the Italian Constitution, that cites in the ninth amendment that it is the State’s duty to promote the arts and sciences, as well as “[safeguard] the natural landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation.”\textsuperscript{566} In 1972, another amendment was made as a result of the war and consequent repatriation efforts, which stipulated that artworks and artifacts cease to be referred to as “Antichità e belli arti,” or “Antiquities and Fine Arts,” but instead “beni culturali,” or “Cultural Heritage,” a term which

\textsuperscript{564} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{565} Ibid., 19.
encompassed both the monetary and cultural heritage nature of the items. The most recent addition was made in 2002, as law no. 166, which states, “that under ‘transportation and infrastructural dispositions’ the ‘category of restorations as real estate maintenance and ornamental cultural heritage’ is also featured. In addition, it discussed the potential involvement of restorers and art historians as directors of restoration projects.” In each legal instance mentioned above, two themes are consistently defended, the idea of art belonging to Italian citizens and the State’s obligation to care for it.

The merits of this Italian model have, however, been challenged in recent years in favor of the modern American practices. This fascination with American art institutions derives in part from the amount of media attention they generate due to frequent purchases and the renewals of their collections. This type of promotion is simply impossible in Italy given the strict restrictions concerning art displacement and acquisition. Between 1996 and 1998, Walter Veltroni, the Minister of Beni Culturali, attempted to resolve these conflicts through a campaign focused on making heritage sites and objects once again “dynamic” through presentation and curated experiences. Examples of this included rock concerts and other staged events, which focused on the act associated with the work more than the work itself.

568 Ibid., 35.
569 “che nel quadro di ‘Disposizioni in materia di infrastrutture e trasporti’ interviene anche sulla ‘qualificazione relativa alla categoria dei lavori di restauro e manutenzione di beni mobili e delle superfici decorate di beni architettonici’, fra l’altro equiparando con scarse garanzie restauratori e storici dell’arte come possibili direttori dei lavori restauro,” Ibid. 38.
570 Ibid., 28.
571 Ibid., 55.
572 Ibid.
573 Ibid., 39.
574 Ibid.
associations, a concept which tests the foundations of the *Modello Italia* as well as Settis’ patience. This emphasis on monetary value also recalls similar issues discussed in Chapter I in the context of the Expo’s difficulty in reconciling its intentions to its actions.

**The Galleria Restoration as an Example of New Practices**

Silvio Berlusconi, Italy’s Prime Minister at the time, made large cuts to Italy’s cultural patrimony budget in 2010.\(^575\) This forced many institutions to consider private sponsors. Fashion icons such as Tod’s, Fendi, Bulgari and Salvatore Ferragamo have recently participated in the restorations of the Colosseum, the Trevi Fountain, the Spanish Steps, and the Uffizi Gallery, respectively.\(^576\) Other types of cultural sponsorship include exhibition planning and donations, as was the case with Giorgio Armani for the Donato Bramante exhibition, which was held at the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan from December 2014 to March 2015.\(^577\) \(^578\) These sponsorships began shortly after a wall at the archaeological site of Pompeii collapsed in 2010.\(^579\)

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cuts in cultural preservation budgets. This provoked outrage and led Sandro Bondi, Minister of Culture, to resign a few months later. The aftermath of this situation confronted historians with the difficult reality that Italy’s public sector was no longer able to preserve its heritage. Giancarlo Galan, Bondi’s successor, turned to the private sector for help in restoring Pompeii and other sites, which experiencing similar difficulties.

The first fashion house to have been reported on by the press for these types of donations was Tod’s after they donated 5 million euros in 2011 to La Scala in Milan, only a few steps away from the Galleria. The famed opera house thanked Diego Della Valle, Tod’s’ CEO, by granting him access to the building and the opera’s troupe for the production of a short film marketing Tod’s acclaimed shoes. After offering to become a permanent sponsor of La Scala, Della Valle encouraged other companies in the private sector to do the same. According to him, “it was the duty of companies whose sales benefit from Italy’s artistic reputation to pitch in.”

The Italian government also contributed to the promulgation of these types of cultural donations. In recent years, Italy has transformed the manufacturing of Italian products into a “Made in Italy” institution, a descriptor that companies claim guarantees both quality and authenticity. An appellation that surely was meant to

582 Rose.
583 “Saving Pompeii.”
584 Rose
586 Rose.
587 Ibid.
contrast with the reputation of “Made in China” goods, “Made in Italy” attempted to convey an image of “integrity and durability, design originality and creativity, […] distinct tastes and flavors.”

This underpinning to cultural tourism and national pride led to the inclusion of DOC (Denomination of Controlled Origins) and DOP (Denomination of Protected Origins) on product labeling. The previously discussed art conservation examples are a part of this national movement to preserve cultural heritage and craft. In order to encourage these donations, the Italian Parliament also passed a law called “Art Bonus” in 2014, which offers a 65% tax deduction to individuals and companies who undertake or support art restorations. In addition to this, the law grants a 30% tax deduction to tourist attractions that refurbish their sites.

Despite the stunning results achieved at these sites and the overall growth of Italian prestige abroad, some culture leaders have expressed their discomfort over the development of a private conservation phenomenon, which they believe could lead to more “rampant commercialism.” These anxieties were aggravated on a few occasions such as when the Rolling Stones rented out Circus Maximus for an outdoor concert or when Morgan Stanley hosted a corporate dinner in a 14th century chapel. These instances have led to consumers’ and scholars’ skepticism towards brands’


589 Ibid.


592 Koblin.

charitable intentions in general and, consequently, a more negative attitude towards “corporate citizenship.” Ryan McGinness perfectly depicted this untrusting relationship in his exhibition *Sponsorship*, which took place at the BLK/MRKT Gallery in Los Angeles in 2003. This show was solely composed of the exhibition’s sponsors’ logos, which were granted varying spatial importance in the gallery depending on their level of donation. As Rob Walker, a freelance journalist, explains, “What *Sponsorship* does so cleverly is simply remove culture from the equation. There’s no brand extension here for the ‘patrons’ to exploit; it’s just them. The show thus takes a poke at the fine-arts world’s dependence on corporate support, but also asks whether sponsorship is evidence of good corporate citizenship, or merely a refined form of product placement.”

The benefits these luxury labels gain from these collaborations are, indeed, inevitable. By investing money in these cultural sites, companies are increasing their visibility in the media and therefore indirectly marketing their products. As Luca Solca, the head of luxury good analysis at Exane BNP Paribas, explained to *The New York Times*, “Consumers buy luxury goods products as a way to ennoble themselves; luxury goods companies and brands can earn more ‘nobility’ by associating their names to art and masterpieces. Adding nobility to brands is conducive to increasing

598 Ibid., 40.
their appeal.” These sponsorships also lead to the revival of these brands’ images in the fashion domain. Over the last few years, as the Asian market began to emerge, many fashion labels concentrated their investments in this sector. With the new laws put in place by the current government in Beijing to dispel corruption, these investments have however become less profitable. In 2012, for example, sales in China increased by 19% while in 2013 this growth dropped to 4%. According to Will Hutchings, an executive director at Goldman Sachs, these changes in the market have forced luxury labels to reconsider the ways in which they “engage with the consumer.”

As Vanessa Freidman, Fashion Director and Chief Fashion Critic for The New York Times, commented, “consumers have experienced what Bain & Company calls ‘logo fatigue’ […] The conventional wisdom was that consumers cared about obvious aspirational signifiers like name and price; the new view is that they now care about the less apparent marks of connoisseurship: handwork and craft.” Italian brands consequently shifted their focus to their Western customers and, in particular, their domestic clientele.

Versace and Prada have denied the media’s accusations of greed in their involvement in the restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II. Versace, a company that is native to Milan and which opened its first store in its historical center in 1978, has asserted that its donations stem from a sense of “[cultural]” and

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600 Ibid.
601 Ibid.
602 Ibid.
603 Ibid.
“[social]” responsibility. Gian Giacomo Ferraris, Versace’s CEO, told the press that, “Versace has an indissoluble link with beauty, art and culture. That’s why we immediately seized the opportunity to work in collaboration with the Milan municipality, the city’s superintendence and another company representative of Made in Italy excellence. We are proud to decisively contribute to the restoration of such an important historical and architectural monument as the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan, also, but not only, in relation to a major event such as EXPO 2015.” This statement calls attention to the link establishes in chapter one concerning the Expo and the Galleria’s identification with a common idea of Italian craft. Following the restoration of the original ornamentation found within Versace’s Galleria’s store, Ferraris explained that the brand is now in a position to contribute to larger projects, after becoming profitable again in 2011. This in addition to the 17% increase in the company’s revenue between 2013 and 2014 and the 210 million euros acquired through Blackstone in exchange for 20% of its shares in 2014, has put Versace at financial ease. Prada made similar claims.

On August 21st, 2013 the Milanese newspaper Corriere della Sera published an article entitled “La Galleria è ‘malata’ ‘servono interventi urgenti,’” which addressed the pressing issue to preserve the city’s prized arcade. Lio Pierpaolo, the article’s author, stressed the urgency of the matter in the context of the upcoming

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Koblin.
May.
Koblin.
Ibid.
2015 Expo and the millions of visitors the event would attract. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is in fact one of the most sought-after sites in Milan and is visited by 90% of its passing tourists. The Galleria’s restoration would also celebrate the site’s 150th anniversary and, consequently, revive its ties to Milanese collective memory. The significance of this endeavor can be read through Corriere della Sera’s interest in the subject. This is driven by its historical relationship with the site, where its offices were once located, and the prestige this confers on its editorial voice in Milanese affairs. Carmela Rozza, the councilor of Public Works, explained, “this is an unprecedented scale of work of huge financial burden, which we hope will be eased by the collaboration and contributions of private investors.” Rozza intended this restoration to serve as the culmination of the city’s efforts to maintain the Galleria, which over the preceding three years had included the reparation of two vaulted passageways on Piazza del Duomo, the Leonardo da Vinci statue on Piazza della Scala, and the repaving of via Foscolo, via Berchet, and via San Raffaele. These smaller-scale renovations had cost ten million euros, half of which was funded by the city council.

In response to this drive for sponsorship, Milan’s official website announced on December 13, 2013 that an agreement had been met between the city and the project’s sponsors, which included Versace, Prada, Feltrinelli and Alessandro Pierpaolo.

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611 Pierpaolo.
613 “Si tratta di opere senza precedenti, di grande impegno economico, per le quali auspichiamo la collaborazione e il contributo degli operatori private.” Martin.
614 “Concluso il restauro della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II.”
615 Ibid.
This collaboration of two luxury-clothing brands, one publishing company and the owner of luxury hotel TownHouse Galleria, respectively, was cemented by their common tenancy within the Galleria. Daniela Benelli, the Head of State Property, explains that it was thanks to Prada’s and Versace’s large donations and support that the restoration was as extensive as it was. This also enabled the continued presence of traditional and iconic tenants, such as Feltrinelli, within the arcade. As an expression of its gratitude, the city of Milan facilitated Versace’s induction into the Galleria. This was at the expense of Bernasconi, which lost its place in the octagon. To celebrate the occasion, Versace hosted its spring/summer 2015 runway show the day the store opened. Prada was also allowed to expand its store as well as purchase an additional space on the opposite side of the octagon, which led Feltrinelli to relocate to the arms of the arcade. Though benefitting the Galleria’s conservation, these measures were criticized as biased and corrupt by some locals. These negative opinions subsided once Prada and Versace offered to pay over double the rent asked of them for the remaining years of their leases, to 2018 and 2020 respectively. This contract means that Versace will be paying 732,182 euros a year instead of 329,480 euros. Meanwhile, Prada will contribute a total of 928,930 euros a year to the city council’s funds, a large increase in comparison to the 428,756

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617 Ibid.
619 Ibid.
621 Kicooley-O’Halloran.
622 “Galleria: Da Versace e Prada 3 Milioni per il Restauro.”
623 Ibid.
euros Feltrinelli used to pay. Part of this money was used to finance the restoration of the site and another part was dedicated to social housing projects on the outskirts of Milan. The allocation and specific amounts of these sums are not specified on the city council’s website. From an email exchange with an executive at Prada, it was established that the company did not, for reasons that are not clear, meet the criteria for “Art Bonus” and did not receive any other reward for its charitable work. It can be assumed that Versace was confronted with a similar situation. At this time, Expo Milano was still in the preparatory phases of its design, which focused on building the foundations for sustainable practices for the duration of the exhibition and beyond. It can therefore be argued that the Galleria’s restoration committee was being shaped in response to these objectives in order to guarantee the preservation of the site past its refurbishment.

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II restoration began March 10, 2014 and was completed at the end of April 2015, with only a slight delay from the projected date April 7th. Under the jurisdiction of the city’s Technical Department, twelve experts restored approximately 14,000 square meters over a total of 35,000 hours with the help of Gasparoli S.r.l., in charge of internal surfaces and ornamentation, and

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624 “Galleria: Da Versace e Prada 3 Milioni per il Restauro.”
625 Ibid.
627 “Concluso il restauro della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II.”
628 Francesca Malerba. Email to Clark Maines, December 4, 2015.
Impresa Percassi, director of the overall site and scaffolding. The project was of special importance to Impresa Percassi, a leader in Italian art conservation, as it celebrated its 50th anniversary that year. In order to complete the project in time for the Expo, four restorers additionally worked night shifts. The management of the restoration’s funds as well as the general restoration procedure was overseen by both the Councilor of Public Works, Carmela Rozza, and the Superintendents of Architectural and Landscape Heritage, Dr. Terfina and Dr. Artioli.636 The city of Milan therefore had complete control over the decisions that were made concerning its salotto. The areas subject to the restoration were “the Piazza della Scala entrance, all of the interior façades, and the archway and porticoes on Piazza del Duomo.”637 The restoration excluded the dome and its ironwork.

Versace and Prada were in charge of the interior façades of the Galleria and spent close to five million euros, which the city of Milan matched. Prada’s project managers, Michela Goretti and Maurizio Ciabatti, and Versace’s spokesperson, Silvia Carteny, split this responsibility into six months shifts, the first of which was handled by Versace and the second by Prada, until September 2014.638 Feltrinelli was listed as a contributor in this phase of the restoration and the simultaneous marketing initiatives that were being taken, such as the Caleidoscopio art installation and the In

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633 Zuffi, 220.
634 “Galleria a Milano, Nuovo Look al via martedì, l’Impresa è Percassi.”
635 Martin.
636 Zuffi, 208.
637 Ibid., 202.
Galleria website. Feltrinelli’s involvement in the restoration was primarily symbolic as it could not afford a large-scale donation and was, for this reason, less noted by the media.

Alessandro Rosso is the owner of the Italian TownHouse Hotel chain, which was supplemented by the addition of the TownHouse Galleria Hotel in 2007.\(^{639}\) This hotel is located on the upper floors of the northwest building of the arcade and includes the previously mentioned the Sinfonia restaurant, which hosted American chefs for the duration of the Expo, and a museum, which honors the maestro Luciano Pavarotti.\(^{640}\) Rosso’s donation went towards the refurbishment of the archway leading to Piazza della Scala and the planning of the Galleria Highline, to which TownHouse guests have exclusive access.\(^{641}\) This walkway wraps around the circumference of the Galleria’s dome and covers a total of 550 square meters.\(^{642}\) With the help of Impresa Percassi and Architect Paolo Favole, Rosso was able to make this preexisting infrastructure available to the public.\(^{643}\) Impresa Percassi was also involved in the expansion of the TownHouse Galleria Hotel, which included 27 new suites.\(^{644}\) The cooperation of such a wide variety of collaborators, both private and public,

\(^{643}\) Ibid.
\(^{644}\) Ibid.
successfully dispelled the possibility of any biases taking place in the execution of the restoration.\(^{645}\)

The first phase of the restoration involved extensive research, a meticulous job that was entrusted to Ornella Selvafolta, a lecturer at Politecnico Milan.\(^ {646}\) This information was drawn from the Mengoni archives in Fontanelice, which contained an overwhelming amount of detail concerning ornamentation, master plans, and city council meetings.\(^ {647}\) These fragments of the Galleria were studied closely before they were placed along a fabricated timeline, which mapped out the planning and construction of the Galleria.\(^ {648}\) The detailed dossier that was compiled offered scholars and the city’s management a vital resource that could be referred to in the case of future restorations of the arcade.\(^ {649}\) The impact of this research was observed throughout the realization of the work, such as when Maurizio Percile, the city’s appointed engineer, discovered that the glass ceiling panels had been designed following a 1:1 ratio.\(^ {650}\) He also found out that the Carrara marble capitals had each been individually tended to by Mengoni.\(^ {651}\) The most influential contribution the archives had was easily in the creation of the restoration’s “flying” scaffolding that defied gravity by only utilizing eight supporting pillars.\(^ {652}\) Impresa Percassi’s design was prompted by a plan that Mengoni had conceived for the construction of the Galleria that used train rails, a feature surely inspired by the architect’s railway

\(^{645}\) Zuffi, 208.
\(^{646}\) Ibid., 210.
\(^{647}\) Ibid.
\(^{648}\) Ibid., 216.
\(^{650}\) Zuffi, 210.
\(^{651}\) Ibid.
\(^{652}\) Ibid.
experience in Bologna. Impresa Percassi’s interpretation of this relied upon shipyard crane technology instead so as to easily move the installation, which despite its ethereal name weighed 46 tons and measured 9000 cubic meters. This “innovation” contributed enormously to the timeliness and success of the restoration by allowing passageways and storefronts to remain accessible for the duration of the project.

The project was executed in two stages. The first involved the complete restoration of the octagon portion of the arcade, which covers 2,400 meters, using a traditional type of scaffolding that was 26 meters high. Once this was completed, the restorers tackled the arms of the Galleria with the help of Impresa Percassi’s “flying” scaffolding. This setup allowed for two traditional scaffoldings on opposite ends of the Galleria, with a projection that covered three windows at a time, which covered 7,800 meters. At night, when the Galleria was less busy and its stores were closed, restorers focused on the lower portion of the arcade, which made up 3,300 meters of the facade, using a temporary 6-meter high scaffolding.

Before the physical restoration began a detailed inspection of the arcade was made under the guidance of Roberto Baciocchi whom Prada commissioned from Arezzo. Baciocchi’s primary objective was to emphasize light, “the true spirit of the Galleria.” According to him, “light […] enters throughout the day, creating constantly changing effects. This is the true spirit of architecture… it’s not just about

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653 Zuffi, 216.
654 Ibid.
655 Ibid.
656 “Concluso il restauro della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II.”
657 Ibid.
659 “Parte il restauro della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II.”
660 Ibid.
building things.” His practical adaptation of these musings was to present the Galleria in its true colors as a two-toned façade. This was accomplished through an initial research phase, during which restorers selected a small portion of the façade to carry out experiments to analyze the chemical composition and physical condition of the building’s exterior. Using photographs and “micro-air-abrasion technology, IOS,” the restorers were able to identify and rectify the color scheme of the arcade. As a result, “the drab, greyish shades [were] replaced by warm, golden tones that [interfaced] vibrantly with the bright colours of the marble floor” Marco Sobrero, Gasparoli’s site manager, used similar methods when dealing with the different granites and marbles that were used, which included Baverno’s pink granite, Viggiù grey stone and Vicenza yellow stone. The gratings found around the Galleria’s floor were also shined and replaced when needed, to complement the tile restoration which took place in 2012.

Cooperativa Archeologia based in Florence handled the restoration of the Galleria’s thirty-five ceilings and their plaster ornamentation. Using the original wooden structure of the ceiling, or the little that survived of it from the 1943 bombings, the company was able to determine the colors that had once covered the Galleria’s surface. Such difficulties were also experienced by Marco Sobrero who noted that, “‘The biggest challenge was to recognize the original parts.’ […] [as]

661 Zuffi, 220.
662 Ibid.
664 “Media Library.”
665 Zuffi, 226.
669 Ibid.
many interventions have been made on the Galleria through the centuries.”\textsuperscript{670} As for
the lunettes above the octagon, the mosaics were mostly intact and in good condition.\textsuperscript{671} The restorers tackled the area by lightly dusting the pieces of \textit{pasta vitrea}, a type
of molten glass mosaic, and replacing the few pieces that were missing.\textsuperscript{672} Giuliana
Cuomo also noted the exciting discoveries that the cleaning of the surface entailed, “for example, the allegory of Europe revealed crowns representing the monarchies of
the different European countries.”\textsuperscript{673}

The restoration of the monumental arch located at the Piazza del Duomo entrance was also an opportunity for discovery. Specialized in stonework, Estia S.r.l. uncovered the existence of a room located in “the vault of the archway” when they
were installing new light fixtures.\textsuperscript{674} The space “contained the electrical control centre
for setting and synchronizing the city’s 300 public clocks (the faces of which read ‘electrical time’) and was opened on 13 October 1932.”\textsuperscript{675} The company also
removed metal clamps located around the entablature of the archway’s exterior façade that had been placed during a previous conservation attempt, as they
discovered that over time the clamps’ rust had caused large portions of the arch to crumble.\textsuperscript{676}

The restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was completed in a timely
manner days before the inauguration of the Expo. The diligent approach to the
restoration uncovered new information about the site and provoked a renewed interest
in the skills that have been used to fashion the Galleria a century and a half before.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[670] Turra.
\item[671] Zuffi, 230.
\item[672] Ibid.
\item[673] Ibid.
\item[674] Ibid.
\item[675] Ibid.; Ibid., 232.
\end{footnotes}
The allocation of responsibilities between the private sponsors a more efficient and balanced approach to the project. The city of Milan’s role in the management of the restoration prevented bias and promoted a greater spirit of collaboration. These factors are reminiscent of the environment in which the Galleria was originally conceived and constructed, that is through public and private donations and under the supervision of a third party, the City of Milan Improvement Company and then later Milan. The presence of the world’s fair was also responsible for the level and quality of productivity that the restorers were held to as the Expo is a time sensitive event. It can also be argued that the theme of the Expo, sustainability, was impactful in terms of inspiring the restoration in the first place and encouraging the extensive research that was made to preserve both tangible and intangible heritage linked to the site. The next project Milan has in mind is the restoration of the Galleria’s iconic, and leaking, glass dome.

**Restoration Craft as Reflection of Sponsors’ Corporate Identity**

The restoration’s general success and display of craftsmanship was bolstered by the identity of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s chief sponsors, Prada and Versace, who occupy pivotal roles in boosting the essence of Italian grandeur abroad. The Galleria, unlike the Colosseum for example, is not an ancient site but instead a living monument. This aspect of the arcade was reinforced by the values of the chosen sponsors who emphasized its historical and symbolic associations. This ultimately reflected on the Prada and Versace brands and their vocation to sustain and disseminate Italian cultural heritage.

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676 Zuffi, 230.
In order to fully comprehend the extent of Prada and Versace’s relationship to the Galleria, it is necessary to study the significance of fashion in Milan as a whole. Fashion in Milan became economically relevant to the city in the 1980s as a result of the French fashion crisis, which arose from the country’s inhospitable post-war environment. The weakening position of “the fashion capital of the world” enabled companies based in other European countries to gain a competitive edge. It wasn’t until Giorgio Armani was featured on the cover of Time, however, that Italian fashion gained international recognition. While the 1970s had been prosperous times for Prada and Versace on a national level, the 1980s projected their craft to a wider audience. In the 21st century, the image of Milan as a producer and influencer of taste has continued to soar due to its exposure in the media driven by annual events that focus on local craft, such as the Triennale and design shows. This connection has unquestionably made Milan an influential fashion capital today.

Let it be noted that this situation bears many similarities to Milanese exhibition history as a creator of Milanese modernity. According to Eugenia Paulicelli, the presence of the fashion industry in Milan is in fact an indicator of modernity and a defining factor in Italy’s recognition of the city as its industrial epicenter. Craft therefore once again characterizes the essence of Milan’s local and international identity.

The Expo committee embraced this Milanese, and more broadly national, theme of cultural heritage at the Expo. Giorgio Armani was selected as an ambassador for the Expo and was granted the privilege of inaugurating the world’s

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677 Martin.
678 Granata, 199.
679 Ibid.
680 Ibid., 202; Ibid., 203.
681 Ibid., 205.
fair with his Prive runway show. He also used this opportunity to announce the release of his new clothing line, Silos Armani. Laura Biagiotti, another Italian designer, also participated in this industry collaboration and lent Giacomo Balla’s *Futurist Genius* to the Expo committee to be exhibited at the Palazzo Italia for the duration of the exhibition. This futurist work of art was painted in 1925 for the Parisian exhibition that was held that same year. In the context of the 2015 Expo, it recalled the role that exhibitions and the futurist movement had in shaping Milan’s brand of modernity. Laura Biagiotti’s commented on the transaction by saying that the Expo needed “spiritual nourishment” as well. Another exhibition called “Fashion Remake” celebrated the sustainability theme of the Expo and was put on display at the Expo’s entrance.

Outside the Expo’s walls, Italian designers continued to promote the occasion through cultural sponsorships. Tod’s, for example, was particularly influential in the creation of the *Stardust* exhibition held at the Pac, which presented a photographic retrospective of David Bailey. The luxury label’s “intent [was] to promote and support Milan, and Italy in general, as important references in the circuit of international culture.” The exhibition’s September inauguration also saw a direct connection with the fashion world as one of the city’s biannual fashion weeks.

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684 Ibid.
685 Ibid.
687 “Armani, Special Ambassador di Expo.”
688 Ibid.
689 Ibid.
occurred at the same time. This event was made more international in the context of the Expo by the inclusion of a greater number of Chinese designers.\textsuperscript{691} Prada and Versace’s connection to these practices and the Expo was confirmed by Expo Milano’s regular reference to the Galleria and its restoration on its blog. The city’s supervision of the restoration strengthened this connection by projecting similar qualities on to the Galleria and by discouraging excessive branding, as had been the case for Tod’s undertaking of the Colosseum in 2012.\textsuperscript{692} This association reinforces the idea of the arcade acting as a fuori-expo site discussed in chapter one and presents Versace and Prada as extensions of the Galleria. The brands’ identification with Italian national values and, more specifically, Milanese culture, craft and tradition of luxury, relates to the Galleria’s identity as a monument to the unification of Italy, a symbol of Milanese heritage, and a contributor to the arcade tradition. The question of whether Prada and Versace’s sponsorship is a disinterested cultural contribution or a marketing scheme becomes at this point irrelevant as the luxury brands participate in promoting the very notions that the Galleria materializes.

Prada and Versace involvement seems even more appropriate and powerful when considering their individual relationship to the Galleria and art conservation. Prada’s relationship with the Galleria began a few decades earlier in 1913 when it opened its initial store in the arcade.\textsuperscript{693} In 2011, Prada wrestled with Gucci and Apple to reaffirm its presence in the gallery by purchasing yet another store for more than

\textsuperscript{690} “Armani, Special Ambassador di Expo.”
\textsuperscript{691} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{693} Martin.
20 million euros. This second store was located in the Galleria’s octagon as well and was entirely dedicated to menswear. This was part of Prada’s highly criticized tactic of privileging expansion over creative design in order to keep up with its competitors. Other than the firm’s clear historical ties to the Galleria, Prada’s desire to sponsor the restoration was in line with its general involvement in art conservation. Some notable examples are the restorations of Antonio Vivarini polyptych in Bari in 2013 and of The Last Supper by Giorgio Vasari in Florence in 2014.

The Galleria’s restoration was also an opportunity for Prada to promote its “Corporate Social Responsibility” agenda. Prada’s efforts to renew its brand identity are the result of a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) phenomenon, which gained momentum after a Teresa Moda factory caught fire in Tuscany on December 1, 2013. This incident killed seven workers, all of Chinese heritage, and brought to light the network of Chinese owned factories in Italy, which operated in unsuitable conditions. The image and reputation of Italian luxury fashion labels association to these practices, Prada and Versace included, suffered from this tragic accident. In response, Prada, who had already agreed to a company code of ethics in 2007 and a contract verifying the legality of their suppliers in 2010, resolved to create a website

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695 Ibid.
696 Ibid.
699 Ibid.
700 Ibid.
dedicated to responsible business. This platform is available to investors and customers alike and promotes the concept of transparency and CSR in the industry. The website’s content stresses the importance of these qualities through the frequent use of the words “sustainable,” “culture,” “community,” “local,” and “quality.” In his online statement, Carlo Mazzi, chairman of Prada Group, maintains that, “We consider it one of our social responsibilities as a business to broaden our horizons and consider the consequences of what we do, so that our activities steer economic development in the direction of a more sustainable balance.” Mazzi’s use of the word “sustainability” here refers to the improvement of labor practices and the preservation of skills related to the manufacturing of their products. To promote these changes, Prada Group decided to include on their CSR website annual Social Responsibility Reports that track the progress that has been made towards accomplishing these goals. Each report begins with an overview of the firm’s profit and contributions for that year, followed by Prada’s environmental footprint and donations. The report is then divided into three sections covering issues regarding human resources, the environment, and community relations.

These accomplishments are also featured in a more user-friendly manner on the website’s homepage. Divided into three categories, “know-how,” “places,” and “culture,” these projects are all meant to contribute to the firm’s ideals of “work ethic” and “long lasting relationships.” Within “know-how,” the importance of craft and expertise that are required to produce an object of quality are discussed in

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701 Pike.  
703 Ibid.
the context of the Prada Academy and the Hervy Tannery in Limoges. In an age where technology takes precedence, Mazzi encourages the preservation of “traditional” skills to “[embody] a unique style and quality.” The Prada Academy is the answer to this desire as it “aims to create a pool of young technicians that ensures a flow of specialized skills in the field of luxury manufacturing, aiming to become a constant and specific reference point for know-how in the field of luxury leather goods, footwear and ready-to-wear.” The tannery in Limoges, the other subcategory of this section, which Prada reopened after a disappointing experience with factories in China, guarantees this standard quality as well as a reliable supply of leather materials.

Under “Places,” topics such as, “Re-outfitting existing buildings: A Sustainable Choice,” and “Prada’s garden factories,” are discussed. This section addresses the ways in which business practices and CSR sensibilities can coexist. One of Prada’s factories located in Valvigna, Tuscany is used to illustrate these initiatives and demonstrate how a factory’s integration into its surroundings is beneficial to both the community and factory workers. This attention to harmony is, according to the company, conducive to productivity.

Finally, in “Culture” I comprised of projects featuring the brand’s mission of promoting culture “as an effective knowledge tool that triggers a constantly evolving

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705 Ibid.
706 Pike.
708 Ibid.
709 “Home – Prada.”
711 Ibid.
intellectual development [sic].”\textsuperscript{712} This section mentions the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration, described as “the public and private sectors together for Milan,” and the Fondazione Prada. \textsuperscript{713} The Fondazione Prada is a cultural organization that the company founded in 1993, which “intends to act as an observatory [sic.] on the current scene, through the staging of art exhibitions as well as architecture, cinema and philosophy projects.”\textsuperscript{714} The Fondazione has two cultural centers, one in Venice at the Ca’ Corner della Regina that opened in 2011 and one in Milan that was inaugurated the same month as the Expo in May 2015.\textsuperscript{715}

Versace’s relationship with the Galleria has been more recent but just as impactful. As previously mentioned, the brand first became a tenant of the arcade in 2014, following its offer to subsidize part of the Galleria’s 2015 restoration. The brand’s presence has positively influenced the space through the restoration of its store in the octagon, a patronage that will be discussed later. Versace’s involvement in the Galleria’s restoration differs from Prada’s, as it promotes aesthetics. This sensibility can be traced back to Gianni Versace’s life as a designer. When Gianni Versace began his career as a fashion designer in 1972, the industry was elitist and out of touch with “what was happening on the street.” Versace stretched this limiting vision to include “The distinctiveness of his powerful prints […] a movable signature that defines the wearer as co-conspirator with a designer mind.” Many of these patterns were inspired by his upbringing in Calabria, where Greek and Roman ruins

\textsuperscript{713} “Home – Prada.”
\textsuperscript{714} “Fondazione Prada: A Cultural Institution in Constant Evolution.”
were plentiful. These ornamental prints were, in this sense, an early manifestation of a lifelong commitment to Italian cultural heritage.

This sensibility was first expressed in Versace’s theatrical costume designs, which were recognized by the United Kingdom in the context of the Silver Mask Award in 1985.\footnote{Matthew, “History of Versace,” Fashion in Time, January 28, 2011, accessed January 13, 2016. http://www.fashionintime.org/history-of-versace/} His taste in art began to evolve from this point on to include contemporary esthetics, which he used as pattern inspirations, such as Andy Warhol’s Marilyn Monroe portrait that became the pattern for a dress.\footnote{“Blurred Lines,” We Heart, September 21, 2015, accessed January 19, 2016. http://www.we-heart.com/2015/09/21/history-art-and-fashion/} This integration of art into fashion was innovative as it spoke to current trends and issues in a manner that was beneficial for both artist and designer. Gianni Versace’s understanding of these financial gains that associations with art could generate was exploited in his marketing campaigns and collaborations with artists. The Musée de la Mode in fact dedicated an exhibition to the matter entitled \textit{Lens} in Paris in 1986.\footnote{Matthew.} Versace was also the first designer to curate his runway shows in a way to create desire and generate media attention. This was accomplished through front row placement of celebrities, such as Madonna and Prince, and supermodels, a novelty that could later be referred to as the “supermodel phenomenon.”\footnote{“Brand History,” Versace Official Website, accessed March 25, 2016. http://www.versace.com/en/history; Amy Spindler, “Gianni Versace, 50, The Designer who Infused Fashion with Life and Art” The New York Times, July 16, 1997, accessed March 17, 2016.}

Gianni Versace’s passion for art was also reflected in his private art collection. Many of the works he owned were commissions or gifts from artists and friends like Jean-Michel Basquiat and Roy Lichtenstein. The extent of his collection as well as its value was disclosed after his death when Sotheby’s auctioned off a large
number of the artwork he owned. Versace’s appreciation of beautiful objects extended to his homes in Miami, New York and Lake Como, which were each restored to reflect local taste and heritage. These efforts were rewarded in the case of his Miami home, Casa Casuarina, when Florida granted Versace with the “Florida Trust for Historic Preservation.”

Gianni Versace’s sister, Donatella Versace, has attempted to maintain these types of patronage since her brother’s death in 1997. This can be observed between 2002 and 2006 when Ilian Rachov, a Bulgarian artist, was asked to help Donatella Versace in the creation of new ornamental patterns. This can also be seen in the case of the restoration of Versace’s Galleria store in 2014, which was one of the few to have been spared during the tragic bombings of 1943. This project allowed for the original friezes, plasterwork and columns to be uncovered from behind the walls, which had hidden them. The store was subsequently redesigned by Donatella Versace and architect Jamie Fobert, with oversight from the Italian Department of Fine Arts, to appear more spacious so as to highlight these “new” architectural additions. Unlike Prada, Versace has not made the effort to promote these artistic collaborations on its website, which overall appears less neat and user-friendly. The

721 “Brand History.”
722 Ibid.
724 Ibid.
726 Ibid.
727 Ibid.
brand’s artistic sensibility does nevertheless transpire from the esthetics of the photographs used and the products of their e-boutique.

Art is not, however, the principal draw for 21st century buyers. Versace, contrary to Prada, has struggled to remain transparent to and engaged with its investors and clients. The most recent scandal occurred during Milan’s Women’s Fashion Week in 2014, when Greenpeace identified waterway pollutants in their children’s clothing line.728 Consequently, in February 2014, Versace agreed to abide by the European Union’s strict regulations on textile production.729 Marie-Claire Daveu, Director of Sustainability at Kering, explains that, “the luxury industry has a particular responsibility because it sets trends and is open to innovation. [...] Sustainability should be at our core.”730 In recent years, greenwashing tactics have been looked down upon as the number of private corporations committing to business transparency only continues to increase in response to customer demand.731 In order for fashion brands to adhere by these standards, however, they must reconsider their supply chain and the ways in which their products affect the environment in which they are made.732 As Eva Kruse, Director of the Fashion Institute of Copenhagen, has appropriately noted, it is difficult to reconcile fashion and its consumerist nature to notions of sustainability.733 Her answer to this dilemma is to promote awareness on both ends of the spectrum, brands and consumer, so that discussions related to the amount of clothing produced and the conditions in which they are made can be

729 Ibid.
731 Ibid.
732 Ibid.
facilitates. Versace has embraced this advice and agreed to participate in Esthetica’s sustainability showcase at the London Fall 2016 Fashion Week.

Interestingly, Versace and Prada each encompass a different aspect of the arguments presented in this chapter. Prada, on one hand, exhibits sensibilities comparable to those of the Expo. Its inclusion of corporate social responsibility reports encourages transparency as well as awareness amongst its employees and clients. Prada can be understood in this way as the ambassador of craft revival and sustainable measures in the context of the restoration. Versace’s practices, on the other hand, emphasize the mutual benefits that arise from artistic collaborations. This view is shared by journalist Lauren Sherman who at the 2015 Miami Basel commented that, “Art has the power to bring creative energy and cultural depth to fashion brands, while fashion can bring gloss, currency, exposure and deep pockets to art.” This focus concentrates on the aesthetics of the Galleria and the influence its design can have on other Milanese creators. Versace and Prada’s joint sponsorship is therefore one that is both complementary to their individual branding and encompassing of the Galleria’s identity.

**Conclusion: The Revival of a Historic Monument**

As is the case for many other sites, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration reaffirmed its status as a historic monument within the Milanese
community and abroad. By incorporating the project within Italian art conservation traditions and by honoring the Galleria’s historical ties to craftsmanship and modernity, Milan successfully revived the arcade’s original consumerist and collective intentions. The importance of Milan’s authority in the oversight of the project was reflected by the conversation it maintained with the Expo and the city’s heritage. These factors were reinforced by the deep relations that each of the Galleria’s sponsors had with the site, which by association positively reflected on the donors. These harmonious and thoughtful interactions are the reasons for which the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II example is distinct from previous privately funded restorations.

Once the restoration was inaugurated, Carmela Rozza, the Councilor of Public Works, reminded journalists that careful considerations needed to be made concerning the maintenance of the site if the city and sponsors’ work was to not go to waste.\textsuperscript{737} This foresight can arguably be linked to the Expo’s theme of sustainability and its attempt to preserve a lasting legacy. Where the Expo failed, the Galleria succeeded through a series of marketing tactics, which addressed both tangible and intangible elements of cultural heritage on equal planes.

Chapter III: Restoration Curation as Promoter of Milanese Civic Identity

In order for the impact of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration to last beyond Expo Milano, the City of Milan and the arcade’s sponsors developed a marketing strategy that would encourage patrons to participate. By increasing awareness amongst the Galleria’s visitors, Milan hoped that they would in turn come to value it as an integral part of the city’s identity and consequently support future initiatives to preserve it. This method was in part inspired by the outcome of the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society in 2005, which “[proposed] a more comprehensive and holistic view of what should be intended as cultural heritage, and [emphasized] the importance of people’s participation and engagement - rights as well as responsibilities - in the making of place and local identities.”  

This insistence on active involvement on the part of the site’s patrons was in reaction to a rise in “passive consumption” of cultural and historical sites.  

As collective memory is constantly evolving, the “historical present” must not be viewed as drawing meaning from the future or the past but “rather as Berlant has noted, […] as a core aspect of the present’s ongoing condition and, as such, is ‘a thing being made [and] lived through’.”  

This nuance underlines the importance of “process” over


“product” in the act of sharing a culture’s heritage.\textsuperscript{741} This concept relates to Paul Connerton’s theory of “performative memory,” which “\textit{requires} the personal, physical participation of its adherents, not merely an assent to or passive acceptance of an official historical narrative.”\textsuperscript{742} While this type of relationship is not appropriate for all heritage sites, in particular those where “participation is explicitly defined by the way [the sites] are set apart from everyday life” and visitors act “as consumers of a momentary experience with a beginning and an end,” it is crucial for a space like the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, which presents more complex requirements upon the visitor.\textsuperscript{743}

Social media are useful tools for organizing this exchange and contribution as they fully embrace what José van Dijck refers to as “the culture of connectivity.”\textsuperscript{744} These platforms’ “interaction design is a socially oriented and socially sensitive, human-centered perspective, grounded in ideas of participation and dialogue.”\textsuperscript{745} Social media allow for each user to become a “curator” of their profile and, more broadly of the entire network. The word “curator” is used carefully as it refers to the growing millennial trend of individuals carefully selecting objects to form collections that are more or less understood as extensions of themselves. In a recent article entitled “What Was The Hipster?” published by \textit{n+1}, these “curators” were described as “‘prosumers’ who prefer to select cultural artifacts rather than produce them,

\textsuperscript{741} Silberman, 13.
\textsuperscript{742} Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{743} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{744} Simon, 89.
brandishing them ‘like capital’.”746 It is this sentiment of flexibility and authority that Jenkins refers to as “participatory culture,” “one in which ‘not every member must contribute, but all must believe they are free to contribute when ready and that what they contribute will be appropriately valued’.”747

For this reason, “curators and conservators,” in the traditional sense of the word, must pass on the torch and act as “facilitators rather than authoritative scripters and arbiters of authenticity and significance.”748 In order for these conversations to be truly fruitful, however, all communities involved with the social media site must be sought out and engaged with, this includes not only tourists and locals but also staff and stakeholders, and tenants of a venue such as the Galleria.749 If these various groups are given platforms and opportunities to express such “invested values and interests,” a true exchange and process of “sharing” can occur.750 This statement is especially true in the case of the Galleria, which has always drawn in multiple sets of individuals. The city council of Milan and the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s sponsors effectively acknowledged and united these subgroups, each with its own objectives, in their curation of the site on a national, municipal, and local level. This chapter will discuss each of these groups separately.

The Galleria as it Relates to the Nation

Once the restorations were completed, the Municipality of Milan held an inauguration ceremony on April 9, 2015, which showcased the brilliant results of the

747 Giaccardi, 3.
748 Silberman, 14.
749 Ciolfi, 73.
project and offered a retrospective presentation of the Galleria as an essential component of national heritage. Giuliano Pisapia commemorated the moment by underlining the Galleria’s relationship with the past and future, “Today the Galleria continues to link the Piazza Scala to the Piazza Duomo, which are even richer than they once were. In Piazza Scala we have the new Museo delle Gallerie d’Italia and in Piazza Duomo we have the new complex that connects the Cathedral to the Palazzo Reale and the Museo del Novecento. The Galleria is the protagonist of an unparalleled exposition in Italy. It is open-air art, art in the city. A city that is made even more beautiful today by its restoration.”

To mark the occasion, Feltrinelli, Prada and Versace screened the documentary *Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano* and commissioned an art installation entitled *Caleidoscopio*.

The free viewing of *Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano* took place at the Urban Center, a cultural center located within the Galleria, a multimedia center that frequently hosts exhibitions, conferences and workshops for the community.

*Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano* i was produced by the city of Milan in 1967 in celebration of the Galleria’s centennial. Ermanno Olmi, an icon within the Italian film industry, directed the short documentary in collaboration with RAI, *Radiotelevisione Italia*, which is one of Italy’s national television networks. Following its release, the documentary had been more or less forgotten until Feltrinelli requested its

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750 Ciolfi, 73.
recovery from the Rai Teche archives with the help of Prada and Versace. The documentary remains unavailable for private viewing, a journalist who attended the 2015 screening described it as an artistic work that filmed the Galleria and its versatile patrons over the course of day. The 43 minute documentary was made in partnership with Dino Buzzati, Gino Negri, Bruno Bozzetto and Cesare Zavattini, who, respectively, wrote the script, produced the score, designed animations and concluded the feature with an interview. These well-regarded members of the film industry all bore some connection with Milan. One explanation for why this documentary was overlooked may be the fact that Ermanno Olmi released a second documentary Milano '83 in 1983 as part of a European film project entitled “Capitali culturali d’Europa.” This work offered a more pessimistic representation of the city’s condition, which focused on the city’s “sistema nervosa,” that is the sounds and faces of Milan, rather than its aesthetics. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is consequently only featured for a few seconds 34 minutes into the 45-minute documentary. The documentary was poorly received by critics at the time as well as by the city of Milan, who felt that Olmi had not dutifully portrayed his city in flattering way.

753 Zuffi, 208; “Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano.”
754 Ibid.
756 “Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano.”
Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano, within the context of Milan 83’, presents its subject matter in nationalistic and patriotic terms. This is primarily accomplished by Olmi’s positive depiction of the Galleria as a monumental infrastructure infused with the spirit of Milan. His emphasis on the passage of time relates to the Galleria’s centenary celebration as well as its role as a functional site within the city. The title of the documentary, which translates to “Galleria. Heart and Memory of Milan,” also creates these commemorative identifications. While the title’s emphasis on locality could discredit a nationalistic argument, Olmi’s later neglect of the Galleria in Milano 83’ suggests that the site was attached to a more formal and historical interpretation of Milan, one that was not relevant to the Milanese in 1983. The Galleria therefore becomes attached to Italy’s national heritage as a symbol of glory and patriotism.

These nationalistic ties were reiterated in 2015 when the city of Milan commissioned Silvio Soldini, Giorgio Diritti and Walter Veltroni to direct a documentary entitled Milano 2015 to mark the Expo. The documentary’s title clearly references Ermanno Olmi’s work and underlines the directors’ desire to remedy past negativity. While in Milano ‘83 no cultural sites were highlighted in significant ways, in Milano 2015 emphasis was placed on Teatro della Scala and Corriere della Sera. This indicates that in 2015, unlike in 1983, cultural heritage was perceived as a more integral part of the city’s identity. In one review of the documentary, Giancarlo Zappoli expressed that the film was simply about Milan and for the Milanese. It was a more general commentary on a city’s ability to remain culturally relevant

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761 Zappolo.
independently of tourist promotion.\textsuperscript{762} This argument is further supported by the fact that the documentary was produced by Italians of all origins not specifically by Milanese. While the choice to screen \textit{Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano} was effective in recalling this cinematographic tradition, the sponsors’ argument might have been made stronger had a new documentary concerning the Galleria been produced, such as Diego Della Valle had done following the restoration of La Scala.

To celebrate the end of the project, the Galleria sponsors also commissioned an installation, which was designed by Michele Marchetti and displayed from the 7\textsuperscript{th} to the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of May 2015 (Figure 10).\textsuperscript{763} This tradition of featuring art in the Galleria has existed from the time of its inception and has included concerts, operas, and fashion shows, among others. An association between the store tenants and these art events, however, only began after the Second World War with the Associazione Salotto di Milano. The committee was formed in 1949 after the showing of \textit{Quattro Passi nell’Arte}.\textsuperscript{764} The art was designed to be displayed in the store windows, which encouraged people to come see the exhibits and visit the businesses.\textsuperscript{765} This exhibition revived existing ties between the Galleria and the Milanese and made the Galleria once again a space for gathering and exchange.\textsuperscript{766} As Cerritelli notes, “the patronage of the shop owners is worthy of particular interest, as it reflects a spirit that

\textsuperscript{762} Zappolo.
\textsuperscript{764} Colnaghi, introduction.
\textsuperscript{765} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{766} Ibid., forward by Rossana Galli.
considers art, the inseparable expression of the history of a country on an equal footling with its literature, a suitable instrument for cultural promotion.”

Caleidoscopio was also made possible through the collaboration of Farm, Bordel Studio, the Blink Fish, Nicolò Bagnati, Eletech, Vellardi, Falegnameria Biffi and Lola Toscani Productions. Marchetti is a relatively obscure Milanese architect, graphic designer, and musician, who is best known as the creative director of architecture magazines Domus and San Rocco. His works are primarily concerned with spatial manipulation, a quality also present in Caleidoscopio. The Galleria installation consisted of an octagonal 87-square-meter sculpture mounted with mirrors on its exterior façade and covered with 6 LED screens on its interior. The height of the installation was about twice that an average human, which allowed for patrons to interact with their reflections in an immersive way. In both reflective and photographic depictions of the space, the results of the restoration are highlighted and magnified. Two openings on opposite walls allowed for visitors to access the interior digital portion of the installation. This section offered a visual experience of the history of the arcade and its restoration via didactic displays. The images referred to included “archive material, photos of the restoration work and views of the Milan skyline form the central dome.” The height of the structure and its open ceiling enveloped the visitor its environment while focusing their attention on the formal structure of the gallery. Additionally, four binoculars surrounded by circular benches

767 Colnaghi, forward by Claudio Cerritelli.
770 Ibid.
771 Ibid.
were placed at the edge of the octagonal center of the arcade at the entrance of each corridor leading outside in order for spectators to explore the ornamental elements of the Galleria. These benches were placed over existing octagonal shapes of the gallery’s floor.

When studied in the broader context of its location, Caleidoscopio can be interpreted as a formal and theoretical reflection of the Galleria’s appearance and values. The configuration of the installation speaks to the enclosing architecture and, in turn, “re-sensitizes” the viewer to it. This can be observed through Caleidoscopio’s octagonal form, which echoes the shape of the central portion of the Galleria where the installation was located. The mirrors on the outer walls contributed to this seamless integration by preserving the Galleria’s symmetry and thus simulating invisibility. The geometric shapes on the ground of the Galleria, though obstructed by the installation, also remained complete through their reflection in the outer walls’ mirrors. This artistic choice allowed visitors to either pass by unmoved or to catch a glimpse of themselves as “other.” In other words, the installation’s exterior focused on its surroundings instead of itself. Caleidoscopio respects, in this manner, the function of the Galleria as a passageway by not drawing excessive visual attention or by disturbing pedestrian circulation. The formal aspect of the Galleria continued to be mimicked by the absence of a ceiling, which recalled the arcade’s glass roof. Caleidoscopio’s openness is also crucial in creating a link between the arcade and the installation, as the iconic glass dome remains a point of reference regardless of the viewer’s position.

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772 Zuffi, 208.
773 “Kaleidoscope by PRADA Takes Galleria Vittorio Emanuele.”
The inner portion of the work was accessed by one of two opposing entrances. This configuration recalls the function of the Galleria as a passageway and the experience of traveling through the Galleria, entering on one side and exiting at the other. The LED screens within the sculpture projected images of the arcade over its lifetime and the transformation it underwent during its restoration. The photographs changed at regular intervals and were manipulated in order to mimic the experience of a kaleidoscope. This technique encouraged the viewer to isolate and consider differently each component of the Galleria that had been restored. The relationship between the installation and the concept of the kaleidoscope is also relevant when considering the etymology of the word. “Kaleidoscope” was coined in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century by Sir David Brewster, inventor of the object, and is a combination of the Greek words “kalos,” meaning “beautiful,” “eidos,” meaning “form,” and “skopein,” meaning “to look at.”\footnote{“Definition of Kaleidoscope in English,” Oxford Dictionaries, accessed November 26 2015. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/kaleidoscope.} This etymology connotes sensory exaltation, which occurs when confronted with the installation, as well as the objectification and isolation of elements of the arcade as part of the spectator’s experience. The installation could also have been a response to Elizabeth Bishop’s poem “Questions of Travel,” which describes the numbness people can experience when in familiar surroundings and the effort that is required to be re-enchanted with them.\footnote{Elizabeth Bishop, “Questions of Travel,” Poemhunter.com, accessed December 15 2015. http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/questions-of-travel/.}

The origins of the word “kaleidoscope” also allude to the tradition of arcades as “visual devices,” specifically in the context of the oldest covered arcade in Paris, the Passage des Panoramas.\footnote{Herbert Muschamp, “ART/ARCHITECTURE; The Passages of Paris And of Benjamin’s Mind,” The New York Times, January 16, 2000, accessed December 23, 2015.} This arcade, named after “the three cylindrical viewing
chambers,” which once stood at its entrance, “represents another kind of technology, which the critic Jonathan Crary has called the ‘techniques of the observer.’ Zoetropes, kaleidoscopes, stereopticons […] taught modern city dwellers how to perceive the larger panorama that was taking shape around them.” Marchetti’s installation was, in this sense, the modern day version of the panorama device, a tool that served to distort and appreciate the Galleria in a new way. The choice of a kaleidoscope was also a clear manifestation of the “taste” of the times as both the Turkish pavilion of the Milanese world’s fair and autumn/winter 2014-2015 clothing collections also integrated kaleidoscopic features in their designs. The presence of kaleidoscope patterns in various artistic forms suggests the idea of multiplicity, in the context of a growing population, alternative perceptions and consumerism. These points are notably relevant when considering the nature of the Galleria’s sponsors.

_Caleidoscopio_ was also a reflection of the public’s relationship with the space. The mirrors on the exterior facades, for example, were only activated when a patron of the Galleria engaged with them. Marchetti’s inclusion of binoculars and benches also relied on the public’s touch and manipulation to successfully play their role in the installation. The presence of benches is a reference to public amenities and the Galleria’s “time-honored tradition of just sitting and chatting with one’s acquaintance.” As Michela Goretti, the Prada representative of the restoration, notes, “everyone wants to spend time in the Galleria, including those who, like in the...

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777 Muschamp.


779 “Restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II,” _Prada Group: Corporate Social Responsibility_.

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past, don’t want to, or can’t afford to spend any money here.” In each case, a dialogue needs to be established with each of the elements in order to be fully experienced and understood. Similarly, the Galleria’s significance is only made clear when it is being “activated” as a passageway or sought as a destination. *Caleidoscopio* was not staffed in any way, which gave the patrons an even greater authority over the space.

This interpretation of the space is emblematic of the Galleria’s hybrid public and private nature. On one hand, the Galleria is an accessible and democratic space within Milan. This can be most vividly observed through its relationship with art installations. Artworks exhibited in this space benefit from exceptional conditions, such as twenty-four hour access and free admission, as the arcade is not enclosed in any manner. This location is therefore an interesting alternative to other art institutions. On the other hand, the Galleria is also more solipsistic in that the stores and cafes located within are only accessible to a certain class. These consumerist qualities are reflected in *Caleidoscopio* through its emphasis on visual devices. While optical installations are immersive experiences, they are also personal and unique to each individual. The reflections seen in the mirrors on the exterior of the installation vary, for example, depending on the position of the viewer. The binoculars are also a manifestation of this privacy within a public domain as the image seen is a singular perspective only accessible to the individual manipulating the device. This interaction is further enriched when considering the fact that the individual is still capable of experiencing their surroundings through other senses, especially that of hearing.

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780 Zuffi, 208.
Caleidoscopio is therefore utilized as an additional platform for Milan and the restoration sponsors to recall and emphasize certain values of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, such as its formal aesthetics and active role within the community. Caleidoscopio also refers to the Galleria as a public space, which frequently embraces the act of self-exhibition. This duality marks the site’s ability to both promote communal experiences as well as individual and catered ones. Caleidoscopio can be perceived, in this sense, as a commentary on the commodification of space and more broadly on the relationship of arcades as a building type to consumerism.

Both Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano and Caleidoscopio reflect on the Galleria’s formal aspects in terms of its place within arcade tradition and its consequent status as a living monument. While both of these aspects of the inauguration ceremony display sensibilities that are specific to Milan, they also speak to a national and international audience through their relationship to the Expo. Galleria. Cuore e memoria di Milano does this by referencing Olmi’s other work Milano ’83 and its successor Milano 2015, a documentary that was commissioned in light of the Expo. Caleidoscopio achieved this through its use of the octagon, which lasted for the duration of the exposition. By combining local and national associations, the Municipality of Milan successfully presented Milan as a contributor to Italian cultural heritage.

The Galleria as it Relates to the City of Milan

The relationship between communities and their local cultural heritage has shifted in recent years to highlight the individual. This can be observed in the context of museums, which today are “for someone” rather than “about something” as they
had been in the past. These changes have been made in response to theories of cultural sustainability that “[emphasize] well-being, creativity, diversity and innovation, and the role of cultural vitality in communities as part of sustainable development.” Similar to the concept of sustainability discussed in the Chapter I, cultural sustainability seeks to preserve tangible and intangible heritage for present and, more importantly, future generations. The most obvious way in which this has been done is through the integration of technology into conservation practices. This interaction creates “new heritage”, which can be defined as the “production and reproduction of cultural heritage in the shift between analogue and digital media”. This is manifested by the inclusion of onsite tours and the In Galleria website as part of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s spatial curation.

Another element that was implemented by the Milanese municipality and restoration sponsors was the revival of onsite tours, a practice that had been devised and used throughout the Galleria’s construction between 1860 and 1870. To encourage a wider distribution of knowledge and active participation, guided tours of the premises were thus conducted while the Galleria was being refurbished. These tours were booked online and served to uncover the arcade’s history while showcasing the restorer’s craft and innovative technologies. A particular effort was made to involve younger students from local schools, many of whom had never heard

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781 A. Russo, 149.
783 Ibid., 109.
784 Zuffi, 208.
785 Casadei.
786 Ibid.
of Giuseppe Mengoni.\textsuperscript{787} This outreach meant to instill a sense of cultural responsibility in Milan’s future caretakers. The initiative was conducted by volunteers and attracted 224 students.\textsuperscript{788}

\textit{In Galleria}, the Galleria’s official website, was commissioned by Versace, Feltrinelli and Prada to track the restoration’s progress. It was later donated to the city of Milan to use and to develop after the project had been fully completed.\textsuperscript{789} The object of the exercise was to transform “physical craft” into “digital form” and, in doing so, allow knowledge to be shared beyond the arcade’s physical site.\textsuperscript{790} This effort was not dissimilar to those made during the 1906 fair in Milan, which included the Galleria del Sempione as an additional source of information for understanding the technologies used to build the tunnel. Released on December 7, 2014, \textit{In Galleria} maintained museum standards by referring to the same archives that had aided restorers in the Galleria’s refurbishments.\textsuperscript{791,792} This method ensured a certain quality of knowledge as well as craft. The name of the website, “In Galleria”, recalls familiar catch phrases, such as “il quatter passi in galleria,” which emphasize relationships and interactions with the space instead of esthetics the way “La Galleria” would have. The chosen slogan, “A Monument. Its Restoration. Its Stories.”, also reinforces this idea of community. The website can be viewed in both English and Italian, making it accessible to a wider audience. Furthermore, the website’s English translation read well, which made the website seem all the more professional. The site’s homepage

\textsuperscript{787} “Restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II,” \textit{Prada Group: Corporate Social Responsibility}. \\
\textsuperscript{788} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{789} \textit{Prada Group: Corporate Social Responsibility}, Report (2014), 35. \\
\textsuperscript{790} Stuedahl, 107. \\
\textsuperscript{792} Zuffi, 208.
features a high quality photograph of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II fully restored with at its center the *Caleidoscopio* art installation. The welcome message describes the website as, “a digital project that collects all the cultural and artistic heritage of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan.” 793 The menu bar on the left side of the screen is neatly designed, which allows for the city of Milan’s emblem to be in clear view. Further down the page are highlights of the other sections of the website as well as custom tweets for users. The Prada, Versace, and Feltrinelli names can only be seen once the user has scrolled down to the bottom of each page.

The website is organized around two themes. The first concerns the formal aspects of the Galleria, which is explained in three ways. The first section is an in-depth study of the 2015 restoration process, which includes an explanation of the research that was made as well as a step-by-step guide to the project’s execution. 794 The design of Impresa Percassi’s “flying” scaffolding is highlighted as well as the generally innovative nature of the project. The most attractive part of this presentation, however, is an interactive photograph of the façade of the Galleria, which allows website visitors to visualize the before and after results of the restoration through the manipulation of a “stains,” “deposits,” “coloring,” “oxidation,” “leaking,” and “cracking” switchboard. 795

The second section of this theme covers the construction of the Galleria through a timeline marked by key dates. 796 The timeline is succinctly organized with

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images depicting the era and gives users the possibility to “click” and find out more. To support this, the virtual visitor is offered information collected by Anna-Maria Guccini, Director of the Mengoni Archives, on the architect Giuseppe Mengoni’s background and accomplishments. This is also depicted in a timeline fashion, although it is visually different and generally a more classic approach with the date followed by the momentous occurrence.

The third and final section of this theme focuses on aesthetic and factual aspects of the Galleria. The design of the page dedicated to the description of the site remained quite traditional with black and white images of paintings and close-up color photographs of the floor and ornamental details. The data page, on the other hand, is very cleverly designed to make otherwise tedious construction facts pop out using dynamic features, which are activated when scrolled over.

The second theme addressed by the website is the collective experience of the arcade, which focuses on testimonials. Its first section portrays the lives of the Galleria’s past and current patrons. This is presented in chronological order and is curated by the Italian author Giovanna Ferrante. Each story on this page is representative of a different era in the Galleria’s lifetime - belle époque, wartime, and Campari as a delectable addition to the arcade - and is illustrated by an appropriate image. Café culture and the history behind iconic names are emphasized in the following page. Daniel Rey concludes the section with a commemoration of

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significant postwar events related to the Galleria.\footnote{Ray.} This more factual narrative of the Galleria’s patrons covers a wider variety of communities involved with its history, such as students.

The second section of this theme is called “initiatives” and is dedicated to local and foreign visitors of the arcade. On the first page, a large number of visitors’ Instagram photographs have been “reposted” using the hashtag #ingalleria.\footnote{“Guestbook,” In Galleria, accessed March 4, 2015. http://www.ingalleria.com/en/guestbook.} This page follows a pattern of four small squares to one large square. The organization of the page is dynamic and depends on user uploads. This allows visitors to become curators of the website and participate in the history being told. This type of page “not only acknowledges the value of community content, it privileges and thereby validates community content within its collection.”\footnote{Angelina Russo, “The Rise of the Media Museum: Creating Interactive Cultural Experiences through Social Media,” Heritage and Social Media: Understanding Heritage in a Participatory Culture, ed. Elisa Giaccardi (Routledge: New York, 2012), 154.} This type of content selection is called “crowdsourcing” and is defined as “the ability for audiences to participate in the development of new content that responds or related to existing museum collections.”\footnote{Ibid.} The second page of this section features a mosaic display of quotes by illustrious Italian authors, such as Giovanni Verga.\footnote{“Anthology,” In Galleria, accessed March 4, 2015. http://www.ingalleria.com/en/anthology.} In each square, the user is also given the possibility to tweet the quote to their Twitter account. This offers an interesting contrast between renowned works of literature and Twitter’s 140-character limit. The following page is entitled “Faces in Galleria” and presents twelve very ethnically, culturally and demographically diverse faces that a visitor might encounter while strolling around the Galleria.\footnote{“Faces in Galleria,” In Galleria, accessed March 4, 2015. http://www.ingalleria.com/en/faces.} The virtual visitor is once again given the
option of sharing these pictures and their captions on different social media platforms including Google+, Facebook, Twitter, and by email. This is in some ways a less successful page as it is clearly geared towards promoting an image of diversity and balance, which is not an obvious quality of the bourgeois space that is the Galleria. The last interactive features of this section are the links to In Galleria’s Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Youtube accounts, which were also set up by Versace, Prada and Feltrinelli.  

The final part of the website is a “Media Library”, which showcases a mosaic display of video clips featuring members of the restoration committee, the Milanese city council, and iconic tenants of the Galleria, which does not include the sponsors of the 2015 restoration. This omission of self-branding is evidence of a wider effort to dedicate the website to the testimonial history of the site. Each video speaks of the individual’s personal and professional relationship with the Galleria and conveniently includes English subtitles so that the website’s international audience can access the information and stories told as well.

In order to better understand the correlation between the Galleria and its virtual museum, it is necessary to consider its peculiarities as a site. A typical museum privileges the elite due to its restricted hours of access and price of entry. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II does not share these characteristics due to its location and status as a “living” monument that is open at all hours of the day. It actually embodies many of the attributes of an online museum, which is available at all times and free of charge. Furthermore, in a traditional museum, there are two sides, one that is the private, accessed solely by the curator, and the other that is
public, where visiting patrons can experience the curation of the site.\footnote{Ciolfi, 71.} The online museum blurs this division by presenting the curator and patron as equal stakeholders and by offering a high degree of transparency. This yet again speaks to the Galleria’s hybrid nature in terms of private and public spheres being intertwined.

While the online museum format is clearly a cogent and effective way of conveying the Galleria’s identity, it is worthwhile to question the website’s ability to contribute to a broader dissemination of knowledge. As the Galleria is accessible twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week, the most immediate thought is that the Milanese city council wished to broaden the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele’s audience, specifically in the context of the world’s fair. While this may be true, the website’s extensive focus on testimony seems to indicate that the platform was actually primarily created in order to revive a local collective memory. The Milanese have access to the Galleria daily and frequently use the site as a passageway to and from different locations in the city. \textit{In Galleria} allows for Milan’s citizens to be reacquainted with the space and realize the extent to which the site has shaped their collective identity. As Angelina Russo notes, “these new sites will need to allow for individual experiences to be drawn together in the context of emerging communities and produce new instance of collective memory.”\footnote{A. Russo, 150.}

Memory, according to Halbwachs, is “recalled by time periods, by recollecting places visited, and by situating ideas or images in patterns of thought that are specific to distinct social groups.”\footnote{Ibid., 149.} The \textit{In Galleria} website enables this by
facilitating “active cultural participation” and “exchange”.  

This is accomplished primarily through the design of the website whose user-friendly features entice the virtual visitor and offer many opportunities to interact with the content on the page. The information on these pages is made visually appealing through an assortment of media, such as high quality photographs, video clips, interactive elements, and narratives that can be activated when scrolled over or clicked. Furthermore, the text is rendered more legible by a variety of devices ranging from bold fonts for titles to eye catching bullet points for facts. This type of interactive design speaks to Halbwach’s concept of “memory [as] based on lived experience, it is something that can be plucked from the past and seized by the individual in the manner of naïve and immediate knowledge.”

He believes that if memory is denied this vital quality, it “is reduced to history and may become an abstract reconstruction or faked recollection.”

History, on the other hand, is “static” and artificially divided into phases, which give priority to “uniformity” and bear no true meaning.

The pleasing and collective aesthetics of In Galleria allow for these common memories to continue living into the present through a broader cyber audience.

With the creation of such digital additions, however, “debate has continued to range over the value of online display, the effect that it has on the ‘aura’ of the museum object, the authenticity of experience and the power/knowledge relationships between audience and museum.”

This “new heritage” does indeed raise doubts about technology’s ability to translate manual craft onto two-dimensional surface, as the work of an artisan and its effect rely heavily on physical interaction with the

812 A. Russo, 145.
813 Ibid., 149.
814 Ibid., 150.
815 Ibid.
piece. Walter Benjamin believed that once an object is replicated it is displaced from “the fabric of tradition”. 817 This suggests an additional factor to contribute to Halbwachs’ definition of memory as a “lived experience”, one that includes “cultural-material relations”. 818 In this regard, it must be asked how the concept of authenticity may be reconciled with ideas of deterritorialization (where the museum was no longer bound by a single built entity) and dematerialization (where the relationship between audience and institution became more malleable)?

One way in which this challenge can be negotiated is by offering more depth to a website’s account of the object as *In Galleria* has done in its section dedicated to the restoration process. In these pages, the subject of craft is discussed and developed at length. Those knowledgeable of these skills share their experience and work with the virtual visitor through video interviews and succinct explanations of the type of skills that were used. This exposure bestows upon the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele additional layers of complexity that the *in situ* visitor cannot benefit from. Craftsmanship, in this sense, becomes “an educational tool”, one that is transferred from a private circle of knowledge to the public. 820 Tradition is therefore passed on and guaranteed a certain amount of protection through its link with the community.

Where the website fails to connect with the community is through its lack of opportunities for self-curation. *In Galleria* does not offer sufficient interactions with the Milanese in order for it to truly become a discussion facilitator and exchange platform. The only page that is dedicated to this is the “Guestbook” where Instagram

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816 A. Russo, 147.
817 Stuedhal, 109.
818 Ibid.
819 A. Russo, 147.
820 Stuedhal, 109.
users’ posts are uploaded at regular intervals. This space lost its force once it ceased to be updated when the Caleidoscopio installation was dismantled and the website was turned over to the city council. Another page that addressed this deficiency was “Faces in Galleria” that was supposed to present the viewer with an idea of the Galleria’s patrons. This section of the website is not only short but also fails to allow the community to speak for itself. A more effective method would have been to allow the website’s visitors to leave their own anecdotes or for a larger group to be interviewed, a process which could have been extended to the Galleria’s staff. In both of these cases, the public’s participation could have contributed to the website’s objective of authentic portrayal. These examples demonstrate the ways in which an otherwise successful project, was unable to truly carry out its intention of transposing and adapting memories of the past to a collective present. Russo warns that as “audiences can gain agency through this use of social media, museums risk irrelevance if they ignore audience’s public reflections and conversations of their own experiences.” Digital projects therefore have the ability to strengthen a community while also limiting it when not tended to properly.

In parallel, the Expo website supports the Galleria by also emphasizing the revival of civic identity and Milanese influence. This was accomplished primarily through its page “People of Expo.” This webpage displayed a large number of people who were involved in the Expo, whether as staff, designers, or visitors, and bore many similarities to the In Galleria’s “Faces in Galleria.” This adaptation was arguably more successful as it presented a larger number of testimonials from a variety of professional and ethnic backgrounds. Much like the In Galleria website, as

821 A. Russo, 153.
well, *Expo 2015* sought to establish a conversation with its viewers. While the Expo was still running, the website acted as a digital substitute for those who were not able to attend. The inclusion of video footage, English translations, and various platforms (*ExpoNet Magazine*, *Expo Worldrecipes*, and *Visit*) contributed to the creation of an interactive and participatory interface.  

An entire section was dedicated to the Expo’s theme, sustainability, and the ways in which the venue itself represented these qualities. This page grants more insight into the event and established a connection between the symbolic value of the Expo and the site. The most powerful illustration of this is the “Virtual Tour” page. This section of the website offered the Expo’s virtual audience the opportunity to physically experience the site online through a three-dimensional representation. Additionally, landmarks and pavilions could be virtually accessed and clicked on for more information. Once the Expo closed, the website was transformed into a virtual museum, which acted as a commemorative monument to the event. It did not succeed, however, in remaining true to its objective of reaching a broad audience, as the museum page was only partially translated in English. Regardless, both the *Expo 2015* and *In Galleria* websites do succeed in making Milanese civic identity relevant. By focusing on the patrons and shapers of the sites through interactive platforms, the websites offer another perspective from which to enjoy the venues and their craft.

**The Galleria as it Relates to Local Patrons and Tenants**

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As previously mentioned, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts were also created alongside the *In Galleria* website. These additional platforms allowed for the sponsors of the restorations to not only connect with younger patrons, but also to compensate for the limited interaction between the Municipality and the arcade’s patrons on the *In Galleria* website.\(^{825}\) The social media platforms chosen to evaluate the community’s interactions with the Galleria were the same as those listed on the *In Galleria* website, that is Facebook, Youtube, Twitter, and Instagram. This selection was based on evaluations of rates of interaction. Furthermore, with these social media platforms, users are more able to respond and share content. Unfortunately, Snapchat’s geofilter option and privately funded filters were only made available in Europe in January 2015, a few months before the end of the restoration, which explains the absence of this powerful marketing tool in the Galleria’s curation. An interesting challenge encountered when researching this topic was the fleeting nature of social media platforms and their ever-changing environment. It is for this reason that many arguments that had originally been intended for other social media platforms that have since decreased in popularity have been transposed to similar contemporary mediums in this section. The date March 13, 2016 was chosen to analyze the content of these platforms so that the durability of the initiative could be analyzed more coherently.

The *In Galleria* Facebook profile picture featured the same logo as the website and used a combination of old photographs, paintings, and present day details of the site as cover photos. The “community” page is described as “Restoration and

\(^{825}\) “Restoration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II,” *Prada Group: Corporate Social Responsibility.*
Conservation Project of Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan”. The page included archival photographs, current photographs, updates of the restoration, news reports, reposts of users’ Instagrams, links to the official website and a few interviews with Galleria patrons. The hashtags #ingalleria and #caleidoscopio were used often. Posts were made frequently, averaging to almost every other day. As of March 13, 2016, 10, 323 people had liked the page. The In Galleria Instagram feed is depicted by the In Galleria logo and has a total of 62 posts, mostly featuring the Caleidoscopio exhibition, renovation updates, and photographs of the Galleria over the course of its lifetime to the present day. The account also incorporated some other relevant Instagram posts. Each post description was written in both Italian and English. The total of likes ranged from 52 to 413 with an average between 150 and 200. The total number of comments ranged from 0 to 12 with an average between 1 and 5. The posts with the highest responses were images of the Galleria from unique angles and those relating to the Caleidoscopio installation. The hashtags #ingalleria and #caleidoscopio were again used frequently. According to the search option on Instagram, #ingalleria was used 2,092 times. The same method cannot be used for #caleidoscopio as it is too common of a term. Between 5-7 posts were made every month, with an increased frequency once exhibit was installed. As of March 13, 2016, the account had 3,888 followers and followed 6 accounts. The In Galleria YouTube account is uses the same logo as its profile picture but uses an older black and white photograph for its backdrop. The account included sixteen video uploads, some of which were found on

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827 Ibid.
829 Ibid.
the website, that lasted between 0:16mn and 3:02mn long. The number of views ranged from 31 to 728. The videos that attracted the largest audience were those recording the restoration process; those featuring members of the restoration committee were the least viewed. Videos were uploaded at least once to twice a month throughout the restoration. No comments were left. As of March 13, 2016 only 17 people were subscribed to the channel. This could indicate that this page was not successfully publicized.

The In Galleria Twitter account, on the other hand, achieved a higher number of subscribers, which 578 followers. Once again, the In Galleria logo features as the account’s profile picture against the backdrop of an older photograph of the Galleria. The page indicates that there are 82 tweets, the last of which was of which was posted on May 23, 2015, which was the last day of the Caleidoscopio installation. Most of the tweets are images from the In Galleria Instagram account with a few references to the “Guestbook” and “Faces in Galleria” sections of the In Galleria website. In addition to promoting In Galleria material, the Galleria’s Twitter account also retweeted articles relevant to the restoration and posts made by its sponsors, Versace and Prada in particular. The 34 accounts that In Galleria followed included accounts related to the Expo, such as “Padiglione Italia” and “EU Expo 2015,” cultural heritage sites, such as “Museo del Novecento,” and the restoration’s sponsors, such as “Versace.” The Twitter account was only subscribed to one page, “museimilano.”

Of all the platforms, Instagram seems to have been the most successful. The Milan Expo marketing committee notably used Instagram as a way for patrons to engage with the Expo and Milanese attractions. They encouraged Instagram users to post their photographs followed by certain hashtags they believed encompassed best the essence of the site. For the Galleria, this hashtag was #fromwhereistand, which is commonly attributed to images that share users’ visual interpretation of a space. #fromwhereistand becomes, in this sense, another tool for patrons to engage with the arcade while customizing it to their taste. These interactions were therefore usually limited to exhibitions of self rather than platforms for debate and discussions concerning cultural heritage.

Instagram as a platform also provides an interesting link to the Galleria’s photographic history. This tradition, which was briefly mentioned in Chapter I, began with Deroche & Heyland, who were commissioned by the king to document the progress of the Galleria’s construction. Later, the Alinari brothers were also commissioned to photograph the arcade as part of a national project to document all monuments and heritage sites in unified Italy. In the first instance, the Galleria is celebrated for its innovative use of materials and technology. This is done through the use of unusual and off-center angles. This emphasis on material and modernity portends the fervor that would later inspire the Futurist movement. Workers and flanneurs of the Galleria were also featured to illustrate the relationship the Galleria maintained with its patrons and the city from its origins. In the second instance, the Galleria’s grandeur and spatial organization were emphasized. This was achieved

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through the use of frontal and symmetric compositions. These visual interpretations
of the Galleria convey different emotions and intentions on the part of the
commissioner. In Deroche & Heyland’s photographs, the desire to present the
Galleria as an object of modernity and social encounter is evident. This generally
results in a more personal and local depiction of the site. In Alinari’s photographs, a
more formal austerity connotes elements of pride and national patriotism, notions that
would resonate with the nation as a whole with references to technology. These two
depictions prove that photography like curation can guide and manipulate the
viewer’s understanding of an object as well as their relationship with it.

While photography had previously been accessible only to the well-to-do due
to the price of chemicals and machines, today it has become highly accessible through
cheaper devices and the camera phone. Social media have made the personal and
intimate act of documentary photography a more democratic pastime. In other words, this digital sharing allows for a
community to be shaped upon the foundations of a visible and documented
exchange. Once again photography creates a new type of consumption that
encourages the act of documentation as a complementary form of experience.

The use of social media can facilitate the preservation of cultural heritage by
promoting interaction between site and patron. This type of location-inspired post is
defined by Ingrid Erickson as “sociolocative broadcasting”, “the act of sharing

835 Ingrid Erickson, “Documentary With Ephemeral Media: Curation Practices in Online Social
836 Ibid.
837 Simon, 91.
information beyond yourself to a perceived or actual audience, both local and distributed."\textsuperscript{838} She distinguishes two types of contributions within this category, the first “[emphasize] the location of the author” and the second “[emphasize] the location of the artifact being shared”.\textsuperscript{839} In both cases, the sociolocative broadcaster is situated “within [both] virtual and physical-material contexts.”\textsuperscript{840} This polyvalent position allows for “social traces” to mark the sites in question. Ciolfi identifies these “social traces” as “immaterial attributes that become inscribed into heritage and artifacts and sites and that derive from the ecology of the roles, the contributions, the values and opinions of the communities surrounding, preserving, exploring and communicating heritage.”\textsuperscript{841} The multiplicity of sensibilities engendered becomes united by the social media platform, and in the case of heritage sites, by the ascribed location. This environment, like the Modello Italia, gives precedence to the whole while understanding the value of each individual contribution. In doing so, the users are appropriating the site or object by relying on their “own reconfigurations and customization of technology rather than simply its prescribed use”.\textsuperscript{842} From this, “emergent patterns” come to light to “[inform] [citizen broadcasters] about what is salient in their community or the world at large.”\textsuperscript{843} This additional understanding of the site mirrors the Expo’s identity as a site of shared knowledge.

As both primary sponsors and tenants of the Galleria, Prada and Versace occupied an important presence on-site. Their influence extended to the curation of the site, which was exclusively sponsored by them and Feltrinelli. Though the

\textsuperscript{838} Erickson, 387.  
\textsuperscript{839} Ibid., 388.  
\textsuperscript{840} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{841} Ciolfi, 69.  
\textsuperscript{842} Ibid., 70.  
\textsuperscript{843} Ibid.
Caleidoscopio installation and the In Galleria website were funded by these fashion houses, these platforms were not strictly representations of their Galleria but instead were elucidators of the arcade’s national and municipal identity. The luxury brands’ relationship with the Galleria, as tenants of the site, was instead conveyed through in-house initiatives that sought to give a better understanding of where the arcade stood within their brand philosophy. For Prada, this was exemplified by the inauguration of the Fondazione Prada in Milan, and for Versace, this was conveyed through the brand’s capsule summer line. Both of these off-site interpretations of the space can be considered as parallels to the fuori-expo initiatives discussed in Chapter I.

The latest addition to the Fondazione Prada opened in Milan on May 9, 2015. Inaugurated a few days after the Expo, the Fondazione was designed by Rem Koolhaas, the director of the OMA architectural firm.\(^{845}\) This collaboration between OMA and Prada has been a regular occurrence for more than 15 years.\(^{846}\) Prada has worked with Koolhaas almost exclusively for the design of their runways, cultural centers, and stores.\(^{847}\) The Fondazione Prada in Milan achieved similar originality in its refurbishment of a 19,000-square-meter twentieth century distillery, which was complemented by three new buildings named Podium, Cinema and Torre.\(^{848}\) This site was located in the southwestern outskirts of Milan next to the Porta Roma train station, situated at the opposite end of the city to the Expo. This decision to occupy different areas of the city (Expo, Galleria, Fondazione Prada) can be seen as an

\(^{844}\) Erickson, 395.  
\(^{845}\) Ibid.  
\(^{848}\) Erickson, 395.
attempt to make Milan more culturally competitive. Rem Koolhaas’ commentary on his work can be boiled down to, ‘The Fondazione is not a preservation project and not a new architecture. Two conditions that are usually kept separate here confront each other in a state of permanent interaction—offering an ensemble of fragments that will not congeal into a single image, or allow any part to dominate the others.’

Salvatore Settis, the author of *Modello Italia S.p.a.*, was one exhibit amongst others at the Fondazione’s opening show that questioned the role of series in classical art.

In order to successfully embody the qualities of an alternative exhibition space, the Fondazione has reached out to its surrounding community and requested their active participation in the shaping of their identity. One such attempt is Accademia dei bambini, which is managed by Giannetta Otilia Latis and eighteen students from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure d’Architecture of Versailles. This program offers children between the ages of four and ten the opportunity to create and learn through museum workshops. The idea is that these will foster a safe space for children to experiment and initiate dialogue. This program links to the guided tours that the Galleria sponsors offered throughout the duration of the restoration that were specifically geared towards local children. In both cases, these initiatives stress the right and responsibilities that are attached to belonging to a community.

Bar Luce, designed by director Wes Anderson, is also part of this effort to encourage the community’s interest in the institution (Figure 11). Located at the

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851 “Fondazione Prada: A Cultural Institution in Constant Evolution.”
852 Ibid.
853 Ibid.
entrance to the Fondazione on Via Orobía, and therefore easily accessible to non-museum patrons, Bar Luce “is meant to be a hotspot for the general public, as well as a regular neighborhood hangout.”

With the intention of “[recreating] the atmosphere of a typical Milanese caffè,” inspiration for the décor of the bar was largely drawn from the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II. This can be observed through the arched ceiling, in reference to the Galleria’s vaulted glass roof, the globe lighting, and the pattern that adorns the upper half of the walls, which bears similarities to the arcade’s façade. Wes Anderson also chose to include details reminiscent of the golden age of Italian cinema, which took place during the 1950s and 60s, such as the veneered wood and kitsch colors. Some of the movies he drew inspiration from were, “Castello Cavalcanti,” “Miracolo a Milano,” and “Rocco e suoi fratelli,” which all focus on the Duomo and not the Galleria. This is emblematic of the period of neglect the Galleria experienced during that time in history as well as a general nostalgia for the dolce vita era.

The use of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II as a model for the design of Bar Luce is significant in that it confirmed the arcade’s aesthetic revival, which exposes once again the subjectivity of taste and history. By associating with the Galleria, Prada is not only linking its present endeavors to its origins, but also redefining its brand identity through that of the arcade. The Fondazione’s attention to community and the creation of an alternative public space is, for example, very much in line with the historical values of the Galleria. Though the Galleria’s accessibility is limited by

855 Ibid.
856 Ibid.
857 Ibid.
858 Ibid.
social class and consumerism, the ideals it perhaps failed to achieve over its lifetime are still very much present in the Milanese’s collective memory. As a result of its sponsorship, and, to an extent, its commodification, of the Galleria, Prada granted itself the right to reinterpret the arcade’s ideas of community while selectively referencing the desired attributes it embodies.

The Fondazione Prada also bears many similarities to the Fondation Louis Vuitton in Paris, opened only a few months earlier on October 27, 2014.\(^\text{859}\) The Fondation is located within the Bois de Boulogne on the Western extremity of Paris and occupies a total space of 7,000 square meters.\(^\text{860}\) This commission may be viewed as a response of sorts to Jean Nouvel’s Fondation Cartier. Frank Gehry’s design, consisting of sail-like panels and white ductal façades, meant to remind patrons of a sailboat.\(^\text{861}\) Light, transparent textures and color were also used as ways to seamlessly integrate the building into the landscape.\(^\text{862}\) Frank Gehry’s rational behind this was, “to reflect our constantly changing world, [he] wanted to create a building that would evolve according to the time and the light in order to give the impression of something ephemeral and continually changing.”\(^\text{863}\)

Bernard Arnault, chairman and chief executive of LVMH Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton, also decided to include a restaurant area at the Fondation. Managed by Jean-Louis Nomicos, a Michelin starred chef, “Le Frank” is enveloped by the glass structure letting the views of the surrounding park and Nomicos’ dishes provide color

\(^\text{861}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{862}\) Ibid.
and warmth.\textsuperscript{864} The emptiness overhead is filled with fish designed by Gehry, which also serve as lighting.\textsuperscript{865} To complement Gehry’s vision of an adaptable space, Nomicos features dishes and snacks fit for all times of day, which gradually become more sophisticated by the time night falls.\textsuperscript{866}

Arnault, who supposedly spent close to 135 million dollars on the project in an effort to remedy the brand’s image, explained to the press that, “[he hoped] that it will make the group more understood, to show its extraordinary values to the public.”\textsuperscript{867} This loss-making project, however, is far more than a simple profit-based marketing scheme. Jean-Paul Claveric, head of LVMH’s philanthropic initiatives, in fact coyly told the press that it would not generate “economic returns but emotional ones.”\textsuperscript{868} Other than the cost of the project, which Arnault has simply described as “a very expensive sculpture,” the site’s lack of profitability can also be attributed to the fact that the Fondation Louis Vuitton will be handed over to the city in fifty-three years due to its location on public property.\textsuperscript{869} The cultural center is, in this sense, a long-term project, which Arnault will be able to curate to his liking before eventually donating to the city of Paris. No similar comment can be made concerning the Milanese Fondazione.

The meaning behind the emphasis on duration and preservation surrounding the Fondation Louis Vuitton differs from that of the Fondazione Prada. In the case of the Milan center, these qualities are understood in the context of sustainability and community, at least superficially, while for Paris they are guarantors of legacy.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{865}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{866}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{867}Friedman.
\item \textsuperscript{868}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Despite a few attempts to reach out to the community through projects such as the LVMH Young Fashion Designer Prize, most of LVMH’s initiatives have been focused on long-term.\textsuperscript{870} As Claudia D’Arpizio, Director at Bain & Company, remarks, “linking to culture is a very powerful tool […] You are dealing largely with entrepreneurs who want their brand to survive them and last into the future, and culture is all about preserving that for the future.”\textsuperscript{871} For Arnault, the future lies in the shadows of tradition. Technology is, in his mind, temperamental and subject to change while luxury has the backbones of heritage on its side.\textsuperscript{872} His views on the matter are perfectly encompassed in the following anecdote that he recalled in an interview, “Steve Jobs once asked me for some advice about retail, but I said, ‘I am not sure at all we are in the same business.’ I don’t know if we will still use Apple products in 25 years, but I am sure we will still be drinking Dom Pérignon.”\textsuperscript{873} Prada and the Galleria share a similar sensibility to craft though do not dissociate it from technology as Arnault does, but rather embrace this field as a new opportunity for development and design.

While the Fondazione Prada and the Fondation Louis Vuitton do bear many similarities, such as their peripheral locations, their connotations are not the same. While the Fondazione Prada repurposed a disused building in a less desirable area of Milan, the Fondation Louis Vuitton chose to commission an expensive piece of architecture within the bourgeois space of the Bois de Boulogne. The latter approach emphasizes consumption as well as the elite values that art as a practice is often associated with. The choice to build the Fondation Louis Vuitton in a park is also

\textsuperscript{869} Freidman. \textsuperscript{870} Ibid. \textsuperscript{871} Ibid. \textsuperscript{872} Ibid. \textsuperscript{873} Ibid.
reminiscent of the Milanese and Turinese exposition practices mentioned in Chapter I. The Bois de Boulogne is especially evocative of the 1884 Turin fair, which emphasized leisure. The relationships the cultural centers maintain with their communities also demonstrate this ideological difference. The Milan center seeks to serve as a community center, while the Paris center was erected as a guarantor of legacy that would only be handed over to the city 53 years after its construction. These different philosophies are reflected in Arnault’s and Prada’s statements concerning brand imaging and tradition. Arnault clearly believes that tradition surpasses innovation and assures longevity, while Prada maintains that in order to remain relevant a brand must match the customers’ sensibilities, as is evidenced by their CSR website.

In both cases, Prada and Arnault are fashioning alternatives spaces within their respective cityscapes that are symbolic interpretations of the public sphere. Ray Oldenburg describes this as a “third place,” which is “a location where people gather outside the familiar confines of the first and second places, home and workplace.”

“Through the appropriation of this ‘third place’ urbanism, public space is achieved not through a ‘right to the city’ but by renting space through minimal (though in aggregate quite lucrative) acts of consumption.” In this sense, the museum as a public institution unites the public and the private rather than distinguishing them, as the coffee shop had done for the work and the home environments. Following this analogy, the act of consumption that “[claims] space in order to gain time” is the

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873 Freidman.
875 Ibid.
876 Ibid.
purchase of the admission ticket. Katherine Ross, current strategist at Prada, commented that “It’s less about looking at the product itself and more about cross-pollination. It’s making people look at this art with new energy, in a new way”. Art has the power to bring creative energy and cultural depth to fashion brands, while fashion can bring gloss, currency, exposure and deep pockets to art. The relationship is in this way “transactional.” Cary Laitzes, who works with Leitzes & Co., a creative agency that matches up contemporary artists to companies, believes that these artistic collaborations have significantly increased due to the Internet and more specifically, Instagram. The Fondazione Prada and the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in this way mirror and support each other as alternative public spaces linked to craft and consumption.

Versace’s interpretation of its space, on the other hand, is more formally related to art. From the time it took an interest in the Galleria, Versace has used the arcade’s associations with luxury and Italian prestige to its advantage. The fashion label’s spring 2015 collection thus coincided with the opening of its Galleria store. That May Versace also released a limited edition summer collection called *Ornamental* the same day as the Expo’s inauguration ceremony (Figure 12). The collection was meant as a tribute to the city of Milan and was designed using the arcade’s iconic dome and décor as patterns for handbags, shirts, and shoes.

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Ribas, 31.
Ibid., 32.
Sherman.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.
May.
Ornamental Collection products could only be purchased at the Galleria’s store or online, which contributed to the frenzy and exclusivity of the collection.884

In these investments, Prada and Versace are attempting to create a lifestyle brand, one that speaks to its local consumers on an intellectual and emotional level. The associations that exist between these luxury brands’ identities and these sites of heritage make their involvement and presence more easily accepted. It is for this reason that private investors are generally the most welcome in their native towns.885 These sponsorship efforts ultimately “create a positive aura around a brand and help the brands connect with their roots and impact local communities.”886

Prada and Versace’s respective social media accounts also emphasized their relationship with the Galleria by referencing the site and redirecting their clientele to In Galleria. The brands’ icons, in this case, their designers, also took it upon themselves to feature the Galleria in their personal feeds. The use of hashtags not only redirects the user, it implies a sense of community, as the In Galleria’s Facebook page implied. This trend has particularly influenced the way designers interact with their clients, who are now being referred to as their “family, gang, army or nation” on their social media platforms.887 Liroy Choufan, a journalist at Business of Fashion, suggests that this trend reflects “a growing thirst for group identity as being a response to globalization and other breaches of traditional boundaries”.888

Conclusion: Galleria’s Curation and Civic Identity

884 May.
886 Ibid.
888 Ibid.
The curation of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration is a manifestation of Milan’s desire to redirect Expo visitors’ attention to other cultural areas within the city. These fuori-expo sites were opportunities for the city to reassert its agenda and present tourists with a glorified vision of Italy. In most cases of “architectural tourism,” the container, or the building itself, tends to be given precedence over its content.\(^{889}\) This can be seen for example on Museum Mile in New York City, where tourists flock to admire the Guggenheim’s exterior, which is internationally recognized as a work of art.\(^{890}\) This typical tourist experience is only effective, however, if the site embodies historical associations, that is ones that have are no longer relevant, and is dissociated from tradition, that is practices that continue to live on. The identities of ancient monuments, such as the Colosseum, and cultural institutions, such as museums, do not derive their meaning from present experiences but rely instead on interpretations of the past. The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele challenges this typical experience of monumental architecture as it actively engages with its surroundings and continues to evolve over time. The restoration committee’s decision to entrust the sponsorship of the site to tenants of the arcade confirms the Galleria’s status as a “living” monument and emphasizes the importance of the community’s participation in its physical revival. This additionally recalls the conditions under which the Galleria was conceived in 1860, when Beretta extended the reconfiguration of the city of Milan to its citizens.

Expo Milano, which is also an exercise in local and national branding, offered further motivation to seek durable conservation methods through its emphasis on

\(^{889}\) Kingwell, 33.
\(^{890}\) Ibid.
sustainability. The restoration committee’s answer to cultural sustainability was presented through the inclusion of social media, which provided patrons with accessible platforms to either directly or indirectly engage with the site. When properly advertised, social media can be an effective marketing tool as it is generated and maintained by the public. The concern with this approach is “that what we will ‘remember’ (that is, retrieve) individually and collectively is primarily a matter of the choices made at the point of digital archiving.” If the Galleria continues to seek its patrons’ participation this can be allayed.

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891 Simon, 91.
Epilogue:

Expo Milano’s Legacy and the Revival of Civic Identity

“Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspiration, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form.”

-P. F. Lewis

As Stefano Zuffi notes in Galleria Vittorio Emanuele: Dalla storia al domani, “the local legacy of Expo 2015 is Milan’s makeover as a welcoming, appealing, European city of art, culture and fine living.” This “makeover” was most vividly embodied by the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II’s restoration, the results of which encouraged the Milanese to regard the arcade as “a grand landmark that is not just a sight to admire, but a welcoming place to spend time in.” This comment points to the fact that locals had in preceding years limited their experience of the Galleria to that of a mere passageway. The site was only specifically sought out by tourists visiting the city. In an analysis of the Empire State Building, Mark Kingwell addresses similar issues. He speaks to the fact that while the New York landmark has a tangible presence, New Yorkers have become insensitive to its beauty and significance. To shed light on this paradox, Kingwell quotes Roland Barthes, who writes that a building can be “incorporated into daily life until you can no longer grant it any specific attribute, determined merely to persist, like a rock in a river; it is as literal as a phenomenon of nature whose meaning can be questioned to infinity but

893 Zuffi, 202.
894 Ibid.
whose existence is incontestable. The Galleria’s restoration is, in this respect, an important act of art conservation but also renaissance, one that revives the site’s relevance in the patchwork of Milanese civic identity.

The environment produced by Expo Milano spoke to this idea of cultural heritage, as the world’s fair is by nature, as James Biber, the architect of the USA Pavilion, correctly noted, an “identity parade.” When the journalist Gianni Biondillo visited Expo Milano’s construction site, he was struck by the fact that “Expo 2015 [seemed] interested in software: in establishing networks, relationships, encounters between cultures.” According to him, this was achieved “by re-evaluating the places of symbolic exchange that Mediterranean culture has created: the square, the theater, the public street.” This Expo marked in his mind a shift in world’s fair practices and introduced the idea of the exposition as “a space in which people can experience their collective identity – that of the new millennium.” By “new millennium,” Biondillo is referring to the twenty-first century’s interpretation of collective identity, which expands beyond the physical grounds of locality and into the cyber world of technology. Expo Milano 2015 can, in these terms, be understood as a reinterpretation of the Galleria’s public and commemorative associations, one that projects Milan, and Italy, into a global collective.

The impact of the Galleria’s restoration on both the sponsors of the site and the city continues to live on today through “La Moda aiuta il Duomo,” or “Fashion Helps the Duomo,” campaign. This project is the continuation of an earlier initiative that took place in 2012 called “Adopt a Spire,” which was supervised by Veneranda

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896 Kingwell, 20.
897 Lasky, 6.
898 Biondillo, 8.
899 Ibid.

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Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, an organization that has been in charge of the preservation of the site for almost seven centuries. The concept was to symbolically auction off the 135 spires of the cathedral to finance their restoration. In 2016, this campaign has evolved to include luxury fashion labels in the form of merchandise donations. These items will be publicly available for pre-bidding on the website charitystars.com until April 18, 2016, at which point the highest bidders will be invited to a charity gala held at the Sala delle Colonne at the Great Duomo Museum on April 19th. Giorgio Armani, Brunello Cucinelli, Costume National, Etro, Salvatore Ferragamo, Gucci, Krizia, Missoni, Moncler, OTB, Prada, Emilio Pucci, Roberto Cavalli, Tod’s, Trussardi and Vivienne Westwood, all participated in this project, which was overseen by the Italian Chamber of Fashion and facilitated by Tiffany & Co. and Christie’s. In addition to the auction and in conjunction with Salone del Mobile, an exhibition consisting of Tiffany jewels and ten designer gowns will be held at the Great Duomo Museum from the 14th to the 18th of April. As can be observed, Prada did participate in the auction, while Versace did not. Versace has instead focused on its hotel chain, Palazzo Versace, to which a new addition was erected in Dubai in November 2015. This branding campaign began in 2000 and claims to be the only fashion hotel of its kind. This project speaks very

900 Biondillo, 8.
903 Janik.
904 Ibid.
905 Ibid.
906 http://www.palazzoversace.ae/en/about.html
907 Ibid.
much to Versace’s other projects discussed in Chapter II and III, which encouraged self-promotion rather than community service.

“La Moda aiuta il Duomo” can be perceived as the legacy of the Expo and Galleria collaboration, which, in this case, involves the Duomo and the Salone del Mobile, a highly attended furniture and design fair. The auction’s fashion-specific patronage suggests the positive reception of the Galleria’s restoration within the community as well as the formation of a new tradition within Milanese art conservation that began with La Scala in 2010. This climax answers Salvatore Settis’ previous pleas that urged Italy to respond to Veltroni’s misguided judgment of Italian art conservation practices through a reflection on the value and identity attached to heritage instead of imitating the American model of non-preservation in the name of progress. 908 It was only under these conditions, which can now be considered achieved, that he believed Italy could contribute effectively and successfully to the discussion of art conservation within the European Union and internationally. 909

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II and Expo Milano 2015 both created a sense of belonging, whether that be to Milan, Italy, Europe, or the world. This focus on unity manifests a deeper national anxiety to remain relevant in global politics. As Juhani Pallasmaa noted in “An Archipelago of Authenticity: The Task of Architecture in Consumer Culture,” “This escape to the past reveals a serious split in the collective reality, due, in part, to a weakening of self-identity. Within consumer culture, identity is increasingly purchased, and social prestige is acquired through the borrowed aura of falsified history.” 910 He believes that this “sense of self” can only be “strengthened

908 Settis, Italia S.p.A., 23; Ibid., 54; Ibid., 68.
909 Ibid., 24.
910 Pallasmaa, 45.
by art and architecture,” an opinion shared by the Municipality of Milan in 2015.911 This attention to collectivity ultimately engendered new practices and traditions embodied by the innovative design of the Expo and development of a new form of Italian art conservation. “Unity” is also the concept upon which the Galleria was erected as a monument to the Kingdom of Italy. By recalling these historical attributes both physically, through the restoration, and ideologically, through the Expo’s and the restoration’s curation, the Galleria’s legacy was cemented in contemporary terms. This action revived the status of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II as a historical monument and deeply influenced the perception and conservation of Milanese cultural heritage as a consequence.

911 Pallasmaa, 45.
Appendix

Figure 1 Giuseppe Mengoni Design, *In Galleria website*.

Figure 2 Galleria Floor Plan, *Archventil.com*.
Figure 4 Galleria Model, *In Galleria Instagram*.

Figure 3 Galleria Interior, *Lois Leen*. 
Figure 5 Galleria Triumphant Arch, Wikimedia.
Figure 6 Galleria mosaic floor, *In Galleria website.*

Figure 7 Europe Fresco, *In Galleria website.*
Figure 8 Milan Expo Plan, *Tour Italia*.

Figure 9 Palazzo Italia, *Expo 2015 website*. 
Figure 10 *Caleidoscopio*, *In Galleria website*. 
Figure 11 Bar Luce, Fondazione Prada Website.

Figure 12 Versace Ornamenal Collection, Versace Twitter.
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