

Konferenz · Conferenza · Conference
24/09/2021

VALLO ALPINO

**Die Zukunft? Die Zukunft!
Il Futuro? Il Futuro!
The Future! The Future?**

Begleitpublikation zur internationalen Konferenz
Atti della conferenza internazionale
Accompanying publication to the international conference

24-25/09/2021

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Der Bunker, ein Mythos?

„Wenn man die zur Hälfte vergrabene Masse eines Bunkers mit seinen verstopften Belüftungsanlagen und dem schmalen Schlitz des Beobachtungspostens betrachtet, dann schaut man in einen Spiegel und gewahrt das Spiegelbild unserer eigenen Todesmacht, unserer eigenen Destruktivität, das Spiegelbild der Kriegsindustrie. Der Bunker ist anwesender und abwesender Mythos zugleich geworden: anwesend als für eine transparente und offene zivile Architektur abstoßendes Objekt, abwesend in dem Maße, in dem sich die Festung von heute woanders befindet, unter unseren Füßen, von nun an unsichtbar.“

Mit diesem Zitat von Paul Virilio (1932–2018), einem französischen Philosophen, Architekten, Ausstellungsmacher und Herausgeber, möchte ich die Einführung zum Tagungsband einleiten.

In jahrelanger Recherche hat Virilio als einer der Ersten überhaupt den Atlantikwall, der im Zweiten Weltkrieg von der deutschen Besatzung gegen eine Invasion der Alliierten an der Atlantikküste geplant und zum Teil auch realisiert worden war, an der französischen Küste untersucht und die Ergebnisse in Form von philosophischen Essays 1975 erstmals veröffentlicht.

Im Herbst 2021, als wir die Tagung zum Forschungsprojekt Vallo Alpino Littorio austrugen, hatte wohl niemand daran geglaubt, dass die Bunkerthematik und das Thema *Festung Europa* innerhalb so kurzer Zeit an Aktualität und Bedeutung wiedergewinnen würden.

Die Festung Franzensfeste wurde als imposantes, uneinnehmbares Bauwerk an der Engstelle am südlichen Ende des Wipptals von den Habsburgern zwischen 1833 und 1838 errichtet. Als Befestigung hätte sie Teil des größer angelegten Plans sein sollen, Sperren im Süden der Monarchie gegen einfallende Feinde zu errichten.

Sehr schnell verlor sie jedoch diese strategische Wichtigkeit. Als in der Zeit des Faschismus in den 1930er Jahren der Vallo Alpino geplant wurde, sollte die Festung gemeinsam mit über 300 Bunkern in Südtirol wieder an Bedeutung gewinnen und wieder Teil eines größeren Verteidigungssystems werden. Inzwischen wissen wir – und hierfür hat auch das Forschungsprojekt unter der Leitung von Heimo Prünster sehr viele wertvolle Fakten ans Tageslicht gebracht –, dass auch diese Verteidigungslinie unvollendet blieb. Sie erlebte während des Kalten Krieges und bis in die 1990er Jahre eine Art Renaissance. Ein Teil der Bunker und auch die Franzensfeste wurden mit Waffen ausgestattet und für den Fall eines Angriffskrieges – dieses Mal wurde er aus dem Osten erwartet – aufgerüstet.

Dieser Krieg blieb zum Glück aus und die Festung fristete bis 2003 eine Art Dasein als Waffendepot des italienischen Heers. Darin liegt wohl überhaupt das große Glück dieses gigantischen Denkmals, denn nur so konnte sie weitestgehend in ihrem ursprünglichen Erscheinungsbild erhalten bleiben und zeigt sich uns heute noch genauso erhaben in ihrer Strahlkraft, ihren meterdicken Granitmauern und einem scheinbar endlosen Labyrinth an Gebäuden und Räumen.

The bunker – a myth?

“When you look at the half-buried mass of a bunker with its clogged ventilation systems and the narrow slit of the observation post, you look into a mirror and see the reflection of our own deadly power, our own destructiveness, the reflection of the war industry. The bunker has simultaneously become a present and an absent myth: present as an object that is repulsive to transparent and open civil architecture, absent to the extent that the fortress of today is located elsewhere, beneath our feet, and from now on invisible.”

I would like to introduce the conference proceedings with this quotation from Paul Virilio (1932–2018), a French philosopher, architect, exhibition organiser and editor.

In his many years of research, Virilio was one of the very first to examine the Atlantic Wall, which was planned and partly built during the Second World War by the German occupation forces to defend against an Allied invasion of the Atlantic coast of France: he first published the results in 1975 in the form of philosophical essays.

In autumn 2021, when we hosted the conference on the research project investigating the *Vallo Alpino Littorio*, the Alpine Wall, no one would have thought that these themes – bunkers and Fortress Europe – would recover such topicality and importance in such a short time.

The fortress of Franzensfeste was built by the Habsburgs between 1833 and 1838 as an imposing, impregnable structure at the narrow point located at the southern end of the Wipptal valley. The fortification was intended as part of the larger plan to protect against enemy incursions from the south of the monarchy.

It very quickly lost its strategic importance, however. When the Vallo Alpino was planned in the 1930s during the Fascist era, the fortress – along with over 300 bunkers in South Tyrol – was supposed to regain its importance and once again become part of a larger defensive system. In the meantime, we now know – and the research project led by Heimo Prünster has also brought many interesting facts to light – that this defence line too would remain unfinished. It experienced a kind of renaissance during the Cold War and into the 1990s: some of the bunkers and Franzensfeste itself were furnished with armaments and upgraded in the event of a war of aggression, which was this time expected from the East.

Fortunately, this war never happened and until 2003 the fortress led a kind of existence as an arms depot for the Italian army. This is probably a stroke of great fortune for this gigantic monument, as it was only in this way that its original appearance could as far as possible be preserved: it still presents a sublime radiance today with its metre-thick granite walls and seemingly endless labyrinth of buildings and rooms.

In terms of content, however, Franzensfeste has changed considerably in its almost two-hundred-year history. This former masterpiece of military architecture has become

Inhaltlich hat sich die Franzensfeste in ihrer fast zweihundertjährigen Geschichte aber stark gewandelt. Aus dem ehemaligen Meisterwerk der Kriegsarchitektur wurde ein Kunst- und Kulturort, der zu einem offenen und vor allem friedlichen Dialog einlädt.

Nach dem Auszug des italienischen Militärs im Jahre 2003 fanden Sanierungsmaßnahmen und aufwändige, mehrfach ausgezeichnete architektonische Eingriffe mit dem Ziel statt, die Struktur künftig für kulturelle und museale Zwecke nutzen zu können.

Mit Stolz kann die Festung inzwischen auf eine 15-jährige Erfolgsgeschichte zurückblicken. Zahlreiche Kunst- und Kulturschaffende waren hier zu Gast, die unterschiedlichsten bildnerischen und darstellenden Formen zeitgenössischen künstlerischen Ausdrucks fanden in Ausstellungen und Veranstaltungen Platz und traten in Dialog mit den geschichtsträchtigen Mauern.

Seit 2017 zieht sie als Landesmuseum jährlich Tausende von Besuchenden an und in den nächsten Jahren wird sich ein weiterer inhaltlicher Wandel vollziehen: Als größte historische Anlage Südtirols wird sie zum musealen Zentrum für die Zeitgeschichte unseres Landes werden und die Schnittstelle zeitgenössische Kultur und Kunst weiterhin beleben, aber nicht nur.

Das Forschen ist eine der wesentlichen Säulen der Museumsarbeit. Daher ist es uns als Landesmuseum natürlich auch ein Anliegen, dieser Aufgabe nachzukommen.

Die Idee für dieses Forschungsprojekt entstand, weil wir bereits seit 2017 und intensiver seit 2018 an einer Dauerausstellung zu den Bunkern in Südtirol arbeiteten und weil uns sehr bald klar wurde, dass es zu diesem äußerst spannenden Thema noch sehr viele offene Fragen zu klären gab.

Ein Teil dieser Fragen konnte in aufwändigen Recherchen und Gesprächen mit Zeitzeug:innen, Nachkommen und Entscheidungsträger:innen inzwischen gelöst werden und wurde zum Teil für die im Frühling 2022 eröffnete Dauerausstellung „Eingebunkert. Bunker in Südtirol“ aufbereitet.

Diese Ausstellung spannt den Bogen von der Planung, der Enteignung von Grund und Boden bis zum Bau, der Aktivierung und Ausstattung während des Kalten Kriegs mit Auflösung in den 1990er Jahren und der vielfältigen Nutzung bis hin zum Verschwinden (Abbruch) im 21. Jahrhundert. Schautafeln, Abbildungen von historischem Bildmaterial und Dokumenten, Plänen, Projektionen, Modelle, historisches Filmmaterial und Interviews mit Zeitzeug:innen sowie einige ausgewählte, besondere Originalobjekte geben Einblick in die Geschichte der Bunker und ihre Bedeutung bis in die Gegenwart. Dass sich eine künstlerische Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Thematik geradezu anbietet, zeigen eine Serie von Graffiti und eine monumentale Papierflieger-Installation.

Das Forschungsprojekt brachte weitere interessante Fragen und Rätsel zu Tage, die im Rahmen der Konferenz „VALLO ALPINO. Die Zukunft? Die Zukunft!“ mit Expertinnen und Experten aus den unterschiedlichsten Bereichen aus Italien, Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland und den Niederlanden diskutiert wurden und nachfolgend dokumentiert sind.

Ich lade Sie ein, in dieses faszinierende Thema Bunker einzutauchen und wünsche ein anregendes und aufschlussreiches Lesen dieser Beiträge. Wenn Sie Lust auf mehr haben, besuchen Sie die Ausstellung und den von der Festung mitbetreuten Bunker Nr. 3, in einem nahe gelegenen Waldstück direkt oberhalb der Festung. Spätestens dort werden Sie sehen und spüren, dass Bunker kein Mythos sind.

a venue for art and culture, one that invites its visitors to conduct an open and above all peaceful dialogue.

Following the departure of the Italian army in 2003, refurbishments and elaborate, award-winning architectural works were carried out with the aim of repurposing the structure for cultural and museum projects of the future.

The fortress can now look back proudly on a 15-year story of success. It has hosted numerous guests from the worlds of art and culture, with the most diverse contemporary expressions of the visual and performing arts finding a place in exhibitions and events, thus creating a dialogue within these historic walls.

Since 2017 the fortress has attracted thousands of visitors a year as a museum under the auspices of the Province of South Tyrol, with the next few years due to see further changes to its content: as South Tyrol's largest historical structure, it will become a museum centre for the contemporary history of our land and continue to act as a vibrant interface for contemporary culture and art.

But that is not all: research is one of the essential pillars of the museum's work. Therefore, as one of the Province's museums, it is naturally also vital that we fulfil this task.

The idea for this research project came about because, since 2017, we had been working on a permanent exhibition on the bunkers of South Tyrol, with work intensifying in 2018: it very soon became clear to us that there were still a great many unanswered questions regarding this fascinating topic.

Some of these questions have now been resolved through extensive research and discussions with contemporary witnesses, new faces and decision-makers, with certain answers used for the permanent exhibition "Dug in. Bunkers in South Tyrol", which opened in spring 2022.

This exhibition traces the events from the planning stages and expropriation of land for the task to the construction, activation and outfitting of the bunkers during the Cold War, their abandonment in the 1990s and the various uses that they were put to, right up to their disappearance and/or demolition in the 21st century. Display boards, images of historical pictures and documents, plans, projections, models, historic film footage and interviews with contemporary witnesses, as well as a number of selected, special original objects offer an insight into the story of the bunkers and their significance up to the present day. A series of graffiti and a monumental paper aeroplane installation show that an artistic approach to this topic is an obvious choice.

The research project has raised other interesting questions and puzzles. These were discussed at the conference entitled "VALLO ALPINO. The Future? The Future!" by experts representing a wide range of fields from Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands; these are documented below.

I invite you to explore the fascinating topic of bunkers further and I hope you find reading these contributions a stimulating and enlightening experience. Should you wish to learn more, please visit the exhibition and Bunker no. 3, located in a nearby wood and co-maintained by the fortress. There, if not sooner, you will perceive that bunkers are by no means a myth.

Esther Erlacher
Franzensfeste Fortress
Autumn 2022

Vallo Alpino. Die Zukunft? Die Zukunft!

**Internationale Tagung
24.–25. September 2021
Kongresssaal Karel van Miert, Festung Franzensfeste**

Das Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste hat von 2019–2022 das erste Forschungsprojekt zum „Vallo Alpino“ durchgeführt, das mit Mitteln des Forschungsfonds des Betriebs Landesmuseen Südtirol und Eigenmitteln des Museums finanziert wurde.

Aufgabe des Forschungsprojekts war der Aufbau einer ersten Wissensbasis zum „Vallo Alpino“ auf dem Gebiet von Südtirol und einer ausbaufähigen Sammlung, die als Basis für weitere Forschungen zum Thema dienen soll. Die internationale Vernetzung sowie die Entwicklung einer zeitgemäßen Datenvisualisierung waren weitere Schwerpunkte.

Im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes wurde eine Tagung organisiert, die sich mit der Zukunft und den Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten des Vallo Alpino auseinandersetzte.

Ziel der Tagung war die Begegnung unterschiedlicher Wissensbereiche, deren Forschungs- und Erfahrungswerte neue Möglichkeiten für das monumentale Bauwerk Südtirols eröffnen. Im Austausch von Fachleuten, Privatpersonen, Interessierten und Körperschaften wurden Perspektiven einander gegenübergestellt und diskutiert und für den Vallo Alpino neue Wege der Erkenntnis und Gestaltung erschlossen.

Dabei wurden viele Fragen gestellt: „In welchem Erbe steht die monumentale Befestigungsanlage des Vallo Alpino? Sind die Bunker Südtirols Denkmäler oder Energiepotentiale? Sind sie Un-Orte der Vergangenheit oder Orte der Zukunft?“

Die Beschäftigung mit dem faschistischen Kulturgut in den Alpen ging den spannenden Fragen, dessen Wert und Nutzen nach. Dieser reicht von der Forschung über die Agrarwirtschaft bis hin zur Sub- und Jugendkultur.

Es steht außer Frage, dass das Großbauwerk aus der Zeit des Zweiten Weltkriegs eine dunkle Vergangenheit symbolisiert. Aber es steht auch außer Frage, dass der Vallo Alpino im gesamteuropäischen Raum eine Aufmerksamkeit erfährt, die einen zeitgemäßen Umgang mit diesem außergewöhnlichen Kulturgut in die Wege leitet und dabei erstaunliche Perspektiven eröffnet.

Diese wurden in der Tagung vorgestellt und mit einem breiten Publikum diskutiert. Dabei kamen die vielfältigsten Möglichkeiten der Deutung und Gestaltung der Bunkeranlagen zur Sprache und zeigten, wie dieser architektonische Zeuge der Geschichte kreativ und unbeschwert genutzt werden kann.

Bei der Konzeption der Tagung stellte sich die Frage nach dem Zielpublikum: Neben vielen theoretischen und wissenschaftlichen Aspekten betrifft das Thema in Südtirol

Vallo Alpino. The Future? The Future!

**International conference
24–25 September 2021
Karel van Miert Congress Room, Franzensfeste Fortress**

The first research project on the “Vallo Alpino” – the Alpine Wall – was carried out by the Provincial Museum Franzensfeste Fortress from 2019 to 2022, financed by the research fund of the South Tyrol Department of Provincial Museums and the museum’s own funds.

The research project aimed to build up an initial knowledge base on the “Vallo Alpino” within the territory of South Tyrol and initiate a collection that would serve as a basis for further research into the topic. Further focal points included international networking and the development of a contemporary visualisation of data.



Abb. 1:
Während der
Konferenz im
Kongressaal
Karel van Miert

Fig. 1:
During the conference
at Karel van Miert
Congress Room

© Landesmuseum Festung
Franzensfeste

As part of the research project, a conference was organised to discuss the future and development possibilities of the Vallo Alpino. Its aim was to bring together specialists in different fields of knowledge whose research and experience would open up new possibilities for the monumental buildings located in South Tyrol. Exchanges between experts, private individuals, interested parties and corporate bodies would allow perspectives to be compared and discussed, with new paths of understanding and design opened up for the Vallo Alpino.

auch viele Privatpersonen, die Besitzer einer Bunkeranlage des Vallo Alpino sind. Oder Jugendliche, die sich aufgrund eigener (Selbst-)Erfahrungen mit Bunkern auseinandersetzen und daher möglicherweise offener für ein Thema sind, das schließlich historisch hoch aufgeladen ist. Südtirols Bunker sind ein Thema, das viele Menschen spannend finden und neugierig macht. Das Potential des Vallo Alpino als niederschwelliges Vehikel, um in die Südtiroler Zeitgeschichte einzusteigen, sollte optimal ausgenutzt werden.

Schnell war klar, dass die Zuhörerschaft nicht begrenzt werden, sondern möglichst viele Menschen umfassen sollte. Auf Anraten von Prof. Gennaro Postiglione, der das Forschungsprojekt beratend begleitet hat, wurde die Tagung als eine zweiteilige Veranstaltung konzipiert, die sich sowohl an eine breite Öffentlichkeit wie auch an Expert:innen gerichtet hat.



Abb. 2:
Workshop im
Kongresssaal
Karel van Miert

Fig. 2:
Workshop at
Karel van Miert
Congress Room

© Heimo Prünster

Der erste Teil der Tagung bestand aus einer öffentlichen Konferenz mit 13 Gast-Vortragenden aus vielen, sehr unterschiedlichen Bereichen. Die Konferenz war niederschwellig angelegt und die Vortragenden waren gebeten, wissenschaftlichere Aspekte in einer einfach verständlichen sprachlichen Form wiederzugeben und Inhalte, für die es besonderes Vorwissen bedarf, auszusparen.

Im zweiten Teil der Tagung wurde ein Workshop mit Expert:innen abgehalten, die gemeinsam zukünftige Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten des Projekts diskutierten und Szenarien konzipierten. Ergebnis des Workshops war ein abschließendes Dokument mit Handlungsanweisungen für die Zukunft des Forschungsprojekts und des Vallo Alpino in Südtirol im Allgemeinen.

Bereits im Vorfeld der Tagung setzte das deutsche Künstlerkollektiv Wall & Space e.V. ein eigens für die Tagung konzipiertes „Kunst im öffentlichen Raum“-Projekt um. Es sollte dazu beitragen, eine Sensibilität für das Thema zu schaffen, Aufmerksamkeit für die Tagung zu erzeugen und Möglichkeiten für einen offenen und kreativen Umgang mit diesem Kulturerbe aufzeigen.

Many questions were raised: “What is the heritage value of the monumental fortifications that form part of the Vallo Alpino? Are the bunkers of South Tyrol monuments or energy potentials? Are they non-places of the past, or places of the future?”

This study of the cultural legacy of the Fascist era in the Alps explored the fascinating topic of their value and use, ranging from research and agribusiness to subcultures and youth culture.

It is clear that these colossal structures dating from the Second World War symbolise a dark past. Nor however is there any question that the Vallo Alpino is now attracting attention throughout Europe and initiating a contemporary approach to this extraordinary cultural asset, in the process opening up surprising perspectives.

These perspectives were presented at the conference and discussed with a wider audience, which in turn prompted the most diverse ideas for interpreting and redesigning the bunkers, showing how an architectural witness to history can be used in a creative and even light-hearted way.

The question of the target audience arose when organising the conference: in addition to the numerous theoretical and scientific aspects, in South Tyrol the topic of the Vallo Alpino also concerns many private individuals who are owners of such bunkers, as well as young people whose own (self-)experiences have led them to address the issue of the bunkers and may therefore be more open to a topic that is, after all, historically highly charged. South Tyrol's bunkers are a matter that many find fascinating and intriguing. The potential of the Vallo Alpino as a low-threshold entry into the contemporary history of South Tyrol should be exploited to the full.

It quickly became clear that the audience should not be restricted but should include as many people as possible. On the advice of Professor Gennaro Postiglione, who acted as advisor to the research project, the conference was conceived as a two-part event aimed at both the general public and experts.

The first part consisted of a public conference with thirteen guest lectures from many different fields. It was intended to be a low-threshold event; speakers were asked to present more scientific aspects in easy-to-understand terms and to omit content that would require special prior knowledge.

The second part involved a workshop with experts who discussed the future possibilities for developing the project and drew up scenarios. The workshop resulted in a final document with guidelines for the future of the research project and the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol in general.

In the run-up to the conference the German artists' collective, Wall & Space e.V., realised an “art in public space” project specially for the event. This was intended to help create a sensitivity for the topic, draw attention to the conference and demonstrate the possibilities for an open and creative approach to this cultural legacy.

This publication begins by introducing the research project, explaining the questions posed and including the results of the research and analyses that are now available. The communicative heart of the project, however, is its data visualisation, which can be consulted here: <https://valloalpino.info/>. A specially developed web application maps the entire inventory of the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol in its built form. It also includes those parts that remained only at the planning stage, thus revealing the otherwise

Die vorliegende Publikation stellt eingangs das Forschungsprojekt vor, erläutert seine Fragestellungen und umfasst auch die mittlerweile vorliegenden Ergebnisse der Recherchen und Analysen. Das kommunikative Herzstück des Projekts ist jedoch die Datenvisualisierung, auf welche hier nochmals verwiesen sei: <https://valloalpino.info/>. Die eigens entwickelte Web-Anwendung kartografiert den Gesamtbestand des Vallo Alpino in Südtirol in seiner gebauten Form. Zudem umfasst sie auch jene Teile, die nur Planungen blieben, womit die unvorstellbare Dimension des ursprünglichen Vorhabens sichtbar wird. Die Datenvisualisierung lädt ein, durch Südtirols dreidimensionale Bunkerlandschaft zu navigieren und die Verflechtung von Militärbauten und landschaftlichen Gegebenheiten aus der Nähe zu erkunden. Eine repräsentative Auswahl an Bunkieranlagen ist mit Details befüllt, weitere werden folgen.

In weiterer Folge versammelt die Publikation alle Beiträge der Konferenz und die Ergebnisse des Expertenworkshops. Sie folgen der Reihenfolge des Tagungsprogramms.

Darüber hinaus wird versucht, die Erkundung zum Vallo Alpino in Textform fortzusetzen und die inklusive Grundhaltung der Tagung weiter zu spielen. Die Tagungsbeiträge werden mit Texten weiterer Expert:innen ergänzt, die zusätzliche Wissensbereiche und Diskursebenen einbringen: Nicola Fontana stellt in seinem Beitrag die Quellen zum neuzeitlichen Festungsbau im Museo Storico Italiano Della Guerra in Rovereto vor, während Postiglione und Lenzini sich in ihrem Zwiegespräch mit Fragen zu Postigliones Projekt „Atlantik Wall Linear Museum“ beschäftigen. Der Beitrag von Giuseppe Spagnolo ist ein Kurzbericht, den er über seine Recherchen in römischen Archiven im Rahmen dieses Forschungsprojekts angelegt hat, und Marco Ferrari berichtet über sein Projekt zum Erbe der Festungen im Trentino.

Den Abschluss der Publikation bildet ein Beitrag von Landeskonservatorin Karin Dalla Torre, über den wir uns besonders freuen, da die Diskussion um militärisches Kulturerbe und seiner Zukunft in Südtirol selten höhere Aktualität hatte.

Es ist mir eine Freude, mit dem Forschungsprojekt einen Beitrag zur Aufarbeitung eines europäischen Kulturerbes zu leisten und mit dieser spannenden und ungewöhnlich vielfältigen Publikation auch zum laufenden Diskurs beizutragen. Ich hoffe auch, dass die Datenvisualisierung einen zusätzlichen Impuls zur weiteren Beschäftigung mit diesem Thema liefert und sich dadurch noch weitere Zukunftsperspektiven erschließen.

Ich wünsche Ihnen eine angenehme Lektüre.

Heimo Prünster
Wissenschaftlicher Leiter des Forschungsprojekts

Abb. 3:
Kunstinstallation STILL
des Künstlerkollektivs
Wall & Space e.V. am
Bunker Nr. 21 in
Spinges

Fig. 3:
Art installation STILL
by the artists' collec-
tive Wall & Space e.V.
at Bunker No. 21 in
Spinga

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inconceivable dimensions of the original project. The data visualisation allows visitors to navigate through South Tyrol's three-dimensional bunker landscape and conduct a close-up examination of the interwoven military structures and landscape features. A representative selection of bunkers has been populated with details, with others to follow.

This publication subsequently gathers all conference contributions and the results of the expert workshop in the order of the conference proceedings. An attempt is also made to continue to explore the Vallo Alpino in text form while maintaining the inclusive approach of the conference. The contributions are supplemented with articles by other experts who contribute additional areas of knowledge and levels of discourse: Nicola Fontana presents the sources on modern fortress construction in the *Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra* in Rovereto, while Postiglione and Lenzini's dialogue addresses questions concerning Postiglione's project, the "Atlantic Wall Linear Museum". Giuseppe Spagnulo makes a short report on his research in the archives in Rome as part of this research project, while Marco Ferrari describes his project on the heritage of the fortresses located in Trentino.

The publication concludes with a contribution by Karin Dalla Torre, the *Landes-konservatorin* [superintendent for conservation matters] for South Tyrol, which is particularly welcome as the discussion about the military-cultural legacy of the Province and its future has seldom been more topical.

With this research project, I am delighted to play a part in the reappraisal of one facet of Europe's cultural heritage and also to aid the ongoing discourse with this fascinating and remarkably diverse publication. I also hope that the data visualisation will give an additional impetus for further engagement with the topic and open up even more future perspectives.

I wish you an enjoyable read.

Heimo Prünster
Scientific director for the research project

Konferenz

Vallo Alpino. Die Zukunft? Die Zukunft!

24. September 2021, 14.00–19.00 Uhr

Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste – Kongresssaal Karel van Miert

Im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes zum sog. Vallo Alpino findet in der Festung Franzensfeste eine Konferenz mit internationalen Expert:innen aus unterschiedlichen Disziplinen statt.

In welchem Erbe steht die monumentale Befestigungsanlage des Vallo Alpino? Sind die Bunker Südtirols Denkmäler oder Energiepotentiale? Sind sie Un-Orte der Vergangenheit oder Orte der Zukunft?

Die Konferenz im Landesmuseum beschäftigt sich mit dem faschistischen Kulturgut in den Alpen und geht den spannenden Fragen nach dessen Wert und Nutzen nach. Dieser reicht von der Forschung über die Agrarwirtschaft bis hin zur Sub- und Jugendkultur.

Es steht außer Frage, dass das Großbauwerk aus der Zeit des Zweiten Weltkriegs eine dunkle Vergangenheit symbolisiert. Aber es steht auch außer Frage, dass der Vallo Alpino im gesamteuropäischen Raum eine Aufmerksamkeit erfährt, die einen zeitgemäßen Umgang mit diesem außergewöhnlichen Kulturgut in die Wege leitet und dabei erstaunliche Perspektiven eröffnet.

Diese werden in der Tagung vorgestellt und mit einem breiten Publikum diskutiert. Dabei sollen die vielfältigsten Möglichkeiten der Deutung und Gestaltung der Bunkeranlagen zur Sprache kommen und zeigen, wie dieser architektonische Zeuge der Geschichte Südtirols kreativ und unbeschwert genutzt werden kann.

Conference

Vallo Alpino. The Future? The Future!

24 September 2021, 2:00–7:00 PM

Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste – Karel van Miert Conference Hall

As part of the research project on the so-called Vallo Alpino, a conference bringing together international experts from different disciplines will be held in the Franzensfeste Fortress.

What are we to make of heritage in the context of the monumental fortifications of Vallo Alpino? Are the bunkers of Südtirol/Alto Adige monuments or sources of energy? Are they non-places of the past or sites with great potential for the future?

The conference at the *Landesmuseum* will focus on fascism's cultural artifacts in the Alps and will examine challenging questions surrounding their value and utilization. The topics range from research via agrarian economy to manifestations of counter-culture and youth culture.

It is beyond dispute that the large complex dating from World War II symbolises a dark past. Yet it is also beyond doubt that the attention Vallo Alpino attracts throughout Europe can set in motion a contemporary approach to these unusual cultural artifacts and, in the process, open up astonishing perspectives.

These themes will be presented at the conference and discussed with the general public. A wide range of possibilities regarding the interpretation and design of the fortifications will be explored, demonstrating how this site, which bears witness to the region's history, can be used creatively and constructively.

Programm · Programma · Program

- 14.00 **Esther Erlacher** – Koordinatorin · Coordinatrice · Coordinator
Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste · Museo provinciale Forte di Fortezza ·
Provincial Museum Franzensfeste Fortress
Begrüßung · Benvenuto · Welcome
- 14.05 **Heimo Prünster** – wissenschaftliche Leitung des Forschungsprojektes ·
direzione scientifica del progetto di ricerca · scientific director of the
research project „Vallo Alpino Littorio“
Einführung · Introduzione · Introduction
- 14.35 **Andrea Di Michele** – Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, Libera Università
di Bolzano
**Il Vallo Alpino alla luce dei rapporti tra Italia e Germania tra anni
Venti e Trenta**
- 14.50 **Waltraud Kofler Engl** – Plattform Kulturerbe, Freie Universität Bozen
Bunker. Ein dissonantes kulturelles Erbe
- 15.05 **Ute Bauer-Wassmann** – IFAG – Interdisziplinäres Forschungszentrum
Architektur und Geschichte, Wien
**Vom Fundort zum Gedenkort? Zum Umgang mit historisch
belasteten Bauten**
- 15.20 **Anna Scuttari** – Eurac Research, Center for Advanced Studies
**Progetto MyBZ e alcuni esempi di altri progetti locali che hanno
elaborato la propria memoria storica.**
- 15.45 **Mona Schieren** – Hochschule für Künste, Bremen
Zu(m) Bunkern künstlerisch forschen
- 16.10 **Simon Graf** – Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, Universität Freiburg
**Panzersperren in der Schweiz. Zwischen Kulturerbe, ökologischer
Aufwertung, Gartenaccessoire und Abenteuerspielplatz**
- 16.35 Pause · Pausa · Break

- 17.00 **Rafaël Deroo** – EFFORTS secretary general and Atlantikwall Europe coordination
Establishing fortified heritage and bunker lines in Europe
- 17.15 **Carl Philipp Hohenbüchel** – Südtiroler Burgeninstitut
Beispiel erfolgreicher Interessensvertretung von lokalen Festungsbauten: das Südtiroler Burgeninstitut
- 17.30 **Alessia Zampini** – Facoltà di Architettura, Università di Bologna
Progetto di valorizzazione della Linea Galla Placidia
- 17.45 **Hannes Götsch** – Basis Vinschgau
Legales und Illegales in Südtiroler Militärstrukturen
- 18.00 **Hendryk von Busse** – Wall & Space e.V., Halle
Projekt ARTlantic Wall – Painting the Coast
- 18.15 **Dieter Haas** – Kellerei St. Pauls, Eppan
Sektproduktion in einem Bunker
- 18.30 **Markus Krauss** – Transsolar Energietechnik GmbH, München
Klima und Energiepotentiale von Bunkern
- 18.45 **Esther Erlacher** – Koordinatorin · Coordinatrice · Coordinator
Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste · Museo provinciale Forte di Fortezza ·
Provincial Museum Franzensfeste Fortress
Verabschiedung · Adozione · Farewell address





Heimo Prünster

Das Forschungsprojekt zum „Vallo Alpino“ in Südtirol

In diesem Beitrag wird das Forschungsprojekt (ab hier FP) zum sog. „Vallo Alpino del Littorio“¹ (ab hier Vallo Alpino) vorgestellt, das von 2019–21 im Auftrag des Südtiroler Landesmuseums Festung Franzensfeste / Betrieb Landesmuseen ausgeführt wird, und auf einzelne der Forschungsfragen (ab hier FF) näher eingegangen. Pandemie-bedingt ist die Dauer des FP ins Jahr 2022 verlängert worden.

Das FP hat zum Ziel, eine erste Wissensbasis zum Vallo Alpino auf dem Gebiet von Südtirol aufzubauen. Es sollen möglichst alle Aktenbestände ausfindig gemacht und zu den FF untersucht werden. Dabei soll eine ausbaufähige Sammlung entstehen, die als Basis für weitere Forschungen zum Thema dienen soll – auch im Hinblick auf den Denkmalschutz des Vallo Alpino. Repräsentative Teile davon sollen im Anschluss in einer Datenbank archiviert und öffentlich zugänglich gemacht werden. Eine vollständige Einarbeitung der gesamten Sammlung in eine Datenbank würde den Rahmen dieses Forschungsprojekt sprengen. Ebenso würden Dauer und Mittel des FP's nicht ausreichen, um einen größeren territorialen Umfang als Südtirol abzudecken.

Das FP soll auch die internationale Vernetzung vorantreiben. Im September 2021 ist dazu eine Konferenz mit dem Titel „Vallo Alpino – Die Zukunft? Die Zukunft!“ organisiert worden, an der insgesamt 14 Referentinnen und Referenten aus dem Inland und dem europäischen Ausland teilgenommen haben. Sie haben das Thema aus vielen Perspektiven beleuchtet und sich in einem anschließenden Workshop Gedanken über zukünftige Entwicklungen mit diesem Kulturerbe gemacht.

Die Ergebnisse des Forschungsprojekts werden mehrfachen Output generieren: sie werden in die im Mai 2022 zu eröffnende, permanente Ausstellung zu den Bunkern in Südtirol in der Festung Franzensfeste eingespielt und diese laufend mit Forschungsergebnissen anreichern. Über eine eigene Schnittstelle wird direkter Zugriff auf eine aufbereitete Auswahl der Forschungsergebnisse entstehen. Über die Website des Museums werden die Forschungsergebnisse auch dauerhaft im Internet verfügbar sein.

Weiters ist es ein Anliegen des Landesmuseums, das generierte Wissen bestmöglich nach außen zu vermitteln und dabei auf zeitgemäße Kommunikationsmittel zurückzugreifen. Aus diesem Grund wurde mit Fachspezialisten und einem Zusatzbudget des Landesmuseums eine Datenvisualisierung ausgearbeitet, die am Ende des Beitrags vorgestellt wird.

¹ Die Bezeichnung „Vallo Alpino del Littorio“ könnte mit „faschistischer Alpenwall“ übersetzt werden. Der Begriff entstand in politischen Kreisen, wo er auch vorwiegend verwendet wurde. In Militärkreisen war der Begriff nicht geläufig, hier waren die üblichen Fachbegriffe in Verwendung.

Heimo Prünster

The research project into the “Vallo Alpino” in South Tyrol

This paper presents the research project (henceforth “RP”) into the so-called “*Vallo Alpino del Littorio*”¹ (henceforth “Vallo Alpino”), to be carried out from 2019–21 on behalf of the South Tyrolean Provincial Museum of Franzensfeste Fortress and the Provincial Department of Museums, and gives more details of individual research questions. On account of the pandemic the RP was in fact extended into 2022.

The RP aims to build up an initial knowledge base concerning the Vallo Alpino within the territory of South Tyrol. As far as possible, all records are to be located and examined with regard to the research questions. The aim is to create an expandable collection that will serve as a basis for further research into the topic, including in respect of the protection of the Vallo Alpino as a historic monument. Representative parts thereof will then be archived in a database and made accessible to the public. Complete incorporation of the entire collection into a database would go beyond the scope of the RP; likewise, the duration and resources of the RP would not suffice to cover a larger territorial area than South Tyrol.

The RP also aims to promote international networking. In September 2021, a conference entitled “Vallo Alpino – The Future? The Future!” was organised and attended by a total of 14 speakers from Italy and other European countries. They looked at the topic from many different perspectives and, in the subsequent workshop, considered future developments regarding this cultural heritage.

The results of the RP will generate multiple outputs: they will be incorporated into the permanent exhibition on the bunkers in South Tyrol, to be housed in Franzensfeste Fortress and scheduled to open in May 2022, and will continuously add to it with the results of the research. A separate interface will provide direct access to a prepared selection of the research results, which will also be permanently available on the internet via the Museum’s website.

Furthermore, the Provincial Museum aims to communicate the knowledge thus generated to the outside world in the best possible way, making use of up-to-date means of communication. A data visualisation was therefore developed with the help of specialists and additional funding from the Museum; it is presented at the end of this article.

As for myself, I would add that I am not a historian but rather an architect and that I attempt to look at and understand the extraordinary phenomenon of this gigantic construction from a cultural-scientific and socio-historical perspective.

1 The term “Vallo Alpino del Littorio” can be translated as “Fascist Alpine Wall”. The term originated in political circles, where it was also predominantly used. The term was not current in military circles, where the usual technical terms were used.

Zu meiner Person möchte ich noch hinzufügen, dass ich kein Historiker, sondern Architekt bin und das außergewöhnliche Phänomen dieses Großbauwerks aus einer kulturwissenschaftlichen und sozialgeschichtlichen Perspektive zu betrachten und begreifen versuche.

An der oben genannten Konferenz in der Festung Franzensfeste hat Prof. Andrea Di Michele – an den mein besonderer Dank geht – einen Vortrag zum historischen Kontext des Vallo Alpino gehalten. Einige Eckdaten zum zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext im folgenden Beitrag beziehe ich aus seinen Ausführungen.

Genauso besonders möchte ich auch Alessandro Bernasconi danken, der mit seinem Pionierwerk zum Vallo Alpino schon im Jahr 1999 den Gesamtbestand in Südtirol beschrieben und den ersten Grundstein für jede tiefer gehende Beschäftigung mit dem Vallo Alpino gelegt hat.² Er hat mich in die Archivbestände eingeführt und mir geholfen, mich in diesem unübersichtlichen Wissensgebiet zu orientieren und ist mir mit freundschaftlichem Rat immer zur Seite gestanden.

Die Forschungsfragen

Die Projektarbeit organisiert sich an den folgenden Fragen, deren Ausrichtung sich im Verlauf des FP teilweise geändert hat. Die besonders interessante FF 7 kann im Rahmen dieses FP leider nicht bewältigt werden, da der Aktenbestand schlicht zu groß ist.

PLANUNG: Was sahen die Planungen für den Vallo Alpino vor und was wurde davon umgesetzt?

BAULICHE NORMEN: Nach welchen Kriterien wurden die Bauten des Vallo Alpino errichtet?

FINANZIERUNG: Mit welchen finanziellen Mitteln wurde der Vallo Alpino realisiert und wie hoch waren die Kosten des Bauwerks?

BAUFORTSCHRITT: Wie gestaltete sich die Chronologie des Baufortschritts?

BAUSTELLEN: Mit welchen technischen Mitteln wurden die Arbeiten durchgeführt und wie wurden die gewaltigen logistischen Herausforderungen beim Materialtransport bewerkstelligt?

BAUARBEITER: Wer waren sie und wie gestalteten sich die Bedingungen ihrer Entlohnung, Verpflegung und Unterkunft und welche Auswirkungen hatte ihre Anwesenheit auf die lokale Bevölkerung?

ENTEIGNUNGEN: Verliefen die Enteignungen nach der geltenden Gesetzgebung? Gab es politische Motivationen im Zusammenhang mit den Enteignungen?

Die Projektziele bestehen aus Recherche und Quellensammlung, Digitalisierung und Dokumentation, Katalogisierung und Datenaufbereitung, Datenorganisation und Datenanalyse, architekturhistorische und kulturwissenschaftliche Interpretation und Wissensvermittlung sowie Entwicklung einer eigenen Datenvisualisierung.

2 A. Bernasconi, G. Muran, Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige, Temi, Trento 1999.

At the above-mentioned conference in Franzensfeste Fortress, Prof. Andrea Di Michele – to whom I wish to convey my special thanks – talked about the historical context of the Vallo Alpino. In the following text I take some key data on the contemporary historical context from his remarks.

I would also like to express special thanks to Alessandro Bernasconi, whose pioneering work on the Vallo Alpino described its full extent in South Tyrol as early as 1999, thus laying the first foundations for every further in-depth study of the Vallo Alpino.² He introduced me to the archives, helped me to orientate myself in this confusing field of knowledge and was always ready with friendly advice.

The questions raised by the research

The project work is organised around the following questions, whose orientation has partly changed in the course of the RP. Research question no. 7, which is particularly interesting, cannot be dealt with under this RP, as unfortunately the number of files is simply too large.

PLANNING: what did the plans for the Vallo Alpino envisage and what was in fact realised?

BUILDING STANDARDS: which criteria were used in building the Vallo Alpino?

FUNDING: how was the Vallo Alpino financed and how high were the costs of the structure?

PROGRESS: what was the chronology of the construction progress?

BUILDING SITES: what technical equipment was used for the works and how were the enormous logistical challenges of transporting materials managed?

WORKERS: who were these and what were the conditions of their pay, food and lodging, and what impact did their presence have on the local population?

EXPROPRIATION: were expropriations carried out according to the applicable legislation and did political motivations lie behind such expropriations?

The project goals consist in research and source collection, digitisation and documentation, cataloguing and data preparation, data organisation and data analysis, architectural-historical and cultural-scientific interpretation and knowledge transfer, as well as the development of standalone data visualisation.

Characteristics of the knowledge and documentation concerning the Vallo Alpino

The Italian Army kept very accurate and clear records of all its activities. The documentation on the other border sections is remarkably good and almost complete; however, as far as the Vallo Alpino section of the former border with the German Reich is concerned, almost no comparable records have to date been found. Geographically speaking, these correspond to the “*Operationszone Alpenvorland* [Operational Zone of the Alpine Foothills]” established in 1943 by Hitler’s Germany. These facts are very likely connected.

² A. Bernasconi, G. Muran, *Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige*, Temi, Trento 1999.

Merkmale des Wissens- und Aktenbestands zum Vallo Alpino

Das italienische Heer hat sehr genau und übersichtlich über all seine Aktivitäten Buch geführt. Die Dokumentation anderer Grenzabschnitte ist bemerkenswert gut und nahezu lückenlos. Was jedoch den Teilbereich des Vallo Alpino an der ehemaligen Grenze mit dem Deutschen Reich betrifft, waren bis heute fast keine vergleichbaren Bestände auffindbar. Die Lücken des Bestandes sind geografisch gesehen deckungsgleich mit der Ausdehnung der von Hitler-Deutschland errichteten „Operationszone Alpenvorland“. Ein Zusammenhang ist sehr wahrscheinlich.

Große Teile der hier gesammelten Informationen sind der Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des Bestandes anhand der Ausschussware einer einst vollständigen Dokumentation. Die gesammelten Daten stammen aus einer großen Menge von Dokumenten, die sich teils widersprechen, und in denen wichtige Informationen oft gut „getarnt“ in Nebensätzen zur Sprache kommen. In den meisten Fällen fehlen die Anhänge der Dokumente. Manchmal finden sich Informationen zu gewissen Inhalten in verschiedenen, nicht themenverwandten Dokumenten und es ist oft Zufall, ob Zusammenhänge entdeckt werden können und sich Inhalte überhaupt erschließen.

Die spezifischen Merkmale des Wissens- und Aktenbestands zum Vallo Alpino in Südtirol sind charakterisiert von ihrem großen Umfang, Zersplitterung, schlechter Zugänglichkeit, Unordnung, wenig brauchbaren oder fehlenden Inventarlisten, teils schlechtem Zustand der Akten und limitierter Reproduktionsmöglichkeiten. Das hat dazu geführt, dass ein Großteil der Arbeitszeit im FP einerseits für das Durchforsten von Beständen und ihrer Reproduktion aufgewendet werden musste. Zudem war es auch notwendig, zuerst Inventarlisten der Aktenbestände anzulegen, um ein Zurechtfinden in den reproduzierten Dokumenten überhaupt zu ermöglichen. Somit musste das FP archivarische Arbeit „nachleisten“ und einen guten Teil seiner Ressourcen für diese Arbeitsschritte aufwenden.

Abb. 1:

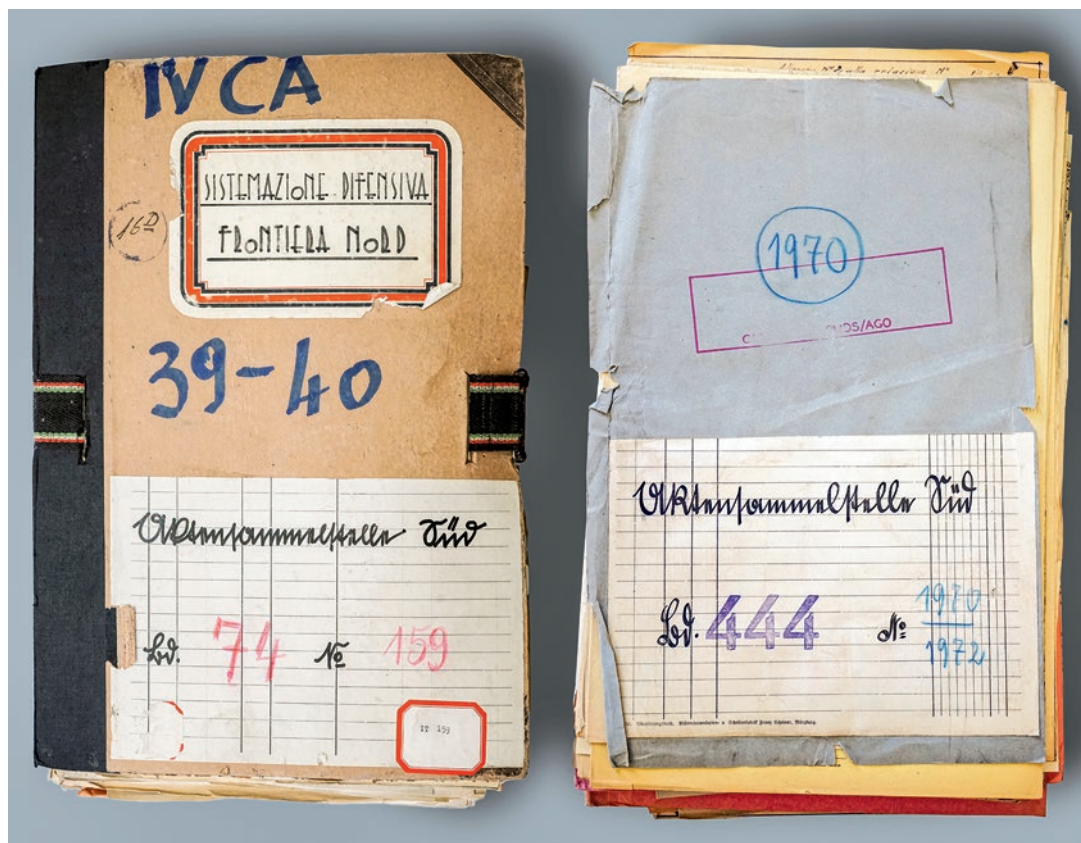
Links: Beispiel eines Aktenordners mit originaler italienischer Aktenbeschriftung von 1939/40, einer weiteren Beschriftung des italienischen Militärs nach der Restitution durch die Amerikaner nach 1967, Reichsdeutsche Beschriftung der „Aktensammelstelle Süd“ mit der Nummer des Bundes und der Signatur, und einem amerikanischen Etikett, das ebenfalls die Deutsche Signatur wiedergibt.

Rechts: ein grauer Umschlag mit dem Stempel der CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), Abteilung GMDS (German Military Documents Section), AGO (Adjutant General's Office), darunter das Etikett der Aktensammelstelle Süd.

Fig. 1:

Left: example of a file folder with original Italian labelling dated 1939–40, and another labelling by the Italian military following its return by the Americans after 1967, label of the German „Aktensammelstelle Süd“ with the number of the army and the signature, and an American label also reflecting the German signature.

On the right: a grey envelope with the stamp of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), GMDS (German Military Documents Section), AGO (Adjutant General's Office), with the label of the Aktensammelstelle Süd underneath.



Large parts of the information collected here are an attempt to reconstruct the records on the basis of the rejected elements of what was once complete documentation. The data gathered comes from a large quantity of documents, some of which contradict each other, in which important information is often carefully “disguised” in subordinate clauses. In most cases the annexes to the documents are missing. Information on certain content can sometimes be found in various documents that are not related to the topic and it is often a matter of chance whether connections can be identified or whether the content can be deciphered at all.

The specific characteristics of the knowledge and files concerning the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol are characterised by their great quantity, fragmentation, poor accessibility, disorder, scarcely usable or missing inventory lists, the in part poor condition of the records and the limited possibilities for their reproduction. As a result, much of the RP’s working time had on the one hand to be spent on combing through records and reproducing them; it was on the other also necessary first to create inventories of the files in order to permit us to find our way through the documents reproduced. The RP thus had to perform archival work and expend a significant proportion of its resources on these steps.

Abb. 2:

Ein amerikanischer Archivbehälter der Marke „Hollinger Edge“ aus den 1960er Jahren in einem italienischen Militärarchiv. Die Beuteakten wurden 1967 von den Amerikanern in diesen Behältern restituiert und befinden sich immer noch darin.

Fig. 2:

An American “Hollinger Edge” brand archival container from the 1960s in an Italian military archive. The looted files were restituted by the Americans in these containers in 1967 and are still stored in them.



Ein großer Teil der in Südtirol und andernorts entstandenen militärischen Aktenbestände zum Vallo Alpino wurde im Zuge des Einmarschs der deutschen Truppen in Südtirol am 8. September 1943 beschlagnahmt und als Beutegut außer Landes gebracht, zuerst in die Aktensammelstelle Süd Ingolstadt und später nach München. 1945 gerieten die Bestände in die Hände der US-amerikanischen Truppen und sind in die USA gebracht worden. Erst 1967 kam es zur Restitution an Italien. Diese Aktenbestände befinden sich nun im Ufficio Storico SME in Rom, wo sie nach wie vor in amerikanischen Aktenbehältern aufbewahrt werden. Der häufige Besitzerwechsel und die Weltreise der Akten bedingen zum Teil ihren Zustand. Die unterschiedlichen Besitzer haben viele Spuren in und an den Akten hinterlassen.

Eine systematische Übersicht der Bestände bleibt weiterhin eine Wunschvorstellung, da die Originalbestände auf mindestens zehn nennenswerte militärische, öffentliche und private Archive oder Sammlungen verstreut sind.

Betrachtungen zur Entstehung des Verteidigungssystems

Das nun folgende Kapitel gibt einen Überblick zu den Forschungsergebnissen, vorrangig den FF 1 bis 4: die Planung des Vallo Alpino, seine baulichen Normen, seine Finanzierung und der Baufortschritt haben sich – in Wechselwirkung mit dem zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext – gegenseitig stark bedingt. Das Kapitel ist nach den vorrangigen zeitlichen Etappen gegliedert.

1922–1934

Südtirol war als neues italienisches Staatsterritorium nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg dem italienischen Militär noch unbekannt und die neue nördliche Staatsgrenze gänzlich unbefestigt. Zunächst wurde das Gelände des Landes ausgekundschaftet und vollständig neu vermessen sowie eine Bestandsaufnahme der vorhandenen Infrastruktur vorgenommen, die auch militärisch genutzt werden kann. Für die Grenzverteidigung waren hier z. B. die bestehenden zivilen Berghütten von Bedeutung.

Ab dem Jahr 1924 ist das Grenzgebiet vorerst provisorisch mit Artilleriestellungen gesichert worden, wobei die Geschützstellungen nicht nur defensiv, sondern auch offensiv angelegt waren und über die Landesgrenzen hinauswirken konnten.

Im November 1927 richtete Unterstaatssekretär Cavallero eine Studienkommission ein, die sich mit der Verteidigung der Landesgrenzen auseinandersetzen sollte.³

Im Dezember 1927 stellt das Kriegsministerium bzw. das „Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore“ in einer Heeres-internen Publikation⁴ Überlegungen über die Ausgestaltung einer zeitgemäßen Verteidigung der Landesgrenzen an. Darin wird zwar die Befürchtung geäußert, dass sich Österreich einst mit Deutschland vereinen könnte, aber die aktuelle politische Situation und die Schwäche Österreichs ließen es zu, die Verteidigung der sogenannten „Nordgrenze“⁵ auf einen späteren Zeitpunkt zu verschieben. Aus dem Dokument geht eine hauptsächlich offensive Strategie gegenüber Österreich hervor. Für

3 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München (ab hier BSB), FILM R615-500, frame (ab hier f.) 675–683: SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942: Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine

4 BSB FILM R615-228 f. 083–136. Ministero della Guerra – Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore – Ufficio Operazioni, Dez. 1927. La sistemazione difensiva delle nostre frontiere terrestri

5 Grenze zu Österreich (später zum Deutschen Reich) und zur Schweiz. Je nach Inhalt der Dokumente bezieht sich der Begriff nur auf den Grenzabschnitt zu Deutschland, vom Reschenpass bis Tarvis

A large number of the military files on the Vallo Alpino that were created in South Tyrol and elsewhere were confiscated in the course of the entry of German troops into South Tyrol on 8 September 1943 and taken out of the country as looted property, first to the “*Aktensammelstelle Süd* [File Collection Centre South]” at Ingolstadt and later to Munich. In 1945 the records fell into the hands of the US Army and were taken to the USA; they were only returned to Italy in 1967. These files are now held in the “*Ufficio Storico SME*” in Rome, where they are still kept in the American file containers. The frequent change of ownership and the fact that the files have travelled halfway around the world in part determine their condition. Their various owners have left many traces in and on the files.

A systematic overview of the files remains a pipe dream, as the originals are scattered among at least ten noteworthy military, public and private archives or collections.

Considerations on the emergence of the defensive system

The following chapter gives an overview of the research results, primarily research questions 1 to 4: the planning of the Vallo Alpino, its construction standards, its funding and the progress of construction – within the contemporary historical context – were all strongly mutually dependent. The chapter is structured according to the major chronological phases.

1922–1934

As new territory of the Italian state following the First World War, South Tyrol was still unknown to the Italian military and the new northern state border was completely unfortified. As a first step, the local terrain was reconnoitred and completely resurveyed and an inventory made of existing infrastructure that could also be used for military purposes. For border defence purposes, for example, the existing civilian mountain refuges here were of importance.

From 1924 onwards, the border area was provisionally secured with artillery emplacements, with the gun emplacements not only defensive but also offensive in nature, able to direct fire beyond the country’s borders.

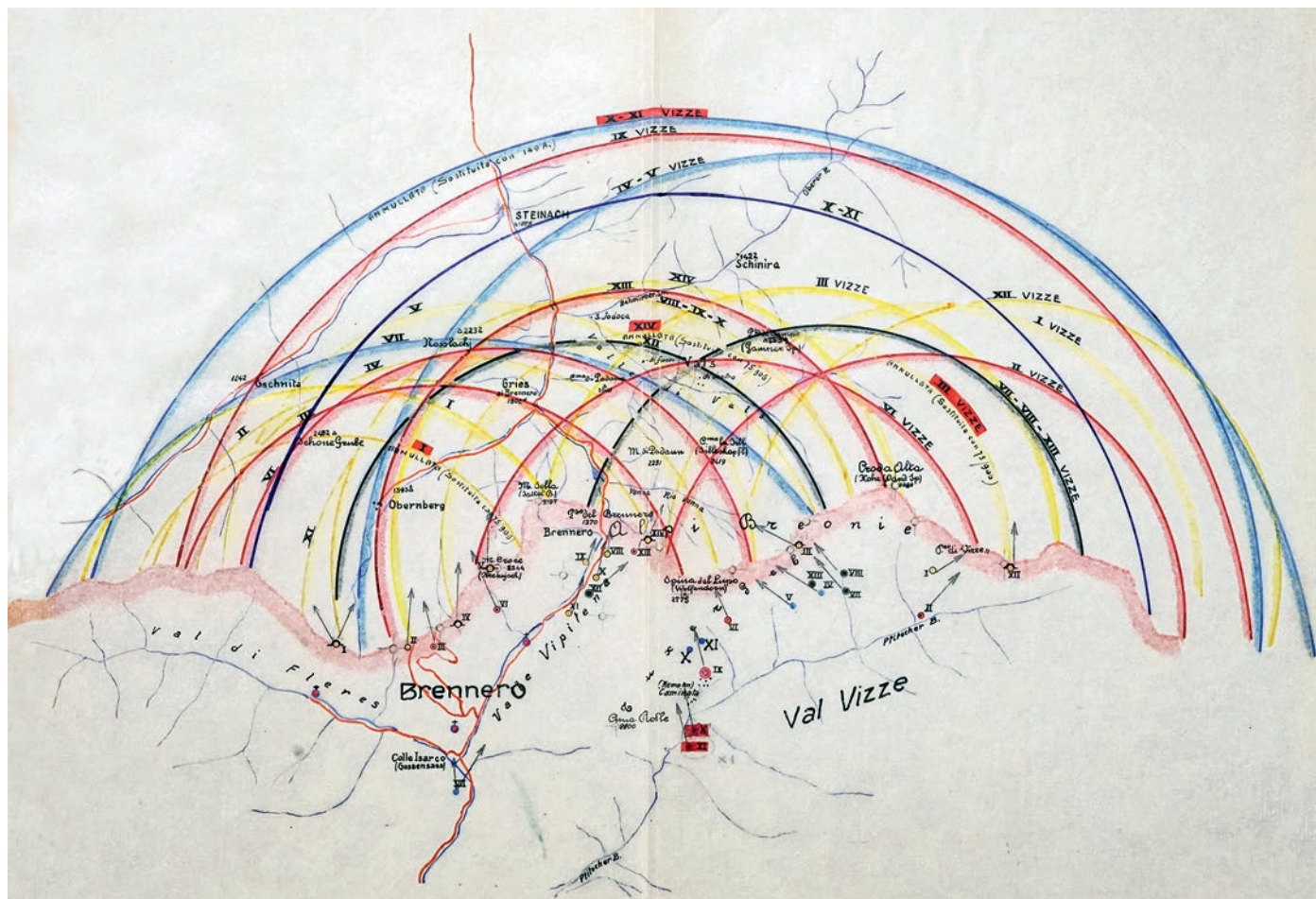
In November 1927, Undersecretary of State Cavallero set up a commission to study the defence of Italy’s land borders.³

In December 1927, the War Ministry (actually the “*Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore*”) set out its considerations on the design of a contemporary defence of the land borders in an internal army publication⁴. It expressed the fear that Austria could one day unite with Germany, but the current political situation and Austria’s weakness allowed the defence of the so-called “northern frontier”⁵ to be postponed to a later date. The document reveals a mainly offensive strategy towards Austria. There was to be a good road network for operations beyond the border and the defence of the Reschen/Resia and Brenner Passes was envisaged. The “Toblach/Dobbiaco Pass” was explicitly not

3 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (henceforth BSB), FILM R615-500, frame (henceforth f.) 675–683: SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942: Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine.

4 BSB FILM R615-228 f. 083–136. Ministero della Guerra – Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore – Ufficio Operazioni, Dec. 1927. La sistemazione difensiva delle nostre frontiere terrestri.

5 The border with Austria (later with the German Reich) and Switzerland: depending on the content of the documents, the term refers only to the section of the border with Germany, from the Reschen/Resia Pass to Tarvis/Tarvisio.

**Abb. 3:**

Karte aus dem Jahr 1924 mit den Waffensradien der Grenzschutz-Artillerie. Der Wirkungsbereich reicht über die Staatsgrenze hinaus, um Offensiven zu ermöglichen.

Fig. 3:

Map from 1924 showing the radii of the border guard artillery. To enable offensives, the range extends beyond the national border.

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Operationen jenseits der Grenze soll es ein gutes Straßennetz geben sowie die Verteidigung des Reschen- und Brennerpasses vorgesehen werden. Der „Pass von Toblach“ wird dabei explizit nicht als zu verteidigende Zone betrachtet. Es werden aber bereits die wichtigsten Einfallstraßen ausgemacht, die im alpinen Gebiet zu verteidigen sind – die später auch tatsächlich befestigt werden. Weiters ist die Rede von einer Organisation von Werken und anderen großen und kleinen Verteidigungselementen in Sperren, deren Anordnung an das jeweilige Gelände anzupassen ist. Auch wird schon umrissen, dass sich ein Werk aus Elementen wie Kommandoeinheit, Truppenunterkunft, Munitionslager, flankierenden Kampfständen, Nahverteidigung usw. zusammensetzen soll. Es wird erkannt, dass alles noch zu planen und baulich umzusetzen ist, was mit den aktuell verfügbaren finanziellen Ressourcen des Staates nicht zu bewerkstelligen war. Es wird daher empfohlen, ein Programm auszuarbeiten, das es ermöglicht, die Gesamtorganisation schrittweise zu vervollständigen. So wären schon vor Fertigstellung der gesamten Landesverteidigung einsatzfähige Elemente verfügbar, um eine Verteidigung sicherzustellen. Ein weiser Rat, dem zu folgen von Vorteil gewesen wäre, wie weiter unten ersichtlich wird.⁶

Erste Heeresrundschriften – sog. Circolari⁷ – folgen jedoch erst im Jahr 1931. Da wird das erste Circolare Nr. 200 herausgegeben: es enthält die Richtlinien für den Festungsbau im Gebirge. Hauptwaffe und Rückgrat der Verteidigung ist das Maschinengewehr,

⁶ Siehe Fußnote 4

⁷ Bei den "Circolari" handelt es sich um eine Reihe von Rundschreiben, die zwischen 1931 und 1941 vom Generalstab der königlichen italienischen Armee herausgegeben wurden und in denen die Merkmale des Systems zur ständigen Landesverteidigung der italienischen Grenzen entlang des Alpenbogens von Ventimiglia bis Fiume festgelegt wurden.

considered as a zone to be protected. However, the most important roads to be defended in the Alpine region had already been identified – and they would be fortified later. Furthermore, there was mention of an organisation of works and other large and small defensive elements in barriers, which were to be arranged and adapted to the respective terrain. It was also outlined that a structure should be composed of elements such as a command unit, accommodation for troops, ammunition depot, flanking battle stations, close defence, etc. It was recognised that everything had yet to be planned and implemented in terms of construction, which could not be done with the financial resources currently available to the state. It was therefore recommended that a programme be devised to enable the overall organisation to be completed in stages. In this way, certain operational elements would be available to ensure defence even before the entire national defence was completed. This was wise advice that would have been useful to follow, as will be seen below.⁶

The issue of the first army circulars, the “*Circolari*”⁷, commenced in 1931 with *Circolare no. 200*. This contained guidelines for the construction of fortifications in the mountains. The main weapon and backbone of the defence was the machine gun, whose battle stations were to be organised into small structures called “*centri*”.

The circular determined the first construction phase, from 1931–34, during which the first works were built at the three border crossings of Reschen/Resia, Brenner and Winnebach/Prato alla Drava.

1934–1938

After the First World War, Italy had an interest in a weak Austria that would act as a buffer state for Italy against Germany and that could not defend itself against an Italian attack.⁸

It was a declared Italian aim at this time to prevent the annexation of Austria by Germany, which would have resulted in a direct border between Italy and Germany. The relationship between Germany and Italy in the 1920s was very tense and characterised by mistrust. South Tyrol played a central role here: Germany supported irredentist organisations among German-speaking populations abroad. This also affected South Tyrol, described by Germany as a sentimental rather than a political issue. Italy feared a rapid resurgence of Germany, a “*risveglio tedesco* [German reawakening]”, and any consequent expansionist efforts towards South Tyrol.

Italy therefore intensified its efforts to Italianise the border territories. Legal decrees prohibited foreigners from buying land in Italy while, in the border area, expropriations were pushed through by the “*Ente di rinascita agraria delle Tre Venezie* [Organisation for the Agrarian Rebirth of the Tre Venezie region]” (ERA) in order to place the borderland under better control.

Hitler’s seizure of power in 1933, the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss in 1934 and the thwarted *Anschluss* led to huge tension with Germany, with Italy switching to offensive strategies in regard to Austria, not excluding an Italian invasion of Austria in order to assert its own interests.

⁶ See Footnote 4.

⁷ The “*Circolari*” were a series of circulars issued between 1931 and 1941 by the General Staff of the Royal Italian Army, defining the characteristics of the system of permanent national defence of the Italian borders along the Alpine arc, from Ventimiglia to Fiume.

⁸ AUSSME L1–100 bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, 16.08.1939: Promemoria – Sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera settentrionale: “(…) Sino al marzo 1938, non essendo l’Austria, Stato cuscinetto, in condizioni di opporsi ad una azione militare italiana, non esisteva un vero e proprio problema di sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera settentrionale. (...)”.

dessen Kampfstände in kleinen Werken zu organisieren waren, die man „Centri“ nannte.

Dieses Rundschreiben bestimmt die erste Bauphase von 1931–34, in der die ersten Werke an den drei Grenzübergängen Reschen, Brenner und Winnebach entstanden.

1934–1938

Italien hatte nach dem 1. WK Interesse an einem schwachen Staat Österreich, der für Italien als Pufferstaat zu Deutschland fungierte und der nicht in der Lage gewesen wäre, sich gegen einen Angriff Italiens zu erwehren.⁸

Es war ein erklärtes Ziel Italiens in dieser Zeit, den Anschluss Österreichs an Deutschland zu verhindern, der eine direkte Grenze Italiens mit Deutschland zur Folge gehabt hätte. Das Verhältnis zwischen Deutschland und Italien war in den 1920er Jahren sehr gespannt und von Misstrauen geprägt. Südtirol spielte dabei eine zentrale Rolle: Deutschland unterstützte irredentistische Organisationen deutschsprachiger Bevölkerungen im Ausland. Das betraf auch Südtirol, das von Deutschland nicht als politische, sondern als sentimentale Angelegenheit bezeichnet wurde. Italien befürchtete ein schnelles Wiedererstarken Deutschlands, einen sogenannten „risveglio tedesco“, und in der Folge Expansionsbestrebungen betreffend Südtirol.

Daher verstärkte Italien seine Bemühungen, das Grenzterritorium zu italianisieren. Rechtsverordnungen untersagten Ausländern den Kauf von Grundstücken in Italien und im Grenzbereich wurden über das „Ente di rinascita agraria delle Tre Venezie“ (ERA) Enteignungen vorantrieben, um den Grenzstreifen besser unter Kontrolle zu haben.

Die Machtergreifung Hitlers 1933, die Ermordung des österreichischen Kanzlers Dollfuß 1934 und der verhinderte Anschluss führten zu großen Spannungen mit Deutschland und dazu, dass Italien gegenüber Österreich zu offensiven Strategien überging, die auch einen italienischen Einmarsch in Österreich nicht ausschlossen, um die eigenen Interessen durchzusetzen.

In diesem Kontext entstehen ab 1934 bis in die Arbeitssaison 1935 neue Verteidigungsrichtlinien des Heeres für die österreichische Grenze, die hauptsächlich offensiven Überlegungen folgten.

Im selben Jahr führte das italienische Heer als Reaktion auf die Geschehnisse in Österreich auch Großmanöver in Südtirol durch. Aus den Richtlinien für die österreichische Grenze entstand im Jänner 1936 das Circolare 450, das nun erstmals auch ein zweites System vorsah.

Bis zum „Anschluss“ bestand kein Bedarf an einem größer angelegten Verteidigungssystem an der Grenze zu Österreich, die operativen Absichten waren offensiver Natur, so auch die Grenzbefestigungen.⁹ Bis Mai 1938 waren nur die sieben wichtigsten Grenzübergänge der Nordgrenze (Reschen, Brenner, Winnebach, Monte Croce Carnico, Coccau, Ratece und Predil)¹⁰ mit Werken gemäß Rundschreiben 200 abgesichert worden, um italienischen Offensiven die nötige Unterstützung bieten zu können. Zusätzlich entstanden

8 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, 16.08.1939: Promemoria – Sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera settentrionale: “[...] Sino al marzo 1938, non essendo l’Austria, Stato cuscinetto, in condizioni di opporsi ad una azione militare italiana, non esisteva un vero e proprio problema di sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera settentrionale. [...]”

9 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, 04.12.1939: Promemoria per S.E. Il Capo di SM dell’Esercito – Elementi di discussione per la riunione di mercoledì p.v. Seite 1. “[...] Sino all’Anschluss non fu sentita – data l’esistenza dell’Austria – la necessità di una sistemazione difensiva. Le nostre predisposizioni avevano essenzialmente carattere offensivo. [...]”

10 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, Mai 1938: Situazione politico militare alla frontiera settentrionale. Seite 1

In this context, new army defensive guidelines for the Austrian border were drawn up from 1934 and into the working season of 1935, which mainly followed offensive considerations.

In the same year, in response to the events in Austria, the Italian Army also conducted large-scale manoeuvres in South Tyrol. The guidelines for the Austrian border led to the issue of Circular no. 450 in January 1936, which now for the first time also provided for a second system.

Until the *Anschluss*, there was no need for a large-scale defensive system along the border with Austria; operational intentions were of an offensive nature, including the border fortifications.⁹ Until May 1938, only the seven most important border crossings on the northern border had been secured with works according to Circular no. 200 (Reschen/Resia, Brenner, Winnebach/Prato alla Drava, Monte Croce Carnico, Coccau, Ratece and Predil)¹⁰ in order to provide the necessary support for Italian offensives. In addition, numerous fortified barracks and military roads were built near the border, as well as a number of artillery positions.¹¹

The extent of the works planned and realised was still very limited at the end of 1936, there were a total of 13 completed works at the border crossings of Reschen/Resia (4), Brenner (6) and near Winnebach/Prato alla Drava (3), with a further 19 under construction. In addition, 21 fortified barracks and 22 dugouts were under construction at the same time.¹²

Two years later, at the end of the 1938 working season, the number of defensive positions under construction remained almost identical, with only the completion of these works more advanced: there were now a total of 26 completed works at the border crossings of Reschen/Resia (6), the Brenner (on the valley floor and up on the pass) (12), as well as at Winnebach/Prato alla Drava (5) and the first positions at Vierschach/Versciaco, at some distance from the border (3).¹³

On 15 March 1938, the long-feared *Anschluss* became a reality and with it a common border with Germany, stretching from Reschen/Resia to Tarvis/Tarvisio. In April Mussolini informed the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Pietro Badoglio, that the greatest danger to Italy now lay on its northern border, not the western or eastern borders, and that very serious measures now had to be taken.¹⁴

9 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, 04.12.1939: Promemoria per S.E. Il Capo di SM dell'Esercito – Elementi di discussione per la riunione di mercoledì p.v., p. 1. "[...] Sino all'Anschluss non fu sentita – data l'esistenza dell'Austria – la necessità di una sistemazione difensiva. Le nostre predisposizioni avevano essenzialmente carattere offensivo. [...]".

10 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, May 1938: Situazione politico militare alla frontiera settentrionale. P 1.

11 AUSSME L1–100bis: Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, 02.11.1939: Sintesi operativa. Parte Generale. P 6.

12 AUSSME L1–26: Comando Corpo Armata Bolzano, Ufficio Stato Maggiore: SPECCHIO "B", Allegato 2 al foglio 3871/2, 07.11.1936: Situazione dei lavori al termine della stagione lavorativa 1936. Pp. 1–6.

13 AUSSME L1–6. Comando IV Corpo d'Armata Bolzano, Ufficio Stato Maggiore, Prot. no. 02/262, 09.01.1939, Oggetto: Relazione lavori difensivi – Situazione grafica dei lavori difensivi alla fine della stagione lavorativa 1938.

14 Bernasconi/Muran, 2009. Il testimone di cemento. "Le fortificazioni del 'Vallo Alpino Littorio' in Cadore, Carnia e Tarvisiano." La Nuova Base Editrice, Udine. Allegato storico no. 1: Ufficio di S.E. il Capo di S.M. Generale, Prot. no. 3698/S, 27.04.1938: Situazione politico militare. "[...] Ieri il Duce mi ha chiamato a colloquio e mi ha fatto un prospetto della situazione politica generale. Da questo prospetto risulta che, mentre non dobbiamo avere preoccupazioni nè per la frontiera occidentale, nè per quella orientale, devono essere prese precauzioni molto serie alla frontiera nord. [...]".



Abb. 4:
Karte vom 3. Juni 1935 mit einem frühen Vorschlag für
eine Tiefenstaffelung der Verteidigung an der Nordgrenze

Fig. 4:
Map dated 3 June 1935 with early proposal for a defence
in depth on the northern frontier.



ORGANIZZAZIONE DIFENSIVA FRONTIERA NORD

PROPOSTA DAL COMANDO DESIGNATO D'ARMATA DI FIRENZE

- sbarramenti stradali
- posizione di resistenza
- capisaldi semipermanenti
- posizioni arretrate di arresto

in dieser Zeit auch viele befestigte Kasernen und Militärstraßen in Grenznähe, zusätzlich noch einige Artilleriestellungen.¹¹

Der Umfang der geplanten und realisierten Arbeiten war noch sehr überschaubar: Ende des Jahres 1936 gab es insgesamt 13 fertiggestellte Werke an den Grenzübergängen Reschen (4), Brenner (6) und bei Winnebach (3), weitere 19 waren in Bau. Zusätzlich befanden sich zur selben Zeit 21 befestigte Kasernen und 22 Unterstände in Bau.¹²

Zwei Jahr später, am Ende der Arbeitssaison 1938, umfasste der bauliche Bestand an Wehranlagen noch immer fast idente Zahlen, einzig die Fertigstellung der in Bau befindlichen Werke war etwas fortgeschritten: es gab nun insgesamt 26 fertiggestellte Werke an den Grenzübergängen Reschen (6), Brenner Talboden und Passhöhen (12), sowie bei Winnebach (5) und erste, von der Grenze etwas abgerückte, Anlagen bei Vierschach (3).¹³

Am 15.03.1938 wird der lange befürchtete „Anschluss“ Realität und mit ihm entsteht ein gemeinsamer Grenzbereich mit Deutschland, der vom Reschenpass bis Tarvis reicht. Noch im April unterrichtet Mussolini den Generalstabschef der Streitkräfte Pietro Badoglio, dass die größte Gefahr für Italien nun an der Nordgrenze liege, und nicht an der West- oder Ostgrenze und nun sehr ernste Maßnahmen ergriffen werden müssten.¹⁴

So kommt es mit dem „Anschluss“ – mit dem das befürchtete „risveglio tedesco“ nun vollzogen war – zum totalen Umbruch in der Militärstrategie: Italien rückt an der neuen Grenze vollständig von offensiven Konzepten ab und geht zu einer rein defensiven Ausrichtung der Landesverteidigung über. Ab hier beginnt das Heer mit der Ausarbeitung eines monumentalen Verteidigungssystems, das nunmehr aus drei in die Tiefe gestaffelten Systemen mit vielen Sperren und unzähligen Werken bestehen soll. Der genaue Umfang der Planungen in dieser Phase ist noch nicht genau nachvollziehbar, sie umfassen aber unzählige Sperren und viele hundert Werke. Die Annexion Österreichs wird somit zum Auslöser, den Vallo Alpino in jener gigantischen Dimension anzulegen, wie wir ihn heute kennen.

Als weitere Folge des Anschlusses entstehen im Juni 1938 auch Ergänzungen des Heeres-Rundschreibens Nr. 450, mit denen den neuen militärischen Anforderungen der Zeit begegnet werden sollte: höhere Feuerkraft und verstärkte Panzerabwehr. Doch das neue Rundschreiben Nr. 7000 vom Oktober 1938 trägt diesen Anforderungen nicht Rechnung und setzt erneut auf kleinere Werke mit Maschinengewehren als Hauptbewaffnung. Die beiden Richtlinien sind teilweise widersprüchlich und sorgen für Unklarheiten bei der Planung.¹⁵

11 AUSSME L1–100bis.: Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, 02.11.1939: Sintesi operativa. Parte Generale. Seite 6

12 AUSSME L1–26. Comando Corpo Armata Bolzano, Ufficio Stato Maggiore: SPECCHIO "B", Allegato 2 al foglio 3871/2 del 07.11.1936: Situazione dei lavori al termine della stagione lavorativa 1936, Seiten 1–6

13 AUSSME L1–6. Comando IV Corpo d'Armata Bolzano, Ufficio Stato Maggiore, Prot. Nr. 02/262 del 09.01.1939, Oggetto: Relazione lavori difensivi – Situazione grafica dei lavori difensivi alla fine della stagione lavorativa 1938

14 Bernasconi/Muran, 2009. Il testimone di cemento. "Le fortificazioni del 'Vallo Alpino Littorio' in Cadore, Carnia e Tarvisiano." La Nuova Base Editrice, Udine. Allegato storico n. 1: Ufficio di S.E. il Capo di S.M. Generale, Prot. Nr. 3698/S del 27.04.1938: Situazione politico militare. „[...] Ieri il Duce mi ha chiamato a colloquio e mi ha fatto un prospetto della situazione politica generale. Da questo prospetto risulta che, mentre non dobbiamo avere preoccupazioni nè per la frontiera occidentale, nè per quella orientale, devono essere prese precauzioni molto serie alla frontiera nord. [...]“

15 AUSSME L1–100bis. Comando IV Corpo d'Armata – Bolzano. Prot. Nr. 02/138, 17.01.1939: Promemoria di servizio per il Capo ufficio Operazioni, S. 1 ff.

Thus, the *Anschluss* – through which the feared “*risveglio tedesco*” was now complete – brought about a total change in military strategy: Italy completely abandoned its offensive concepts on the new border and switched to a purely defensive orientation of national security. From this point on the Army began work on a monumental defensive system, to consist of three in-depth, staggered systems featuring numerous barriers and works. The full extent of the plans in this phase cannot yet be exactly determined, but they included barriers and works in great numbers. The annexation of Austria thus triggered the construction of the Vallo Alpino and the gigantic dimensions we know today.

As a further consequence of the *Anschluss*, June 1938 saw supplements issued to Army Circular no. 450, intended to meet the new military requirements of the time: greater firepower and increased anti-tank defences. But the new Circular no. 7000 of October 1938 did not take these requirements into account and again relied on smaller works with machine guns as their main armament. The two directives are in part contradictory and resulted in ambiguity in planning.¹⁵

1939

A calculation by the War Ministry in mid-March 1939 estimated the funds needed to complete the defences on the Alpine borders at 370 million lire, of which 120 million lire were earmarked for the northern border, 190 million for the western border and 60 million for the eastern border.¹⁶

At the end of March 1939 the extraordinary administrative procedure for construction work was also ordered on the northern border; that on the border with France had been in place since the end of 1938.¹⁷ In April 1939, the Army Chief of Staff General Pariani was ordered to secure the borders and, in the same month, 120 million lire were requested for the defences on the northern border.

However, following the easing of tensions between Italy and Germany and the emergence of the Berlin-Rome Axis and the Pact of Steel on 22 May 1939, the War Ministry issued an order on 27 May to completely reassess the construction programme on the northern border and to reduce it to a minimum.¹⁸ The funds were cut from 120 to 35 million lire, with the construction programme downgraded accordingly and a complete turnaround in national defence initiated.¹⁹ For the time being, hardly any of the enormous fortification works on the northern border were built, with the exception of the border section near Tarvis/Tarvisio.²⁰ The funds thus released would be used instead on the western border and work there accelerated.²¹

15 AUSSME L1–100bis. Comando IV Corpo d’Armata – Bolzano. Prot. no. 02/138, 17.01.1939: Promemoria di servizio per il Capo ufficio Operazioni. P. 1 ff.

16 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 5, 18.03.1939: Completamento Organizzazione Difensiva delle Frontiere Alpine. P. 1.

17 AUSSME M3–291. Ministero della Guerra, Direzione Generale del Genio Militare, Divisione lavori sezione 3, Prot. no. 13894/S, 29.03.1939: Completamento organizzazione difensiva alle frontiere alpine. Signed G.Dall’Ora “... Per la frontiera Nord, a conferma ordini impartiti verbalmente, dovrà adottarsi la procedura amministrativa eccezionale già in atto alla frontiera occidentale ...”.

18 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 5, Prot. no. 5474, 27.05.1939: Riduzione programma lavori alle frontiere settentrionale ed orientale. Ampliamento Programma lavori alla frontiera occidentale.

19 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 5a, 30.06.1939: Promemoria per il Capo di S.M.: Completamento Organizzazione Difensiva delle Frontiere Alpine.

20 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, Promemoria, 16.08.1939: Sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera settentrionale. P. 2.

21 See Footnote 19, p. 1

1939

Der Bedarf an Mitteln zur Vervollständigung der Landesverteidigung an den Alpengrenzen wird laut einer Berechnung des Kriegsministeriums Mitte März 1939 mit 370 Mio. Lire angegeben, davon waren 120 Mio. für die Nordgrenze, 190 Mio. für die Westgrenze und 60 Mio. für die Ostgrenze vorgesehen.¹⁶

Ende März 1939 wird auch an der Nordgrenze das außerordentliche Verwaltungsverfahren für Bauarbeiten angeordnet, das an der Grenze zu Frankreich bereits seit Ende 1938 in Anwendung war.¹⁷ Im April 1939 erhält Generalstabschef der Armee Pariani den Auftrag, die Grenzen zu sichern und noch im gleichen Monat werden 120 Mio. Lire für das Verteidigungssystem an der Nordgrenze angefragt.

Doch infolge der Entspannung des Verhältnisses zwischen Italien und Deutschland und der Entstehung der *Achse Berlin-Rom* sowie dem Stahlpakt am 22. Mai 1939, ergeht noch am 27. Mai der Befehl des Kriegsministeriums, das Bauprogramm der Nordgrenze vollkommen neu zu bewerten und auf ein Minimum zu reduzieren.¹⁸ Die Mittel werden von 120 auf 35 Mio. Lire gekürzt, das Bauprogramm entsprechend reduziert und eine vollkommene Kehrtwende in der Landesverteidigung eingeleitet.¹⁹ Von den gewaltigen Befestigungsmaßnahmen an der Nordgrenze wird vorerst kaum etwas umgesetzt, bis auf den Grenzabschnitt bei Tarvis.²⁰ Die freigewordenen Mittel kommen dafür an der Westgrenze zum Einsatz und die Arbeiten werden dort beschleunigt.²¹

So entstehen an der Nordgrenze in den Jahren von 1931 bis Ende August 1939, trotz der enormen Planungen, insgesamt nur zirka 60 Werke, die zu diesem Zeitpunkt teilweise sogar noch in Bau sind.²²

Mitte August 1939, am Höhepunkt einer europäischen Krise, kommt es erneut zu einem außergewöhnlichen Kurswechsel: der DUCE ordnet die „absolute Unverletzlichkeit der Vaterlandsgrenzen“ an und erteilt weitere Befehle²³, die Staatssekretär Soddu so wiedergibt: *„[...]bis Ende Mai 1940 muss die dritte Verteidigungslinie an der Nord- und Nordostgrenze fertig sein. Bis dahin muss mir ein Ausschuss von Generälen schriftlich versichern, dass die Linie im absoluten Sinne des Wortes hermetisch abriegelt. Im Laufe des Sommers muss dasselbe für die zweite Linie getan werden. Das heißt aber nicht, dass die erste Linie nicht auch entsprechend berücksichtigt werden muss.“*²⁴ Italien will vor einem

16 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 5, 18.03.1939: Completamento Organizzazione Difensiva delle Frontiere Alpine. S. 1

17 AUSSME M3–291. Ministero della Guerra, Direzione Generale del Genio Militare, Divisione lavori sezione 3, Prot. Nr. 13894/S del 29.03.1939: Completamento organizzazione difensiva alle frontiere alpine. Gezeichnet G. Dall’Ora „[...] Per la frontiera Nord, a conferma ordini impartiti verbalmente, dovrà adottarsi la procedura amministrativa eccezionale già in atto alla frontiera occidentale[...]“

18 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 5, Prot. Nr. 5474 del 27.05.1939: Riduzione programma lavori alle frontiere settentrionale ed orientale. Ampliamento Programma lavori alla frontiera occidentale

19 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 5a, 30.06.1939: Promemoria per il Capo di S. M.: Completamento Organizzazione Difensiva delle Frontiere Alpine

20 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, Promemoria, 16.08.1939: Sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera settentrionale. S. 2

21 Siehe 19, S. 1

22 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, Keine Protokoll Nr., 07.12.1939: Lavori alla frontiera nord

23 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, 02.11.1939, Parte generale, Sintesi operativa, S. 6.

24 BSB FILM-R615-500 f. 675–683. Stato Maggiore Regio Esercito (ab hier SMRE), Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942: Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine: „[...]per la fine maggio 1940, la terza linea difensiva della frontiera nord e nord-est deve essere pronta. Per quell’epoca una commissione di generali deve assicurarmi

Thus, in all the years from 1931 to the end of August 1939, despite enormous planning efforts, a total of only some 60 works were built on the northern border, some of which were still under construction even by that date.²²

In mid-August 1939, at the height of the European crisis, there was another extraordinary change of course: the Duce ordered the “absolute inviolability of the fatherland’s borders” and issued further orders²³, as given by State Secretary Soddu: “[...] By the end of May 1940, the third line of defence on the north and north-east frontier must be ready. By that time a committee of generals must assure me in writing that the line is hermetically sealed in the absolute sense of the term. In the course of the summer the same must be done for the second. This does not mean that the first line should not also be considered.”²⁴ Before entering the war, Italy wanted to use its available labour resources as fully as possible to close its borders by the end of May.

On 14 September 1939, the War Ministry ordered that work be accelerated to the utmost and that extraordinary measures be taken to carry out the work. The measures concerned the contractors who, among other things, benefited from surcharges for speeding up their work, free winter equipment, support by military workers or reliefs such as free choice in their workers’ region of origin, exemption from closure on public holidays, etc.²⁵ Subsequently, funding was increased from 7 million lire back up to 53 million lire, with an updated version of the original construction programme introduced.²⁶ A comprehensive expansion of the defensive system was still possible – on condition that work was carried out in an expedited manner and was also as far as possible continued during the winter months.

The defence was now to consist of three systems, the first serving to protect the border and delay attacks, while the second system represented the actual defence. The distance between these systems was chosen so that any attacker would be forced to redeploy his artillery, meaning a gain in time for the defence. The third system was to serve as a backup.²⁷

At the beginning of November, Mussolini explicitly demanded an intensification of work on the rear systems in particular.²⁸

By the beginning of December 1939, the number of works completed or under construction had risen from 60 to 355,²⁹ with 75 fortified barracks and 29 dugouts. At this

22 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, no Prot. no., 07.12.1939: Lavori alla frontiera nord.

23 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2, 02.11.1939, Parte generale, Sintesi operativa. P. 6.

24 BSB FILM-R615-500 f. 675–683. Stato Maggiore Regio Esercito (henceforth SMRE), Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942: Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine: “[...] per la fine maggio 1940, la terza linea difensiva della frontiera nord e nord-est deve essere pronta. Per quell’epoca una commissione di generali deve assicurarmi per iscritto che la linea è ermetica nel senso più assoluto del termine. Nel corso dell’estate si dovrà fare altrettanto per la seconda. Questo non significa che non si debba curare anche la prima linea.”

25 AUSSME M3–291. Ministero della Guerra, Direzione Generale del Genio Militare, Divisione 2, Lavori sezione 1, Prot. no. 27683/S, 06.10.1939: Completamento sistemazione difensiva frontiera nord. P. 1

26 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, no Prot. no., 07.12.1939: Lavori alla frontiera nord.

27 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, Prot. no. 14311, 07.12.1939: Sistemazione difensiva frontiera nord.

28 AUSSME L1–86. Ministero della Guerra, Gabinetto, Prot. no. 110966, 14.11.1939: Sbarramenti arretrati Alto Adige.

29 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, no Prot. no., 07.12.1939: Lavori alla frontiera nord.

Kriegseintritt die verfügbaren Arbeitsressourcen nutzen, um bis Ende Mai mit aller Kraft seine Grenzen dicht zu machen.

Am 14. September 1939 befiehlt das Kriegsministerium, die Arbeiten aufs Äußerste zu beschleunigen und außergewöhnliche Maßnahmen zur Durchführung der Arbeiten umzusetzen. Die Maßnahmen betreffen die Baufirmen, die u. a. in den Genuss von Aufschlägen für die Beschleunigung der Arbeiten, kostenlose Winterausrüstung, Unterstützung durch militärische Arbeitskräfte kommen oder Erleichterungen, wie freie Wahl über die Herkunftsregion der Arbeiter, Befreiung von der Feiertagsruhe u. a. erhalten.²⁵ In der Folge werden die Mittel von den 7 Mio. Lire wieder auf 53 Mio. Lire aufgestockt und eine aktualisierte Version des ursprünglichen Bauprogramms aufgenommen.²⁶ So kommt es doch noch zu einem umfassenden Ausbau der Verteidigung – mit der Auflage, die Arbeiten im Eilverfahren durchzuführen und auch in den Wintermonaten bis zur Grenze des Möglichen zu arbeiten.

Die Verteidigung soll nun aus drei Systemen bestehen, in dem das erste dem Grenzschutz dient und Angriffe verzögern soll, und das zweite System die eigentliche Verteidigung darstellt. Der räumliche Abstand der Systeme ist so gewählt, dass ein Angreifer zur Neuaufrüstung der Artillerie gezwungen wird, was einen Zeitgewinn für die Verteidigung bedeutet. Das dritte System soll als Sicherung dienen.²⁷

Anfang November wünscht Mussolini explizit, dass insbesondere die Arbeiten an den hinteren Sperren intensiviert werden sollen.²⁸

Schon bis Anfang Dezember 1939 steigt die Anzahl der fertiggestellten und in Bau befindlichen Werke von 60 auf 355,²⁹ 75 befestigte Kasernen und 29 Unterstände. Die Planungen belaufen sich zu dieser Zeit auf eine ungefähre Zahl von über tausend Bunkerpositionen. Einige werden wieder verworfen, aber immerhin zirka 800 Positionen weiterverfolgt, für manche davon werden auch Vorprojekte ausgearbeitet. Der dafür notwendige, am 04.12.1939 vom „Ufficio Lavori“ vorgelegte, grob ermittelte Kostenrahmen, beläuft sich auf 370 Mio. Lire allein für die Nordgrenze.³⁰

Am 15.12.1939 wird das sogenannte „Comando Presidio Monti“ unter der Leitung von Edoardo Monti gegründet und ihm die Leitung der Bauarbeiten an der Nordgrenze überantwortet.³¹ Das „Comando Presidio Monti“ bleibt bis Ende August 1940 bestehen und unter seiner Führung entsteht der Hauptteil der Arbeiten des Vallo Alpino in Südtirol, wie wir ihn heute kennen.

per iscritto che la linea è ermetica nel senso più assoluto del termine. Nel corso dell'estate si dovrà fare altrettanto per la seconda. Questo non significa che non si debba curare anche la prima linea.”

25 AUSSME M3–291. Ministero della Guerra, Direzione Generale del Genio Militare, Divisione 2, Lavori sezione 1, Prot. Nr. 27683/S del 06.10.1939: Completamento sistemazione difensiva frontiera nord. S. 1

26 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, Keine Protokoll Nr., 07.12.1939: Lavori alla frontiera nord

27 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, Prot. Nr. 14311 del 07.12.1939: Sistemazione difensiva frontiera nord

28 AUSSME L1–86. Ministero della Guerra, Gabinetto, Prot. Nr. 110966 del 14.11.1939: Sbarramenti arretrati Alto Adige

29 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, Keine Protokoll Nr., 07.12.1939: Lavori alla frontiera nord

30 AUSSME L1–100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, 04.12.1939: Promemoria per S.E. Il Capo di SM dell'Esercito – Oggetto: Elementi di discussione per la riunione di mercoledì p.v.

31 AUSSME M3–423. Comando Presidio Gallo, Prot. Nr. 1432/S, Oktober 1940: Lavori difensivi alla frontiera nord

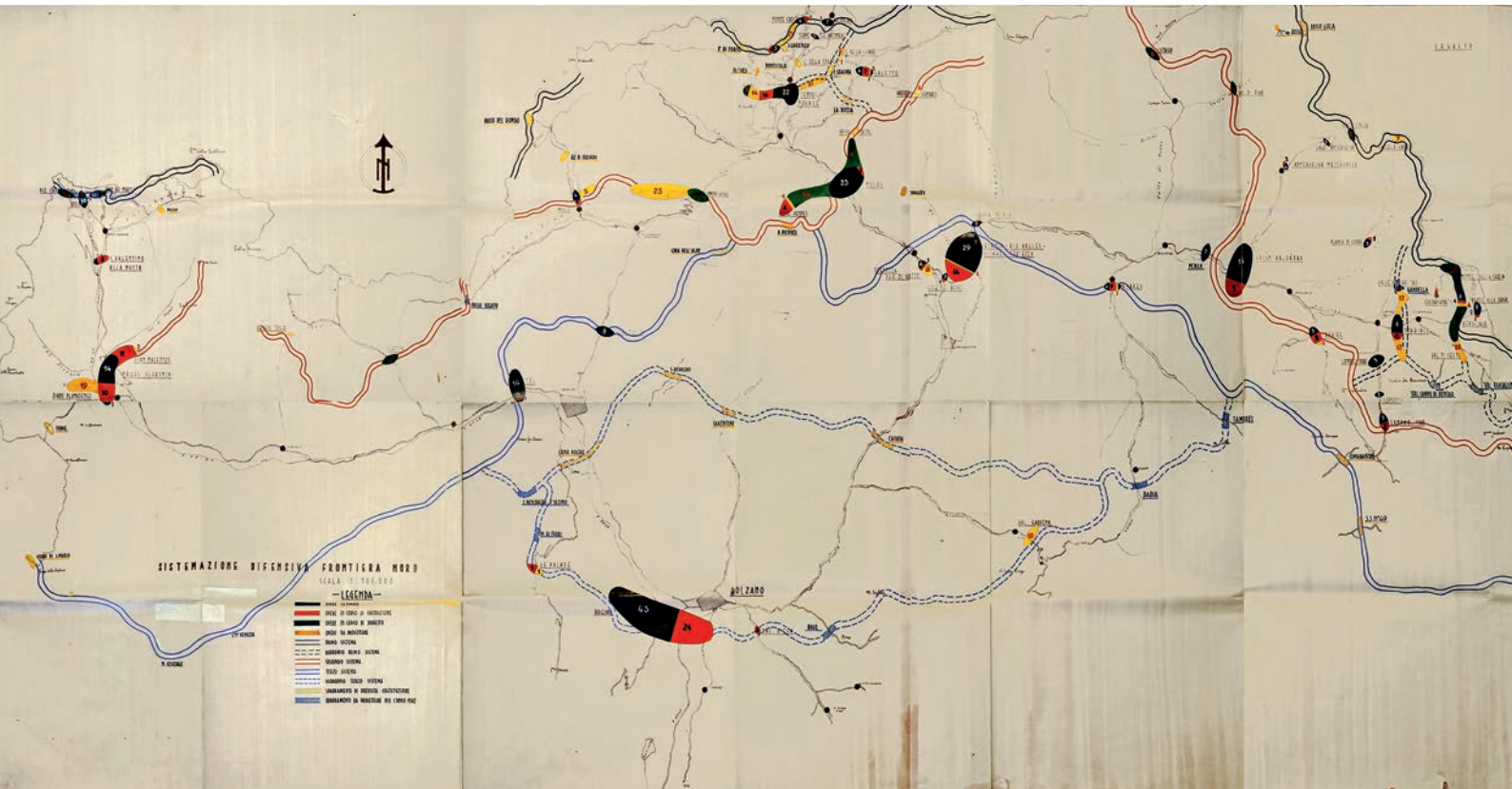


Abb. 5:
Verteidigungsanlagen
an der Nordgrenze,
April 1942: Karte mit
den drei Sperrgürteln
in Südtirol

Fig. 5:
Defences on the
northern frontier,
April 1942: Map
showing the three
defensive belts in
South Tyrol.

© AUSSME M3-528

time, the plans roughly amounted to over one thousand bunker positions. Some of these were given up, but at least 800 positions were pursued further, with preliminary designs also worked out for some. The rough cost estimate for this presented by the *“Ufficio Lavori”* on 4 December 1939 amounted to 370 million lire for the northern border alone.³⁰

On 15 December 1939 the so-called *“Comando Presidio Monti”* was established under the leadership of Edoardo Monti, who was put in charge of construction work on the northern border.³¹ The *“Comando Presidio Monti”* continued in existence until the end of August 1940: the majority of the works of the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol as we know it today were realised under its leadership.

1940

The construction work started in winter, before the start of the actual working season, and was carried out in a rush with great pressure exerted on the contractors by the military authorities. Work commenced wherever weather conditions permitted.

Regarding the feasibility of the construction programme, the Chief of the General Staff, Graziani, wrote to General Monti that, given the shortage of time and the contingent availability of materials, priorities must be set to achieve a complete national defence. In the first phase, up to May 1940, therefore, all resources were to be used for the construction of the barriers in all three belts. In the second phase, in summer 1940, all labour was to be set to completing a defensive front that would in part depend on

30 AUSSME L1-100bis. Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1 – Sezione 2a, 04.12.1939: Promemoria per S.E. Il Capo di S.M. dell'Esercito – Oggetto: Elementi di discussione per la riunione di mercoledì p.v.

31 AUSSME M3-423. Comando Presidio Gallo, Prot. no. 1432/S, October 1940: Lavori difensivi alla frontiera nord.

1940

Die Bauarbeiten beginnen noch im Winter vor Beginn der eigentlichen Arbeitssaison und werden im Eilverfahren und unter großem Druck der Militärbehörde auf die Baufirmen durchgeführt. Die Arbeiten beginnen überall dort, wo die klimatischen Bedingungen es zulassen.

Der Chef des Generalstabs Graziani schreibt hinsichtlich der Machbarkeit des Bauprogramms an General Monti, dass es angesichts der Zeitknappheit und der kontingierten Verfügbarkeit von Materialien eine Priorisierung geben muss, um das Erreichen einer vollständigen Landesverteidigung zu ermöglichen. In einer ersten Phase bis Mai 1940 sollen daher alle Mittel für den Bau der Sperren aller drei Gürtel eingesetzt werden. In der zweiten Phase im Sommer 1940 soll der gesamte Arbeitseinsatz dafür aufgewendet werden, eine Verteidigungsfront zu vervollständigen, die sich teils am ersten und teils am zweiten Gürtel anlehnt, und die beiden stellenweise miteinander verbindet.³² Dieses Ziel sollte dann in gänzlich anderer Form erreicht werden, wie sich im weiteren Verlauf zeigen wird.

Man arbeitet an allen drei Sperrgürteln gleichzeitig, doch mit den verfügbaren Mitteln, Zeit und Arbeitskräften kann jedoch kein Gürtel zur Gänze fertiggestellt werden.³³ Das Ziel Mussolinis, bis Ende Mai 1940 mit dem dritten Gürtel fertig zu werden, wird nicht erreicht. Laut Unterstaatssekretär Soddu ordnet Mussolini in einem Bericht am 11. Mai vorerst nur an, die Arbeiten an der West-, Nord- und der Schweizer Grenze fortzuführen und an der Ostgrenze keine neuen Arbeiten zu beginnen.³⁴ Die Arbeiten an dem gigantischen Verteidigungswall laufen den Sommer über weiter auf Hochtouren und der Vallo Alpino nimmt allmählich Konturen an.

Der monumentale Umfang der Bauarbeiten, die in den wenigen Monaten unter Montis Bauführung umgesetzt wurden, wird besonders deutlich, wenn man die Ausgaben für den Vallo Alpino von 1931 bis 1939 mit jenen aus dem Jahr 1940 vergleicht: Vor 1940 wurde insgesamt zirka eine Milliarde Lire ausgegeben, davon ergingen 627 Mio. Lire an die westliche Grenze, 186 Mio. Lire an die Nordgrenze und die an Ostgrenze 231 Mio. Lire. Allein die Mittelzuweisung vom Februar 1940 übersteigt die gesamten bisherigen Ausgaben fast um das Doppelte: sie belaufen sich auf 1.900 Millionen Lire. Davon war eine Milliarde Lire für die Nordgrenze vorgesehen, 600 Mio. Lire für die Westgrenze und 300 Mio. Lire für die Ostgrenze. Dieser enormen Summe folgt im gleichen Jahr fast nochmal so viel, und zwar Mittel im Umfang von 1,6 Milliarden Lire.

Die Gesamtausgaben des Vallo Alpino belaufen sich in Summe auf zirka 4,5 Milliarden Lire, das Heer ordnet die Mittel den verschiedenen Grenzbereichen wie folgt zu: Westliche Grenze 1.380 Millionen, Nördliche Grenze 1.650 Millionen, Ostgrenze 970 Millionen.³⁵

Am Ende der Arbeitssaison 1940 wird der Baufortschritt der Befestigungsarbeiten in Südtirol so aufgezeichnet: 60 fertiggestellte, 296 in Bau befindliche und noch weitere

32 AUSSME M3–389. Ministero della Guerra, Comando Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2/a. Prot. Nr. 461 del 15.01.1940, S. 1: Organizzazione difensiva alla frontiera nord. „[...] Nel 2° tempo (stagione lavorativa estiva 1940) tutti gli sforzi saranno concentrati al completamento di un fronte per lo schieramento difensivo. [...]“

33 AUSSME L1–193. SMRE, Ufficio Sottocapo Stato Maggiore, 08.03.1941, Prot. Nr. 425 Segreto: Fortificazione permanente alle frontiere alpine [...], S. 2: „[...] si è quindi lavorato su tutti i tre sistemi contemporaneamente cosicchè oggi nessuno di essi è completo [...]“

34 AUSSME L1–193. Ministero della Guerra – Gabinetto, 24.05.1940, Protokoll Nr. 120189: Lavori di fortificazione alle frontiere

35 BSB FILM-R615-500 f. 675–683. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942: Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine

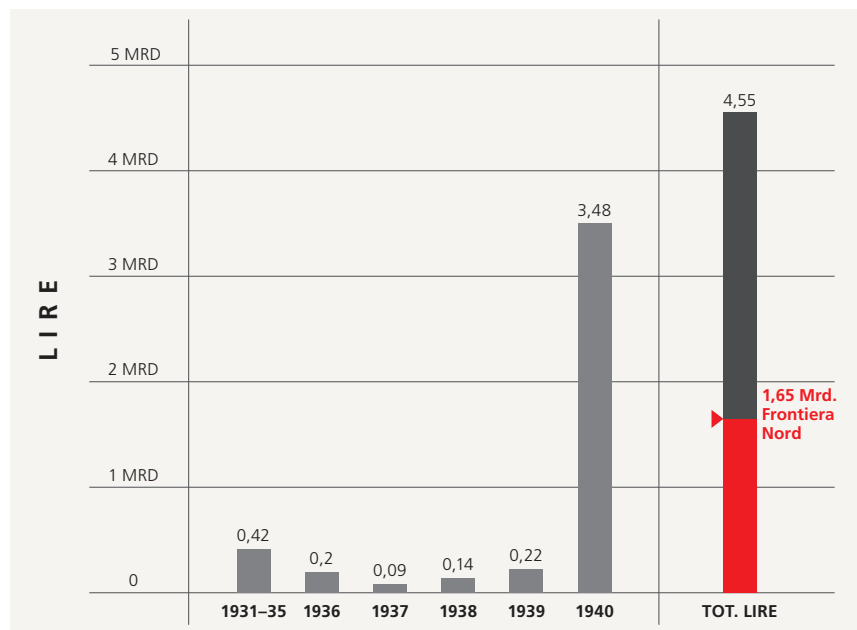
Abb. 6:

Säulendiagramm zur chronologischen Entwicklung der für den Vallo Alpino vorgesehenen Mittel

Fig. 6:

Bar chart of the chronological development of the funds earmarked for the Vallo Alpino.

© Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste



the first and in part on the second belt, in places connecting the two.³² This goal should then be achieved in a completely different form, as will become clear below.

Work continued on all three belts at the same time but, with the resources, time and manpower available, none of them could be fully completed.³³ Mussolini's objective, of completing the third belt by the end of May 1940, was not met. According to Undersecretary of State Soddu, in a report of 11 May Mussolini ordered that for the time being work was only to continue on the western, northern and Swiss borders, with no new work started on the eastern border.³⁴ Work on the gigantic defensive wall continued at pace throughout the summer and the Vallo Alpino gradually took shape.

The monumental scale of the construction works realised in the few months under Monti's leadership becomes particularly clear when the expenditure on the Vallo Alpino from 1931 to 1939 is compared with that of 1940. Before 1940, a total of around 1 billion lire was spent, of which 627 million went to the western border, 186 million to the northern border and 231 million to the eastern border. The allocation of funds for February 1940 alone almost doubled the total expenditure to that date, amounting to 1.9 billion lire. Of this, 1 billion was earmarked for the northern border, 600 million for the western border and 300 million for the eastern border. This enormous sum was followed by almost as much again in the same year, with funds amounting to 1.6 billion lire.

Total expenditure on the Vallo Alpino amounted to approx. 4.5 billion lire, with the army allocating the funds to the various border areas as follows: western border 1.38 billion; northern border 1.65 billion; eastern border 970 million.³⁵

32 AUSSME M3-389. Ministero della Guerra, Comando Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2/a. Prot. no. 461, 15.01.1940, p. 1: Organizzazione difensiva alla frontiera nord. "[...] Nel 2° tempo (stagione lavorativa estiva 1940) tutti gli sforzi saranno concentrati al completamento di un fronte per lo schieramento difensivo. [...]".

33 AUSSME L1-193. SMRE, Ufficio Sottocapo Stato Maggiore, 08.03.1941, Prot. no. 425 Segreto: Fortificazione permanente alle frontiere alpine [...], P. 2: "[...] si è quindi lavorato su tutti i tre sistemi contemporaneamente cosicchè oggi nessuno di essi è completo [...]".

34 AUSSME L1-193. Ministero della Guerra - Gabinetto, 24.05.1940, Prot. no. 120189: Lavori di fortificazione alle frontiere.

35 BSB FILM-R615-500 f. 675-683. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942: Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine.

392 vorgesehene Werke – eine Gesamtzahl von 748 Werken.³⁶ Wie wenig vom eigentlichen Bauprogramm umgesetzt wurde, macht eine Aktennotiz der Nachfolgeorganisation des „Comando Presidio Monti“, die sogenannte „Commissione Difesa Palma“, vom 03.10.1940 deutlich, die für den Generalstab verfasst wird. Darin ist die Anzahl der geplanten Werke des ersten Systems im Grenzbereich bei Winnebach mit 148 beziffert, wovon bis zu diesem Tag ganze 19 Werke realisiert sind.³⁷

Diese niedrige Quote ist angesichts der Größe des Bauvorhabens jedoch etwas trügerisch: in nur wenigen Monaten ist ein Bauwerk von noch nie dagewesener Größe entstanden, welches denselben Betonverbrauch aufweist, wie der Abschnitt der Brennerautobahn A22 von Salurn bis zum Brenner. Die Leistung der Baufirmen ist aus mehrerlei Hinsicht beachtlich: die technischen Mittel der Zeit waren bescheiden und es wurden organisatorische und logistische Meisterleistungen erbracht, um den Materialaufwand zu bewältigen und die Arbeitskraft von tausenden Arbeitern zu koordinieren.

Die Bauarbeiten an der Nordgrenze werden mit Ende der Bausaison 1940 eingestellt. Erneut sind es politische Gründe, die sich auf den Bau auswirken: man wollte den Bündnispartner, vor dem die blamablen Bautätigkeiten nicht zu verbergen waren, nicht weiter irritieren. Italien versucht erfolglos, die Arbeiten zu vertuschen, doch der „Völkische Kampfring Südtirols“ bzw. seine Nachfolgeorganisation „Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Optanten“, unterstützen das – auch fotografische – Auskundschaften der Bauarbeiten. In den so entstandenen Spionagefotografien³⁸, aber auch mit freiem Auge, waren die landschaftlichen Spuren dieses gigantischen Bauwerks allorts unübersehbar: großflächige Aushubarbeiten und Lagerungen von Aushubmaterial im Gelände, eigens angelegte Schottergruben, Steinbrüche, Gleistrassen für Feldbahnloren, Trassen für Schwerlast-Materialeilbahnen, provisorische Straßen, Elektroleitungen, Wasserleitungen, Materiallager für Zement, Holz, die Zuschlagstoffe von Beton – und nicht zuletzt die plötzliche Anwesenheit von tausenden italienischen Bauarbeitern aus anderen Regionen Italiens, die besonders nach Auszahlung ihres Solds gern in die Wirtshäuser der Dörfer strömten, wo sie dann häufig lauthals italienische Lieder sangen, wie Zeitzeugen berichten.

Die Bauarbeiten selbst und die Anwesenheit der Arbeiter hatten positive Auswirkungen auf das lokale Wirtschaftstreiben, zumindest in den Gegenden der Baustellen florierete das Geschäft. So berichtete beispielsweise die Inhaberin einer Gemischtwarenhandlung in Mühlbach von enorm hoher Nachfrage nach Brillantine durch die Bauarbeiter, die ihre staubigen Haare nach Feierabend gern in Form bringen wollten. Um der Nachfrage nachzukommen, wurden Paletten an Brillantine bestellt.

Ein weiterer positiver Aspekt aus der Bauphase ist durch Dokumente und deckungsgleiche Zeitzeugenaussagen belegt: es hat in Südtirol in der gesamten Bauphase keine Zwangsarbeit gegeben. Die zivilen Baufirmen haben ihre Arbeiter selbst requiriert und ordnungsgemäß bezahlt. Für die Unterkunft der tausenden Arbeiter wurden eigene Baracken errichtet oder umliegende Gebäude von Ansässigen angemietet. Zur Verpflegung der Arbeiter gab es eigene Küchenbaracken, in denen vorzügliche Maccheroni zubereitet wurden, von denen Zeitzeugen aus verschiedensten Gegenden Südtirols schwärmten.

36 AUSSME M3–389. XIX Corpo d'Armata: Situazione grafica lavori difensivi – Fine stagione lavorativa 1940

37 AUSSME M3–389. Commissione Difesa Palma, Prot. Nr. 1013/S del 03.10.1940: Sistemazione difensiva del settore Drava – primo sistema

38 Bernasconi/Prünster, "L'occhio indiscreto", S. 58–161. Curcu & Genovese, Trento, 2016

At the end of the 1940 working season, progress on the fortifications in South Tyrol was as follows: 60 completed works, 296 works under construction and another 392 works planned – a total of 748 works.³⁶ How little of the actual construction programme was actually implemented is made clear by a memo dated 3 October 1940 from the successor organisation to the *“Comando Presidio Monti”*, the so-called *“Commissione Difesa Palma”*, which was written for the General Staff. In it, the number of planned works of the first system in the border area near Winnebach/Prato alla Drava is put at 148, of which only 19 works had been completed by that date.³⁷

This low number was, however, somewhat deceptive in view of the size of the project: in just a few months, a system of unprecedented size was built, consuming the same amount of concrete as the building of the A22 Brenner motorway from Salurn/Salorno up to the Brenner Pass. The contractors produced remarkable achievements from several points of view: the technical means of the time were modest, while major logistical and organisational feats were performed to cope with the amount of material and coordinate the labour of thousands of workers.

Construction work on the northern border ceased at the end of the building season in 1940. Once again, political reasons influenced these activities: Italy did not want to further annoy its German ally, from whom the embarrassing construction activities could not be concealed. The Italians tried unsuccessfully to cover up the work, but the organisation known as the *“Völkischer Kampfring Südtirol”* and its successor, the *“Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Optanten”*, assisted the Germans in observing the construction work, including by taking photographs. The resulting spy photographs³⁸ – and even the naked eye – provided unmistakable proof of the widespread traces left in the landscape by these gigantic construction works: large-scale excavation work and storage of the excavated material nearby, purpose-built gravel pits, quarries, tracks for light railways, heavy-duty material cableways, temporary roads, electricity lines, water pipes, material depots for cement, wood, aggregates for concrete – and, last but not least, the sudden presence of thousands of Italian-speaking construction workers from other regions of Italy, who (especially after payment of their wages) gladly flocked to the various village inns where they would often sing Italian songs at the top of their voices, as contemporary witnesses report.

The construction work itself and the presence of the workers had a positive impact on the local economy; business flourished, at least in the areas around the construction sites. For example, the owner of a general store in Mühlbach/Rio di Pusteria reported an enormous demand for Brilliantine by the workers, who were eager to smarten up their hair after their dusty work. Pallets of Brilliantine were ordered to meet their needs.

Another positive aspect from the construction phase is shown by documents and consistent eyewitness accounts: there was no forced labour in South Tyrol during the entire period of construction. The civilian contractors found workers themselves and paid them properly. The many thousands of workers were housed in their own barracks or in nearby buildings rented from local people. The workers were fed in their own barracks kitchens, which served excellent macaroni – as witnesses from various parts of South Tyrol would attest.

36 AUSSME M3–389. XIX Corpo d’Armata: Situazione grafica lavori difensivi – Fine stagione lavorativa 1940.

37 AUSSME M3–389. Commissione Difesa Palma, Prot. no. 1013/S, 03.10.1940: Sistemazione difensiva del settore Drava – primo sistema.

38 Bernasconi/Prünster, *“L’occhio indiscreto”*, pp. 58–161. Curcu & Genovese, Trento, 2016.



Abb. 6a:
Zeitzeugin Irma
Pramstaller-
Oberhammer ca. 1940
in Olang, im Hinter-
grund ein Bauarbeiter
und Baubaracken
einer nahegelegenen
Bunkerbaustelle.

Fig. 6a:
Contemporary witness
Irma Pramstaller-
Oberhammer ca. 1940
in Olang/Valdaora,
in the background
a worker and
construction barracks
for a nearby bunker
construction site.

© Irma Pramstaller-Oberhammer

Das monumentale Baugeschehen an der deutschen Grenze ist umso verwunderlicher, als Hitler-Deutschland gegenüber Italien mehrfach versicherte, die Brennergrenze nicht antasten zu wollen und erst im Oktober 1939 die sogenannte „Südtiroler Option“³⁹ beschlossen worden war. Vor diesem Hintergrund wirken die Bauten wie physische Belege für das Misstrauen Mussolinis gegen Hitler-Deutschland. Wohl aus dieser Zeit stammt der im Volksmund geläufige Spitzname für den Vallo Alpino: „Linea non mi fido“.

Der Bau von Verteidigungsanlagen dieses Ausmaßes gegen einen Verbündeten bleibt in Europa ein Einzelfall und das vorrangigste Alleinstellungsmerkmal des Vallo Alpino an seiner Nordgrenze.

1941

Von den Plänen, den Vallo Alpino doch noch fertigzustellen, wird vorerst nicht abgesehen. Nach der ersten großen Bausaison 1940 herrscht im Jahr 1941 aber eine allgemeine Unschlüssigkeit über das weitere Vorgehen und den Umfang der Arbeiten, die noch folgen sollen, wobei immer auch die Sorge um den Bündnispartner eine Rolle spielt.

Ende Februar beschreibt der Generalstab des Heeres den Stand der Bauarbeiten und ihrer Finanzierung und gibt die Befehle zum weiteren Bau aus: die Arbeiten sollen generell stark verlangsamt werden. Es sollen nur jene Arbeiten weitergeführt werden, die der Fertigstellung des zweiten der drei Sperrgürtel dienen. An den anderen Gürteln soll nur dort weitergemacht werden, wo ein Abbruch der Arbeiten wegen der Pönale kostspieliger als die Fortführung wäre. Alle übrigen laufenden Verträge sollen aufgelöst werden. Die Gesamtsumme der bereitgestellten Mittel für die „Frontiera Germanica“ beziffert er

³⁹ „Die Option bezeichnet eine vom faschistischen Italien und nationalsozialistischen Deutschland ausgehandelte Wahlmöglichkeit, die die deutsch- und ladinischsprachige Bevölkerung Italiens, also hauptsächlich die Bevölkerung des heutigen Südtirol, vor folgende Entscheidung stellte: entweder Option für das Deutsche Reich mit anschließender Emigration oder Verbleib in Italien. [...]“ Wikipedia, Eintrag: Option in Südtirol (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Option_in_S%C3%BCdtirol), abgerufen am 22.01.2022)

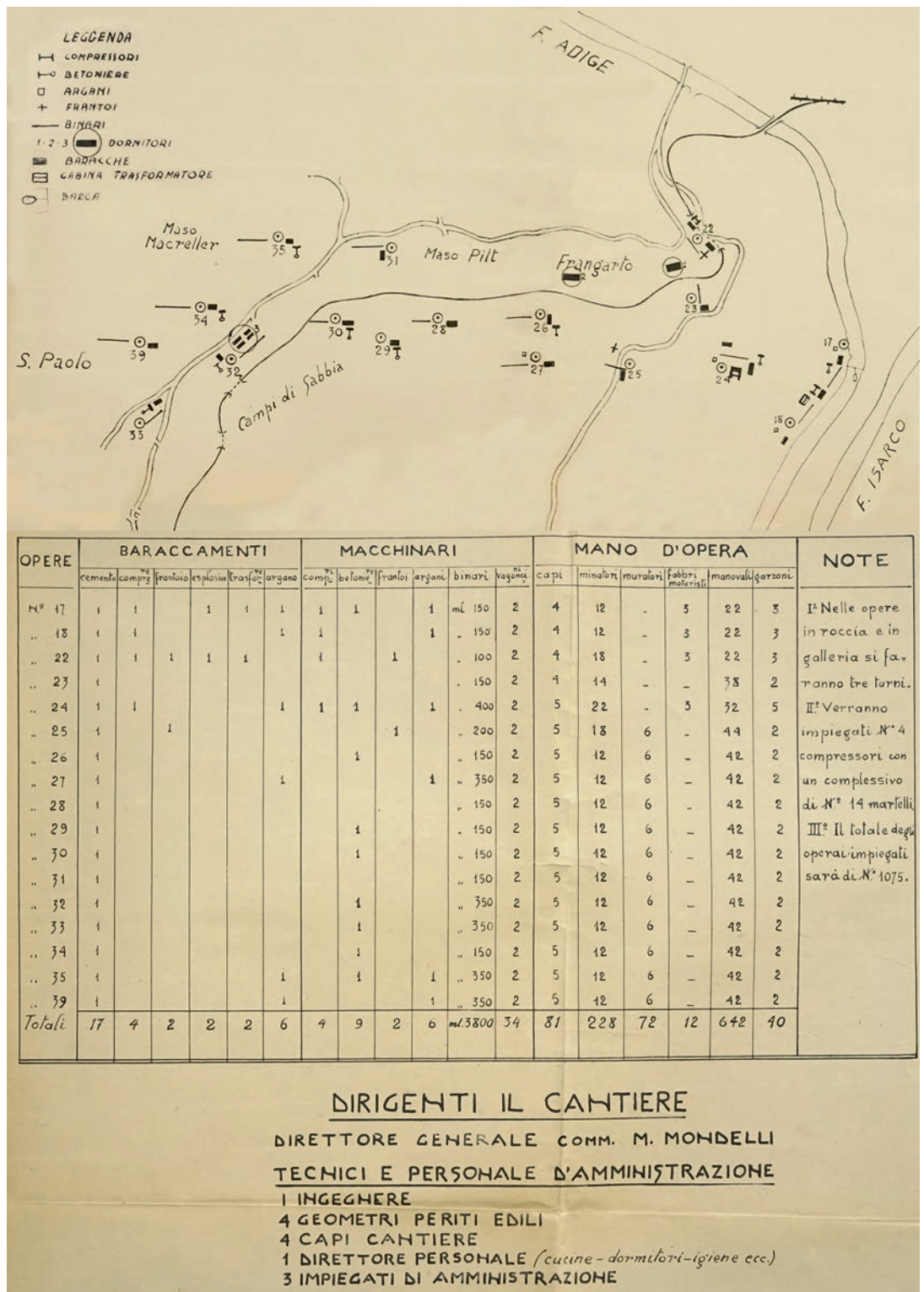
Abb. 6b:

Lageplan und Tabelle der Firma S.A.C.E.P. zur Einrichtung sowie personellen und maschinellen Ausstattung von 17 Baustellen für Bunkeranlagen im Raum Frangart.

Fig. 6b:

Site plan and table of the S.A.C.E.P. company relating to the establishment, personnel and machineries of 17 construction sites for bunkers in the Frangart/o area.

© AUSSME M3-462



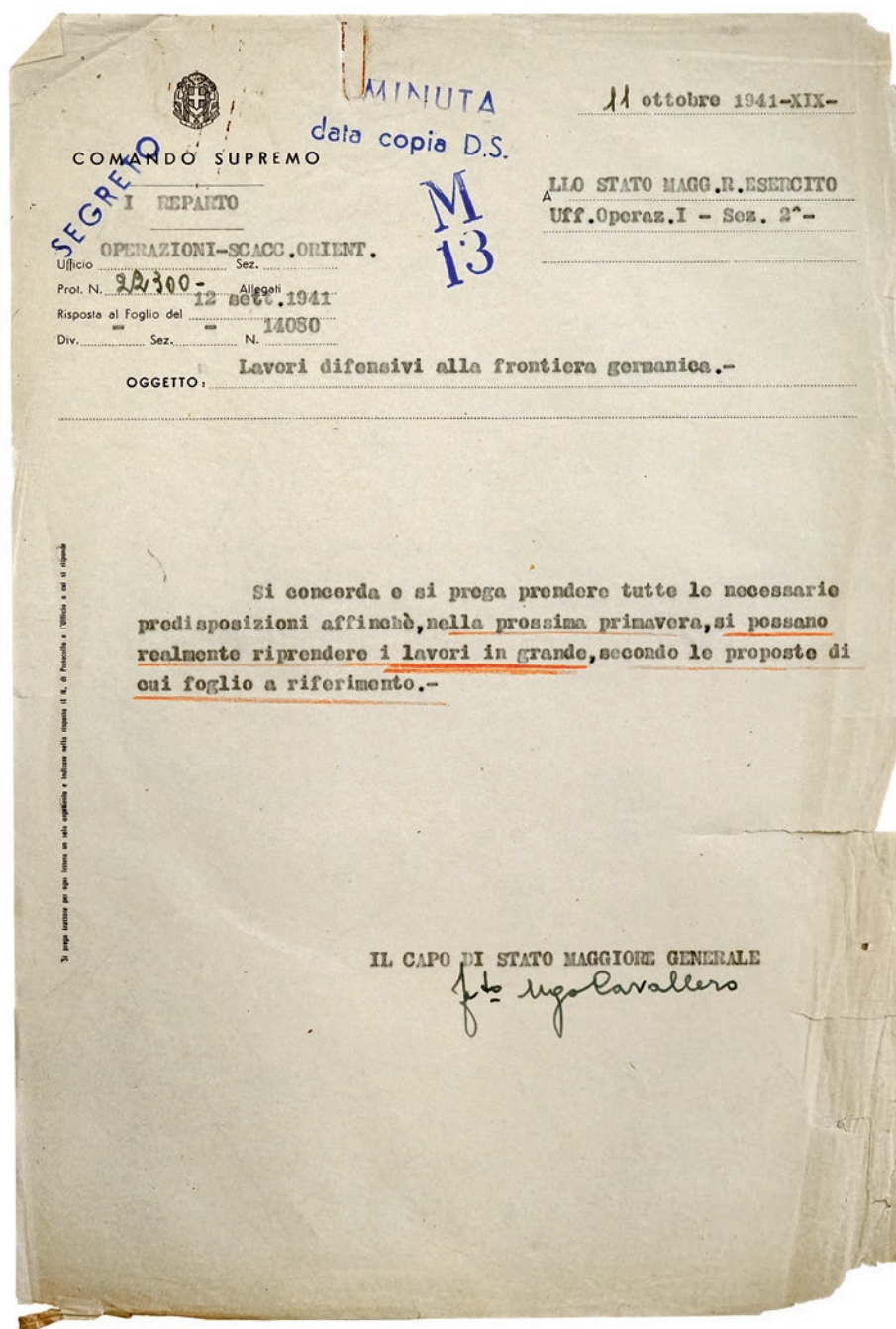


Abb. 7:

Oberkommando des Heeres, Protokoll vom 11.10.1941 mit dem Betreff: „Verteidigungsarbeiten an der deutschen Grenze“, in dem der Chef des Oberkommandos darum bittet, die volle Wiederaufnahme der Bauarbeiten für das kommende Frühjahr vorzubereiten.

Fig. 7:

High Command of the Army, minutes of 11 October 1941, subject: “Defensive works on the German frontier”: the Chief of the High Command asks that preparations be made for the full resumption of construction work in the coming spring.

© AUSSME M3-6

mit 2,56 Milliarden Lire, wovon Arbeiten für einen Betrag von 750 Mio. Lire als im Gange oder vergeben angegeben werden. Im Jahr 1941 sollen Arbeiten für einen Betrag von 100 Mio. Lire der 750 Mio. Lire ausgesetzt werden.⁴⁰

Im weiteren Verlauf des Jahres gehen Meinungen über die richtige Strategie auseinander:

Im Vorfeld der Herausgabe des neuen Heeresrundschreibens 13500 hält Stabschef Mario Roatta am 25.07.1941 in einem Memorandum nach einem Lokalausgang an der Nordgrenze wichtige Dinge fest.⁴¹ Er skizziert darin den mäßigen Baufortschritt und

40 AUSSME L10-002. SMRE, Ufficio del Sottocapo di SM, 28.02.1941: Fortificazione permanente alle frontiere alpine, Punkt c), S. 2, 3. „[...] sul totale di 2.560.000.000 sono in corso, o solo appaltati, lavori per 750 milioni. [...] Con tali criteri nella stagione 1941 sui progetti già finanziati si proseguiranno lavori per l'importo di 650 milioni e se ne sospenderanno per l'importo di 100 milioni [...]“

41 AUSSME M3-6. SMRE, Ufficio del Capo di SM, 25.07.1941, Promemoria No. 61 per l'Ecc. Il Capo Di Stato Maggiore: Sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera nord. „[...] Sono di avviso che se non si vuole dare al Reich la persuasione che ci prepariamo a difenderci da lui, non c'è che da lasciare le cose come stanno. Se, viceversa, intendiamo di premunirci da quella parte, tanto vale riprendere i lavori in pieno, secondo il programma originale. [...]“

The monumental building activity on the German border is all the more surprising because Hitler's Germany repeatedly assured Italy that it had no designs on the Brenner frontier, while only in October 1939 was the so-called "South Tyrolean Option" introduced³⁹. Against this background the construction appeared physical evidence of Mussolini's suspicion of Hitler's Germany. The popular nickname for the Vallo Alpino likely originates from this time: "*Linea non mi fido* [Line of Mistrust]".

The construction of defensive works on this scale against an ally remains unparalleled in Europe and the leading unique feature of the Vallo Alpino on its northern border.

1941

The plans to complete the Vallo Alpino were not for the time being abandoned. However, after the first major construction season, in 1940, came general indecision in 1941 about how to proceed and the extent of the work to follow, with concerns about Italy's ally always playing a role.

At the end of February, the Army General Staff described the status of the construction works and their financing and issued orders for further construction. Work in general was to be considerably slowed down. Only those works that served the completion of the second of the three barrier belts were to be continued: work was to continue on the other belts only where penalties would make it more costly to stop rather than to continue. All other ongoing contracts were to be cancelled. The total amount of funds allocated for the "*Frontiera Germanica*" were put at 2.56 billion lire, with an amount of 750 million lire stated as work in progress or contracted. In 1941 work was to be suspended for an amount of 100 million of the 750 million lire.⁴⁰

As the year progressed, opinions diverged on the right strategy to adopt: prior to the issue of new Army Circular no. 13500, Chief of Staff Mario Roatta recorded important issues in a memorandum dated 25 July 1941 following a local inspection of the northern border.⁴¹ In it, he outlined the modest progress of construction and noted that not a single work had as yet been equipped with weapons and that only one work per barrier, the "*opera tipo*"⁴², had been fitted with all installations (gas-tight doors, ventilation, electric lighting, kitchens, etc.). He considered disguising and treating road construction programmes as regional civilian programmes in order to give the impression to the German ally that construction work had stopped. With regard to the army guidelines, he suggested strengthening the defences against tanks and combat engineers, as well as changing the ratio of machine guns to anti-tank guns in favour of the latter. He also saw the possibility of either completing one of the three systems or achieving a functioning system by assembling it from parts of the three unfinished systems. In conclusion, he

39 "The South Tyrol Option Agreement (German: Option in Südtirol; Italian: Opzioni in Alto Adige) was an agreement in effect between 1939 and 1943, when the native German and Ladin-speaking people in South Tyrol and several other municipalities of northern Italy were given the option of either emigrating to neighbouring Nazi Germany (of which Austria was a part after the 1938 Anschluss) or remaining in Fascist Italy. [...]" Wikipedia entry: The South Tyrol Option Agreement (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Tyrol_Option_Agreement).

40 AUSSME L10–002. SMRE, Ufficio del Sottocapo di SM, 28.02.1941: Fortificazione permanente alle frontiere alpine, c), pp. 2, 3. "[...] sul totale di 2.560.000.000 sono in corso, o solo appaltati, lavori per 750 milioni. [...] Con tali criteri nella stagione 1941 sui progetti già finanziati si proseguiranno lavori per l'importo di 650 milioni e se ne sospenderanno per l'importo di 100 milioni [...]"

41 AUSSME M3–6. SMRE, Ufficio del Capo di SM, 25.07.1941, Promemoria no. 61 per l'Ecc. Il Capo Di Stato Maggiore: Sistemazione difensiva alla frontiera nord. "[...] Sono di avviso che se non si vuole dare al Reich la persuasione che ci prepariamo a difenderci da lui, non c'è che da lasciare le cose come stanno. Se, viceversa, intendiamo di premunirci da quella parte, tanto vale riprendere i lavori in pieno, secondo il programma originale [...]"

42 These works served to illustrate the building standard.

notiert, dass noch kein einziges Werk mit Waffen ausgestattet – und jeweils nur ein Werk pro Sperre, die „opera tipo“⁴², mit allen Installationen (gasdichte Türen, Belüftungssystem, elektrisches Licht, Küchen etc.) bestückt ist. Er denkt darüber nach, Straßenbauprogramme als zivile, regionale Bauprogramme zu tarnen und abzuwickeln, um beim Bündnispartner den Eindruck zu erwecken, die Bauarbeiten seien eingestellt. Bezüglich der Heeresrichtlinien regt er an, die Panzerabwehr und die Abwehr gegen Kampfpioniere zu verstärken, sowie das Verhältnis von Maschinengewehren und Panzerabwehrkanonen zugunsten Letzterer zu verändern. Weiters sieht er die Möglichkeit, entweder eines der drei Systeme fertigzustellen, oder zu einem funktionierenden System zu kommen, indem man es aus Teilen der drei unfertigen Systeme zusammensetzt. Abschließend meint er: *„[...] Ich bin der Meinung – wenn wir dem Reich nicht den Eindruck vermitteln wollen, dass wir Verteidigungsmaßnahmen gegen es ergreifen, wir die Dinge nur so lassen können, wie sie sind. Wenn wir uns hingegen in dieser Hinsicht absichern wollen, können wir genauso gut die Arbeit in vollem Umfang und nach dem ursprünglichen Programm wieder aufnehmen [...]“* Das Dokument wird am 4. August auch Mussolini vorgelegt, wie das Oberkommando in einer Notiz am 17. August notiert, jedoch retourniert er es ohne Anmerkungen oder weitere Anweisungen.⁴³

Mitte August 1941 wird das Heeresrundsreiben 13500 herausgegeben, das Roattas Vorschläge bezüglich Panzerabwehr und die Abwehr gegen Kampfpioniere aufnimmt und erstmalig Vorschriften enthält, die den Anforderungen der Zeit gerecht werden. Erst jetzt wird das Maschinengewehr in seiner Bedeutung für die Verteidigung herabgestuft und panzerbrechende Waffen erhalten den Vorrang.

Der Chef des Oberkommandos Ugo Cavallero verfügt am 11.10.1941, es sollen alle Vorbereitungen getroffen werden, um im Frühling die Arbeiten im großen Stil wieder aufzunehmen. Der Generalstab des Heeres hatte dazu Vorschläge ausgearbeitet, die das Oberkommando am 11. Oktober genehmigt.⁴⁴

Am 28.10.1941 merkt Unterstaatssekretär Favagrossa an, dass angesichts des Umfangs der geplanten Bauarbeiten an der Nordgrenze eine Bindung von Ressourcen zu befürchten sei, die sich ungünstig auf den Fortgang des Krieges auswirken würde. Ebenso könnten die Bauarbeiten unvorhersehbare Auswirkungen auf die Beziehung zu Deutschland haben. Daher schlägt er dem Duce vor, keine weiteren als Instandhaltungs- bzw. Fertigstellungsarbeiten durchzuführen.⁴⁵

Und schließlich melden sich am 13.12.1941 nochmals die Heeresingenieure und regen an, mit weiteren Bautätigkeiten bis Kriegsende zuzuwarten, um die Werke an die neuen Anforderungen anpassen zu können.⁴⁶

Fazit 1941: im Oberkommando herrscht im Lauf des Jahres die Auffassung vor, von drei Verteidigungsgürteln abzurücken und nur an einem weiter zu bauen, der sich aus Teilen des ersten und des zweiten Gürtels zusammensetzen sollte. Aus politischen Gründen wird entschieden, bis Kriegsende keine neuen Werke an der deutschen Grenze zu beginnen, nur begonnene Werke fertigzustellen und nur die bereits fertiggestellten Werke auch auszustatten.

42 Diese Werke dienten der Veranschaulichung des baulichen Standards

43 BSB FILM-R615-500. Comando Supremo, 1° Reparto, Ufficio Operazioni, Scacchiere Orientale, 17.08.1941, keine Prot. Nr.: Sistemazione Difensiva alla Frontiera Nord

44 BSB FILM-R615-500. Comando Supremo, Prot. Nr. 22300 del 11.10.1941: Lavori difensivi alla frontiera germanica

45 BSB FILM-R615-500. Primo Reparto – Ufficio Operazioni, 28.10.1941: Lavori di fortificazione – Impiego del Cemento

46 BSB FILM-R615-500. Primo Reparto – Ufficio Operazioni, 13.12.1941: Lavori difensivi alla frontiera nord ed orientale

stated: “[...] I am of the opinion that, if we do not want to give the Reich the impression that we are taking defensive measures against it, we can only leave things as they are. If, on the other hand, we want to safeguard ourselves in this respect, we might as well resume work in full and according to the original programme [...]”. The document was also submitted to Mussolini on 4 August, as noted by the High Command in a memo of 17 August, but he returned it without comment or further orders.⁴³

In mid-August 1941, Army Circular no. 13500 was issued, taking up Roatta's proposals for defending against tanks and combat engineers and for the first time containing regulations that met the requirements of the era. Only now were machine guns downgraded in their importance for the defence and priority given to armour-piercing weapons!

On 11 October 1941 Ugo Cavallero, Head of the High Command, decreed that all preparations should be made to resume work on a large scale in the following spring. The proposals prepared by the Army General Staff for this purpose were approved by the High Command on 11 October.⁴⁴

On 28 December 1941, Undersecretary of State Favagrossa noted that, in view of the extent of the planned construction work on the northern border, there was a fear that resources would be tied up, with unfavourable consequences for the progress of the war. Likewise, the construction work could have unforeseeable effects on Italy's relations with Germany. He therefore suggested to the Duce that only maintenance or completion work be carried out.⁴⁵

Finally, on 13 December 1941, the army engineers once again reported: they proposed postponing further construction until the end of the war so as to be able to adapt the works to the new requirements.⁴⁶

In conclusion then, in the course of 1941, the High Command decided to abandon the three defensive belts and continue building only one, to be composed of parts of the first and second belts. For political reasons it was decided not to start any new works on the German border until the end of the war, to complete only those works already started and to outfit only those already completed.

1942

In 1942, too, a general indecision persisted. On 18 January 1942 the Chief of the High Command, Ugo Cavallero, gave similar instructions as for the previous year for the construction programme in 1942: minimal use of concrete was ordered, along with the consolidation of works in progress, the maintenance of completed works and the outfitting only of completed works. Priority was to be given to the defence of the maritime borders, with work on the Alpine borders to come later. In addition, however, Ambrosio (now Chief of the General Staff) on 23 April 1942 ordered that the studies and planning of already approved barriers be continued.⁴⁷ In April work would be further reduced

43 BSB FILM-R615-500. Comando Supremo, 1° Reparto, Ufficio Operazioni, Scacchiere Orientale, 17.08.1941, no Prot. no.: Sistemazione Difensiva alla Frontiera Nord.

44 BSB FILM-R615-500. Comando Supremo, Prot. no. 22300, 11.10.1941: Lavori difensivi alla frontiera germanica.

45 BSB FILM-R615-500. Primo Reparto – Ufficio Operazioni, 28.10.1941: Lavori di fortificazione – Impiego del Cemento.

46 BSB FILM-R615-500. Primo Reparto – Ufficio Operazioni, 13.12.1941: Lavori difensivi alla frontiera nord ed orientale.

47 BSB FILM-R615-500. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 3, Prot. no. 6854, 23.04.1942: Lavori difensivi alle frontiere terrestri e marittime.

1942

Auch im Jahr 1942 bleibt eine allgemeine Unschlüssigkeit bestehen. Am 18.01.1942 lauten die Vorgaben des Chefs des Oberkommandos Ugo Cavallero für das Bauprogramm von 1942 ähnlich wie im Vorjahr: es wird minimaler Betonverbrauch angeordnet sowie die Konsolidierung von in Bau befindlichen, Instandhaltung fertiggestellter und Ausstattung nur von fertiggestellten Werken. Den Vorrang soll dabei die Verteidigung der Seegrenzen haben, die Arbeiten an den Alpengrenzen sind nachgereiht.⁴⁷ Zusätzlich befiehlt der nunmehrige Generalstabschef Ambrosio am 23.04.1942 aber, Studien und Planungen von bereits genehmigten Sperren fortzuführen.⁴⁸ Im April werden die Arbeiten aufgrund begrenzter Verfügbarkeit von Rohstoffen, Unklarheiten bei der Definition der Panzerungen und Mangel an Arbeitskräften weiter reduziert.⁴⁹

Am 15.05.1942 fand im „Ufficio Operazioni“ des Generalstabs eine Sitzung zur Zuteilung der Betonmengen für das Bauprogramm von 1942 statt. In der Sitzungsabschrift heißt es: „Es ist davon auszugehen, dass die Verteidigungsarbeiten im Frühjahr 1943 in vollem Umfang wiederaufgenommen werden.“⁵⁰

Am 10.08.1942 verfasst Generalstabschef Ambrosio ein Memorandum für den Chef des Oberkommandos Cavallero, in dem er den Stand der Bautätigkeiten von 1942 zusammenfasst: „[...] nur an zirka 20 Werken laufen Konsolidierungsarbeiten und einige wenige Werke werden ausgestattet [...] es sind Tarnungs-Arbeiten an rund 100 Werken im Gange [...] nur wenige hundert Arbeiter sind am Werk [...]“ Und in handschriftlichen Notizen am Ende des Dokuments wird erstmals ein Datum für die Einstellung der Arbeiten an der Nordgrenze genannt: der 31. August 1942.⁵¹

Am 16.08.1942 ergeht über den Chef des Oberkommandos Cavallero offiziell der Befehl des Duces an das Heer, die Arbeiten an der deutschen Grenze mit Ende der Bausaison einzustellen. Er ist an den Generalstabschef Ambrosio gerichtet, von welchem bei dieser Gelegenheit auch ein Bericht über den Zustand der Befestigungen und über die bisher durchgeführten Arbeiten an den Landesgrenzen angefordert wird.⁵²

Über die Hintergründe des Befehls ist in Cavalleros Protokoll nichts zu erfahren. Einen kleinen Einblick hierzu erhält man aus einer Aktennotiz für den Chef des Generalstabs vom 18.08.1942, die von einer tags vorher abgehaltenen Sitzung angelegt wurde. Thema der Sitzung: „Maßnahmen infolge der Anordnung, alle Verteidigungs- und Straßenbauarbeiten an der deutschen Grenze einzustellen“. Darin heißt es: „[...] Der Befehl wurde vom Oberkommando auf Druck der benachbarten Staatsmacht erteilt. Ursprünglich sollte diese Anordnung am 20. August umgesetzt werden, es wurde dann aber auf begründeten Antrag des Generalstabs eine Verlängerung bis zum Ende der laufenden

47 BSB FILM-R615-500. Comando Supremo, I° Reparto, Scacchiere Occidentale. Prot. Nr. 10071, 18.01.1942: Lavori di fortificazione alle frontiere.

48 BSB FILM-R615-500. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 3, Prot. Nr. 6854 del 23.04.1942: Lavori difensivi alle frontiere terrestri e marittime

49 AUSSME M3-389. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2, Prot. Nr. 5900 del 08.04.1942: Programma lavori difensivi e stradali 1942 alla frontiera nord. S. 1

50 AUSSME M3-389. Comando XIX Corpo d'Armata, Prot. Nr. 1767 del 18.05.1942: Assegnazione Cementi – Sinesi degli argomenti trattati a Roma [...]. S. 1: „[...] È da presumere che i lavori difensivi saranno ripresi in pieno nella primavera 1943 [...]“

51 AUSSME M3-6. SMRE, Prot. Nr. 13773 del 10.08.1942: Attività lavorative in atto alle frontiere terrestri. Promemoria. Punkt 2 S. 3

52 AUSSME M3-6. Comando Supremo, Primo Reparto, Prot. Nr. 11505 del 16.08.1942: Attività lavorativa difensivi alle frontiere terrestri. „Il DUCE ha ordinato che i lavori difensivi alla frontiera germanica abbiano termine con la fine della stagione lavorativa in atto. Prego pertanto provvedere in merito e trasmettere a questo Comando Supremo una breve relazione sui lavori sinora eseguiti su tutta la frontiera alpina.“

Abb. 8:

Protokoll des Chefs des Oberkommandos Cavallero, in dem er den Befehl Mussolinis zur Einstellung der Bauarbeiten an der deutschen Grenze an Generalstabschef Ambrosio weitergibt.

Fig. 8:

Minutes of the Chief of the High Command Cavallero in which he passes on Mussolini's order to stop construction work on the German border to Chief of the General Staff Ambrosio.

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SEGRETO MINUTA
data copia D.S.

P.M. 21, 16 agosto 1942-XX

COMANDO SUPREMO

I REPARTO

Ufficio Operaz. Scacch. Occ. E/2
Prot. N. 11506 Allegati
Risposte al Foglio del
Div. Sez. N.

A L GEN. DES. D'ARMATA AMBROSIO
- Capo di S.M.R. Esercito -

OGGETTO: Attività lavorativa alle frontiere terrestri.-

Riferimento foglio n. 13773 del 10/8/1942-XX S.M.R.E.-

IL DUCE ha ordinato che i lavori difensivi alla frontiera germanica abbiano termine con la fine della stagione lavorativa in atto.-

Prego pertanto provvedere in merito e trasmettere a questo Comando Supremo una breve relazione sui lavori sinora eseguiti su tutta la frontiera alpina.-

IL CAPO DI STATO MAGGIORE GENERALE
f.to Ugo Cavallero

Si prega indicare per ogni lettera un solo argomento e indicare nella rubrica il N. di Fascicolo e l'Ufficio a cui si risponde

Arbeitssaison, d. h. bis Ende Oktober, erreicht. [...]“.⁵³ Die Bezeichnung „benachbarte Staatsmacht“ für den engsten Verbündeten spiegelt das ambivalente Verhältnis der Partner. Bisher fehlt noch jede Spur von den Dokumenten, die Abmachungen zwischen den beiden Diktaturen bezüglich des Baus des Vallo Alpino und der Einstellung der Arbeiten an der gemeinsamen Grenze dokumentieren.

Ambrosio liefert den von Cavallero am 16.08.1924 geforderten Bericht ans Oberkommando noch im September. Er findet deutliche Worte und kommt zu einem vernichtenden Urteil: „Der allgemeine technische Standard der Werke hat sich mit Maschinengewehren als Hauptbewaffnung schnell als überholt erwiesen. [...] Sowohl die Panzerabwehr als auch die Nahverteidigung der Werke gegen Kampfpioniere sind unzureichend. [...] Die Arbeiten aus der Zeit vor 1939 in Grenznähe sind praktisch vollkommen bedeutungslos. [...] Das nun errichtete System, das sich aus Teilen des ersten und des zweiten Systems zusammensetzt, stellt kein fortlaufendes Hindernis dar, da sich gut fertiggestellte Abschnitte mit solchen abwechseln, die unvollständig sind. [...] Unter den derzeitigen Bedingungen ist die Sicherung der Grenze in keiner Weise gewährleistet, sondern bietet bestenfalls Schutz für den Aufmarsch von Verteidigungstruppen.“ Er bleibt aber bei der Meinung, dass ein Verteidigungsapparat wie der Vallo Alpino unverzichtbar sei und man künftig daran arbeiten werde, seine Mängel zu beheben um eine höhere Wirksamkeit zu erzielen.⁵⁴

Das ganze Baujahr 1942 ist geprägt von akutem Mangel an Bauarbeitern, da tausende von ihnen zum Kriegsdienst eingezogen werden. Dadurch kann nicht einmal das stark zurück gefahrene Bauprogramm erfüllt werden. Das ist besonders bei Tarnungsarbeiten kritisch, die höchste Dringlichkeit haben, um die Anlagen vor allem in stark besiedelten Gebieten unsichtbar zu machen. Zu diesem Zweck erlaubt die Militärbehörde die Bereitstellung von Militärpersonal für die zivilen Baufirmen.⁵⁵ Der Personalmangel betrifft aber auch Heeresabteilungen, wie das für Planungen der Verteidigungsbauten zuständige Büro des Heeres, die ebenso außer Stande sind, das zugewiesene Arbeitssoll zu erfüllen.

Am 04.10.1942 kommt über Cavallero der endgültige Befehl zur Einstellung der Arbeiten von Mussolini: „Auf Befehl des DUCE bestätige ich, dass bis 15. des laufenden Monats alle Verteidigungsarbeiten an der deutschen Grenze endgültig eingestellt werden müssen.“⁵⁶ Das Ende der Bauarbeiten bedeutet aber nicht, dass von weiteren Planungen

53 AUSSME M3–389. Nucleo Organizzazione Difensiva, 18.08.1942, Promemoria di servizio per il Capo di Stato Maggiore: „[...] Oggetto della riunione: provvedimenti da adottare in conseguenza dell'ordine di sospensione di tutti i lavori difensivi e stradali alla frontiera germanica. L'ordine è stato dato dal C.S. in seguito a pressione da parte della potenza confinante. In un primo tempo tale ordine doveva avere esecuzione il 20 agosto p.v., ma successivamente, su motivata richiesta dello S.M., si è ottenuta una proroga fino al termine della corrente stagione lavorativa e cioè – fine ottobre. [...]“

54 AUSSME M3–6. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, settembre 1942: Relazione sullo stato della fortificazione alle frontiere terrestri e sul complesso dei lavori eseguiti sino a fine agosto 1942: „[...] I lavori effettuati prima del 1939 in prossimità della linea di confine possono ritenersi di nessuna pratica consistenza; quelli impostati fra il 39 e il 40 soffrono dell'affrettata progettazione ed esecuzione, e del mancato completamento: risentono inoltre del fatto di essere stati concepiti alla vigilia delle principali esperienze di guerra. [...] Il sistema difensivo ora considerato, composto di tratti del 1° e del 2° sistema originariamente progettati, non costituisce un ostacolo organico e almeno idealmente continuo poichè alterna tratti di buona efficienza con altri incompleti o appena abbozzati. [...]“

55 AUSSME M3–389. Comando XIX Corpo D'Armata, Nucleo Organizzazione Difensiva, Prot. Nr. 2117 del 25.09.1942: Mano d'opera militare nei lavori difensivi e stradali.

56 Bernasconi/Muran, „Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige“, Temi, Trento, 1999, S. 35: „Per ordine del DUCE, confermo che con il 15 c.m., alla frontiera germanica dovranno essere definitivamente sospesi tutti i lavori difensivi.“

owing to the scarcity of raw materials, a lack of clarity in the definition of armoured protection, and manpower shortages.⁴⁸

On 15 May 1942 a meeting was held in the *“Ufficio Operazioni”* of the General Staff to allocate the quantities of concrete for the 1942 construction programme. The minutes of the meeting state: “It can be assumed that the defensive works will be resumed in full in the spring of 1943.”⁴⁹

On 10 August 1942, the Chief of Staff Ambrosio drafted a memorandum for the Chief of the High Command, Cavallero, summarising the state of construction activities in 1942: “[...]consolidation work is ongoing at only about 20 works, while a few works are being equipped [...] camouflage work is underway at some 100 works [...] only a few hundred men are at work [...]” And, in handwritten notes at the end of the document, a date is for the first time given for the cessation of work on the northern border: 31 August 1942.⁵⁰

On 16 August 1942, the Duce’s order to the Army to stop work on the German border at the end of the construction season was officially issued via the Chief of the High Command, Cavallero. It was addressed to Chief of Staff Ambrosio, accompanied by a request for a brief report on the condition of the fortifications and on the work carried out so far on the land borders.⁵¹

Cavallero’s minutes do not reveal anything about the background to the order. A small insight into this can be gained from a memo for the Chief of the General Staff dated 18 August 1942, created from a meeting held the day before. The subject of the meeting was: “Measures as a consequence of the order to stop all defensive and road construction work on the German border”. It stated: “[...] The order was issued by the High Command under pressure from the neighbouring power. This order was originally to be implemented on 20 August, but an extension until the end of the current work season, i.e. until the end of October, was then obtained at the valid request of the General Staff [...]”.⁵² The description of Italy’s closest ally as the “neighbouring power” reflects the ambivalent relationship between the two partners. As of today, no trace has been found of the documents containing any agreement between the two dictatorships on the construction of the Vallo Alpino and the cessation of work on their common border.

Ambrosio submitted the report that Cavallero had requested on 16 August 1942 to the High Command in September. His clear words lead to a devastating verdict: “The general technical standard of the works, with machine guns as the main armament, has quickly proven to be obsolete [...]. Both the anti-tank defences and the

48 AUSSME M3–389. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2, Prot. no. 5900, 08.04.1942: Programma lavori difensivi e stradali 1942 alla frontiera nord. P. 1.

49 AUSSME M3–389. Comando XIX Corpo d’Armata, Prot. no. 1767, 18.05.1942: Assegnazione Cementi – Sintesi degli argomenti trattati a Roma [...]. P. 1: “[...] È da presumere che i lavori difensivi saranno ripresi in pieno nella primavera 1943 [...]”.

50 AUSSME M3–6. SMRE, Prot. no. 13773, 10.08.1942: Attività lavorative in atto alle frontiere terrestri. Promemoria. Point 2 p. 3.

51 AUSSME M3–6. Comando Supremo, Primo Reparto, Prot. no. 11505, 16.08.1942: Attività lavorativa difensivi alle frontiere terrestri. “Il DUCE ha ordinato che i lavori difensivi alla frontiera germanica abbiano termine con la fine della stagione lavorativa in atto. Prego pertanto provvedere in merito e trasmettere a questo Comando Supremo una breve relazione sui lavori sinora eseguiti su tutta la frontiera alpina.”

52 AUSSME M3–389. Nucleo Organizzazione Difensiva, 18.08.1942, Promemoria di servizio per il Capo di Stato Maggiore: “[...] Oggetto della riunione: provvedimenti da adottare in conseguenza dell’ordine di sospensione di tutti i lavori difensivi e stradali alla frontiera germanica. L’ordine è stato dato dal C.S. in seguito a pressione da parte della potenza confinante. In un primo tempo tale ordine doveva avere esecuzione il 20 agosto p.v., ma successivamente, su motivata richiesta dello S.M., si è ottenuta una proroga fino al termine della corrente stagione lavorativa e cioè – fine ottobre. [...]”.

zur Vervollständigung des Vallo Alpino abgesehen wird. Es läuft weiterhin die Arbeit der Kommissionen zur Planung von Sperren.

Der bisher letzte bekannte Stand des Baufortschritts in Südtirol wurde am 15.04.1942 aufgezeichnet und gibt folgende Zahlen wieder: 306 fertiggestellte –, 135 in Bau befindliche und insgesamt 807 vorgesehene Werke.⁵⁷

Was den gesamten Vallo Alpino von Ventimiglia im Westen bis Rijeka (damals: Fiume) im Osten betrifft, waren laut Generalstabschef Ambrosio bis 03.10.1942 insgesamt 1475 Werke fertiggestellt und zirka 700 kleine Kasernen und bewaffnete Unterstände einsatzbereit. Noch im Bau befindlich waren zirka 450 Werke und weitere 60 kleine Kasernen und Unterstände. Und 1400 Werke – vorrangig an der deutschen Grenze – waren noch in Planung.⁵⁸

Am 20.10.1942, wenige Tage nach dem Befehl zur endgültigen Einstellung der Arbeiten, lässt der Generalstab des Heeres ein Dokument mit dem bezeichnenden Titel *„Aktennotiz zu den Gründen für die verminderte Wirksamkeit des Verteidigungssystems an den Alpengrenzen“*⁵⁹ erstellen. In ihm wird die Genesis des Vallo Alpino zusammengefasst: von der Budgetierung, der Entwicklung der Heeresrundschriften in Zusammenhang mit den politischen Entwicklungen und ihrer Auswirkungen auf die Bauten, bis hin zu den vielen Unterbrechungen beim Bau. Das Dokument ist kein internes Papier des Militärapparates wie jenes vom September, sondern auch dazu bestimmt, dem Duce vorgelegt zu werden. Es ist anzunehmen, dass das abschließende Urteil deshalb zwar nüchtern, aber wesentlich milder formuliert ist:

„Um ein so großes Projekt wie die Verteidigung unserer Grenzen – von so großer Tragweite und unter so schwierigen Umweltbedingungen – durchführen zu können, war es unabdingbar, die folgenden Grundvoraussetzungen zu erfüllen:

- *stabile und unbestrittene Leitkriterien*
- *streng einheitliche Leitung und zentralisierte Verwaltung*
- *ein umfassendes Programm auf der Grundlage einer angemessenen Finanzierung*
- *Kontinuität in der Ausführung, um die Entwicklung der Arbeiten unabhängig von den unvermeidlichen Schwankungen unserer Außenpolitik zu machen.*

Diese Grundvoraussetzungen konnten aus den oben genannten Gründen bei der Umsetzung des Vallo Alpino im Allgemeinen nicht erfüllt werden, und die jetzt festgestellten Mängel sind eine direkte Folge davon“

Am Ende war alle Anstrengung umsonst, der Vallo Alpino hat seinen Dienst nie angetreten. Seine Errichtung war nicht nur vor dem Bündnispartner blamabel, sondern wegen der gewaltigen Ressourcenverschwendung auch vor der eigenen Bevölkerung, die ihn finanziert hat.

57 AUSSME M3–401. Comando XIX Corpo d'Armata – Nucleo Organizzazione difensiva – Ufficio lavori del Genio Militare – Bolzano: Situazione dei lavori difensivi al 15 aprile 1942

58 Bernasconi/Muran, „Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige“, Temi, Trento, 1999, S. 31: Stato Maggiore Esercito, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Prot. Nr. 17008, 03.10.1942

59 BSB FILM-R615-500. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942. Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine. „[...] Per la effettuazione di un'opera di così vasta mole qual'è la sistemazione difensiva delle nostre frontiere, di così grande sviluppo e in difficili condizioni ambientali, era indispensabile realizzare le seguenti premesse di base: criteri direttivi stabili e indiscussi / indirizzo rigorosamente unitario e direzione accentrata / programma di ampio respiro basato su finanziamento adeguato / continuità d'esecuzione da rendere lo sviluppo dei lavori indipendente dalle inevitabili fluttuazioni della nostra politica estera. Tali condizioni di base, per le cause esposte, non hanno potuto in genere verificarsi nell'esecuzione del Vallo alpino, e le manchevolezze ora constatate ne sono una diretta conseguenza. [...]“

close-quarter defences of the works against combat engineers are inadequate. [...] The pre-1939 works near the border are in practice completely worthless. [...] The system as it stands, composed of parts of the first and second systems, is not a continuous obstacle, as properly completed sections alternate with those that are incomplete. [...] Under present conditions, the security of the frontier is in no way guaranteed, but at best provides protection for the deployment of troops for the defence.” However, he held that a defensive system such as the Vallo Alpino was indispensable; and that work would be done in future to remedy its shortcomings and thus achieve greater effectiveness.⁵³

Construction throughout the entire year of 1942 was marked by an acute shortage of workers, as thousands were called up for military service. As a result, not even the greatly reduced construction programme could be realised. This was especially critical for the extremely urgent camouflage work that was aimed at making the installations invisible, especially in heavily populated areas. For this purpose, the military authorities allowed military personnel to be assigned to civilian contractors.⁵⁴ However, the personnel shortage also affected army departments (e.g. the army office responsible for the planning of defensive works), which were also unable to meet their assigned workloads.

On 4 October 1942 the final order to stop work came from Mussolini via Cavallero: “By order of the DUCE, I confirm that, by the 15th of the current month, all defensive work on the German border must be definitively stopped.”⁵⁵ However, the end of the construction work did not mean that further planning for the completion of the Vallo Alpino would be abandoned: the work of the planning commissions responsible for barriers continued.

The last known report on construction progress in South Tyrol, made on 15 April 1942, gave the following figures: 306 completed, 135 under construction and a total of 807 planned works.⁵⁶

As far as the entire Vallo Alpino, from Ventimiglia in the west to Rijeka (at that time called *Fiume*) in the east was concerned, according to Chief of General Staff Ambrosio, a total of 1,475 works had been completed and some 700 small barracks and armed dugouts were ready for use by 3 October 1942. There were about 450 works and another 60 small barracks and dugouts still under construction, with 1,400 works – mostly on the border with Germany – still at the planning stage.⁵⁷

53 AUSSME M3–6. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, settembre 1942: Relazione sullo stato della fortificazione alle frontiere terrestri e sul complesso dei lavori eseguiti sino a fine agosto 1942: “[...] I lavori effettuati prima del 1939 in prossimità della linea di confine possono ritenersi di nessuna pratica consistenza; quelli impostati fra il 39 e il 40 soffrono dell’affrettata progettazione ed esecuzione, e del mancato completamento: risentono inoltre del fatto di essere stati concepiti alla vigilia delle principali esperienze di guerra. [...] Il sistema difensivo ora considerato, composto di tratti del 1° e del 2° sistema originariamente progettati, non costituisce un ostacolo organico e almeno idealmente continuo poichè alterna tratti di buona efficienza con altri incompleti o appena abbozzati. [...]”.

54 AUSSME M3–389. Comando XIX Corpo D’Armata, Nucleo Organizzazione Difensiva, Prot. no. 2117, 25.09.1942: Mano d’opera militare nei lavori difensivi e stradali.

55 Bernasconi/Muran, “Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige”, Temi, Trento, 1999, p. 35: “Per ordine del DUCE, confermo che con il 15 c.m., alla frontiera germanica dovranno essere definitivamente sospesi tutti i lavori difensivi.”

56 AUSSME M3–401. Comando XIX Corpo d’Armata – Nucleo Organizzazione difensiva – Ufficio lavori del Genio Militare – Bolzano: Situazione dei lavori difensivi al 15 aprile 1942.

57 Bernasconi/Muran, “Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige”, Temi, Trento, 1999, p. 31: Stato Maggiore Esercito, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Prot. no. 17008, 03.10.1942.

FRONTIERA NORD

Situazione di fatto sbarramenti della frontiera germanica

XIX C. A

sbarramenti ultimati	sbarramenti quasi ultimati	sbarramenti in corso	sbarramenti progettati	sbarramenti da progettare
Anterselva lago	Mennero f.v. - Torre del Mastaro	Piano dei Morti	Piz Lat	Vallèlunga
Perca	Lenticolo - S. Lorenzo - Costone del Cambio	Saletto	Tenne-Novale (ala destra)	Passo Rigolo
Landro nord	Tenne Novale f.v.	S. Valentino alla Mutta	Dobbiaco (all. des. e sin.)	Passo del Rombo
Landro Sorgente	Planca di Sopra	Tenne-Novale (ala sinistra)	Col della Chiave - Col del la Stanga	Corvara
Saltusio	Tel	Dobbiaco f.v.	Passo di Stalle	Forcella del Porto
Chiusa del Rio	Colle dei Bovi	Costapiana	Forcella di Casies	Spina del Lupo
	Sud Bolzano	Persciaco	Val di Sesto	Passo di Vizze
	Mules f.v.	Glorenza-Malles (ala de- stra)	Monte della Chiesa	Malga dei Dossi
		Oro	Glorenza-Malles (ala sin.)	Passo di Gola
		Erates	Giovo ed estens. ala sin.	Cornetto di Fana e Cor- no di Fana
		Landro sud	Mules (estens. ala destra)	Gandella (parte nuova)
		Fra di Sotto	Passo Fundres	Val Campo di Dentro
		Sares	Lutago	Val Fiscalina
		Le Palade	Valle Riva	Passo Tasca
		Val d'Erva	Seiva Plan	Passo Celato
		Gandella (parte vecchia)	Ertes	Passo Valles
		Mules (estens. ala sinistra)		Plan de Coronas
		Certosa		Tubre
		Sbarramenti in corso avanzato		Ponte Calva
		Passo di Resia		S. Pancrazio d'Ultimo
		Anterselva - Mezzavalle		Ponte di Forno
		Prato alla Drava		Badia
		Glorenza - Malles f.v.		Tamores
		Rausun Valdhora		
		Sciaves-Rio Valles-Rienza		

Abb. 9:

Grafische Darstellung des Baufortschritts der Sperren in Südtirol, herausgegeben vom Generalstab des Heeres am 31.12.1942, nach der Einstellung der Arbeiten. In der Spalte links sind die fertiggestellten Sperren aufgelistet, in allen anderen Spalten Sperren in unterschiedlichen Fertigstellungsstufen.

Fig. 9:

Graphical representation of the progress on the barriers in South Tyrol as issued by the General Staff Army on 31 December 1942 after the cessation of works. The column on the left lists the completed barriers; all other columns list those barriers in various stages of completion.

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On 20 October 1942, a few days after the order for the final cessation of works, the General Staff of the Army produced a document, significantly entitled: *“Memorandum on the reasons for the reduced effectiveness of the defensive system of the Alpine borders”*⁵⁸. It summarises the genesis of the Vallo Alpino, from its budgeting and the elaboration of the army circulars in relation to the political developments and their effects on the works to the many interruptions in the construction process. Unlike that of September, the document was not an internal paper of the military apparatus but was also intended to be presented to the Duce. It can be assumed that the final judgement was therefore sober in nature, but formulated in much milder terms:

For the execution of such a vast project as the defence of our borders – of such wide scope and in such difficult circumstances – the following basic requirements would have been indispensable:

- *stable and definitive guiding criteria;*
- *strictly unified direction and centralised administration;*
- *a comprehensive programme based upon adequate funding;*
- *continuity in execution to ensure development of the works remained independent of the inevitable fluctuations in our foreign policy.*

For the reasons mentioned above, these basic requirements could generally not be met in the realisation of the Vallo Alpino and the deficiencies now identified are a direct consequence of this.

In the end, these vast efforts were in vain and the Vallo Alpino never saw service. Its construction was not only an embarrassment with respect to the alliance with Germany, but also in respect of the Italian people who financed it, on account of the huge waste of resources.

The same is true of the low level of completion of the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol, as summarised graphically by the *Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2* on 31 December 1942: of the 77 barriers listed, only six had been completed (see the first column on the left in Fig. 9).

The Vallo Alpino also exhibited a remarkable lack of homogeneity in terms of the criteria used in the construction of the fortifications. The works from the period 1931–39 were built according to three different sets of guidelines (Circulars nos. 200, 450 and 7000), with the works built correspondingly heterogeneous, with all the consequences for the efficiency of the defence. On 31 December 1939, in the midst of the most intensive construction phase, Army Circular no. 15000 again introduced new criteria for fortress construction. The timing could hardly have been worse: on the one hand, it was issued at the beginning of a conflict, which would usually require new defensive methods to be quickly adopted; furthermore, the insistence on the machine gun as the main weapon had already been superseded when the directive came into force; finally, it came in the midst of the construction of an unprecedentedly large-scale system with countless active building

58 BSB FILM-R615-500. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, 20.10.1942. Promemoria circa le cause che hanno determinato un minor grado di efficienza della sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere alpine. “[...] Per la effettuazione di un’opera di così vasta mole qual’è la sistemazione difensiva delle nostre frontiere, di così grande sviluppo e in difficili condizioni ambientali, era indispensabile realizzare le seguenti premesse di base: criteri direttivi stabili e indiscussi / indirizzo rigorosamente unitario e direzione accentrata / programma di ampio respiro basato su finanziamento adeguato / continuità d’esecuzione da rendere lo sviluppo dei lavori indipendente dalle inevitabili fluttuazioni della nostra politica estera. Tali condizioni di base, per le cause esposte, non hanno potuto in genere verificarsi nell’esecuzione del Vallo alpino, e le manchevolezze ora constatate ne sono una diretta conseguenza. [...]”.

Genauso verhält es sich mit dem niedrigen Vollendungsgrad des Vallo Alpino in Südtirol, die das Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2 am 31. Dezember 1942 zusammenfassend grafisch dargestellt hat: von 77 aufgelisteten Sperren sind ganze 6 Sperren fertiggestellt, siehe erste Spalte links in Abbildung 9.

Bemerkenswert ist auch die Inhomogenität des Vallo Alpino, was die Festungsbaukriterien angeht. Die Werke aus der Zeit von 1931–39 sind nach drei verschiedenen Richtlinien gebaut (Rundschreiben Nr. 200, 450 und 7000) entsprechend inhomogen ist auch der gebaute Bestand an Werken – mit allen Konsequenzen auf den Wirkungsgrad der Verteidigung. Ausgerechnet inmitten der intensivsten Bauphase führt das Heer mit dem Rundschreiben Nr. 15000 am 31.12.1939 ein weiteres Mal neue Kriterien für den Festungsbau ein. Der Zeitpunkt konnte ungünstiger kaum sein: einerseits befand man sich zu Beginn eines Konflikts, der üblicherweise rasch neue Verteidigungsmethoden notwendig macht. Darüber hinaus war auch das Festhalten am Maschinengewehr als Hauptwaffe schon bei Inkrafttreten der Richtlinie nicht mehr der Stand der Zeit. Zudem befand man sich mitten in der Errichtungsphase eines nie dagewesenen Großbauwerks mit unzähligen laufenden Baustellen. Die Änderungen an den laufenden Arbeiten hatten Preiszuschläge zur Folge, sodass es zu einer unkontrollierbaren Preiserhöhung kam. Gepaart mit dem hohen Preisanstieg dieser Zeit, konnte es nicht anders als zu einer Kostenexplosion kommen. All diese Geschehnisse belegen, wie unerfahren und überfordert der Militärapparat mit der Umsetzung eines Bauwerks dieser Größenordnung gewesen ist.

Die gesamte Baugeschichte ist ein beispielloses Sammelsurium an Wirrnissen und widersprüchlichen Kehrtwendungen, die einer Fiktion entsprungen sein könnten. Kaum zu glauben, dass dieses Vorhaben den Schutz der Landesgrenzen garantieren sollte.

Es ist nicht nachvollziehbar, warum entschieden wurde, Planungen dieses Umfangs überhaupt in Angriff zu nehmen und weiter zu verfolgen. Sie liefen völlig abgekoppelt vom vorhandenen Wissen um die Verfügbarkeit von finanziellen Mitteln, Rohstoffen und Arbeitskräften. Ebenso wenig nachvollziehbar ist der Versuch, sie in dieser Form auch umzusetzen, noch dazu kurz entschlossen, im Eilverfahren und unter Ausnahmebedingungen.

Das Militär handelte wider besseres Wissen, augenscheinlich befand es sich in vollkommener Abhängigkeit von der politischen Führung und deren sprunghafter Haltung gegenüber dem Deutschen Reich. Die Problematik von Umfang und der Machbarkeit eines solchen Bauvorhabens mit den gegebenen italienischen Staatsbilanzen hatte das Kriegsministerium schon 1927 vorausgesehen und eine entsprechende, schrittweise Vorgangsweise skizziert. Dadurch sollte die Landesverteidigung in jedem Fall sichergestellt sein, auch wenn sie noch nicht vollständig gewesen wäre:

„Die begrenzte Verfügbarkeit unserer Haushaltsmittel zwingt uns, die Gesamtlast auf eine relativ lange Anzahl von Jahren zu verteilen. Es ist daher notwendig, die Arbeiten nach einem ‚Programm‘ auszuführen, das es ermöglicht, die gesamte Verteidigung ‚nach und nach‘ zu vervollständigen, so dass wir bei Kriegsausbruch, bevor das Befestigungssystem selbst fertiggestellt ist, unter allen Umständen über vollständige Elemente verfügen können, auch wenn diese noch nicht vollständig im allgemeinen Rahmen der gesamten Verteidigungsorganisation koordiniert sind.“⁶⁰

60 BSB FILM R615-228 fr.083–136. Ministero della Guerra – Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore – Ufficio Operazioni, Dic. 1927: La sistemazione difensiva delle nostre frontiere terrestri. „[...] Le scarse disponibilità del nostro bilancio ci obbligano pertanto a dividere l'onere complessivo in un numero relativamente lungo di anni. È necessario quindi procedere nell'esecuzione dei lavori secondo un ‚programma‘ che consenta di completare la organizzazione complessiva ‚per riempimento‘ in modo che scoppiando la guerra, prima che l'organizzazione stessa sia ultimata, si possa disporre, in ogni circostanza, di elementi completi anche se non ancora totalmente coordinati nel quadro generale di tutta l'organizzazione difensiva. [...]“

sites. The changes to the ongoing works resulted in surcharges that led to an uncontrollable increase in price. When coupled with the high price rises at the time, a cost explosion was unavoidable. All of these events demonstrate just how inexperienced and overwhelmed the military authorities were when it came to realising a structure of this magnitude.

The entire construction history is an unprecedented mixture of confusion, contradictions and U-turns that could have come from a work of fiction. It is hard to believe that this project was supposed to guarantee the protection of Italy's land borders.

It is incomprehensible as to why it was decided to start and pursue planning on this scale in the first place. The plans were completely inconsistent with the existing knowledge of the availability of money, materials and manpower. Equally incomprehensible is the attempt to implement them in that form, at short notice, in a fast-track procedure and under exceptional conditions.

The military acted against its better judgement, apparently in complete subordination to the political leadership and its erratic attitude towards the German Reich. The problems of the scope and feasibility of such a project, given the state of Italy's national finances, had been foreseen by the War Ministry as early as 1927 and an appropriate, step-by-step procedure had been outlined. This was to ensure national defence in all circumstances, even if this had yet to be completed:

*"Budgetary limitations force us to spread the total burden over a relatively long number of years. It is therefore necessary to carry out the work according to a 'programme' that will permit the entire defences to be completed 'little by little' so that, if war breaks out before the fortification system itself is completed, we will have complete elements in all circumstances, even if they are not yet fully coordinated within the overall framework of the organisation of the defences as a whole."*⁵⁹

As is well known, construction proceeded in exactly the opposite manner: the northern border in South Tyrol remained unsecured.

1943

In 1943, while planning work continued, construction activities had as good as ceased, with only very urgent maintenance work carried out and the camouflage of individual works completed. The 1943 construction programme for the German border also gave priority to the camouflaging or completion of execution projects. It was strictly forbidden to subcontract work on construction activities to private companies or to establish construction sites, which had to be done only by military personnel.⁶⁰ Conversely, studies and designs for dams that remained to be completed were to be continued.⁶¹

A separate planning department was set up on 29 January 1943 that, in addition to designing new barriers, also had the task of updating the planning documents of the works dating from 1940. The great urgency meant that the paperwork was neglected: many works had been modified during construction and such deviations from the

59 BSB FILM R615-228 fr. 083–136. Ministero della Guerra – Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore – Ufficio Operazioni, Dec. 1927: La sistemazione difensiva delle nostre frontiere terrestri. "[...] Le scarse disponibilità del nostro bilancio ci obbligano pertanto a dividere l'onere complessivo in un numero relativamente lungo di anni. È necessario quindi procedere nell'esecuzione dei lavori secondo un 'programma' che consenta di completare la organizzazione complessiva 'per riempimento' in modo che scoppiando la guerra, prima che l'organizzazione stessa sia ultimata, si possa disporre, in ogni circostanza, di elementi completi anche se non ancora totalmente coordinati nel quadro generale di tutta l'organizzazione difensiva. [...]".

60 AUSSME M3–389. Comando XXXV Corpo d'Armata, Nucleo Organizzazione Difensiva. Prot. 569/4/OD, 17.06.1943: Programma lavori difensivi e stradali 1943 alla frontiera settentrionale (germanica). P. 1.

61 AUSSME M3–389. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2. Prot. no. 10500, 31.05.1943: Programma lavori difensivi e stradali 1943 alla frontiera settentrionale (svizzera e germanica). P. 1.

Bekanntlich ging man beim Bau genau gegenteilig vor und die Sicherung der Nordgrenze in Südtirol scheiterte.

1943

Im Jahr 1943 laufen die Planungsarbeiten weiter, die Bautätigkeiten sind aber so gut wie eingestellt, nur ganz dringliche Instandhaltungsarbeiten werden durchgeführt und die Tarnung von einzelnen Werken fertiggestellt. Das Bauprogramm für die deutsche Grenze von 1943 sieht auch vorrangig Tarnungsarbeiten oder das Erstellen von Ausführungsprojekten vor. Bei den Bautätigkeiten ist es strengstens untersagt, Arbeiten an private Unternehmen zu vergeben oder Baustellen einzurichten. Sie müssen ausschließlich von militärischem Personal ausgeführt werden.⁶¹ Hingegen werden die noch durchzuführenden Studien und Entwürfe für Talsperren fortgesetzt.⁶²

Am 29. Januar 1943 war eine eigene Planungsabteilung eingerichtet worden, die neben der Projektierung neuer Sperren auch die Aufgabe hatte, die Planunterlagen der Bauten aus dem Jahr 1940 richtigzustellen. Wegen der großen Dringlichkeit war die Papierarbeit zurückgeblieben. Ein Großteil der Werke wurde noch während dem Bau abgeändert und diese Abweichungen vom Ursprungprojekt waren noch nicht erfasst. Bei 111 Werken mussten die Ausführungsprojekte erst erstellt und bei 215 Werken die Pläne richtiggestellt werden.⁶³

Am 19. Juli 1943 werden wegen Bedarfs von Arbeitskraft und Baustellenausstattung für die Landesverteidigung alle Bauarbeiten unterbrochen.⁶⁴ Von weiteren Bautätigkeiten vor der Besetzung Südtirols durch deutsche Truppen am 8. September 1943 ist nichts bekannt.

An diesem Tag endet die Entstehungsgeschichte des Vallo Alpino in Südtirol im zweiten Weltkrieg und der Zeitabschnitt, den das Forschungsprojekt umfasst. In der Nachkriegszeit wird ein kleiner Teil des Vallo Alpino für gänzlich andere Bedrohungsszenarien im Kontext des Kalten Krieges für ein NATO-Verteidigungskonzept modernisiert, umfunktioniert und wiederverwendet. Diese Nachnutzungsphase war nicht Forschungsgegenstand in diesem Projekt.

61 AUSSME M3–389. Comando XXXV Corpo d'Armata, Nucleo Organizzazione Difensiva. Prot. 569/4/OD del 17.06.1943: Programma lavori difensivi e stradali 1943 alla frontiera settentrionale (germanica), S. 1

62 AUSSME M3–389. SMRE, Ufficio Operazioni 1, Sezione 2. Prot. Nr. 10500 del 31.05.1943: Programma lavori difensivi e stradali 1943 alla frontiera settentrionale (svizzera e germanica). S. 1

63 Ufficio Lavori del Genio Militare Bolzano, Sezione Difesa, 24.05.1943: Relazione sulla progettazione delle opere difensive. S. 1, 2, 5

64 AUSSME M3–389. Ministero della Guerra –Direzione Generale Genio, Prot. Nr. 42939/S del 19.07.1943: Sospensione lavori per esigenze della difesa. S. 1

original plans had not been recorded. The execution plans for 111 works first had to be drawn up while, for 215 works, the plans had to be amended.⁶²

On 19 July 1943, owing to the manpower and equipment requirements for national defence, all construction work was halted.⁶³ Nothing is known of further construction activities before German troops occupied South Tyrol on 8 September 1943.

This date marks the end of the story of the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol in the Second World War: and of the period covered by the research project. In the post-war period, a small part of the Vallo Alpino was modernised, converted and reused as part of a NATO defensive concept for the very different Cold War threat scenarios. This after-use phase is not covered by the research project.

Data visualisation

The data visualisation meets two needs: it serves the research project internally as an instrument for recording, overviewing and organising the research data; and it acts as a means of communication to the outside world so as to make the content of the RP more widely accessible to those interested.

The data visualisation was specially developed with the experts Dr Florian Windhager of the Danube University at Krems and Mag. Michael Smuc of mindfactor.at, both of whom have a wealth of experience in this field.

The visualisation is designed as a low-threshold 3-dimensional map and combines all levels of knowledge. It can be freely browsed, zoomed in and out, while the components of the Vallo Alpino listed can be clicked on at will. Within the framework of this project, only the basic structure and an exemplary filling are being created. The underlying data-base can in future be expanded as desired or linked to other databases, such as that of the Office for the Preservation of Monuments. With the exception of the financial constraints, there exist unlimited possibilities to programme the presentation of further content.

A method for the curated reproduction of data was also elaborated so as to provide a low-threshold introduction to visualisation. A “Quicktour” makes the data visualisation accessible to interested parties – even those with no prior knowledge – allowing them to “consume” the RP data: visitors are guided from north to south, following the narrative of a fictitious enemy invasion route. Advancing from the Brenner Pass, the invader moves inland via the so-called “*Direttrice Isarco*”, which corresponds to the original threat scenario that triggered the construction of the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol. Stops are made along the route at several stations, with bunkers and other elements of the Vallo Alpino presented using various media (documents, plan drawings, multimedia content such as photogrammetry, interviews with contemporary witnesses, etc.).

The data visualization is accessible at this link: <https://valloalpino.info/>

62 Ufficio Lavori del Genio Militare Bolzano, Sezione Difesa, 24.05.1943: Relazione sulla progettazione delle opere difensive. Pp. 1, 2, 5.

63 AUSSME M3–389. Ministero della Guerra – Direzione Generale Genio, Prot. no. 42939/S, 19.07.1943: Sospensione lavori per esigenze della difesa. P. 1.

Datenvisualisierung

Die Datenvisualisierung erfüllt zwei Anforderungen: sie dient dem FP intern als Instrument zur Erfassung, Übersicht und zur Organisation der Forschungsdaten, und als Kommunikationsmittel nach außen, um einer interessierten Öffentlichkeit die Inhalte des FP näherzubringen.

Die Datenvisualisierung wurde mit den Fachexperten Florian Windhager (Donau Uni Krems) und Michael Smuc (Firma mindfactor.at) eigens entwickelt, die beide über einen großen Erfahrungsschatz auf diesem Gebiet verfügen.

Die Visualisierung ist niederschwellig als dreidimensionale Landkarte angelegt und vereint alle Wissens Ebenen. In ihr kann frei navigiert, gezoomt und die in ihr verzeichneten Bestandteile des Vallo Alpino nach Belieben angeklickt werden. Im Rahmen dieses Projektes entsteht nur die Grundstruktur und eine beispielhafte Befüllung. Die dahinter liegende Datenbank kann in Zukunft nach Belieben erweitert oder auch mit anderen Datenbanken verknüpft werden, wie z. B. jener des Amtes für Denkmalpflege. Es gibt – bis auf die finanziellen – unbegrenzte Möglichkeiten die Darstellung weiterer Inhalte zu programmieren.

Es wurde auch eine Methode zur kuratierten Wiedergabe von Daten ausgearbeitet, die dazu dient, einen niederschweligen Einstieg in die Visualisierung zu ermöglichen. Mittels einer „Quicktour“ können Interessierte ohne Vorwissen in die Datenvisualisierung eintauchen und Daten des FP konsumieren: die Besucher:innen werden nach dem Narrativ einer fiktiven feindlichen Einfallsroute von Norden nach Süden geführt. Vom Brennerpass dringt man über die sogenannte „Direttrice Isarco“ ins Landesinnere vor – entsprechend dem ursprünglichen Bedrohungsszenario, das den Bau des Vallo Alpino in Südtirol ausgelöst hat. Entlang der Route wird an mehreren Stationen Halt gemacht und Bunker oder andere Bestandteile des Vallo Alpino mit unterschiedlichen Medien präsentiert (Dokumente, Planzeichnungen, Multimedia Inhalte wie Fotogrammetrien, Zeitzeugeninterviews u. a.).

Unter diesem Link ist die Datenvisualisierung zugänglich: <https://valloalpino.info/>

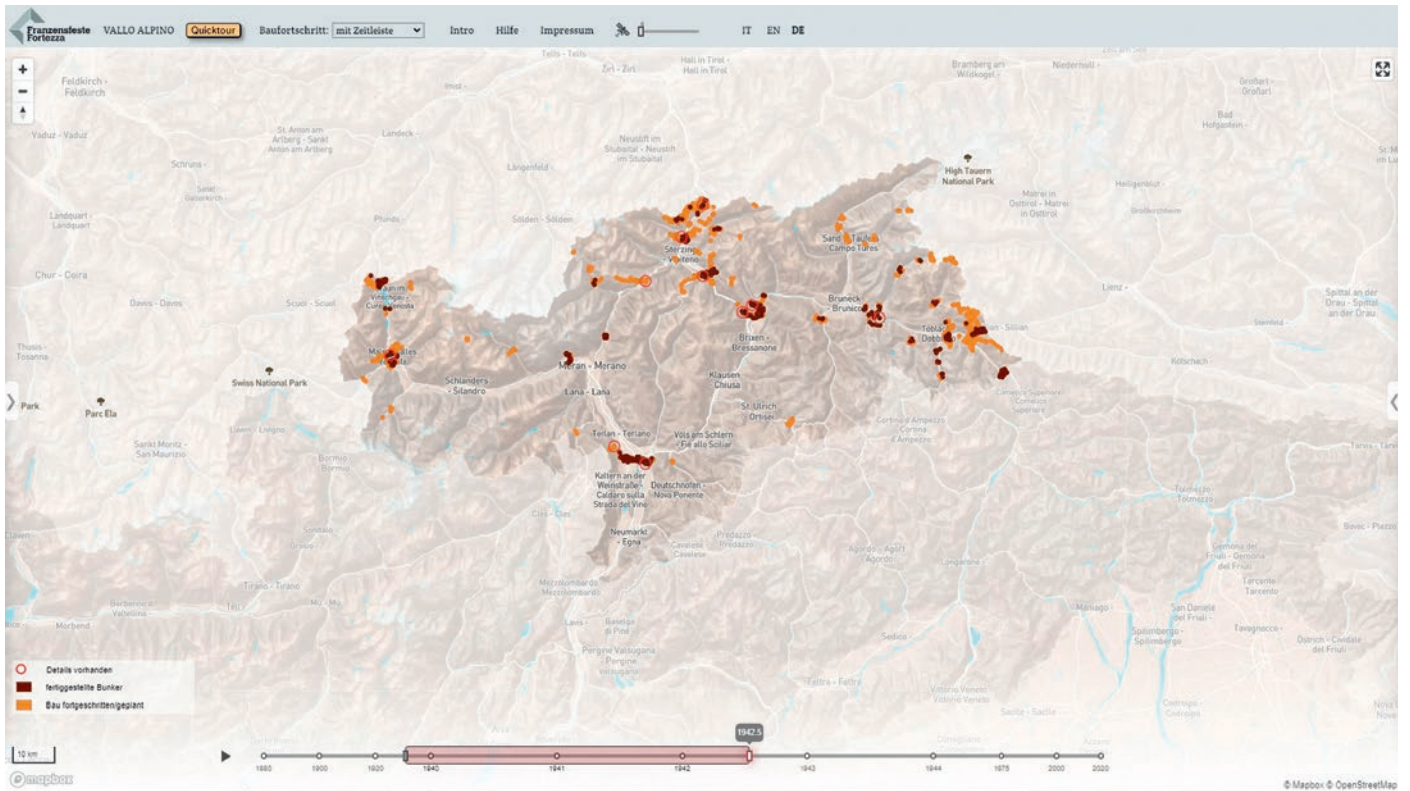


Abb. 10:
Ansicht Daten-
visualisierung

Fig. 10:
Data visualisation
overview

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Franzensfeste

Andrea Di Michele

Il Vallo Alpino alla luce dei rapporti tra Italia e Germania tra anni venti e trenta

In questo contributo vorrei ricostruire sinteticamente il percorso che condusse il regime fascista a decidere di realizzare il Vallo Alpino. Decisivi furono i rapporti tutt'altro che semplici tra Italia e Germania tra anni venti e trenta, con la questione dell'Alto Adige a svolgere un ruolo centrale. La realizzazione del Vallo Alpino si può spiegare solo a partire dai timori e dalla diffidenza che l'Italia maturò verso la Germania, ben prima del concepimento e della costruzione di quella linea difensiva.

Dal punto di vista degli equilibri internazionali, la situazione italiana immediatamente dopo la fine della Grande guerra era tutt'altro che sfavorevole. Oltre il Brennero sorgeva il piccolo e debole stato austriaco, nato dalla dissoluzione dell'Impero austro-ungarico, la cui scomparsa lasciava un enorme vuoto politico nell'Europa danubiano-balcanica, che l'Italia, in quanto potenza vincitrice, si riprometteva di colmare. La debolezza della nuova Austria venne sfruttata dall'Italia a proprio favore, che cercò di legarla a sé dal punto di vista politico ed economico, tentativo che ebbe un certo successo nel corso degli anni venti. Un elemento centrale della politica estera italiana fu evitare in tutti i modi il rischio dell'Anschluss, ovvero dell'unione dell'Austria con la Germania. Per Roma era prioritario sfuggire al pericolo di ritrovarsi la Germania al Brennero; avere cioè ai propri confini un paese di dimensioni e peso ben superiori all'Austria, capace di esercitare una pericolosa forza d'attrazione nei confronti dei nuovi territori annessi e abitati in larghissima maggioranza da popolazione di lingua tedesca. In Austria, l'aspirazione all'Anschluss era diffusissima, soprattutto a causa dell'estrema debolezza economica del piccolo paese alpino, incapace persino di sostenersi dal punto di vista alimentare a seguito della rottura dei legami con le altre aree dell'ex Impero, che avevano dato vita a nuovi stati sovrani. L'ipotesi dell'Anschluss, però, era stata formalmente vietata dai trattati di pace, attraverso i quali le potenze vincitrici avevano voluto escludere la possibilità di un ingrandimento territoriale della Germania sconfitta.

I timori dell'Italia vennero presto alimentati dalla politica del ministro degli Esteri tedesco Gustav Stresemann – in carica dall'agosto 1923 fino alla sua morte nell'ottobre 1929 – volta al recupero del ruolo della Germania in Europa, con il "revisionismo pacifico" delle clausole firmate a Versailles. La messa in discussione dei nuovi confini si intrecciò con il tema della protezione delle minoranze tedesche rimaste fuori da Germania e Austria. Berlino finanziava segretamente società pangermaniste come il Deutscher Schutzbund, attivo in maniera aggressiva sul versante meridionale con la prospettiva dell'Anschluss e anche dell'annessione del Sudtirolo e dei territori carinziani e stiriani passati al Regno dei serbi, croati e sloveni. Allo stesso tempo, la stampa tedesca rilanciava costantemente le notizie sull'azione italianizzatrice del fascismo in Alto Adige,

Andrea Di Michele

The Vallo Alpino in the light of relations between Italy and Germany in the 1920s and 1930s

In this contribution I would briefly like to describe the path that led the Fascist regime to decide to build the *Vallo Alpino* or Alpine Wall. Decisive in this respect were the far from easy relations that existed between Italy and Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, with the issue of South Tyrol playing a central role. The construction of the Vallo Alpino can only be explained by Italy's fears and distrust with regard to Germany, long before this defensive line was conceived or realised.

From the point of view of the international balance, the Italian situation immediately after the end of the Great War was far from unfavourable. Beyond the Brenner Pass lay the small and weak Austrian state that had arisen from the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: the latter's demise left a huge political vacuum in the European Danubian and Balkan regions which Italy, as a victorious power, vowed to fill. The weakness of the new Austria was exploited by Italy for its own gain, seeking to bind Austria to itself politically and economically – an attempt that saw some success during the 1920s. A central element of Italian foreign policy was by all means to avoid the risk of an *Anschluss*, i.e. the union of Austria with Germany. It was a priority for Rome to avoid the danger of seeing Germany on the Brenner Pass and thus having on its borders a country of far greater size and weight than Austria, one that was capable of exerting a dangerous pull on the newly annexed territories with their very large majority of German speakers. There was widespread enthusiasm for the *Anschluss* in Austria, especially on account of the extreme economic weakness of this small Alpine country that was unable to sustain even its foodstuff needs following the severing of ties with other parts of the former Empire, which had seen the rise of new sovereign states. The prospect of the *Anschluss* had been formally forbidden by the peace treaties, however, with the victorious powers wanting to exclude any possibility of territorial enlargement on the part of the defeated Germany.

Italy's fears were soon fuelled by the policy pursued by Gustav Stresemann – Germany's foreign minister from August 1923 until his death in October 1929 – which aimed at recovering Germany's role in Europe through the "peaceful revisionism" of the Versailles Treaty. His questioning of the new borders was interwoven with the issue of the protection of the German minorities now located outside of Germany and Austria. Berlin secretly financed pan-Germanist societies such as the *Deutscher Schutzbund*, which was aggressively active on the southern flank with the prospect of the *Anschluss* as well as the annexation of South Tyrol and the Carinthian and Styrian territories that had passed to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. Yugoslavia. At the same time, the German press constantly ran reports about the Italianising moves by the Fascists in South

alimentando nell'opinione pubblica germanica l'indignazione per quanto avveniva a sud del Brennero. Nel corso del 1926, la tensione tra Italia e Germania intorno alla questione sudtirolese conobbe il suo culmine, con il presidente del Consiglio bavarese, Heinrich Held, che il 5 febbraio 1926 pronunciò un durissimo attacco alla politica italiana, segnalando il "terribile pericolo morale e politico" che stava correndo la "leale, retta popolazione tedesca" del Sudtirolo. L'invito era quello di impegnarsi per le sorti dei sudtirolesi, al fine di "ricondurli sulla via della libertà" e di protestare contro la "brutale violenza ai danni del germanesimo"¹. Il discorso venne interpretato come un'esplicita minaccia alla sicurezza del confine e condusse alla violenta risposta di Mussolini in Parlamento appena il giorno dopo, che giudicò "inaudito" l'intervento di Held, annunciando che la politica del governo non sarebbe cambiata, che l'obiettivo restava l'italianizzazione dell'Alto Adige e che l'Italia non avrebbe mai ammainato la bandiera al Brennero, semmai l'avrebbe portata oltre². Il livello dello scontro si alzò ulteriormente con nuovi interventi al parlamento tirolese, a quello di Vienna, con la difesa di Held da parte del ministro degli Esteri Stresemann e con un nuovo discorso di Mussolini.

Negli stessi mesi, a occuparsi di Alto Adige fu anche "Gerarchia", la rivista politica diretta da Mussolini, che rivolse l'attenzione sulle preoccupanti conseguenze che ci si sarebbe dovuti attendere dal patto di Locarno firmato nel dicembre 1925. Quell'accordo garantiva i confini occidentali che la Germania condivideva con Francia e Belgio ma non, come l'Italia aveva invano cercato di ottenere, quelli meridionali. La coincidenza tra Locarno e interessamento per i sudtirolesi appariva inquietante e segnalava, secondo Virginio Gayda, che di lì a pochissimo sarebbe diventato direttore de "Il Giornale d'Italia", l'intenzione della Germania di rivolgere verso sud le proprie velleità revisioniste, con l'Anschluss come primo obiettivo. A suo avviso, "la sommossa antitaliana per il martirio dell'Alto Adige" era da considerarsi "una fanfara di guerra": "La Germania si risveglia e tenta la riconquista delle posizioni perdute e l'espansione in territori di compensazione"³.

Il costante interessamento della Germania per il Sudtirolo non solo infastidiva, ma preoccupava profondamente Mussolini e il fascismo, che vi intravedevano potenziali mire espansionistiche verso sud. Numerosi osservatori e politici di area nazionalista e fascista collegarono strettamente il "risveglio tedesco" con la necessità di accelerare il più possibile l'opera d'italianizzazione dell'Alto Adige. A loro dire, di lì a pochi anni la Germania avrebbe ripreso il proprio ruolo di grande potenza europea e all'Italia conveniva che in quel momento il Sudtirolo fosse già ben avviato sulla via dell'integrazione forzata.

La vicenda sopra richiamata mostra la rilevanza della questione altoatesina nel determinare i rapporti tra l'Italia e i paesi di lingua tedesca, in primo luogo la Germania. Da un lato, la politica italiana verso i sudtirolesi influenzò profondamente le relazioni tra Roma e Berlino, dall'altro, all'inverso, il fascismo modulò di volta in volta il grado di radicalità del suo intervento in Alto Adige sulla base di precise considerazioni di politica estera, con gli occhi ben puntati sulla Germania.

Il timore dell'espansionismo tedesco, unito alle pressioni dei nazionalisti ed ex irredentisti trentini che insistevano sulla necessità di agire in fretta e con decisione, condusse all'elaborazione di interventi di "conquista del suolo", vale a dire di acquisizione di beni terrieri su cui insediare nuclei di popolazione italiana in grado di assicurare un migliore

1 Traduzione dell'autore. Il testo in lingua tedesca del discorso è riprodotto in W. Freiberg, (pseud. di K. Heinricher), *Südtirol und der italienische Nationalismus. Entstehung und Entwicklung einer europäischen Minderheitenfrage*, a cura di J. Fontana, vol. II, *Dokumente*, Universitätsverlag Wagner, Innsbruck 1990, pp. 344-345.

2 Atti del Parlamento Italiano, Discussioni della Camera dei Deputati, XXVII Legislatura – Sessione 1924-1926, vol. V, 18/11/1925 – 06/02/1926, Tipografia Camera dei deputati, Roma 1926, pp. 5401-5404.

3 V. Gayda, *Il risveglio della Germania e l'accordo con l'Austria*, in "Gerarchia", V, 1926, 2, pp. 110-122, qui p. 115.

Tyrol, prompting the indignation of the German public regarding events south of the Brenner Pass. The tension between Italy and Germany surrounding the South Tyrolean question reached its climax during 1926, with the Bavarian Prime Minister, Heinrich Held, making an extremely harsh attack on Italian policy on 5 February 1926 and highlighting the “terrible moral and political danger” faced by the “loyal, upright German population” of South Tyrol. He called for a commitment to the fate of the South Tyroleans in order to “lead them back to the path of freedom” and to protest against the “brutal violence being meted out against Germanism”¹. The speech was interpreted as an explicit threat to the security of the border and led to Mussolini’s violent response in Parliament the following day, when he called Held’s intervention “unprecedented”, announcing that his government’s policy would not change, that the goal remained the Italianisation of South Tyrol and that Italy would never lower the flag it had raised on the Brenner Pass and would have, if anything, carried it further². The level of confrontation was heightened by further speeches in the Tyrolean parliament, in the Vienna parliament, by Foreign Minister Stresemann’s defence of Held and by a new speech from Mussolini.

In the same months, “*Gerarchia*”, the political magazine (nominally) edited by Mussolini, also addressed the matter of South Tyrol, turning its attention to the worrying consequences to be expected from the Locarno Pact, signed in December 1925. This agreement guaranteed the western borders shared by Germany with France and Belgium but not, as Italy had tried in vain to obtain, its southern ones. The coincidence between Locarno and the concern for the South Tyroleans was disturbing and – according to Virginio Gayda, shortly to become director of “*Il Giornale d’Italia*” – signalled Germany’s intention to turn its revisionist ambitions southwards, with the *Anschluss* as its first objective. In his opinion, “the anti-Italian uprising for the martyrdom of South Tyrol” was to be considered “a fanfare of war”: “Germany is awakening and attempting to reconquer lost positions and expand into compensatory territories”³.

Germany’s constant interest in South Tyrolean affairs not only annoyed but also deeply worried Mussolini and his Fascists, who saw potential expansionist aims southwards. Many observers and politicians from nationalist and Fascist milieux closely linked the “German awakening” with the need to speed up the Italianisation of South Tyrol as quickly as possible. According to them, Germany was only a few years away from resuming its role as a major European power and it was thus in Italy’s interest that South Tyrol was already well on the way to forced integration.

The above-mentioned events show the relevance of the South Tyrolean question in determining relations between Italy and the German-speaking countries, primarily Germany itself. On the one hand, Italian policy towards South Tyrol profoundly influenced relations between Rome and Berlin while, on the other, Fascism would from time to time adjust the radical extent of its interventions in South Tyrol on the basis of particular foreign policy considerations, with its eyes firmly set on Germany.

The fear of German expansionism, combined with pressure from Trentino nationalists and former irredentists who insisted on the need to act quickly and decisively, led to a series of “conquests on the ground”, i.e. the acquisition of land on which to install Italian settlers who could ensure better control of the territory. An unprecedented and

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- 1 The original German text of the speech is reproduced in W. Freiberg (pseud. of K. Heinricher), *Südtirol und der italienische Nationalismus. Entstehung und Entwicklung einer europäischen Minderheitenfrage*, ed. J. Fontana, vol. II, *Dokumente*, Universitätsverlag Wagner, Innsbruck 1990, pp. 344–345.
 - 2 *Atti del Parlamento Italiano, Discussioni della Camera dei Deputati, XXVII Legislatura – Sessione 1924–1926*, vol. V, 18.11.1925–06.02.1926, Printing House of House of Deputies, Rome 1926, pp. 5401–5404.
 - 3 V. Gayda, *Il risveglio della Germania e l’accordo con l’Austria*, in “*Gerarchia*”, V, 1926, 2, pp. 110–122, here p. 115.

controllo del territorio. Nel corso degli anni venti, un ruolo inedito e speciale in questa direzione venne assegnato all'Opera nazionale combattenti, che avrebbe dovuto compiere imponenti interventi di bonifica e colonizzazione, che però sarebbero stati realizzati solo in minima parte. I piani dell'Opera vennero di fatto abbandonati alla fine degli anni venti, in conseguenza di un'opera di avvicinamento politico alla Germania, sempre molto sensibile a quanto avveniva in Alto Adige.

La rapida ascesa di Hitler, però, rilanciò le preoccupazioni italiane. Negli anni precedenti, si era fatta più efficace l'opera di penetrazione del fascismo in Austria, massima con l'instaurazione del regime clerico-fascista di Engelbert Dollfuss, divenuto cancelliere nel maggio 1932. Per Mussolini divenne prioritario rafforzare il legame politico ed economico con l'Austria, orientarla ideologicamente in senso fascista e salvaguardarne l'indipendenza contro le mire annessionistiche della Germania. La pressione tedesca crebbe dopo l'avvento al potere del nazismo e Mussolini sostenne Dollfuss nell'opera di repressione del sempre più forte movimento nazista austriaco.

L'ascesa di Hitler non metteva solo in seria difficoltà la politica estera dell'Italia sullo scacchiere danubiano-balcanico e i suoi propositi di legare indissolubilmente a sé l'Austria. Ancora più preoccupanti erano gli effetti in Alto Adige, dove le autorità italiane cominciarono a registrare sempre più frequentemente manifestazioni di entusiasmo pangermanista, con l'esibizione di svastiche, scritte irredentiste e talvolta anche con aperte provocazioni verso le autorità statali. Le preoccupazioni italiane raggiunsero il loro culmine dopo il tentato colpo di stato dei nazisti nel luglio 1934, con l'assassinio di Dollfuss, al quale Mussolini reagì inviando al Brennero quattro divisioni a difesa dell'indipendenza austriaca. Il segnale che l'Italia era disposta a un intervento militare per evitare l'Anschluss costrinse Hitler a fare marcia indietro. La nuova situazione spinse il regime fascista a rilanciare la politica di acquisizione terriera, assegnata questa volta all'Ente di rinascita agraria per le Tre Venezie, i cui risultati furono però assai limitati.

Un'ulteriore svolta si ebbe dopo l'ennesimo peggioramento del quadro internazionale. L'impresa etiopica e le conseguenti sanzioni votate dalla Società delle nazioni avevano determinato l'isolamento dell'Italia. Tra i grandi d'Europa, al suo fianco rimaneva la sola Germania, cui l'Italia si riavvicinò rapidamente dopo la crisi seguita all'omicidio di Dollfuss. A partire da quel momento, la strada dell'alleanza tra le due dittature appariva tracciata sempre più chiaramente. In cambio della non disinteressata amicizia tedesca, Mussolini cominciò a considerare inevitabile la prospettiva dell'Anschluss. Ciò avvenne però più in fretta di quanto immaginato dal duce e in un modo a dir poco umiliante per chi aveva cullato per più di un decennio il sogno di fare dell'Austria il perno del proprio predominio nell'Europa danubiana. La Germania invase l'Austria il 12 marzo 1938 senza praticamente informare l'Italia, con Hitler che inviò una lettera a Mussolini in cui ribadiva l'intangibilità del Brennero, quando le truppe stavano ormai valicando il confine. Questa volta, il governo italiano non rispose alle richieste d'aiuto del cancelliere austriaco e l'Italia dovette abbandonare quella che era stata una posizione chiara fin dalla fine della prima guerra mondiale, ovvero evitare in tutti i modi che la Germania annettesse l'Austria, mettendo a rischio quei territori ex asburgici acquisiti dal Regno d'Italia dopo la vittoria.

Con la Germania direttamente al confine, il pericolo era avvertito come estremo e obbligava a una reazione sul piano del controllo militare del territorio e della difesa della linea di frontiera. In questo contesto, del tutto nuovo, alla fine del 1938 l'Ente di rinascita agraria presentò formale richiesta per ottenere il trasferimento in sua proprietà di una serie di terreni e immobili collocati in prossimità del confine del Brennero e di Tarvisio. Pochi mesi dopo, una serie di decreti formalizzava gli espropri di circa 470 ettari al di qua della frontiera del Brennero e di quasi 1500 ettari in prossimità di quella di Tarvisio.

special role in this area was in the 1920s assigned to the veterans' association known as the *Opera Nazionale Combattenti*, which was supposed to carry out impressive land reclamation and colonisation actions, but which only managed to realise a fraction of these. The association's plans were in fact abandoned at the end of the 1920s as a result of political rapprochement with Germany, always very sensitive to events in South Tyrol.

The rapid rise of Hitler, however, revived Italian concerns. Fascism had in the preceding years penetrated more and more into Austria, reaching its high point with the establishment of the clerical-Fascist regime of Engelbert Dollfuss, who became Chancellor in May 1932. It now became a priority for Mussolini to strengthen his political and economic ties with Austria, orientating it ideologically towards Fascism and safeguarding its independence against the annexationist aims of Germany. German pressure grew once the Nazis came to power and Mussolini supported Dollfuss in suppressing the growing Nazi movement in Austria.

Hitler's rise not only placed Italy's foreign policy on the Danubian-Balkan chessboard and its intentions to inextricably bind Austria to itself at serious risk: even more worrying were the effects in South Tyrol, where the Italian authorities began to note more and more frequent manifestations of pan-Germanist enthusiasm, with displays of swastikas, irredentist graffiti and sometimes even open provocation of the state authorities. Italian concerns reached a peak after the attempted coup d'état by Austrian Nazis in July 1934 with the assassination of Dollfuss, to which Mussolini reacted by sending four divisions to the Brenner Pass in order to defend Austrian independence. This signal, i.e. that Italy was prepared to intervene militarily to prevent the *Anschluss*, forced Hitler to back down. The new situation prompted the Fascist regime to relaunch its policy of land acquisition, this time assigned to the *Ente di rinascita agraria per le Tre Venezie* [Agency for the Agrarian Revival of the Tre Venezie region], the results of which were however very limited.

A further turning point came after yet another worsening of the international situation. Its Ethiopian venture and the consequent sanctions imposed by the League of Nations had resulted in Italy's isolation: among the European great powers, only Germany remained at its side. Italy therefore quickly moved to a rapprochement after the crisis that followed Dollfuss's murder. From that moment on, the path of the alliance between the two dictatorships appeared ever more clearly mapped out. In return for the (not unselfish) German friendship, Mussolini began to see the prospect of an *Anschluss* as inevitable. This however happened rather faster than the Duce had imagined and in a manner that was, to say the least, humiliating for one who had for over a decade cherished the dream of making Austria the pivot of his dominance over the Danube regions. Germany invaded Austria on 12 March 1938, hardly bothering to inform Italy: Hitler sent a letter to Mussolini in which he reiterated the inviolability of the Brenner Pass even as his troops were crossing the border. This time the Italian government did not respond to the Austrian Chancellor's pleas for help and Italy had to abandon what had been a clear position since the end of the First World War, namely that of preventing Germany from annexing Austria in any way, thus putting at risk the former Habsburg territories that had been acquired by the Kingdom of Italy after its victory in the First World War.

With Germany now right on the border, the danger was perceived as extreme and forced a reaction in terms of the military control of the territory and the defence of the line of the frontier. Given this entirely new context, at the end of 1938 the *Ente di Rinascita Agraria* formally applied for the transfer to its ownership of a series of lands and buildings located near the Brenner and Tarvisio borders. A few months later, a series of decrees formalised the expropriation of some 470 hectares of great military interest on the Italian side of the Brenner border, as well as almost 1500 hectares (mainly woods

(soprattutto boschi e pascoli), terreni cui si attribuiva un alto interesse militare. Il controllo diretto di una fascia di confine da militarizzare e in parte da popolare con coloni italiani avrebbe dovuto, nelle speranze italiane, garantire una maggiore sicurezza contro la rinnovata spinta tedesca verso meridione.

È in questo contesto che si inserisce la realizzazione di imponenti opere di fortificazione ai confini con la Germania. Se negli anni precedenti, simili interventi erano stati condotti in direzione di Francia e Jugoslavia, tra 1938 e 1939 l'attenzione si spostò verso nord. Fin dall'aprile 1938, poco dopo l'Anschluss, Mussolini comunicò al capo di Stato maggiore generale, Pietro Badoglio, la necessità di prendere precauzioni "molto serie" alla frontiera settentrionale⁴. Ad accrescere le preoccupazioni italiane per l'espansionismo tedesco contribuirono di lì a poco l'annessione dei Sudeti nel settembre 1938 e l'occupazione di Boemia e Moravia nel marzo 1939. Alla fine di aprile del 1939, Mussolini ordinò al capo di Stato maggiore dell'esercito, Alberto Pariani, di "chiudere la porta di casa: fortificazioni sulle frontiere anche a Nord!"⁵. Nonostante il mese successivo Italia e Germania firmassero il Patto d'acciaio, a novembre Mussolini diede ordine a Badoglio di dare immediato avvio a estesi lavori di fortificazione al confine settentrionale. Fu proprio durante la non belligeranza italiana, con l'alleata Germania già impegnata in guerra, che il duce stabilì che entro maggio 1940 la frontiera italo-germanica avrebbe dovuto essere ermetica⁶. In effetti, i primi sei mesi del 1940 videro la massima intensità dei lavori, definitivamente sospesi, senza essere completati, solo nell'ottobre 1942. Fin dall'inizio, la Germania fu perfettamente a conoscenza del fatto che l'Italia stava investendo enormi risorse per mettere in sicurezza la frontiera con il proprio alleato e non nascose la propria irritazione⁷. Dai rapporti ufficiali dell'esercito appare chiarissimo il ruolo giocato dall'Anschluss nel determinare un completo ripensamento del sistema difensivo. Se in precedenza era stata disegnata una sola linea fortificata a ridosso della frontiera, con un'impostazione essenzialmente offensiva, a partire dall'estate del 1939 si progettò un sistema organizzato su tre linee, con finalità prettamente difensive. Dietro il primo sistema di sbarramento a ridosso della zona di confine, doveva essercene un secondo nei tratti mediani delle valli e vie di penetrazione allo scopo di frenare eventuali sfondamenti e un terzo a difesa dello sbocco in pianura di valli e strade. Era la risposta a una situazione che a lungo l'Italia aveva cercato di evitare, ovvero una Germania scesa fino al Brennero e a Tarvisio, ma che proprio l'avventurosa politica del regime aveva finito per favorire.

4 F. Scarano, *Tra Mussolini e Hitler. Le opzioni dei sudtirolesi nella politica estera fascista*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2012, p. 105.

5 G. Bottai, *Diario 1935-1944*, a cura di G.B. Guerri, Rizzoli, Milano 2001, p. 147 (29.4.1939).

6 A. Bernasconi, G. Muran, *Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige*, TEMI, Trento 1999, pp. 9-17.

7 M. König, *Kooperation als Machtkampf. Das faschistische Achsenbündnis Berlin-Rom im Krieg 1940/41*, SH-Verlag, Köln 2007, pp. 238-249; A. Bernasconi, H. Prünster, *L'occhio indiscreto. I bunker del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige visti attraverso le fotografie dello spionaggio germanico*, Curcu & Genovese, Trento 2016.

and pastures) near the Tarvisio border. Direct control of a border strip to be militarised and partly populated with Italian settlers would, Italy hoped, guarantee greater security against any renewed German push southwards.

It was in this context that construction of major fortification works began along the borders with Germany. While similar measures had been taken in previous years in respect of France and Yugoslavia, between 1938 and 1939 the focus shifted northwards. As early as April 1938, shortly after the *Anschluss*, Mussolini informed his Chief of General Staff, Pietro Badoglio, of the need to take “very serious” precautions on the northern border⁴. The annexation of the Sudetenland in September 1938 and the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939 added to Italian concerns as regards German expansionism. At the end of April 1939, Mussolini ordered the army’s Chief of Staff, Alberto Pariani, to “close the front door: build border fortifications, including in the north!”⁵. Although the following month saw Italy and Germany sign the Pact of Steel, in November Mussolini ordered Badoglio immediately to start with extensive fortification work on the northern border. It was precisely during Italy’s period of non-belligerence, with its ally Germany already engaged in hostilities, that the Duce ordered that the Italian-German border be sealed by May 1940⁶. The first six months of 1940 in fact saw the most intensive period of work, which only finally stopped – before its completion – in October 1942. Germany was from the very beginning fully aware that Italy was investing enormous resources in securing the border with its ally, and it did not hide its irritation⁷. The official army reports make very clear the role of the *Anschluss* in bringing about a complete rethinking of the defensive system: whereas previously there had only been one designated fortified line close to the frontier, whose design was essentially offensive, from the summer of 1939 a system organised along three lines was planned, purely defensive in nature. Behind the first blocking line, close to the border area, there would be a second in the mid-sections of the valleys and routes of advance, whose aim was to limit any possible breakthroughs, with a third line to prevent any breakout from the valleys and roads onto the plain. This was the answer to a situation that Italy had long tried to avoid, namely a German advance up to the Brenner Pass and Tarvisio, but which the adventurism of Fascist policies had ended up by assisting.

4 F. Scarano, *Tra Mussolini e Hitler. Le opzioni dei sudtirolesi nella politica estera fascista*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2012, p. 105.

5 G. Bottai, *Diario 1935–1944*, ed. G.B. Guerri, Rizzoli, Milan 2001, p. 147 (29.04.1939).

6 A. Bernasconi, G. Muran, *Le fortificazioni del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige*, TEMI, Trento 1999, pp. 9–17.

7 M. König, *Kooperation als Machtkampf. Das faschistische Achsenbündnis Berlin-Rom im Krieg 1940/41*, SH-Verlag, Cologne 2007, pp. 238–249; A. Bernasconi, H. Prünster, *L’occhio indiscreto. I bunker del Vallo Alpino Littorio in Alto Adige visti attraverso le fotografie dello spionaggio germanico*, Curcu & Genovese, Trento 2016.

Waltraud Kofler Engl

Die Bunker des Vallo Alpino: Ein dissonantes Kulturerbe

Bunker sind lediglich Teilstrukturen des Vallo Alpino, wenngleich mit über 300 eine große Zahl und im Vergleich von größerer Sichtbarkeit und Aufmerksamkeit in der militarisierten Landschaft als andere Infrastrukturen.¹

Die Entstehungsgeschichte und das Gesamtsystem des Vallo Alpino, die Vernetzung von politisch-strategischen Überlegungen mit den Strukturen in der Landschaft – Gegenstand der Beiträge von Andrea di Michele und Heimo Prünster –, sind für das Verständnis, die Vermittlung, die Definition und Einordnung als Kulturerbe von bestimmender Bedeutung. Weder Bunker noch Panzersperren, Militärstraßen und Kasernen sind isoliert von der Topographie der Landschaft zu sehen. Nur in der Gesamtzusammenschau und Vernetzung lässt sich Ausmaß, Bedeutung, Sinn und Unsinn der Militarisierung als Folge konkurrierender totalitärer Regime und schließlich der Zeugniswert dieses gigantischen Bollwerkes erfassen und bewerten.

In Anlehnung an Norbert Huses Aufsatz von 1989² und seinem streitbaren, programmatischen Buch von 1997 „Unbequeme Baudenkmale. Entsorgen? Schützen? Pflegen?“³ wurden militärische Strukturen und Bunker als unbequeme, schwierige Denkmale klassifiziert. Huse hat vor dem Horizont der Zeugnisse von Krieg, Holocaust, Diktaturen – Hinterlassenschaften aus Zeiten, an die man lieber nicht erinnert werden oder die man gerne ungeschehen machen möchte –, aber auch von Industriebrachen, der Bauten der Moderne und der DDR eine Erweiterung des Denkmalsbegriffs jenseits des „Ästhetischen“, des „Wertvollen“ gefordert. Sie stehen gleichsam in Ergänzung zu den anerkannten, leichter zugänglichen, populären, als ästhetisch empfundenen Bauten wie Kirchen, Burgen, Stadthäuser und Bauernhöfe als Zeitzeugen historischer Brüche, der totalitären Regime, gleichsam als „Negativdenkmale“ innerhalb des kulturellen Erbes und vermitteln nicht selten mehr von unserer unmittelbar vergangenen Geschichte als ältere, unumstritten anerkannte Objekte.

Neben anderen Autoren,⁴ differenzierte Aleida Assmann den Diskurs in ihren Publikationen: „Geschichte ist nicht nur eine Sequenz von Erfolgen, die von früheren Leistungen zeugen und deshalb bewahrt werden müssen. Sie beinhaltet auch Teile, die destruktiv

1 Der vorliegende Text ist die schriftliche Fassung des anlässlich der Tagung „Vallo Alpino. Die Zukunft“ am 24.09.2021 gehaltenen Vortrages, ohne ihn im Detail zu vertiefen und wissenschaftlich auszuarbeiten.

2 Norbert Huse, Unbequeme Denkmale, in: Georg Mörsch/Richard Strobel (Hg.), Das Denkmal als Plage und Frage. Festgabe für August Gebeßler, München 1989, S. 96–101.

3 Norbert Huse, Unbequeme Baudenkmale. Entsorgen? Schützen? Pflegen?, München 1997.

4 Für einen Überblick zur Forschungsliteratur siehe: Ingrid Scheurmann, Sollen Denkmale bequem sein? Zum Geschichtsbild der modernen Denkmalpflege, in: Ingrid Scheurmann, Konturen und Konjunkturen der Denkmalpflege. Zum Umgang mit baulichen Relikten der Vergangenheit, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2018, S. 82–93.

Waltraud Kofler Engl

The bunkers of the Vallo Alpino: a dissonant cultural heritage

Bunkers make up only a part of the structures of the Vallo Alpino, although their large number – over 300 – in the militarised landscape heighten their visibility and ensure greater awareness when compared to other infrastructures.¹

The history of the development and the overall system of the Vallo Alpino, and the interconnection of political-strategic considerations with the structures in the landscape (the subject of the contributions by Andrea di Michele and Heimo Prünster), are of decisive importance for understanding, communicating, defining and classifying the structure as a part of our cultural heritage. Neither bunkers nor tank traps, military roads or barracks can be seen in isolation from the topography of the landscape. Only when we consider the overall context and the interconnected nature of the Vallo Alpino can the extent, significance, sense and nonsense of militarisation as a consequence of competing totalitarian regimes – and, ultimately, the testimonial value of this gigantic bulwark – be grasped and evaluated.

Following on from Norbert Huse's 1989 essay² and his controversial, keynote book from 1997 *"Unbequeme Baudenkmale. Entsorgen? Schützen? Pflegen?"* [What should we do with discomfiting architectural monuments. Remove them? Protect them? Maintain them?]³, military structures and bunkers were classified as awkward, difficult monuments. Against a backdrop of the testimonies of war, the Holocaust, dictatorships – all legacies of times we would rather not be reminded of, or would prefer to undo – but also of industrial wastelands, the structures of modernism and of the GDR, Huse called for an expansion of the concept of monuments beyond the merely "aesthetic" or "valuable". They complement, as it were, the recognised, more accessible, popular, aesthetically perceived buildings (e.g. churches, castles, townhouses, farms) as witnesses of historical upheavals, of totalitarian regimes, as a sort of "negative monuments" within the cultural heritage, often communicating more of our immediate past history than older, undisputedly recognised objects.

Along with other authors⁴, Aleida Assmann differentiated the discourse in her publications: "History is not only a sequence of successes that testify to past achievements and must therefore be preserved: it also contains elements that are destructive and, by

1 This is a written version of the presentation given at the conference "Vallo Alpino. Die Zukunft" on 24.09.2021, without further detailed or scientific elaboration.

2 Norbert Huse, *Unbequeme Denkmale*, in: Georg Mörsch/Richard Strobel (ed.), *Das Denkmal als Plage und Frage. Festgabe für August Gebeßler*, Munich 1989, pp. 96–101.

3 Norbert Huse, *Unbequeme Baudenkmale. Entsorgen? Schützen? Pflegen?*, Munich 1997.

4 For an overview of the research literature see: Ingrid Scheurmann, *Sollen Denkmale bequem sein? Zum Geschichtsbild der modernen Denkmalpflege*, in: Ingrid Scheurmann, *Konturen und Konjunkturen der Denkmalpflege. Zum Umgang mit baulichen Relikten der Vergangenheit*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2018, pp. 82–93.

sind und in mahnender Anerkennung von etwas, das man lieber vergessen möchte, entstehen gesellschaftliche Erinnerungsgebote“.⁵

Mittlerweile wurden im Bemühen um eine Definition und Präzisierung des „Unbequemen Erbes“ eine Reihe von Synonymen eingeführt, die vom Ungeliebten, Lästigen, Fremden, Anderen bis zum Umstrittenen und Dissonantem reichen.

Dissonanz, 1996 von den Engländern John Tunbridge und Gregory J. Ashworth⁶ in die Kulturerbediskussion eingeführt und zunächst in Zusammenhang mit „Dark Heritage“ für Zeugnisse des Krieges, des Rassismus, der Katastrophen und der negativen/dunklen Faszination auf Besucher und Touristen an Orten des Schreckens verknüpft, verweist auf Missstöne und Unstimmigkeiten in der Rezeption, Diskussion und im Umgang mit Geschichte, Erinnerung und Kulturerbe durch unterschiedliche soziale Gruppen und Akteure. Bereits Alois Riegl, einer der wichtigsten Vertreter der modernen Denkmalpflege um 1900, hatte mit seiner Veröffentlichung „Der moderne Denkmalkultus“, darauf hingewiesen, dass den Denkmälern Sinn und Bedeutung von uns Menschen zugewiesen werden und sich daher zeitgebunden verändern.⁷

Dissonantes Kulturerbe ist nicht, sondern wird; das gilt für jedes kulturelle Erbe und macht deutlich, dass es durch unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen und Fragestellungen im Umgang durch uns Menschen entsteht. Die Wahrnehmung und Auseinandersetzung machen aus Relikten der Geschichte erst Erbe.

Was bei der einen Gruppe oder einem Individuum Wohlgefallen, Vertrautheit, Zugehörigkeit auslöst und identitätsstiftend wirkt, kann der/dem anderen ein schmerzhafter Bruch in der Geschichte, Diskriminierung, Stein des Anstoßes, unangenehm sein und misstönige Emotionen hervorrufen.

Dissonanz eignet sich als Denkmodell, das viel weiter reicht als Huses Begriff des Unbequemen, da es immaterielles Erbe, die Sozialwissenschaften, Rezeptionsgeschichte und Divergenz miteinschließt. Nicht allein das vordergründig Unbequeme, das Hässliche, das Erbe des Krieges, der Genozide, der Unmenschlichkeit, sondern jedes Kulturerbe kann damit befragt und diskutiert werden. Walther Benjamins Ausspruch von 1940, dass es kein Dokument der Kultur gebe, das nicht zugleich eines der Barbarei sei (1940),⁸ wurde in der öffentlichen Denkmaldebatte zwar erst sehr spät rezipiert, benennt die Differenz, die Dissonanz und damit die Mehrdeutigkeit von Kulturerbe bereits unmissverständlich. Gerade das Erbe von Grenz- und Konfliktlandschaften, das immer mehrdeutig wahrgenommen wird und das koloniale Erbe bedürfen einer vielseitigen und vielschichtigen Auseinandersetzung.

Häufig werden Objekte und Orte erst durch Aktionen sozialer Gruppen oder durch politisch-gesellschaftlichen Haltungen als Erinnerungsträger unterschiedlich beansprucht und damit dissonant oder sind es aufgrund schwelender Konflikte über Jahrzehnte geworden, wie die Denkmäler und Stadträume des faschistischen Ventennio in Bozen, die zu konkurrierenden Praktiken, getrennten Lebens-, Erinnerungs- und Identifikationsräumen führten und worum gestritten wurde und noch wird.

5 Aleida Assmann, *Geschichte im Gedächtnis. Von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung*, München 2007, S. 26; Siehe auch: Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 1999; Dies., *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, München 2006.

6 John Tunbridge, Gregory John Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Wiley 1996.

7 Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, Wien/Leipzig 1903.

8 Zitiert nach Ingrid Scheurmann, *Vom Kunstwert zum unbequemen Denkmal. Zum denkmalpflegerischen Nachdenken über das Verhältnis von Geschichte und Ästhetik*, in: Birgit Franz/Waltraud Kofler Engl (Hg.), *Umstrittene Denkmale. Monumenti controversi. Der Umgang mit dem Erbe der Diktaturen. Come gestire l'eredità delle dittature*, Veröffentlichung des Arbeitskreises Theorie und Lehre der Denkmalpflege e.V., Bd. 22, Holzminden 2013, S. 26.

Abb. 1:
Begehung am
Kreuzbergpass 2018

Fig. 1:
Ascent to the
Kreuzberg Pass 2018

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cautioning us to recognise something we would rather forget, social commands to remember are created”.⁵

In an effort to define and specify the “discomfiting heritage”, a number of synonyms have meanwhile been introduced, ranging from the “unloved”, the “annoying”, the “alien” and the “other”, to the “controversial” and the “dissonant”.

Dissonance, a term introduced in 1996 into the discussion of cultural heritage by the British writers John Tunbridge and Gregory J. Ashworth⁶ and initially linked with “Dark Heritage” for testimonies of war, racism, catastrophes and the negative/dark fascination of visitors and tourists for places that provoke horror, points to discords and inconsistencies in the reception, discussion and handling of history, memory and the cultural heritage by different social groups and actors. Alois Riegl, one of the most important representatives of modern monument preservation in the period around 1900, had already stated in his publication “*Der moderne Denkmalkultus* [The Modern Cult of Monuments]” that we as humans ascribe sense and significance to monuments that will therefore change in accordance with the times.⁷

Dissonant cultural heritage does not exist, rather it becomes; this applies to every item of cultural heritage and makes clear that this is created by us humans via different perceptions and questions in our dealings with it. It is perception and debate that transforms relics of history into heritage.

That which triggers pleasure, familiarity, belonging and identity for one group or individual may represent a painful break in history, or discrimination, a stumbling block, an unpleasantness or the cause of resentful emotions for another.

Dissonance lends itself to a model of thought much broader than Huse’s notion of the discomfiting, as it includes immaterial heritage, the social sciences, reception history and divergence. Not only the ostensibly discomfiting, the ugly, the heritage of war, genocide or inhumanity, but any cultural heritage can be questioned and discussed using it.

5 Aleida Assmann, *Geschichte im Gedächtnis. Von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung*, Munich 2007, p. 26; see also: Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, Munich 1999; *ibid.*, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, Munich 2006.

6 John Tunbridge, Gregory John Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Wiley 1996.

7 Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, Vienna/Leipzig 1903.

Was ist an Bunkern und anderen Relikten des Vallo Alpino dissonant?

In der Zeit ihrer Funktion und der entsprechenden Geheimhaltung bis zur Auflassung waren die militärischen Strukturen des Vallo Alpino kein Kulturerbe. Erst als sie ihre Nutzung, den militärischen und staatlichen Besitzerstatus verloren, musste zunächst Erforschung, Bewertung stattfinden und eine Strategie des Umgangs gesucht und gefunden werden.

Für die einen waren Bunker neben den Kasernen und Militärstraßen lediglich Teile der großen Verhandlungsmasse/Militärareale, die aus dem Besitz des italienischen Staates in jenen der Autonomen Provinz Südtirol übergingen. Bunker befanden sich zudem häufig auf, zur Zeit des Faschismus enteigneten bäuerlichen Grundstücken, die man möglichst schnell loswerden und bevorzugt zu symbolischen Preisen an die ehemaligen Grundeigentümer zurückgeben sollte/wollte. Bunker zu zerstören wäre zu kostenintensiv gewesen und geschah abgesehen von einigen Fällen nicht. Als Relikte aus einer Zeit, die für die deutsch- und ladinischsprachigen Südtiroler kulturelle und sprachliche Diskriminierung, Unterdrückung, Option gebracht hatte, wollte man sie lieber nicht oder nur wenige von ihnen erhalten.

Für die anderen – zunächst eine kleine Gruppe von Mitarbeitern der Abteilung Vermögensverwaltung der Autonomen Provinz Bozen/Südtirol, die 2005 die Publikation *BUNKER* herausgab⁹ – waren sie neben der Faszination, die Bunker zweifellos ausüben, Objekte, die man in ihrem bis dahin völlig unbekannten Gesamtheit erst sichten und erfassen musste. Bis dahin hatten sie der militärischen Geheimhaltung unterlegen; Menschen außerhalb der militärischen Strukturen hatten keine Kenntnis davon. Die Arbeitsgruppe kam sehr bald zur Erkenntnis, dass es sich um aussagestarke Zeugnisse eines großen Netzwerkes an Strukturen der faschistischen Militarisierung der Landschaft, des Kalten Krieges handle und sie damit Kulturerbe Status beanspruchen.

Die Auswahl von rund 20 Bunkern aus über 300, die im Besitz der öffentlichen Hand verblieben und damit geschützt werden sollten, ist das Ergebnis eines Aushandlungsprozesses zwischen Politik und Arbeitsgruppe, in dem die politischen Vertreter ihre restriktive Erhaltungsstrategie durchsetzen. Ein weitreichender Schutz, der die Bunker in ihrem Zusammenhang mit den anderen Strukturen beurteilt und erhält, war politisch nicht gewollt.

Das ausgedehnte Militärstraßennetz wurde zwar thematisiert, u. a. in einer Publikation,¹⁰ aber von politischer Seite nicht als schützenswert, sondern lediglich als verwertbare Verkehrs- und Zufahrtswege zu Almen, Wäldern und auf die Gebirgsübergänge gesehen. Auch wenn die Diskussionen weitgehend verstummt sind, ist die Debatte um die Erhaltung und die Nutzung nicht abgeschlossen, weil Bunker in der Landschaft in besonderem Maße präsent und sichtbar sind.

Mittlerweile hat sich das Wissen und die Forschung um den Vallo Alpino, seine enorme landschaftliche Ausdehnung und Vielfalt auch mit Blick auf den Atlantikwall als transnationales Erbe, nach Deutschland, in die Länder des ehemaligen Ostblocks und durch die Öffnung der Archive differenziert. Kaum fortgesetzt wurde hierzulande allerdings die Diskussion um seine Bedeutung als kulturelles Erbe und schon gar nicht innerhalb der offiziellen Institutionen. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass das laufende lokale Forschungsprojekt die Diskussion wieder in Gang setzt.

⁹ Josef Urthaler, Andrea Pozza, Christina Niederkofler, *BUNKER*, Bozen 2005.

¹⁰ Josef Urthaler, Andrea Pozza, Karlheinz Pizzarello (Hg.), *ITINERA. Die Militärstrassen der Befestigungsanlagen in Südtirol. Le strade militari della fortificazione permanente in Alto Adige*, Trient 2014. Waltraud Kofler Engl, *Militärstrassen Zeugnisse einer militarisierten Grenzlandschaft*, in: *ITINERA*, S. 13–21.

Walther Benjamin's statement, made in 1940, that there is no document of culture that is not at the same time one of barbarity,⁸ was received very late in the public debate on monuments, but even at that time unmistakably names the difference, the dissonance and thus the ambiguity of cultural heritage. The heritage of border and conflict landscapes that is always perceived ambiguously, as well as the colonial heritage, in particular require multi-faceted, multi-layered discussion.

It often happens that objects and places are only claimed in different ways as holders of memory through the actions of social groups or through political-social attitudes and thus become dissonant or have become so owing to conflicts that have smouldered for decades, such as the monuments and urban spaces of the Fascist *Ventennio* (20th anniversary celebrations) in Bozen/Bolzano, which led to competing practices, separate living, memory and identification spaces, and which were and still are the subject of dispute.

What is dissonant about the bunkers and other relics of the Vallo Alpino?

During their functioning and with the secrecy associated with them, and until their abandonment, the military structures of the Vallo Alpino were not considered as cultural heritage. It was only when their use and their status of military and state ownership were lost that research and evaluation was required and a strategy for dealing with them had to be sought and found.

For some, bunkers, along with barracks and military roads, were merely parts of the massive bargaining chips/military areas that were transferred from the Italian state to the Autonomous Province of South Tyrol. Moreover, bunkers were often located on farmland expropriated during the Fascist era: the aim was this should/would be disposed of as quickly as possible and preferably returned to the former owners for a nominal fee. Destroying the bunkers would have been too costly and, with few exceptions, was not pursued. As relics from a time that had brought cultural and linguistic discrimination, oppression and the so-called *Option* (i.e. emigration to Nazi Germany) for the German and Ladin-speaking populations of South Tyrol, the preference was not to preserve them, or only to preserve a few.

For others (initially, a small group of employees of the Estate Management Department of the Autonomous Province of South Tyrol, which in 2005 issued the publication "BUNKER"⁹) they were – apart from the fascination that bunkers undoubtedly exert – objects that had first to be sighted and grasped in their hitherto wholly unknown entirety. They had up until then been subject to military secrecy; people outside these military structures had no knowledge of them. The working group soon concluded that they represented significant testimonies to a large network of structures resulting from the Fascist militarisation of the landscape and of the Cold War, and that they therefore merited the status of cultural heritage.

The selection of some 20 bunkers out of the 300+ that remained in public ownership, and were thus to be protected, was the result of a negotiation process between politicians and the working group, with the political representatives enforcing their restrictive

8 Quoted from Ingrid Scheurmann, Vom Kunstwert zum unbequemen Denkmal. Zum denkmalpflegerischen Nachdenken über das Verhältnis von Geschichte und Ästhetik, in: Birgit Franz/Waltraud Kofler Engl (ed.), Umstrittene Denkmale. Monumenti controversi. Der Umgang mit dem Erbe der Diktaturen. Come gestire l'eredità delle dittature, pub. by Arbeitskreis Theorie und Lehre der Denkmalpflege e.V., Vol. 22, Holzminden 2013, p. 26.

9 Josef Urthaler, Andrea Pozza, Christina Niederkofler, BUNKER, Bozen/Bolzano 2005.



Da sich Bunker beinahe unauslöschbar in die Landschaft eingeschrieben haben, keine fragilen Objekte sind und sich Wohn- und kommerziellen Nutzungen weitgehend widersetzen, ist ihre Dokumentation und Erhaltung zumindest kein Wettlauf mit der Zeit wie bei anderen Bauten. Sie können von diversen Gruppen – wenngleich aus unterschiedlichen Gründen und Nutzungsinteressen – durch kritische Auseinandersetzung und Vermittlung befragt, besucht und wieder ins Gespräch gebracht werden.¹¹

Potenziale des Denkmodells Dissonanz für die Auseinandersetzung mit den Landschaften und Strukturen des Vallo Alpino?

Dissonanz kann als vielstimmiger Ansatz, der auf einer kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Erbe, bei gleichzeitiger Toleranz gegenüber unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen beruht, eine Qualität ins Spiel der unterschiedlichen Diskurse bringen und Raum für Verständnis und Akzeptanz der anderen Positionen schaffen; möglicherweise neue, versöhnende Handlungen und Praktiken öffnen.

Beispielsweise erschließt die physische Begehung der militarisierten Landschaften mit den lange Zeit nicht sichtbaren, aber deswegen nicht abwesenden, heute jedoch zugänglichen Strukturen die totalitäre Geschichte des Vallo Alpino in ihrer einerseits eindrucksvollen Bedrohlichkeit und andererseits Befriedung weil nie genutzt, nicht mit Kämpfen und Tod behaftet und zunehmend von der Natur überwuchert; völlig verschieden

Abb. 2
Bunker in den
Sextener Dolomiten,
oberhalb des
Kreuzbergpass

Fig. 2
Bunker in the Sexten
Dolomites above the
Kreuzberg Pass

© Waltraud Kofler Engl

¹¹ Heimo Prünster schreibt in seinem Beitrag über unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen und Zugänge.

conservation strategy. A form of far-reaching protection that would judge and preserve the bunkers in their context with the other structures was deemed politically undesirable.

The extensive military road network was discussed (including in a publication¹⁰); it was however not regarded by the politicians as worthy of protection, but merely as usable traffic and access routes to mountain pastures, forests and passes. Even if the discussion has largely died down, the debate about preservation and use is not yet over as bunkers are especially present and visible in the landscape.

In the meantime, the knowledge of and research into the Vallo Alpino, its enormous extent and diversity in the landscape (not least when considering the Atlantic Wall as transnational heritage) has diversified into Germany, the former Eastern Bloc countries and through the opening of archives. However, the discussion about its significance as cultural heritage has hardly been advanced in South Tyrol, and certainly not within the official institutions. It is to be hoped that the ongoing local research project will get the discussion going again.

Since bunkers are almost indelibly carved into the landscape, are anything but fragile structures and largely resist residential or commercial use, it can be said that their documentation and preservation is hardly – in contrast to other buildings – a race against time. They can be queried, visited and brought back into the conversation by various groups, albeit for varied reasons and interests of use, through critical debate and communication.¹¹

What are the potentials of the “dissonance” thought model for addressing the landscapes and structures of the Vallo Alpino?

While remaining tolerant of different perspectives, dissonance, as a multi-voiced approach based on critical engagement with heritage, can bring a quality to the interplay of different discourses and create space for understanding and acceptance of other positions, at the same time as it possibly opens new, reconciliatory behaviours and practices.

As an example, physically walking over the militarised landscapes containing the structures that were for a long time invisible (yet by no means absent), but are today accessible, opens up the totalitarian history of the Vallo Alpino: on the one hand its impressively threatening nature, on the other its pacification, as it never saw use nor was tainted with fighting or death, and is now increasingly overgrown by nature – a complete contrast with the relics of the First World War, which are blemished by the battles and losses that occurred in these places.

My experience of several guided hikes – including one on the occasion of the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 on the theme of “Border Spaces – Meeting Spaces” from the Kreuzberg Pass along the Tyrol/Veneto border of 1753, which also marked the First World War frontlines and which was eventually occupied by the massive structures of the Vallo Alpino – shows that direct observation and walking opens our eyes to understanding and acceptance. Participants discovered a multi-layered border, characterised by various occupations and historical divisions, a frontier, natural and cultivated landscape ringing with many voices. It not only reflects the history of the 20th century and the First World War, the Fascist colonisation and militarisation of southern Tyrol (still suppressed or insufficiently addressed in Italy) and the Cold War, but ultimately also conveys how great was both the danger of armed conflict and the good fortune

10 Josef Urthaler, Andrea Pozza, Karlheinz Pizzarello (ed.), ITINERA. Die Militärstrassen der Befestigungsanlagen in Südtirol. Le strade militari della fortificazione permanente in Alto Adige, Trient 2014. Waltraud Kofler Engl, Militärstrassen Zeugnisse einer militarisierten Grenzlandschaft, in: ITINERA, pp. 13–21.

11 Heimo Prünster's contribution addresses the different perceptions and approaches.

von den Relikten des Ersten Weltkrieges, die mit stattgefunden Kämpfen und Gefallenen behaftet sind.

Meine Erfahrung bei mehreren geführten Wanderungen darunter jener anlässlich des Europäischen Kulturerbejahres 2018 zum Thema „Grenzräume-Begegnungsräume“ vom Kreuzbergpass entlang der Grenze Tirol/Veneto von 1753, an der auch die Front des Ersten Weltkrieges verlief und die schließlich massiv durch Strukturen des Vallo Alpino besetzt wurde, zeigt, dass die direkte Anschauung und Begehung für Verständnis und Akzeptanz öffnet. Den Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern erschloss sich eine vielschichtige, von unterschiedlichen Besetzungen und historischen Trennungen charakterisierte vielstimmigen Grenz-, Natur- und Kulturlandschaft. An ihr lässt sich nicht allein die Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts mit dem Ersten Weltkrieg, der in Italien immer noch fehlenden oder nicht ausreichend thematisierten faschistischen Kolonialisierung und Militarisierung des südlichen Tirols und des Kalten Krieges ablesen, sondern sie vermittelt letztlich auch, wie groß die Gefährdung aber auch das Glück war, dass es zu keinem kriegesischen Konflikt kam. Eine Öffnungs- und Vermittlungsressource, die von Schulen, kulturellen Institutionen, Wanderführern viel mehr genutzt werden sollte, weil damit Konfliktlandschaften niederschwellig zugänglich, physisch, emotional und nicht allein über theoretische Wissensvermittlung erfahrbar werden.

Wir sind in der glücklichen Situation diese Diskurse unter dem Schutzmantel der Demokratie führen zu dürfen, sind nicht bedroht oder gefährdet wie jene Wissenschaftler und Praktiker, die sich gemeinsam mit der UNESCO in Afghanistan für die Sicherung der 2001 von den Taliban gesprengten Buddha-Statuen von Bamiyan einsetzten und nun auf den Todeslisten der erneut herrschenden Talibans stehen oder der Denkmalpfleger, Kulturwissenschaftler und Museumsmitarbeiter in der Ukraine, die Kulturgut vor der Zerstörung durch russische Angriffe zu retten versuchen. Kulturerbe kann unter wechselnden politischen oder religiösen Systemen und mit ihm die Akteure sehr schnell in Konflikt und auf die Abschussliste geraten.

Die Anerkennung von Dissonanz als Denkmodell ist eine Möglichkeit auf dem Weg zu größerer Toleranz und Anerkennung der anderen Geschichte und ihrer Erben, denn „Die Verabsolutierung der eigenen Erinnerung macht blind“.¹² Dissonanz ist ein Weg an der Geschichte und ihren materiellen und immateriellen Hinterlassenschaften offen, dialogisch, erzieherisch zu arbeiten und (zu) optimistisch tragische/konfliktreiche Ereignisse und Objekte vielleicht ein Stück zu „reparieren“.

Dissonanz, Kontroversen, Divergenz und Versöhnung sind Wert- und Schlüsselkonzepte für ein vielfältiges Kulturerbe, wie es in der Rahmenkonvention des Europarates über den Wert des kulturellen Erbes für die Gesellschaft, der sogenannten Konvention von Faro von 2005 definiert wird.¹³ Kulturerbe wird als Ressource der Vergangenheit, die von Kulturerbe-Gemeinschaften als Ausdruck ihrer sich ständig weiterentwickelnden Werte, Überzeugungen, Kenntnisse und Traditionen betrachtet, entwickelt und immer wieder auf demokratischer Basis neu ausgehandelt. Die Konvention schließt die Achtung des Kulturerbes der anderen (Art. 4), unterschiedlicher Werte und Gemeinschaften (Art. 7) ausdrücklich ein.¹⁴

¹² Aleida Assmann anlässlich eines Vortrages bei den Literaturtagen Lana 2021 am 03.09.2021.

¹³ Siehe dazu: Visnja Kistic, *Governing Heritage Dissonance. Promises and Realities of Selected Cultural Policies*, Belgrad/Amsterdam 2016, https://culturalfoundation.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Governing_Heritage_Dissonance.pdf

¹⁴ Das Rahmenübereinkommen des Europarates über den Wert des Kulturerbes für die Gesellschaft (2014) (deutschsprachige Übersetzung) http://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/II/I_00200/imfname_355314.pdf

Abb. 3
Panzersperre bei
Plamort, Reschen

Fig. 3
Anti-tank obstacle at
Plamort, Reschen Pass

© Waltraud Kofler Engl



that it never occurred. This is a resource for opening and communication that should be much more widely used by schools, cultural institutions and hiking guides, as it offers low-threshold access to the experience of conflict landscapes – physically and emotionally, not just via a theoretical transfer of knowledge.

We are in the fortunate situation of being able to conduct these discourses under the protective cloak of democracy; we are not threatened or endangered like those scholars and practitioners who worked together with UNESCO in Afghanistan to secure the Bamiyan Buddha statues that were blown up by the Taliban in 2001 and are now on the death lists of the Taliban who are once again in power, nor like the monument conservators, cultural scholars and museum workers in Ukraine who are trying to save cultural assets from destructive Russian attacks. Cultural heritage can very quickly be drawn into conflicts and placed on a hit list under changing political or religious systems – together with those involved.

Recognising dissonance as a way of thinking is a path towards greater tolerance and recognition of other histories and their legacies, because “making one’s own memory absolute makes one blind”¹². Dissonance is a way of working on history and its material and immaterial legacies in an open, dialogical, educational manner and (perhaps overly) optimistically somehow to “repair” tragic/conflicting events and objects.

Dissonance, controversy, divergence and reconciliation are key concepts and values underlying a diverse cultural heritage as defined in the Council of Europe’s Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, the so-called 2005 Faro Convention¹³. Cultural heritage is seen as a resource from the past that is developed by heritage communities as an expression of their ever-evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions, one that is constantly renegotiated on a democratic basis. The Convention explicitly includes respect for the cultural heritage of others (Art. 4), as well as for different values and communities (Art. 7).¹⁴

¹² Aleida Assmann on the occasion of a presentation at the 2021 Lana Literature Days, 03.09.2021.

¹³ See: Vishja Kisić, *Governing Heritage Dissonance. Promises and Realities of Selected Cultural Policies*, Belgrade/Amsterdam 2016: https://culturalfoundation.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Governing_Heritage_Dissonance.pdf

¹⁴ Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2014): <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treaty-num=199>

Ute Bauer-Wassmann

Vom Fundort zum Gedenkort?

Zum Umgang mit historisch belasteten Bauten

In Wiens Stadtmitte haben sich bis heute sechs massive Stahlbetontürme aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus erhalten, die bis zu 55 Meter hoch aus beschaulichen Parkanlagen in den Himmel ragen. So mancher Spaziergänger, ob Tourist oder einheimisch, erkennt nicht gleich, aus welcher Zeit diese Bauten gefallen sind. Bei geduldigem Suchen findet man rudimentäre Hintergrundinformationen auf vereinzelt bereitgestellten Tafeln oder Schildchen. Etwa, dass es sich um sogenannte Flaktürme handelt, zum Luftschutz und zur Luftabwehr errichtete Bauten des Zweiten Weltkriegs.

Die beiden Flakturmpaare im Arenbergpark und im Augarten sind verschlossen, die wenigen Öffnungen in der Sichtbetonfassade lassen kaum Rückschlüsse auf das Innere zu. Umso mehr Raum bleibt für Spekulationen und Mythen. Schilderungen von der militärischen Stärke der Flaktürme, ihrer technischen Raffinesse, ihrer Unzerstörbarkeit oder ihrem Nutzen als Luftschutzbunker für tausende Menschen, korrelieren nicht mit den historischen Tatsachen.

Dass die Errichtung der Wiener Flaktürme in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs bis zuletzt fortgesetzt wurde, obwohl die Entscheidungsträger im Rüstungsministerium bereits wussten, dass ihr militärischer Nutzen weit hinter den Erwartungen bleiben würde, erfährt man vor Ort nicht. Das militärische Konzept der Stahlbetonkolosse, die Stadt vor Luftangriffen zu schützen, ist bereits vor Baubeginn überholt. Als verschwindend kleiner Teil eines Wiens umspannenden Fliegerabwehr-Netzes wäre es nicht notwendig gewesen, Stahlbetonbauten bis zu 12 Stockwerke hoch in die Luft zu wuchten, Großbaustellen inmitten des dichten Stadtgefüges einzurichten, angesichts der katastrophalen materiellen wie personellen Versorgungslage. Dass hunderte Zwangsarbeiter aus allen Teilen Europas und der Sowjetunion auf den Flakturm-Baustellen schufteten mussten, sind Details, die auf den bestehenden Hinweistafeln bestenfalls eine Randnotiz wert sind.

Es sind andere Motive, die für die Errichtung der Wiener Flaktürme ausschlaggebend waren. Ab 1940 wurden erst in Berlin, dann in Hamburg und schließlich auch in Wien insgesamt 16 sogenannte Flaktürme errichtet. Es handelte sich um militärische Bauten der Luftverteidigung von Städten, die jeweils in Paaren aufgestellt wurden – am Gefechtsturm befanden sich die Geschütze, am Leitturm die Ortungsgeräte. Architekt Friedrich Tamms aus Düsseldorf entwickelte die völlig neuartigen Bauten von anfangs Quadern mit enormen Abmessungen zu immer schlankeren Türmen. Er fand eine eigene architektonische Formensprache, die der Machtrepräsentation des Deutschen Reichs gewidmet war. Gegen einen äußeren Feind gerichtet sollten die autoritären Flaktürme militärische Stärke demonstrieren und auch auf die eigene Bevölkerung einschüchternd wirken. Besonders deutlich wird dies durch das gestaltungsgebende Detail der auskragenden Eckbastionen – ikonisch für die Flaktürme –, die, obwohl militärisch obsolet, bis

Ute Bauer-Wassmann

From a place of discovery to a place of remembrance?

Addressing historically tainted buildings

In the centre of Vienna, in tranquil park surroundings, six massive, reinforced concrete towers soar up to heights of 55 metres. These structures have survived to this day from the Nazi era, yet many a passer-by – tourist or local – would not immediately recognise the period from which these buildings date. A patient search will reveal rudimentary background information on the occasional plaque or sign, for example that they are the so-called “flak towers”, erected for air defence and protection during the Second World War.

The two pairs of flak towers in the Arenbergpark and the Augarten are closed off, with the few openings in the exposed concrete façade giving hardly any clues as to what lies within, thus leaving plenty of room for speculation and mythmaking. Accounts of the military strength of the flak towers, their technical sophistication, their indestructibility or their usefulness as air-raid shelters for thousands of people do not correspond to the historical facts.

Nowhere on the site is it indicated that the construction of the Vienna flak towers was continued until the very end of the latter part of the Second World War, even though the decision-makers in the Armaments Ministry already knew that their military usefulness would fall far short of expectations. The military concept underlying these colossal, reinforced concrete structures, namely to protect the city from air raids, was already outdated before construction work began. As a tiny part of the Vienna-wide anti-aircraft network it was unnecessary to build reinforced concrete structures of up to 12 storeys in height, nor to set up large construction sites in the middle of a dense urban area in view of the catastrophic material and personnel supply situation. The fact that hundreds of forced labourers from all over Europe and the Soviet Union had to toil on the construction sites for the flak towers are details that at best merit a marginal note on the existing information boards.

Other motives were decisive in the construction of the Vienna flak towers: from 1940 onwards, a total of 16 of these towers were erected, first in Berlin, then in Hamburg and finally also in Vienna. They were military buildings designed for the air defence of cities, each erected in pairs, with the guns located at the *Gefechtsturm* (combat tower) and the tracking devices in the *Leitturm* (control tower). The Düsseldorf architect Friedrich Tamms developed these completely new buildings: the initially enormous stone blocks were modified into increasingly slender towers. He developed his own architectural language of form that was dedicated to representing the power of the German Reich. The authoritarian

1 Flak is the abbreviation of the German term Flugzeugabwehrkanone, i.e. anti-aircraft gun.



zuletzt umgesetzt wurden. Sie sollten mit leichten Flakgeschützen ausgestattet Tief-
flieger abwehren, die Luftverbände der Alliierten flogen jedoch bereits in unerreichbaren
Höhen. Hier zählte der Schein vor dem Sein. Nach dem Krieg hätten die Flaktürme sogar
zu „Heldendenkmalen“ umgestaltet, ihr Wirken im Luftkrieg erneut überhöht werden
sollen.

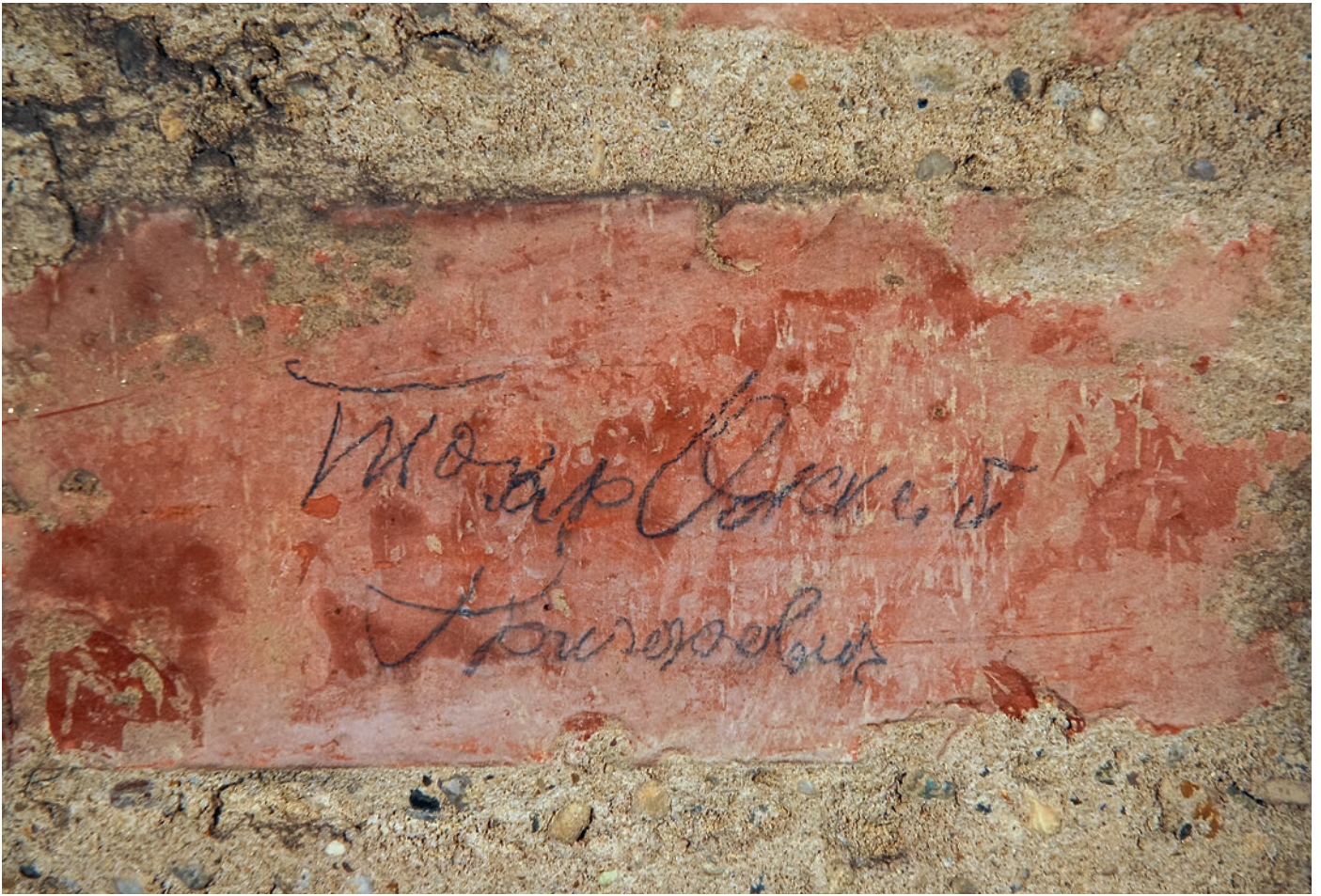
Heute haben sich neben zwei Flaktürmen in Hamburg und einer Ruine in Berlin sämt-
liche sechs Flaktürme in Wien erhalten. Sie stehen an zentralen Orten inmitten des an
Kulturgütern und Denkmälern nicht armen touristischen Zentrums Wiens. Wien kann so
gesehen als die Flakturmstadt schlechthin bezeichnet werden, Motive für Postkarten sind
die Flaktürme dennoch nicht. Sie gehören zum Stadtbild, doch ihr Platz darin ist nach
wie vor unbestimmt. Die Flaktürme werden nicht beworben, kaum genutzt, auch nicht
abgetragen. Vergeblich versuchten bereits zwei Firmen, in den Stahlbetonbauten Daten-
speicher unterzubringen. Außer dem als Aqua-Terra-Zoo genutzten und vielfach über-
bauten ehemaligen Leitturm im Esterhazypark bleiben die Flaktürme der interessierten
Öffentlichkeit verschlossen. Den ehemaligen Gefechtsturm in der Stiftskaserne nutzt das
Bundesheer, jenen im Arenbergpark das Museum für Angewandte Kunst als Depot, eine
Zugänglichkeit scheitert an der Umsetzung baubehördlicher Auflagen. So liegen vier
Flaktürme ungenutzt brach. Und auch wenn in Wien historische Orte, die als NS-Mahn-
und Lernorte dienen könnten, weitgehend fehlen, werden die Flaktürme bis heute nicht
für die Vermittlung genutzt oder als Mahnmale für NS-Zwangsarbeit ausgewiesen.

Was also tun mit den tausenden Kubikmetern in die Luft gewuchteten Beton, der
als unerwünschtes und belastetes „schwieriges Erbe der NS-Zeit“ so wenig Spielraum
für andere, neue Urheber lässt? Woran sollen die hermetisch verschlossenen Flaktürme
erinnern?

Abb. 1:
Ehemaliger Leitturm
Arenbergpark: Graffiti
eines italienischen
Zwangsarbeiters
„Margherini Angelo“

Fig. 1:
Former control tower
in Arenbergpark:
Graffiti by an Italian
forced labourer
„Margherini Angelo“

© IFAG, photo: Stephan Matyus

**Abb. 2:**

Ehemaliger Leitturm
Arenbergpark: Graffiti
einer russischen
Kriegsgefangenen
„Tokar Aleksej
Grigorjewitsch“

Fig. 2:

Former control tower
in Arenbergpark:
Graffiti by a Russian
POW „Tokar Aleksej
Grigorievich“

© IFAG, Foto: Stephan Matyus

flak towers were intended to demonstrate the military strength directed against an external enemy, and also to have an intimidating effect on the local population. This is made particularly clear by their characteristic – indeed iconic – detail, their projecting corner bastions that, although militarily obsolete, were executed until the end. Equipped with light anti-aircraft guns, they were supposed to ward off low-flying aircraft; but the Allied aircraft formations were already flying at unreachable altitudes. Here, appearance counted for more than reality. After the war, the flak towers were even turned into “heroic monuments”, with their achievements in the air war once again exaggerated.

Today, along with two flak towers in Hamburg and a ruin in Berlin, all six flak towers in Vienna have survived. They stand at central locations in the middle of Vienna, a tourist centre not lacking in cultural assets and monuments. From this point of view, Vienna can be described as the city of flak towers par excellence, but these towers are certainly not postcard motifs. They are part of the cityscape, but their place in it remains undefined. The flak towers are not advertised, hardly used and have not been dismantled. Two companies have already tried, in vain, to house data storage centres in the reinforced concrete structures. Except for the former control tower in the Esterhazypark, which is used as an aqua-terra zoo and has been built over many times, the flak towers remain closed to the interested public. The former combat tower in the Stiftskaserne barracks is used by the army, while that in the Arenbergpark by is used by the Museum of Applied Arts as a depot, with accessibility limited owing to building authority requirements. Thus four of the flak towers stand unused. And even though Vienna largely lacks historic sites that could serve as sombre memorials and places to learn about the Nazi era, the flak towers are yet to be used for education or designated as memorials to those forced to work for the Nazis.



Das Interdisziplinäre Forschungszentrum Architektur und Geschichte, kurz iFAG, widmet sich seit 2007 der Aufarbeitung der Geschichte der Wiener Flaktürme, insbesondere dem Einsatz von Zwangsarbeiter auf deren Baustellen. Es arbeitet in den Fachbereichen Geschichte, Architektur, Archäologie, Fotografie und Pädagogik und versucht, durch Bestandsforschung, Zeitzeugeninterviews und Archivrecherche direkte Bezüge zu den damals handelnden Personen wiederherzustellen: zivile Zwangsarbeiter*innen, Kriegsgefangene, Wehrmachtssoldaten, jugendliche Luftwaffenhelfer, beteiligte Baufirmen und Zulieferbetriebe. Die so mit den Flaktürmen verknüpfbaren personellen Verbindungen erleichtern den Zugang zu ihrer Geschichte, konkretisieren die Auseinandersetzung, verdrängen Mythen und Illusionen. Und sie verdeutlichen, dass es eine Hierarchie in der Erinnerung geben muss. Was ist über das Bauwerk zu sagen, was davon besonders laut und besonders oft?

Die Flaktürme wurden unter Ausbeutung der Arbeitskraft hunderter Zwangsarbeiter aus allen Teilen Europas und der Sowjetunion errichtet. Aus ihren Heimatländern verschleppte Zivilisten, Kriegsgefangene aus den Stalags, italienische so genannte „Militärinternierte“, Menschen, die ungeachtet ihres Alters oder ihrer Eignung, in Tag- und Nachtschichten, ohne entsprechende Ausrüstung oder medizinische Versorgung bei Unfällen oder Erkrankungen, bei mangelhafter Ernährung und inadäquater Unterbringung in Lagern auf den Flakturmbaustellen, bei den Zulieferfirmen, und später auch im Betrieb der Flaktürme schufteten mussten. Von Vorgesetzten als „Arbeitsunwilligkeit“ oder „Sabotageakte“ ausgelegte Handlungen, widerständiges oder politisches Verhalten konnten Gestapohaft, eine Internierung in einem „Arbeitserziehungslager“ oder die Deportation in ein Konzentrationslager zur Folge haben. Der Franzose Charles Joyon, geboren 1920, wurde im März 1943 über das „Service du Travail obligatoire“ im

Abb. 3:
Ehemaliger Leitturm
Arenbergpark: Graffiti
eines französischen
Zwangsarbeiters
„LAVAL au Poteau!“

Fig. 3:
Former control tower
in Arenbergpark:
Graffiti by a French
forced labourer
“LAVAL au Poteau/
[Laval to the gallows!]”

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Abb. 4:
Ehemaliger Leitturm
Augarten: Außen-
ansicht 2013

Fig. 4:
Former control tower
in Augarten: exterior
view 2013

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So what is to be done with the thousands of cubic metres of concrete thrust into the air that, unwanted and “burdened with the difficult legacy of the Nazi era”, leave so little room for other, new creative talents? What are these hermetically sealed flak towers supposed to remind us of?

The Interdisciplinary Research Centre for Architecture and History (in German abbreviated to *iFAG*) has since 2007 been dedicated to coming to terms with the history of the Vienna flak towers, in particular the use of forced labourers in their construction. The Centre works in the fields of history, architecture, archaeology, photography and education and, through inventory investigations, eyewitness interviews and archive research, attempts to re-establish direct links to those involved at the time: civilian forced labourers, prisoners of war, Wehrmacht soldiers, young Luftwaffe helpers, construction companies and subcontractors. The personal connections that can thus be linked to the flak towers facilitate access to their history, frame the debate in concrete terms, and dispel myths and illusions. They also make clear that there must exist a hierarchy in memory. What can be said about the structures, and what should be said particularly loudly and particularly often?

Deutschen Reich arbeitsdienstverpflichtet. Er arbeitete auf den Baustellen im Arenbergpark und in der Stiftskaserne, war im Zwangsarbeiterlager Schleuse und Freihaus untergebracht. Die Flakturm-Baustellen verglich er mit dem Bau des Turms zu Babel, so viele verschiedene Sprachen wurden gesprochen, so wenig verstand man sich. Joyon schloss sich einer Widerstandsbewegung an, verteilte Flugzettel unter seinen Kameraden und wurde schließlich im August 1944 von der Gestapo verhaftet. Im Oktober 1944 wurde er in das Konzentrationslager Dachau deportiert, wo er im April 1945 befreit wurde. Er stellte iFAG private Aufnahmen zur Verfügung, die ihn mit Kameraden in den Barackenlagern zeigen.

Diese Erfahrungen haben die betroffenen Menschen noch lange nach ihrer Befreiung geprägt. Die Barackenunterkünfte der Zwangsarbeitslager sind heute aus dem Stadtbild verschwunden. Erinnerungszeichen gibt es keine. Die überlebenden und in ihre Heimatländer zurückgekehrten Zwangsarbeiter*innen sind lange Zeit keine Zielgruppe der Erinnerungskultur Österreichs. Auch kehren sie nicht an die Stätten ihrer Ausbeutung zurück, ein offizielles Gedenken gibt es nicht.

Doch die Flaktürme sind unübersehbare Produkte der NS-Zwangsarbeit. In den Innenräumen des ehemaligen Leitturms im Arenbergpark haben sich Zwangsarbeiter während der Erbauung mit Bleistift oder Kreide an den Ziegel- und Betonwänden verewigt. Mit unbemerkt an die Wände geschriebenen Graffiti legten sie bis heute Zeugenschaft ab: wir waren hier. Immer noch, da das Gebäude nach Kriegsende nur teilweise genutzt wurde, sind ihre Schriftzüge, Zeichnungen und Kritzeleien zu lesen, eine Geschichte der Verzweiflung, der Wut und des Widerstands: Margherini Angelo, Burello Nunzio, Milano e poi morire (Mailand sehen und sterben) ist etwa von den sogenannten „italienischen Militärinternierten“ zu lesen. Laval au poteau! (Laval an den Galgen! Mit Bezug auf den französischen Ministerpräsidenten des Vichy Regimes, Pierre Laval, verantwortlich für die Zwangsverschickung französischer Arbeitskräfte nach Deutschland), froid (kalt), ciment (Zement), Vive la France (Frankreich lebe hoch) von den französischen Zwangsarbeitern. Tokar Aleksej Gregoriewitsch der Namenszug eines russischen Kriegsgefangenen. Die konkrete Geschichte des Gebäudes lässt sich im Gehen vom Erdgeschoß bis unters Dach erlesen. Aufschriften für Raumnutzungen, Anweisungen für Soldaten der Wehrmacht und das Leitsystem, das die Ströme von Zivilisten und Soldaten trennte, sind ebenso noch vorhanden wie Lift, Türen, haustechnische und sanitäre Einrichtungen. Insgesamt 240 Graffiti wurden von iFAG in Plänen und Listen dokumentiert und fotografiert.¹

In bauhistorischen Bestandsaufnahmen und bauarchäologischen Untersuchungen versuchte das Team von iFAG, den tatsächlichen Baufortschritt und Ausbaugrad und die Raumnutzungen der Leittürme im Arenbergpark und im Augarten zu rekonstruieren. Diese drei Bauten stehen seit Kriegsende weitgehend leer und weisen daher viele authentische Spuren und Überreste aus der Zeit ihrer Erbauung und Nutzung auf. So fanden sich Nachweise für die Unterbringung von Firmen, die für die Rüstungsindustrie produzierten und als kriegswichtig in die als sicher geltenden Flaktürme übersiedelten. Im Arenbergpark etwa befand sich eine Produktion von Filteranlagen, im Augarten für elektrische Röhren. Bemerkenswert ist, dass lediglich die verbleibenden Stockwerke dem zivilen Luftschutz zur Verfügung gestellt wurden. Im Leitturm im Arenbergpark etwa waren es nur drei von insgesamt neun Geschoßen. Vieles, was in den historischen Einreichplänen verzeichnet wurde, wurde nicht eingebaut, nicht fertiggestellt oder funktionierte schlicht nicht, dies betraf technische und militärische Einrichtungen, aber auch ganz Wesentliches wie Treppengeländer oder verschlossene Fassadenöffnungen. So darf

¹ Ute Bauer (Hrsg.), Erinnerungsort Flakturm, Der ehemalige Leitturm im Wiener Arenbergpark, Phoibos Verlag 2010



Abb. 5:
Ehemaliger Leitturm
Augarten: Innenansicht
2014

Fig. 5:
Former control tower
in Augarten: interior
view 2014

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The flak towers were built by exploiting hundreds of forced labourers from all over Europe and the Soviet Union. Civilians deported from their home countries, prisoners of war from POW camps, Italian so-called "military internees"; people who, regardless of their age or aptitude, had to slave away on day and night shifts, without appropriate equipment or medical care in case of accident or illness, with insufficient food and inadequate accommodation, whether in camps at the flak tower construction sites, at the subcontractors, or later even in operating the flak towers. Actions interpreted by supervisors as "unwillingness to work" or "acts of sabotage", resistance or political behaviour could result in arrest by the Gestapo, internment in a "work education camp" or deportation to a concentration camp. The Frenchman Charles Joyon, born in 1920, was in March 1943 conscripted into labour service in the German Reich via the "Service du Travail Obligatoire". He worked on the construction sites in the Arenbergpark and in the Stiftskaserne barracks and was housed in the Schleuse and Freihaus forced labour camps. He compared the construction of the flak towers to the building of the Tower of Babel, as so many different languages were spoken and so little was mutually understood. Joyon joined a resistance movement, distributed leaflets among his comrades and was finally arrested by the Gestapo in August 1944. In October 1944, he was deported to Dachau concentration camp, where he was liberated in April 1945. He provided iFAG with private photographs showing him with comrades in the camp barracks.

Such experiences left their mark on those concerned even long after their liberation. The barracks of the forced labour camps have disappeared from the city today. There are no commemorative signs: the forced labourers who survived and returned to their home countries have long ceased to be a target group for Austria's culture of remembrance. Nor do they return to the places of their abuse; there is no official commemoration.

beim Leitturm Augarten angezweifelt werden, ob der geringe Ausbaugrad überhaupt eine Nutzung als Luftschutzbunker zuließ. Stellt man heute die Funktion der Flaktürme als Luftschutzbauten in den Vordergrund, suggeriert man einen positiven Nutzen, der für die Erbauung nicht maßgeblich und bestenfalls ein Nebenprodukt war. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass vom NS-Regime verfolgte Menschen von dieser vermeintlichen Fürsorglichkeit gänzlich ausgeschlossen waren.

In archäologischen Grabungen in einzelnen Stockwerken im Leitturm Augarten konnten unter Schichten von Schutt und Taubenkot sogar Dokumente zutage befördert werden, die Namen, Geburtsdaten und Herkunftsländer der bei den Bau- und Zulieferfirmen beschäftigten Zwangsarbeiter*innen sowie deren Unterbringung in Barackenlagern in Wien enthielten. Lohnkarten, Arbeitsbücher, Einsatzlisten von Zwangsarbeiter*innen, die



Abb. 6:
Ehemaliger Leitturm
Augarten: Fundort
Dokumente vor und
nach der archäologi-
schen Grabung 2010

Fig. 6:
Former control tower
in Augarten: Place
of discovery of docu-
ments before and
after archaeological
excavations 2010

© IFAG, Foto: Stephan Matyus

Yet the flak towers are unmistakable products of the Nazi forced labour programme. In the interiors of the former control tower in the Arenbergpark, forced labourers immortalised themselves with pencil or chalk on the brick and concrete walls during the construction work. Such graffiti, applied unnoticed to the walls, can still bear witness today: we were here. As the tower was only partially used after the war ended, their writings, drawings and scribbles can still be read, a story of despair, anger and resistance: for example, the so-called “Italian military internees” wrote *Margherini Angelo, Burello Nunzio, Milano e poi morire* (See Milan and die), while French forced labourers inscribed *Laval au poteau!* (Laval to the gallows! – a reference to the Prime Minister of the Vichy French regime, Pierre Laval, responsible for the forced deportation of French workers to Germany), *froid* (cold), *ciment* (cement) and *Vive la France* (Long live France). Also to be seen is *Tokar Aleksej Gregorievich*, the name of a Russian prisoner of war. The actual history of the building can be read by walking from the ground floor to the roof. Inscriptions for the use of rooms, instructions for soldiers of the Wehrmacht and the guidance system that separated the flows of civilians and soldiers are still there, as are the lift, doors, building services and sanitary facilities. A total of 240 examples of graffiti were documented and photographed by iFAG in plans and lists.²

Using historical building inventories and archaeological building investigations, the iFAG team attempted to reconstruct the actual progress of construction and expansion and the uses of the rooms in the control towers in the Arenbergpark and the Augarten. These three buildings have largely stood empty since the war’s end, therefore many authentic traces and relics from the time of their construction and use remain. Evidence was for example found of accommodation for companies that produced items for the arms industry and, as they were seen as important to the war effort, the firms relocated to the flak towers, which were considered safe. Thus filter systems were produced in the Arenbergpark, while electrical tubes were made in the Augarten. It is noteworthy that only the remaining floors were made available for civilian air-raid protection: just three of a total of nine floors in the Arenbergpark control tower, for instance. Much of what was set out in the historical plans submitted was not installed, not completed or simply did not function. This concerned not only technical and military installations, but also essentials such as stair rails or lockable façade openings. In the case of the Augarten control tower, for example, it is doubtful whether the low degree of expansion would have let it be used as an air raid shelter at all. When the function of the flak towers as air-raid shelters is emphasised today, this suggests a positive use that was not at all decisive in their construction and was at best a by-product – quite apart from the fact that those persecuted by the Nazi regime were wholly overlooked by this supposed concern.

Archaeological excavations on individual floors of the Augarten control tower even unearthed documents under layers of rubble and pigeon droppings that contained the names, dates of birth and countries of origin of the forced labourers employed by the construction companies and suppliers, as well as their accommodation in barrack camps in Vienna. There were wage cards, work books and lists of forced labourers who were directly connected to the history of the flak tower; such documents are not to be found in the archives and have an emotional quality that goes beyond the historical dimension. For example, one item found was the work book of the Frenchman Paul Couraud, born in 1922, who had responded to iFAG’s call for eyewitnesses and who was employed as a forced labourer by the construction company Gottlieb Tesch. There was also a postcard dating from December 1943 found in the former combat tower in the Augarten, on

² Ute Bauer (ed.), *Erinnerungsort Flakturm, Der ehemalige Leitturm im Wiener Arenbergpark, Phoibos Verlag 2010*

in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte dieses Flakturms stehen. Solche Dokumente sind in Archiven nicht zu finden und besitzen eine über die historische Dimension hinausgehende emotionale Qualität. So wurde das Arbeitsbuch des Franzosen Paul Couraud, geboren 1922, gefunden, der sich auf den Zeitzeugenauftrag von iFAG gemeldet hatte, und der bei der Baufirma Gottlieb Tesch als Zwangsarbeiter eingesetzt war. Aus dem ehemaligen Gefechtsturm im Augarten stammt eine Postkarte vom Dezember 1943, in der Irene Bondi ihrem Mann, Renato Bondi, mitteilt, dass ihr gemeinsamer Sohn Ivan Bondi gesund zur Welt gekommen ist. Renato Bondi gelangt als italienischer Kriegsgefangener über das Stalag XVII A auf die Flakturmbaustelle. Er trägt die gefaltete Postkarte immer bei sich, eines Tages verliert er sie, 2005 wird sie im Schutt wieder aufgefunden. Renato Bondi machte sich im Mai 1945 auf den Weg zu seiner Familie nach Italien, wo er seinen Sohn zum ersten Mal sieht.

Die sechs Flaktürme in Wien sind materielle Zeitzeugen, auch bzw. gerade für die Zeit nach der unmittelbaren Zeitzeugenschaft. Solange sie keiner neuen Nutzung dienen, mit der eine identitätsstiftende Überschreibung und Neubewertung einhergeht, bleibt Raum für die Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte. iFAG versucht daher, insbesondere den Leitturm im Arenbergpark und die beiden Flaktürme im Augarten als Mahnmale für NS-Zwangsarbeit zu positionieren. Ein Flakturm-Archiv mit Funden aus den Türmen könnte die notwendige Vermittlungsarbeit leisten. Doch Bestrebungen, den Leitturm im Arenbergpark mit seinen authentischen Spuren als begehbare Mahnmal zu öffnen, scheiterten bislang. Trotz bestehendem Denkmalschutz gibt die Eigentümerin Stadt Wien Verwertungsinteressen Vorrang. Das gleiche gilt für die beiden Türme im Augarten, Eigentum des Bundes, die an eine Firma vermietet sind, die diese jedoch nicht nutzt.

Die bis in die 1980er Jahre vorherrschende These von Österreich als erstem Opfer der Hitler'schen Aggression ist hinreichend widerlegt und in der offiziellen Erinnerungskultur nicht mehr präsent. Welchen Stellenwert der Luftkrieg darin einnimmt, ist bis dato nicht definiert. Es scheint, als hafte dies den Wiener Flaktürmen als Makel an, der ihre gedenkpolitische Zuordnung erschwert. An der Entstehung der Flaktürme als Bauten des Luftkriegs und der NS-Propaganda ist nicht mehr zu rütteln, dass ihre ressourcenverschlingende Errichtung unter massiver Ausbeutung von Zwangsarbeiter*innen geschah, ebenso wenig.

which Irene Bondi informed her husband, Renato Bondi, that their son Ivan Bondi was born healthy. Renato Bondi was sent as an Italian prisoner of war to the flak tower construction site via Stalag XVII A. He always carried the folded postcard with him, but one day lost it: it was found again in the rubble in 2005. Renato Bondi set off in May 1945 to see his family in Italy, where he saw his son for the first time.

The six flak towers in Vienna are material contemporary witnesses, including – even especially – for the time following the immediate period to which they bore witness. As long as they serve no new use that is accompanied by an identity-creating settlement and re-evaluation, there remains room for addressing history anew. It is for this reason that iFAG is trying to position the control tower in Arenbergpark and the two flak towers in Augarten as memorials to those exploited by the Nazis as forced labour. A flak tower archive containing finds from the towers could perform the necessary educational work. Efforts to open up the control tower in the Arenbergpark with its authentic traces as a walk-in memorial have nevertheless so far failed. Despite the existing monument protection, its owner, the City of Vienna, gives priority to commercial interests. The same applies to the two towers in the Augarten, which are the property of the Austrian federal government and are rented to a company that does not use them.

The thesis of Austria as the first victim of Hitler's aggression that prevailed until the 1980s has now been sufficiently refuted and is no longer present in the official culture of remembrance. The significance of the air war in this regard is yet to be defined: it seems that this is a stigma attached to the Viennese flak towers that makes it difficult to assign them a commemorative role. There can no longer be any doubt that the flak towers were built for the requirements of the air war and for Nazi propaganda purposes, nor that their resource-intensive construction demanded the massive exploitation of forced labourers.

Anna Scuttari

MyBZ – Bozen in Bewegung Bolzano in movimento

Il presente contributo mira a presentare l'esperienza di co-progettazione dello sviluppo della città di Bolzano dal titolo "MyBZ – Bozen in Bewegung – Bolzano in movimento", un progetto di ricerca sociale e di pianificazione svolto dai ricercatori di Eurac Research sulla base di un bando di gara del Comune di Bolzano.

Bolzano in movimento nasce dalla volontà politica e amministrativa del Comune di Bolzano di svolgere una analisi delle proprie identità urbane, fortemente influenzate dallo sviluppo storico e urbanistico della città, per poi proporre un posizionamento strategico della città stessa e stilare un piano di marketing integrato. L'identità urbana all'interno di questo progetto si è definita attraverso l'unicità e la capacità di contraddistinguere la città rispetto ad altre (Lynch, 1960). Essa rappresenta la misura in cui le persone, siano esse visitatori o residenti abituali o pendolari, attribuiscono unicità e distintività ad un luogo. L'identità urbana non è soltanto composta dagli aspetti materiali del tessuto urbano, quali ad esempio le forme naturali ed artificiali, le forme architettoniche o le espressioni artistiche, ma anche da elementi immateriali, quali credenze, comportamenti, regole, nonché dai legami tra persone, tra enti e tra amministrazioni (Ziyadeh, 2018). Si tratta quindi di un concetto in movimento perché molti di questi aspetti cambiano in continuazione.

I ricercatori del Center for Advanced Studies di Eurac Research hanno lavorato su indagini e piani strategici sviluppati nel corso degli anni su questa tematica, hanno analizzato le caratteristiche del tessuto economico e sociale cittadino attraverso dati e statistiche. Per il coinvolgimento delle persone che abitano e visitano la città sono state previste interviste di gruppo (focus group) e questionari. Per elaborare una visione il più possibile condivisa in merito allo sviluppo urbano futuro sono stati svolti cinque diversi momenti di confronto con la cittadinanza.

Il report finale di progetto

L'identità urbana di Bolzano emersa dalle opinioni di chi vive e visita la città si articola in dieci punti e descrive una città fatta di equilibri complessi: modernità e tradizione, centro storico e quartieri periferici, eleganza urbana ma anche montagna e natura.

1. Bolzano è una città tradizionale e moderna, fiera di saper accogliere alcuni trend globali, ma un po' in ritardo nel rispondere ad altri.
2. Bolzano è una città complessa, con delle esigenze sociali particolari rispetto alla Provincia.

Anna Scuttari

MyBZ – Bozen in Bewegung Bolzano in movimento [Bozen/Bolzano in motion]

This contribution aims to present the experience of co-designing the development of the city of Bolzano entitled “MyBZ – Bozen in Bewegung – Bolzano in movimento”, a social research and planning project carried out by researchers at Eurac Research on the basis of a call for tenders by the municipality of Bozen/Bolzano.

Bozen in Bewegung – Bolzano in movimento stems from the political and administrative desire of the City of Bolzano to analyse its urban identity, which is strongly influenced by the historical and urban development of the city, then to propose a strategic positioning of the city itself and to draw up an integrated marketing plan. Urban identity under this project is defined through the city’s uniqueness and ability to distinguish itself from others (Lynch, 1960). It represents the extent to which people, whether visitors, usual residents or commuters, attribute uniqueness and distinctiveness to a place. Urban identity not only consists of the material aspects of the urban fabric – e.g. natural and artificial forms, architectural forms or artistic expressions – but also of intangible elements such as beliefs, behaviours and rules, as well as the ties between people, entities and administrations (Ziyadeh, 2018). It is therefore a concept in motion because many of these aspects are constantly changing.

The researchers of the Center for Advanced Studies at Eurac Research have worked on surveys and strategic plans concerning this issue that have been developed over the years, analysing the characteristics of the city’s economic and social fabric via data and statistics. Group interviews (focus groups) and questionnaires were used to involve those people who live in and visit the city: five different discussion sessions were held with citizens in order to produce as shared a vision as possible regarding future urban development.

The final project report

The urban identity of Bolzano that emerges from the opinions of those who live in and visit the city is divided into ten points and describes a city made up of complex balances: modernity and tradition, old town and suburbs, urban elegance but also mountains and nature.

1. Bolzano is a traditional and modern city, proud to embrace certain global trends but a little late in responding to others.
2. Bolzano is a complex city, with special social needs compared to the Province.

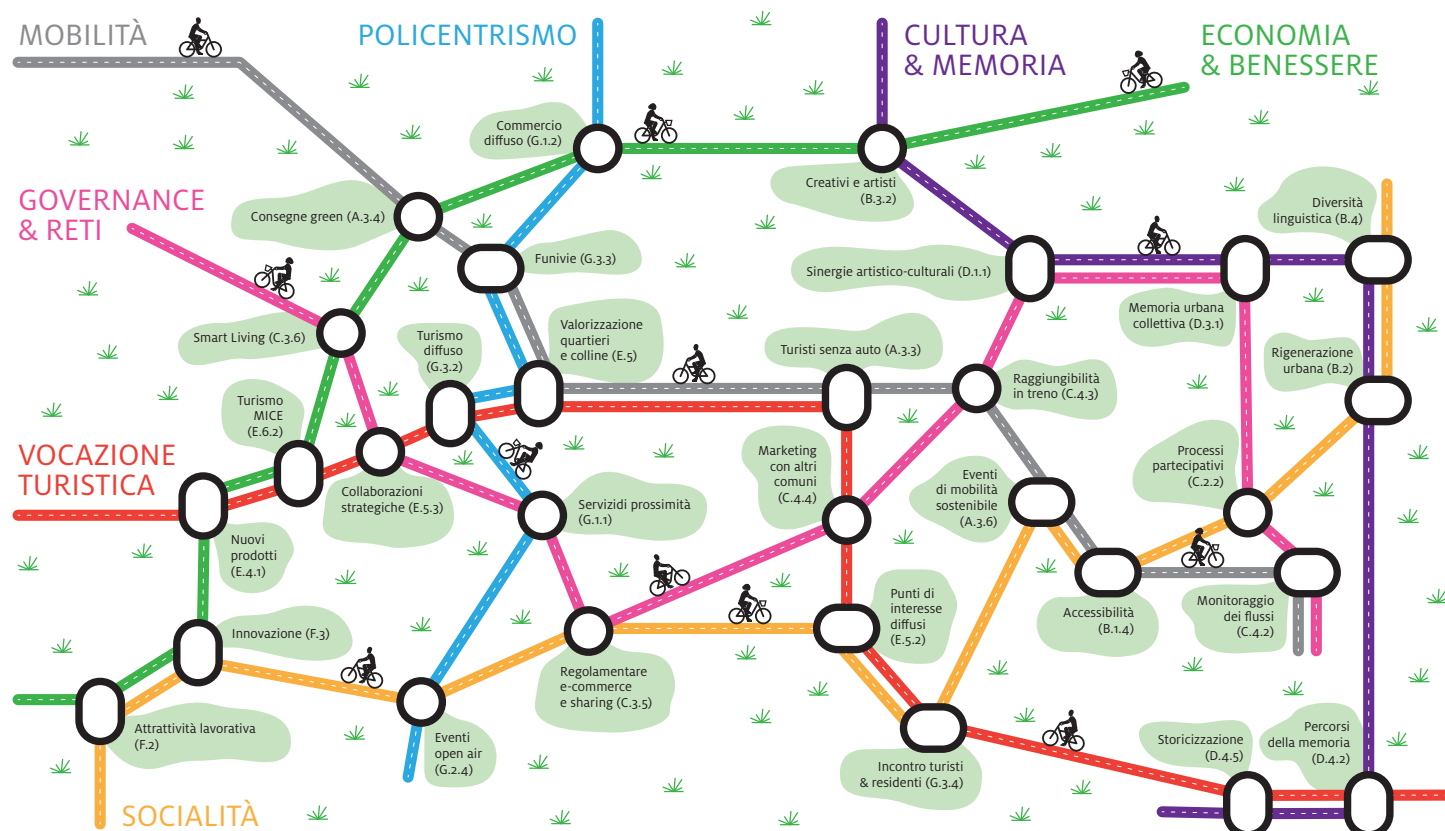


Abb. 1:
Assi strategici e
strategie per lo
sviluppo della città
di Bolzano

Fig. 1:
Strategic axes and
strategies for the
development of Bozen/
Bolzano

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3. Bolzano è una città centripeta, ma vuole valorizzare i suoi quartieri.
4. Bolzano è una città poliedrica, eterogenea dal punto di vista dei settori economici.
5. Bolzano presenta una bassa intensità e densità turistica rispetto ai territori limitrofi, ma ospita intensi flussi escursionistici: è una città che ha un alto potenziale di sviluppo turistico, che deve essere perseguito coniugando le esigenze della popolazione locale.
6. Bolzano è una città di richiamo per i lavoratori pendolari, ma lo è meno per i giovani talenti.
7. Bolzano è una città in parte timida e un po' lenta, che raffigura la sua storia dietro una parvenza di equilibrio.
8. Bolzano è una città già ricca di spazi "terzi" e spazi verdi, ma questi potrebbero essere sfruttati di più e arricchiti di contenuti.
9. Bolzano è una città alpina elegante, con un rapporto particolare con la natura, ma solo parzialmente legata alla montagna.
10. Bolzano è una città autonoma, che potrebbe migliorare le relazioni con i comuni e le regioni vicine.

Bolzano si caratterizza per la presenza di settori economici variegati con il turismo a giocare un ruolo di primo ordine, anche se con dinamiche diverse rispetto a quanto avviene nel resto della provincia. Questa e altre specificità, per esempio il profilo sociodemografico, ne fanno un centro con esigenze spesso diverse da quelle delle aree circostanti.

La visione di Bolzano al 2030 è quella di una città che sappia gestire le sue complessità e superarle con un dinamismo che la fa stare al passo coi tempi, puntando a diventare "la città più equilibrata e dinamica d'Europa". Per puntare a questa visione i ricercatori hanno sviluppato una mission – "Bolzano vede oltre" – che si declina in strategie e azioni concrete per l'agenda dell'amministrazione comunale. Le strategie stesse sono da interpretarsi come elementi di una sola rete, perché interconnessi attraverso legami inter-

3. Bolzano is a centripetal city that nevertheless wants to improve its suburbs.
4. Bolzano is a multifaceted city with heterogeneous economic sectors.
5. Bolzano has a low intensity and density of tourism compared to neighbouring areas, but plays host to heavy flows of day trippers: the city has a high potential for tourism development that should be pursued in combination with the needs of local people.
6. Bolzano is an attractive city for commuters, less so for young talent.
7. Bolzano is a somewhat timid and slow city that portrays its history behind a semblance of balance.
8. Bolzano already possesses numerous “third” spaces and green spaces, which could be further exploited and given enhanced content.
9. Bolzano is an elegant Alpine city with a special relationship to nature, but is only in part linked to the mountains.
10. Bolzano is an autonomous city that could improve its relations with the neighbouring municipalities and regions.

Bolzano is characterised by its range of economic sectors, with tourism playing a leading role, one with different dynamics from the rest of the Province, however. This and other specificities, for example its socio-demographic profile, make it a hub whose needs often differ from those of the surrounding areas.

The vision of Bolzano in 2030 is that of a city that can manage and overcome its complexities with a dynamism that ensures it remains in step with the times, whose aim is to become “Europe’s most balanced and dynamic city”. To achieve this vision, the researchers have developed a mission statement – “*Bolzano vede oltre* [Bolzano sees beyond]” – that is to be translated into concrete strategies and actions for the agenda of the city authorities. The strategies themselves are to be seen as elements of a single network as they are interconnected through interdisciplinary links and joint priorities. One lever that is considered important for development is a focus on culture and memory through a constructive assessment with the past, a historicisation and the creation of new memory paths in the city. The involvement of professional artists from the city would also ensure that such actions have positive effects on the local economy and well-being.

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disciplinari e priorità congiunte. Una leva ritenuta importante per lo sviluppo è la valorizzazione della cultura e della memoria, attraverso un confronto costruttivo con il passato, la storicizzazione, la creazione di nuovi percorsi della memoria in città. Coinvolgendo anche professionalità artistiche locali, queste azioni avrebbero ripercussioni positive anche sull'economia e il benessere.

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Mona Schieren

Zu(m) Bunkern (künstlerisch) forschen

Bunker sind nach wie vor Orte höchst ambivalenter Erfahrung und Erinnerung. Schrecken, aber auch eine zweifelhafte Faszination angesichts ihrer Monumentalität und der so bezeichneten „rohen“ Architektur liegen nah beieinander. Sie sind für den Verteidigungsfall temporär gedacht, zugleich aber gebaut für die Ewigkeit.

Dieser Beitrag beleuchtet einleitend zunächst die Möglichkeiten und Betrachtungswinkel, die künstlerische Forschung zu Bunkern eröffnet. In der weiteren Lesart des Titels dieses Aufsatzes scheint die Frage auf, was geschieht, wenn das Bunkern zur Tätigkeit wird: beim Einlagern von Erinnerungen beziehungsweise im Falle der Apokalypse-Fantasien von Preppern, die im Hauptteil des Beitrags thematisiert werden.

Was kann künstlerische Forschung zu Fragen der Erinnerungskultur beitragen, wie sie sich auch beim Vallo Alpino stellen? Dies war Gegenstand unseres Ausstellungs- und Forschungsprojekts *Re:BUNKER* und der daraus entstandenen Publikation (Maltzahn/Schieren 2019). Diese versammelt Beiträge aus Philosophie, Architektur, Medien-, Geschichts-, Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften sowie aus der Kunst und eröffnet einen Dialog zwischen historischer Forschung und Zukunftsszenarien (Abb. 1).

In unserem Forschungsprojekt der Hochschule für Künste Bremen zusammen mit der École européenne supérieure d'art de Bretagne in Brest wurden wir gebeten, einen der größten U-Boot-Bunker Europas, den Bunker „Valentin“ in Bremen-Farge, künstlerisch zu untersuchen. An diesem 419 Meter langen Gebäude, das zwischen 1943 und 1945 von Tausenden von Zwangsarbeiter:innen errichtet wurde, zeigen sich heute die dem historischen Wandel unterworfenen Funktionen und Nutzungen genauso wie Prozesse von Aneignung und Umwidmung. Von den Nationalsozialisten geplant und unter dem massiven Einsatz von Zwangsarbeiter:innen erbaut, ist der Bunker heute eine Gedenkstätte, in der politische Bildung sowie sozialer und kultureller Austausch stattfinden.¹ Gleichermäßen reflektiert das Forschungsprojekt bestimmte Prozesse, die mit Erinnerungsarbeit selbst verbunden sind, wie die folgenden zwei Beispiele illustrieren.

Der französische Künstler Arek Kouyoumdjian hat in seiner Installation mit dem Titel *Only Nature Remembers* (Abb. 2) aus zersägten Baumstümpfen und Zweigen Konstrukte geschaffen, deren Materialien dem Wald in der Umgebung des Bunkers „Valentin“ entstammen. Viele der Bäume sind älter als der Bunker selbst. Sie sind Zeugen seiner Geschichte und werden in ihrer Anordnung, mittels welcher die Natur aus der Umgebung

¹ Website des Denkort Bunker „Valentin“: <https://www.denkort-bunker-valentin.de/startseite.html> (28.9.2022).

Mona Schieren

Researching (artistically) into bunkering

Bunkers are still places of highly ambivalent experience and memory. In view of their monumentality and their so-called “raw” architecture, horror can never be far from a dubious fascination. They are intended as temporary defences, yet at the same time are built for all eternity.

This article begins by illuminating the possibilities and perspectives opened up by artistic research into bunkers. Further reading into the title of this essay prompts the question of what happens when bunkering becomes an activity: in the storage of memories, or in the case of the apocalyptic fantasies of preppers, which are addressed in the main part of the article.

What can artistic research contribute to questions of the culture of remembrance that are also prompted by the Vallo Alpino? This was the subject of our exhibition and research project entitled *Re:BUNKER* and the resulting publication (Maltzahn/Schieren 2019). This brings together contributions from philosophy, architecture, media, history, art and cultural studies as well as art itself, opening a dialogue between historical research and future scenarios (Fig. 1).

In our research project, conducted at Bremen’s University of the Arts together with the *École européenne supérieure d’art de Bretagne* in Brest, we were asked to artistically investigate one of Europe’s largest submarine pens, the “Valentin” bunker in Bremen’s Farge district. This 419-metre-long building, constructed between 1943 and 1945 by thousands of forced labourers, today reveals functions and uses that are subject to historical change as well as processes of appropriation and repurposing. Planned by the Nazis and built with a massive use of forced labour, the bunker is now a memorial site for political education and social and cultural exchanges.¹ Similarly, the research project reflects certain processes that are associated with remembrance work itself, as illustrated by the following two examples.

In his installation entitled *Only Nature Remembers* (Fig. 2), French artist Arek Kouyoumdjian has created constructs using sawn tree stumps and branches, with the materials taken from the forest near the “Valentin” bunker. Many of the trees are older than the bunker itself and are witnesses to its history: their arrangement, which brings nature from the surroundings into the interior of the bunker, transforms them into a vertical landscape. Thus they form, to use Édouard Glissant’s expression, a “topography of memory”.

¹ Website of the memorial site for the “Valentin” bunker: <https://www.denkort-bunker-valentin.de/startseite.html> (28.09.2022).

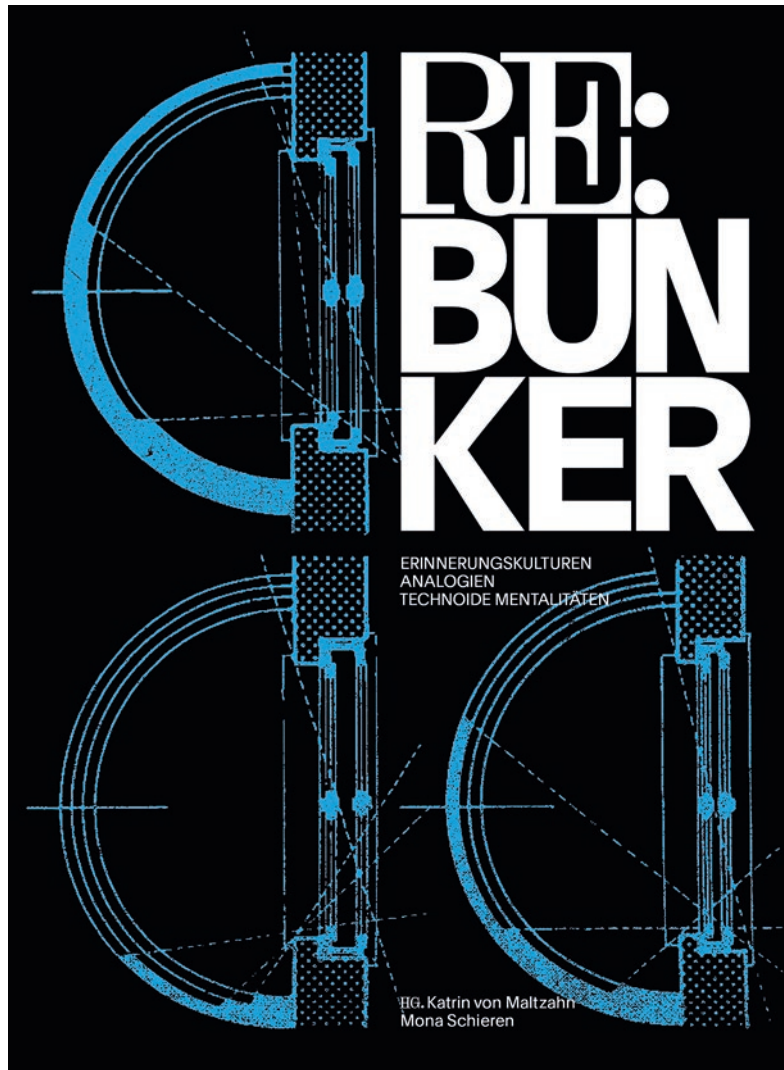


Abb. 1:
Cover, Katrin von Maltzahn, Mona Schieren (Hg.): *Re:BUNKER, Erinnerungskulturen, Analogien, Technoide Mentalitäten*, Berlin 2019.

Fig. 1:
Cover, Katrin von Maltzahn, Mona Schieren (ed.): *Re:BUNKER, Erinnerungskulturen, Analogien, Technoide Mentalitäten*, Berlin 2019.

© Authors, Arek Kouyoumdjian

in das Innere des Bunkers geholt wird, zur vertikalen Landschaft. So bilden sie – mit Édouard Glissant gesprochen – eine „Topografie der Erinnerung“.

In einem weiteren künstlerischen Forschungsunterfangen zum Bunker „Valentin“ ist eine Graphic Novel entstanden (Abb. 3): Jens Genehr hat mit der Recherche und Aufarbeitung unzähliger Korrespondenzen von Zwangsarbeiter:innen die Geschichte des jungen Franzosen Raymond P. nachgezeichnet, der von den Nationalsozialisten in das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme verschleppt und gezwungen wurde, den Bunker „Valentin“ mitzubauen (Genehr 2019).

Die Publikation *Re:BUNKER* diskutiert diverse Formen von Erinnerungskulturen und künstlerischen Interventionen an historischen Orten. Mittels künstlerischer Forschung lassen sich unterschiedliche Ansätze ins Spiel bringen und eine etwaige Eindimensionalität von Erinnerungskultur auf eine Multiperspektivität hin erweitern. Die Essays des Buches reflektieren Prozesse, die mit Erinnerungsarbeit verbunden sind. Sie verweisen dabei auch auf Gegenwart und Zukunft abstrakter wie konkreter Bunkerfantasien, etwa lebensweltliche Phänomene des „Einbunkerns“, wie sie etwa in der Prepper-Szene geläufig sind (Schieren 2019). Damit komme ich zum zentralen Teil des Beitrags: zum Bunkern.

Seit geraumer Zeit geistert die Figur des Preppers – aus den USA kommend – durch deutschsprachige Medien und auch durch Outdoor-Magazine. Prepper, abgeleitet vom englischen „to be prepared“, bunkern und rüsten sich für den Ernstfall aus. Der Prepper

Abb. 2:

Arek Kouyoumdjian,
in: Katrin von
Maltzahn, Mona
Schieren (Hg.):
Re:BUNKER,
Erinnerungskulturen,
Analogien, Technoide
Mentalitäten, Berlin
2019., S. 57

Fig. 2:

Arek Kouyoumdjian,
in: Katrin von
Maltzahn, Mona
Schieren (ed.):
Re:BUNKER,
Erinnerungskulturen,
Analogien, Technoide
Mentalitäten, Berlin
2019., p. 57.

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A further artistic research project into the “Valentin” bunker resulted in the creation of a graphic novel (Fig. 3): by researching and processing countless quantities of correspondence from forced labourers, Jens Genehr has traced the story of the young Frenchman Raymond P., who was deported by the Nazis to the Neuengamme concentration camp and forced to help in building the “Valentin” bunker (Genehr 2019).

The publication *Re:BUNKER* discusses various forms of remembrance cultures and artistic interventions at historical sites. Artistic research can bring various approaches into play, expanding the possible one-dimensionality of remembrance culture into a multi-perspectivity. The essays in the book reflect on processes associated with remembrance work; they also refer to the present and future of both abstract and concrete bunker fantasies, such as real-life phenomena of “bunkering down”, as is common in the prepper scene (Schieren 2019). This brings me to the central section of the article: bunkering.

For some time now, the figure of the prepper – which comes from the USA – has been haunting the German-language media and outdoor magazines. Preppers, derived from the phrase “to be prepared”, bunker down and equip themselves for emergencies. Depending on their political convictions or belief in conspiracy myths, preppers (mostly male) prepare themselves for “natural disasters, epidemics or pandemics, ABC accidents, blackouts, terrorism, inflation, global political conflicts, war, threats from outer space, or

(meistens männlich) präpariert sich je nach politischer Gesinnung oder verschwörungsmythischem Unterbau für „Naturkatastrophen, Epidemie/Pandemie, ABC-Unfälle, Blackout, Terrorismus, Inflation, weltpolitische Konflikte, Krieg, Bedrohung aus dem All, Ressourcenknappheit“.² Er baut Bunker im Wald oder richtet sich in seinem Keller samt akribischer Vorratswirtschaft für die Apokalypse ein. Es lassen sich jedoch schwer allgemeine Aussagen über das sogenannte Prepping treffen, da es sich nicht um eine gemeinschaftliche Bewegung handelt, sondern um diverse Splittergruppen und Einzelpersonen, die eher im Verborgenen tätig sind (vgl. Sims 2017, S. 3, 22). Die Online-Recherche offenbart eine ungreifbare Masse verschiedener Ausrichtungen und politischer Beweggründe: Von Verschwörungsmythologien über Neofaschisten und Reichsbürger bis zu Technisches-Hilfswerk-Begeisterten und MacGyver-Fans ist alles dabei. Jüngere Untersuchungen zu den Skandalen um rechte Netzwerke in der Bundeswehr und zum Rechtsterrorismus nennen auch die Prepper-Szene als Aktionsfeld (Kaul/Schmidt 2018; Hinz/Rohrer 2018; Bewarder et al. 2019; Biselli 2019).

Angesichts des Covid-19-Virus und der Klimakrise hat die Plausibilität³ – und Attraktivität – dystopischer Szenarien nicht abgenommen. Aktuelle Katastrophenberichterstattung trifft auf Dystopien, wie sie etwa in Cormac McCarthys Roman *The Road* (2006, verfilmt 2009), Suzanne Collins' *Tribute-von-Panem*-Trilogie (2009–2011, engl. Orig. 2008–2010, verfilmt 2012–2015), der TV-Serie *Salvation* (2017/18) oder in dem Roman *Blackout* von Marc Elsberg – der in der nachfolgend untersuchten Reportage *Inside Prepping* Erwähnung findet – entworfen werden. Auf eine auffallende Häufung apokalyptischer Krisenfiktionen in der jüngeren Belletristik hat auch Sigrid Löffler in einem Interview verwiesen (vgl. Löffler/Scholl 2019). Welchen Ansatz die Prepper wählen, um mit Krisenszenarien umzugehen, und wie dies in den ausgewählten Medien visuell ausgestaltet ist, soll hier Thema sein. Im Folgenden beleuchtet wird die 2018 in der Zeitschrift *Tactical Gear* erschienene Reportage *Inside Prepping* (Eichhammer 2018).⁴ Für den zeitgenössischen Kontext herangezogen werden weitere mediale Formate wie eine Episode der NDR-Serie *Der Tatortreiniger* sowie die vom National Geographic Channel produzierte US-amerikanische Reality-TV-Dokuserie *Doomsday Preppers*, die einzelne Prepper vorstellt und ihre „Vorsorgemaßnahmen“ auf Tauglichkeit bewertet.⁵

Die vierteljährlich erscheinende Zeitschrift *Tactical Gear* ist laut Verlagswebsite „das einzige Magazin für taktische Ausrüstung – für Produkte, die für Militär und Polizei entwickelt und produziert werden: robuste Einsatzwerkzeuge, funktionale Kleidung, [...] taktische Uhren und starke Lampen. [...] Unsere Leser sind Militärangehörige und Polizeibeamte, aber vor allem auch ‚normale‘ Menschen, die sich mit besonders hochwertigen und robusten Produkten ausstatten wollen, die sie im Alltag und bei Outdoor-Einsätzen nutzen.“⁶ Vor diesem Hintergrund soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, wie der Blick der Leser:innen durch die Reportage *Inside Prepping* geführt wird. Der doppelseitige

2 Vgl. die Liste von „Gefahren“ auf der Website Paranoid Prepper – Krisenvorsorge Deutschland, www.paranoid-prepper.com/gefahren/ (28.9.2022).

3 Für eine kulturhistorische Analyse der verbreitetsten Variationen des Themas vom Ende der Welt vor dem Hintergrund der Klimakrise im Anthropozän vgl. Danowski/Viveiros de Castro 2019. Jean-Luc Nancy bemerkt in *Äquivalenz der Katastrophen* (Nach Fukushima), dass heutige Natur- und Nuklearkatastrophen sich nicht mehr eindeutig kausal erklären ließen. Vielmehr fielen Ursache und Wirkung in eins (vgl. Nancy 2013).

4 Der Autor der Reportage, Michael Eichhammer, lieferte auch die Fotostrecke.

5 Im vorliegenden Rahmen können die Reportage und die Serien nur ausschnittshaft betrachtet werden. Für die ausführliche Analyse siehe Schieren 2021.

6 Website der Zeitschrift: <https://wieland-verlag.com/magazine/tactical-gear/> (28.9.2022).

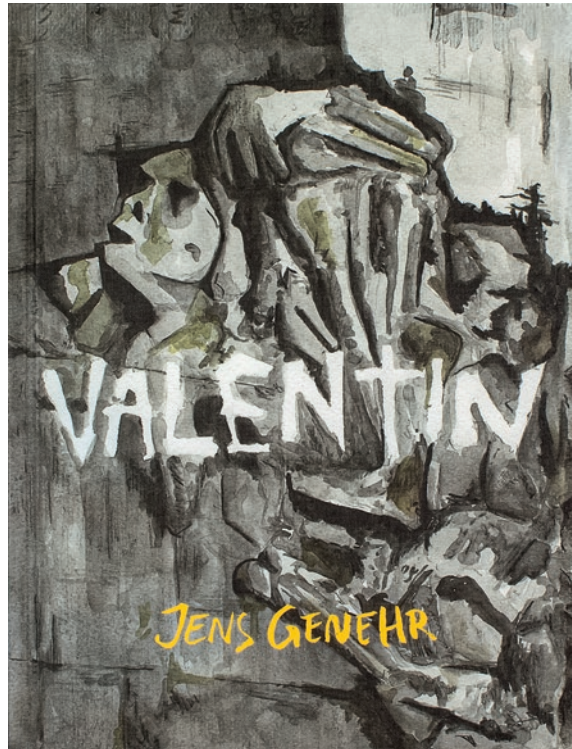
Abb.3:

Cover, Jens Genehr:
Valentin, Bremen 2019.

Fig. 3:

Cover, Jens Genehr:
Valentin, Bremen 2019.

© Jens Genehr



resource shortages".² They build bunkers in the forest or meticulously set up a stockpile in the cellar for the coming apocalypse. It is however difficult to make general statements about "prepping", as it is not a communal movement but rather consists of various splinter groups and individuals who prefer to act in secret (see Sims 2017, pp. 3, 22). Online research reveals an indefinable mass of differing alignments and political motivations, from conspiracy mythologists to neo-fascists and sovereign citizens, to technical relief enthusiasts and MacGyver fans, it's all there. Recent investigations into the scandals surrounding right-wing networks in the Bundeswehr and right-wing terrorism also mention the prepper scene as a field of action (Kaul/Schmidt 2018; Hinz/Rohrer 2018; Bewarder et al. 2019; Biselli 2019).

Faced with the Covid-19 virus and the climate crisis, the plausibility³ – and attractiveness – of dystopian scenarios has not diminished. Current catastrophe reporting comes together with dystopias, such as those in Cormac McCarthy's novel *The Road* (2006, filmed in 2009), Suzanne Collins' *Hunger Games* trilogy (2008–2010, filmed 2012–2015), the TV series *Salvation* (2017–18) or Marc Elsberg's novel *Blackout* – mentioned in the report *Inside Prepping* examined below. Sigrid Löffler also pointed to a striking accumulation of apocalyptic crises in recent fiction in an interview (see Löffler/Scholl 2019). The approaches chosen by preppers to deal with crisis scenarios and how this is visually shaped in the selected media is the issue here, with an examination of the report entitled *Inside Prepping*, published in 2018 in the magazine *Tactical Gear* (Eichhammer 2018).⁴ For the contemporary context, other media formats are used, such as an episode of the

2 See list of "Gefahren [Dangers]" on website Paranoid Prepper – Krisenvorsorge Deutschland, www.paranoid-prepper.com/gefahren/ (28.09.2022).

3 For a cultural-historical analysis of the most widespread variations of the end-of-the-world theme against the backdrop of the climate crisis in the Anthropocene era, see. Danowski/Viveiros de Castro 2019. Jean-Luc Nancy remarks in *Äquivalenz der Katastrophen* (Nach Fukushima) that today's natural and nuclear disasters can no longer be clearly explained in causal terms; rather, cause and effect coincide (see Nancy 2013).

4 Michael Eichhammer, the author of the report, also provided the photo series.

**Abb.4:**

Michael Eichhammer,
Inside Prepping, in:
Tactical Gear, H. 2,
2018, S. 76f.

Fig. 4:

Michael Eichhammer,
Inside Prepping, in:
Tactical Gear, no. 2,
2018, pp. 76f.

© Foto: Michael Eichhammer.
Archiv der Autorin

Fotoaufmacher des Beitrags zeigt die Eingangssituation zu einer maroden Hallenarchitektur in einem verlassenen Areal (Abb. 4). Rechts sind Bereiche mit Maschendraht abge- zäunt. Die Leser:innen werden von Prepper „Harald R.“ mit dem Blick fixiert, der – von gespanntem Tarnnetz geschützt – in Lauerhaltung auf seinem Schlafsack liegt. Die Farb- gebung seiner Tarnkleidung verbindet sich mit der der Umgebung. Die brüchige Typo- grafie transportiert ebenfalls Anklänge an Camouflage. Im Vorspanntext ist zu lesen: „Warum Prepper immer mit dem Schlimmsten rechnen und sich dennoch dabei wohl- fühlen.“

Auf dem zum Artikel gehörigen Bild im Inhaltsverzeichnis richtet Harald R. seine Waffe direkt auf die Betrachter:innen (Abb. 5). Ganz im Sinne eines im Prepper-Umfeld immer wieder zu findenden Narrativs, dass der ärgste Feind der- oder diejenige ist, der oder die nicht vorgesorgt hat, werden die Betrachter:innen ins Fadenkreuz genommen. Damit, dass Waffen und Militärzubehör zu sehen sind, geht eine Normalisierung und Naturalisierung von Gewalt einher. Die Fotos im Inhaltsverzeichnis zu den anderen Bei- trägen unterstützen diese Normalisierungstendenz, etwa mit Reportagen zu Nahkampf- techniken und Produktvergleichen zu Messern und anderer Kampfausrüstung.

Die Aufteilung zwischen Text und Bild innerhalb der Reportage ist durch Textkästen mit kurzen Interviews und weiteren Infoblöcken organisiert. Im Text werden diverse mögliche Apokalypse-Szenarien skizziert: Stromausfall, Kontaminierung von Trinkwasser, Epidemien, Terroranschlag auf ein Atomkraftwerk. Deutschland wird dabei gegenüber den USA als rückständig vorgestellt: „Die Deutschen sind zu bequem und wiegen sich in falscher Sicherheit“, erklärt der überzeugte Prepper Harald R. – seinen vollen Namen will er nicht nennen, denn Prepper werden in Deutschland oft schief angesehen oder sehen sich sogar Verdächtigungen seitens staatlicher Organe ausgesetzt, wie wir es kürzlich erlebt haben“, so *Tactical-Gear*-Autor Michael Eichhammer (Eichhammer 2018, S. 78). Mit dem „wir“ werden die Leser:innen miteinbezogen. In den USA hätten dage- gen Naturkatastrophen wie Wirbelstürme und Überschwemmungen eine größere Sensi- bilisierung für das Thema bewirkt. Die Empfehlung des deutschen Bundesamtes für Bevölkerungsschutz und Katastrophenhilfe (BBK), sich mit einem Vorrat an Lebensmitteln

Abb.5:
Tactical Gear, H. 2,
2018, S. 6f.

Fig. 5:
Tactical Gear, H. 2,
2018, pp. 6f.

© Foto: Michael Eichhammer.
Archiv der Autorin



NDR series *Der Tatortreiniger* (The Crime Scene Cleaner) or the US reality-TV documentary series *Doomsday Preppers*, produced by the National Geographic Channel, which presents individual preppers and evaluates the effectiveness of their “precautionary measures”.⁵

The quarterly magazine *Tactical Gear* is, according to the publisher’s website, “... the only magazine for tactical equipment – for products developed and produced for the military and police: robust operational tools, functional clothing, [...] tactical watches and powerful lamps. [...] Our readers are military personnel and police officers, but above all “normal” people who want to equip themselves with exceptionally high-quality, robust products that they can use in everyday life and when outdoors”.⁶ Against this background, the question will be posed of how the reader’s gaze is guided through the *Inside Prepping* report. The double-page photo lead of the article shows the entrance of a dilapidated hall in a rundown area (Fig. 4). To the right, areas are fenced off with wire mesh. The reader’s eyes are drawn to prepper “Harald R.” who, protected by camouflage netting, lies in wait on his sleeping bag. His camouflaged outfit blends into the surroundings, while the fractured typography also has echoes of camouflage. The opening lines read: “Why preppers always expect the worst and yet feel good about it.”

In the image accompanying the article in the table of contents, Harald R. points his weapon directly at the viewer (Fig. 5). Consistent with a narrative that recurs repeatedly in the prepper scene – that your worst enemy is the one who has taken no precautions – the viewer is in the crosshairs. The fact that weapons and military equipment are displayed goes together with a normalisation and naturalisation of violence. The photos in the table of contents for the other articles underline this tendency towards normalisation, for example with reports on close-combat techniques and product comparisons of knives and other combat gear.

The division between text and image inside the reportage is organised into text boxes with short interviews and further information blocks. The text outlines various possible apocalyptic scenarios: power failures, drinking water contamination, epidemics, or a terrorist attack on a nuclear power plant. Germany is presented as backward compared to the USA: “Germans are too complacent and have lulled themselves into a false sense of security”, explains Harald R., a convinced prepper – he does not want to give his full

⁵ The report and the series can only be considered in part here. For a detailed analysis, see Schieren 2021.

⁶ Magazine website: <https://wieland-verlag.com/magazine/tactical-gear/> (28.09.2022).

und Wasser für zehn Tage einzudecken, wird als Legitimation dafür angeführt, dass es sich beim Preppen nicht um abseitige Spleenigkeit handele, sondern um sinnvolle und gesellschaftlich akzeptierte, ja gebotene Vorsorge.⁷

Im Bildteil der Reportage *Inside Prepping* hält der Protagonist eine Armbrust, die im Text als geeignetes Jagdutensil für Kleintiere und Vögel angepriesen wird. Die zur Tierjagd vorgestellten Waffen erhalten jedoch noch eine andere Bedeutung, wenn im Text mehrfach empfohlen wird, „Mittel zur Verteidigung“ anzuschaffen (ebd., S. 79, 83). Diese militante Grundhaltung noch offensichtlicher nahezulegen, bewirkt in der Reportage die Abbildung eines Filmstills von einer Gruppe von Bewaffneten aus der populären US-amerikanischen Serie *Doomsday Preppers* (2011-2014; Abb. 6). In dieser Reality-TV-Homestory sind Waffen zur Tierjagd und zur Verteidigung gegen „Eindringlinge“ ein zentrales Motiv der Narration.⁸

In den USA gibt es wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zu diesem Phänomen: Dieses zeichne sich erklärtermaßen dadurch aus, dass Prepper „makers“ und keine „takers“ seien (Sims 2017, S. 96).⁹ Es gehe darum, tätig zu werden, Hand anzulegen. Es wird auf vermeintliche „Urinstinkte“ verwiesen.

Gerade die Individualisierung und Priorisierung des Eigeninteresses scheint ein verbreitetes, markantes Motiv der männlich dominierten Prepper-Kultur zu sein, wie auch Eichhammers *Tactical-Gear*-Reportage vermittelt. Es wird viel mehr Energie auf Überlegungen dazu verwendet, wie das eigene Überleben nach einem Blackout oder anderen Katastrophenszenarien zu sichern wäre, als auf Bemühungen, heutige Krisenherde und Konflikte zu entschärfen oder alternative Energieressourcen für alle zugänglich zu machen. Die Figur des Preppers hat den Fokus ihrer Wahrnehmung auf die Zukunft verlegt, diese bestimmt ihr Denken hinsichtlich ihrer Entscheidungen. In der NDR-Serie *Der Tatortreiniger* ist die Episode *Damit muss man rechnen*¹⁰ einem nerdigen jungen Mann gewidmet; so entsteht ein ironisches Psychogramm eines Preppers. Die Figur wird als wirtschaftlich abgehängt und sozial eher isoliert dargestellt, sie spart sich das Leben auf mit der Vision, im Ernstfall würden die Ressourcen neu verteilt. Der Blick des Preppers richtet sich auf die Zukunft, auf den Worst Case, bei dem die Karten neu gemischt werden. Dann möchte er wohlpräpariert in den Startlöchern stehen, das bereitet er von langer Hand vor: Messer, Medikamente, Fahrradanhänger und Wasseraufbereitungsgeräte sind beliebte Produkte für die Tauschwirtschaft nach der Apokalypse. Er bunkert, was dann strategisch von Nutzen sein könnte. In diesem Sinne ist das Prepper-Habitat nicht nur ein *shelter* und ein Materiallager: Es dient zudem der Abgrenzung und Abschottung – vor allem auch von den anderen, den Nachbarn, die nicht vorgesorgt haben.

Dabei besteht das implizite Versprechen, dass Angst durch akribische Planung und Organisation überwunden werden könne. Im Durchexerzieren apokalyptischer Fantasien und indem den Zukunftsängsten mit bürokratischer Vorratswirtschaft begegnet wird, wird Handlungsmacht suggeriert: „Für mich ist Prepping keine Obsession, es ist eine Therapie“, sagt Tom Perez in der *Doomsday-Preppers*-Folge *The Time of Reckoning* (2012), die seinerzeit auf Netflix hohe Einschaltquoten erzielte. Die Angst vor der

7 Vgl. die Seite „Vorsorge für den Katastrophenfall“ auf der Website des BBK, https://www.bbk.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Mediathek/Publikationen/Buergerinformationen/Ratgeber/ratgeber-notfallvorsorge.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=15 (28.9.2022).

8 *Doomsday Preppers – The Time of Reckoning*, USA 2012, Staffel 2, Folge 3, Sharp Entertainment, National Geographic.

9 Aktuell entstehen eine Dissertation von Mischa Luy, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, sowie eine Habilitation von Julian Genner, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, zum Thema.

10 *Der Tatortreiniger – Damit muss man rechnen*, D 2014, Staffel 4, Folge 3, NDR.

Abb.6:

Tactical Gear, H. 2,
2018, S. 78f.

Fig. 6:

Tactical Gear, issue 2,
2018, pp. 78f.

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Archiv der Autorin



name, “because preppers in Germany are often looked at askance or even face suspicion from state agencies, as we have recently experienced”, says *Tactical Gear* author Michael Eichhammer (Eichhammer 2018, p. 78). The “we” includes his readers. In the USA, on the other hand, natural disasters such as hurricanes and floods have raised awareness of the issue. The recommendation of the German Federal Office for Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance (BBK), namely to stock up on ten days’ worth of food and water, is cited as legitimisation of the view that prepping is not an absurd quirk, but a sensible and socially accepted – even necessary – precaution.⁷

In the image accompanying the *Inside Prepping* report, the protagonist holds a cross-bow, praised in the text as a suitable item for hunting small animals and birds. However, the weapons presented for hunting animals take on another significance when the text several times recommends the acquiring of “means of defence”. (ibid., pp. 79, 83). To make this militant attitude even more obvious, the report depicts a film still of an armed group from the popular US series *Doomsday Preppers* (2011–2014; Fig. 6). In this reality TV homestory, weapons for hunting animals and defending against “intruders” form a central part of the narration.⁸

Scientific studies have been conducted into this phenomenon in the USA: the explanation lies in the fact that preppers see themselves as “makers” rather than “takers” (Sims 2017, p. 96).⁹ The point is to take action, to be proactive. Supposed “primal instincts” are referred to.

It is the very individualisation and prioritisation of self-interest that seems to be a common, striking theme of the male-dominated prepper culture, as Eichhammer’s *Tactical Gear* report also shows. Considerably more energy is devoted to thinking about how to ensure one’s own survival following a blackout or another disaster scenario than on efforts to resolve today’s trouble spots and conflicts, or to make alternative energy resources accessible to all. The figure of the prepper has shifted the focus of his perception to the future, which in turn determines his thinking with regard to his decisions. In the NDR series *Der Tatortreiniger*, the episode *Damit muss man rechnen*¹⁰ depicts a

7 See page Vorsorge für den Katastrophenfall on the BBK website, https://www.bbk.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Mediathek/Publikationen/Buergerinformationen/Ratgeber/ratgeber-notfallvorsorge.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=15 (28.09.2022).

8 *Doomsday Preppers – The Time of Reckoning*, USA 2012, series 2, episode 3, Sharp Entertainment, National Geographic.

9 Mischa Luy of the Ruhr University in Bochum is currently writing a dissertation on this subject; Julian Genner of the Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg is working on a doctoral thesis.

10 *Der Tatortreiniger – Damit muss man rechnen*, Germany 2014, series 4, episode 3, NDR.

Bedrohung durch „Unbekanntes“ im Außen wird durch das Befolgen von Tipps und imaginäres Durchspielen der bedrohlichen Szenarien beruhigt. Bestehende beziehungsweise befürchtete ökonomische oder soziale Ohnmacht wird durch vorgestellte Handlungsmacht kompensiert. So entsteht aus der Angst vor dem Kontrollverlust in der Apokalypse ein Verlangen und Machtbegehren für die Zukunft: nach dem Untergang den Samen für eine „neue Gesellschaft“ zu spenden. Daraus bildet sich eine so entlastende wie perfide Lust an Endzeitfantasien und daran, diese ähnlich wie Fantasy-Rollenspiele durchzuexerzieren und auszukleiden.¹¹

Alles, was im Ernstfall dem Prepper zum Überleben dienen könnte beziehungsweise was dann als Tauschware hoch im Kurs stehen dürfte, wird gehortet – das ist die Hybris der Isolation; Vereinzelung gilt hierbei als Problemlösung. Die Tendenz geht eher dahin, „to cocoon, to seclude yourselves from opponents, and to fortify ourselves against our fears, instead of attacking the sources of them“ (vgl. Osnos 2017). Die Zeitschriftenberichte und TV-Serien triggern auch bei den Betrachter:innen Ängste und behaupten, dass durch akribische bürokratische Organisation und das Aus- und Aufrüsten mit Schutz- und Verteidigungsartikeln per Online-Shopping Abhilfe geschaffen werden könne.

Zusammenfassend bleibt festzuhalten: Der meist klandestine Rückzugsort der Prepper wird vor allem als Ressourcenlager genutzt und als zu verteidigende Schutzhülle aufgefasst. Wie anhand von *Tactical Gear* gezeigt, wird dies durch die Naturalisierung von Gewalt, durch Militarisierung untermauert. In den Beitrag über den Prepper Harald R. sind wie in die Zeitschrift insgesamt Konsumangebote passend eingebunden. Auch wenn der Artikel auf den ersten Blick harmlos MacGyver-mäßig daherkommt, kann er Ängste vor einem Kontrollverlust triggern. Gerade die Adressierung des „normalen Menschen“ und eine gleichzeitige Tendenz zu militanten, ausgrenzenden Handlungen scheint ein zentrales Prinzip der Reportage *Inside Prepping* wie auch der TV-Serie *Doomsday Preppers* zu sein. Damit werden rechte Ideologien vermeintlich akzeptierbar gemacht und unter der Tarnkappe der Outdoor-Begeisterung in den Bereich des Normalen gerückt.

Warum entfalten derlei Bunkerstrategien ihre Wirkmacht? Die Verbannung von Bedrohung und Angst ins Außen verschafft Entlastung. Der radikale und tendenziell krieglerische Rückzug auf das Individuum rekurriert auf eine Vorstellung von Subjekten, die als abgeschlossene und fest abgrenzbare Identitäten gedacht werden. Erfahrungen von „Gemeinsam-Sein“ (Nancy 2002, S. 140), die Sein als kontinuierliches Werden begreifen (vgl. Braidotti 2006) und somit Austausch und Dialog zu seiner Bedingung machen, werden hingegen als anderweitig mögliche Formen der Beziehung zum anderen nicht in Betracht gezogen. Vielmehr setzen existenzielle Ängste regressive Affekte frei, die Prozesse der (De-)Zivilisation (vgl. Elias 1997) auf schleichende, aber heimtückische Weise kontinuierlich weiter befeuern. Überleben wird an die kämpferische Verteidigung von Territorien und das Phantasma eines perfekt gesicherten Habitats – häufig Bunker – geknüpft.

Doch ähnlich wie in Franz Kafkas Erzählung *Der Bau* – darauf hat Philipp Schönthaler hingewiesen (Schönthaler 2016, S. 243) – wächst die Angst im selben Maß wie die Schutzvorkehrungen: Der Bau gibt „zwar viel Sicherheit [...], aber durchaus nicht genug, hören denn jemals die Sorgen völlig in ihm auf? Es sind andere, stolzere, inhaltsreichere, oft weit zurückgedrängte Sorgen, aber ihre verzehrende Wirkung ist vielleicht die gleiche wie jene der Sorgen, die das Leben draußen bereitet.“ (Kafka 2007 [1931], S. 483)

11 Siehe beispielsweise das Computerspiel Mr. Prepper von 2021: https://store.steampowered.com/app/761830/Mr_Prepper/ (28.9.2022).

nerdy young man, in turn creating an ironic psychogram of the prepper. The character is portrayed as financially struggling and socially rather isolated; he lives his life sparingly, convinced that, in an emergency, resources will be redistributed. The prepper's gaze is directed towards the future, towards the worst-case scenario, when the pack will be reshuffled. Then he wants to be ready for the off, prepared well in advance: knives, medicines, bike trailers and water purification equipment are popular products for the post-apocalypse barter economy. He bunkers what might be of strategic use. In this sense, the prepper habitat is not just a shelter and a storehouse for materials: it also serves to separate and isolate – above all from the others, the neighbours, those who did not take precautions.

There is an implicit promise that fear can be overcome through meticulous planning and organisation. The acting out of apocalyptic fantasies while countering fears of the future through routine stockpiling suggests the power to act: "For me, prepping isn't an obsession, it's a therapy", says Tom Perez in the *Doomsday Preppers* episode *The Time of Reckoning* (2012), which achieved high ratings on Netflix at the time. Worries about the threat represented by the "unknown" outside are calmed by following tips and imaginary playacting of threatening scenarios. Existing or feared economic or social powerlessness is offset by imagining the power to act. In this way, the fear of losing control in the apocalypse gives rise to a demand and a desire for power in the future: to donate the seeds of a "new society" following the collapse. This gives rise to a desire for end-time fantasies, providing relief even in its illusory nature, as well as for acting these out and dressing them up like fantasy role-playing games.¹¹

Anything that could help the prepper to survive in an emergency or that might then be prized as a barter item is hoarded – this is the hubris of isolation, here seen as a solution to the problem. The tendency is more towards "to cocoon, to seclude yourselves from opponents, and to fortify ourselves against our fears, instead of attacking the sources of them" (see Osnos 2017). The magazine reports and TV series also trigger fears in viewers, which then claim that these can be remedied through meticulous organisation and equipping and arming oneself with protective and defensive items via online shopping.

To sum up, we can say that the mostly clandestine retreat of the prepper is primarily used as a resource depot and is perceived as a protective shell that has to be defended. As shown by *Tactical Gear*, this is underpinned by the naturalisation of violence and of militarisation. Consumer offers are inserted as appropriate into the article about the prepper Harald R., as in the magazine as a whole. Even if the article appears at first glance to be harmlessly MacGyver-like, it can trigger fears of a loss of control. It is precisely the addressing of "normal people" with a simultaneous tendency towards militant, exclusionary actions that seems to be a central principle of the *Inside Prepping* report, just as of the TV series *Doomsday Preppers*. In this way, right-wing ideologies are supposedly made acceptable and, under the cloak of outdoor enthusiasm, shifted into the realm of the normal.

Why do such bunker strategies wield this power? Banishing threats and fears to the outside provides relief. The radical, tendentially warlike retreat into the individual relates to a notion of persons who are thought of as closed and firmly delimitable identities. Experiences of "being together" (Nancy 2002, p. 140), which understand being as a continuous becoming (see Braidotti 2006) and are thus conditional upon exchange and

11 See e.g. the 2021 computer game Mr. Prepper: https://store.steampowered.com/app/761830/Mr_Prepper/ (28.09.2022).

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dialogue, are on the other hand not seen as different possible forms of relating to others. Instead, existential fears release regressive emotions that continuously fuel processes of (de-)civilisation (see Elias 1997) in a creeping yet insidious way. Survival is linked to the militant defence of territories and the phantasm of a perfectly secured habitat – often a bunker.

But, as in Franz Kafka's story *The Burrow* – and as Philipp Schönthaler has pointed out (Schönthaler 2016, p. 243) – fear grows at the same rate as the protective measures: the burrow “does provide a considerable deal of security, but by no means enough, for is one ever free from anxieties inside it? These anxieties are different from ordinary ones, prouder, richer in content, often long repressed, but in their destructive effects they are perhaps much the same as the anxieties to which existence in the outside world gives rise.” (Kafka, 1931, transl. Willa and Edwin Muir).

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Simon Graf

Panzersperren in der Schweizer Landschaft

Essay zum Bedeutungswandel eines militärhistorischen Überbleibels

Der Krieg ist weit weg, denken die meisten in Payerne. Der betrifft nur die anderen. Und außerdem, die Schweizer Armee wird uns schützen mit ihrem unbezwinglichen Aufgebot. Helvetische Eliteinfanterie, schlagkräftige Artillerie, eine Luftwaffe, die der deutschen um nichts nachsteht, und vor allem eine tüchtige Flugabwehr mit der 20-mm-Oerlikon und der 7,5-cm-Flak. Überall auf dem bergigen Gelände Sperren, waffenstrotzende Befestigungen, Tobleronen und, wenn alles schiefgeht zur äußersten Verteidigung, die uneinnehmbare Festung, das Réduit National in den Hochalpen. Sollen sie doch kommen, die Schlaumeier. [...]

Im Frühjahr, als diese Geschichte beginnt, ist die Landschaft schön, von einer fast übernatürlichen Intensität, in krassem Gegensatz zu den Feigheiten des Marktfleckens. Einsame Gegenden, dunstige Wälder, die bei Tagesanbruch einen kalten Tiergeruch verströmen, wildreiche, schon mit Nebel gefüllte Täler, Harfenklänge dicker Eichen in der lauen Brise. Nach Osten hin schließen Hügel die letzten Häuser ein, wellenförmig ziehen sich die Kuppen im grünen Licht dahin und in den Pflanzungen reckt, soweit das Auge reicht, der Tabak sich dem Wind der Ebene entgegen.

(Chessex 2010)

Situation

Auf ihren Spaziergängen, Auto- oder Zugfahrten begegnen Menschen in der Schweiz nicht selten Betonzacken, die aus dem Boden ragend und quer im Tal liegend sich gradlinig durch die Kulturlandschaft ziehen. Es sind Panzersperren, Überbleibsel eines Verteidigungsdispositivs der Schweizer Armee aus der Zeit des Zweiten Weltkrieges und des Kalten Krieges, das unter dem Namen „Réduit National“ in die Schweizer Geschichte einging. Die Festungsbauten finden sich sowohl in der eigentlichen „Alpenfestung“ wie auch in ihren vorgelagerten Stellungen im Mittelland und an der Landesgrenze. In den 1990er Jahren wurden im Rahmen der Armeereform „Armee 95“ rund 13.000 Festungsbauten aus dem Bestand der Schweizer Armee ausgemustert. Denkmalpflegerisch oder ökologisch wertvolle Bauten wurden inventarisiert. Andere Objekte wiederum wurden verkauft, umgenutzt, abgebrochen oder stehen alleingelassen herum.

Im ersten Teil dieses Essays skizziere ich die sinnstiftende Bedeutung der Panzersperren (und Bunker) für das Selbstbild der Schweiz als kleine, neutrale und wehrhafte Nation im 20. Jahrhundert. Die heutigen Relikte wurden bis zum Ende des Kalten Krieges

Simon Graf

Anti-tank barriers in the Swiss landscape

An essay on the changing meaning of a historic military relic

The war is far off: such is the general view in Payerne. It concerns others. And in any case the Swiss Army ensures our safety with its invincible battle plan. Our elite Swiss infantry, our mighty artillery, our air force as effective as the Luftwaffe, and above all our impressive anti-aircraft defence with its 20-mm Oerlikon and 7.5-cm flak guns. Fortifications all across the difficult terrain, heavily armed strongholds, toblerone anti-tank lines and, if things should go wrong, our impregnable "national redoubt" in the mountains of the Vieux-Pays. It would take some cunning to catch us out. [...]

In spring, when this story begins, all around is lovely, with an almost supernatural intensity that contrasts with the heinous events in the town. Remote countrysides, misty forests at dawn, smelling of chill wild creatures, game-rich valleys already filled with fog, the strum of the warm breeze on great oak trees. To the east the hills close in around the outlying houses; the rolling landscape unfolds in the green light, while on plantations, stretching as far as the eye can see, tobacco is springing up in the wind from the plain.

(Chessex 2010)

Situation

On walks, car or train journeys, people in Switzerland not infrequently come across concrete teeth protruding from the ground and lying across the valley, running in a straight line through the farmland. These are anti-tank barriers, relics of a Swiss army defensive system dating from the Second World War and the Cold War, that went down in Swiss history under the name of the "*Réduit National* [National Redoubt]". The fortifications can be found both in the actual "Alpine Fortress" and in its outlying positions on the Swiss Plateau and on the national frontiers. In the 1990s, as part of the "Army 95" reform, some 13,000 fortifications were decommissioned from the Swiss army's inventory. Buildings that were valuable in monument preservation or ecological terms were inventoried. Other objects, on the other hand, were sold, converted, demolished or left to stand alone.

In the first part of this essay, I outline the significance given by the tank traps (and bunkers) as regards Switzerland's self-image as a small, neutral and defensible nation in the 20th century. Today's relics upheld this national narrative until the end of the Cold War, which was shaken to its foundations at both the discursive and material levels

mit diesem nationalen Narrativ aufgeladen, welches gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts sowohl auf diskursiver wie materieller Ebene in seinen Grundfesten erschüttert wurde. Mit der denkmalpflegerischen Inventarisierung der Panzersperren in den 1990er Jahren wurden sie zu historischen Objekten. Die Frage aber, welche historische Bedeutung ihnen zukünftig zukommt, lässt ein Inventar offen.

Im zweiten Teil interessiere ich mich für die Bedeutung des Historischen in verschiedenen gegenwartsbezogenen Umnutzungen der Panzersperren.¹ In den Fokus rücke ich im Essay nicht museale Praktiken wie die von Festungsvereinen, die sich explizit um das materielle Erbe kümmern, sondern solche die kein unmittelbares historisches Interesse an den Objekten haben. Am Beispiel der ökologischen Aufwertung von Panzersperren durch Naturschutzvereine einerseits und andererseits der ästhetischen Affizierung von Anrainer:innen und Künstler:innen durch Panzersperren, argumentiere ich jedoch, dass der Charakter der Panzersperren als Relikte auch in gegenwartsbezogenen Zugängen relevant bleibt. In beiden diesen Zugängen zeigt sich jeweils eine paradoxe Beziehung zur historischen Bedeutung der Betonblöcke. Die Fotostrecke nimmt parallel zum Text unterschiedliche Perspektiven auf die Panzersperren in der Landschaft und Formen der Umnutzung und Aneignung ein.

Bedeutungen aufladen

In seinem Roman „Ein Jude als Exempel“ verarbeitete Jacques Chessex literarisch den antisemitischen Mord am jüdischen Viehhändler Arthur Bloch durch Schweizer Nationalsozialisten im April 1942 in Payerne im Kanton Freiburg. An den Beginn seines Romans stellte er zwei Landschaftsbeschreibungen: Einerseits zeichnete Chessex das Bild einer militarisierten Landschaft mit dem Réduit National, der „uneinnehmbaren“ Alpenfestung als Herzstück mit seinen Bunkern und Tobleronen, wie die Panzersperren aufgrund ihrer Formähnlichkeit mit der Schokolade gleichen Namens auch genannt werden. Andererseits kontrastierte er diese mit einem pittoresken Landschaftsbild „von einer fast übernatürlichen Intensität“, in welchem er die „Feigheiten des Marktfleckens“ situierte, wo die brutale Ermordung von Arthur Bloch ihren Anfang nahm. Die Ruhe der idyllischen Landschaft und die vermeintliche Sicherheit ihrer Militarisierung erhalten Risse. Der Krieg mit seinen nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen rückt in bedrohliche Nähe, ins Herzen einer Schweizer Kleinstadt: „Nirgends ist Gewalt so gut aufgehoben wie in pittoresken Landschaften“ (Holl 2019).

Der auf den ersten Blick erscheinende Kontrast zwischen romantischer Idylle und militarisierter Landschaft, wurde für das Bild der „wehrhaften Schweiz“ konstitutiv. So formierte sich in der Zwischenkriegszeit einerseits eine kulturpolitische, patriotische Bewegung unter dem Namen der „Geistigen Landesverteidigung“. 1938 wurde diese ein Teil der offiziellen Kulturpolitik, die das „Schweizerische“ (Demokratie, Föderalismus, Freiheit) tautologisch in Abwehr vom „Unschweizerischen“ (Diktatur, Zentralismus, Fremdherrschaft) abgrenzte. Während die arbeitende Klasse in das kulturelle Selbstbild der Schweiz zwar durchaus inkludiert wurde, blieb im kollektiven Bildgedächtnis das „behäbige Dörfli“ als Identifikationspunkt einer mythisch verklärten bäuerlichen und alpinen Schweiz (Tanner 2015).

¹ Das Material, die Bilder und Gespräche mit den Anrainer:innen, wurden im Rahmen des transdisziplinären SNF-Forschungsprojekts „Materialisierte Erinnerungen (in) der Landschaft“ (2019–2023) an der Zürcher Hochschule der Künste (ZHdK) erhoben. Das Forschungsprojekt zeichnet sich unter der Leitung von Sönke Gau durch eine ethnografisch-zeitgeschichtliche und künstlerische Kollaboration zwischen Simon Graf und Florian Wegelin aus (dazu: <https://www.zhdk.ch/forschungsprojekt/562331> [18.10.2022]).



Abb. 1:
Aneignung I

Fig. 1:
Appropriation I

towards the end of the century. With the inventory of the anti-tank barriers as monuments in the 1990s, they became historical objects. However, an inventory leaves open the question of what historical significance they will have in the future.

In the second part, I look at the significance of the historical in various contemporary conversions of the tank traps.¹ In the essay, I do not focus on museum practices, such as those of fortification associations that explicitly take care of the material heritage, but rather on those that have no direct historical interest in the objects. Using the example of the use for ecological ends of tank traps by nature conservation associations on the one hand and the affecting in aesthetic terms of residents and artists by tank traps on the other, I argue that the character of tank traps as relics also remains relevant in contemporary approaches. Both of these approaches reveal a paradoxical relationship to the historical significance of these concrete blocks. Parallel to the text, the photo series shows different perspectives of the tank traps in the landscape as well as forms of their conversion and appropriation.

Loading meanings

In his novel *“Un juif pour l'exemple”* (A Jew Must Die), Jacques Chessex addressed, in literary form, the anti-Semitic murder of the Jewish cattle dealer Arthur Bloch by Swiss Nazis that took place in April 1942 in Payerne, in the canton of Fribourg. At the beginning of his novel were two descriptions of the landscape: on the one hand, Chessex

¹ The material, images and conversations with local people were collected as part of the transdisciplinary Swiss National Fund research project entitled *Materialisierte Erinnerungen (in) der Landschaft* [Materialised Memories in/of the Landscape] (2019–2023) at Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK). Under the direction of Sönke Gau, the research project is characterised by an ethnographic, temporal-historical and artistic collaboration between Simon Graf and Florian Wegelin (see: <https://www.zhdk.ch/forschungsprojekt/562331> [18.10.2022]).

Andererseits beruhte die schweizerische Wehrhaftigkeit auf einer militärischen Strategie der Abschreckung (Dissuasion) und des Réduits, als Strategie der „Einigelung“ in der Alpenfestung. Als Teil des nationalen Symbol- und Bildarsenals der Schweiz vereinten und naturalisierten die Alpen das Idyllische und Wehrhafte zur Einheit. Ihre monumentale Erhabenheit in der Landschaft wurde zum mentalen „Kristallisationskern einer unabhängigen Alpenrepublik“ (ebd.), die sich „im natürlichen Fortifikationssystem der Berge“ bis weit in den Kalten Krieg im Bewusstsein der Bevölkerung verankerte (Tanner 1999). Indem Bunker als „falsche Chalets“ (Schwager 2004) camoufliert wurden, schuf das Verteidigungsdispositiv auch ihre architektonische Integration ins idyllisch-bäuerliche Landschaftsbild. Die mythische Aufladung der Festungsbauten und ihre schiere Anzahl in der Landschaft verfestigten sich als „Ikonen des öffentlichen Raums“ (Schneeberger 2010) zur „geistigen Landesbefestigung“ (Duckart 2011).

Im letzten Drittel des Jahrhunderts kamen verschiedene kulturpolitische, wissenschaftliche und politische Debatten zusammen, die das wehrhaft-idyllische Selbstbild der Schweiz und den Mythos der Alpenfestung herausforderten. Der Nichtangriff auf die Schweiz im zweiten Weltkrieg wurde in Film, Literatur und Arbeiten von jungen Historiker:innen eher in ihren wirtschaftlichen Verflechtungen und politischen Kooperationen mit Nazi-Deutschland lokalisiert, denn in einer schlagkräftigen Armee. In den 1990er Jahren stellten die USA und der Jüdische Weltkongress Entschädigungsforderungen an die Schweiz, weil auf Schweizer Banken weiterhin nachrichtenlose Vermögen aus der Zeit des Zweiten Weltkrieges gelagert waren. Diese führte zur Einsetzung einer unabhängigen Expertenkommission zur offiziellen Aufarbeitung der Geschichte der Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg (UEK 2002).

Von einer erstarkenden Friedensbewegung getragen, wurde durch die Volksinitiative zur Abschaffung der Schweizer Armee 1989 im selben Zeitraum das erste Mal in der Schweizer Geschichte die Armee selbst zur Disposition gestellt. Der „sakrilegische Vorschlag“ (Tanner 2015) zur Schlachtung der „heiligsten Kuh“ (Brodmann 1987) erzielte mit 35,6 % Ja-Stimmen und zwei Ständesstimmen einen Achtungserfolg. Zudem fiel mit

Abb. 2:
Idylle I

Fig. 2:
Idyll I



drew a picture of a militarised landscape with the *Réduit National* and the “impregnable” Alpine fortress at its heart with its bunkers and “toblerones”, as the anti-tank barriers were also called because of their similarity to the chocolate of the same name. On the other hand, he contrasted these with a picturesque landscape “of an almost supernatural intensity” in which he situated the “gutlessness of the market town” where the events leading to the brutal murder of Arthur Bloch began. The tranquillity of the idyllic landscape and the supposed safeness of its militarisation crack apart. The war and its Nazi crimes move threateningly closer, into the heart of a small Swiss town: “Nowhere is violence more at home than in picturesque landscapes” (Holl 2019).

The contrast, at first glance, between the romantic idyll and the militarised landscape became a constitutive aspect of the image of a “well-fortified Switzerland”. Thus, on the one hand, a cultural-political patriotic movement grew up in the interwar period under the name of the “spiritual national defence”: in 1938, this became part of official cultural policy, which tautologically set what was “Swiss” (democracy, federalism, freedom) to defend against the “un-Swiss” (dictatorship, centralism, foreign domination). While the working class was in fact included in the cultural self-image of Switzerland, the “sedate village” remained in the collective memory as a point of identification of a mythically romanticised rural, Alpine Switzerland (Tanner 2015).

On the other hand, the Swiss notion of its ability to defend itself was based upon a military strategy of deterrence (dissuasion) and the *Réduit* as a “hedgehog” strategy of withdrawal into its Alpine fortress. As part of Switzerland’s national arsenal of symbols and images, the Alps combined and naturalised the idyllic and the defensive in one. Their monumental grandeur in the landscape became the mental “crystallisation core of an independent Alpine republic” (ibid.), which anchored itself in the consciousness of the population “in the natural fortification system of the mountains” until well into the Cold War (Tanner 1999). By camouflaging bunkers as “false chalets” (Schwager 2004), the defensive deployment also saw their architectural integration into the idyllic rural landscape. The myths imposed upon the fortifications and their sheer number in the

Abb. 3:
Idylle II

Fig. 3:
Idyll II



dem Ende des Kalten Krieges das Feindbild aus dem Osten weg. Beides führte gewissermaßen zu einer Identitätskrise der Schweizer Armee. Im Zuge ihrer Modernisierung durch die Reform „Armee 95“ wurde das statische Raumverteidigungsdispositiv mit den Réduit- und Grenzbrigaden aufgelöst. 1.280 Sperrstellen mit ihren mehreren tausend Festungsbauten wurden damit obsolet. Ein gewichtiger Teil davon wurde jedoch über die denkmalpflegerische Inventarisierung vor dem Abbruch bewahrt (dazu Bitterli-Waldvogel/Keller 2014). Im Unterschied zu den Hinterlassenschaften einer faschistischen Besatzungsmacht oder Regierung, sind die Panzersperren in der Schweiz nicht in erster Linie als militärhistorische Objekte umstritten, sondern als solche der „geistigen Landesbefestigung“. Die Frage, welche Bedeutung ihnen als kulturelles Erbe in der kollektiven Erinnerung zukommt, bleibt daher ebenfalls kontrovers.

Paradoxe Beziehungen

Anhand des ökologischen und ästhetischen Potenzials der Panzersperren argumentiere ich, dass ihr historischer Charakter auch in gegenwartsbezogenen Praktiken weithin relevant bleibt. Im Laufe der Zeit entstand in den und um die Panzersperren ein Areal, das durch den militärischen und später den denkmalpflegerischen Schutzstatus der Landwirtschaft unzugänglich und dem Bauboom verschlossen blieb. Als die Panzersperren ihre militärische Bedeutung verloren und zu historischen Objekten wurden, bemühten sich vermehrt Naturschutzvereine um ihren Erwerb, weil sie Interesse an den ökologischen Nischen hatten, die sich in den Zwischenräumen der militärischen Relikte bildeten. Zwar besitzen einzelne Panzersteine oft keine eigene ökologische Bedeutung, doch ihre lineare Struktur durch intensiv genutzte Kulturlandschaften sind für die ökologische Vernetzung attraktiv. Ökologisch aufgewertet werden die ehemaligen Sperren von invasiven Neophyten befreit und zu Verbindungslinien entlang derer beispielsweise Gelbbauchunken sicher durchs Land wandern.

Hinsichtlich des historischen Charakters der Panzersperren weist die ökologische „Panzersperrenaufwertung“ auf ein paradoxes Moment: Die einzelnen Betonklötze sind für den Naturschutz zwar meistens unbedeutend oder werden gar für das ökologische Landschaftsbild als störend wahrgenommen. Gleichzeitig bildet der Erhalt der Relikte über ihre Inventarisierung aus historischen Gründen den Garanten für ihre ökologische Aufwertung. Wenn die Betonhöcker im Laufe der Zeit auch von Moos bewachsen und Stauden überwuchert werden, scheint aus dieser Perspektive auch ihre landschaftliche Integration geglückt. Gleichzeitig lässt sich ein vergangenheitspolitisches Potenzial erkennen, indem in medialen Metaphern die Panzersperren zum „Reduit für seltene Tiere und Pflanzen“ (Heller 1998) werden. Inwiefern der Kampf gegen Neophyten und die ökologische Integration der Relikte in eine positiv bewertete Landschaft auch neue Vorstellungen der „heimatlichen Landschaft“ hervorbringen, wird wohl die Zukunft weisen.

Indem die Panzersperren als Bauten für die Landesverteidigung liquidiert wurden, verloren sie zweitens ihre funktionale Zweckbestimmung. Dadurch öffneten sie sich implizit einer Betrachtungsmöglichkeit der Interesselosigkeit. So lässt sich fragen, ob ein „prismatischer Vierreckkörper“ in linearer Anordnung in der Landschaft zu einer historisch gewachsenen „Land Art“ gegen ihre frühere Bestimmung wurde (Bitterli-Waldvogel 2018). Dies machte sich unter anderem der Künstler Olivier Mosset an der Skulpturenausstellung *art en plein air* 2003 in Môtier (CH) zunutze. Kurzerhand erklärte er die in der dortigen Landschaft vorgefundenen Panzersperren als „Ready Made“ zum Kunstobjekt (Bauer in: Stadt Zürich 2009). Als Kunstobjekte würden sie eine Spannung erzielen, „indem sie gleichzeitig Land Art sind und eine Art minimalistische Skulptur“ (Mosset in:

landscape solidified as “icons of the public space” (Schneeberger 2010) whose aim was the “spiritual fortification of the nation” (Duckart 2011).

In the last third of the century, various cultural-political, scientific and political debates came together that challenged Switzerland’s defensive, idyllic self-image and the myth of the Alpine fortress. The absence of any attack on Switzerland in the Second World War was localised – in film, literature and the work of young historians – more in the country’s economic ties and political cooperation with Nazi Germany than in its powerful army. In the 1990s, the USA and the World Jewish Congress made claims for compensation to Switzerland because dormant assets from the Second World War continued to be held in Swiss banks. This led to the appointment of an independent commission of experts to officially assess Switzerland’s history during the Second World War (UEK 2002).

Supported by a growing peace movement, the popular initiative for the abolition of the Swiss army in 1989 was the first time in Swiss history that the army itself had been called into question. The “sacrilegious proposal” (Tanner 2015) to slaughter the “most sacred cow” (Brodmann 1987) achieved a respectable degree of success, with 35.6 % of the voters in favour and two votes put to the cantons as a whole. Moreover, with the end of the Cold War, the image of the “enemy from the East” diminished. To a certain extent, both led to an identity crisis in the Swiss armed forces: in the course of the modernisation during the “Army 95” reform, the static spatial defensive deployment with the *Réduit* units and border brigades was dissolved, with 1,280 blocking positions and the associated thousands of fortifications thus becoming obsolete. A significant number of these were however saved from demolition thanks to the inventory of historical monuments (see Bitterli-Waldvogel/Keller 2014). In contrast to the legacies left by a Fascist occupying power or government, the tank traps in Switzerland are not primarily controversial as military-historical objects, but rather as objects of “spiritual fortification of the nation”. The question of their significance as cultural heritage in the collective memory also therefore remains controversial.

Paradoxical relations

Based upon the ecological and aesthetic potential of the anti-tank barriers, I argue that their historical character also remains widely relevant in contemporary practices. Over time, an area developed in and around the tank traps that remained inaccessible to farming and closed to the building boom owing to their military and, later, their status as protected monuments. When the tank traps lost their military significance and became historical objects, ever more nature conservation associations sought to acquire them because they were interested in the ecological niches that had formed in the spaces between the military relics. Although individual dragon’s teeth often have no ecological significance of their own, their linear structure through intensively used cultivated landscapes are attractive for ecological connectivity. Ecologically upgraded, these former barriers are freed from invasive species and become connecting lines along which, for example, yellow-bellied toads can migrate safely through the countryside.

With regard to the historical character of the tank traps, the ecological “tank-trap upgrading” points to a paradoxical momentum: the individual concrete blocks are mostly insignificant as regards nature conservation or are even perceived as an intrusion in the ecological landscape: yet the preservation of these relics through their inventorying for historical reasons guarantees their ecological upgrading. If in the course of time the



Abb. 4:
Aneignung II

Fig. 4:
Appropriation II

ebd.). Der ästhetische Reiz der Panzersperren findet sich auch in Gesprächen mit den Anrainer:innen wieder, aus deren Gärten sich einzelne Höcker erheben: Mit ihren abgeschrägten Dreiecksflächen hätten sie beinahe ein Design, das nicht an eine Sperre erinnere. Die Form und Größe seien schön, aber insbesondere der Umstand, dass man gerade nicht wisse, warum sie schön seien, mache ihre Attraktivität aus.

Die ästhetische Affizierung verwebt sich in der Panzersperre, ob im Kunst- oder Gartenobjekt, jedoch ebenfalls mit einem historischen Reiz, dem des Originalen und Authentischen. Ihre Originalität speist sich aus dem doppelten Sinn des Wortes: Als „Überbleibsel“ ist die Panzersperre ein originales und originelles Objekt, das den eigenen Garten zu etwas Besonderem macht. Im Garten steht ein Stück Geschichte und ein Objekt, das ohne historisches Vorwissen nicht gleich lesbar ist. Hierbei zeichnet sich die Panzersperre durch eine historisch paradoxe Dezentrierung aus: Einerseits wird die Authentizität des Historischen „zelebriert und zugleich umstandslos einer gegenwärtigen Verwendung zugeführt“ (Reckwitz 2012). Es geht nicht um eine spezifische Bedeutung des Relikts, vielmehr richtet sich das ästhetische Wohlgefallen auf die „Authentizität“, welche gleichzeitig über das Design in die Gegenwart überführt wird.

(K)ein umstrittenes Kulturerbe?

Während im 20. Jahrhundert die Panzersperren in der (idyllischen) Landschaft eine Rolle in der Symbol- und Bildpolitik der Schweiz als kleine, wehrhafte und direkt demokratische Alpenrepublik innehatten, wurde dieses Schauspiel mitsamt dem Bühnenbild durch die kulturpolitische Kritik gestört. Durch die Armeeabschaffungsinitiative, die offizielle Aufarbeitung der Rolle der Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg und die Armeereform 1995 wurde der Mythos auch auf politischer Ebene in seinem Fundament erschüttert. Heute werden die Panzersperren als denkmalpflegerisch wertvolle Bauten von unterschiedlichen Akteur:innen umgenutzt und umgedeutet. Bezüglich ihrer Historizität führt dies



Abb. 5:
Aneignung III

Fig. 5:
Appropriation III

concrete humps become overgrown with moss and shrubs, from this perspective they also appear to have been successfully integrated into the landscape. At the same time, a potential for the politics of the past can be discerned whereby, in metaphors in the media, the tank traps become a "*réduit* for rare animals and plants" (Heller 1998). The future will probably show the extent to which the fight against invasive species and the ecological integration of the relics into a landscape of positive values will also bring forth new ideas of the "home landscape".

Secondly, by liquidating the tank traps as structures for national defence, they lose their functional purpose. In this way, they have implicitly opened themselves up to the possibility of being viewed in a disinterested manner. It can thus be asked whether a "prismatic rectangular body" in a linear arrangement in the landscape has become a historically evolved example of "land art" compared to its former purpose (Bitterli-Waldvogel 2018). The artist Olivier Mosset, among others, took advantage of this at the 2003 sculpture exhibition *art en plein air* in the Swiss hamlet of Môtiers. He promptly declared the anti-tank barriers in the landscape there to be "ready-made" as art objects (Bauer in: Stadt Zürich 2009). As art objects they would achieve a certain tension "by simultaneously being land art and a kind of minimalist sculpture" (Mosset in: *ibid.*). The aesthetic appeal of the tank traps is also reflected in conversations with the local people in whose gardens individual humps can be found: their bevelled triangular surfaces almost lend them a design that is not reminiscent of a barrier. While their shape and size are beautiful, it is the fact that we do not know why they are beautiful that makes them so attractive.

The aesthetic effect, however, is also interwoven in the tank trap, whether in as an art or a garden object, yet with a historical appeal, that of the original and authentic. Its originality derives from the double meaning of the word: as a "relic", the anti-tank barrier is both an original and an innovative object that makes one's own garden special: it contains a piece of history as well as an object that is not immediately decipherable without prior historical knowledge. The anti-tank barrier is here characterised by a historically



Abb. 6:
Idylle III

Fig. 6:
Idyll III

zu paradoxen Bewegungen, die eine Situation der Bedeutungsoffenheit des militärhistorischen Kulturerbes schaffen. Weder wird das historische Narrativ der „geistigen Landesbefestigung“ rund um die Panzersperren in diesen Zugängen restituiert, noch werden sie abgebrochen und verschwinden aus dem Landschaftsbild. Viel eher scheint die profane Integration der Panzersperren in die Landschaft historisch aufgeladene Erzählungen zu untergraben.

Letztlich stellt sich die Frage, ob eine tendenziell unreflektierte Umdeutung von militärhistorischen Relikten wünschenswert ist oder ob nicht sich eine aktivere Auseinandersetzung mit diesem historischen Erbe aufdrängen sollte. Im Gegensatz zum Kulturerbe der Bunker des Vallo Alpino oder des Atlantic Walls, sind die Panzersperren nicht primär als historische Objekte umstritten, sondern als Symbol der „wehrhaften Schweiz“ im nationalen Selbstbild des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die oben beschriebene paradoxe Historizität der Objekte könnte jedoch die Aufmerksamkeit auf einen Umgang mit kulturellem Erbe in der Landschaft lenken, welcher nicht wieder in identitätspolitische Geschichtserzählungen und neue Mythen mündet. Eine Erzählung also, die nicht auf ein (neues) „Wir“ zielt, indem sie das „Schweizerische“ vom „Unschweizerische“, das „Heimische“ vom „Nicht-Heimischen“ oder das „Europäische“ vom „Nicht-Europäischen“ abgrenzt. Gleichzeitig bleibt die Frage dadurch unbeantwortet, welche Geschichte, von wem, wo und auf welche Art mit und anhand der militärhistorischen Anlagen erzählt werden könnte, die gleichzeitig auch auf eine aktive und kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit und erinnerungspolitischer Erzählungen zielt.

paradoxical decentration: on the one hand, the authenticity of the historical is “celebrated and, at the same time, effortlessly put to a present-day use” (Reckwitz 2012). It is not a matter of a specific meaning of the relic; rather, the aesthetic pleasure is directed towards its “authenticity”, which is simultaneously transferred into the present via the design.

(Not) a controversial cultural heritage?

While, in the 20th century, the tank traps in the (idyllic) landscape played a role in the symbolic and image-related politics of Switzerland as a small, defensible and directly democratic Alpine republic, this act (along with the stage set) was disrupted by cultural-political criticism. The initiative to abolish the army, the official reappraisal of Switzerland’s role in the Second World War and the army reform of 1995 also shook the myth to its foundations at the political level. Today, the tank traps are being reused and reinterpreted by various actors as structures of historical value. With regard to their historicity, this has led to paradoxical movements that create a situation of open meaning for the military-historical cultural heritage. The historical narrative of the “spiritual fortification of the nation” that surrounds the tank traps is not restored in these approaches, but nor are they demolished, nor do they disappear from the landscape. Rather, the profane integration of these barriers into the landscape seems to undermine the historically burdened narratives.

Ultimately, the question arises as to whether a tendency towards unreflective reinterpretation of military-historical relics is desirable, or whether a more active engagement with this historical heritage should be imposed. In contrast to the cultural heritage of the bunkers of the Vallo Alpino or the Atlantic Wall, the tank traps are not primarily controversial as historical objects, but rather as a symbol of a “well-fortified Switzerland” in the national self-image that existed in the 20th century. The paradoxical historicity of the objects as described above could, however, draw attention to a way of addressing cultural heritage in the landscape that does not end up in historical narratives based upon identity politics and upon new myths; in other words a narrative that does not aim at a (new) “we” by distinguishing the “Swiss” from the “non-Swiss”, the “native” from the “non-native” or the “European” from the “non-European”. At the same time, this leaves unanswered the question as to exactly which history could be told, by whom, where and in what way, with and on the basis of these historic military installations, one that at the same time also aims at an active and critical confrontation with the past and at narratives of remembrance politics.

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Bildnachweise

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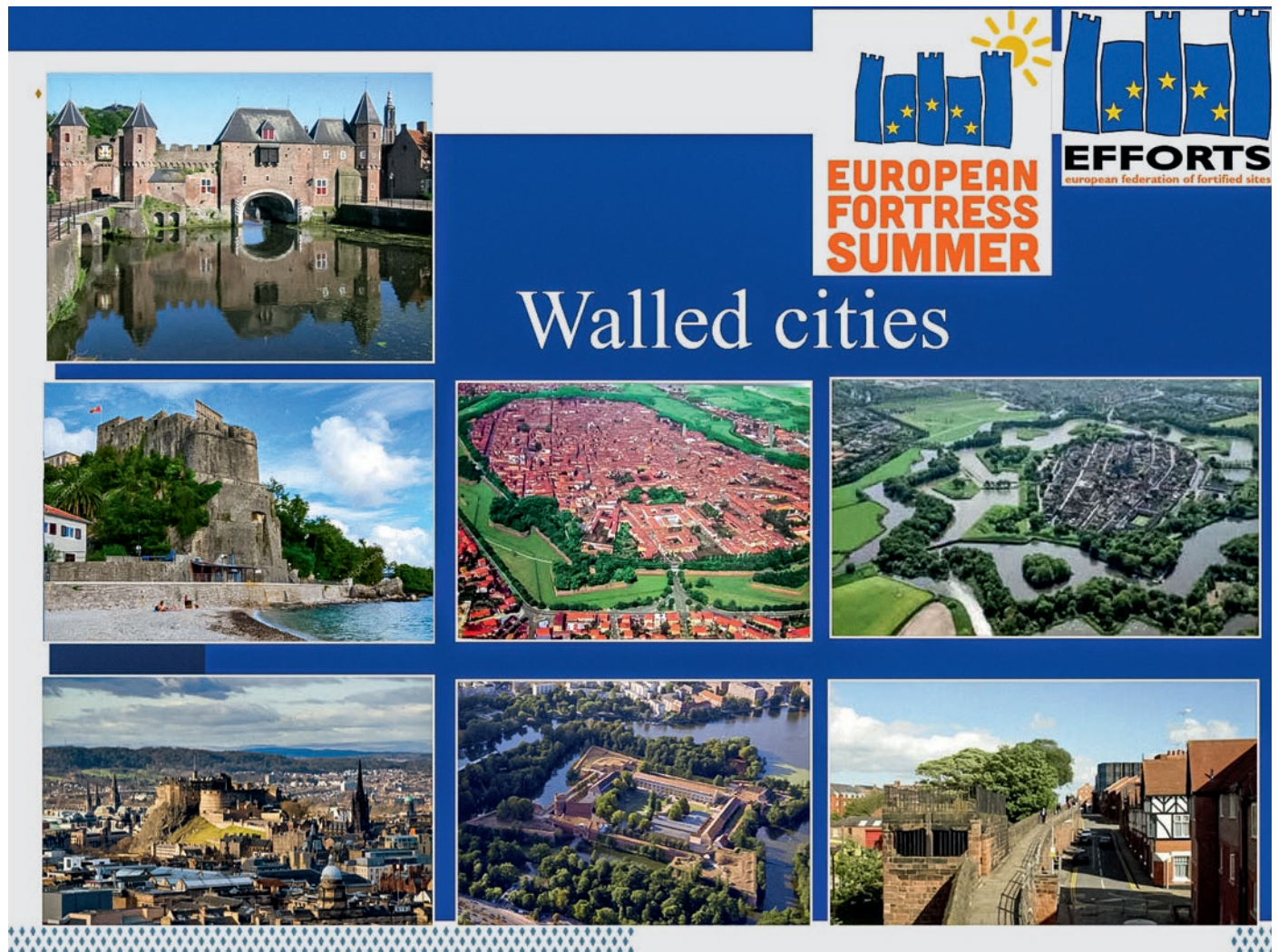
Images

The stills are taken from the video material produced as part of the research project “Materialisierte Erinnerungen (in) der Landschaft [Materialised Memories in/of the Landscape]” (2019 – 2023) at Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK).

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Raf Deroo

Establishing fortified heritage bunker lines in Europe



Efforts mission

To share expertise, promote cooperation and emphasise the significance of fortified heritage as a continuing connection to our common European history and to create a condition for social, economic, and spatial development.



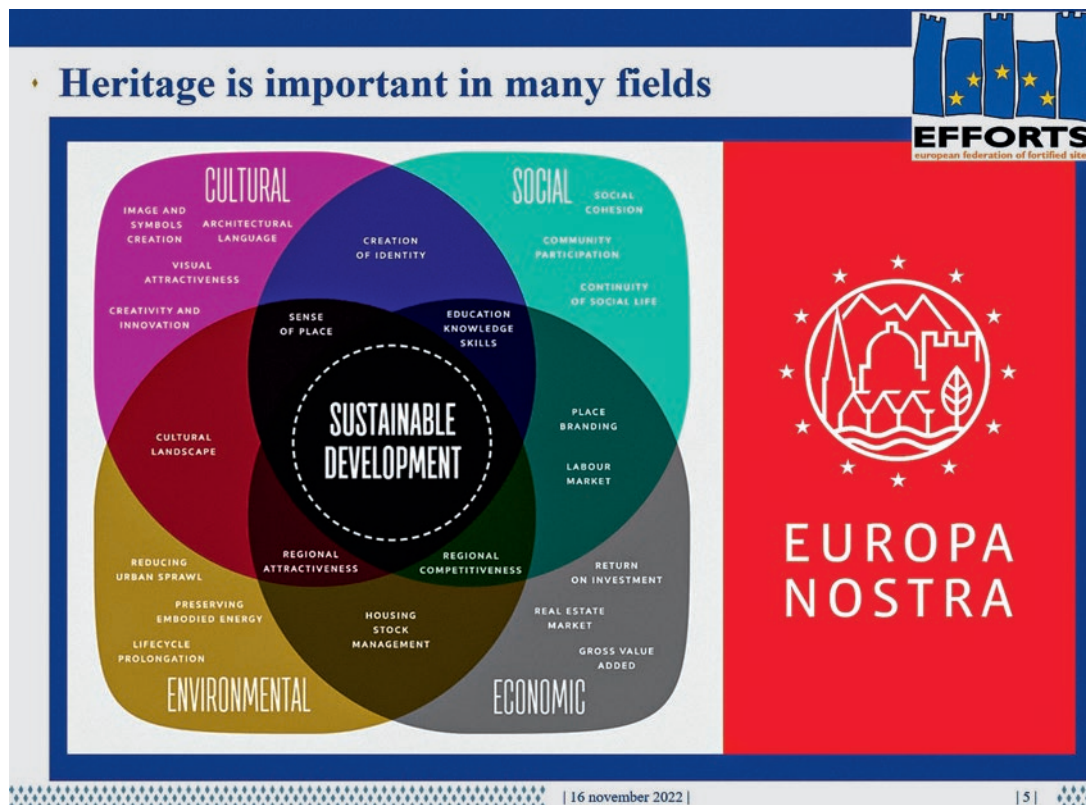
From stronghold to welcoming arms

Fortified sites, being precious testimony to the collective memory, represent a unique expression of Europe's cultural heritage. They demonstrate the intrinsic need to defend borders in the past, however, today they are symbols of our common European history and unite Europe instead of dividing it. Military heritage represents the strategic awareness of the European countries throughout the ages. Whether a walled town, a fortress, or a defence system, the sites often have an isolated position within spatial context. Nevertheless, fortified heritage is being discovered as a means of improving economic performance, people's lives, and living environments. Both governments and citizens use innovative and creative approaches to unlock the possibilities for growth and development that fortified heritage holds across Europe.



Tasks military built heritage (forts, lines ...)

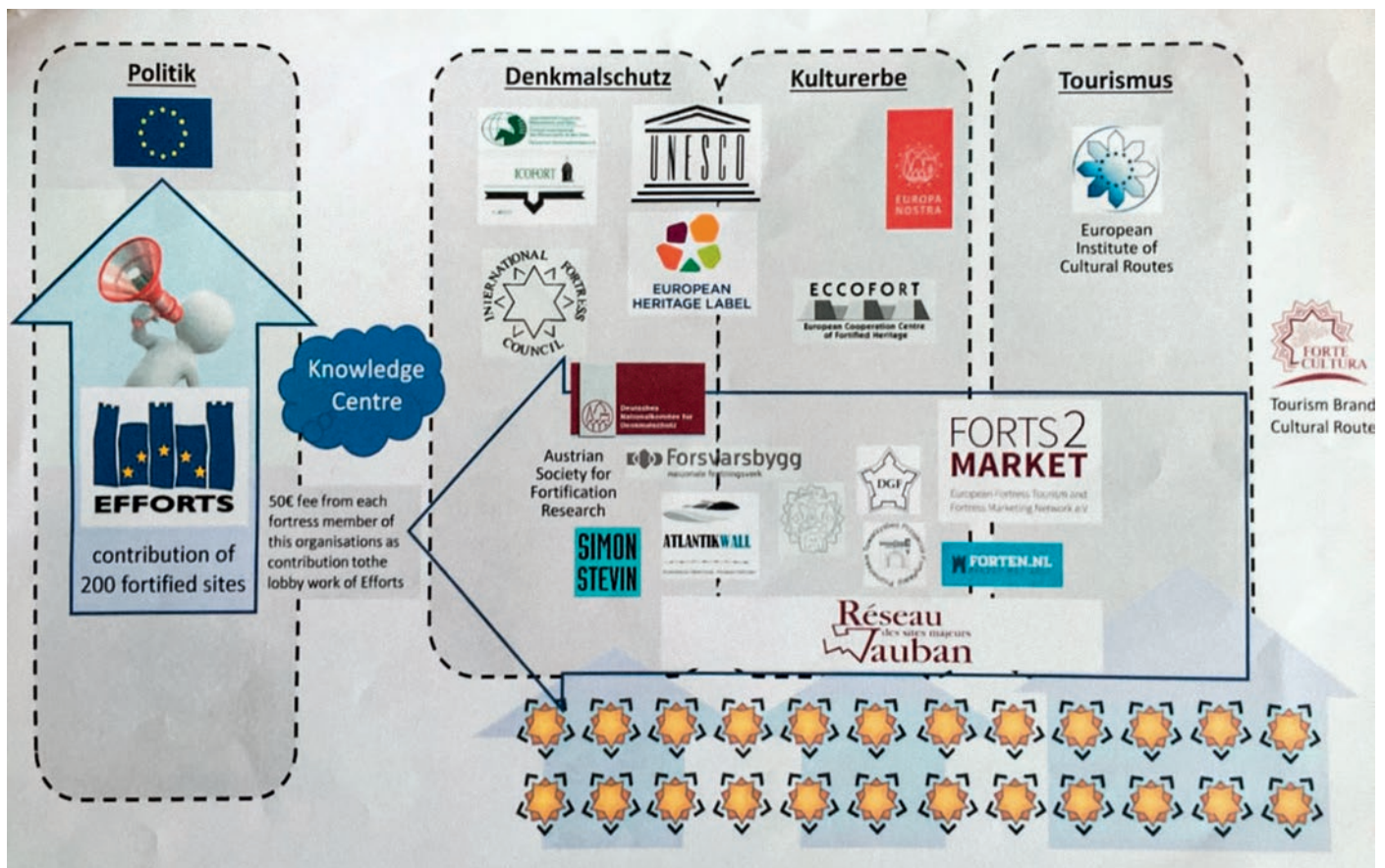
- **Adaptation and re-use**
 - › Large field of action: history and values, archeology, spatial development, tourism, economy, social inclusion, ecology, sustainability, mobility and transport)
 - › Risks
 - › Need for innovation and creativity
- **Renovation and knowledge**
 - › Often expensive and complex
 - › Restoration tasks often unique
 - › Knowledge is not centralized
- **Today's issues**
 - › Sustainability
 - › Spatial development
 - › Accessibility
 - › Security



Membership EFFORTS:

- A portal to building partnerships
- Access to a relevant European knowledge network for fortified heritage
- Forum for future project development ideas
- Periodical scan of available national and EU funding programmes
- Awareness of EU policy
- Production of specific policy papers
- Annual European Conference
- An online library of best practice materials, case studies, technical specs, and toolkits

- Development of research and other projects
- European partner network for developing marketing and tourism strategies
- Expert-to-expert exchanges
- External project partner matching service
- Increased city profile at European level through visibility on an online European map of fortified heritage members
- News and information Website www.efforts-europe.eu



EFFORTS Activities

- **Exchange of knowledge**
 - › Heritage development (reuse, architecture, building & landscape elements), Restoration techniques, City marketing and Tourism, Education and Training, Environment and Sustainability, Mobility and Logistics
 - › EFFORTS European Knowledge Center and Network on Fortification: Venice
 - › Financing and funding: EFPN
 - › Exchange, annual congress, workshops, European Fortress Summer
- **Defence of common interest**
 - › European and national policy and networks
 - › Rules and regulations
 - › Funding
- **Cooperation**
 - › Network function
 - › Project coordination, project administration

Case : 'Atlantikwall Europe'



'Atlantikwall Europe' (AWE) is the linking of museums and places of remembrance, preserving for, implicating future generations in the common European heritage of the Atlantic Wall in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia and the Channel Islands and showing its significance for Europe's future. AWE seeks to enhance diversity and dialogue through access to this heritage and to foster a sense of **identity, collective memory** and **mutual understanding** with between European citizens.

Efforts organisation

Efforts is a European network-organisation founded in 2017 to share and exchange knowledge and practical expertise on fortified sites such as walled towns, fortresses and military defence lines. The foundation for Efforts was laid during the final conference of the AtFort Interreg IVC project in Helsinki (Finland 2014) and an international conference on Fortified Heritage in 's-Hertogenbosch (The Netherlands 2016).

We believe European cooperation is the key to achieve our goals. If you are working actively in favour of the safeguard and re-use of fortified heritage at European, national, regional and/or local level, please apply to join Efforts.

Membership benefits

- A portal to building partnerships
- Access to a relevant European network for fortified heritage
- An online library of best practice materials, case studies, technical specs, and toolkits
- Annual European Conference
- Awareness of EU policy being made
- Development of research and other projects
- European partner network for developing marketing and tourism strategies
- Expert-to-expert exchanges
- External project partner matching service
- Forum for potential future project development ideas
- Increased city profile at European level through visibility on an online European map of fortified heritage members
- News and information
- Periodical scan of available national and EU funding programmes
- Production of specific policy papers
- Website www.efforts-europe.eu

Join Efforts

Within the Efforts network, international projects will create innovative solutions; stimulate cooperation and understanding; and save money by sharing knowledge, expertise, and best practices.

By joining forces, everyone can benefit from combined knowledge and experience in fortified heritage projects. You will be able to meet colleagues from all over Europe, learn about other successful projects, discuss project cooperation and transfer knowledge.

Please apply for membership by filling in the form, which can be found on the Efforts website. We look forward to welcoming you.

Contact

EU office:

Trierstraat | Rue de Trèves 67, 1000 Brussels, Belgium

info@efforts-europe.eu

www.efforts-europe.eu

Carl Philipp Hohenbüchel

Das Südtiroler Burgeninstitut

Das Kurzreferat ist in zwei Abschnitte geteilt.

1. Zuerst werde ich den **Verein „Südtiroler Burgeninstitut“** vorstellen.
2. Dann zeige ich anhand von **drei wehrhaften Objektbeispielen praktisch umgesetzte Maßnahmen und Tätigkeitsfelder** auf und werde kurz über **Zukunftsvisionen** für die ausgewählten Bauten berichten.

Wie kam es zur Gründung des Südtiroler Burgeninstituts?

Südtirol ist ein Burgenland!

Wie wir wissen, gibt es in Südtirol eine außergewöhnliche Dichte von mittelalterlichen Burgen und Ruinen, Schlössern, Ansitzen, Festungen und weiteren erhaltenswerten historischen Bauten in öffentlichem und privatem Eigentum.

Man muss sich die Gründungsphase so vorstellen: Schauplatz Nachkriegssüdtirol! Wir befinden uns Ende der Fünfziger-, Anfang der Sechzigerjahre. Bei vielen Objekten war der Verfall augenscheinlich. Der Zahn der Zeit hatte derart an ihnen genagt, dass ihr Zustand mancherorts sogar zum Abtransport von Tür- und Fensterstöcken einlud. Sie präsentierten sich als Selbstbedienungsläden für Steine, Dachziegel, Holzbalken und Bodenbretter, selbst Burgruinen wurden rücksichtslos abgetragen.

Abb. 1:

Links: Burg Neuhaus,
Gais
Mitte: Burg Rodeneck,
Rodeneck

© Rüdiger Bernges

Rechts: Schloss Moos,
Eppan

© Jakob Tappeiner

Fig. 1:

Left: Burg Neuhaus,
Gais
Middle: Burg
Rodeneck, Rodeneck

© Rüdiger Bernges

Right: Schloss Moos,
Eppan

© Jakob Tappeiner



Carl Philipp Hohenbühel

The South Tyrolean Castles Association

This brief presentation is divided into two sections:

1. First, I will introduce the “**South Tyrolean Castles Association**”;
2. Then I will show some **practically implemented measures and activities using the examples of three fortified structures** and briefly report on **visions for the future** of the selected buildings.

What brought about the founding of the South Tyrolean Castles Association?

South Tyrol is a land of castles!

As we know, South Tyrol has an extraordinarily high density of medieval castles and ruins, palaces, stately residences, fortresses and other historic buildings that are worth preserving, both in public and in private ownership.

The founding phase can be imagined as follows: the scene is post-war South Tyrol, at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s. Many buildings had obviously fallen into disrepair. The ravages of time had caused such damage that, in some places, their condition had even prompted the removal of door and window surrounds. They became self-service points for stones, roof tiles, wooden beams and floorboards; with even castle ruins ruthlessly demolished.

This desolation was noticeable in villages, but also on whole stretches of land. Little value was attached to these architectural monuments at that time: their preservation was far too costly while, above all, there was no money for their restoration – this was far too expensive. The impoverished condition of post-war South Tyrol meant that a broad-based communal feeling for the preservation of this cultural heritage was hardly to be expected, and instead remained exceptional work on the part of individuals.

A circle of friends, mostly owners or residents of historic buildings, increasingly recognised that there existed a certain lethargy when it came to the preservation of these valuable buildings among those responsible for the administration of the province, with some owners and occupants also careless of their heritage. These first-mentioned individuals began to convince those of their acquaintances who already had an interest in cultural matters of the need to join forces to highlight this sorry state of affairs. The owners of monuments should become committed private conservationists – a point that was by no means self-evident. Popular representatives were also to be asked to urgently draw the attention of society and politics to the worrying situation surrounding the state of our



Dieser desolate Zustand prägte Dörfer, aber auch Landstriche. Diesen Baudenkmälern wurde damals wenig Wert beigemessen, viel zu aufwendig war ihre Erhaltung, vor allem aber hatte man dafür kein Geld – eine Restaurierung viel zu teuer. In dem völlig verarmten Nachkriegssüdtirol war ein breit angelegtes Gespür der Gesellschaft für die Bewahrung dieses kulturellen Erbes kaum zu erwarten und blieb bei Einzelnen eher die Ausnahme.

Ein Freundeskreis aus zumeist Eigentümern oder Bewohnern historischer Bauten erkannte zunehmend, dass auch bei den Verantwortlichen für die Verwaltung des Landes eine gewisse Lethargie gegenüber dem Erhalt dieser wertvollen Bauten vorherrschend war. Ebenso gingen manche Eigentümer und Besitzer sorglos mit ihrem Erbe um. Einige Persönlichkeiten begannen damit, ihren ohnehin kulturell interessierten Bekanntenkreis von der Notwendigkeit zu überzeugen, sich zusammenzuschließen, um auf diese Misere hinzuweisen. Denkmalbesitzer sollten – was gar nicht so selbstverständlich ist – zu überzeugten privaten Denkmalpflegern werden. Die Volksvertreter waren ebenfalls anzusprechen, um Gesellschaft und Politik eindringlich auf die besorgniserregende Situation um den Zustand unseres Kulturerbes und der Denkmalpflege aufmerksam zu machen. Schließlich sollte der Politik klargemacht werden, dass sich der Erhalt dieser historischen und meist adeligen Wehr- und Wohnbauten langfristig sowohl kulturell als auch volkswirtschaftlich lohnt. Wir schreiben das Jahr 1963 und der Südtiroler Burgenverein war am 5. Oktober geboren worden.

Zweck, Auftrag und Wirken des privaten unabhängigen Vereins Südtiroler Burgeninstitut

Der Verein „Südtiroler Burgeninstitut“ (die Umbenennung erfolgte 1977) bezweckt in erster Linie den Schutz der historischen Wehrbauten, Schlösser und Wohnbauten

- als Denkmale der Kunst
- als Zeugnisse der Landesgeschichte und der Landeskultur
- und als wesentlichen Bestandteil der Landschaft sowie
- den Schutz der damit verbundenen Kulturgüter
- insbesondere der Zweckbestimmung im Sinne der Satzung.

Abb. 2:
Burg Taufers
Links: Burghof,
historische Ansicht
um 1910

© Archiv SBI

Rechts: Burghof, heute

© Augustin Ochsenreiter

Fig. 2:
Burg Taufers
Left: Inner bailey,
historic view ca. 1910

© SBI archive

Right: Inner bailey,
today

© Augustin Ochsenreiter

cultural heritage and the preservation of monuments. Finally, it was to be made clear to the political class that the preservation of these historic and mostly aristocratic fortified and residential buildings was in the long run worthwhile, both culturally and economically. Thus, on 5 October 1963, the “South Tyrolean Castles Association” came into being.

Purpose, mission and activities of the private, independent association known as the South Tyrolean Castles Association

Abb. 3:

Burg Taufers

Links: Eingangsbereich, historische Ansicht um 1900

© Archiv SBI

Rechts: Burghof, heute

© Augustin Ochsenreiter

Fig. 3:

Burg Taufers

Left: Entrance area, historic view ca. 1900

© Archiv SBI

Right: Inner bailey, today

© Augustin Ochsenreiter

The “*Südtiroler Burgeninstitut*” (the name was changed to this in 1977) is an association that primarily aims to protect historic fortified buildings, palaces and residential buildings:

- as artistic monuments
- as testimonies to the history and culture of the province
- as an essential part of the landscape, while
- protecting the associated cultural assets, and
- in particular following the intended purpose within the meaning of the statutes.

Furthermore, the statutes cover:

- preservation of the historic names and historical inventory
- advice on tax, property and finance law issues facing owners of castles and palaces
- questions concerning the preservation, restoration and possible reconstruction of the named buildings.



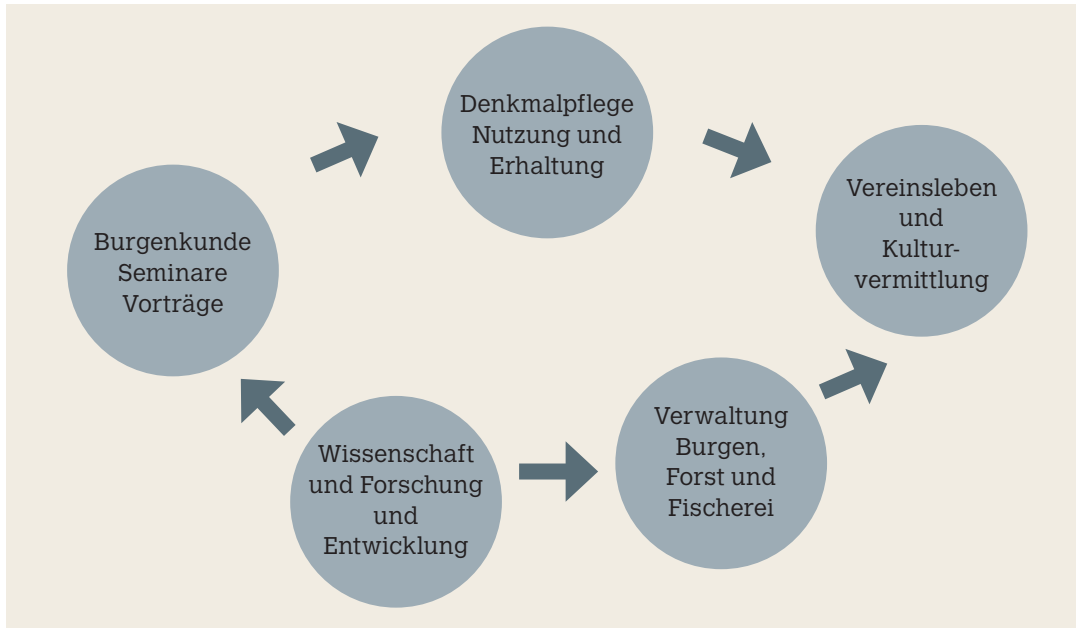


Abb. 4:
Tätigkeitsprofil SBI

Fig. 4:
SBI fields of activity

Weiters geht es in der Satzung um die

- Erhaltung des historischen Namensgutes und des historisch gewachsenen Inventars.
- Beratung bei steuer-, besitz- und finanzrechtlichen Fragen der Burgen- und Schlossbesitzer
- Fragen der Erhaltung, Restaurierung und dem eventuellen Wiederaufbau der genannten Bauten.

Der Verein sieht sich in gelebter Praxis als Plattform für Diskussionen und gemeinsames burgenkundliches Erleben und Sensibilisieren.

Es ist ein Anliegen dies auch bei Kindern und der im Erwachsenenalter nachrückenden Jugend zu erreichen. So gibt es eine Jugendgruppe, die sich auch praktisch mit dem Thema Denkmalpflege und Erhaltung auseinandersetzt.

Heute, fast 60 Jahre nach der Vereinsgründung hat das Südtiroler Burgeninstitut knapp 400 Mitglieder aus dem In- und Ausland. Der Verein unternimmt Exkursionen, gestaltet Tagungen, Workshops und kulturelle Veranstaltungen. Er hilft bei der Organisation und Verwaltung weiterer Mitgliederobjekte. Das Burgeninstitut erfüllt seine



The association sees itself in practice as a platform for discussions and the joint experience and awareness-raising of castle studies.

It is a matter of importance also to achieve this among children and young people approaching adulthood. There is therefore a youth group that also deals practically with the topics of monument preservation and conservation.

Today, almost 60 years after the founding of the association, the South Tyrolean Castles Association has almost 400 members in South Tyrol and further afield. The association undertakes excursions, while organising conferences, workshops and cultural events: it also helps to organise and manage other member properties. The Castles Association meets its aims by raising awareness, promoting scientific research and documentation in the field of castle studies, and supporting initiatives for the preservation and promotion of the above-mentioned buildings and cultural assets.

Twice a year, the association publishes its specialist journal on castles, "ARX – Burgen und Schlösser in Bayern, Österreich und Südtirol" (ARX – Castles and Palaces in Bavaria, Austria and South Tyrol). The latest editions had reached a circulation of about 5,500 by the time of the pandemic.

In addition, more comprehensive scientific works are occasionally published as the "ARX-Schriftenreihe".

A third series, now comprising 17 volumes, presents individual castles under the series title "Burgen" (Castles) in cooperation with the publishers Schnell & Steiner in Regensburg. The title of the series ties in with the permanent exhibition on castles, "Burgen – Bauwerke der Geschichte" (Castles – Structures of History), which opened in 2005.

Abb. 5a + b:

Linke Seite: Besuch der „Finken Africas“, Zimbabwe
Rechts: FAI – Frühlingsstag 2011

Fig. 5a + b:

Left page: Visit of the Africa Finches from Zimbabwe
Right: FAI Spring Day 2011

© SBI archive





Abb. 6 (links):
ARX Burgen und
Schlösser in Bayern,
Österreich und
Südtirol

Abb. 7 (rechts):
Reihe Burgen,
Verlag Schnell und
Steiner

Fig. 6 (left):
ARX Burgen und
Schlösser in Bayern,
Österreich und
Südtirol

Fig. 7 (right):
Series on castles,
pub. Schnell & Steiner
© SBI

Zwecke, indem es Bewusstseinsbildung betreibt, wissenschaftliche Forschung und Dokumentationen auf burgenkundlichen Gebiet vorantreibt und Initiativen für die Erhaltung und Förderung der genannten Bauwerke und Kulturgüter trägt oder unterstützt.

Zwei Mal im Jahr bringt der Verein die burgenkundliche Fachzeitschrift „ARX – Burgen und Schlösser in Bayern, Österreich und Südtirol“ heraus. Die letzten Nummern hatten bis in die Pandemie eine Auflage von etwa 5.500 Stück erreicht.

Daneben erscheinen in unregelmäßigen Abständen etwas umfangreichere wissenschaftliche Werke als „ARX-Schriftenreihe“.

Eine dritte Reihe stellt unter dem Reihentitel „Burgen“ in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Verlag Schnell&Steiner in Regensburg einzelne Burgen vor. Sie umfasst nun 17 Bände. Der Reihentitel knüpft an die 2005 eröffnete burgenkundliche Dauerausstellung „Burgen – Bauwerke der Geschichte“ an.

Das Burgeninstitut ist mit Vereinen und Organisationen mit ähnlicher Zielsetzung im In- und Ausland im ständigen freundschaftlichen Austausch. Die Vereinsziele werden auch selbst „vorgelebt“, insbesondere durch die Aufgabe als Verwalter des Vereins-eigentums.

Das sind die Trostburg und die Burg Taufers sowie ein knapp 97 ha großer geschlossener Hof im Eisacktal, vor allem bestehend aus Wald, aber auch Äckern und Grünflächen. Gemeinsam mit dem Grundbesitz der beiden Burgen, insbesondere der Burg Taufers, wird der Hof in einer land- und forstwirtschaftlichen Gesellschaft „Burgfrieden G.m.b.H.“ gebündelt und als solche selbst verwaltet.

Eine weitere bedeutende Tätigkeit des Vereins widmet sich Themen der privaten Denkmalpflege durch die Bewahrung und Erhaltung des im Eigentum des Vereins befindlichen Besitzes sowie jener Kulturgüter, die ihm zur Verwaltung anvertraut wurden. Dazu zählt u. a. die fünf- bzw. siebenjährigen Verwaltungen und Restaurierungen der Schlösser Gandegg und Moos in Eppan.

Mit den genannten hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen sowie frühneuzeitlichen Wohn- und Festungsanlagen komme ich zum zweiten Abschnitt.



Abb. 8:
Schloss Gandegg
in Eppan

Fig. 8:
Schloss Gandegg
in Eppan

© Wiki Commons

The Castles Association pursues constant friendly exchanges with similar associations and organisations at home and abroad. Its aims are also exemplified by the association itself, especially through its role as administrator of the association's property.

This is represented by the castles of Trostburg and Taufers as well as a farm (a *geschlossener Hof*, i.e. an indivisible property) of just under 97 hectares in the Eisack Valley, which consists mainly of woodland, but also includes fields and green areas. Along with ownership of the two castles, especially that of Taufers, the farm forms part of an agricultural and forestry company, "Burgfrieden G.m.b.H.", and is managed as such by itself.

Another important activity of the association is that of the private upkeep of monuments through the preservation and conservation both of the property owned by the association and of those cultural assets that have been entrusted to its management. This includes, among other things, the 5- and 7-year administration and restoration projects for the Gandegg and Moos properties in Eppan/Appiano.

With these residential and fortification complexes, dating from the high-, late-medieval and early modern eras, I now come to the second section.

Drei wehrhafte Objektbeispiele unter besonderer Obhut: Praktisch umgesetzte Maßnahmen im Rahmen der Tätigkeit des Burgeninstituts

Trostburg

Die im Verfall befindliche Trostburg wurde 1967 von fünf Idealisten aus dem eingangs erwähnten Freundeskreis im Rahmen der „Trostburg G.m.b.H.“ privat gekauft. Der Burgenverein mietete die Burg im Folgejahr an und startete die Rettungsaktion „Rettet die Trostburg“, die bis zur Öffnung der Burg 1977 bestand. Viele private und öffentliche Gelder aus Bayern, Österreich und Südtirol flossen in die damaligen Konservierungs- und Restaurierungsarbeiten. Die Gesellschafter lösten die Trostburg G.m.b.H. 1981 auf und schenkten die Burganlage uneigennützig dem Südtiroler Burgeninstitut.

Heute kümmert sich das Burgeninstitut liebevoll um die gesamte Burganlage. Eine umfassende Baudokumentation wurde bald erstellt, viele Restaurierungsarbeiten an den Dächern, den Außen- und Innenfassaden, Loggien, Räumen und Prunksälen konnten inzwischen umgesetzt werden. Systematisch wurden einzelne Innenräume restauriert, zuletzt auch der nicht in den Führungsparcours eingebaute Barocktrakt. Ein Augenmerk gilt aber auch den Wirtschaftsgebäuden sowie der Ruinensicherung im Umfeld der Burg. Die Burg selbst steht damit auch im Mittelpunkt des im Jahre 2005 begründeten Südtiroler Burgenmuseum Trostburg mit seiner damals eingeweihten Dauerausstellung sowie der Bewirtschaftung des 2011 zurückgekauften Burgfriedens mit seinen Wäldern, Äckern und Wiesen. Sie sind Dreh- und Angelpunkt für den Blick in die Zukunft.

Zukunftsvision – Trostburg

Obwohl im Jahr 2018 die Möglichkeiten der Zufahrt wesentlich verbessert wurden, soll der Außenbereich der Trostburg um einen Burgenlehrpfad erweitert werden. Die 20 Gehminuten vom Dorf zur Burg können dadurch kurzweilig zum Thema genutzt werden. Ein neues Licht soll auf den wirtschaftlichen Teil der Anlage geworfen werden,

Abb. 9:
Trostburg, Waidbruck

Fig. 9:
Trostburg, Waidbruck

© Rüdiger Bernges



Three examples of fortified objects under special care: Measures and activities practically implemented by the Castles Association

Trostburg

Trostburg, which was in a state of decay, was bought privately in 1967 by five idealists from the circle of friends mentioned at the beginning of this contribution under the "Trostburg G.m.b.H." company. The Castle Association (as it then was) rented the castle the following year and started its rescue campaign, "Save the Trostburg", which lasted until the castle was opened in 1977. Considerable private and public finance from Bavaria, Austria and South Tyrol was made available for the conservation and restoration work of that time. The partners wound up the Trostburg G.m.b.H. company in 1981 and selflessly donated the castle to the South Tyrolean Castles Association.

Today, the Castles Association carefully looks after the entire complex. Comprehensive documentation on the building was soon compiled, with major restoration works on the roofs, the exterior and interior façades, loggias, rooms and staterooms realised in the meantime. Individual interior areas were systematically restored, most recently the Baroque wing, which was not included in guided tours. Attention is also paid to the outbuildings and the securing of ruins in the castle's surroundings. The castle itself is thus also the focus of the "South Tyrolean Castle Museum of Trostburg", founded in 2005, with the permanent exhibition opened at that time, as well as the management of the keep with its woods, fields and meadows, which was repurchased in 2011. They are the linchpin for looking to the future.

Vision of the future – Trostburg

Although access was significantly improved in 2018, the outdoor area of the Trostburg is to be extended to include an educational trail. The 20-minute walk from the village to the castle is thus accompanied by an informative discourse. New light is to be shed on

Abb. 10:
Dauerausstellung:
Burgen – Bauwerke
der Geschichte

Fig. 10:
Permanent exhibition:
Castles – historic
edifices

Graphic: Gruppe GUT, Bozen/
Bolzano





Abb. 11:
Weinkeller Trostburg

so werden die Kellerbereiche mit dem großen Weinkeller, die Sattelkammer, die Knecht-kammer, die Ziegelkammer, die Backstube und die Selchkuchl Teil des neuen Ausstel-lungsprojektes.

Der noch mit Großvieheinheiten belebte Stallbereich, der Pfaffenturm im heutigen Eingangsbereich der Burg und die große Wehrmauer, genannt „Hirschgraben“ bilden ein einzigartiges Ensemble, das mittelfristig zu einer zeitgemäßen Nutzung führen könnte.

Taufers

Die Burg Taufers wurde im Jahre 1977 vom Südtiroler Burgeninstitut angekauft, aus dem Nachlass des Titularabtes Hieronymus Gassner vom Stift Seitenstetten in Niederösterreich. Einer der ersten Schritte war – wie auf der Trostburg – die Einführung einer alljährlichen Feier, einer hl. Messe in der Burgkapelle, die organisierte Öffnung für interessierte Besu-cher und die Ausarbeitung einer umfassenden Baudokumentation (1979) als Grundlage für die ersten Restaurierungsmaßnahmen an Dächern, Fassaden und am Kornkasten der Burg.

1999 wurde mit einem erstmals in Südtirol abgehaltenen „Europäischen Tag des offenen Denkmals“ die große Gesamtrestaurierung aller Fassadenmauern abgeschlos-sen. 2005 folgten die Einrichtung eines Verwaltungsbüros und einer Burgschänke sowie die Sanierung eines Wohntraktes und die Einführung regelmäßiger und jährlich wech-selnder Sonderausstellungen.

Wir haben heute in Normalzeiten etwa 60–70.000 Besucher im Jahr.

Zukunftsvision – Taufers

Auch für Taufers steht die Idee im Raum, den wirtschaftlichen Teil eines Burgbetriebes zu vermitteln. Die Zisterne wurde ausgegraben, der ehemalige Eiskeller soll neu über-dacht und saniert werden, um die ursprüngliche Funktion besser zu vermitteln. Ebenso sollen weitere Räumlichkeiten, wie die ehemalige Burgküche, zugänglich gemacht werden.

Fig. 11:
Trostburg wine cellar
© Hohenbühel

Abb. 13:
Kornkasten, Burg
Taufers, Sand in
Taufers

© Augustin Ochsenreiter





Abb. 12:
Burg Taufers,
Sand in Taufers

Fig. 12:
Burg Taufers,
Sand in Taufers
© Rüdiger Bernges

Fig. 13:
Storehouse, Burg
Taufers, Sand in
Taufers
© Augustin Ochsenreiter



the economic aspects of the complex: the new exhibition project will thus cover the cellar areas, with their large wine cellar, the saddle room, the servants' quarters, the brickmaking room, the bakehouse and the kitchen where meat was cured.

The stables, still occupied by large livestock, the "Pfaffenturm" tower in the current entrance area of the castle and the large defensive wall, called the "Hirschgraben", form a unique ensemble that could be put to contemporary use in the medium term.

Taufers

Taufers Castle was purchased by the South Tyrolean Castles Association in 1977 from the estate of the titular Abbot, Hieronymus Gassner, of the Seitenstetten Abbey in Lower Austria. As at Trostburg, one of the first steps was the introduction of an annual celebration of Holy Mass in the castle chapel, the organised opening to interested visitors and the preparation of comprehensive building documentation (1979) as the basis for the first restoration measures on the roofs, façades and granary of the castle.

In 1999, the major overall restoration of all the façade walls was completed on the "European Open Monument Day", held for the first time in South Tyrol. In 2005 an administrative office and a castle pub-restaurant were opened, a residential wing was renovated and regular, annually changing special exhibitions were introduced.

Some 60–70,000 people visit each year in normal times.

Vision of the future – Taufers

For Taufers, too, the idea is to convey the economic aspects of a castle complex. The cistern has been excavated, while the former ice cellar is to be reconsidered and renovated so as to better convey its original function. Other rooms, such as the former kitchen, are also to be made accessible.



Abb. 14:
Burg Hocheppan
in Eppan

Fig. 14:
Burg Hocheppan
in Eppan

© Rüdiger Bernges

Hocheppan

Die imposante mittelalterliche Burgruine Hocheppan wurde 2016 von der Gemeinde Eppan mittels einer „In House Gesellschaft der Burg Hocheppan G.m.b.H.“ erworben. Dazu gehören etwa 44 ha Buschwald.

Der Präsident des Burgeninstituts darf dieser Gesellschaft vorstehen und hat die Aufgabe die Burganlage weiterzuentwickeln. Ein eigens bestimmter Kulturbeirat, der sich auch aus dem Mitgliederkreis des Burgeninstituts rekrutiert, berät bei Bedarf.

Die Segnung der Kapelle durch den Bischof und die damit verbundene Einrichtung eines Patroziniums zur Hl. Maria Magdalena waren die ersten Schritte, um Nachbarn und Bevölkerung an diesen kulturell bedeutenden Ort zu binden. So konnte nach 250 Jahren erstmals wieder eine hl. Messe in einem der schönsten Sakralräume des Landes gefeiert werden.

Die Burg dient heute als beliebtes Ausflugsziel im Rahmen des „erwanderten Burgen-dreiecks“ mit einer gut geführten Burgschenke.

Kreidenturm

Die Vorburg von Hocheppan ist beim „Kreidenturm“, einer zugehörigen zweiten kleinen Burganlage, über ein neu gestaltetes bequemes Stiegensystem zugänglich gemacht worden.

Zukunftsvision – Hocheppan

Bei Hocheppan wird derzeit die Begehrbarkeit des pentagonalen Bergfriedes als Ziel der laufenden Amtsperiode im Vorstand diskutiert.

Nach einem Beitrag in der Zeitschrift „Der Burgwart“ um 1900 sollen vom Bergfried aus 36 Burgen erkennbar sein.



Abb. 15:
Kreidenturm Burg
Hocheppan in Eppan

Fig. 15:
"Kreidenturm" Burg
Hocheppan in Eppan

© Rüdiger Bernges

Hocheppan

The imposing medieval castle ruins of Hocheppan were acquired by the Municipality of Eppan/Appiano in 2016 by means of a company entitled "In House Gesellschaft der Burg Hocheppan G.m.b.H.". The property includes some 44 hectares of scrubland.

The president of the Castles Association chairs this company and is responsible for the further development of the complex. A specially appointed advisory board on cultural issues, which is also drawn from among the members of the Castles Association, can give advice as necessary.

The first steps taken to bind the local population to this culturally important site were the blessing of the chapel by the Bishop and the associated establishment of a patronage devoted to Mary Magdalene. Thus, for the first time in 250 years, mass could be celebrated in one of the finest sacred spaces in South Tyrol.

The castle is today a popular destination for excursions as part of the "triangular castle trail" and features a well-managed bar and restaurant.

Kreidenturm

The "Kreidenturm", the associated tower forming a smaller secondary fortification below Hocheppan, is now accessible thanks to a newly designed convenient staircase system.

Über die Einrichtung einer kleinen musealen Struktur für eventuelle Ausgrabungsobjekte unterhalb der romanischen Kapelle wird nachgedacht. Im Raum steht auch eine Sanierung des etwa 200 Meter langen hufeisenförmigen Bunkers bzw. Schutzkellers zur Schaffung eines Ausstellungsparcours mit Erläuterungen zum italienischen Wehrbau der 1940er Jahre.

SBI – Standpunkte

Nutzung

„[...] Freude und Verpflichtung, nicht Last und Ärger [...]“

Vermarktung

„[...] die Idee muss einen Namen haben [...]“

Ideal

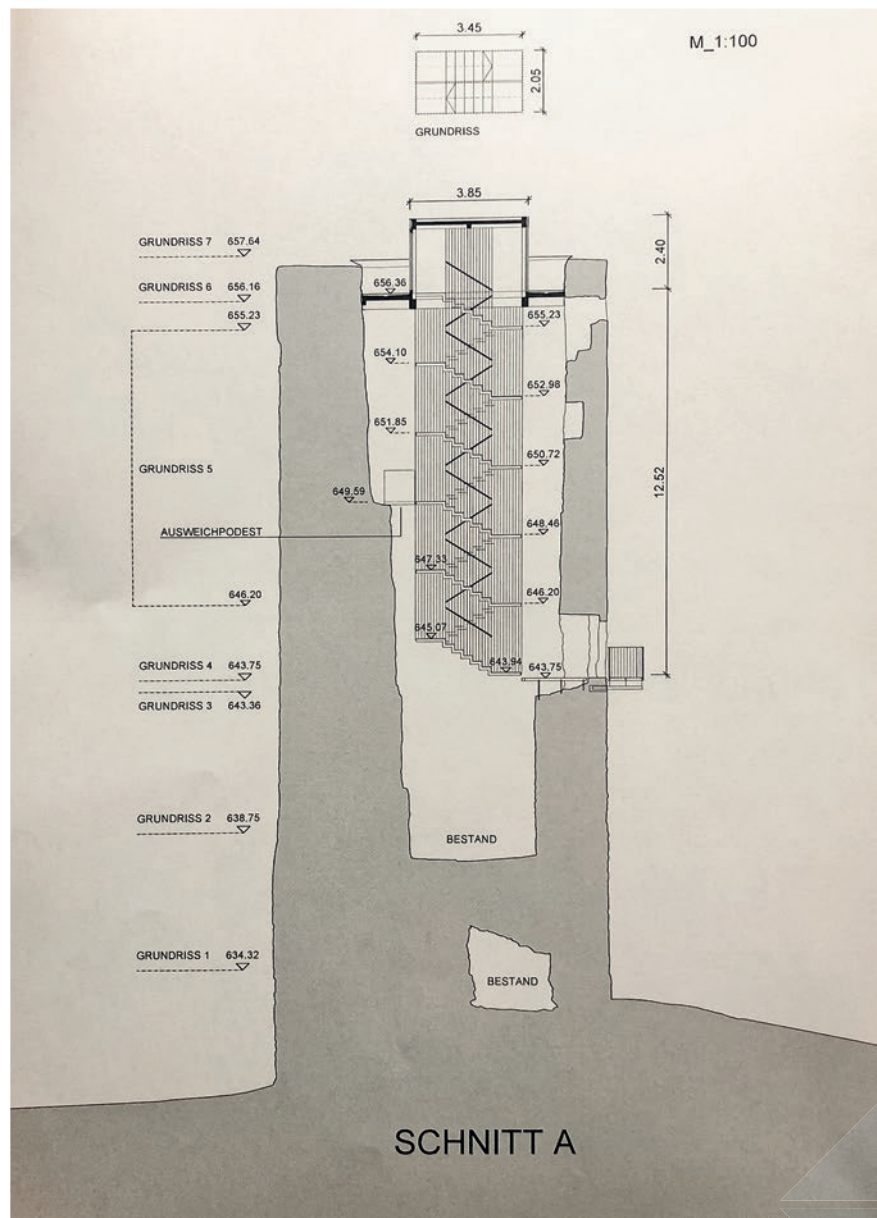
„[...] mit jeder neuartigen wirtschaftlichen Nutzung entfernt man sich vom Ideal des historischen Vorbilds [...]“

Abb. 16:
Projekt Bergfried
Hocheppan

Fig. 16:
Project for keep
at Hocheppan

Graphic: Architect Werner
Tscholl

Ich hoffe, dass ich einen kleinen Eindruck unserer Vereinstätigkeiten bei der Tagung auf der Franzensfeste beibringen konnte und dass das Tun und Wirken der Organisation der ich vorstehen darf, für das Kolloquium interessant und womöglich für den einen oder anderen auch lehrreich war. Ein zielführender Austausch, nicht unbedeutende Berührungspunkte und nachhaltige Vernetzungen könnten sich daraus ergeben.



Vision of the future – Hocheppan

The accessibility of Hocheppan's pentagonal keep is currently being discussed by the board as a goal to be achieved during its current term of office.

According to an article in the magazine "Der Burgwart", published around 1900, a total of 36 castles can be seen from the keep.

Consideration is being given to the creation of a small museum structure for objects that might be excavated from below the Romanesque chapel. Renovation of the approx. 200-metre-long horseshoe-shaped bunker or shelter is also being considered so as to create an exhibition trail with explanations of the Italian fortifications built in the 1940s.

SBI – where we stand

Use

"[...] a joy and an obligation, not a burden and trouble [...]"

Marketing

"[...] the idea must have a name [...]"

Ideal

"[...] every new type of economic use moves us away from the ideal of the historical model [...]"

I hope that I have been able to give a small impression of our association's activities at the conference at Franzensfeste and that the business and work of the organisation that I chair have been interesting and possibly instructive for those present. It may indeed result in purposeful exchanges, useful contacts and sustainable networking.

Alessia Zampini

The Galla Placidia Line

A shared path between University and Heritage Communities

The text is the revised transcription of the Author's speech for the conference, but it is based on research shared with Professor Andrea Ugolini from University of Bologna and Professor Chiara Mariotti from Università Politecnica delle Marche.

During World War II, on the 8th of September 1943, Italy and the Allied forces signed an Armistice that completely changed the balance of powers in the Mediterranean theatre. The former German allies suddenly became to Italy an occupying enemy determined to fight for every inch of land in their possession and protect the heart of the Reich.

The two main defensive systems cutting the Italian territory from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic Sea (the Gustav Line and the Gothic Line) effectively slowed the Allies' advance. Still, the fear of a landing from the east, north of the Gothic Line, led the Wehrmacht to erect a further coastal defense running from Pesaro (matching the Gothic Line) to the mouth of the Po River. This 130-km-long fortified system was called the Galla Placidia Line.

The building operations were entrusted to Section VI of the Organization TODT (OT), the construction company founded by the German Minister of Armaments and Munitions

Fig. 1:

Royal Air Force's recognition of the Galla Placidia Line in the area of Punta Marina Terme (Ravenna), from which it is possible to understand the complex system of trenches, bunkers, and warehouses protected by dragon's teeth.

© <https://servizimoka.regione.emilia-romagna.it/mokaApp/apps/FOTORAFH5/index.html>



Fig. 2:
Camouflaged bunker
in the harbor of
Marina di Ravenna

© private archive



Fritz Todt (Reichsminister für Rüstung- und Kriegsproduktion). The OT was active in all the territory occupied by the Nazis; it employed local workers and forced labor and was able to maximize the efficiency of the bunker construction by adopting the so-called *Regelbau*, that is to say, standardized workflows and designs, thanks to which every detail was previously established: typology according to the function, quality of reinforced concrete, technical systems, guns, military equipment. Handbooks known as “*Typenhefte*” collected and meticulously represented the blueprints of all the different typologies codified, which were divided into complex and bigger structures (*Regelbau*), more compact and simplified construction meant to speed up the realization (*Bauform*), and thirdly the completely precast series (*Pantherturn*) (Kauffmann & Kauffmann, 2003).

The Galla Placidia Line, to be specific, was constituted of more than 2.800 bunkers of 20 different typologies and several anti-tank defensive structures known as dragon’s teeth. According to the presence of sensitive targets and exploiting the peculiar configuration of the coasts characterized by the different deepness of the seabed and marshy terrains, the Germans alternated free beaches and minefields to highly fortified posts with complex systems of bunkers, trenches, barracks, depots, and dragon’s teeth. In order not to be recognizable, the fortifications were partially buried in sand, covered with nets, or, in more open areas, camouflaged with tactical painting or simulating civil buildings.

It is difficult to establish whether the landing was an Allied diversion or whether the Galla Placidia Line carried out its deterrent action. Still, the Allied breakthrough of the Gothic Line remained a terrestrial operation. The landing never took place, and the structures were never used for their primary reason.

After the war, the bunkers were completely abandoned in the pinewoods or buried, or some attempts to destroy them were made, but their complete dismantling turned out to be highly resource-consuming. From a more practical perspective, others were reused as depots, warehouses, cellars, and parking shelters, defining a second life for these instruments of death. Regardless, their origins were in some way equally ignored.

These military structures represented by what Sharon MacDonald would have defined as a difficult heritage, a built memory of the perpetrators, of the occupation of the enemy, of a drama that people wanted to ignore (MacDonald, 2008). They were considered rejected ruins of a war to forget, subjected to a *damnatio memoriae* that led to their oblivion.

It was only in the 1970s that the work by Paul Virilio, "Bunker archéologie" (Virilio, 1975) turned the spotlight back on this kind of heritage, and the recent interest of local communities projected the challenge of its preservation into the present.

In 2011 a group of volunteers rediscovered these structures, started to collect information and documentation, and invested time and personal funds to propose maintenance actions, historical reconstruction of the interiors, and reproduction of camouflage painting. Despite the lack of a scientific approach registered in some of the first-hour activities, the interest, knowledge, and skills acquired by the local communities were animated by a renovated commitment and demonstrated how powerful could be a bottom-up approach for meaningful conservation practice. The University research group started its work keeping this experience at the center.

The project launched in 2017 aimed, on the one hand, at providing a scientific and robust knowledge basis, thanks to historical research and cataloging activities.

Bibliographical, archival, and iconographical research was commenced, focusing on the technical characteristics and state of preservation. Moreover, in agreement with the Ravenna Superintendency and in collaboration with the volunteers' NGO named CRB360, eight curricular internships were set up for students attending the master's degree in Architecture. The goal was to conduct a census and survey the still-standing fortifications. The activity was based on a provisional list drafted by the volunteers. It consisted of standardizing and enriching this first inventory according to a set of entries deduced from the data structure adopted by the Central Institute for Catalogue and Documentation (ICCD). In addition, a master's degree thesis was proposed in collaboration with the Faculty of Cultural Heritage to analyze and characterize the reinforced concrete. The intent was to clarify how the German engineers and Todt workers operatively applied the strict regulations of the manuals.

On the other hand, the importance of strengthening the heritage community in terms of public engagement and participation was pivotal. Two regional tenders promoting the enhancement of 20th-century memories and histories provided the opportunity to work with a group of local NGOs. On that occasion, the association Pro-Loce di Marina di Ravenna, in partnership with the Department of Architecture and with the support of other third-sector associations, decided to implement a part of the actions suggested by the research group and submitted the project "Linea Galla Placidia". The proposal won regional funding in 2020 and 2022, and the Municipality of Ravenna (one of the local administrations crossed by the Galla Placidia Line) resolved to support the project, recognizing its quality and a solid commitment to the territory. Because of the financing received and the stakeholders involved, the plan of activities was prioritized, emphasizing actions linked to tourism promotion and preservation strategies. Accordingly, the following steps were outlined and implemented:

- Collection and digitization of historic photos testifying how the urban fabric and landscape changed involving bunkers
- Extension of the census carried out by the students
- Redrawing of the bunker typologies specifically selected for the Line to provide a tool for their recognition on-site (in progress)
- Study of a corporate identity for the project
- Launch of a web app for supporting local tours and promoting local activities

Fig. 3:
Dragon's teeth in
Punta Marina Terme
© Alessia Zampini

Fig. 4:
Bunker Regelbau 668
and Tobruk in Punta
Marina Terme
pinewood
© Alessia Zampini





Fig. 5:
Activity of recognition
and metrical survey
with students and
local volunteers

© Alessia Zampini

- Activation of a training course for professional tourist guides (about 80 participants)
- Printing of tourist maps and leaflets
- Online webinar with international experts
- Activation of bunker tours by local NGOs and professional tourist guides.

Further steps of the project will regard the draft of maintenance guidelines organized in different operative levels based on the professional competencies, knowledge, and skills of the people involved; the activation of workshops with volunteers; and the establishment of a longer-term vision will be discussed. A broader strategy should be implemented in the coming years, coordinating all the different communities, local administrations, and NGOs involved aiming at a shared vision that would transcend the local dimension in favor of a regional scale.

Nonetheless, the number of visitors and participants enumerated during the public activities, the increasing number of tourist offers, the views of the web app, and the feedback provided by European colleagues revealed the project's potential, despite the covid pandemic. The cultural activities undertaken could foster the coevolution of a whole district (Della Torre, 2013). More significantly, citizens were ready to rediscover this difficult heritage and start a renovated transgenerational heritage discourse. The specificity of the objects, built by an occupying enemy, not for protection but for destruction, inevitably raised (and their conservation still raises) conflictual or otherwise contradictory interpretations. Nevertheless, their presence can be seen as a form of active remembrance, as a material sign of the oppression, of the pervasive presence of the German troops in a territory that, despite the organized partisan resistance witnessed the brutalities of war for a very long period of the active front. Also, after the war, these structures continued to influence human settlement development; they were scars in the urban fabric, in the fast-changing coastal landscape.

However, their presence, their conservation, the debate around them nowadays allows communities to study, share, and understand the cultural, social, and economic processes that led to those atrocities. Oblivion would only postpone the acquisition of

awareness about the complexity of those events. The symbols of a dissonant and controversial past may sometimes be hidden or marginalized precisely because they embody those values that the community considers inappropriate in the present. But excluding this fortified system from the heritage discourse entails the risk of activating dangerous processes of de-patrimonialization, which, in turn, contribute to the destruction of those social mechanisms that should instead connect the experience of contemporaries to that of previous generations (Hobsbawm, 1995).

Coping with this awareness and defining tactics aiming at including different perspectives when dealing with the difficultly accepted components of Cultural Heritage revealed one of the essential points of connection with the Vallo Alpino experience. Here, a possibly more complex history left a deep scar in people's lives, and the debate aroused during the round table of the conference shined the light on the cruciality of mindful confrontations and comprehension of the processes as a starting point for every wise policy regarding dissonant heritage. Architects, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, military forces, artists, communities, and third-sector associations should find a voice in this process. Transdisciplinary, transgenerational and different community's perspectives could turn these places into a real chance for a democratic debate, places where reflecting on the past and sharing perspectives about our present dissonant heritage could help shape our common future.

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Hannes Götsch

„Bunker 22 – satellite Type 2, back to the future!“

Oder: Was ehemalige Militärstrukturen heute mit einer soliden Wertekultur, Angst vor dem Unbekannten, Tun- und Tun lassen gemein haben.

Was macht kalte Betonbunker oder Militärareale anziehend? Woher kommt die Neugier und warum wollen wir in sie eindringen? Sehen was drinnen ist, oder nicht sehen was draußen ist?

Wenn man z. B. die Laatscher Kavernenbunkeranlage von innen betrachtet, deren Tunnel, die steilen Stiegegänge und Räume auf sich wirken lässt, dann könnte man meinen, dass es komische, plumpe, unmögliche Bauten sind, welche einfach nichts können und dass nichts, wie es ist, Sinn macht. Die oft minimalen Funktionen herauszulesen, die Logistik und vielen Schächte zu deuten und zu verstehen macht diese Orte spannend. Projektionen. Es gibt wenig Information und Aufklärung. Zumindest war es so, als ich mich mit Freunden in den Mitte 2000er Jahren, auf die eine und die andere Entdeckungstour aufmachte, und die gefundene Leere in mir Kreativität und Umsetzungsdrang auslöste.

Die Leere ist in diesem Bezug sehr wichtig. Wo gibt es diese sonst? Warum ist sie so stark? Nichts, außer einiger Holzmaserungen im Beton, Stahlstäbe, Fliesenornamente, die eher gut gemeint wirken als benötigt sind, ist und irritiert hier. Wir bauen unsere Gesellschaft sehr zweckgebunden, klar, linear, ohne Zwischenraum. Orte, deren Sinn und Zweck bedeutungslos geworden sind, lösen Chancen aus, aktiv zu werden. Denn sie sind ja noch nicht oder nicht mehr belegt. Das schreit nach Möglichkeiten!

Anpassungsfähigkeit. Eigentlich ein Fremdwort für Bunker- und Militäranlagen. Sind sie doch für den einen, unumstößlichen Zweck der Verteidigung gebaut. Aber trotzdem finden sich neue Nutzungen. Eine davon sind gemeinschaftliche Feiern, Konzerte, Kulturveranstaltungen und Raves. Oh, halt ... Letzteres klingt hochgradig gefährlich und illegal und noch schlimmer. Hilfe, Bedrohung! Alarm, Alarm! Nein, eben nicht. Raves und elektronische Musik haben einen viel zu schlechten Ruf. Dort organisieren junge Menschen eigenverantwortlich für ihren und viele weitere Freundeskreise Musikveranstaltungen, wo getanzt werden darf, wo die Musik im Mittelpunkt steht. Dort entstehen Imaginationsräume und Zukünfte, wo Menschen über sich und andere nachdenken, reflektieren, projizieren. Sogenannte „safe spaces“, die Schutz nach innen und außen bieten. Wo die Musik auch mal ein bisschen länger laufen kann, ohne gleich an den Pranger gestellt zu werden. Untergrund ist Innovation!

Hannes Götsch

“Bunker 22 – satellite Type 2, back to the future!”

Or what former military structures
have in common today with a solid culture
of values, fear of the unknown,
do- and let-do.

What makes cold concrete bunkers or military areas so attractive? Where does our curiosity come from, and why do we want to enter these structures? To see what is inside, or not see what is outside?

If you look at the cavern bunker complex at Latsch/Laces from the inside, with its tunnels, steep staircases and rooms, you might think that these are strange, ungainly, impossible structures that simply cannot do anything, where nothing as it is makes sense. Reading out their often-minimal functions, interpreting and understanding the logistics and many chambers lends these places their fascination. These are projections, as there is little information or enlightenment. At least that's how it was when I set out with friends in the mid-2000s on various tours of discovery, and the emptiness I found triggered in me a creativity and an urge to do things.

Emptiness in this regard is very important. Where else does it exist? Why is it so powerful? Nothing, except some wood grains in the concrete, steel bars, tile ornaments that seem well-intentioned rather than necessary, are confusingly to be found here. Our society is very purpose-bound in its construction, clear, linear, with no space in between. Places whose meaning and purpose have lost their significance trigger opportunities to become active, as they are not yet or no longer occupied. That cries out for possibilities!

Adaptability: this word is hardly used for bunkers or military installations. After all, they are built for one, irrevocable purpose, i.e. defence. New uses are nevertheless being found. One of these is for community celebrations, concerts, cultural events and raves. Oh, wait ... these latter sound highly dangerous and illegal and worse. Help, danger! Red alert! No, actually they aren't. Raves and electronic music have far too bad a reputation. They are where young people organise music events on their own responsibility for their own and many other groups of friends, where people are allowed to dance, where the music is the focus of attention. This is where imaginative spaces and futures are created, where people think about themselves and others, reflect and project: so-called “safe spaces” that offer protection from both inside and outside. Places where the music can continue a little longer without being criticised straight away. Underground is innovation!

Our society is in some ways brutal. It can exclude, apply pressure, leave us with no room to breathe. That's why people look for places that let them put space and time into perspective. Bunkers, since they are currently meaningless and purposeless, have



Abb. 1:
Freistehender Bunker,
Mals

Foto: unbekannt, Internet

Fig. 1:
Standalone bunker
near Mals

Photo: unknown from internet

Unsere Gesellschaft ist in gewisser Weise brutal. Sie kann ausgrenzen, unter Druck setzen, keine Luft zum Atmen lassen. Daher suchen Menschen Orte, welche sie Raum und Zeit relativieren lassen. Bunker haben diese positive Eigenschaft. Da sie gegenwärtig sinn- und zwecklos sind. Endlich, etwas Gutes im Bösen entdeckt. Ist diese Nutzung nun Transformation? Eine zumindest zeitweise. Unsere wirtschafts- und gesellschaftspolitischen Regeln erlauben keinen Dauerbetrieb. Da gibt's Gründe dafür und dagegen, wie immer. Der Bedarf ist da, vor allem in städtischen Zentren sogar 24 h, 7 Tage die Woche als Zeichen für einen sicheren, inklusiven Raum, der eben nicht schließt. Aber die obsoleten Objekte, Militär- oder Industriebrachen, werden so zumindest entdeckt, angenommen und wiederverwertet. Das ist gut, da es unmittelbar passiert. Eine Win-win-win-Situation.

Nun nähern wir uns dem Präzedenzfall BASIS Vinschgau Venosta. Gemeinschaftlich öffentlicher Raum für neue Formen des Wirtschaftens und der Ermöglichungskultur, entstanden in der ehemaligen „Palazzina servizi“ auf dem 4 ha großen Areal der Drusus-kaserne in Schlanders. Eine Brache zwischen den Welten und Systemen wird zur legalen Struktur, anpassungsfähig mit Modulbausteinen, finanziert durch privates Eigen- und Fremdkapital, lokale, regionale und internationale öffentliche Zuwendungen und durch den ehrenamtlichen Einsatz vieler. Aber der Reihe nach: Schauen wir zuerst auf das gesamte, 4 ha große Areal. Kontextgebend als sekundäres Militärdorf im Tal vertritt es absolute Alleinstellungsmerkmale. Es sind dies, der in den 1930ern gewählte Standort selbst, die Mitte der Fraktionen Kortsch, Göflan und dem Hauptort Schlanders neben der heutigen Landesberufsschule und der Technischen Fachoberschule und direkt am Bahnhof gelegen. Der wahre Topsiseller ist das gut 8000 m² große Exerzierfeld in der Mitte des stadionartigen Ensembles. Diese freie Fläche besitzt ein „Genius loci“ der Extraklasse, ein bereits bestehender Campus, vor unserer Nase, ein interdisziplinärer Begegnungsort, wie es ihn nicht zu kaufen gibt und nicht geben wird. Kein Geld der Welt kann hier etwas erzwungen Besseres erstellen. Man muss ihn halt sehen. Hat mit Wahrnehmung und Sensorik zu tun. Hat wer, hat wer nicht. Weltlich und geistig Sehende und Hörende im Vorteil. Weiter zur „Palazzina Comando“ in erster Reihe stehend mit ihrer Marmorfront, klar, dominant, mit 3 Stiegenhäusern, unzähligen Büroräumen, einem eleganten Speisesaal und im 4. Stock loftartige Wohnungen mit

Abb. 2:
Bunker Party, 200x

Foto: unbekannt

Fig. 2:
Bunker party, 200x

Photo: unknown



this positive quality. Finally, something good comes out of the bad. Is this use now a transformation? It is, at least, a temporary one. Our economic and socio-political rules do not allow for continuous opening hours. There are reasons for and against, as always. The need is there, especially in urban centres, even for 24/7 opening as a sign of safe, inclusive spaces that will not close. But the obsolete objects, military or industrial wastelands, have at least been discovered, accepted and recycled in this way. That's good, as it happens immediately. A win-win-win situation.

Now we can look at the precedent represented by "BASIS Vinschgau Venosta", a community public space for new forms of economic activity and an enabling culture, created in the former "Palazzina Servizi" on the 4-hectare site of the Drusus barracks in Schlanders/Silandro. A wasteland between worlds and systems becomes a legal structure that is adaptable with modular building blocks, financed by private equity and outside capital, local, regional and international public grants and by the voluntary efforts of many people. But first things first: let's take a look at the entire 4-hectare site. To put it into its context as a secondary military settlement in the valley, it possesses certain unique features. These are the location itself, chosen in the 1930s, situated in the midst of the hamlets of Kortsch/Corces, Göflan/Covelano and the main town of Schlanders/Silandro, next to today's vocational school and the technical college, right next to the railway station. The main attraction is the approx. 8,000-m² drill square in the middle of the stadium-like ensemble. This vacant space possesses a special "genius loci": an existing campus right under our noses, an interdisciplinary meeting place, the likes of which cannot and will not be bought. No money in the world could possibly create something better here. It simply has to be seen. It is a matter of visual and sensory perception. Either you have it, or you don't. Those with a worldly or spiritual outlook have an advantage. Then there is the "Palazzina Comando" prominent with its marble front, clear, dominant, with three staircases, countless offices, an elegant dining room and, on the fourth floor, loft-like apartments with a herringbone parquet in the living room. There is also the inviting staircase and entrance, like a tunnel. A portal to another place, the campus, right here. It is a sort of "elsewhere", say some who have taken the trouble to explore this unique barrack-village complex. Flanked by the "Palazzina Tagliamento" and



Abb. 3:
Kasernenareal Drusus
Richtung Osten mit
Hauptort Schlanders,
2020

Fig. 3:
Drusus barracks area
looking east and main
locality of Schlanders/
Silandro, 2020

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Fischgratparkett im Wohnzimmer. Dazu der einladende Auf- und Eingang mit Tunnelcharakter. Ein Portal zu einem anderen Ort, vor Ort. Dem Campus. Ein „Altrove – Anderswo“ sagen einige Menschen, die sich die Mühe machten, diese einzigartige Kasernendorfkongstellatation zu erkunden. Flankiert von der „Palazzina Tagliamento“ und der „Palazzina Misurata“. Überterritoriale Funktionsbauten zur Beherbergung der Soldaten, aber auch ehemalige Apotheke, Kapelle, Fahrschule, Post, Kraftraum, Büros, Depots, Gefängnis, und heute zuhause von HandwerkerInnen, KünstlerInnen und weiteren Kreativschaffenden in den Werk- und Produktionsräumen. Leistbare Kleingewerbeplätze, Ateliers und Studios. Von den NutzerInnen selbst in DIY bzw. DIT-Manier modernisiert. Die Druskaserne Schlanders war ein eigenständiges Dorf mit Handelsvereinbarungen nach außen, starren Regeln nach innen. Eingebettet in ein historisch gewachsenes Dorfquartier. Neben k.u.k. Bahnhof und Arbeiterhaus für die Bahntrasse einige Jahre zuvor.

Zurück zum Glück, dem Hauptsitz der BASIS Vinschgau Venosta in der ehemaligen „Palazzina Servizi“ vis a vis zur „Palazzina Comando“, dazwischen der Campus. Das einzige zweistöckige Gebäude mit 2300 m² Bruttogeschossfläche, bescheiden also. Bis auf das ehemalige Kino und Turnhalle in Kombi. Eine Hammer Idee! Ein Kubus mit 220 m² Grundfläche und knapp 10 m Raumhöhe. Dazu U-förmige Balkongalerie als 2. Ebene. Wow! Da funkeln die Augen, Gänsehaut. Gedacht als temporäre Zwischennutzung bis zum Abbruch, nun umgebaut zum multifunktionalen Veranstaltungsraum für Jung und Alt, Theater und Film, Musik und Tanz, Konferenz und Hochzeit, Maturaball und Faltenrock. Dazu Studioakustik und eine sauber auflösende Beschallungsanlage. Taghell oder stockdunkel. 70 % der Qualität bereits gegeben durch die vorhandene, funktionale Architektur! Wo gibt's das denn!? Nirgends in dieser Kongstellatation mit Coworking Space, Residenz, offenen Werkstätten, Digitalwerkstatt, Seminarräumen, Trattoria mit Pizzaofen, Foto- und Filmstudio, Ateliers, Terrasse, Garten, backstage, Burggraben. Alles da. Wird so nicht mehr gebaut, das ist Fakt!

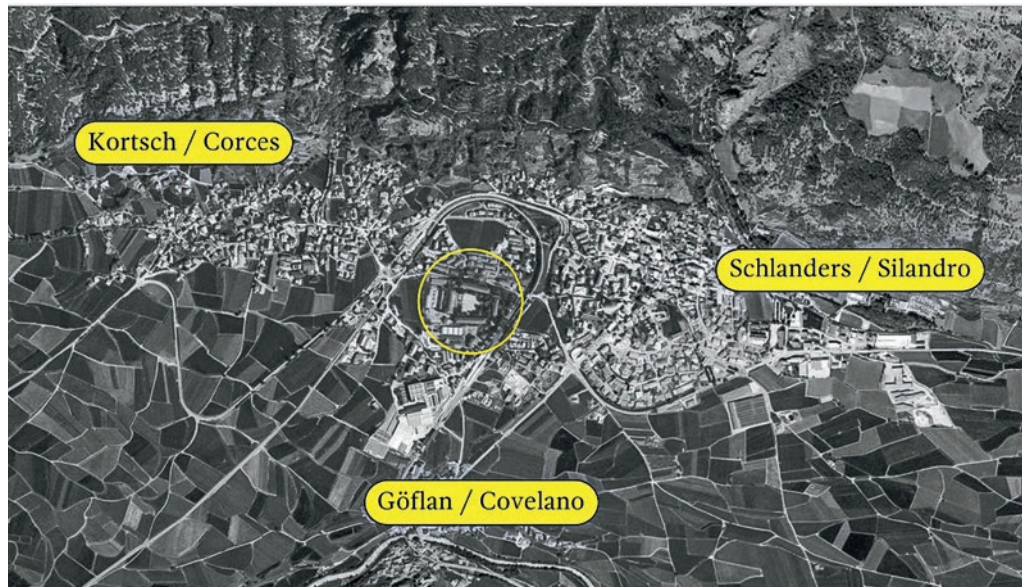
Nun gut, was hat es nun mit einem solchen Ort auf sich? Abgestempelt als „Schwarzer Fleck“ kann hier im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes so einiges aufgearbeitet werden. Innen und außen. Emotional historische Spannungen lösen sich durch ein intergenerationelles, sektorenübergreifendes Leben im Ort auf. Der vorerst exklusiv den Soldaten vorbehalten Raum für freie Gedanken in der Mittagspause, beim Spiel, Sport, Film und Musik

Abb. 4:
Vogelperspektive
Schlanders, Göflan,
Kortsch

Foto: Internet, Geobrowser

Fig. 4:
Bird's eye view of
Schlanders/Silandro,
Göflan/Covelano,
Kortsch/Corces

Photo: Internet, Geobrowser



the "Palazzina Misurata": these excessively functional buildings once housed soldiers, as well as a pharmacy, a chapel, driving school, post office, gym, offices, depots, prison – today they are home to craftspeople, artists and other creatives in the workshops and production rooms. Affordable small business spaces, studios and ateliers, modernised by the users themselves in DIY or DIT fashion. The Drusus Barracks in Schlanders/Silandro formed an independent village that had trade agreements with the outside and rigid rules on the inside, all nestling in a historic village quarter, next to the railway station and the housing for the railway workers that date from the Imperial era.

Back to happiness and to the headquarters of BASIS Vinschgau Venosta in the former "Palazzina Servizi" opposite the "Palazzina Comando", with the campus in between. The only two-storey building, with a gross floor area of 2,300 m² – how modest. Except for the combined former cinema and gymnasium. What a great idea! A cube with a floor area of 220 m² and a ceiling height of just under 10 metres, with a U-shaped balcony gallery as the second floor. Wow! Eyes sparkle, goose bumps come up. Conceived for a temporary interim use until its demolition, now converted into a multifunctional event space for young and old, theatre and film, music and dance, conferences and weddings, graduation balls and tea dances. Plus studio acoustics and a clear sound system. Whether daylight or pitch darkness. The existing functional architecture already provides 70 % of the quality! Where can you find that? Nowhere else offers this coworking space, residence, open workshops, digital workshop, seminar rooms, trattoria with pizza oven, photo and film studio, ateliers, terrace, garden, backstage, even a moat. It's all there. Nothing will ever be built like this again, that's a fact!

Well, what is it about a place like this? Dismissed as a "black mark", quite a few things can here be processed, in the truest sense of the word. Both inside and out. Emotional historical tensions are resolved through the intergenerational, cross-sectoral life present in this place. The space for free thought during lunchbreaks, games, sports, film or music, initially the exclusive preserve of soldiers, is now transported into the modern era and made accessible to society as a whole. The offer is that of an open, tolerant and empathetic attitude to values! Invite, broadcast, balance. Private business, public administration, voluntary work, research. A fourth sector? Permit and experiment with the uncommon. Put things into practice. Offer trust and cultivate responsibility. Think fairly



Abb. 5:
Ehemalige Turnhalle
und Kino, 2016

Fig. 5:
The former
gymnasium and
cinema, 2016

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Abb. 7:
Ehemaliger „Spaccio“
2017, heute Coworking
& Shared Space

Fig. 7:
Former “Spaccio” 2017,
today a coworking &
shared space

© Tiberio Sorvillo

Abb. 6:
... nun funktioneller
„State of the art“
Veranstaltungsraum
mit Clubbetrieb

Fig. 6:
... now a functional
“state of the art”
event space with
club nights

© Samuel Holzer



Abb. 8:
Coworking & Shared
Space, 2021

Fig. 8:
Coworking & shared
space, 2021

© Samuel Holzer

wird nun in die Neuzeit transportiert und der gesamten Gesellschaft zugänglich gemacht. Das Angebot: eine offene, tolerante und empathische Werthaltung! Einladen, Ausstrahlen, Ausgleichen. Private Wirtschaft, Öffentliche Verwaltung, Ehrenamt, Forschung. Ein 4. Sektor? Das nicht übliche Zulassen und Experimentieren. In die Praxis Kommen. Vertrauen geben und Verantwortung kultivieren. Zugänge und Verteilung fair denken. Raum geben, Prozesse testen und verstetigen. Übergänge schaffen. Zwischenräume belassen. Neue Dienstleistungen etablieren. Soziale Innovationen, Mensch und Natur in den Vordergrund stellen. Kreativwirtschaftsfelder stärken und ausbauen, Kreislaufwirtschaftsthemen salonfähig machen. Die Nische zulassen und kuratieren, diversifizieren, internationalisieren und ergänzen. Das, was es nicht gibt! Ein Ort, der herausfordert, aus der Komfortzone lockt, in die Eigenverantwortung zwingt. Ermöglicht. Lösungen anbietet. Das ist die Rolle von Basis Vinschgau Venosta und das alles passiert in einer ehemaligen Militärstruktur des Alpenwalls. Warum? Weil es den dringenden Bedarf dafür gibt. Raus aus der Lethargie! Das bestehende Gebäude war sogar inspirationsgebend, hat notwendige Funktionen bereitgehalten und wir konnten neue ergänzen. Beispielgebend, prototypisch, nachahmenswert. Unsere Gesellschaft und Volkswirtschaft gewinnt durch diese effiziente Nachnutzung rund 15 bis 20 Jahre an Dynamik, Test, Theorie und Praxis. Junge Einheimische starten ihre Reise mit einer neuen Zuversicht, andere bleiben da und weitere kommen zurück.

Die in der Präsentation vorhergehenden Zwischennutzungen haben uns ausgestattet mit Antizipationsreichtum, Anpassungs- und Improvisationsfähigkeit und vor allem mit Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit und der notwendigen Portion Neugier zu erfahren, was nicht planbar ist.

about access and distribution. Grant space, test processes and make them permanent. Create transitions. Leave spaces in between. Establish new services. Put social innovations, people and nature at the forefront. Strengthen and expand creative industries, make the circular economy an acceptable topic. Allow and curate a niche, diversify, internationalise and complement. Make something that does not exist! A place that challenges, lures us out of our comfort zones, forces us to take responsibility. Enables. Offers solutions. This is the role of BASIS Vinschgau Venosta and it all happens within a former military structure of the Vallo Alpino. Why? Because there is an urgent need for it. Away with lethargy! The existing building even acted as an inspiration, providing the necessary functions, while we were able to add new ones. Exemplary, prototypical, worthy of imitation. Our society and economy have gained some 15 to 20 years of dynamism, testing, theory and practice through this efficient re-use. Young people from the area begin their journey with a new confidence, while others stay and yet others come back.

The interim uses set out in the presentation have equipped us with a wealth of anticipation, the ability to adapt and improvise, and above all with a perceptiveness and the necessary dose of curiosity to experience what cannot be planned.

Wall & Space e.V.

Projektpräsentation „ARTlantic Wall“ und künstlerische Intervention „STILL“

Wall & Space e.V. arbeitet mit Wandbildern im Stadtraum und in Landschaften, um Räume mit den Menschen zu verändern und zu verbessern. Beteiligung von Menschen ist dabei vordergründig, genau wie der Einbezug von Architektur und Umfeld. Das Instrument der Wandgestaltung ist dabei einfach umzusetzen und enthüllt immer Geschichten und Konflikte eines Ortes. Wer viel über die Nachbarschaft erfahren möchte, sollte dort eine Wand anmalen.

Ein Projekt des Wall & Space e.V. ist „ARTlantic Wall“

Kunst und Kultur werden hier eingesetzt, um das gemeinsame, schwierige Erbe der „Nazibunker“ entlang der Atlantikküste zu gestalten. Mehr als 8000 Bunker bilden den sogenannten Atlantikwall und liegen entlang der Küste von Norwegen bis nach Spanien – oft übersehen oder ignoriert. Die gemeinsame Gestaltung soll Diskussionen über die Geschichte anstoßen, Aufmerksamkeit erzeugen und Nutzungsideen für die Bunker



Abb. 1:
Blood & Water
Kristiansand

Fig. 1:
Blood & Water
Kristiansand

© Wall & Space e.V.

Wall & Space e.V.

Presentation of the “ARTlanticWall” project and the artistic intervention “STILL”

Wall & Space e.V. is an association that works with murals in cities and landscapes in order to change and improve spaces with people. The involvement of people is paramount, as is the inclusion of architecture and the environment. The instrument, namely the mural, is easy to apply and always reveals stories and conflicts surrounding a place. Anyone wanting to learn all about their neighbourhood should paint one of the walls there.

One Wall & Space e.V. project is “ARTlantic Wall”

Art and culture are used here to transform the shared, difficult legacy of the “Nazi bunkers” along the Atlantic coast. The so-called Atlantic Wall comprises over 8,000 bunkers that lie along the coastline from Norway to Spain, often overlooked or ignored. This communal effort is intended to initiate discussions about the history of the bunkers while raising awareness and testing out ideas for their use. In addition to painting, such

Abb. 2:
Performance
„remember“

Fig. 2:
Performance
“remember”

© Wall & Space e.V.



erproben. Diese Nutzungsideen können neben der Bemalung auch kulturelle, touristische oder ökologische Nutzungen sein. Langfristige Vision von „ARTlantic Wall“ ist es, eine gemeinsame Strategie zur Nutzung und Pflege des europäischen Erbes zu etablieren – eine gemeinsame europäische Kulturlandschaft! Das wäre unserer Meinung nach die beste Umkehrung der fremdenfeindlichen Intention beim ursprünglichen Bau der Bunker. (Abb. 1)

2018 startet ARTlantic Wall mit Netzwerkarbeit und Bemalung von Bunkern am Atlantikwall.

Erfahrungsgemäß ist Graffiti ein gutes Mittel, um Aufmerksamkeit zu erzeugen, neue kreative Zugänge zu Architektur zu zeigen und kontroverse Diskussionen zu befeuern. Graffitis an Bunkern erzeugen Begeisterung bei StrandbesucherInnen und Entsetzen bei DenkmalschützerInnen. In Kooperation mit Atlantik Wall Europe (AWE) inszenierten wir zusätzlich Bunker mit Tape Art, Graffiti-Ausstellungen, Videoinstallationen und Performances. (Abb. 2)

Mit Partnern in Norwegen haben wir die Performance „Blood & Water Kristiansand“ umgesetzt. 1000 Liter rotes Wasser wurden aus einem Helikopter auf einen Bunker geschüttet – als Gedenken an das Auftauchen und Verschwinden von blutigen Konflikten, besonders an den Küsten und Landesgrenzen – Geschichte wiederholt sich. (Abb. 3)

Wir sammeln und dokumentieren Geschichten. So finden wir Inspiration für Kunst und Kultur die lokale Gefühle und Erinnerungen repräsentieren. Es gilt, Orte nicht zu verkleiden, sondern zu spiegeln – mithilfe von Partizipation. Wir produzieren Interviews und Dokumentationen über Bunker und Menschen, ebenso wie Fotoarchive und Fotogrammetrien. (Abb. 4, Abb. 5)

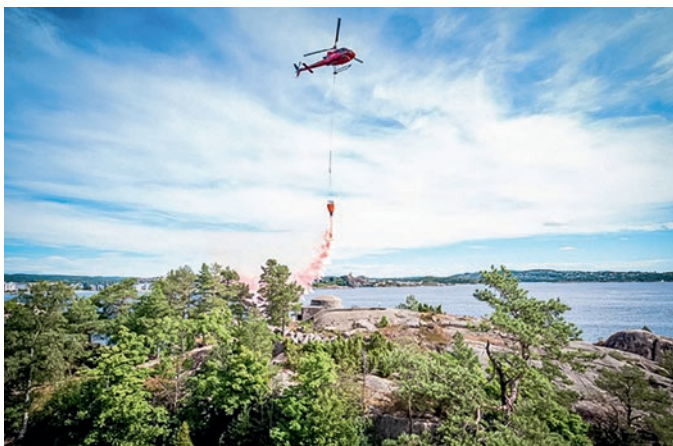


Abb. 3:
Blood & Water
Kristiansand

Fig. 3:
Blood & Water
Kristiansand

© Wall & Space e.V.

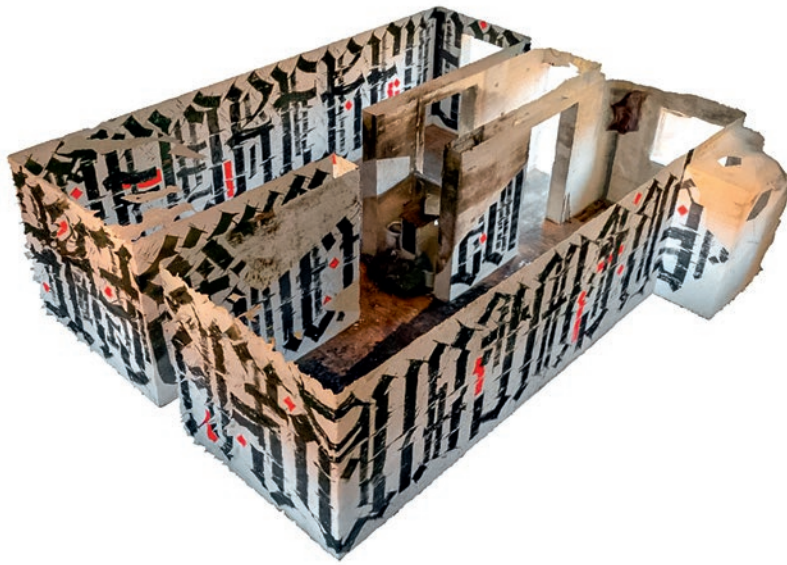


Abb. 4 + 5:
Fotogrammetrie von
Bunkerinnenräumen

Figs. 4 + 5:
Photogrammetry of
bunker interiors

© Wall & Space e.V.

ideas can include cultural, touristic or ecological uses. The long-term vision of "ARTlantic Wall" is to establish a common strategy for the use and care of the European heritage – a common European cultural landscape! In our opinion, this would be the best way to overturn the xenophobic intention behind the original construction of the bunkers. (Fig. 1)

In 2018 ARTlantic Wall started out with networking and the painting of bunkers on the Atlantic Wall.

Experience has shown that graffiti is a good way to attract attention, show new creative approaches to architecture and stimulate controversial discussion. Graffiti on bunkers generates enthusiasm among beach visitors, and horror among conservationists. In cooperation with Atlantic Wall Europe (AWE), we have also transformed bunkers with tape art, graffiti exhibitions, video installations and performances. (Fig. 2)

Together with partners in Norway, we staged the performance "Blood & Water Kristiansand", when 1,000 litres of red water were poured from a helicopter onto a bunker as a commemoration of the emergence and disappearance of bloody conflicts, especially along coasts and national borders, as history repeats itself. (Fig. 3)

We collect and document stories, which is how we find inspiration for art and culture that will represent local feelings and memories. The aim is not to disguise places, but to mirror them with the help of participation. We produce interviews and documentaries about bunkers and people, as well as photo archives and photogrammetries. (Fig. 4 + 5)



STILL

Heimo Prünster fragte uns, ob wir Zeit und Lust haben, eine kleine künstlerische Aktion an einem Bunker zu machen. Wir haben uns für eine Kreidearbeit entschieden, um die Reversibilität sicher zu stellen und die Substanz zu schonen. (Abb. 6)

Die Arbeit STILL prägt einen Bunker des Vallo Alpino, der von einem Bauern mit Scheune und Solarzellen ergänzt wurde. (Abb. 7)

Das Wort STILL ist ausschließlich auf intakten Putzflächen gemalt, um den Zerfall und den aktuellen baulichen Zustand zu beleuchten. Die Buchstaben sind bis zu acht Meter hoch.

Die Intention ist, die Stille um die Bunker zu thematisieren – scheinen sie doch teilweise weiterhin ein Tabuthema zu sein. STILL ist aber zudem auch das englische Wort für: immer noch. Die Bunker sind immer noch da, und es werden an anderen Orten immer noch Bunker gebaut und Konflikte ausgetragen – Geschichte wiederholt sich.

Ein bunter Bunker erzeugt Aufmerksamkeit und Gespräche zwischen Generationen – auch kritische. (Abb. 8)

Eine legale Graffiti „Wand darf von allen gestaltet werden, egal ob sie es können oder nicht. Das ist bedingungslose Beteiligung und echter Spiegel der Gesellschaft. Außerdem entsteht hier Raum für Bildungsprojekte, wie Workshops zwischen Straßenkunst und Geschichte.

Im Idealfall erneuern sich die Gestaltungen eigenständig, ohne dass Institutionen Farben oder Gelder zur Verfügung stellen. Leute haben Lust zu malen und bringen das Material mit – nur die Entsorgung von Müll muss gewährleistet sein.

Ein legal zu gestaltender Bunker ist ein Tourismusziel – sowohl für Maler, die in der alpinen Kulisse besondere Bauten gestalten können, als auch für Wanderer und Kunstinteressierte und Jugendliche. Eine gute Kulisse für weitere Events wie Ausstellungen oder Konzerte. So wird ein Zeichen der Toleranz gesetzt, dass neue Zielgruppen zur Interaktion anregt und kreative Anstöße für die weitere Nutzung, Projekte und Ideen geben kann.

Es kann nicht jeder Bunker Graffiti Wand werden, es kann nicht jeder Bunker Museum werden. Aber es gibt für alle Nutzungen den richtigen Ort – abhängig von Umfeld, Bevölkerung und Zukunftsplänen der Region.

Abb. 6 + 7:
Drohnenaufnahme
„STILL“

Fig. 6 + 7:
Drone photo of „STILL“
© Wall & Space e.V.

Abb. 8:
Wall & Space e.V.
bei der Realisierung
der Installation

Fig. 8:
Wall & Space e.V.
realising the
installation

© Wall & Space e.V.



STILL

Heimo Prünster asked us if we had the time and inclination to realise a small artistic action on a bunker. We decided on a chalk work to ensure reversibility and preserve its substance. (Fig. 6)

The work, *STILL*, appears on a bunker that forms part of the Vallo Alpino; a farmer had added a barn and solar cells. (Fig. 7)

The word *STILL* is only painted on intact plaster surfaces so as to highlight the bunker's decay and current structural condition. The letters are up to eight metres high.

The intention is to address the silence around the bunkers that still seem in part to be a taboo subject. But *STILL* can also mean "even now". The bunkers are still there, while bunkers continue to be built and conflicts are still being fought in other places, as history repeats itself.

A brightly-coloured bunker generates attention and discussion between the generations – including those of a critical nature. (Fig. 8)

A legal "graffiti wall" can be painted by anyone, regardless of ability. This unconditional participation is also a true mirror of society. Furthermore, it creates space for educational projects, such as workshops that bridge the gap between street art and history.

Ideally, the designs will renew themselves independently, without any institutions having to provide paint or money. People feel like painting and bring their materials with them – it is only the disposal of waste that has to be ensured.

A bunker that can be legally graffitied is a tourist destination, both for painters who can decorate these special buildings in their Alpine setting, and for hikers, art enthusiasts and young people. It can also provide a suitable backdrop for other events, such as exhibitions or concerts. This is a sign of tolerance that will encourage new audiences to interact and may provide creative impulses for further uses, projects and ideas.

Not every bunker can become a graffiti wall, nor every bunker become a museum. But all uses can find the right place, depending on the environment, population and future plans of the region.

Markus Krauss

Wie kann man alte militärische Bunker in den Bergen nutzen?

Ergebnisse eines Brainstorms

Bunker haben Potential für eine neue Nutzung. Dank der (thermisch wirksamen) Masse und Tiefe herrschen hier recht gleichbleibende Temperaturen.

Die Klimadaten für Bozen zeigen, dass Bozen einer der wärmsten Orte Italiens ist und eine Jahresmitteltemperatur der Außenluft von 12 Grad hat. Die Jahresmitteltemperatur einer Stadt – das ist global festzustellen – findet sich auch im Erdreich wieder. Im Mittel beträgt die Temperatur im Bozner Erdreich ebenfalls 12 Grad – was interessanterweise exakt der Jahresmitteltemperatur in Bunkern entspricht. Das zeigt das Potential von Bunkern: eine konstante Temperatur übers Jahr mit nur moderaten Schwankungen. (Abb. 1 + 2)

Transsolar hat auf die Einladung zur Tagung hin einen betriebsinternen Brainstorm durchgeführt, um im Hinblick auf mögliche Nutzungen Synergien zu erkennen oder zu entdecken. Die Ergebnisse werden hier kurz skizziert:

Die angesprochene Jahresmitteltemperatur eignet sich beispielsweise für eine Pilzfarm relativ gut. Die notwendige Luftfeuchte müsste dafür bestimmt und gegebenenfalls eingeregelt werden. (Abb. 3)

Gleiches gilt für eine mögliche Nutzung für die Lagerung von Saatgut, bei der es nicht gefroren wird. Denkbar wäre ein Einbau von Lehmsteinen, die dann als natürliche Feuchtepuffer dienen. (Abb. 4)

Abb. 1:
Links: Jahres-
temperatur Diagramm
von Bozen

Fig. 1:
Left: Annual tempera-
ture chart for Bozen/
Bolzano

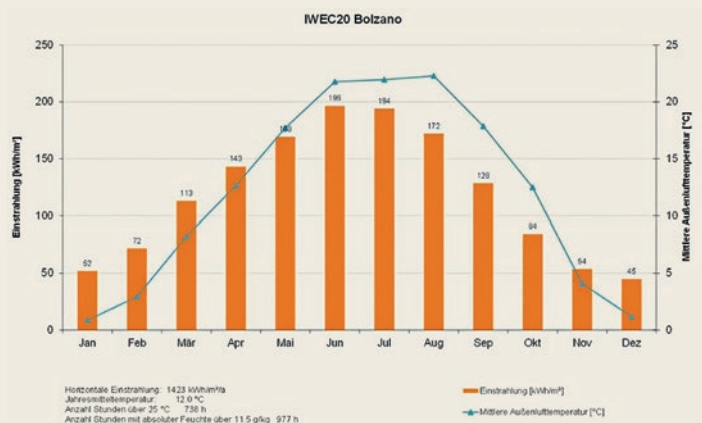
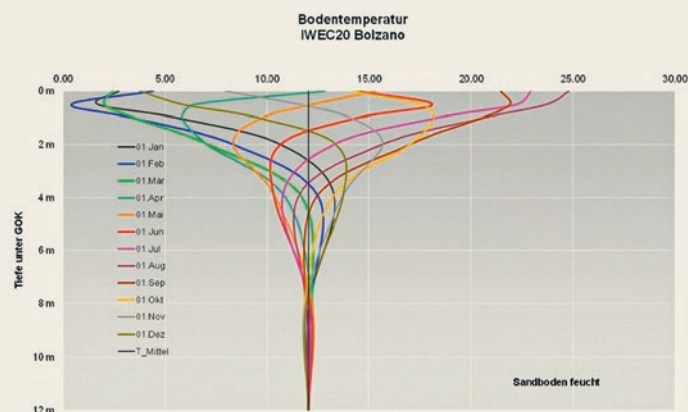
© Transsolar

Abb. 2:
Rechts: Jahres-Boden-
temperatur von Bozen

Fig. 2:
Right: Annual soil
temperature for
Bozen/Bolzano

© Transsolar

Klima Bozen



Markus Krauss

What use can we make of old military bunkers in the mountains?

Results of a brainstorming session

Bunkers have potential for new uses: thanks to their (thermally efficient) mass and depth, their inside temperatures remain quite stable.

Climate data for Bozen/Bolzano show that the city is one of the warmest places in Italy and that the annual mean temperature of the outside air is 12 °C. The annual mean temperature for cities – as globally determined – also occurs in the ground: on average, the local soil temperature is also 12 °C which, interestingly enough, exactly corresponds to the annual mean temperature in bunkers. This demonstrates the potential of bunkers: they maintain a constant temperature throughout the year, with only minor fluctuations. (Fig. 1 + 2)

In response to the invitation to the conference, Transsolar held an in-house brainstorming session to identify or discover synergies for possible uses. The results are briefly outlined here:

The annual mean temperature mentioned is relatively suitable for mushroom farming, for example. The required humidity would have to be determined and regulated as necessary. (Fig. 3)

The same applies to a possible use for the storage of seeds, when not frozen. It would be conceivable to install clay bricks to serve as a natural moisture buffer. (Fig. 4)

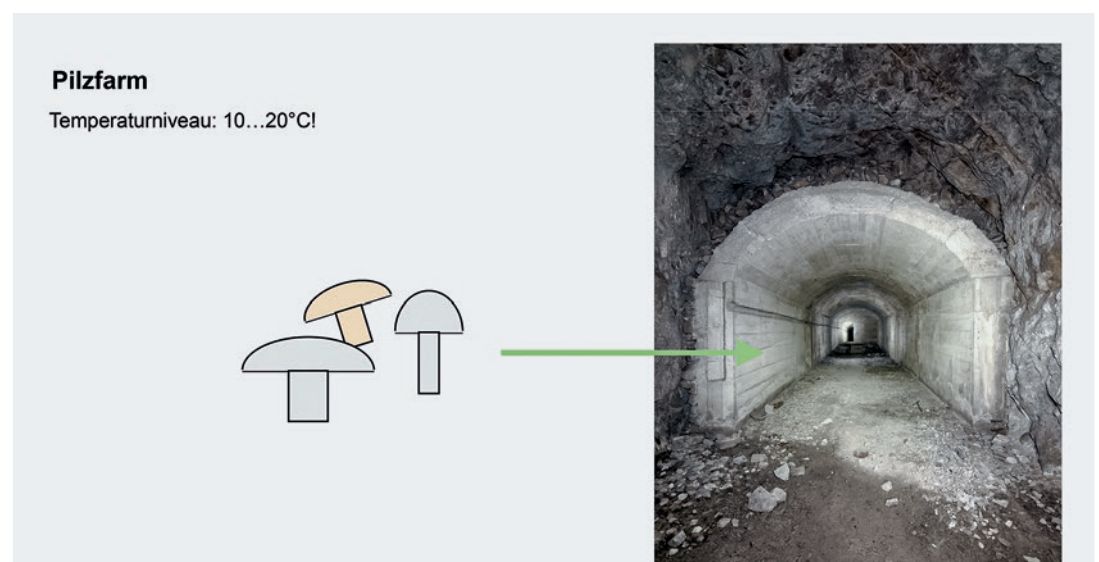
Abb. 3:

Pilze finden im Klima eines Bunkers ideale Wachstumsbedingungen vor

Fig. 3:

The bunker's climate provides ideal growing conditions for mushrooms

© Transsolar,
© Bunker: Benjamin Tomasi



**Abb. 4:**

Bei der Lagerung von Saatgut gilt es die Luftfeuchte in gewünschte Bereiche zu bekommen

Fig. 4:

It is important to achieve the correct humidity for seed storage

© Transsolar,

© Bunker: Benjamin Tomasi

Als eine weitere Nutzungsmöglichkeit ist Käseherstellung bzw. Reifelagerung denkbar. Bei der Lagerung von Käse sind je nach Sorte Temperaturen von zirka 7 bis 15 Grad hilfreich sowie die im Bunker vorhandene hohe Raumluft-Feuchte. Hier gibt es außerhalb Südtirols Beispiele von Käsebergwerken in der Schweiz und in Österreich.

Als Beispiel einer technischen Nutzung lässt sich die Verwendung eines Bunkers als Standort für ein Rechenzentrum aufführen, einen energetischen Vorteil bietet dann die relative Kühle vor Ort. (Abb. 5)

Im Südtirols Weingegenden haben Bunker das Potential, zur Weinlagerung genutzt zu werden, was wohl vereinzelt schon geschieht, wie wir an der Konferenz hier sehen können.

Eine weitere technische Nutzungsmöglichkeit stellt eine Wärmeentnahme aus dem Bunker dar, bei der eine Wärmepumpe dem „Stollen“ Wärme entzieht, um diese andernorts zur Beheizung zur Verfügung zu stellen. Hier sollte die Entfernung zur Verbraucherstelle aber nicht allzu groß sein. Wenn hierbei der elektrische Strom für die Pumpe solar erzeugt würde, ist ein CO₂-freier als „klimaneutraler“ Betrieb gegeben. (Abb. 5)

Ganz einfach ließe sich die im heißen Sommer attraktive Frische in so einem Bunker auch als „Cool Escape“ zur kurzzeitigen Erholung nutzen. Mit Blick auf die derzeitigen schnellen klimatischen Veränderungen klingen solche Ideen nicht mehr nur unterhaltsam sondern nahezu vorstellbar. (Abb. 6)

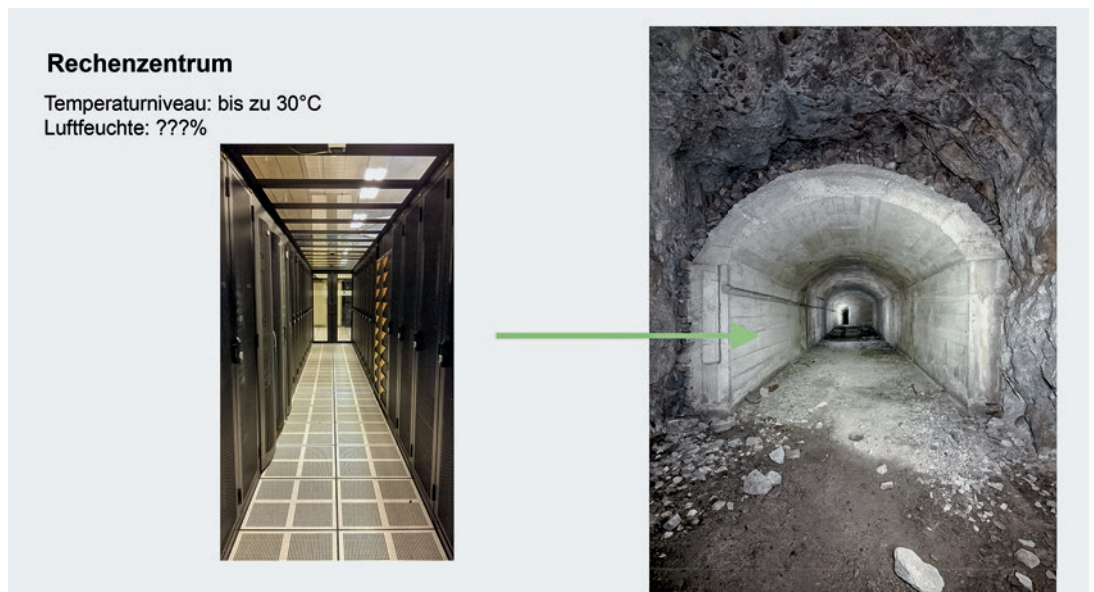
Abb. 5:

In Südtirol ist die Dichte an Rechenzentren ausbaufähig

Fig. 5:

The number of data centres can be increased in South Tyrol

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© Bunker: Benjamin Tomasi

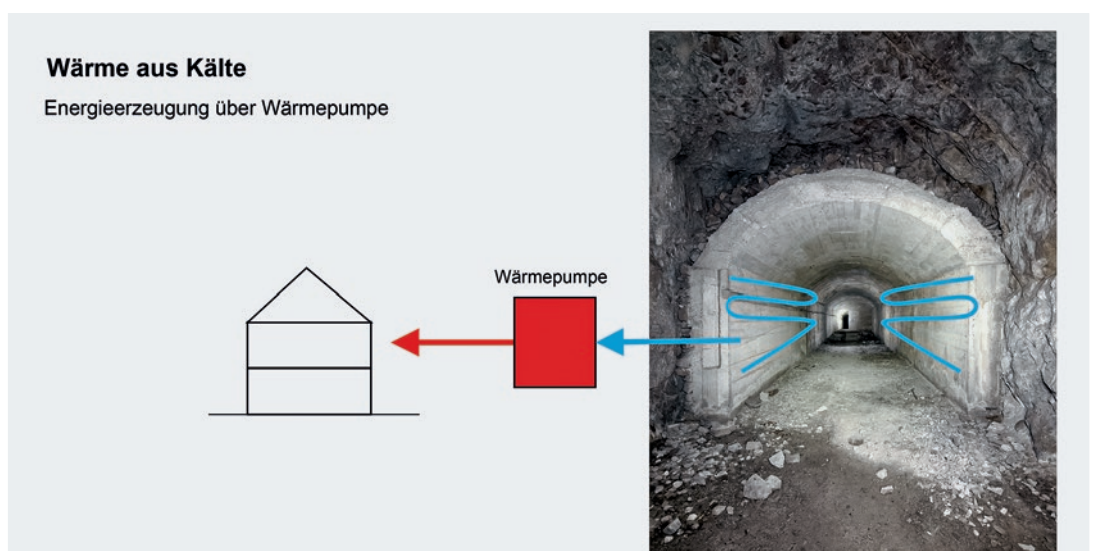
**Abb. 6:**

Bunker als „Heizkraftwerk“

Fig. 6:

Bunker used as a combined heat and power plant

© Transsolar,
© Bunker: Benjamin Tomasi



Another possible use is for the production or maturing of cheeses. Temperatures of approx. 7 to 15 degrees are desirable for storing cheese (depending on type), as is the high humidity level in the bunkers. Outside South Tyrol there exist “cheese mines” in Switzerland and Austria.

One example of a technical application is the use of a bunker as the location for a data centre, with its relative coolness offering benefits in terms of energy usage. (Fig. 5)

Bunkers have the potential to be used for storage in South Tyrol’s winegrowing regions: this actually happens in certain isolated cases, as can be seen here at the conference.

Another possible technical use is heat extraction from the bunker, with a heat pump drawing heat from the “tunnel” and making it available for heating elsewhere. In this case, however, the distance to the consumption point should not be too great. If the electricity used for the pump is generated by solar power, the entire operation could be made CO₂-free and climate-neutral. (Fig. 5)

It would be easy to use the low temperatures in such a bunker as a “cool escape” for momentary relief in hot summers. In view of the current rapid climate change, such ideas no longer seem merely amusing but virtually possible. (Fig. 6)

Dieter Haas

Der Sektbunker der Kellerei St. Pauls

Das Weindorf St. Pauls

Inmitten einer pittoresken, hügeligen Reblandschaft liegt zu Füßen des steil aufragenden Mendelkamms St. Pauls. Ein mittelalterlich geprägter Dorfkern mit tiefen Kellern, einem Hauptplatz mit imposantem Kirchturm – und unserem über 100 Jahre alten Kellerei-gebäude gleich daneben. (Abb. 1)

Die Kellerei St. Pauls

Im Jahre 1907 gegründet, setzt die Kellerei St. Pauls seit Generationen auf Weine mit Identität, welche die Besonderheiten unserer Terroirs hervorheben. St. Pauls zeichnet sich durch eine natürliche Vielfalt von Lagen aus. Auf unterschiedlichen Höhenlagen (300 m bis 700 m), Ausrichtungen und Böden findet jede Rebsorte ihren optimalen Standort. (Abb. 2)



Abb. 1
Fig. 1

Dieter Haas

The “Sparkling Wine Bunker” of St. Pauls Winery

The wine village of St. Pauls

St. Pauls lies at the foot of the steeply rising Mendel ridge, in the midst of a picturesque, hilly vineyard landscape. Its medieval village centre contains deep cellars, a main square with an imposing church tower – and close by is our winery building, now over 100 years old. (Fig. 1)

The St. Pauls Winery

Founded in 1907, the St. Pauls Winery has for generations focused on producing wines whose identity highlights the special features of our terroirs. The natural diversity of St. Pauls, with its range of altitudes (from 300 to 700 metres a.s.l.), orientations and soils, all mean optimal locations for each grape variety. (Fig. 2)

Abb. 2
Fig. 2





Abb. 3
Fig. 3

Der Sekt-Bunker

1940 gebaut, sollte er als Teil der südlichsten Verteidigungslinie während des zweiten Weltkrieges dienen, musste diese Aufgabe aber glücklicherweise nie erfüllen. Zu einer militärischen Nutzung des Bunkers ist es nie gekommen.

1950 war im Eingangsbereich des Bunkers ein Schalter der italienischen Post untergebracht.

Ab 1979 wurde der Bunker vom Sekthersteller Hans Ebner für den Praeclarus-Sekt als Lager verwendet.

Seit 2005 führt die Kellerei St. Pauls die Sektproduktion weiter. (Abb. 3)

Die Sektproduktion

Meterdicke Wände sorgen für eine jahreszeitlich unabhängige Innenraumtemperatur zwischen 12 °C und 14 °C

Die zahlreichen kleinen Kammern des Bunkers werden heute für die verschiedenen Jahrgänge zur Einlagerung und Reifung verwendet. In Ihnen werden 70.000 bis 100.000 Flaschen Praeclarus „zur Perfektion gebunkert“. (Abb. 4)

Praeclarus

Im Laufe der Jahre haben wir die Tradition der Sektherstellung nach klassischer Methode immer wieder neu interpretiert und damit Maßstäbe gesetzt.

Ausgewählte Lagen zwischen 300 m und 500 m Meereshöhe in St. Pauls. Reinsortige Chardonnay–Trauben (blanc de blancs). Selektive Handlese und traditionelle Flaschengärung (Abb. 5)

Alle Bilder © Kellerei St. Pauls

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The "sparkling wine bunker"

Built in 1940, this was intended to serve as part of the southernmost defensive line during the Second World War, but fortunately never saw any military use.

In 1950 a counter for the Italian post office was installed in the entrance area to the bunker.

From 1979 the bunker was used by winemaker Hans Ebner for storing his Praeclarus sparkling wine.

Since 2005 the St. Pauls winery has continued the production of sparkling wine. (Fig. 3)

Sparkling wine production

The bunker walls are several metres thick, ensuring a stable interior temperature of 12 °C to 14 °C, irrespective of the season. The bunker's numerous small chambers are today used to store and age the various vintages, where 70–100,000 bottles of Praeclarus are "bunkered to perfection". (Fig. 4)

Praeclarus

Over the years we have continually reinterpreted the tradition of sparkling wine production according to the classic method, thus setting new standards.

Selected vineyards in St. Pauls at altitudes of 300 to 500 metres above sea level. Pure Chardonnay grapes (blanc de blancs). Selective harvesting by hand and traditional bottle fermentation. (Fig. 5)

All images © St. Pauls Winery

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Abb. 4 + 5
Fig. 4 + 5



Conference: Vallo Alpino The Future? The Future!

Workshop 25.09.2021



Fig. 1:
Workshop at
Karel van Miert
Congress Room

© Heimo Prünster

Participants

Alessia Zampini	Facoltà di Architettura, Università di Bologna, Architect
Mona Schieren	Hochschule für Künste, Bremen, Art historian
Ute Bauer-Wassmann	IFAG, Wien – Architectural researcher
Hendryk von Busse	Wall & Space e.V., Spatial Planner, Artist
Philipp Hirst	Wall & Space e.V., Spatial Planner
Waltraud Kofler Engl	Cultural Heritage Plattform, Libera Università di Bolzano, Art historian
Simon Graf	Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, Universität Freiburg, Anthropologist & Historian
Rafaël Deroo	EFFORTS Europe, Secretary General
Luigi Scolari	Director of the regional office for the preservation of monuments, Architect
Vittorio Curzel	Chorus FilmFactory, Psychologist & Sociologist
Esther Erlacher	Coordinator of the Provincial Museum Franzensfeste Fortress
Heimo Prünster	Scientific director of the research project, Architect, researcher

Observer & Notes Editor

Roberto Gigliotti	Free University of Bolzano – Faculty of Design and Art
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Transcription of the Workshop notes

Possibilities of development for the data visualisation project / the Vallo Alpino research project:

"Actually we should think that the real permanent exhibition are the bunkers themselves" Philipp Hurst, Wall & Space e.V.

- **Generate synergies**
- **Networking:** find partner research projects at the university institutes/faculties in order to create content for the research project & the exhibition.
- There are already some **existing realities/initiatives** that one could put in a network before to initiate an association
- **Collaborate** with **universities** and other institutions: **realise** specific **projects** with them on a regular basis (one or two times a year) in order to **create attention** regularly and **create new content** – keep stakeholders interested!
- **Add further points of view/knowledge fields** as ethnography, cultural ecology, etc. ...
- **Participation/Interaction:** let visitors/guests participate & contribute to the contents. E.g. use QR-codes scattered in the landscape/at the bunker sites etc.: you would not need to follow a map with contents but you find the contents when you are at the bunker. People who go and see bunkers can post photos, stories, interesting contents, owners of bunkers and other initiatives can add things etc. Consequently this would necessitate a filtering/curating of the new data before they are added to the database.
- Create **user questionnaires** with qualitative and quantitative information about the project that could help in the further development.
- The **communication of the results** is extremely important – starting from the beginning and should happen on a regular basis.
- Activate processes for initiatives that deal with the history of the places in the places themselves. **Connect** such **initiatives** with your project, **become the node of all**.
- **The Bunker-exhibition in the museum could also be a good starting point:** Insert further data and information in the database/exhibition – **insert fresh contents** from the research project **on a regular basis** (e.g. once a year ...).
- Also here: **interaction / active involvement of the visitors to gather data**.
- Organise **visits** and **excursions**.

There are 3 main components:

- **THE BUNKERS THEMSELVES AS PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS**
- **EXHIBITIONS IN THE MUSEUM**
- **DATABASE IN THE INTERNET**

Establishing a map is good because it is a database but it is also an entry point to all the interested people that will contribute contents in the future – and these include also the possible partners of the project.

Physical challenge represented by the **real experience** of the bunkers in the landscape.

The geo-referenced database of the map is interesting, but the **real/physical experience** has a different meaning.

It is a big advantage that all bunkers belong to a **bunker line**: if you go and see one you will always find many, which makes it a more interesting experience.

Every **generation** has a **different perspective** on this heritage.

Further development of the research work:

The work on the research project **must continue also after its end**, if not the project will soon be forgotten and will be useless. Some things should be clarified:

- **Who will be responsible for the initiative in the future?** A person/institution that is in continuous charge is needed – be it the project leader, an extern, an association ...
- **Who will curate it?**
- **Organise a yearly appointment with the population starting from today.**
- **Keep the stakeholders interested in the contents.** Every exhibition should be renewed in a timespan of about 10 years.
- **Spread the knowledge that bunkers exist everywhere.** They are not a symbol of Italian fascist power as they are perceived here

Future responsible could be:

- **A public institution/the museum/ the regional government**
- **A private association** (existing/to be founded) **publicly financed**

With no **local support** it is very difficult to achieve results. **Generate a network of people interested in this issue.** The founding of an association could be a solution. This is what we learn from some of the projects that we are studying or were presented yesterday at the conference. With an association you are enabled to get access to public funds.

Should not the future responsibility for the project be taken by the government instead of an association or a private person?
The project and its continuation are of public interest!

How to make contents of the data visualisation visible/accessible?

- Define **categories/keywords** that can be used as tags/filters as in the dynamic archive at the University of the Arts in Bremen, for example.
- How can one think about **archives** in a different way in order to comment or reflect on the contained works of art?

Chronology/genesis of the exhibition on the theme "Bunker" at the Franzensfeste Fortress:

- Is it a habit of the government to reduce its involvement with these issues as much as possible (kind of green-washing in political terms)?
- 2010 first works started, production of a catalogue about the 20 bunkers to be protected, and decision to realise a permanent exhibition.
- There was/is little literature about the content.
- The concept was not realised.
- The first concept was taken up by the actual working group with the aim of getting a bit deeper.

- The exhibition's aim is to show the different life phases of the bunkers from their realisation through the cold war to the possible future uses, other bunkers in the world with a new use will be presented through photographs.
- Walking chair graphic designers do the exhibition design and belong to the working group.
- There are still many open questions.
- The results of the research project should be integrated in the exhibition e.g. in the frame of a working table where the visitors will have the possibility to deepen aspects they are interested in.
- The preparation of the exhibition will be over in December 2021 (opening is planned in May 2022).

Connect the research project work with SENTRES

(www.sentres.com)

Audience:

- Understand properly who the stakeholders are.
- Clarify: who has which interest in this narration. Which story do we want to tell?
- Should the responsibility not be of the government instead of an association?
- It is not possible to exclude the right wing associations/people that cultivate the heritage of a very uncomfortable past (e.g. Joaquim is a Norwegian fanatic that celebrates the nordic culture through an idealisation of the Nazi imagery – also his story has been collected).
- It is a question of power and hierarchies: how independent can then your research be?

Charter for associations dealing with bunkers:

- A charter has to be general and specific at the same time.

Conservation:

- Use (finding creative solutions).
- Leave them as they are.

What is the end of the process?

- Space without tags would be an interesting aim.
- We should not look for a solution.
- Adopt a BUNKER: create the possibilities to realise projects through "adoptions": it is a way to find financiers.

Appropriation of Places:

- Leave some structures as they are in order to enable/allow future generations to explore, discover, and appropriate.
- Confronting with these buildings is an opportunity to get to know one's identity/ local-international history – put oneself in a context.

Monument protection – legal framework:

- List of 3 criteria has been defined for protection: the definition of these criteria lacked a knowledge base.
- When political decisions were taken it was not clear which structures were in the landscape.
- A survey at large was missing.

- No clear legal framework exists.
- A scientific knowledge about the objects would be very important, but there is apparently a lack of interest from the side of the government.
- Is a new framework maybe necessary?
- Is there a view or perspective?
- An inventory list of endangered bunker components would be helpful for our office.
- Fragility: bunkers are not a fragile heritage physically compared to other heritage
- What should we do in the future ... protect them?
- Fragility: what about the camouflage? Bunkers can be seen as not fragile but there are interesting camouflage parts that are deteriorating and are very fragile, many parts already have gone forever.
- Relation to European decision as Schengen e.g. administration of an archive. Not all the bunkers were in the archive since many of them (the ones in the main cities) had a very high economic value.

A small group of employees of the provincial administration took the responsibility of a huge inventory and archive and an incredible amount of military real estates and buildings that nobody knew how to deal with (bunkers included). After the long work the working group understood the importance of some of the bunkers in the context of this military heritage / and decided the rest could be sold. Not all the bunkers were registered in the *Kataster* which is of course coherent with a military strategy. They are white spots on a map. The fact that they were not registered made the process of selling them even easier. Many of them were sold at a very low price, some of them also given away. Some of the buyers did not even understand why they had to pay for what they were buying since in many cases it was about expropriated goods. The absence of a proper survey generated the misunderstanding that one did not know what they were dealing with. Just a few of the bunkers were put under protection / the others could also be demolished. The Italian monument protection law is not entirely valid in South Tyrol which means that in theory some of the bunkers could be demolished if they are more than 50 years old.

Around the year 2000 the members of the working group defined guidelines on how to deal with this heritage, valid for all the bunkers, including the ones that are in private hands (unfortunately the private owners did not get these guidelines since they were informed only if they asked for). **Probably institutional monument protection cannot do too much in this context.**

- We are talking about **monuments that are not fragile.**
- It is important to **catalogue** them.
- Identify **which are exemplary for a certain area** since they are relevant signs in the landscape too.
- The history behind is almost more important than the objects themselves and **their dissonant heritage should be narrated and addressed.**
- **Mediation.**
- **Expand the idea of tourism.** The inhabitants can also be seen as tourists

Dissonant heritage:

- We are dealing with an **uncomfortable heritage.** Maybe it is too early to think about the future of the bunkers now.
- The idea of working up the history now is not working – it needs to be updated regularly: **society changes – perspectives change.**

- It takes generations to **generate distance**. Since these bunkers were built by totalitarian regimes, this becomes also more difficult.
- Find ways to **confront** people with the heritage, not preserve it (see Atlantic Wall).

Historical differentiation:

- The operations (e.g. expropriations) were not done against the local population but only as a defence towards a possible German invasion.
- The perception of the Vallo Alpino in the younger generations is much more neutral – many of the older generations have bad memories of the fascist period: that leads to strong negative emotions that influence their actions.
- The Vallo Alpino is different in every region.
- Piedmont and Emilia Romagna researches deal only with the past.
- Different meanings of fascism in the different regions ...

Economic and ecological issues related to planning – it is not only about preservation of a memory

Communication and networking

- Media
- Networking between public institutions
- Interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinary

Action

- Demolish, preserve, reuse, modify
- Emotional meaning of the places
- Resignification
- Empower discussions
- Place for memory but also for projects
- Memories
- Removal of negative memories
- Keeping good memories
- Sense of guilt
- Desire for redemption
- Identity
- History
- Belonging
- Habits and prejudices

Social representation

- Different memories and narratives
- Bunkers as places to be explored
- Historical evidence to keep or to remove
- Opportunities

It would be good if the final document that will be sent in a couple of months would not be retrospective but future oriented. **It should not be a report but an action-oriented document.** Conclude the work of this workshop with a series of guidelines / which are the strategies that are good for all the cases? These could become best practices.

Nicola Fontana

Fonti sulla fortificazione contemporanea nell'archivio storico del Museo della Guerra di Rovereto

La “Biblioteca-Archivio” del Museo della Guerra

Il Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra ha recentemente raggiunto il fatidico traguardo del secolo di vita: tanto infatti è trascorso da quando i suoi allestimenti, ospitati negli ambienti del castello di Rovereto, furono solennemente inaugurati alla presenza del re Vittorio Emanuele III, nell'ottobre 1921¹. Fin dal principio uno degli obiettivi prefissati dai fondatori fu quello di costituire non solo un Museo quale luogo delle memorie della Prima guerra mondiale, ma al tempo stesso anche un centro di ricerca “utile fonte di studio a tutti coloro che sul teatro stesso delle gloriose gesta, compiute dal nostro Esercito, vogliano approfondirne le storiche vicende”², un obiettivo certo ambizioso, per il raggiungimento del quale si rendeva necessaria la creazione di una “biblioteca-archivio” destinata alla conservazione di volumi, opuscoli, manoscritti, materiale cartografico e fotografie, il tutto grazie alle donazioni non solo di enti pubblici ma anche (e soprattutto) di privati cittadini. E in effetti, come ha già osservato Fabrizio Ramera, la “biblioteca-archivio” del Museo si realizzò fin dal principio “dal basso”, “attraverso il concorso di singoli cittadini con versamenti piccoli e grandi di materiali, e anche attraverso la collaborazione diretta di enti militari o civili, piuttosto che sulla base di un autonomo disegno di costruzione del proprio patrimonio”³. Certamente questo disegno era fortemente influenzato, a quel tempo, da intenti nazionalistici e celebrativi dell'appena cessato conflitto, ma ciò non ostacolò la raccolta e la conservazione di documenti di parte austro-ungarica, tanto meno il consolidarsi di una particolare e competente attenzione verso gli aspetti scientifici e tecnico-militari nel campo degli armamenti e del loro sviluppo tra XIX e XX secolo.

Per quanto viziato da una certa casualità, dalla carenza di spazi adeguati e di risorse, il processo di costruzione della “biblioteca-archivio” proseguì con successo negli anni

1 Per un profilo storico del Museo della Guerra di Rovereto si rinvia ai contributi di G. Barozzi, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra Rovereto, Rovereto 1967; Id., Cinquanta anni di vita. Il Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra di Rovereto 1921-1971, in: G. Fioroni, La valle di Ledro nella prima guerra mondiale (1915-1918), Temi, Trento 1971; C. Zadra, Memorie in conflitto. La Grande Guerra nelle esposizioni del Museo della Guerra di Rovereto, “Memoria e ricerca”, n° 7 (gennaio-giugno 2001), pp. 15-38; M. Gober, Museo storico italiano della guerra. Cenni storici, evoluzioni e progetti per il futuro, Club 41, Rovereto 2008; F. Frizzera, Un secolo di storia, cent'anni di storie. Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra 1921-2021, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2021.

2 Cit. da Guida agli archivi, a cura di N. Fontana, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2014, p. 15.

3 Ibidem.

Nicola Fontana

Sources on contemporary fortifications in the historical archive of the “Museo della Guerra” [War Museum] at Rovereto

The “Library-Archive” of the War Museum

The Italian War History Museum has recently reached the fateful milestone of a whole century of life: so much in fact has occurred since its exhibits, housed in the rooms of Rovereto Castle, were solemnly inaugurated in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel III in October 1921¹. From the outset, one of the goals set by the founders was to establish not only a museum as a place of remembrance of the First World War, but at the same time also to create a research centre “as a useful source of study for all those who, in the very theatre of the glorious deeds performed by our Army, wish to study the historical events in depth²: an admittedly ambitious goal, to achieve which it was necessary to create a “library-archive” for the preservation of volumes, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps and photographs, all thanks to donations not only from public bodies but also (and especially) from private citizens. And in effect, as Fabrizio Rasera has already observed, the Museum’s “library-archive” was from the very beginning created “from below”, “through the contribution of individual citizens with donations both large and small of materials, as well as through the direct collaboration of military or civilian establishments, rather than on the basis of an autonomous plan for building up its own assets”³. Certainly, while this purpose was strongly influenced at the time by nationalistic and celebratory aims following the recently ended conflict, this did not prevent the collection and preservation of Austro-Hungarian documents, nor the consolidation of both special and competent attention to the scientific and technical-military aspects regarding armaments and their development between the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although marred by a certain haphazardness, lack of adequate space and resources, the process of building the “library-archive” continued successfully in the following

1 For a historic profile of the “Museo della Guerra di Rovereto” see the contributions by G. Barozzi, *Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra Rovereto*, Rovereto 1967; *ibid.*, *Cinquanta anni di vita. Il Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra di Rovereto 1921–1971*, in: G. Fioroni, *La valle di Ledro nella prima guerra mondiale (1915–1918)*, Temi, Trento 1971; C. Zadra, *Memorie in conflitto. La Grande Guerra nelle esposizioni del Museo della Guerra di Rovereto*, “Memoria e ricerca”, no. 7 (January-June 2001), pp. 15–38; M. Gober, *Museo storico italiano della guerra. Cenni storici, evoluzioni e progetti per il futuro*, Club 41, Rovereto 2008; F. Frizzera, *Un secolo di storia, cent’anni di storie. Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra 1921–2021*, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2021.

2 Cited from *Guida agli archivi*, ed. N. Fontana, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2014, p. 15.

3 *Ibid.*

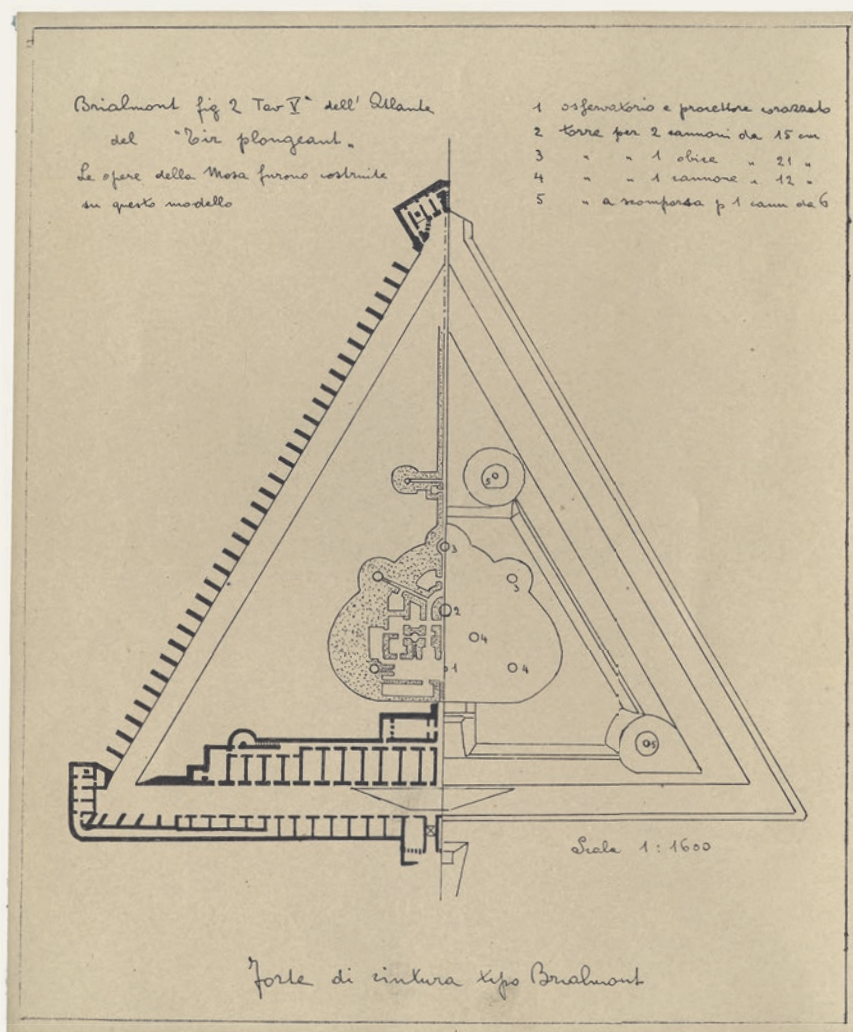


Fig. 1:

Alcune pagine dal
dattiloscritto

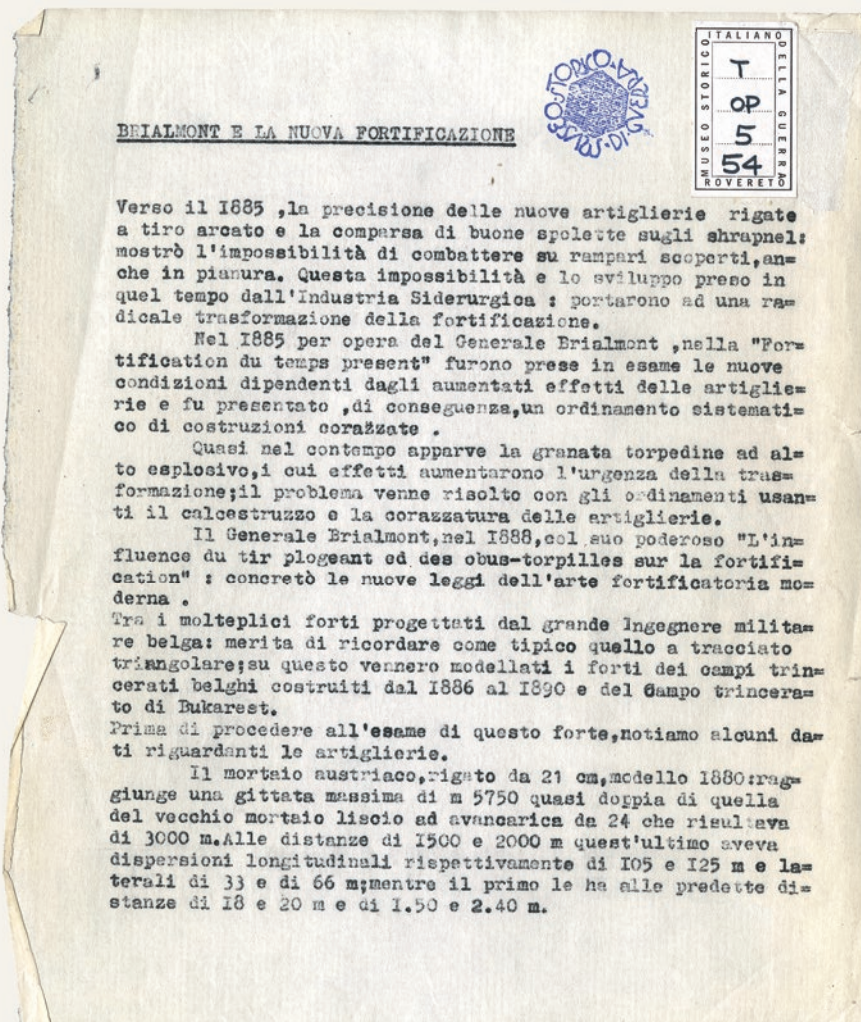
"La fortificazione in
cemento e ferro"
compilato da Carlo
Gerosa

Fig. 1:

Pages from the
typescript

"La fortificazione in
cemento e ferro"
compiled by Carlo
Gerosa

© MSIG, Archivio storico,
collection Carlo Gerosa, b. 2



years, so that by December 1934 it had a respectable stock of 3,640 volumes and pamphlets, 200 flyers, 5 current periodicals, 960 Austro-Hungarian and Italian propaganda posters, 132 prints, 48 drawings, 1,714 maps, 11,300 photographs and postcards, 136 assorted letters and autographs: all made accessible to scholars thanks to an extensive card index created by the then Museum Director, Mario Ceola (1894–1969)⁴. After the Second World War, during which the Museum was moved to an underground room in the castle to save it from possible requisitioning or destruction by aerial bombardment, the archival and bibliographic holdings, although steadily growing in number thanks to a constant influx of donations, long remained inaccessible to the public owing to a lack of space and personnel specifically assigned to their care and cataloguing. This situation inevitably condemned the "library-archive" to a state of disarray that, despite the efforts to reorganise it by the Museum management, substantially lasted until – thanks both to the possibility of funding by the Province following the amendment of the regulations implementing the 1981 Special Statute for Trentino-South Tyrol, as well as to a more general process of renovation of the Museum and its layout – two important reorganisation projects were undertaken: the cataloguing of a first batch of 16,000 volumes by the Co.Ri.St. Cooperative of Rovereto in 1985, and the reorganisation by Fabrizio Rasesa and Caterina Tomasi of the newspaper and periodicals library and the historical archive between 1988 and 1993⁵.

This last operation in particular constituted a step of fundamental importance, not only because it determined the arrangement of the original "library-archive" into autonomous sections, differentiating the bibliographical from the archival (while also laying the foundations for the photographic archive), but also because it prevented the dispersal of a considerable amount of small documentary items originally located on the library shelves, and gathered them into a series of themed collections. At the end of the reorganisation the Museum's historical archive contained 40 archival collections.

A further important step was the hiring of permanent staff for the care and cataloguing of the Museum's archival and bibliographical assets as well as the integration of the library into the computer system of the Trentino Bibliographical Catalogue (*CBT*). The historical archive was declared to be of cultural interest with Resolution no. 7 of 14 February 2005 by the Autonomous Province of Trento's Department of Library and Archival Assets⁶.

Since the early 2000s, in fact, the historical archive has been subject to a revision that has affected both its general structure and certain specific collections with the aim of identifying their origin and reorganising these autonomous archival collections that, for reasons of expediency, had in the 1990s been aggregated into themed compilations. At the end of this work it was decided to organise all of the documentation into ten groups (11 as of 2022), each consisting of archival collections that are similar in terms of typology and theme⁷.

Particularly between the 1990s and early 2000s, the photographic archive was also reorganised and catalogued (on computerised MOUSEIA software cards, transferred to the Archiui platform in 2018); in 2014 the structure of the entire section was revised

4 Guida agli archivi, op. cit., p. 19.

5 Ibid, pp. 20–21. See Guida all'emeroteca, ed. C. Tomasi and F. Rasesa, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 1992 and F. Rasesa, L'emeroteca del Museo Storico Italiano della guerra. Storia della collezione, "Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra. Annali", nos. 1–2 (1992–1993), pp. 271–274.

6 The declaration was renewed, extending it to newly acquired archival collections, by Resolution no. 333 of 8 May 2019 and 2022-S120-00272.

7 The groups are as follows: archives of individuals, archives of families, archives of military units, archives of associations and committees, archives of companies, themed collections, compilations, manuscripts, audiovisual compilations, copies of archives, plans and maps.

seguenti, tanto che nel dicembre 1934 essa contava un patrimonio di tutto rispetto, comprendente 3.640 tra volumi e opuscoli, 200 fogli volanti, 5 periodici correnti, 960 manifesti di propaganda austro-ungarica e italiana, 132 stampe, 48 disegni, 1.714 carte geografiche, 11.300 fotografie e cartoline, 136 tra lettere e autografi, il tutto reso accessibile agli studiosi grazie a un ampio schedario realizzato dall'allora direttore del Museo, Mario Ceola (1894-1969)⁴. Dopo il secondo conflitto mondiale, nel corso del quale venne trasferito in una sala sotterranea del castello per sottrarlo a possibili requisizioni e alle distruzioni dei bombardamenti aerei, il patrimonio archivistico e bibliografico del Museo, sebbene in costante crescita grazie all'incessante afflusso di donazioni, rimase a lungo inaccessibile al pubblico per carenza di spazi e di personale specificamente addetto alla sua cura e catalogazione. Tale situazione condannò inevitabilmente la "biblioteca-archivio" a uno stato di disordine, che nonostante gli sforzi della direzione del Museo per una sua sistemazione, si protrasse sostanzialmente fino a quando – grazie sia alla possibilità di accesso a contributi provinciali creatasi in seguito alla modifica delle norme di attuazione dello Statuto speciale per il Trentino-Alto Adige (1981), sia a un più generale processo di rinnovamento del Museo e dei suoi allestimenti – furono avviati due importanti interventi di riordino: la catalogazione di un primo lotto di 16.000 volumi da parte della Cooperativa Co.Ri.St. di Rovereto nel 1985 e il riordino dell'emeroteca e dell'archivio storico ad opera di Fabrizio Raserà e Caterina Tomasi tra il 1988 e il 1993⁵.

Quest'ultima operazione in modo particolare costituì una tappa di fondamentale importanza, non solo perché decise l'articolazione dell'originaria "biblioteca-archivio" in sezioni autonome, distinguendo il complesso bibliografico da quello archivistico (gettando inoltre le basi per la costituzione dell'archivio fotografico), ma anche perché impedì la dispersione di una considerevole mole di piccoli nuclei documentali originariamente collocati tra gli scaffali della biblioteca, per aggregarli in una serie di fondi tematici. Al termine dei lavori di riordino l'archivio storico del Museo contava 40 fondi archivistici.

Un ulteriore passaggio di rilevante importanza fu poi l'assunzione di personale stabile addetto alla cura e alla catalogazione dei beni archivistici e bibliografici del Museo nonché l'integrazione della biblioteca nel sistema informatico del Catalogo bibliografico trentino (CBT). L'archivio storico è stato dichiarato di interesse culturale con determinazione della Soprintendenza per i beni librari archivistici della Provincia autonoma di Trento n. 7 del 14 febbraio 2005⁶.

Proprio a partire dai primi anni Duemila l'archivio storico è stato soggetto ad un lavoro di revisione che ha interessato sia la struttura in generale, sia alcuni fondi specifici con l'obiettivo di individuare in base al principio di provenienza e di riordinare quei fondi archivistici autonomi che per ragioni di opportunità negli anni '90 del Novecento erano stati aggregati nelle raccolte tematiche. Al termine di questa operazione si è stabilito di organizzare l'intero complesso documentale in dieci gruppi (11 dal 2022), ciascuno dei quali comprendenti fondi archivistici affini da un punto di vista sia tipologico che tematico⁷.

4 Guida agli archivi, cit., p. 19.

5 Ivi, pp. 20-21. Cfr. Guida all'emeroteca, a cura di C. Tomasi e F. Raserà, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 1992 e F. Raserà, L'emeroteca del Museo Storico Italiano della guerra. Storia della collezione, "Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra. Annali", n. 1-2 (1992-1993), pp. 271-274.

6 La dichiarazione è stata rinnovata, estendendola ai fondi archivistici di nuova acquisizione, con determina n. 333 dell'8 maggio 2019 e 2022-S120-00272.

7 Si tratta dei gruppi: archivi di persone, archivi di famiglie, archivi di unità militari, archivi di associazioni e di comitati, archivi di imprese, fondi tematici, raccolte, manoscritti, raccolte audiovisivi, archivi in copia, piante e mappe.



Fig. 2:
Pianta dell'osservatorio
fortificato di Cima
Vezzena, 1914

© MSIG, Archivio storico,
collection K.u.k. Geniedirektion
Trient, 3.11

and divided into collections according, where possible, to their origin (as in the case of personal photographic collections), or according to thematic and topographical criteria otherwise. At present, the War Museum's bibliographic and archival holdings in total comprise some 300 archival collections, 45,000 volumes and pamphlets, 1,900 periodicals, 100,000 photographs (of which 60,000 are catalogued) grouped into 210 collections. Since 2021 it has been possible to consult a part of the photographic and cartographic collections, as well as a part of the poster and religious press collection (Francesco Monterumisi collection) on a special website maintained by the Museum at <https://archivimuseodellaguerra.archiui.com>. The inventories of the archival collections – most of which have been reordered thanks to a financial contribution of the *Cassa di Risparmio di Trento e Rovereto* – are available in PDF format at: <https://museodellaguerra.it/scopri/patrimonio/documenti/>.

Anche l'archivio fotografico è stato oggetto, in particolare tra gli anni Novanta e primi anni Duemila, di interventi di riordino e di catalogazione (su schede informatiche del software MOUSEIA, riversate nel 2018 nella piattaforma Archiui); nel 2014 la struttura dell'intera sezione è stata sottoposta a revisione e articolata in fondi in base al principio di provenienza là dove possibile (come nel caso dei fondi fotografici personali), altrimenti in base a un criterio tematico e topografico. Attualmente il patrimonio bibliografico e archivistico del Museo della Guerra conta complessivamente circa 300 fondi archivistici, 45.000 volumi e opuscoli, 1.900 periodici, 100.000 fotografie (delle quali 60.000 catalogate) raggruppate in 210 fondi. Dal 2021 è possibile consultare parte delle raccolte fotografiche, cartografiche nonché parte della raccolta di manifesti e di stampa religiosa (fondo Francesco Monterumisi) su un apposito sito web curato dal Museo: <https://archivimuseodellaguerra.archiui.com> ; gli inventari dei fondi archivistici – buona parte dei quali sono stati riordinati grazie al contributo finanziario della Cassa di Risparmio di Trento e Rovereto – sono consultabili in formato pdf sul sito web <https://museo.dellaguerra.it/scopri/patrimonio/documenti/>

Il Museo della Guerra e lo studio delle fortificazioni contemporanee

Come si è visto, la storia del Museo della Guerra e della sua “biblioteca-archivio” testimonia la volontà dello stesso di proporsi non solo come luogo di conservazione e di valorizzazione di beni storici, ma anche come soggetto attivo nello studio della storia della guerra e dell'arte militare, un obiettivo che troviamo esplicitamente affermato nello Statuto del 1998, ma sostanzialmente presente anche nei precedenti, a partire dal primo approvato nel marzo 1924. Tra i molteplici filoni di studio nel terreno della storia militare, il Museo non ha certamente trascurato quello della fortificazione contemporanea occupandosi tanto della raccolta di documenti, fotografie e disegni tecnici, quanto della pubblicazione di studi e di ricerche. In effetti non si può fare a meno di osservare che fu proprio Mario Ceola, direttore del Museo dal 1924 al 1940, a raccogliere in modo sistematico informazioni sulle fortezze austro-ungariche del Trentino Alto-Adige e a pubblicarne gli esiti in brevi articoli sul bollettino del Museo (dal 1931 al 1934) e nelle monografie della “Collana di documenti sulla guerra 1914-1918”: “Trento ed i suoi forti” (1931), “Le difese campali austriache nella zona di Rovereto al 24 maggio 1915” (1931) e “Le difese permanenti e campali austriache nella zona di Riva al 24 maggio 1915” (1932). Sebbene si trattasse di scritti molto succinti e basati per lo più sulle notizie, spesso approssimative e non sempre affidabili, reperite tra le carte degli uffici informazioni del Regio Esercito Italiano prodotte nel corso del primo conflitto mondiale, essi costituirono comunque un primo censimento delle opere fortificate esistenti nella regione nonché una base per ulteriori studi. Prosecutore delle ricerche di Ceola fu, non molti anni dopo, Carlo Gerosa (1894-1951), consigliere del Museo alla fine degli anni Trenta del '900, il quale nell'ottobre del 1945 portò a termine il suo “Contributo allo studio delle fortificazioni della via del Brennero” proposto all'Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio di Roma (ISCAG) per la pubblicazione, senza però avere riscontro. Di fatto il suo studio, conservato a lungo dagli eredi fino alla pubblicazione postuma nel 1993 sugli “Annali” del Museo a cura di Gian Piero Sciocchetti (1934-2019)⁸, proponeva un'interessante percorso attraverso l'evoluzione dell'architettura fortificata del XIX-XX secolo basandosi sul

8 C. Gerosa, Contributo allo studio delle fortificazioni sulla via del Brennero, “Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra. Annali”, n. 1-2 (1992-1993), pp. 127-184.

The War Museum and the study of contemporary fortifications

As we have seen, the history of the War Museum and its "library-archive" testifies to the Museum's desire to present itself not only as a place for the conservation and improvement of historical assets, but also as an active participant in the study of the history of war and military affairs, an objective explicitly stated in its 1998 statutes, but also substantially present in its predecessors, starting with the first as approved in March 1924. Among the many strands of study in the field of military history, the Museum has certainly not neglected that of contemporary fortifications, dealing both with the collecting of documents, photographs and technical drawings and with the publication of studies and research. Indeed, we cannot help but notice that it was Mario Ceola, director of the Museum from 1924 to 1940, who systematically collected information on the Austro-Hungarian forts in Trentino-Alto Adige and published the results in short articles in the Museum's bulletin from 1931 to 1934, as well as in the monographs of the *"Collana di documenti sulla guerra 1914–1918"* [Series of documents on the 1914–1918 war], namely *"Trento ed i suoi forti"* [Trento and its forts] (1931), *"Le difese campali austriache nella zona di Rovereto al 24 maggio 1915"* [The Austrian field defences in the Rovereto area on 24 May 1915] (1931) and *"Le difese permanenti e campali austriache nella zona di Riva al 24 maggio 1915"* [The Austrian permanent and field defences in the Riva area on 24 May 1915] (1932). Although these writings were very succinct and mostly based on the information – often approximate and not always reliable – found among the papers of the information offices of the Royal Italian Army that had been produced during the First World War, they nevertheless constituted both an initial census of the fortifications existing in the region and the basis for further studies. Ceola's research was followed up a few years later by Carlo Gerosa (1894–1951), an advisor to the Museum at the end of the 1930s, who in October 1945 completed his *"Contributo allo studio delle fortificazioni della via del Brennero"* [Contribution to the study of the fortifications along the Brenner route], which was submitted to the *Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio di Roma* [Historical and Cultural Institute of the Corps of Engineers in Rome] for publication, but was not accepted. In fact, his study, long preserved by his heirs until its posthumous publication in 1993 in the "Annals" of the Museum, edited by Gian Piero Sciocchetti (1934–2019)⁸, proposed an interesting pathway through the evolution of fortified architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries, based upon the actual military works built in Trentino by military engineers: Austrian (the Habsburg fortresses on the Tonale Pass, at Trento and on the Folgaria and Lavarone plateaus), Italian (the Vallo Alpino) and German (the Ala barrier, 1944–1945). It should be noted that, in order to carry out his study, Gerosa made extensive use of original documents, some of which were kept in the Museum's archives, not at that time accessible to the public and with some still confidential (which was probably one of the reasons why the typescript could not be printed).

In the 1990s the War Museum resumed its project for the active and systematic study of contemporary fortifications thanks to an initiative on the part of General Paolo Toldo (1931–2020), who in April 1994 proposed the creation of an "archive of fortifications" for collecting documentation on the defensive works erected in the 19th and 20th centuries along the Alpine border; subsequently, with its 1998 exhibition *"Montagne armate"* [Armed mountains] the Museum began a long process of reflection on the historical and architectural development of the Austro-Hungarian fortifications as well as their

8 C. Gerosa, *Contributo allo studio delle fortificazioni sulla via del Brennero*, "Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra. Annali", nos. 1–2 (1992–1993), pp. 127–184.

caso concreto delle opere militari realizzate nel Trentino dal Genio militare austriaco (fortezze asburgiche del Tonale, della Fortezza di Trento e degli altipiani di Folgaria e Lavarone), italiano (Vallo Alpino) e tedesco (sbarramento di Ala, 1944-1945). È da notare che per realizzare il suo studio, Gerosa fece ampio ricorso a documenti originali, in parte conservati nell'archivio del Museo, all'epoca non ancora accessibili al pubblico e alcuni ancora di carattere riservato (il che probabilmente fu una delle ragioni per cui il dattiloscritto non poté essere dato alle stampe).

Negli anni Novanta del secolo scorso il Museo della Guerra ha ripreso il progetto di uno studio attivo e sistematico delle fortificazioni contemporanee grazie all'iniziativa del generale Paolo Toldo (1931-2020), il quale nell'aprile del 1994 propose la creazione di un "archivio delle fortificazioni" per la raccolta di documentazione relativa alle opere difensive erette tra Ottocento e Novecento lungo la frontiera alpina; successivamente (1998) con la mostra "montagne armate" il Museo aprì un lungo percorso di riflessione sullo sviluppo storico e architettonico delle fortificazioni austro-ungariche nonché sull'impatto delle stesse sul territorio alpino e sulla popolazione, culminato con la pubblicazione del volume "La regione fortezza" (2016)⁹.

Le fonti sulla fortificazione contemporanea

Un censimento delle fonti archivistiche sulla fortificazione contemporanea custodite nell'archivio storico del Museo della Guerra non può che partire dagli archivi personali di quelli che possiamo definire i "pionieri" dello studio delle fortezze austro-ungariche del Trentino, Mario Ceola e Carlo Gerosa. In realtà dell'attività di ricerca del Ceola in questo specifico campo si conservano soltanto il testo di una conferenza tenuta nel 1931 e due dattiloscritti redatti nello stesso anno riguardanti il sistema di fortificazioni campali realizzato dal Genio militare austro-ungarico a Rovereto e in Val Lagarina tra il 1914 e il 1915¹⁰. Ben più consistente è il lascito di Carlo Gerosa, il quale comprende una serie di studi dattiloscritti e manoscritti databili tra la fine degli anni Trenta e l'inizio del decennio successivo, tutti corredati di tavole esplicative: "La fortificazione in cemento e ferro", che ripercorre l'evoluzione architettonica delle fortezze tra la seconda metà dell'Ottocento e la Prima guerra mondiale; "Contributo allo studio delle fortificazioni sulla via del Brennero" (conservato in copia fotostatica) dedicato alla storia delle opere di fortificazione del Trentino del XIX-XX secolo e "Forme de la fortificazione permanente" (in copia fotostatica), manoscritto nel quale viene ripreso il tema dello sviluppo architettonico delle fortezze dall'età moderna al Novecento. In effetti Gerosa si interessò anche alla storia dell'architettura militare in età medioevale e moderna, come attestano i suoi studi sul castello di Rovereto (1938-1940) inviati in copia all'Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio di Roma e le due monografie "Fortificazione medioevale e di transito" e "Fortificazione bastionata e poligonale". Nel fondo sono inoltre conservati materiali di lavoro utilizzati dal Gerosa per la compilazione dei suoi studi, tra cui una serie di tavole provenienti dall'edizione italiana del volume di Ernst von Leithner sulla fortificazione e la guerra di fortezza¹¹, tavole di opere fortificate disegnate dal Gerosa; estratti di pubblicazioni varie

9 N. Fontana, *La regione fortezza. Il sistema fortificato del Tirolo: pianificazione, cantieri e militarizzazione del territorio da Francesco I alla Grande Guerra*, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2016.

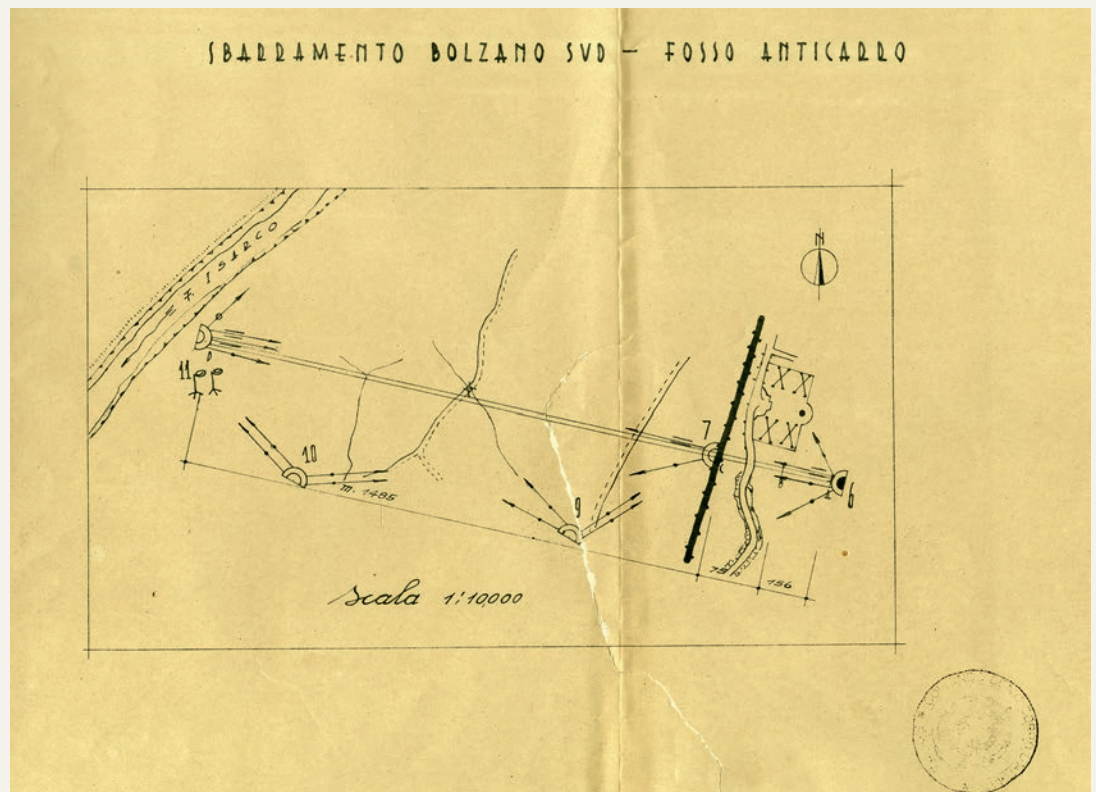
10 Cfr. Mario Ceola, *Inventario dell'archivio (1915-1945, con documenti dal 1865)*, a cura di Sabina Tovazzi, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2019, consultabile online in formato pdf all'indirizzo: <https://museodellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Mario-Ceola-1915-1945-con-documenti-dal-1865.pdf>

11 [E. von Leithner], *La fortificazione permanente e la guerra di fortezza secondo le fonti più recenti*, 4 voll., Voghera, Roma 1895-1899.

Fig. 3:
Schizzo del fosso
anticarro dello
sbarramento di
Bolzano Sud

Fig. 3:
Sketch of the anti-tank
ditch of the Bolzano
Sud barrier

© MSIG, Archivio storico,
collection "Vallo Alpino", no. 6



impact on the Alpine regions and their peoples, culminating in the publication of the volume *"La regione fortezza [The fortress region]"* (2016)⁹.

Sources on contemporary fortifications

A census of the archival sources on contemporary fortifications kept in the historical archive of the War Museum can only start from the personal archives of what we can define as the "pioneers" of the study of the Austro-Hungarian fortifications in Trentino, namely Mario Ceola and Carlo Gerosa. In reality, only the text of a lecture given in 1931 and two typescripts produced in the same year concerning the system of field fortifications built by Austro-Hungarian military engineers in Rovereto and in the Val Lagarina between 1914 and 1915 have survived from Ceola's research in this specific area.¹⁰ Carlo Gerosa's bequest is much more substantial, comprising a series of typewritten and manuscript studies dating from between the end of the 1930s to the beginning of the following decade, all accompanied by explanatory tables: *"La fortificazione in cemento e ferro [Fortification in cement and iron]"*, which traces the architectural development of fortresses between the second half of the 19th century and the First World War; *"Contributo allo studio delle fortificazioni sulla via del Brennero [Contribution to the study of fortifications on the Brenner route]"* (preserved as a photostatic copy) dedicated to the history of fortification works in Trentino in the 19th and 20th centuries; and *"Forme de la fortificazione permanente [Forms of permanent fortification]"* (photostatic copy), a manuscript that takes up the theme of the architectural development of fortresses from

⁹ N. Fontana, *La regione fortezza. Il sistema fortificato del Tirolo: pianificazione, cantieri e militarizzazione del territorio da Francesco I alla Grande Guerra*, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2016.

¹⁰ See Mario Ceola, *Inventario dell'archivio (1915–1945, con documenti dal 1865)*, ed. Sabina Tovazzi, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2019, accessible online in PDF format at: <https://museo.dellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Mario-Ceola-1915-1945-con-documenti-dal-1865.pdf>.

sulla guerra di fortezza (in particolare dalla “Rivista d’Artiglieria e Genio”) ed un’ampia raccolta di schede e tavole a stampa sull’evoluzione dell’artiglieria dal XVI al XX secolo¹².

Relativamente ampio – conta infatti 16 scatole, per un totale di 96 fascicoli e 8 raccoglitori – è anche il fondo archivistico di Alfredo Flocchini (1957-2001), un apprezzato studioso, già membro del “Gruppo di studio delle fortificazioni moderne” di Milano e autore di alcuni articoli sulle fortezze italiane pubblicate sulla “Rivista militare” negli anni Novanta del secolo scorso. Versato nel 2003 e riordinato nel 2017, l’archivio personale del Flocchini rappresenta nel suo insieme la testimonianza dei suoi interessi storico-militari, che non si limitavano al solo ambito delle opere di fortificazione ma si estendevano anche a quello dell’aviazione, dell’artiglieria, della marina militare e dell’uniformologia. Il fondo, che è costituito in gran parte da copie fotostatiche di libri, opuscoli e documenti, è articolato in cinque serie: monografie per autore, pubblicazioni tematiche, materiali di studio, tavole, album e cartoline. In particolare per lo studio delle fortificazioni è di interesse la sottoserie 1.2.1, nella quale sono raccolti fascicoli contenenti materiali in copia relativi al sistema difensivo italiano delle Alpi occidentali (forti di Bard, Chaberton, Exilles, Fenestrelle, Colle di Tenda, Moncenisio) e centro-orientali (forti Corno d’Aola, Venini di Oga e Lusardi di Colico, sbarramenti della Valtellina, del settore del Garda e delle Giudicarie, piazzeforti di Genova, La Spezia, Verona, Venezia, Roma, Taranto, Augusta), inoltre materiali sul Vallo Alpino e sulla difesa costiera italiana. Complementari a questi materiali di studio sono le tavole raccolte in un’apposita serie, all’interno della quale troviamo schemi di installazioni d’artiglieria, le piante di numerose fortezze (tra le quali quelle dei forti Verena, monte Enna, Dosso del Sommo, Fenestrelle), schemi di batterie costiere, cartografia. Nella serie “album e cartoline” sono conservate fotografie di fortezze scattate dal Flocchini ma anche numerose riproduzioni di foto storiche aventi come soggetto opere di fortificazione e materiali d’artiglieria. Si segnala infine che nella serie 1.3 è conservata la raccolta dei bollettini e delle monografie del “Gruppo studio delle fortificazioni moderne” (1991-1996)¹³.

Una fonte ricca e di particolare interesse per lo studio dell’architettura militare del XIX-XX secolo è il cosiddetto “archivio delle fortificazioni”, ideato nel 1994 su iniziativa dell’allora colonnello Paolo Toldo. Il progetto era nato dall’osservazione del crescente interesse verso l’argomento manifestato tanto da singoli studiosi quanto da istituzioni culturali e dalle università, ma anche della constatazione che con il mutamento dei sistemi di organizzazione della difesa del territorio dopo il crollo del muro di Berlino, sarebbe stato possibile accedere a documenti e materiali sulle opere del “Vallo Alpino”, allora ormai in fase di smantellamento. L’archivio venne materialmente creato tra il 1995 e il 2001 attraverso un’attività sistematica di raccolta di materiale bibliografico estesa su tutto il territorio nazionale (con l’ambizione di stabilire contatti anche a livello europeo) grazie anche alla collaborazione con gruppi di lavoro locali, con biblioteche e archivi, con istituzioni culturali e con le facoltà di architettura, accompagnata inoltre dal recupero di planimetrie presso le direzioni del genio militare di Udine, Bolzano e Padova. La ricerca doveva includere, tra i campi d’indagine, la storia della fortificazione (focalizzata quasi esclusivamente sull’arco alpino), la relativa legislazione, progetti di massima ed esecutivi, materiali e tecnologia, comunicazioni, personale militare. Il fondo conta 194 fascicoli tematici, ai quali si aggiunge una scatola contenente materiale vario, per lo più inerente

12 Le tavole sono raccolte nei sottofascicoli: “obici Krupp da 280, 1910”; “Materiali Schneider del 1900”; “Materiali Schneider del 1914”; “Il 75 francese mod. 897”; “artiglieria contraerea anteriore al 915”; “Artiglierie antiche”, “l’artiglieria tedesca nella Grande Guerra e oggi”.

13 Cfr. Alfredo Flocchini. *Inventario dell’archivio (1876 (in copia) – 2001)*, a cura di Sabina Tovazzi, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2017, consultabile online all’indirizzo <https://museodellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Flocchini-Alfredo.-Inventario-dellarchivio.pdf>

the start of the modern age to the 20th century. Indeed, Gerosa was also interested in the history of military architecture in the mediaeval and modern ages, as attested by his studies on the castle at Rovereto (1938–1940), a copy of which was sent to the Historical and Cultural Institute of the Corps of Engineers in Rome; and two monographs, "*Fortificazione medioevale e di transito* [Medieval and transitional fortification]" and "*Fortificazione bastionata e poligonale* [Bastion and polygonal fortification]". The collection also contains working materials used by Gerosa to compile his studies, including a series of plates from the Italian edition of Ernst von Leithner's volume on fortification and fortress warfare¹¹, plates of fortified works drawn by Gerosa; extracts from various publications on fortress warfare (in particular from the "*Rivista di Artiglieria e Genio* [Artillery and Engineering Review]") and an extensive collection of printed cards and plates on the evolution of artillery from the 16th to the 20th century¹².

The collected archives of Alfredo Flocchini (1957–2001) are also relatively large: a total of 16 boxes holding 96 files and 8 binders. An esteemed scholar, he was a member of the "*Gruppo di studio delle fortificazioni modern* [Modern Fortifications Study Group]" in Milan and the author of several articles on Italian fortresses published in the "*Rivista militare* [Military Review]" in the 1990s. Donated in 2003 and rearranged in 2017, Flocchini's personal archive bears witness to his military-historical interests, which were not limited to the fortification works, but also extended to aviation, artillery, naval affairs and uniforms. The collection, which largely consists of photostatic copies of books, pamphlets and documents, is divided into five series: monographs arranged by author; themed publications; study materials; plates; and albums and postcards. Of particular interest for the study of fortifications is subseries 1.2.1, which contains a collection of files of copied material relating to the Italian defensive system in the Western Alps (the forts of Bard, Chaberton, Exilles, Fenestrelle, Colle di Tenda, Moncenisio) and the Central and Eastern Alps (the forts of Corno d'Aola, Venini di Oga and Lusardi di Colico, the barriers in the Valtellina, the Garda and Giudicarie sectors, the strongholds at Genoa, La Spezia, Verona, Venice, Rome, Taranto, Augusta), as well as material on the Vallo Alpino and Italian coastal defences. Complementing these study materials are the plates collected in a special series that hold diagrams of artillery installations, the plans of numerous fortresses (including those at Verena, Monte Enna, Dosso del Sommo, Fenestrelle), diagrams of coastal batteries, and maps. The "albums and postcards" series contains photographs of fortresses taken by Flocchini, as well as numerous reproductions of historical photographs of fortifications and artillery materials. Finally, series 1.3 preserves the collection of bulletins and monographs of the "*Gruppo studio delle fortificazioni moderne*" (1991–1996)¹³.

A rich source of particular interest for the study of military architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries is the so-called "archive of fortifications", created in 1994 at the initiative of the then Colonel Paolo Toldo. The project arose from the observation of a growing interest in the subject both by individual scholars and by cultural institutions and universities, as well as from the realisation that, with the change in the systems for organising the defence of national territory following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, it would now be possible to access documents and materials on the Vallo Alpino, which was in the

11 [E. von Leithner], *La fortificazione permanente e la guerra di fortezza secondo le fonti più recenti*, 4 vols., Voghera, Roma 1895–1899.

12 The plates are collected in subfiles: "Obici Krupp da 280, 1910"; "Materiali Schneider del 1900"; "Materiali Schneider del 1914"; "Il 75 francese mod. 897"; "Artiglieria contraerea anteriore al 915"; "Artiglierie antiche"; "L'artiglieria tedesca nella Grande Guerra e oggi".

13 See Alfredo Flocchini. *Inventario dell'archivio (1876 (in copia) – 2001)*, ed. Sabina Tovazzi, Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto 2017, accessible online at: <https://museodellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Flocchini-Alfredo.-Inventario-dellarchivio.pdf>.

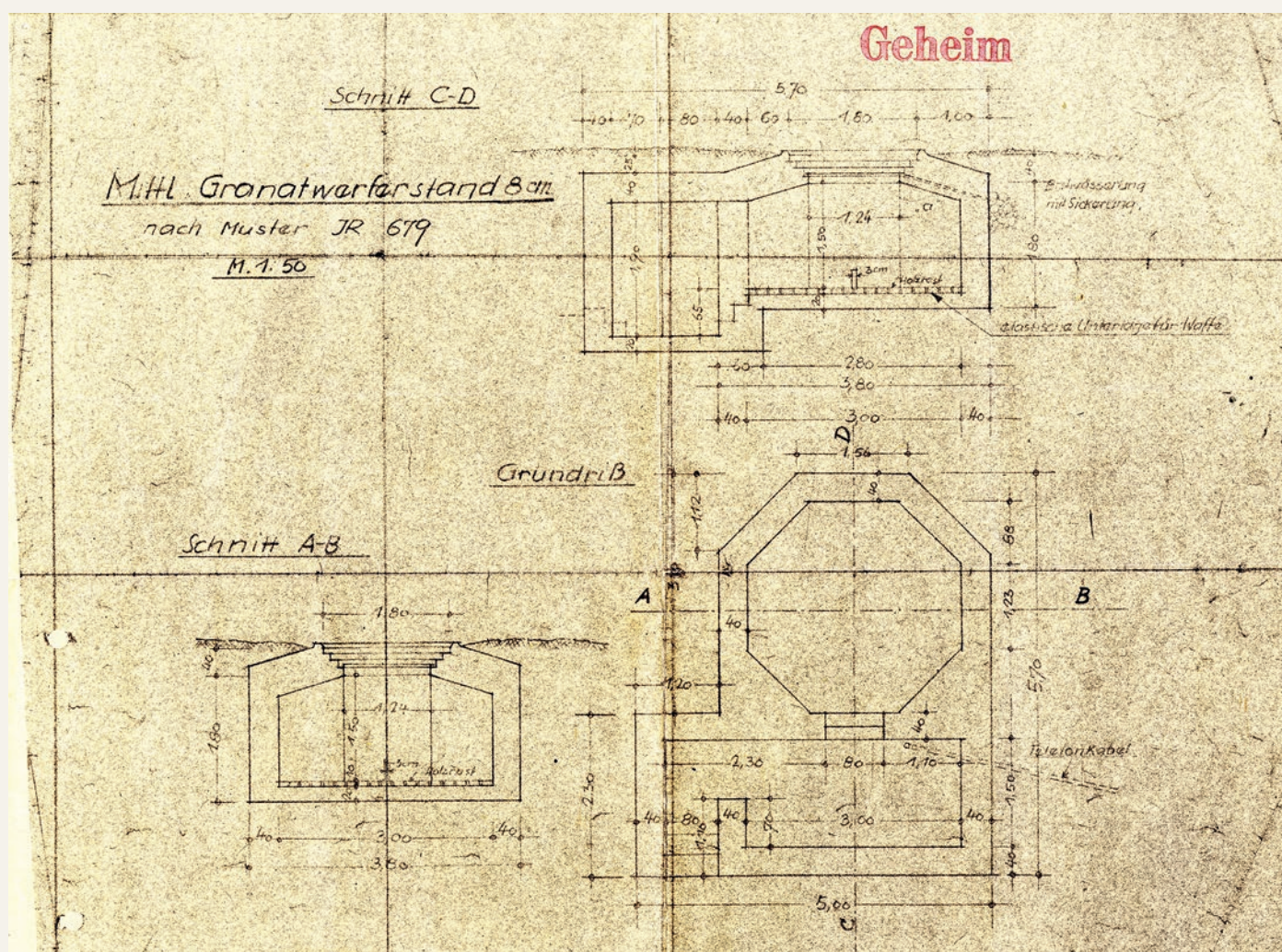


Fig. 4:
Progetto di una postazione per lanciagranate prevista nello sbarramento di Ala, 1944

Fig. 4:
Project for a grenade-launcher emplacement planned at the Ala barrier, 1944

© MSIG, Archivio storico, collection "Sbarramento di Ala", no. 15

ai cimiteri di guerra ed ossari. Gran parte della documentazione è dedicata alle opere del Vallo Alpino dell'Alto-Adige, ma sono presenti anche fascicoli sulle fortezze del primo conflitto mondiale italiane ed austro-ungariche, nonché fotocopie – parziali o complete – di pubblicazioni specialistiche sulle fortificazioni permanenti e sulla guerra di fortezza edite in Italia nei primi decenni del Novecento (testi "classici" di Rocchi, Guidetti, Cirincione, von Leithner). Ciascuna unità comprende una scheda sintetica riferita all'oggetto, fotocopie di documenti e di pubblicazioni, opuscoli, fotografie e talvolta, planimetrie originali o in copia¹⁴.

Nella raccolta "Studi e documenti", che costituisce un nucleo miscelaneo di manoscritti, dattiloscritti e materiale a stampa riguardanti vari aspetti della storia militare, la serie 3 è dedicata allo specifico tema delle fortificazioni. Benché di consistenza modesta (ad oggi conta 36 unità) e in buona parte contenente testi su castelli e fortificazioni dell'età moderna – tra i quali un ampio frammento delle tavole dell'opera di Hans van Schalle, "Form und weis zu bauen ..." risalente al 1580) – non mancano documenti di qualche interesse sulle opere militari dell'età contemporanea, come alcune dispense delle lezioni sulla fortificazione permanente tenute presso l'Accademia di artiglieria di Mährisch Weißkirchen nella prima metà del XIX secolo¹⁵, la relazione di Eugenio Giani sul cantiere militare di Cima Ora (1917-1918) corredata di fotografie originali (ms. 3.022),

¹⁴ Il fondo, pur essendo sostanzialmente ordinato, allo stato attuale non dispone ancora di un inventario ma di un elenco di consistenza nel quale sono riportati i titoli dei fascicoli.

¹⁵ Tra questi, Vortraege ueber die bestaendige Fortification di Josef Menzl.

process of being dismantled. The archive was substantially created between 1995 and 2001 through the systematic collecting of bibliographical material throughout Italy (with the further aim of establishing contacts at a European level) thanks to the collaboration with local working groups, libraries and archives, cultural institutions and with architectural faculties, as well as the retrieval of plans from the military engineering directorates at Udine, Bozen/Bolzano and Padua. The fields of investigation included research into the history of fortifications (focused almost exclusively on the Alpine arc), the related legislation, outline and execution plans, materials and technology, communications, and military personnel. The collection contains 194 themed files, to which can be added a box containing miscellaneous materials, mostly relating to war cemeteries and ossuaries. A large part of the documentation is dedicated to the Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol, but there are also files on the Italian and Austro-Hungarian fortresses of the First World War, as well as photocopies – both partial and complete – of specialist publications on permanent fortifications and fortress warfare published in Italy in the first decades of the 20th century ("classic" texts by Rocchi, Guidetti, Cirincione, von Leithner). Each item includes a summary referring to the subject, photocopies of documents and publications, pamphlets, photographs and sometimes original or copied plans¹⁴.

Series 3 of the "Studies and Documents" collection, which constitutes a miscellaneous core of manuscripts, typescripts and printed material on various aspects of military history, is specifically devoted to fortifications. Although modest in size (36 items to date) and largely containing texts on castles and fortifications of the modern age (including a large fragment of the plates from Hans van Schalle's work *"Form und weis zu bauuen"* [Forms and ways to build] dating from 1580), there is no lack of interesting documents on military works of the contemporary age, such as a number of handouts from the lectures on permanent fortifications held at the Mährisch Weisskirchen Artillery Academy in the first half of the 19th century¹⁵, Eugenio Giani's report on the military construction site of Cima Ora (1917–1918) with original photographs (ms. 3.022), or a collection of sketches of Italian fortifications compiled by the military information service of the Austro-Hungarian army in 1910 (ms. 3.029)¹⁶.

Some collections on contemporary fortifications are included in the "maps and plans" group of the Museum's historical archive. Of particular note is the collection of the Directorate of Austro-Hungarian Military Engineers in Trento (*K.u.K. Geniedirektion in Trient*), a collection of maps and plans produced between 1880 and 1916 that were mostly donated to the Museum by private individuals during the 1930s. The collection of 44 items is divided into five series that respectively contain maps of the field fortifications built in the sectors of the Tonale Pass, the Folgaria and Lavarone plateaus, the Upper Valsugana and the fortress of Trento (March 1915); plans of the forts in the Trento stronghold, the Folgaria and Lavarone plateaus and, finally, the Tonale and Pejo sector. Lastly, the "miscellaneous" series contains a plan of a revolving armoured cupola and an armoured signal gun emplacement¹⁷.

14 Although the collection is substantially in order, as yet it has no inventory but simply a list of stock in which the titles of the files are listed.

15 Including *Vorträge über die beständige Fortification* by Josef Menzl.

16 The list of documents in the "Studii e documenti" collection can be accessed online at: <https://museo.dellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Fondo-Studi-e-documenti.pdf>.

17 On the Directorate of Austro-Hungarian Military Engineers in Trento see N. Fontana, *Le direzioni del Genio militare in Tirolo ed i loro archivi*, in *Archivi militari tra Ottocento e Novecento. Ricognizioni e acquisizioni*, ed. Nicola Fontana and Anna Pisetti, Autonomous Province of Trento, Department of Cultural Heritage, Office for Archival Assets, Libraries and Provincial Archive, Trento 2019, pp. 189–234. The list of maps and plans in the "K.u.K. Geniedirektion in Trient" collection is available online at: <https://museodellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Inventario-K.u.K.-Geniedirektion-Trient-unto.pdf>.

una raccolta di schizzi delle fortificazioni italiane redatte dal servizio informazioni militari dell'esercito austro-ungarico nel 1910 (ms. 3.029)¹⁶.

Alcuni fondi sulle fortificazioni contemporanee sono comprese nel gruppo "mappe e piante" dell'archivio storico del Museo. Di particolare rilievo è il fondo della Direzione del Genio militare austriaco di Trento (*K.u.K. Geniedirektion in Trient*): si tratta di una raccolta di mappe e di planimetrie, prodotte tra il 1880 e il 1916, pervenute in dono al Museo per lo più da parte di soggetti privati nel corso degli anni Trenta del secolo scorso. Il fondo, costituito da 44 unità, è articolato in cinque serie nelle quali sono conservate rispettivamente mappe relative alle fortificazioni campali costruite nei settori del passo del Tonale, degli altipiani di Folgaria e Lavarone, dell'alta Valsugana e della Fortezza di Trento (marzo 1915); planimetrie dei forti della piazzaforte di Trento, degli altipiani di Folgaria e Lavarone, infine del settore Tonale e Pejo. Infine nella serie "miscelanea" è conservata la pianta di una cupola corazzata girevole e di una postazione corazzata per pistole di segnalazione luminosa¹⁷.

Nel fondo "Vallo Alpino", probabilmente proveniente dal lascito di Carlo Gerosa¹⁸, sono raccolte complessivamente 20 planimetrie prodotte tra aprile e ottobre 1940 in parte dall'Ufficio Lavori Genio Militare di Alessandria, sezione staccata di Cuneo e in parte dall'Ufficio Lavori Genio Militare di Bolzano. Si riferiscono nel primo caso alla sistemazione difensiva (opere 241-244) del monte Corto – monte Bertrand, nelle Alpi occidentali, nel secondo ad alcune opere erette nel settore della val Venosta, passo Palade e della val d'Isarco ma anche ai fossi anticarro degli sbarramenti Malles-Glorenza, Saltusio, Bolzano sud, chiusa di Rio Pusteria, Braies, Rasun-Valdaora, Perca.

Nel fondo "Sbarramento di Ala" sono conservate 24 planimetrie relative a un sistema di sbarramento realizzato tra Serravalle ed Ala e prodotte da un reparto del *Festungs-Pionier Abschnitts-Gruppe III/16* dell'esercito germanico nel corso del 1944. Come si evince da una nota manoscritta, il materiale venne rinvenuto in una abitazione privata nell'agosto 1945 e donate al Museo tramite Carlo Gerosa: si tratta di progetti di bunker del tipo Tobruk per armi leggere in calcestruzzo e in caverna e di schizzi di dettaglio disegnati su carta oleata¹⁹.

Le 57 piante che costituiscono il fondo "Fortificazioni 1915-1918" offrono di fatto una panoramica dei sistemi difensivi campali eseguiti dal Genio militare italiano ed austro-ungarico nel corso del primo conflitto mondiale. Destinate in buona parte al percorso espositivo del Museo e per questo motivo incollate su un supporto in cartoncino, le planimetrie mostrano vari tipi di trincee e appostamenti per mitragliatrici effettivamente realizzati nei settori degli altipiani (monte Maronia, monte Coston) e della Valsugana (Grigno); vi sono anche rilievi del complesso sistema di gallerie di mina scavato dalle contrapposte truppe austro-ungariche e italiane sul monte Pasubio.

Le fotografie costituiscono una fonte importante per lo studio delle fortificazioni contemporanee, sia là dove attestano il loro impiego in guerra, sia dove testimoniano il loro stato di conservazione nel corso del tempo, registrando eventuali danni e modifiche delle

¹⁶ L'elenco dei documenti del fondo "Studi e documenti" è consultabile online a questo indirizzo: <https://museodellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Fondo-Studi-e-documenti.pdf>.

¹⁷ Sulla Direzione del Genio militare austro-ungarico di Trento si veda N. Fontana, *Le direzioni del Genio militare in Tirolo ed i loro archivi*, in *Archivi militari tra Ottocento e Novecento. Ricognizioni e acquisizioni*, a cura di Nicola Fontana e Anna Pisetti, Provincia autonoma di Trento. Soprintendenza per i Beni culturali. Ufficio Beni Archivistici, librari e Archivio provinciale, Trento 2019, pp. 189-234. L'elenco delle mappe e delle planimetrie del fondo "*K.u.K. Geniedirektion in Trient*" è consultabile online: <https://museodellaguerra.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Inventario-K.u.K.-Geniedirektion-Trient-unito.pdf>.

¹⁸ Alcune delle planimetrie del fondo sono descritte nello studio di Gerosa, *Contributo allo studio*, cit., pp. 169-180.

¹⁹ Ivi, pp. 180-184.

The "Vallo Alpino" collection, probably originating from the Carlo Gerosa bequest, contains a total of twenty plans produced between April and October 1940, partly by the *Ufficio Lavori Genio Militare* [Military Engineering Office] at Alessandria (detached section located at Cuneo) and partly by the *Ufficio Lavori Genio Militare* at Bozen/Bolzano. They refer in the first case to the defensive works (nos. 241–244) on Monte Corto – Monte Bertrand in the Western Alps, and in the second to certain works erected in the sector of the Vinschgau/Venosta Valley, Gampen/Palade Pass and the Eisack/Isarco Valley, but also to the anti-tank ditches of the barriers at Mals-Glurns/Malles-Glorenza, Saltaus/Saltusio, Bozen/Bolzano Sud, Mühlbacher Klause/Chiusa di Rio Pusteria, Prags/Braies, Rasen-Olang/Rasun-Valdaora and Percha/Perca.

The "Ala Barrier" collection contains 24 plans of a blocking system between Serravalle and Ala built by a unit of the *Festungs-Pionier Abschnitts-Gruppe III/16* [Fortress Engineering Section Group II/16] of the German army during 1944. A handwritten note indicates that the material was found in a private home in August 1945 and donated to the Museum through Carlo Gerosa: it consists of plans for Tobruk-type bunkers for light weapons positioned in concrete and cavities with detailed sketches drawn on oiled paper¹⁸.

The 57 plans that make up the "Fortifications 1915–1918" collection provide an overview of the field defence systems built by Italian and Austro-Hungarian military engineers during the First World War. Intended largely for the Museum's display route and for this reason glued onto cardboard backing, the plans show various types of trenches and machine-gun emplacements that were actually realised in the sectors of the plateaus (Monte Maronia, Monte Coston) and the Valsugana (Grigno); there are also surveys of the complex system of mine galleries excavated on Monte Pasubio by the opposing Austro-Hungarian and Italian troops.

Photographs are an important source for the study of contemporary fortifications, both where they attest to their use in wartime and where they testify to their state of preservation over the course of time by recording damage or modifications to the structures. The photographic archive contains some 500 images of permanent fortifications (there are innumerable images of field fortifications from the First World War), but only one collection is specifically dedicated to them: themed album no. 55 contains a total of 103 images, most of which depict the Austro-Hungarian forts on the Folgaria, Lavarone and Vezzena plateaus and the Italian forts on the plateau of the Sette Comuni, taken during the first year of the Italo-Austrian war.¹⁹ The exceptions to this are some long-distance photographs taken by the Italian Army between 1913 and the spring of 1915 for the Military Information Office of the Italian General Staff, documenting the progress of construction on the Austro-Hungarian forts of Dosso del Sommo (Werk Serrada) and San Sebastiano/Cherle. But, as has already been noted, a large part of the collection concerns the wartime use of the forts, with particular attention given to the bombardments and their effects on the structures and armour-plating (the images of the Austro-Hungarian forts of Verle and Luserna and the Italian forts of Verena and Campolongo are particularly significant).

The remaining photographs of forts are scattered among the numerous albums in the archive: among the most consistent and homogeneous are in album 129 (the "*Miscellaneous localities I*" collection) containing 85 photographs taken at numerous Austro-Hungarian forts in Trentino and South Tyrol by Mario Ceola in the late 1920s and early

¹⁸ Idem, pp. 180–184.

¹⁹ Some 40 of the photographs contained in album 55 are reproductions of originals donated by Paolo Toldo in 1998.

strutture. Nell'archivio fotografico sono conservate circa 500 immagini relative ad opere di fortificazione permanente (quelle relative alle fortificazioni campali della Prima guerra mondiale sono innumerevoli) ma solo un fondo è dedicato specificamente ad esse: l'album tematico 55 raccoglie infatti 103 immagini riferite per lo più ai forti austro-ungarici degli altipiani di Folgaria, Lavarone e Vezzena nonché ai forti italiani dell'altopiano dei 7 Comuni, scattate in massima parte nel corso del primo anno della guerra italo-austriaca²⁰. Fanno eccezione alcune telefotografie realizzate dal R. Esercito italiano tra il 1913 e la primavera del 1915, per l'Ufficio Informazioni militari dello Stato Maggiore italiano e che documentano lo stato di avanzamento dei lavori di costruzione dei forti austro-ungarici di Dosso del Sommo (Werk Serrada) e San Sebastiano/Cherle. Ma, come si è già notato, gran parte della raccolta riguarda il periodo di impiego bellico delle fortezze, con particolare attenzione sui bombardamenti e sugli effetti degli stessi sulle strutture e sulle corazze (significative le immagini dei forti austro-ungarici di Verle e Luserna e dei forti italiani di Verena e Campolongo).

Il resto delle fotografie relative alle fortificazioni sono disseminate fra i numerosi album dell'archivio: tra i nuclei più consistenti e omogenei vanno segnalati l'album 129 (fondo "Miscellanea località I") comprendente 85 fotografie scattate a numerosi forti austro-ungarici del Trentino Alto-Adige da Mario Ceola tra la fine degli anni Venti e i primi anni Trenta; l'album 130 (fondo "Foto aeree II"), nel quale sono conservate 55 fotografie aeree scattate dalle squadriglie dell'aviazione italiana tra il 1915 e il 1916 alle fortezze austro-ungariche degli altipiani di Folgaria, Lavarone e Vezzena con gli annessi apprestamenti campali; l'album 300 (fondo "Donazioni e acquisti VIII") che contiene una sequenza di 40 fotografie scattate durante la Seconda guerra mondiale agli apprestamenti militari italiani della Sardegna. Numerose sono inoltre le immagini relative alle opere di fortificazione italiane realizzate nei territori coloniali dell'Africa Settentrionale (Libia) e Orientale (Somalia, Eritrea, Etiopia) tra la fine del XIX secolo e gli anni Trenta del '900.

Non si può prescindere, prima di avviarci alla conclusione, da almeno un breve accenno alle opere di riferimento consultabili nella biblioteca del Museo: oltre alla letteratura più recente sui sistemi fortificati europei, il ricercatore infatti vi può trovare numerosi manuali (per lo più italiani) sulla fortificazione campale editi tra il primo Ottocento e gli anni Cinquanta del XX secolo²¹ come anche testi sulla fortificazione permanente di scuola italiana e austriaca²². Va segnalata inoltre la serie di monografie dedicate alle fortificazioni italiane e russe edita a cura dell'ufficio informazioni dello Stato Maggiore austro-ungarico tra al fine del XIX secolo e il primo decennio del secolo successivo, tutte corredate di tavole a colori²³. Nella sezione dedicata all'emeroteca sono a disposizione

20 Una quarantina di fotografie dell'album 55 sono riproduzioni di originali donate da Paolo Toldo nel 1998.

21 Si possono citare, a titolo di esempio, il testo di G. Duboin, *Lezioni di fortificazione campale* fatte agli allievi della R.a e M.e Accademia, Torino 1874 e di A. Romeo, *Compendio di fortificazione*, Torino 1915; M. Papone, *Manuale di fortificazione campale*, Voghera, Roma 1928, etc. fino alle sinossi di lavori di fortificazione campale e mezzi tecnici dei pionieri edita a cura delle locali scuole per ufficiali di complemento alla fine degli anni '50 del '900.

22 Citiamo, tra i molti e oltre alla già menzionata opera di von Leithner, *La fortificazione permanente e la guerra di fortezza*, il volume di G. von Hauser, *Abhandlung über Befestigungskunst*, Wien 1826; G. Cirincione, *Lezioni di fortificazione permanente*, Antonietti, Torino 1925.

23 Nella biblioteca del Museo sono conservate le seguenti monografie: *Detailbeschreibung von Mantua* (1880); *Detailbeschreibung von Borgoforte* (1880); *Detailbeschreibung von Legnago* (1881); *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Rocca d'Anfo* (1888); *Beilagen zur fortificatorischen Detailbeschreibung von Nowogeorgiewsk mit Zegrze*; *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen bei Arsiero und Asiago* (1892); *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen bei Primolano-Fastro und Lamon* (1894); *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen von Rivoli-Ceraino* (1894); *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen bei Pieve di Cadore und Lorenzago* (1895);

Fig. 5:
Veduta del forte
italiano di Corno
d'Aola, nel settore del
passo del Tonale, 1915

Fig. 5:
View of the Italian fort
of Corno d'Aola in the
Tonale Pass sector,
1915

© MSIG, Archivio fotografico,
collection Acquistapace,
no. 365/53



1930s; album 130 (the "*Aerial Photographs II*" collection), containing 55 aerial photographs taken by Italian air squadrons between 1915 and 1916 of the Austro-Hungarian forts on the Folgaria, Lavarone and Vezzena plateaus with their field preparations; and album 300 (the "*Donations and purchases VIII*" collection), containing a sequence of 40 photographs taken during the Second World War of Italian military preparations in Sardinia. There are also numerous images of Italian fortifications built in the colonial territories of North Africa (Libya) and East Africa (Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia) from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s.

Before concluding, a brief mention must be made of the reference works available in the Museum's library: in addition to more recent literature on European fortified systems, researchers can find numerous (mostly Italian) manuals on field fortifications published between the early 19th century and the 1950s²⁰, as well as texts on permanent fortifications from the Italian and Austrian schools²¹. Also worth mentioning is the series of monographs dedicated to Italian and Russian fortifications published by the information office of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff between the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century, all with colour plates²². The newspaper and

20 We can cite, by way of example, the text by G. Duboin, *Lezioni di fortificazione campale fatte agli allievi della R.a e M.e Accademia*, Torino 1874 and by A. Romeo, *Compendio di fortificazione*, Turin 1915; M. Papone, *Manuale di fortificazione campale*, Voghera, Rome 1928, etc. up to the summaries of field fortifications and technical equipment for engineers edited by the local schools for reserve officers at the end of the 1950s.

21 We can cite, among many others and in addition to the above-mentioned work by von Leithner, *La fortificazione permanente e la guerra di fortezza*, the volume by G. von Hauser, *Abhandlung über Befestigungskunst*, Vienna 1826; G. Cirincione, *Lezioni di fortificazione permanente*, Antonietti, Turin 1925.

22 The following monographs are kept in the museum library: *Detailbeschreibung von Mantua* (1880); *Detailbeschreibung von Borgoforte* (1880); *Detailbeschreibung von Legnago* (1881); *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Rocca d'Anfo* (1888); *Beilagen zur fortificatorischen Detailbeschreibung von Nowogeorgiewsk mit Zegrze*; *Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen bei Arsiero und*

degli studiosi, oltre al prezioso “Atlante del materiale del Genio” edito dal Ministero della Guerra italiano (sono consultabili le annate dal 1886 al 1899), la raccolta della “Rivista di Artiglieria e Genio” (annate 1884-1940), del “Bollettino dell'Istituto storico e di cultura dell'arma del Genio” (il posseduto copre gli anni dal 1935 al 1983) e le annate 1938-1943 (ma con lacune) della “Rassegna di cultura militare”.

Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Łuck (1895); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Rowno (1895); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Warschau (1899); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung con Verona (1899); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Osoppo (1899); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Dubno (1904); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Brest-Litowsk (1904); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen in der Val Leogra (1907); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Iwangorod (1907); Allgemeine Übersicht der Befestigungen Oberitaliens (Österreichische Front und Venedig) (1910).

periodicals section offers scholars access to the precious "*Atlante del materiale del Genio* [Atlas of Engineering Material]" published by the Italian War Ministry (the issues from 1886 to 1899 can be consulted), the collection of the "*Rivista di Artiglieria e Genio*" (issues from 1884 to 1940), the "*Bollettino dell'Istituto storico e di cultura dell'arma del Genio*" (the collection covers the period from 1935 to 1983) and the issues from 1938 to 1943 (with gaps) of the "*Rassegna di cultura militare* [Military Culture Review]".

Asiago (1892); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen bei Primolano-Fastro und Lamon (1894); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen von Rivoli-Ceraino (1894); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen bei Pieve di Cadore und Lorenzago (1895); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Łuck (1895); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Rowno (1895); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Warschau (1899); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Verona (1899); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Osoppo (1899); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Dubno (1904); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Brest-Litowsk (1904); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung der Befestigungen in der Val Leogra (1907); Fortificatorische Detailbeschreibung von Iwangorod (1907); Allgemeine Übersicht der Befestigungen Oberitaliens (Österreichische Front und Venedig) (1910).

Gennaro Postiglione, Francesco Lenzini

The Atlantic Wall Linear Museum Project

A conversation between Gennaro Postiglione (GP) and Francesco Lenzini (FL)

Gennaro Postiglione is Professor in Architecture of Interiors at Politecnico di Milano and some of his research has focused on reuse and valorization of minor heritage – among which also the one coming from conflicts – and on the relationship between collective memory, public space and cultural identity, making architectural resources available to the public interest. He is leader and promoter of The Atlantic Wall Linear Museum project, a research project granted funding in 2015 by the EU Directorate of Culture and awarded First Prize for research on Cultural Heritage by Europa Nostra in 2016.

Francesco Lenzini is a PhD Architecture graduate and Adjunct Professor at Politecnico di Milano. His research focuses mainly on public spaces and the relationship between collective identity and places. He has also written about adaptive reuse tactics in the rural heritage and valorization of pre-existing settlements. He currently teaches Landscape and Public Space Design at Politecnico di Milano.

Premise

The Atlantik Wall, understood as a fortified Atlantic coastal infrastructure system erected by the Nazis during World War Two is effectively unique in size and complexity terms. It is a monumental work which Hitler intended to safeguard the section of Atlantic coast stretching from the Pyrenees to North Cape from the much feared Allied landings. This immense defensive line was to have been composed of around 15,000 buildings (of which only around 12,000 were effectively built) set out strategically along the nearly 6000 km of European Atlantic coast (with the exception of Spain and Portugal) both of which were effectively neutral during the war, penetrating several kilometers inland on average. It involved more than thirteen million cubic meters of concrete organized according to a scattered and discontinuous logic. It was a huge and constantly evolving building site which required very detailed planning entrusted to Organization Todt on one hand and, on the other, millions of men, some of whom were from occupied countries condemned to hard labor and interned in special concentration camps.

FL Despite the mind boggling figures, the notable scale of the surviving work and the dramatic scope of the building process – with its own dark history – I believe that the AW has been largely ignored or, at least, its potential to tell us much about the events which generated it under-estimated. Proof of this is the overall state of abandonment of the majority of its extant buildings: a sort of convenient neglect consigned to the progressive decay of an uncomfortable legacy too onerous or time consuming to demolish, as a result of the building technique and structure used. In this sense the desire to recover and enhance the AW's archaeological patrimony, via a multiplicity of research and design experiences which have seen it both promoter and center-stage player, can be seen as a powerful contrary trend – a necessary attempt to bring back this history into our own day.

GP The reconnaissance work done on the restoration and re-use work, and also on the AW's state of abandonment, highlights the fact that the multiplicity of traces and great many buildings scattered along Europe's Atlantic coast are still in many ways a burdensome presence. It might, however, be said that until recent times, except for some conservation work on certain buildings for military purposes, on one hand, and, on the other, certain, especially historically important sites having been made into museums, no great attention to renovating or re-using these buildings has been made. This latter, however, has changed over the years. Over the last fifteen years, a range of work has spontaneously been done to restore the bunkers to their original size and, to a very limited extent, to make them into museums designed to protect and preserve certain buildings of special collective value for local communities (Caruth 1995). It is only in recent years that a new trend has emerged, on the one hand, the result of the military down-scaling which has followed the breakdown of the Soviet Union and, on the other, a growing awareness that the last testimony to these events will soon disappear and with it the many stories linked to these war years. With these clear objectives, the restoration and re-use of many AW buildings is slowly picking up speed, converting buildings into museums or implementing more flexible functional programs with the general intention of healing and working through the wounds linked to them. And it is precisely in these cases that the most interesting design contexts have emerged in which debates over and tensions between memories of a still living history and the objectives of the new programs trigger and inspire diverse intervention methods. These strategies make design work on such painful legacies of particular interest not solely for research into conservation and restoration of existing buildings but also in architectural terms tout court. This is the context encompassing my research and The Atlantic Wall Linear Museum project designed to set in motion a process of physical and immaterial reappropriation of the artefacts it is made up of. As you quite rightly note, the bulk of the AW's buildings are now ruins, in the absence of specific policies, on one hand, and wide ranging projects on the other. In the absence of a process of shared rethinking of this difficult legacy, each nation has implemented its own strategies ranging from restoring specific sites and buildings, such as in Norway or France, to completely sweeping these painful memories away via demolition, as has been done in Germany. The goal decided on – and one which has currently not been brought to fruition – was to set a re-appropriation process in motion capable of saving the AW from this fate, first and foremost by nurturing a new awareness of the presence of this legacy by bringing in new institutional and social forces. Certainly, the difficulties involved in working over such a vast geographical area and one which is fragmented in both political and management terms have conditioned our approach and meant that its only practical outcomes have been academic work. Despite this, the various initiatives undertaken have widened the field of interest and

generated material which is of great preparatory value to research. The same experiences undertaken in the educational context have demonstrated the subject's potential, however difficult and unsuited to any sort of unmediated action. This awareness raising process set the foundations for a new perspective on the AW, a full-blown shared trans-national scale memory which is potentially a tool for inclusive rather than conflictual dynamics. From this perspective, the AW could well become a tangible legacy for a Europe with shared wounds but also an ability to reconsider its dramatic past together.

FL Alongside spontaneous or planned re-use action, project work of a predominantly artistic type designed to prompt the development of new awareness has also been recorded over the years on wartime buildings and not just the AW. This role was also at the center of the considerations put forward by the Seventh Berlin Art Biennial in 2012 which was entitled, for this very reason, *Forget Fear*. After the end of World War Two, in fact, at a juncture dominated by a collective need to forget, artists were alone in taking on the theme of broken memory and trauma in a systematic and provocative way via three main action approaches. Some artists, such as Christian Boltanski, Naomo Tereza Salmon and Fabio Mauri, to cite just a few, worked on the concept of memory as loss. Others worked on the theme of denial of monuments as the sole possible type of action, given the dated rhetoric of objects which are no longer capable of generating any meaning whatsoever. James Young has defined such work "counter-monuments", a sort of monument to the contrary underlining the need to find an active, participatory involvement for each single individual in commemorative events and all those whose goal is to preserve collective memories (Young 1992). Over recent years, lastly, the ruins themselves have attracted the attention of certain artists as occurred, for example, in Magdalena Jetelova (1994–95) and Ejdrup Hansen's performances (1995) in specific work on certain AW bunkers design to sweep away the air of grief which suffused them. The wealth of cases which can be mapped shows that this difficult legacy has been a privileged field of artistic experimentation and the only way to take on the themes and contents it represents, sidestepping and sometimes neutralizing the negative weight which generally blocks any concrete renovation work (Bassanelli, 2013).

Conversely, your enquiry trajectory is at a crossroads in a territory in which disciplines such as cultural studies and archaeology of conflict and difficult heritage overlap and breathe life into multiple cross-fertilizations. The objectives of this cross-disciplinary field of research include the construction of an operational field which you define archaeological conflict landscape. These are characterized by an ability to act simultaneously on a range of scales and reconnect up isolated traces to a much broader and more generalized network. And the experience of each individual episode and local events with the common threads of the grand sweep of history. Your writings and your design experiences clearly communicate a need for shared action on the AW by means of a diffused museum network which is alone capable of restoring meaning and overall readability to this patrimony made of places and buildings but also of histories and memories. The approach you have used to take on this theme seems to me powerfully representative of a new trend underway on war legacies which attempts to go beyond classic museum forms to open up places and artefacts linked to painful memories to new meaning horizons. This is, in some way, an attempt at reconciliation, to de-isolate this uncomfortable legacy and restore it to an everyday perceptual and use dimension. Somewhere between a desire to remove the painful memories and a fear of losing fundamental traces in personal identity, museum projects are thus potentially mediation terrain, a "third space" (Bhabha 1994) in which grief can in some way be worked through. The tools which recent museums are adopting to achieve this result are, I believe, playing

a crucial role, a tendency to re-functionalize the jigsaw pieces of this patrimony and thus subtract it from a merely memorial dimension. The value of different shared practices transcends the still necessary aspects of artefact conservation and knowledge of historic events to offer these places new semantic fields. At the same time the re-functionalization trajectory is constantly exposed to the risk of banal overwriting: the risk of cancelling out significant historical traces remains, especially in those cases in which sometimes significant parts of this patrimony are isolated in the absence of a wide ranging strategic plan.

GP Research and design experiences on the AW fit like important pieces into a larger mosaic whose purpose is the re-appropriation of places and buildings with a dramatic past. This is a complex trajectory to which a range of disciplines and skills have contributed precisely in an attempt to overcome the classic memorialization stereotype. The very sense of the museum consists, I believe, in its ability to construct meanings in a relationship building process between people, places and histories which takes a very different form from traditional museums in which objects are exhibited and venerated, effectively generating a relational discontinuity. The fundamental idea behind a diffused museum is building bridges between people, artefacts, places and histories, thus acting as a tool for re-appropriation and a sense of vicinity. From this point of view, enhancing these buildings, the finds and traces of this patrimony is less a matter of exhibiting them than of their ability to materially and symbolically find a place in people's lives once again. The museum project thus acquires a cathartic value you referred to in respect of burdensome memories which these objects witnessed and still bear witness to. According new meaning to the AW bunkers, like other war related artefacts, is certainly a matter of in some way profaning their wartime identity. In this respect I would like to recall the words of Giorgio Agamben: "If consecrate (sacralize) was the word which designated things leaving the sphere of human law, profanating, by contrast, meant restoring them to free human use. Disactivating an old use, rendering it inoperative potentially generates a new use. Recovering a sense of the means, separating it from its original purpose (Agamben, 2005). This shift in meaning does not automatically imply physical transformation: in the renovation planned for the Saint Nazaire submarine base in France which I developed at the Politecnico di Milano, for example, an important role in the building's re-semantici-zation was played by the addition of a daily market. This fitted into the existing framework without substantial building modification by means of work with strong social connotations marked out by meetings and exchanges between people throughout. It is a powerfully symbolic act of colonization. In this context it seems more appropriate to speak of re-meaning rather than re-functionalizing as the value of new practices triggered by the project can be a key element in their reappropriation. Although I must confess that in my AW related educational experiences the most interesting proposals have often been those in which the bunkers were "simply" restored to their original landscape observation function without full blown transformation in use. Gigantic cameras focusing on the horizon, perennially awaiting the event they were built for as was effectively shown in *The Longest Day* (1962, directed by Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton, Bernhard Wicki).

The international Carso 2014+ competition sponsored by Gorizia province in 2014 for the establishment of a World War One open air museum on the Gorizia Carso used the same approach but in a more innovative way. The Burgi studio which won implemented an overall re-appropriation strategy for this painful history suffused landscape making use of typically military architectural elements. New trenches were carved out in the area to build new trajectories in karstic language exploration and thus certain caves were

renovated to host an underground museum on the Isonzo battles. Overall the use theme for this powerfully characteristic landscape was made the load-bearing element for all the museum and exhibition work, triggering a dialogue between use structures and historical narrative. The work done at the Valentine submarine base at Bremen is a very different story. From May 2011, in fact, this base built by the Nazis between 1938 and 1945 – which made considerable use of forced labor – was made into Denkort Bunker Valentin (the Valentin Bunker Memorial Site) to commemorate the victims of the seven concentration camps present in the Bremen-Farge region. The main goal of the work was to reinforce the memorial theme, generating one of the largest transformations in use of a legacy from World War Two destined to become one of the most recent monuments devoted to remembering the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis. It was a necessary project but perhaps also a methodologically anachronistic one which seems to have responded more to an impossible attempt to pay historical debts than to looking to the future in a different way. For this reason the museum apparently belongs to a different period of post World War Two history in its curatorial contribution and the character of the work done (Marszolek 2008).

FL Diffused museums understood as “museums outside museums” escape the confines of traditional forms to find their way, in corpore vili, into the places events happened in, determining new relationships and exchanges between past artefacts, the area and the communities living in it. In the case of the AW, the presence of bunkers and military buildings constitutes a modern archaeological patrimony of an extraordinary scale which melds into the Atlantic coastal landscape in a relationship which we would now call symbiotic despite its violent and overbearing genesis. It is a landscape of great expressive and cognitive potential so dominated by the presence of these military buildings as to make it almost impossible to separate historical and documentary value echoing painful memories from aesthetic-landscape value. And this especially after lengthy abandonment generated a slow reappropriation process by nature of spaces which were carved out of the latter, generating further inter-relationships. I believe that this expressive dimension is fundamentally important to a linear museum vision capable of enhancing this cultural landscape and making the relationship between man, environment and the experience it is repository of somehow more accessible and comprehensible also by means of different interpretations and new forms of use. From a proactive interpretation perspective, the formal and material eloquence of these artefacts is an element of great significance which in some ways transcends their undeniable testimony value to restore them to the status of modern monoliths or, to use Paul Virilio’s words, “miniature, religion-free temples” (Virilio 1975). Scattered across the coastal landscape, sometimes now partially swallowed up by the very terrain they violently occupied, the AW’s bunkers now appear objets trouvés and themselves significant polarities of the whole system.

GP The relationship between the AW’s bunkers and the landscape they are set in is a controversial one in some ways verging on the paradoxical. Whilst extremely carefully placed to ensure total control, forming a system of isolated points in continual communication, the bunkers are structures which I would generally define a-topical. Their location has no relationship with the terrain except that which is strictly functional to its wartime purpose of control and defense. With a design and size standardized by a pre-established program of building purpose and building type (collected in the famous Regelbau) and laid out across the land to serve military tactical purposes, these buildings generate no inter-dependent relationship with the landscape but simply overwrite it. Their indifference to the topos into which they were carefully incorporated in some way

denotes the affirmation of a typological superiority over a topology which in turn reveals an archetype dimension. This abstraction dimension profoundly characterizes the bunkers and is reflected in their compact, mono material, stereometric form which reveals their aesthetic value, opening up their architectural fields. Concrete – symbol of industrial modernity – shows its figurative value in its crudeness, becoming pure matter. I believe that this essentially aesthetic dimension is the key to their re-meaning process in that modern perspective of symbiosis with the landscape which you yourself referred to. The places in which the AW bunkers are located have a spectacular quality: reasoning in landscape terms today is a potential way of integrating them and making them center stage players in a thoroughgoing exhibition process in which the direct experience of the artefacts is once again part of an extended and complex territorial system. In having been called onto to watch over a specific section of territory, the bunkers became a privileged vantage point from which to observe them with new eyes by means of that same horizontal vision of the world which cinema chose as privileged outlook for its narrations. As optical cameras with which to capture the surrounding landscape, these buildings can find new meaning horizons.

FL Work done on a patrimony as suffused with its dramatic past as the AW's, as is generally the case with wartime testimony, requires taking on a series of selected cultural processes applied a posteriori which supply a conventionally accepted version of historical facts.

In many circumstances, elaborating tragedies ex post generates distorted or at least altered collective memories of reality. Narrating events linked to such challenging patrimonies takes precedence over the events themselves, producing a story apart. The rhetoric of the opposing parties constantly seeks to take possession of places and objects, channeling meaning into their own version of the facts. The dramatization of the story and its alteration through narrative commonplaces, as is frequently proposed in film and TV, moves us away from that dry factual clarity which opens up, on the other hand, to a different and more profound knowledge acquisition process. Museum projects are affected by these channeled readings and are thus exposed to the risk of perpetrating an in some way distorted history, however based on facts which did happen. And not only because the places and objects concerned have undergone a selective process which consecrates them as lieux de mémoire (Nora 1994) or condemns them as lieux d'oubli (Carr, Jasinski 2013) but as a result of the very same museum strategy which promoted them. The way in which these artefacts are exhibited and the practices with which they are accessed powerfully influences collective perceptions of the events they testify to. In this respect simply remember how a certain bunker exhibition rhetoric which is based on their wartime potential by means of reconstructions and simulations and omits the drama linked to them contributes to a deviated perception of these structures nurturing the imagination of those approaching them in a fanatical and nostalgic spirit. For these latter the bunkers are first and foremost reliquaries: a whole of performance data linked to their military genesis like the caliber of the arms they held, the number of bullets they could fire in a given unit of time, the territorial radius they could monitor, etc. For this reason I believe that the responsibility of designers is primarily to find a way of telling facts and histories without ideological filters and without opening the way to instrumentalization. Doing so correctly requires a great sensitivity and accurate support from the historical documents in our possession without us allowing ourselves to be hijacked by the interests of specific audiences.

GP The potential for working correctly on the AW legacy is unlikely, in my opinion, to take place via an indispensable condition of academic detachment. The past must be regarded in a neutral spirit and be prepared to take on board surprises. Because it is not a history which has been fully written. Danish historian Henrik Skov Kristensen, director of the Frøslevlejrens Museum, has recently worked from a conflict resolution perspective in the civil population at Padborg (DK), a small town on the German-Danish border, obtaining highly significant results. In a conference held in the auditorium of Westerbork Camp Memorial Centre (NL) in 2013 with the program title *One Camp – Two Narratives: Froeslev 1944–1945, Faarhus 1945–1949, Negotiating the Past?*, this scholar illustrated the way in which, after the end of World War Two, a sort of civil conflict erupted between the peoples of this specific front which was the outcome of the stories of survivors and oral transmission of events reported by indirect witnesses which almost immediately generated highly discordant narratives between pro-German and pro-independence people. By means of a meticulous reconstruction of the facts, documented in an accurate and precise chronological sequence, in ten years of work certain false legends have begun to be swept away, restoring the truth of fact to certain historical events, attributing each faction with their own responsibility, attenuating local tensions and conflicts considerably and thus generating a full blown reconciliation between parties.

The narratives tend frequently to be extreme, either black or white, but research on the AW has once again given me an insight into the fact that within these complex contexts there are large gray areas which escape this distinction however contextualized within an unequivocal general history. Recognizing the complexity of a history and its facts takes none of their truthfulness away from them and neither does it cancel out, eliminate or rewrite history. It is, however, certainly necessary to recognize that this perspective has become practicable for us thanks to the chronological distance which now separates us from these dramatic episodes. Earlier generations were too weighed down by their tragic experiences to be capable of elaborating a clear retrospective reconstruction of the facts. Getting closer to and touching history, denying that process of deification which dramatic events are frequently subject to, is a way of bringing them closer to home and, ultimately, cohabiting with them even when they are as loaded with uncomfortable legacies as these are. It is, however, important to avert any risk that utilitarian, or worse, instrumental, interests come to the fore in relation to this patrimony as has occurred on several occasions, with these being channeled into the exaltation of the ideology which produced them. One of the intentions underlying designing a diffused AW museum was precisely to subtract the bunkers from instrumental use by those fanatics whose by no means negligible presence generates ambiguities and makes it an extremely delicate matter to gain a closer look at a patrimony already so heavily conditioned by its tragic past. There are still a great many people who are attracted by the Third Reich's heroic rhetoric who see the inviolate bunkers and their physical bulk – despite the many available demonstrations of their unsuitability and fragility – as the embodiment of these values.

FL A linear AW museum is to be seen from the perspective of a reconciliation between places, events and people through observation, consideration and use of a patrimony linked to painful memories frequently covered over without having been elaborated. Returning to the direct experience of *nudo luogo* (bare place) (Pirazzoli 2010), on one hand a diffused museum shows us the testamentary scope of the dramatic events which left their mark on it and, on the other, it is an attempt to supply a meeting ground between geographically and culturally separate people in which they can make new relationships. Reconsidering this painful legacy does not, however, imply denying the

Nazi atrocities they were a direct expression of as much as attempting to learn a further lesson for a Europe which is constantly in search of shared experiences which are more tangible than Brussels's bureaucratic mechanisms. The scars constituted by fortified lines can, via a new reading, constitute a new tool in the formation of new supra-national identities, conscious and commemorative of the failure of aggressive, obtuse ultra-nationalism and ultimately of war as a tool for resolution of international controversies.

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Giuseppe Spagnulo

Relazione relativa all'esecuzione di ricerche riguardanti il "Vallo Alpino del Littorio"

La ricerca si è svolta nella seconda parte di luglio 2022 ed ha previsto un periodo di soggiorno a Roma, dove sono presenti i principali archivi ministeriali italiani. La ricerca è stata effettuata in costante contatto con l'Arch. Heimo Prünster.

Si è inizialmente eseguita una ricognizione per cercare di individuare la presenza di fondi archivistici relativi a personalità particolarmente coinvolte, tra il 1938 e il 1943, nella decisione di costruire il Vallo Alpino, a copertura del tratto riguardante il fronte italo-tedesco. Tali personalità erano state individuate in Pietro Badoglio, Edoardo Monti, Rodolfo Graziani, Mario Roatta, Vittorio Ambrosio, Alberto Pariani, ecc.

Da tale ricognizione è emerso essere disponibili presso gli archivi presenti a Roma solo i fondi personali di Pietro Badoglio e di Rodolfo Graziani, collocati presso l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS). È stata riscontrata inoltre la presenza di un fondo Pariani disponibile e consultabile presso la

Biblioteca Civica di Verona, mentre pare essere stato di recente scoperto un archivio privato di Mario Roatta (da cui peraltro sono emerse delle pubblicazioni in forma di diari), ma che al momento non risulta inventariato e quindi non è accessibile agli studiosi.

Una volta verificati gli inventari dei fondi Badoglio e Graziani disponibili all'ACS si è realizzato che gran parte del materiale presente fa riferimento alle varie campagne di conquista coloniale in Corno d'Africa e in Africa Settentrionale e alla successiva gestione delle colonie stesse. Poco materiale riguarda espressamente il periodo 1938-1942, e dalle buste che comunque si sono consultate relative a quel periodo (contenenti corrispondenze e materiale vario) poco o nulla ha ad oggetto espressamente la questione del Vallo Alpino e della frontiera settentrionale. Scandagliando foglio per foglio tali buste si è comunque cercato di individuare documenti che potessero offrire un quadro e un contesto, magari utile a collocare la scelta di rafforzare il sistema difensivo del confine nord. Ciò è stato possibile in particolare per quanto riguarda il fondo Graziani, molto più denso di documenti relativi allo scoppio del secondo conflitto mondiale, all'entrata in guerra dell'Italia e alla successiva gestione del conflitto stesso.

Una volta acclarato che i fondi privati di Badoglio e di Graziani fossero sostanzialmente poveri di riferimenti al Vallo Alpino del Littorio, si sono tentate altre piste di ricerca, scandagliando altri fondi presenti all'Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), ma anche presso l'Archivio Storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (ASMAE) e presso l'Archivio dell'Istituto di Storia e Cultura dell'Arma del Genio (ISCAG). Su suggerimento dell'Arch. Prünster, non sono state effettuate visite presso l'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (AUSSME), in quanto lo stesso Prünster vi aveva già effettuato approfondite ricerche.

Giuseppe Spagnulo

Report on the conduct of research into the “Vallo Alpino del Littorio”

The research was conducted in the second half of July 2022 and included a stay in Rome where the main Italian ministerial archives are located. The research was carried out in constant contact with architect Heimo Prünster.

Initially, a reconnaissance was carried out to try to identify the presence of archival collections relating to those persons who were especially involved between 1938 and 1943 in the decision to build the Vallo Alpino [its full name is *Vallo Alpino del Littorio*, henceforth *Vallo Alpino* for brevity] along the section concerning the German-Italian front. These personalities were identified as Pietro Badoglio, Edoardo Monti, Rodolfo Graziani, Mario Roatta, Vittorio Ambrosio, Alberto Pariani, etc.

This investigation showed that only the personal collections of Pietro Badoglio and Rodolfo Graziani, located in the Central State Archive (ACS), were available at the archives in Rome. A collection from Pariani was also found to be available and consultable at the Civic Library in Verona, while a private archive of Mario Roatta seems to have been recently discovered (from which publications in the form of diaries have emerged), but which is currently not inventoried and therefore not accessible to scholars.

After checking the inventories of the Badoglio and Graziani collections available at the ACS, we realised that much of the material referred to the various campaigns of colonial conquest in the Horn of Africa and North Africa and the subsequent administration of the colonies themselves. Little material expressly concerns the period 1938–1942 while, from the *buste* [envelopes] containing correspondence and various materials relating to that period that were consulted, little or nothing expressly covered the issue of the Vallo Alpino and the northern frontier. By going through these envelopes sheet by sheet, however, we attempted to find documents that could provide a framework and context that might be useful in identifying the decision to strengthen the defensive system on the northern border. This was in particular possible with regard to the Graziani collection, which contains far more documents relating to the outbreak of World War Two, Italy's entry into the war and the subsequent conduct of the conflict itself.

Once it was established that Badoglio's and Graziani's private collections contained few references to the Vallo Alpino, other research routes were tried, searching through other collections in the Central State Archive and also the *Archivio Storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* (Historical-Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, henceforth ASMAE) and in the archives of the *Istituto di Storia e Cultura dell'Arma del Genio* (Historical and Cultural Institute of the Corps of Engineers, ISCAG). At the suggestion of Heimo Prünster, the archives of the *Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito* (Historical Office of the Army General Staff, AUSSME) were not viewed as Heimo Prünster himself had already carried out extensive research there.

All'Archivio Centrale dello Stato si sono scandagliati i seguenti fondi: Segreteria Particolare del Duce, Presidenza del Consiglio – Gabinetto/Archivio Generale/Fascicoli per categorie (1876-1943), Ministero dell'Interno e il fondo del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche – Carte della presidenza Badoglio.

Si è cercato anche nel fondo del Ministero della Guerra presente all'ACS, ma anche in questo caso materiale relativo al periodo 1938-1943 è quasi totalmente assente.

Negli altri fondi summenzionati sono state rinvenute alcune carte interessanti, ma mai fascicoli specifici riguardanti il Vallo Alpino del Littorio. Sono dunque stati fotoriprodotti i documenti ritenuti più pertinenti al progetto più qualcosa di contestuale.

Vi sono carte riguardanti il reperimento e la cooptazione di operai disoccupati dell'Italia meridionale per la costruzione del Vallo, eseguiti in collaborazione con la Polizia di Stato; documentazione riguardante i militari coinvolti nella sua costruzione; informative rese a Mussolini sulla condotta dei suoi alti vertici militari, da cui si traggono informazioni sia direttamente concernenti il Vallo, sia concernenti l'attitudine dei suoi militari nei confronti della Germania hitleriana.

Presso l'ASMAE si è cercato nel fondo Affari Politici 1931-1945 (Germania), nel fondo Ambasciata a Berlino e nelle carte di Gabinetto (1923-1943). Anche qui si sono trovati solo alcuni documenti propriamente riguardanti il Vallo, in particolare le carte di Gabinetto, che, relativamente alla fine del 1941, testimoniano la crescente diffidenza della Germania nei confronti dell'Italia simboleggiata anche dalla continuata costruzione del Vallo Littorio. Altre carte sono state riprodotte sempre allo scopo di fornire un contesto politico alla scelta di costruire quelle fortificazioni: l'Anschluss, le modalità della conquista dei Sudeti e poi della Cecoslovacchia e soprattutto, pare, il timore che Hitler potesse decidere, in qualsiasi momento, di conquistare l'Alto Adige, abitato in gran parte da popolazioni di lingua tedesca e di sentimenti germanofili.

Materiale più consistente è stato rinvenuto presso l'ISCAG, dove esistono fascicoli propriamente dedicati al Vallo Alpino del Littorio, nel settore dell'Alto Adige. Accanto alla documentazione tecnica, tali fascicoli presentano anche carte di tipo più "politico" su decisioni e decisorie riguardanti il Vallo. Pare che un momento decisivo per accelerare i lavori di fortificazione a nord sia lo scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale, in particolare, dopo le vittorie di Hitler in Polonia, un periodo che si sovrappone all'accordo italo-tedesco sulle opzioni in Alto Adige e al trasferimento di migliaia di cittadini sudtirolesi nel Reich.

Presso l'ISCAG si è effettuata anche una ricerca del materiale fotografico disponibile presso una sezione apposita e digitalizzata dell'Archivio. Ma nonostante l'utilizzo di svariate parole chiave per ricercare materiali utili al progetto, pare che non vi sia al momento nulla riguardante il Vallo Alpino. Gran parte del materiale fotografico e cartaceo presente in questo istituto è ancora da inventariare e rendere disponibile, come riferito dal funzionario dell'Archivio.

Sulla quasi totale mancanza di materiale specifico riguardante le decisioni politiche che sono alla base della costruzione del Vallo si può al momento pensare che il principale soggetto produttore di tali carte, ossia l'allora Ministero della Guerra (oggi Ministero della Difesa), non abbia ancora effettuato i relativi versamenti all'Archivio di Stato o all'Archivio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito. Può darsi che il materiale documentario attenda ancora di essere ordinato e inventariato, sempre che non sia andato distrutto o disperso a causa dei vari spostamenti che i materiali archivistici hanno subito tra il 1943 e il 1945, a causa delle varie occupazioni militari straniere. Eppure, consultando il libro di Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini l'alleato. I. L'Italia in guerra 1940-1943*. 1. Dalla guerra "breve" alla guerra lunga, appaiono in citazione molti fondi dell'AUSSME, che in sede di ricerche pregresse non sono risultati disponibili. Si tratta in particolare

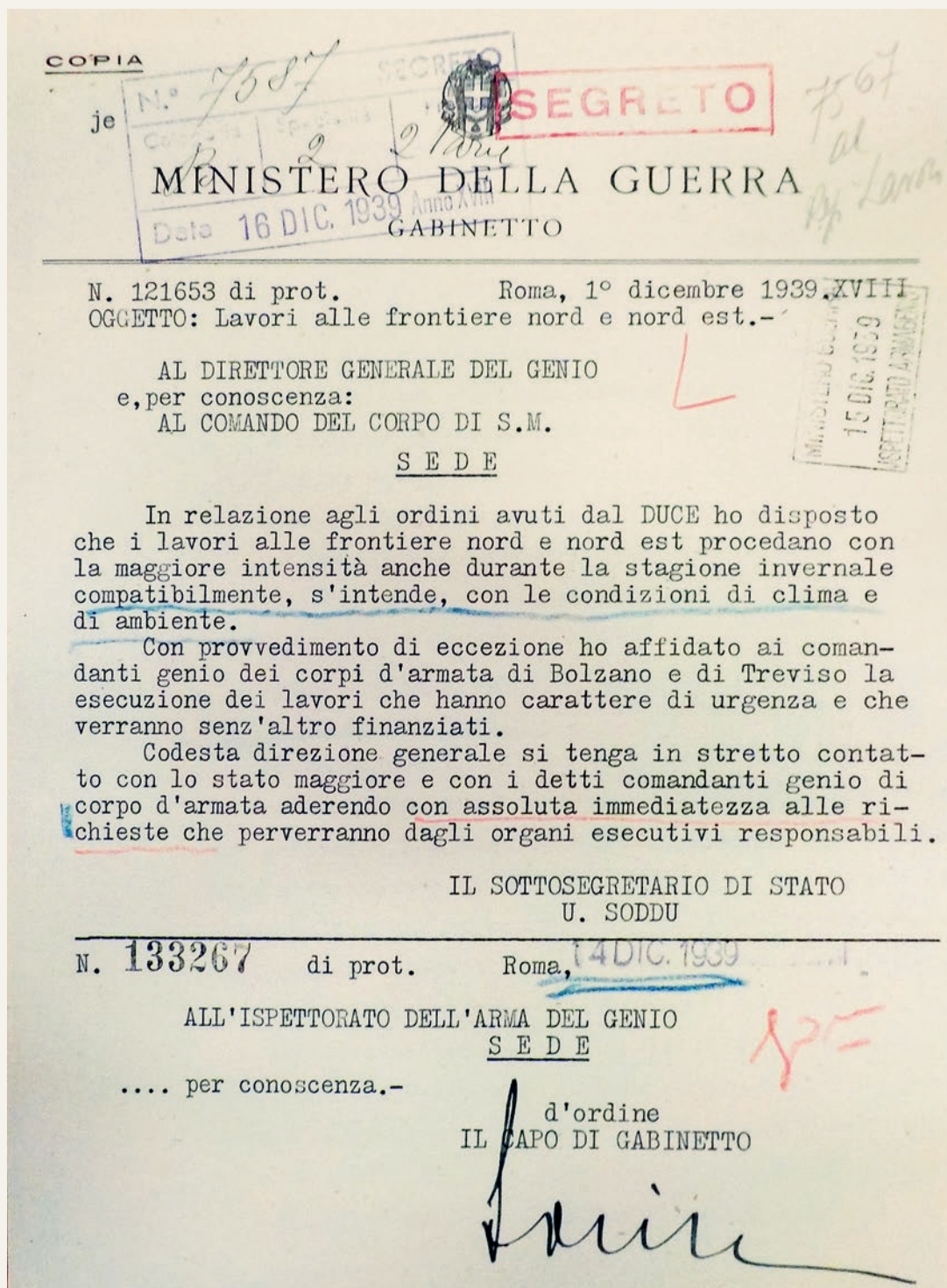
Abb. 1

Esempio di documento del Gabinetto del Ministero della Guerra all'inizio dell'intensa attività edilizia

Fig. 1

Example of a document from Mussolini's cabinet at the start of the intensive building activity

© ISCAG, Second World War collection



The following collections were examined at the Central State Archive: *Segreteria Particolare del Duce*, *Presidenza del Consiglio – Gabinetto/Archivio Generale/Fascicoli per categorie* [Special Secretariat of the Duce, Presidency of the Council – Cabinet/General Archive/Files by categories] (1876–1943); and *Ministero dell'Interno e il Fondo del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche – Carte della Presidenza Badoglio* [Ministry of the Interior and the National Research Council Collection – Papers of the Badoglio Presidency].

A search was also made in the collections of the War Ministry in the ACS, but here too there is almost no material relating to the period 1938–1943.

Some interesting papers were found in the other collections mentioned above, but never any specific files concerning the Vallo Alpino. The documents considered most relevant to the context of the project were therefore photocopied.

del fondo Commissione Suprema di Difesa e del fondo Carteggio Ministero della Guerra Gabinetto (H.1), con documenti relativi al 1937-1940, che De Felice cita abbondantemente. Si rinviene inoltre la presenza di un altro fondo Pariani presso il Museo del Risorgimento e Storia Contemporanea di Milano e molto altro materiale bibliografico e documentaristico da cui si potrà partire per impostare ulteriori ricerche.

Per altre informazioni sul Vallo Alpino del Littorio, si può attingere ai Diari di Galeazzo Ciano, alla recente biografia su Ciano di Eugenio Di Rienzo (Ciano. Vita pubblica e privata del "genero del regime", Salerno, 2018) e ai diari storici del Comando Supremo e i verbali dello stesso, editi dall'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (e disponibili sul sito <https://issuu.com/rivista.militare1/docs/>).

Inventario dei fascicoli reperiti e fotoriprodotti:

ACS

– Fondo Badoglio (si sono consultate diverse buste relative al periodo 1938-1943 – in particolare la busta 8 e la busta 11 – ma non si è rinvenuto nulla di interessante il Vallo Littorio)

– Presidenza del Consiglio – Gabinetto (Affari generali- fascicoli per categorie): Si sono perlustrati anche qui molti fascicoli, anche le serie relative agli anni 1940-1943, ma sono stati fotoriprodotti – e qui si riportano – quelli che avevano più attinenza col Vallo Littorio)

Anno 1937-1939

f. 7.1.2/4820: Lavori stradali e ferroviari alla frontiera settentrionale – Fondi

(documenti del maggio 1938 relativi alla necessità di procedere a lavori stradali e ferroviari di interesse militare, lungo la frontiera settentrionale. Particolarmente interessante è il documento del Sottosegretario alla Guerra, Alberto Pariani, il quale sostiene di aver fatto presente al duce la situazione di inferiorità strategica della rete ferroviaria e stradale italiana alla frontiera settentrionale, soprattutto se paragonata a quella di prossimità tedesca. Comunica inoltre l'ordine del duce di provvedere, nel più breve tempo possibile, ai lavori necessari – "essenziali e indilazionabili" – al miglioramento della situazione)

f. 1.3.1/769.6: Reclutamento degli operai per lavori stradali – mano d'opera per lavori difensivi alla frontiera occidentale (il fascicolo, con documenti del 1939-1940, contiene informazioni sulla disciplina del reclutamento degli operai impiegati nella sistemazione difensiva delle frontiere. Si parla di più, però, della frontiera occidentale)

Per questi anni (1937/1939) visti anche i seguenti ff.: f. 1.1.10/3777.6; f. 15.2/7149; f. 1.2.1/2784; f. 1.1.26/140. Si trattava di fascicoli che dai titoli sembravano contenere elementi interessanti ma che al momento dello spoglio, risultavano assenti o quasi privi di carte.

– Segreteria particolare del Duce (in questo fondo si è cercato materiale relativo al Vallo Alpino o al Ministero della Guerra o a singoli personaggi rilevanti nella decisione di costruire le fortificazioni, es. Monti, Badoglio, Soddu, etc.).

Carteggio ordinario (in questo sottofondo è stato rinvenuto ben poco. Di particolare interesse solo il seguente materiale)

Busta 823, f. 500.013/1 Ministero della Guerra. Varia: (settembre 1942) sull'impressione suscitata a Chiusaforte per la ripresa dei lavori di fortificazione sospesi l'anno precedente

b. 830, f. 500.015 Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, su opere di urgente necessità (anno 1941)

Sono state esaminate anche le seguenti buste, ma senza risultati: bb. 2503, 509, 679, 824, 852.

There are papers concerning the recruitment and co-opting of unemployed workers from southern Italy for the construction of the Vallo Alpino, executed in cooperation with the state police; documents concerning the military personnel involved in its construction; and reports made to Mussolini on the conduct of his senior military leadership that reveals information both directly on the Vallo Alpino and on the attitude of his soldiers towards Hitler's Germany.

A search was conducted at ASMAE in the "Political Affairs 1931–1945 (Germany)" collection, the "Berlin Embassy" collection and the "Cabinet Papers (1923–1943)". Here, too, only a few documents were found that specifically concerned the Vallo Alpino, in particular the cabinet papers which, relating to the end of 1941, testify to Germany's growing distrust of Italy, symbolised also by the continued construction of the Vallo Alpino. Other papers were also reproduced with the aim of providing a political context to the decision to build these fortifications: the *Anschluss*, the way in which the conquest of the Sudetenland and then of Czechoslovakia was carried out and, apparently above all, the fear that Hitler might at any time decide to conquer South Tyrol, which was largely inhabited by German speakers with pro-German sentiments.

More substantial material was found at ISCAG, which holds files specifically dedicated to the South Tyrol sector of the Vallo Alpino. Alongside the technical documentation, these files also contain more "political" papers on decisions and decision-makers concerning the Vallo Alpino. It seems that the outbreak of the Second World War was a decisive moment in speeding up fortification work in the north: in particular following Hitler's victories in Poland, a period that overlapped the German-Italian agreement on the options for South Tyrol and the transfer of thousands of South Tyroleans to the Reich.

A search was also carried out of the photographic material in a special digitised section of the archive at ISCAG. But, despite the use of various keywords to search for material useful to the project, it seems that there is currently nothing concerning the Vallo Alpino. An official at the archive stated that much of the photographic and paper material at this institute is still to be inventoried and made available.

From the almost total lack of specific material concerning the political decisions behind the construction of the Vallo Alpino, it can be assumed at present that the main author of these papers, i.e. the then War Ministry (now the Ministry of Defence), has not yet made the relevant transfers to the State Archive or to the Historical Archive of the Army General Staff. It may be that the documentary material is still waiting to be sorted and inventoried, provided it was not destroyed or dispersed owing to the various displacements that the archives suffered from 1943 to 1945 during the various foreign military occupations. Yet Renzo De Felice's book, *Mussolini l'alleato. I. Italia in guerra 1940–1943. Dalla guerra "breve" alla guerra lunga* [Mussolini the Ally. I. Italy at War 1940–1943. From the "short" war to the long war], cites many of the AUSSME collections that were not previously available to researchers. These collections are in particular those of the Supreme Defence Commission and the War Ministry Cabinet Correspondence (H.1) with documents relating to 1937–1940, quoted extensively by De Felice. Another Pariani collection is held at the Museum of the Risorgimento and Contemporary History in Milan; much other bibliographical and documentary material also exists as the basis for further research.

For more information on the Vallo Alpino we can draw on Galeazzo Ciano's Diaries, Eugenio Di Rienzo's recent biography on Ciano (*Ciano. Vita pubblica e privata del "genero del regime"*, Salerno, 2018) and the historical diaries and minutes of the *Comando Supremo*, published by the Historical Office of the Army General Staff (also available at: <https://issuu.com/rivista.militare1/docs/>).

Carteggio riservato

b. 93, sf. 1-3: Ubaldo Soddu (informazioni su Soddu e informative su supposte sue speculazioni in merito alla costruzione delle opere difensive)

b. 67, Pietro Badoglio (informazioni e informative su Badoglio, in particolare contiene cenni sulla diffidenza di Badoglio verso la Germania)

Viste anche le seguenti buste: b. 73

– Fondo CNR – Serie Badoglio (si sono guardate carte relative alla presidenza Badoglio del CNR – in particolarmente le bb. 1-2 – ma non si è rinvenuto niente di interessante il Vallo Alpino)

– Ministero dell'Interno – Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza – Segreteria Particolare del Capo della Polizia (1922-1940)

b. 14 f. Reclutamento di operai da destinare in Albania e in Germania (1940) – Cita intenzione di reclutare operai per la costruzione del Vallo Littorio da alcune province dell'Italia meridionale – Carte Graziani (si è fotoriprodotta materiale di contesto all'entrata in guerra dell'Italia) b. 53, f. 46, sf. 6 Corrispondenza Badoglio-Graziani

b. 53, f. 46, sf. 5 Documenti relativi al periodo in cui Graziani è Capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (novembre 1939-febbraio 1941)

b. 53, f. 46, sf. 2 Documenti relativi al periodo in cui Graziani è Capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (1940)

b. 53, f. 46, sf. 4 Diario del gen. Quirino Armellini (esiste una pubblicazione, per questo non ho fotoriprodotta)

Si sono guardate anche le buste 52 e 54, ma non si è fotoriprodotta alcunché, in quanto il materiale è molto lontano dagli interessi della ricerca

ASMAE

(si sono ricercati documenti nei vari fondi disponibili presso il MAE. Sul Vallo Alpino solo alcuni documenti, altre cose riportate sono di contesto. Sono state visionate diverse altre buste, ma senza risultati relativi al Vallo Alpino)

– Gabinetto e Segreteria (1923-1943)

b. 1146 f. Archivio segreto dell'ufficio di coordinamento. Corrispondenza relativa ai rapporti con la Germania durante la campagna contro la Russia, settembre-novembre 1941

sf. 4 Rapporti italo-germanici (Stato d'animo nei riguardi dell'Italia – Vallo del Littorio – Operai italiani in Germania – Scambio lettere Alfieri Ribbentrop – Rapporti razziali)

B. 1206 Alto Adige – Documenti (1938)

– Affari Politici 1931-1945 (Germania)

b. 52, f. 5 Confini politici (documenti su regolazione dei confini italo-tedeschi in conseguenza dell'Anschluss) (1938)

b. 55, f. 1 Incidenti vari (documento su sconfinamento di un ufficiale tedesco oltre la frontiera italiana, accorgendosi dell'esecuzione di lavori difensivi sul confine) (1938)

– Ambasciata a Berlino

b. 163, f. 6 Confini politici (1938) (documentazione su sistemazione confini italo-tedeschi dopo l'Anschluss)

Inventory of retrieved and photocopied files: [b./bb. = *busta/buste*, envelope(s), f. = *fascicolo*, file, sf = *sottofascicolo*, subfolder]

ACS (Central State Archive)

– Badoglio collection (several envelopes relating to the period 1938–1943 were consulted, in particular envelopes 8 and 11, but nothing of interest for the Vallo Littorio was found)

– Presidency of the Council – Cabinet/General Archive/Files by categories): many files were also scrutinised here, including the series relating to 1940–1943, with those most relevant to the Vallo Alpino photocopied and mentioned here)

Period 1937–1939

f. 7.1.2/4820: Road and rail works on the northern frontier – collections

(documents from May 1938 concerning the need to carry out road and railway works of military necessity along the northern frontier. Particularly interesting is the document by the Undersecretary of War, Alberto Pariani, who claims to have pointed out to the Duce the strategic inferiority of the Italian railway and road network on the northern frontier, especially when compared to the neighbouring German system. He also communicated the Duce's order to commence the necessary works as soon as possible – deemed "essential and immediate" – so as to improve the situation)

f. 1.3.1/769.6: Recruitment of labourers for road works – labourers for defensive works on the western border (the file, with documents from the period 1939–1940, contains information on the recruitment of labourers employed in defensive works on the western frontier. However, this mainly refers to the western frontier)

For these years (1937–1939) see also the following files: f. 1.1.10/3777.6; f. 15.2/7149; f. 1.2.1/2784; f. 1.1.26/140. The titles of these files appeared to contain interesting items but, when consulted, contained no or almost no papers.

– Special Secretariat of the Duce (this collection was examined for material relating to the Vallo Alpino or the War Ministry or individuals relevant to the decision to build the fortifications, e.g. Monti, Badoglio, Soddu, etc.).

Ordinary correspondence (very little was found here: only the following material is of any interest)

Envelope 823, f. 500.013/1 War Ministry. Miscellaneous: (September 1942) on the impression created at Chiusaforte by the resumption of fortification work suspended the previous year

b. 830, f. 500.015 Ministry of Public Works on works of urgent necessity (1941)

The following envelopes were also examined but with no results: bb. 2503, 509, 679, 824, 852.

Confidential correspondence

b. 93, sf. 1–3: Ubaldo Soddu (information on Soddu and reports on his alleged speculation on the construction of the defensive works)

b. 67: Pietro Badoglio (information and reports on Badoglio, in particular containing hints about Badoglio's mistrust of Germany)

See also the following envelopes: b. 73

– CNR (National Research Council) collection – Badoglio series (papers were examined relating to the Badoglio presidency of the CNR – particularly bb. 1 and 2 – but nothing of interest to the Vallo Alpino was found)

– Ministry of the Interior – General Directorate of Public Security – Special Secretariat of the Chief of Police (1922–1940)

b. 14 f. Recruitment of workers to Albania and Germany (1940) – citing intentions to recruit workers for the construction of the Vallo Alpino from certain provinces in

ISCAG

– Archivio Storico Seconda Guerra Mondiale (1940-1945)

b. 256: Sistemazione difensiva fortificazioni

f. Lavori di fortificazioni Veneto Bolzano (rapporti vari; materiale consistente su sistemazione difensiva Vallo Littorio, soprattutto tecnica ma con riferimenti ad ordini ricevuti dall'alto)

f. Direttive. Ordini, Studio Sistemazione Difensiva – Frontiera Nord (interessanti direttive su necessità di lavori, esecuzione, imprese, ecc.)

f. Sistemazione difensiva. Lavori di fortificazione frontiera nord: Bolzano e Veneto (si tratta soprattutto di materiale tecnico ed organizzativo)

southern Italy – Graziani papers (background material on Italy's entry into the war was photocopied) b. 53, f. 46, sf. 6 Badoglio-Graziani correspondence

b. 53, f. 46, sf. 5 Documents relating to the period when Graziani was Army Chief of Staff (November 1939 – February 1941)

b. 53, f. 46, sf. 2 Documents relating to the period when Graziani was Army Chief of Staff (1940)

b. 53, f. 46, sf. 4 Diary of General Quirino Armellini (exists in published form, therefore not photocopied)

Envelopes 52 and 54 were also examined but nothing was copied as the material was not relevant to the research.

ASMAE (Historical-Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

(documents were examined in the various collections available at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: there are only a few documents on the Vallo Alpino, others are of background interest. Several other envelopes were examined but with no results relevant to the Vallo Alpino)

– Cabinet and Secreteriat (1923–1943)

b. 1146 f. Secret archive of the coordination office. Correspondence concerning relations with Germany during the Russian campaign, September-November 1941

sf. 4 Italo-German relations (state of mind with regard to Italy – Vallo Alpino – Italian workers in Germany – exchange of letters between Alfieri and Ribbentrop – race relations)

B. 1206 South Tyrol – Documents (1938)

– Political Affairs 1931–1945 (Germany)

b. 52, f. 5 Political borders (documents on the settlement of the German-Italian border following the *Anschluss*) (1938)

b. 55, f. 1 Various incidents (document concerning a German officer trespassing across the Italian border and noticing that defensive works were being carried out on the border) (1938)

– Berlin Embassy

b. 163, f. 6 Political borders (1938) (documentation on the settlement of the German-Italian border following the *Anschluss*)

ISCAG (Historical and Cultural Institute of the Corps of Engineers)

– Historical Archive of the Second World War (1940–1945)

b. 256: Arrangement of defensive fortifications

f. Fortification works, Veneto and Bozen/Bolzano (various reports; substantial material on Vallo Alpino defensive system, mainly technical but with references to orders received from above)

f. Directives. Orders, study of defensive arrangements – northern frontier (interesting directives on work requirements, execution, contractors, etc.)

f. Defensive arrangement. Fortification works on northern frontier: Bozen/Bolzano and Veneto (mainly technical and organisational material)

Carla Colzani, Marco Ferrari

Paesaggi Forti – Un nuovo immaginario ecologico per i forti trentini

L'identità di un luogo e la memoria che ne viene conservata sono fattori dinamici, che evolvono con il tempo e con le generazioni. Allo stesso modo la rovina che vive e sopravvive in un determinato contesto conserva tutta una serie di storie e vicende stratificate, ma difficilmente riesce a liberarsi dalla narrazione-stereotipo dominante che l'uomo le assegna. Soprattutto nel caso dell'archeologia militare, la rovina pensata in una logica artificiale incarna sempre memorie e moniti da cui è difficile distaccarsi: incarna mancanze, una gloria passata e ormai perduta e che lentamente e inesorabilmente procede verso la sua fine, senza possibilità di recupero. Ma provando ad andare oltre i preconetti che hanno finora segnato la visione dei ruderi storici della Grande Guerra, c'è l'opportunità di concedere nuove narrazioni a questi resti di archeologia militare? Se proviamo a sforzare l'occhio e la mente, possiamo scoprire che guardare all'architettura con dinamiche naturali e al paesaggio secondo logiche artificiali può costituire una modalità per sbloccare la visione su queste strutture e andare oltre la rigidità del loro passato, fino ad arrivare a ripensare elementi nati per la guerra e imposti su un territorio straniero in termini inaspettati, come esempi di pratiche di convivenza tra generi e specie.

Se nel caso del Vallo Alpino i bunker sono prevalentemente celati sotto terra, spostandoci di pochi chilometri in territorio trentino possiamo vedere come il sistema fortificato qui presente, risalente alla Grande Guerra, si offra come caso studio ideale per l'approfondimento e lo sviluppo della nostra ipotesi: si tratta di strutture che si pongono a metà strada tra il dentro e il fuori, tra la roccia e il paesaggio, e che sono state soggette negli ultimi cento anni a una serie di modifiche e riappropriazioni da parte del territorio e dei suoi abitanti, umani e non. È da questa nuova visione e consapevolezza che nel 2019 nasce PaesaggiForti, un progetto culturale che ha l'obiettivo di costruire e restituire un immaginario territoriale attuale – ambientato ai giorni nostri – per i forti austro-ungarici della Prima Guerra Mondiale in Trentino, fornendo un punto di vista alternativo ma non esclusivo, in grado di arricchire il dibattito contemporaneo su questi paesaggi con una visione non più esclusivamente storica ma anche ecosistemico-territoriale. Questo racconto si è concretizzato in un progetto di ricerca collettivo che ha preso poi forma in tre mostre monografiche (fig. 1) – Spazio Klien, Forte di Cadine, Gallerie di Predicastello – sviluppate a cavallo tra l'estate e l'autunno 2022, in un ciclo di sei presentazioni pubbliche, una tavola rotonda di discussione – all'interno del Trento Film Festival 2022 –, in un convegno scientifico – presso il Politecnico di Zurigo ETH – ed infine in una serie di pubblicazioni – su *Moreness*, *A_architetttrento* e sulla monografia *Remnants* di Marc Wilson.

Carla Colzani, Marco Ferrari

Paesaggi Forti – a new ecological imagery for the forts of Trentino

The identity of a place and the memory of it that is preserved are dynamic factors, ones that evolve over time and over generations. In the same way, the ruin that lives and survives in a given context preserves a whole series of stratified stories and events, but only with difficulty can it free itself from the dominant narrative-stereotype that we assign to it. Particularly in the case of military archaeology, a ruin, conceived in an artificial logic, always embodies memories and warnings from which it is difficult to detach ourselves: it embodies shortcomings, a past glory, now lost, that slowly and inexorably proceeds towards its end with no possibility of recovery. But if we try and go beyond the preconceptions that have so far characterised our vision of the historical ruins of the Great War, is there an opportunity to apply new narratives to these relics of military archaeology? If we try and strain our eyes and minds, we may find that looking at architecture with natural dynamics and at the landscape according to artificial logics may be a way to unlock our vision of these structures and go beyond the rigidity of their past, to the point of rethinking elements arising from war and imposed upon a foreign territory in unexpected terms as examples of practices of coexistence between genii and species.

Fig. 1:
Vista della mostra
Paesaggi Forti
presso Le Gallerie,
Trento, 2022

Fig. 1:
View of the *Paesaggi Forti* show at
Le Gallerie, Trento,
2022

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Per poter capire questi nuovi ecosistemi-forti, bisogna compiere un passo indietro allargando la visione e prendendo consapevolezza delle loro singole storie, che spesso non si limitano alle vicende legate alla Grande Guerra o alle generiche caratteristiche che originariamente li accomunavano, ma che nascono invece da biografie che non accettano limiti geografici, che richiamano storie di crescita e di scomparse, incorniciano frammenti che raccontano il depositarsi del tempo e che a volte si rendono evidenti, altre volte più celati. Si rende quindi necessario scomporre e smontare alcuni preconcetti allargando la visione retroattiva, locale e specialistica – spesso esclusivamente storico-militare – che abbiamo ereditato rispetto alla Prima Guerra Mondiale e alle strutture dislocate lungo le linee alpine del fronte, prima di poter interpretare questi forti come un sistema ibrido e complesso. Nonostante le credenze, la nascita del sistema fortificato trentino non fu tanto con fini di offesa ma di difesa, e le strutture che oggi ricadono sotto la definizione generica di “forte” comprendono in realtà un catalogo disomogeneo per età, materiale, dimensione, esibizione e stato attuale. L’epica legata a questi manufatti prende spesso vita più delle loro biografie naturali, riempiendo le memorie, i ricordi e arrivando fino a noi, ma questo immaginario comune non trova sempre conferma nella realtà dei fatti. Molte delle strutture fortificate non hanno mai nemmeno combattuto: alcune hanno visto nascere il conflitto da lontano, altre sono state abbandonate perché ormai antiquate e già inadeguate allo scoppio della Guerra, altre ancora sono state danneggiate dai propri abitanti per non farle cadere in mano nemica, o sono state successivamente depredate per il recupero di materiali ferrosi e poi dimenticate. Un dibattito spontaneo nasce nel momento in cui si guarda o si pensa ad un paesaggio di guerra e alla capacità evocativa che lo accompagna: se quello stesso luogo non fosse stato segnato da un

Fig. 2:
Forte Valmorbia e Forte Cherle dalla serie *“Come se non ci fosse mai stato”*

Fig. 2:
Valmorbia Fort and Cherle Fort from the series *“Come se non ci fosse mai stato”* [As if it had never been there]

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While, in the case of the Vallo Alpino, most of the bunkers are hidden underground, going a few kilometres into the territory of Trentino reveals how the fortified system there, which dates back to the Great War, is an ideal case study for deepening and developing our hypothesis. These structures exist halfway between the inside and the outside, between the rock and the landscape, and have over the last hundred years been subjected to a series of modifications and re-appropriations by the land and its inhabitants, both human and non-human. It was this new vision and awareness that saw the foundation of *PaesaggiForti* in 2019: a cultural project aimed at constructing and restoring a current territorial imagination – located in the present day – for the Austro-Hungarian forts of the First World War in Trentino, thus providing an alternative yet not exclusive point of view that could enrich the contemporary debate on these landscapes with a vision that was no longer exclusively historical, but also took account of both the ecosystem and the territory. This narrative was realised in a collective research project that then took shape in three monographic exhibitions (fig. 1) – Spazio Klien, Forte di Cadine, Gallerie di Piedicastello – that were developed over the summer and autumn of 2022 in a cycle of six public presentations, a round table discussion at the 2022 Trento Film Festival, during a scientific conference at ETH Zurich and, finally, in a series of publications: in *Moreness*, *A_architetttrento* and in Marc Wilson's monograph *Remnants*.

In order to understand these new ecosystem-forts, we need to take a step backwards to broaden our vision and become aware of their individual histories, which are often not limited to the events linked to the Great War or to the generic characteristics that they originally had in common, but instead arise from biographies that do not accept geographical limits, that recall stories of growth and disappearances, framing fragments that tell the story of the passing of time and that sometimes become evident, at other times more concealed. It is therefore necessary to break down and dismantle certain preconceptions by broadening the retroactive, local and specialised vision (often exclusively military-historical in nature) that we have inherited with regard to the First World War and the structures located along the Alpine front lines before we can interpret these forts as a hybrid and complex system. Despite popular belief, the Trentino fortified system was developed more for defensive than offensive purposes, while the structures that are today generically defined as “forts” actually make up a catalogue that is uneven in terms of age, material, size, display and current state. The epic that surrounds these artefacts often comes to life more than their actual biographies, filling memories, recollections and coming down to us, but this common imagination is not always confirmed by the facts. Many of the fortified structures never saw fighting: some witnessed the conflict from afar, others were abandoned because they were outdated and already inadequate at the outbreak of war, others were damaged by their own occupants to keep them from falling into enemy hands or were later plundered for ferrous materials and then forgotten. A spontaneous debate occurs when looking at or thinking about a wartime landscape and the evocative capacity that accompanies it: if that same place had not been marked by such a tragic event (fig. 2), would it still have the same emotional impact that it has on today's observer? Or, conversely, if the military architecture that we have come to know and associate with a place and with events was moved to another context or was associated with new architectural objectives (fig. 3), would it communicate the same intentions? Confronting these questions and beginning to develop these theoretical operations of *genius disloci*¹, of estrangement, meant our undertaking a reflection that was potentially capable of stimulating new perspectives and opening up new ways of looking.

1 Valerio Recchioni, *Collages di architettura*

evento così tragico (fig. 2), avrebbe lo stesso impatto emotivo che ha oggi sul suo osservatore? O al contrario, se l'architettura militare che abbiamo imparato a conoscere ed associare a un luogo e a degli eventi venisse spostata in altri contesti o venisse associata a nuove intenzionalità architettoniche (fig. 3), comunicherebbe le stesse intenzioni? Confrontarsi con questi interrogativi e iniziare a sviluppare queste operazioni teoriche di *genius disloci*¹, di straniamento, ha significato per noi intraprendere una riflessione che fosse potenzialmente capace di stimolare nuove prospettive e indirizzare nuovi sguardi.

Ciascuna biografia del singolo forte inizia in circostanze più o meno analoghe, per poi iniziare una lenta evoluzione soggettiva e indipendente, dove il precario equilibrio iniziale tra ospite e ospitante, tra manufatto e contesto, si trasforma con il passare degli anni. Ai soldati, che in tempo di guerra non avevano certo potuto sentirsi più di tanto accolti in dimore del genere, hanno iniziato a sostituirsi ed alternarsi ospiti più naturali e colonizzatori gentili. Ciò che prima era stato sottratto ed estirpato per poter far spazio alle nuove architetture ha iniziato a riprendere il suo posto: strutture imposte brutalmente sul territorio sono divenute nel tempo esempi di coabitazione, di dialogo, di orizzontalità e vitale relazione tra specie, tanto da rendere difficoltoso oggi definire dove termina l'elemento naturale e dove inizia il manufatto artificiale. Nel catalogo materico dell'intero sistema fortificato trentino che abbiamo prodotto per fini espositivi, la pietra autoctona spesso si riesce a distinguere a malapena dal materiale "artificiale", e persino il calcestruzzo armato, poroso ed esposto a più di un secolo di intemperie, è diventato terreno per specie autoctone tanto da diventare parte integrante del luogo. Queste continue evoluzioni e co-evoluzioni richiamano alla mente una serie di approcci e tematiche estremamente attuali, e in particolare quelle sviluppate all'interno delle *posthuman perspectives*² ci offrono un nuovo paradigma per l'interpretazione delle strutture fortificate.

Esiste poi un attore che viene spesso dimenticato nel racconto di questi contesti di archeologia militare e che abbiamo invece scelto di riportare al centro nel nostro progetto di ricerca: il paesaggio. Come racconta Diego Leoni³, le montagne trentine sono state cantiere – il campo da gioco dell'Europa – a cielo aperto su cui l'uomo non si è risparmiato: artificializzate, attrezzate, incise e svuotate per la creazione di nuove pareti e coperture, su cui la terra veniva sottratta e il verde veniva bruciato, dove l'essere umano ha imparato a sopravvivere e ad impadronirsi del territorio conteso, senza mai arrivare a definire un vincitore e un vinto e soggette a una inesauribile forza evolutrice. Il paesaggio alpino ha subito una forte impronta artificiale sotto la spinta della Grande Guerra, ma, non appena abbandonati, i suoi nuovi abitanti di calcestruzzo hanno iniziato a subire quello che tradizionalmente viene definito come processo di ruderizzazione, ma che sotto un'altra chiave di lettura può essere invece letto in termini di forza [ri]creatrice. In questo senso, le strutture che sono state finora catalogate sotto la definizione di rovina-rudere si caricano di una nuova possibilità di lettura: prototipi di un ecosistema futuro fondati su un movimento di co-progettazione costante e continuo. Così facendo questi nuovi oggetti-cyborg, che da oggetti passivi vengono così elevati a soggetti attivi, non assistono più, immobili, al passare delle gioie, delle tristezze e delle morti, ma imparano la grande lezione delle cose che passano⁴ senza porre fine alla loro narrazione. Questo

1 Valerio Recchioni, *Collages di architettura*

2 Ethan Miller, J.K. Gibson-Graham, (2019) *Thinking with interdependence: from economy/environment to ecological livelihoods*. In: Bennett, J. and Zournazi M. (eds.) *Thinking in the World*. New York, Bloomsbury, pp. 313-339

3 Diego Leoni, *La guerra verticale, Uomini, animali e macchine sul fronte di montagna 1915-1918*, ET Storia, 2015

4 Marguerite Yourcenar, *Il tempo, grande scultore*, Einaudi, 1985, p. 192

Fig. 3:
Progetto su immagine
di Marc Wilson

Fig. 3:
Design based on an
image by Marc Wilson

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Each individual fort's biography begins in more or less similar circumstances, then begins a slow, subjective and independent evolution, where the initial precarious balance between host and guest, between artefact and context, is transformed over the years. Soldiers, who in wartime were certainly not able to feel welcome in such dwellings, began to be replaced and to alternate with more natural hosts and kinder colonisers. What had previously been removed and uprooted so as to make room for new architecture began to take its place again: structures brutally imposed on the land over time became examples of cohabitation, dialogue, horizontality and vital relations between species – so much so that, today, it is difficult to tell where the natural ends and the artificial begins. In the material catalogue of the entire Trentino fortified system that we have produced for exhibition purposes, the native stone can often hardly be distinguished from the "artificial" material, and even the reinforced concrete, porous and exposed to more than a century of weathering, has become a breeding ground for indigenous species to the extent that it is now an integral part of the place. These continuous evolutions and co-evolutions call to mind a number of extremely topical approaches and issues, with those developed within the *posthuman perspectives*² in particular offering us a new paradigm for the interpretation of fortified structures.

There is also one actor that is often forgotten in the narrative of these contexts of military archaeology, one that we have instead chosen to place at the centre in our research project: the landscape. As related by Diego Leoni³, the mountains of Trentino have been a construction site – Europe's playground – under the open sky, where man has not spared himself: artificially created, furnished, incised and emptied to create new walls and roofs, from which land was removed and greenery burnt, where human

2 Ethan Miller, J.K. Gibson-Graham, (2019) *Thinking with interdependence: from economy/environment to ecological livelihoods*. In: Bennett, J. and Zournazi M. (eds.) *Thinking in the World*. New York, Bloomsbury, pp. 313-339

3 Diego Leoni, *La guerra verticale, Uomini, animali e macchine sul fronte di montagna 1915-1918*, ET Storia, 2015

carattere dinamico della rovina richiama quindi la necessità di un nuovo sguardo o forse di uno sguardo invertito: soggetti-oggetti figli della geografia politica che possono invece essere oggi interpretati in relazione alla dimensione fisica e di paesaggio.

Potrebbe nascere naturale a questo punto una considerazione sui processi di evoluzione e sulla personalità del nuovo soggetto che viene prodotto, ponendosi il problema di come distinguere in un'unica entità la presenza di due componenti, come quella artificiale e naturale, in origine così diverse. Come si può arrivare a definire il limite tra il cambiamento che fa smarrire l'identità e quello che permette di mantenerla?⁵ Quando si parla di archeologia militare, sembra semplice pensare a una distinzione univoca tra ciò che è l'architettura e ciò che invece gli sta intorno, due presenze nette e distinte; al contrario, quando il tempo permette alla natura di [ri]appropriarsi di ciò che l'uomo abbandona, allora quella distinzione si rende sottile e impercettibile, e inizia una lenta metamorfosi. A distanza di più di cento anni dallo scoppio della Grande Guerra, l'evoluzione e lo sviluppo dei forti ha comportato processi di modifica tanto interiori quanto esteriori: a seguito di questo cambiamento, possiamo ancora definire solo come "forte" ciò che vediamo? Come il paradosso della nave di Teseo, ci si domanda se le cose conservino la propria essenza anche se, in effetti, le loro parti si modificano. Può un forte militare che ha perso la sua originale forma o alcune delle sue parti, avere oggi una sua identità anche senza necessariamente ricorrere a una visione "com'era-dov'era"? Al pari dell'uomo, che evolve e si modifica cambiando tutte le sue cellule e i suoi organi senza però perdere la sua identità, i nuovi oggetti cyborg non si svuotano della loro stratificazione mutevole di segni, ma anzi evolvono abolendo ogni distinzione tra artificiale e naturale e accedendo a un capitolo successivo della loro narrazione, fondato su una trama multispecifica e *queer*. In questo processo di ormai completo annullamento di distinzione e preconcetti e in assenza di mano umana, il paesaggio si è infatti riappropriato di ciò che l'artificiale gli aveva sottratto, senza fretta e sottostando alle leggi del tempo, annullando la distinzione tra ospite e ospitante e arrivando a un equilibrio di co-esistenza in continua evoluzione.



Fig. 4:
Modello dalla serie
"Soft landscapes"

Fig. 4:
Model from the series
"Soft landscapes"
© Cristina Gallizioli 2022

5 Kurt Lewin, *Tempo e identità*, Quodlibet, 2020

beings learned to survive and take possession of the disputed territory without ever managing to define victor and vanquished, and all subject to an inexhaustible evolutionary force. The Great War left a significant artificial impression on the Alpine landscape but, once abandoned, its new concrete inhabitants began to undergo what is traditionally defined as a process of “ruinification”, but that under another interpretation can instead be read in terms of a [re]creative force. In this sense, the structures that have hitherto been categorised as “ruin-remains” acquire a new possibility of interpretation: as prototypes of a future ecosystem based upon a constant and continuous movement of co-design. In doing so, these new cyborg-objects, which are thus elevated from passive objects to active subjects, no longer watch, immobile, the passing of joys, sorrows and deaths, but instead learn the great lesson of things that pass⁴ without ending their narrative. This dynamic character of the ruin therefore recalls the need for a new way of looking, or perhaps an inverted way of looking: subject-objects born of the political geography that can now instead be interpreted in relation to the physical dimension and to the landscape.

It might be natural at this point to consider the processes of evolution and the personality of the new subject that is produced, posing the problem of how to distinguish in one single entity the presence of two components, such as the artificial and the natural, with such different origins. How can we define the boundary between the change that causes identity to be lost and the change that allows it to be maintained?⁵ When we speak of military archaeology, it seems easy to think of a univocal distinction between what is architecture and what on the other hand surrounds it, as two clear and distinct presences; on the contrary, when time allows nature to [re]appropriate what man has abandoned, this distinction becomes subtle and imperceptible and a slow metamorphosis begins. More than one hundred years after the outbreak of the Great War, the evolution and development of the forts has involved processes of change that are as much interior as exterior: as a consequence of this change, can we still only define what we see as “forts”? Like the paradox of the ship of Theseus, we wonder whether things can retain their essence even if their parts in fact change. Can a military fort that has lost its original form, or some of its parts, today retain its own identity even without necessarily resorting to an “as-it-was, where-it-was” view? Just like man, who evolves and modifies himself by changing all his cells and organs yet without losing his identity, the new cyborg objects do not void themselves of their changeable stratification of signs, but rather evolve by abolishing any distinction between artificial and natural and accessing a next chapter of their narrative, based upon a multi-specific, queer plot. In this process of a now-complete annihilation of distinctions and preconceptions, and in the absence of any human hand, the landscape has in fact re-appropriated what the artificial had removed from it, unhurriedly and subject to the laws of time, annulling the distinction between host and guest and thus achieving an ever-evolving balance of co-existence.

We might wonder how it is possible to narrate in concrete terms such a complex and stratified identity without the various narratives wandering on parallel and independent courses or being scattered through inattention. The *PaesaggiForti* exhibition at the Gallerie di Trento attempts to investigate the multiform character of the existing forts through a wide range of materials divided into five sections (geography, geology, space, habitat, perception) that range from a series of territorial models (fig. 4), i.e. graphic re-elaborations and satellite analyses, to a catalogue of the animal and plant species

4 Marguerite Yourcenar, *Il tempo, grande scultore* [*That Mighty Sculptor, Time*], Einaudi, 1985, p. 192

5 Kurt Lewin, *Tempo e identità* [*Time and identity*], Quodlibet, 2020



Fig. 5:
Erbario / Bestiario

Fig. 5:
Herbarium / Bestiary

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Viene da domandarsi come sia possibile raccontare concretamente una identità così complessa e stratificata senza che le diverse narrazioni vaghino su binari paralleli e indipendenti o vadano invece disperse per disattenzione: all'interno della mostra Paesaggi-Forti presso Le Gallerie di Trento abbiamo provato ad indagare questo carattere multiforme dei forti attuali attraverso una costellazione di materiali – articolati in cinque sezioni (geografia, geologia, spazio, habitat, percezione) – e che andavano da una serie di modelli territoriali (fig. 4), a rielaborazioni grafiche e analisi satellitari, fino al catalogo delle specie animali e vegetali presenti nei forti e raccolte in un erbario e un bestiario (fig. 5). Un ulteriore strumento di racconto è stato costituito dal progetto fotografico a cura del fotografo britannico Marc Wilson, che non si è concentrato solo su una pura e asettica rappresentazione ma che è stato pensato come uno strumento di dialogo tra osservatore e osservato, ovvero il forte. Lo stesso fotogramma è in grado infatti di raccontare qualcosa di differente a seconda di chi lo osserva e a seconda dell'epoca in cui lo si osserva. Allo stesso modo lo stesso soggetto fotografato è in grado di comunicare sensazioni differenti senza che la sua essenza subisca alterazioni: un rudere fotografato in una giornata di pioggia o in una giornata buia non comunicherà allo stesso modo che sotto un cielo terso (fig. 6).

Questa forma di *genidentità*⁶, prendendo in prestito la definizione di Kurt Lewin, che viene raccontata in una narrazione tanto silenziosa quanto chiara dall'aspetto attuale dei forti, è stata la chiave di lettura proposta dall'intero progetto, in cui le rovine militari si conservano nei cambiamenti, trasformandosi continuamente in enti ed eventi differenti e non restando congelati a un'unica immagine. La speranza è che questo lavoro possa contribuire a dimostrare che il sistema fortificato trentino – come altri sistemi analoghi – non si è fermato al termine della guerra, ma ha avuto una vita successiva ed è destinato ad avere un futuro, come stratificazione mutevole di segni e manufatti rimaneggiati ed interconnessi, attraverso cui la storia continua ad esprimere nuovi linguaggi.

6 *ibid.*

Fig. 6:
Forte Dosso del
Sommo

Fig. 6:
Fort Dosso del Sommo

© Marc Wilson 2021



present in the forts, now collected in a herbarium and bestiary (fig. 5). A further story-telling tool was the photographic project by British photographer Marc Wilson that did not simply focus on a pure, aseptic representation but was conceived as a tool for dialogue between the observer and the observed, i.e. the fort. The same photogram can in fact recount something different depending on the observer and the era in which it is observed. In the same way, the same photographic subject can communicate different sensations without its essence being altered: a ruin photographed on a dark or rainy day will not communicate in the same way as under a clear sky (fig. 6).

This form of *genidentity*⁶, to borrow Kurt Lewin's definition, which is told in a narrative that is as silent as it is clear from the current appearance of the forts, was the key to the interpretation proposed by the entire project whereby the military ruins are preserved through change, continually being transformed into different entities and events and not remaining frozen in a single image. The hope is that this work can contribute to demonstrating that the fortified system in Trentino – like other, similar systems – did not merely stop at the end of the war, but led a subsequent life and is destined to have a future as a changeable stratification of reworked and interconnected signs and artefacts, one through which history continues to express new forms of language.

6 *ibid.*

Gennaro Postiglione

Ricezione del patrimonio ideologicamente connotato. Il Caso dell'Atlantikwall

La ricognizione compiuta sugli interventi di recupero e riuso, ma anche sullo stato di abbandono, di quell'immensa infrastruttura difensiva, realizzata dai Nazisti durante la Seconda Guerra mondiale, denominata *Atlantikwall*, evidenzia come le numerose tracce e i tantissimi manufatti sparsi lungo le coste atlantiche dell'Europa costituiscano una presenza per certi versi ancora ingombrante (Winter 1995). Per la maggior parte mai entrato in funzione, il Vallo dell'Atlantico, con il suo carattere transnazionale dopo la sconfitta di Hitler diviene patrimonio nazionale degli otto stati che attraversa (Francia, Regno Unito/Channel Islands, Belgio, Olanda, Germania, Danimarca e Norvegia), ognuno dei quali ha assunto negli anni proprie politiche e pratiche di gestione. Si può però affermare che, fino a tempi recenti, fatti salvi da una parte gli interventi di conservazione dell'uso militare di alcune strutture e dall'altra la musealizzazione di alcuni siti e di particolare valore storico, non ci sia stata una grande attenzione verso il riuso e il recupero di questo patrimonio militare dai caratteri così dolorosamente connotati. Una condizione che, col passare degli anni, si è modificata. Sono stati realizzati soprattutto interventi spontanei e diffusi, orientati al recupero speculativo delle volumetrie dei bunker (stimolati per lo più dalla loro posizione strategica ma anche dalla impossibilità di qualsiasi demolizione, eccessivamente onerosa per essere sostenibile), e – in misura molto contenuta – interventi di tipo museale, orientati alla salvaguardia e alla trasmissione di alcune strutture di particolare valore collettivo per le comunità locali (Caruth 1995).

Solo negli ultimi quindici anni si è registrato un nuovo orientamento, dovuto sia alla dismissione militare avviatasi in Europa con la dissoluzione dell'Unione Sovietica, sia soprattutto alla consapevolezza crescente che gli ultimi testimoni di quelle vicende sarebbero in breve tempo scomparsi col rischio di far cadere nell'oblio le tante storie legate agli anni del conflitto. Con questo chiaro obiettivo, il recupero e il riuso di molte strutture appartenenti all'Atlantikwall è avvenuto, ed è ancora in corso, o convertendo gli edifici a museo o proponendo programmi funzionali più flessibili con una generale intenzione di riconciliazione e di elaborazione del trauma ad essi connesso. Ed è proprio in questi casi che si registrano le situazioni progettuali più interessanti, dove il confronto e le frizioni tra le memorie di una storia ancora viva e gli obiettivi dei nuovi programmi innescano e suggerisce modalità diverse di intervento; strategie che rendono le azioni progettuali sui patrimoni definiti dolorosi o difficili (Macdonald 2009) di particolare interesse non solo per la ricerca che si occupa di conservazione e recupero dell'esistente, ma anche per quella architettonica *tout court*.

Gennaro Postiglione

Reuses, salvages, and musealizations of the Atlantikwall: a comparative survey*

The studies on the reuse and salvage interventions, as well as on the state of abandonment of the *Atlantikwall*, the huge defence infrastructure built by the Nazis during World War II, testify how the many traces and the countless artefacts disseminated along the European Atlantic coasts represent a presence which is still somehow burdensome.¹ Most of the Atlantikwall was actually never used, and, after Hitler's defeat, due to its transnational character, it became the national heritage of the eight countries that are crossed by it (France, the United Kingdom/Channel islands, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and Norway), each of which has implemented various policies and management practices. However, it is worth noting that, until recent times, apart from some interventions for the preservation of the military use of some of the structures and the musealization of some sites with a particular historical value, barely any attention had been paid to the reuse and salvage of such military heritage, which is so loaded with painful connotations. Nevertheless, the situation has changed over the years. Above all, spontaneous and diffused interventions have been carried out, mainly targeted at the speculative salvage of the bunkers' volume layouts. This is mainly due to their strategic positions but also to the impossibility of demolishing them, as this would be excessively expensive. Moreover, some interventions have also been performed within the museum context, even if to a lesser extent. Such works are addressed to the safeguard and the transmission of some structures with a particular collective value for the local communities.²

Just in the last fifteen years, a new trend has been observed. This is due both to the military closedown which started in Europe with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and, above all, to the growing awareness about the fact that the last witnesses of those events would soon disappear, and this would probably mean that the many stories related to the years of the conflict would be forgotten. The salvage and reuse of many structures belonging to the Atlantikwall have been performed with this specific aim, either turning the buildings into a museum, or proposing more flexible functional programmes with a general purpose of reconciliation and elaboration of the trauma connected to them. The most interesting design situations are observable within such contexts, where the confrontation and the frictions between the memories of a history that is still alive and the objectives of the new programmes trigger and suggest different modes of intervention. Such strategies make the design actions on those heritages

* The contribution is a reworked text of an essay previously published with the same title in: *Re-enacting the past. Museography for Conflict Archaeology*, edited by Michela Bassanelli and Gennaro Postiglione. Siracusa: LetteraVentidue, 2013: 310–329.

1 Winter 1995.

2 Caruth 1995.

L'Atlantikwall¹

Parte integrante della politica bellica del Terzo Reich, il sistema fortificato si inserisce nelle diverse attività di infrastrutturazione della costa atlantica sviluppate dai nazisti durante gli anni del conflitto. Solo a partire dal 1942² però, in concomitanza dello spostamento delle truppe tedesche sul fronte orientale nel teatro di guerra russo (Trevor-Roper 1965), l'Atlantikwall diventa di fatto una linea di difesa per contrastare l'eventuale temuto sbarco alleato³.

Questi i numeri della ciclopica impresa, per la maggior parte realizzata nel corso di due anni: circa 12.000 edifici (a fronte dei 15.000 previsti) che si sviluppano tra i Pirenei e Capo Nord, lungo circa 6000 km di costa, con una profondità media di penetrazione all'interno del territorio di almeno 5 km. Un immenso cantiere, perennemente in aggiornamento, affidato all'Organizzazione Todt (OT)⁴ alla cui guida succede, dopo la morte di Fritz Todt, Albert Speer⁵ (Di Folco P., Guarino V. 2010).

La manodopera impiegata nel gigantesco programma edilizio dell'Atlantikwall proviene in larga parte dalle imprese tedesche e dalle popolazioni delle nazioni occupate, chiamate a collaborare con l'OT attraverso delle comuni gare d'appalto, ma fa anche largo ricorso a prigionieri e a deportati di differenti nazionalità⁶, costretti al lavoro forzato e trattenuti in appositi campi di concentramento realizzati in prossimità delle aree da fortificare⁷ (Prieur, J., 2010).

Per produrre sistemi fortificati con la massima economia e con altrettanta rapidità d'esecuzione, i bunker dell'Atlantikwall sono realizzati seguendo un preciso catalogo di piante-tipo standardizzate raccolte in un unico manuale (*Regelbauten*), appositamente redatto dalla OT, indispensabile a rendere rapido e attuativo l'imponente programma di fortificazione (*Bauprogramme*), elaborato da Hitler e dai suoi più stretti collaboratori, che ha il compito di pianificare gli interventi difensivi lungo tutto litorale atlantico (Rolf, 1988).

- 1 L'Atlantikwall, letteralmente Vallo Atlantico, viene spesso tradotto erroneamente con Mur de l'Atlantique nei testi francofoni e Atlantic Wall in quelli di lingua inglese: non si tratta infatti di un muro bensì di un vallo difensivo che non assume mai neppure idealmente la forma del muro.
- 2 Baricentro del sistema sono i "territori fortificati, ovvero quei luoghi suscettibili di costituire i punti di sbarco principali del nemico", in primo luogo dunque i grandi porti lungo la costa, come recita l'estratto dalla direttiva di guerra n° 40 del 23 marzo 1942 che di fatto sancisce l'avvio della costruzione del vallo Atlantico.
- 3 Nel 1942 si aggiunge il Sudwall, la fortificazione della riva francese sul Mediterraneo.
- 4 Un'impresa paramilitare cui sono affidati tutti i lavori pubblici realizzati in Germania e nei territori occupati, dalle autostrade del Reich fino a tutte le infrastrutture di guerra, e che nei paesi dell'Est parteciperà anche direttamente alle operazioni di sterminio.
- 5 Speer, nonostante fosse a capo della Organizzazione Todt, è in realtà poco implicato nella costruzione dell'Atlantikwall che delega a Xaver Dorsh, già capo ingegnere alla OT prima del suo arrivo.
- 6 Particolarmente duri sono i campi di lavoro nelle Channel Islands dove i deportati sono costretti a condizioni di lavoro disumane e violente (Carr 2012). Sono soprattutto alcune categorie di prigionieri a essere impiegati nel lavoro forzato per l'OT: russi, polacchi e prigionieri politici spagnoli (Desquesnes, R. 2003).
- 7 Relativamente alla costruzione dell'Atlantikwall, la questione delle forme di collaborazionismo delle imprese come quella dello sfruttamento della manodopera coatta sono aspetti ancora molto dibattuti, che non trovano tutti gli studiosi allineati sulla stessa posizione.

which are defined as painful or difficult³ particularly interesting not only for those researchers that deal with preservation and salvage of existing structures, but also with those investigating architecture *per se*.

The Atlantikwall⁴

Being an integral part of the Third Reich military politics, the fortifications system of the Atlantikwall belongs to the various infrastructurization works developed by the Nazis along the Atlantic coast during the years of the war. However, it was only in 1942⁵, when the German troops moved to the Eastern front in the Russian theatre of war⁶ that the Atlantikwall became a real defence line to face the potential and feared Allied landing.⁷

The colossal undertaking, which was mainly realized in two years, consists of the following: about 12,000 buildings (instead of the planned 15,000) which stretch between the Pyrenees and North Cape, along 6,000 km of coastline, with an average penetration depth within the territory of at least 5 km. A massive construction site, perpetually revised, entrusted to the Todt Organization (OT)⁸ which, after the death of Fritz Todt, was led by Albert Speer.⁹

The workforce involved in the gigantic building plan of the Atlantikwall came mainly from German enterprises and from the populations of the occupied countries, called to cooperate with OT through some calls for competitive bids. However, OT also employed prisoners and deportees of various nationalities,¹⁰ forced to hard labour and kept in specific concentration camps built close to the areas to be fortified.¹¹

As to produce fortification systems saving as much money as possible but with a fast execution time, the Atlantikwall bunkers were realized following a specific catalogue of standardized prototypes of designs. Such designs were collected in a manual (*Regelbauten*), specifically drawn up by OT, which was necessary to make the colossal fortification plan (*Bauprogramme*) fast and effective. The plan had been developed by Hitler and his closest collaborators, and it aimed at planning the defensive interventions along the whole Atlantic coastline.¹²

3 Macdonald 2009.

4 The Atlantikwall, which literally means Fortification of the Atlantic, is often wrongly translated into French as *Mur de l'Atlantique* and into English as *Atlantic Wall*: it is not a wall, but a defensive fortification which never takes the shape of a wall, not even ideally.

5 The focal point of the system is represented by the "*fortified territories, that is, those places which might potentially be the main landing places for enemies*". First of all, thus, the big ports along the coast, as stated in the excerpt of War Directive no. 40 of 23 March 1942, which ratified the beginning of the building of the Atlantikwall.

6 Trevor-Roper 1965.

7 In 1942 the *Sudwall* was added, that is, the fortification of the French coastline on the Mediterranean.

8 A paramilitary undertaking which was entrusted with all the public works realized in Germany and in the occupied territories, from the motorways of the Reich to all the military infrastructures, and which will be directly involved in all the extermination operations in the Eastern European countries.

9 Even though Speer was at the head of the Todt Organization, he was not really involved in constructing the Atlantikwall, as he entrusted Xaver Dorsch with it, who was already chief engineer at OT before Speer started working there. See Di Folco, Guarino V. 2010.

10 Labour camps in the Channel Islands were particularly hard, as the deportees were forced to work in inhuman and violent conditions (Carr 2012). The prisoners who were mostly used by OT for hard labour work are Russians, Poles, and Spanish political prisoners (Desquesnes, 2003).

11 As far as the construction of the Atlantikwall is concerned, the matter of the forms of collaboration on the part of undertakings and the matter of the exploitation of a forced workforce are still largely debated, and scholars still need to agree on those questions. See also Prieur 2010.

12 Rolf, 1988.



Fig. 1:
Museo di Hanstholm
Centro, progetto di
CUBO Arkitekten

Fig. 1:
Hanstholm Museum
Centre, project by
CUBO Arkitekten

© Museumscenter Hanstholm

Musealizzazioni recenti

Tra gli interventi di musealizzazione più recenti bisogna citare il progetto del centro di documentazione sull'Atlantikwall di Hanstholm⁸, ad Hansted, nel Nord-est della Danimarca, che comprende oltre a numerose batterie, due giganteschi cannoni in grado, insieme ad un terzo collocato a Møvik (nel Sud della Norvegia), di presidiare lo stretto di Skagerrak, unica porta di accesso al mar Baltico⁹. Con un con annesso spazio museale al chiuso e un ampio museo all'aperto, il Centro Museale di Hanstholm costituisce un esempio unico poiché il progetto assume un proprio e autonomo valore formale e architettonico.

Nel 1998 viene lanciato un concorso nazionale di architettura che lo studio CUBO Arkitekten di Aarhus si aggiudica. La soluzione proposta non interviene sulle strutture del gigantesco bunker Hanstholm II: i progettisti si limitano infatti ad accostarvi un corpo stretto e lungo che in parte riprende, oltre al materiale, alcuni motivi tipologici e insediativi degli stessi bunker (inserire foto modello). In sostanza, le due strutture dialogano a distanza, e non c'è un vero progetto di recupero delle strutture esistenti, quanto piuttosto un ampliamento destinato ad accogliere le nuove funzioni con l'obiettivo di tenere ben distinto il nuovo dall'esistente, facendo assumere al nuovo edificio il ruolo di grande vestibolo del cannone di Hanstholm II.

Il progetto comprende, oltre ai circa 3.000 mq di spazi museali e di archivio, un articolato percorso all'aperto che consente di muoversi per le decine di postazioni distribuite sull'area della fortezza: all'esterno però non sono state introdotte nuove strutture e il visitatore si muove tra quelle che erano le vecchie trincee (Andersen 2006) (inserire mappa area museale).

⁸ <http://www.museumscenterhanstholm.dk>

⁹ Ciò che rende particolarmente significativo questo sito è la presenza di due strutture che ospitavano ciascuna un cannone di grande calibro: Hanstholm II per proiettili di calibro 380, e una potenza di fuoco superiore ai 50 km, in grado di chiudere completamente – grazie al bunker gemello costruito in Norvegia – lo stretto di Skagen, e Hanstholm I di calibro 170, necessario a controllare la costa più prossima (Andersen, Rolf 2006).

Fig. 2:
Vista dell'interno-
spazio, progetto di
CUBO Arkitekten

Fig. 2:
View of the interior
space, project by
CUBO Arkitekten

© Museumscenter Hanstholm



Recent musealizations

Among the most recent interventions of musealization it is worth mentioning the project by the Hanstholm Documentation Centre on the Atlantikwall,¹³ in Hansted, in the North-East of Denmark, which includes gun batteries, two cannons – plus a third one located in Møvik (in southern Norway) – capable of defending the strait of Skagerrak, the only access to the Baltic Sea.¹⁴ The Hanstholm Museum Centre has an indoor outbuilding museum space and a wide outdoor museum, and it represents a unique example as its project takes on its own formal and architectonic value.

In 1998, a national architecture competition was announced, which was won by studio CUBO Arkitekten in Aarhus. The proposed solution did not envision any interventions on the buildings of the colossal bunker Hanstholm II: the designers, in fact, only put close to it a thin and long body which was made of the same material as the bunkers, and partially recalled some of their typological and building patterns. Basically, the two structures dialogue at a distance. There is no real plan for the salvage of the existing structures, but rather an expansion aiming at performing the new functions with a view to keeping the new separate from the existing, and attributing to the new building the role of the vestibule of the cannon of Hanstholm II.

Besides the approximately 3,000 square metres of museum and archive space, the project includes an outdoor articulated path which makes it possible to move along the dozens of posts spread over the area of the fortress. On the outside, however, no new structures have been introduced and visitors move along former trenches.¹⁵

The international competition “Carso 2014+” moved in the same direction, although it had more innovative features. The competition called for designs for an outdoor museum of the First World War on the Gorizian Carso. It was won by studio Burgi, whose designers developed the plan following a general strategy of re-appropriation of that landscape, which is so imbued with painful stories, making use of elements that are typical of military architecture. New trenches have been dug in the territory in order to build new exploration paths of the Carso landscape, just as some caverns have been

¹³ <http://www.museumscenterhanstholm.dk>

¹⁴ This site is particularly meaningful because of the presence of two structures which house a large calibre cannon each: Hanstholm II with shells of calibre 380, and fire power over 50 km, capable of completely closing Skagen Strait, thanks to its twin bunker built in Norway, and Hanstholm I with calibre 170, which was necessary to control the close coasts (Andersen, 2006).

¹⁵ Andersen 2006.

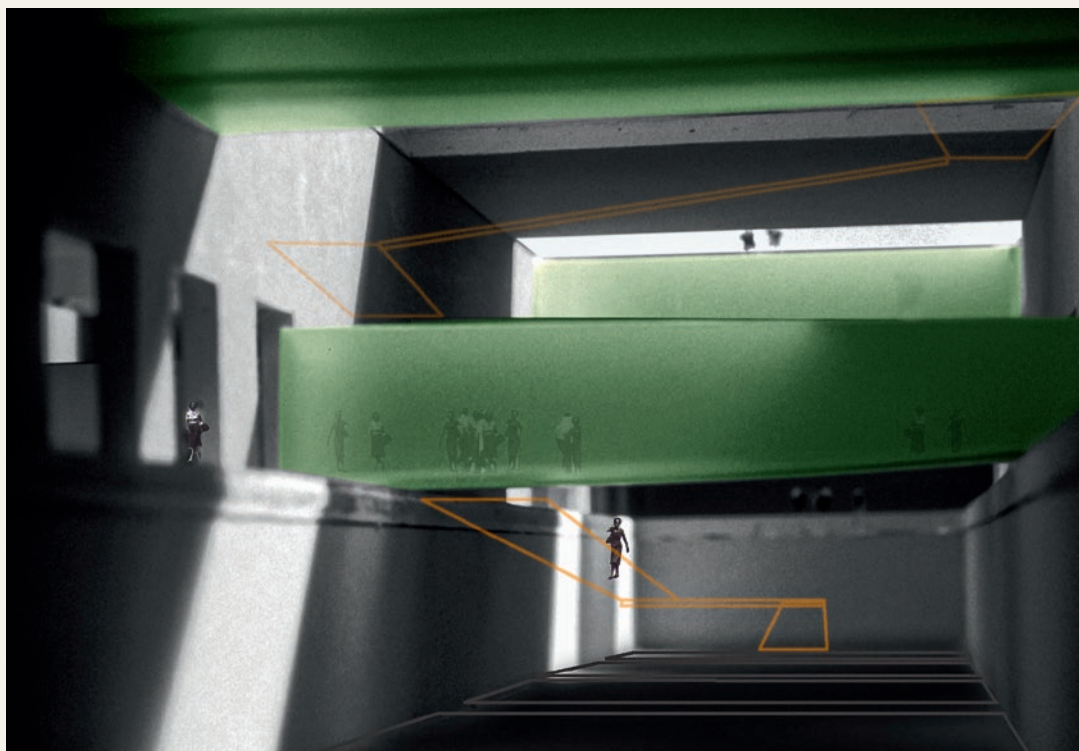


Fig. 3:
"Agricoltura concreta",
proposta per il
riutilizzo della base di
Keroman, vista interna

Fig. 3:
"Concrete agriculture",
proposal for the reuse
of the Keroman base,
interior view

© Peter Beard LANDROOM

In questa direzione, ma con accenti più innovativi, si muove anche il concorso internazionale "Carso 2014+" per un museo all'aperto della Prima Guerra mondiale sul Carso goriziano che lo studio Burgi, risultato vincitore, ha sviluppato secondo una generale strategia di ri-appropriazione di quel paesaggio così intriso di storie dolorose, facendo ricorso a elementi tipici dell'architettura militare. Nuove trincee sono state scavate nel territorio per andare a costruire nuovi percorsi di esplorazione del paesaggio carsico, così come alcune caverne sono state recuperate per accogliere un muso ipogeo delle battaglie sull'Isonzo. In sostanza il tema fruitivo di questo paesaggio dai caratteri molto forti è divenuto l'elemento portante di tutti gli interventi museografici e allestitivi, innescando un dialogo tra strutture fruitive e racconto della storia¹⁰.

Di segno opposto, invece, l'intervento di cui è oggetto la base sottomarina Valentine di Bremen¹¹. Dal maggio 2011 infatti, la base, realizzata dai nazisti tra il 1938 e il 1945 facendo largo uso di lavoro forzato¹², è diventata il Denkort Bunker Valentin (Sito Memoriale Bunker Valentin) per commemorare le vittime dei sette campi di concentramento presenti nella regione Bremen-Farge. L'obiettivo principale è di rafforzare il tema della memoria di quegli eventi, dando vita al progetto di una delle più grandi trasformazioni d'uso di un patrimonio della Seconda Guerra destinato a divenire uno degli ultimi monumenti dedicati a ricordare le atrocità perpetrate dai nazisti. Necessario ma forse anacronistico per le modalità, che sembrano rispondere più alla necessità di saldare un

¹⁰ <http://www.carso2014.it>

¹¹ <http://www.denkort-bunker-valentin.de>

¹² "In just twenty months – from summer 1943 to spring 1945 – a bunkered submarine shipyard was born in Bremen-Farge. Up to 10.000 forced laborers – civilian forced laborers from Eastern and Western Europe, Soviet prisoners of war, Italian military internees, concentration camp prisoners and inmates of the labor re-education camps of the Bremen Gestapo – were working under extreme pressure day and night on the enormous construction site. Various camps within a radius of six kilometers of the bunker were used for housing. Malnourished and debilitated people built the bunker in 12-hour shifts of hard labor. Approximately 2,000 laborers died as a result of the physically strenuous work, inadequate care and inhumane living conditions in the camps. Only 1,144 victims are known by name." (dal sito web di Denkort Bunker Valentin – <http://www.denkort-bunker-valentin.de/> visitato nel mese di marzo 2012).

salvaged so that they could house a hypogeal museum of the battles on the Isonzo. Basically, the theme of the fruition of this landscape with very strong features has become the main element of all the museographic and outfitting interventions, stimulating a dialogue between the fruition structures and the storytelling.¹⁶

The intervention performed on the Valentin submarine base in Bremen, instead, is characterized by completely different features.¹⁷ Indeed, since May 2011, the basis, which had been realized by the Nazis between the years 1938 and 1945 largely through forced labour¹⁸ has become the Denkort Bunker Valentin (Memorial Submarine Bunker Valentin), with the aim of commemorating the victims of the seven concentration camps in the region Bremen-Farge. The main aim is to reinforce the theme of the memory of those events, giving life to the project of one of the greatest transformations in the use of a heritage area connected to the Second World War, destined to become one of the last monuments devoted to remembering the atrocities committed by the Nazis. This was necessary, but maybe also anachronistic because of its modalities, which seem to be meeting the need to solve an impossible debt with history rather than looking at the future in a different way. Indeed, monumentalization risks becoming the first step towards oblivion, with its implicit delegation and deresponsibilization devices: places and documents are required to replace the existential duty to remember, which is exclusively human. It is an experience which implies taking charge of one's own responsibilities and must evolve towards shared and conciliatory modalities that make it possible to elaborate forgotten memories connected to difficult heritage. For this reason, owing to its curatorial features and for the type of interventions, the project seems to belong to another historical moment of the second post-war period.¹⁹

Reuses and salvages

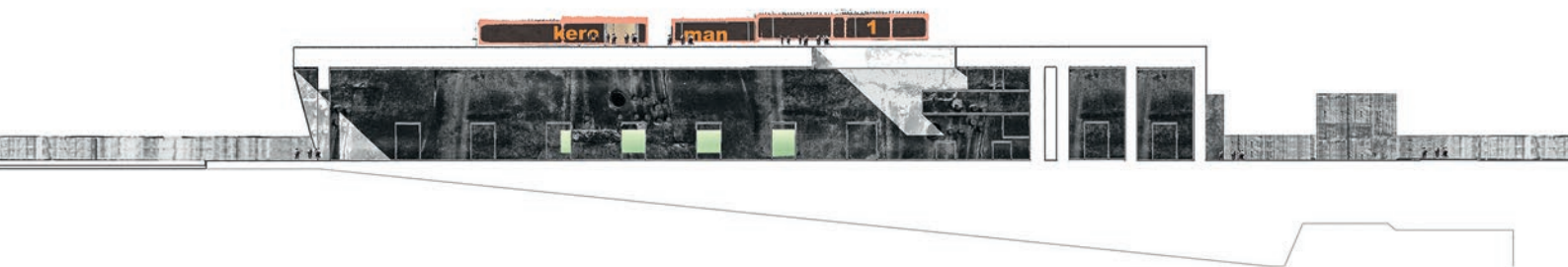
In the projects of reuse, the lack of emphasis on the past and its recollection or the marginal presence of devices connected to memory and spaces related to history-telling can sometimes be due to curatorial and design choices aiming at attributing new values to such artefacts that are so connoted from a cultural point of view. After being long imprisoned by a painful history that has kept them hostages, bunkers and other artefacts related to conflicts, not only those of the Atlantikwall, sometimes seem to be the object of interventions of reuse with therapeutic implications. This is not only the case of actions linked to reuse for residential and private purposes, where the interventions build a merely utilitarian relationship with what already existed, eluding or completely ignoring history. Indeed, it also happens in all those cases when the positive wish to reintegrate military structures in daily use is the main aim of the policies and practices of reuse. The ordinary features of life get the upper hand over the extra-ordinary ones of the military

¹⁶ <http://www.carso2014.it>

¹⁷ <http://www.denkort-bunker-valentin.de>

¹⁸ "In just twenty months – from summer 1943 to spring 1945 – a bunkered submarine shipyard was born in Bremen-Farge. Up to 10.000 forced laborers – civilian forced laborers from Eastern and Western Europe, Soviet prisoners of war, Italian military internees, concentration camp prisoners and inmates of the labor re-education camps of the Bremen Gestapo – were working under extreme pressure day and night on the enormous construction site. Various camps within a radius of six kilometers of the bunker were used for housing. Malnourished and debilitated people built the bunker in 12-hour shifts of hard labor. Approximately 2,000 laborers died as a result of the physically strenuous work, inadequate care and inhumane living conditions in the camps. Only 1,144 victims are known by name." (from Denkort Bunker Valentin website – <http://www.denkort-bunker-valentin.de/> accessed in May 2012).

¹⁹ Marszolek 2008.



impossibile debito con la storia che a quelle di guardare al futuro in modo diverso: la monumentalizzazione infatti rischia di diventare il vestibolo dell'oblio con il suo implicito dispositivo di delega e di deresponsabilizzazione: luoghi e documenti sono chiamati a sostituire quel compito esistenziale esclusivamente umano che è il ricordare. Una esperienza di presa in carico delle proprie responsabilità che deve evolversi verso modalità condivise e conciliatorie che permettano l'elaborazione di quelle memorie rimosse sempre collegate ai patrimoni difficili. Per questo motivo, il progetto appare appartenere, per contenuti curatoriali e per carattere degli interventi, ad un altro periodo della storia del secondo dopoguerra (Marszolek 2008). (inserire immagine)

Riusi

Nei progetti di riuso, la mancanza di enfasi sul passato e sulla sua evocazione o la presenza marginale di dispositivi legati alla memoria e di spazi legati al racconto della storia, possono talvolta costituire delle scelte curatoriali e progettuali utili a fare emergere nuovi valori per questi manufatti così culturalmente connotati. Imprigionati per lungo tempo da una storia dolorosa che li ha tenuti in ostaggio, bunker e altri manufatti legati ai conflitti, non solo quelli dell'Atlantikwall, sembrano in alcuni casi oggetto di interventi di recupero dalle implicazioni terapeutiche. Non si tratta solo dei casi legati al recupero a uso residenziale e privato, in cui gli interventi instaurando un rapporto di tipo spiccatamente utilitario con le preesistenze, aggirano o ignorano del tutto la storia, ma anche di tutti quei casi in cui la volontà positiva di reintegrare le strutture belliche all'uso quotidiano è l'obiettivo principale delle politiche e delle pratiche di riuso. L'ordinario della vita prende il sopravvento sullo stra-ordinario delle costruzioni militari, desacralizzandole, in un processo che si muove in una direzione opposta a quello della musealizzazione, rendendole cioè nuovamente disponibile all'uso (Bassanelli 2013).

Probabilmente il caso più emblematico in tal senso, anche per l'ampio coinvolgimento internazionale, è costituito dal concorso di architettura, bandito dal Distretto di Lorient (Morbihan) sotto l'egida della UIA (Unione Internazionale degli Architetti), con lo scopo di sondare i possibili scenari di riuso della base sottomarina costruita dai nazisti a Keroman. Si tratta di tre edifici, per un totale di ventuno alveoli destinati ad accogliere i sottomarini e una superficie complessiva di 60.623 mq, che dal dopoguerra hanno rappresentato un'imbarazzante quanto ingombrante presenza lungo il *water front* della città. Una presenza che alcuni illuminati amministratori hanno saputo vedere anche come risorsa spaziale a disposizione della cittadinanza (Prost 1998).

Tre premi e sei menzioni, in tutto sono nove i gruppi che si distinguono tra i 192 partecipanti al concorso. Ne emergono visioni molto diverse tra loro che mettono in campo

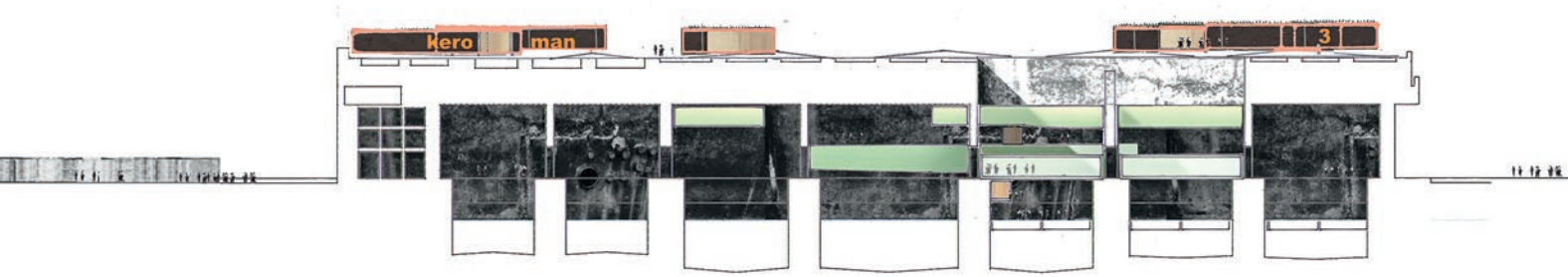
Fig. 4:

"Agricoltura concreta", proposta per il riutilizzo della base di Keroman, sezione

Fig. 4:

"Concrete agriculture", proposal for the reuse of the Keroman base, section

© Peter Beard LANDROOM



buildings, desacralizing them, in a process that moves in the direction opposite to musealization, thus making them available to use.²⁰

Probably the most emblematic example within this context, also due to its wide international involvement, is represented by the architecture competition announced by the District of Lorient (Morbihan) under the aegis of UIA (International Union of Architects), with a view to investigating the potential scenarios of reuse of the submarine basis built by the Nazis in Keroman. The basis consists of three buildings, with twenty-one alveoli aimed at accommodating the submarines and a total surface equal to 60,623 square metres, which, since the post-war period, have represented an embarrassing as well as cumbersome presence along the water front of the city. A presence that some enlightened administrators have been able to see also as a special resource available to citizens.²¹

The competition envisioned three prizes and six mentions, and nine groups stood out of the 192 participants. Very different visions emerged, which adopt specific techniques and strategies in order to improve the whole area destined to become – as the competition required – a touristic and natural park. The design plans all aim at contrasting, up to the point of eliminating, the invasive and conflicting dimension of the massive military structure, which, with its gigantic size occupies a central role in the plant of the new park. The projects are all characterized by great audacity, as they intervene in a significant way on the submarine basis, with expansions and demolitions which aim at opening the area both towards the seafront and towards the inland, in order to give continuity to the urban park required by the announcement. Most interventions seem to have taken into due consideration the physical features of what already existed. Indeed, the planning and special choices apparently are driven by an active dialogue with the existing structures, a negotiation made of additions, subtractions, or alterations, which are sometimes quite remarkable. In this sense, it is surely the most significant and profitable case of reuse, which, however, has never been actually realized, and it has not even managed to affect either the practice or the theoretical speculation connected to reuse and salvage interventions of difficult heritages.²²

The case of Dora I, one of the two submarine bases in the port of Trondheim in Norway, is somehow similar. Dora I started being built by the Germans in 1940, together with Dora II²³, which was never finished, and Dora III, which was never even started, and

²⁰ Bassanelli 2013.

²¹ Prost 1998.

²² <http://www.archdaily.com/47022/european-10-results/>

²³ "The construction of Dora II started in 1941. Due to the in general complicated supply situation OT did not manage to finish more than 65 % of the building before the war ended. Dora II is to day in use as a local shipyard. Ships are still docked in the remains of the submarine pen. The work on Dora III never got under way" (Excerpt from the brochure *European 10: Trondheim_Norway*, 2009).



tecniche e strategie specifiche per riqualificare l'intera area destinata, come richiesto nel bando, a parco turistico e naturale. Tutti gli sforzi progettuali sono diretti a contrastare, fino ad eliminarle, la dimensione invasiva e quella conflittuale dell'immensa struttura bellica che con la sua mole ciclopica occupa un ruolo centrale nell'impianto del nuovo parco. I progetti si caratterizzano tutti per grande audacia, intervenendo in maniera consistente sulla base sottomarina, con ampliamenti e demolizioni miranti ad aprire l'area sia verso il fronte marino sia verso quello interno, per dare continuità al parco urbano richiesto dal bando. Il tema che accomuna la maggior parte degli interventi è l'aver considerato la preesistenza per i suoi caratteri fisici, facendo derivare le scelte progettuali e spaziali da un serrato dialogo con le strutture esistenti, una negoziazione fatta di addizioni sottrazioni o alterazioni anche consistenti. In questo senso, sicuramente il caso più significativo e proficuo di recupero non museale di un patrimonio bellico che però, purtroppo, è rimasto solo sulla carta senza neppure riuscire, inspiegabilmente, a incidere né sulla prassi né sulla speculazione teorica relativa agli interventi di riuso e recupero dei patrimoni difficili.¹³

Per certi versi analogo è il caso di un'altra base sottomarina, una delle due presenti nel porto di Trondheim in Norvegia, Dora I. Realizzata dai tedeschi a partire dal 1940, insieme alla mai completata Dora II¹⁴ e a Dora III, mai neppure iniziata, la base è stata ostaggio di una sostanziale mancanza di politiche urbane relative al recupero del porto. Dora I (di proprietà di una società privata dagli anni sessanta) è stata utilizzata sin dai primi anni sessanta come deposito e archivio e solo a partire dal 2007 iniziano a essere sviluppati piani di recupero e ad essere parallelamente stanziati fondi per trasformare il porto in un area di interesse turistico e culturale. Interventi che investono in pieno anche la megastruttura della base che diviene una delle aree di progetto della decima edizione del concorso internazionale per giovani architetti European¹⁵. Il programma elaborato per il concorso spinge nella direzione di una forte riconversione culturale dell'area portuale e

Fig. 5:
Proposta per il
riutilizzo della base
di Keroman, primo
premio, sezione

Fig. 5:
Proposal for the reuse
of the Keroman base,
first prize, section

© Paczowski et Fritsch
Architectes

¹³ <http://www.archdaily.com/47022/european-10-results/>

¹⁴ "The construction of Dora II started in 1941. Due to the in general complicated supply situation OT did not manage to finish more than 65 % of the building before the war ended. Dora II is today in use as a local shipyard. Ships are still docked in the remains of the submarine pen. The work on Dora III never got under way" (Estratto dalla brochure European 10: Trondheim_Norway, 2009).

¹⁵ <http://www.european-europe.com/>



it was the victim of a lack of urban policies connected to the salvage of the port. Dora I (which has belonged to a private company since 1960s) has been used as a storage and archive and it was only in 2007 that salvage plans started being designed and, at the same time, funds started being allocated with a view to transforming the port into a touristic and cultural area. The envisioned interventions also fully involved the mega-structure of the basis, which was one of the project areas of the 10th edition of the international competition for young architects *Europan*.²⁴ The programme elaborated within the context of the competition moves towards a strong cultural reconversion or the port area and of the basis itself, by limiting its use to the State Archive and vacating the other alveoli in order to design them for activities and initiatives connected to the creative and cultural industry. Even though within the competition *Europan 10* there was also a winning design project which concerned the bunker, no concrete action has been performed on it. The project²⁵ proposed a reuse which respected the original structures of the basis. It suggested demolishing building extensions and vehicular ramps which, along the years, had completely distorted the nature of the building itself, in order to give a new formal integrity to the structure. However, it would not pervert its character, or insert any elements aiming at telling its story.²⁶

Within the frame of reuse interventions from the bottom up, instead, it is worth mentioning the initiatives performed by *Bunkerology*, an association founded in 2005 in Lista, in southern Norway, which has for some years undertaken various actions targeted at exploiting some bunkers for touristic purposes, in partnership with the local administration. Such interventions limit to the parasitic – and easily removable – expansion of the structures necessary to the recreational exploitation of the bunkers, without changing their plant. However, they transform them, through some pilot interventions, into

²⁴ <http://www.euopan-europe.com/>

²⁵ The project with the motto "Proscenium" (entry: EU 031), presented by Marianna Rentzou (GR), Alexandros Gerousis (GR), Beth Hughes (AU), Konstantinos Pantazis (GR), won the first prize, but, in spite of the fact that the regulations of the competition established that the winning project be realized, the design project has not been put into practice yet.

²⁶ Kjelmeland 2005.

della base stessa, limitandone l'uso al solo Archivio di Stato e liberando tutti gli altri alveoli per destinarli ad attività e iniziative legate all'industria creativa e culturale. Nonostante ci sia stato un progetto vincitore del bando European 10 anche per quest'area, nessuna azione concreta è stata intrapresa sul bunker. La proposta¹⁶ proponeva un riuso rispettoso delle strutture originarie della base, suggerendo la demolizione di sopraelevazioni e rampe carrabili che negli anni avevano completamente stravolto la natura dell'edificio, per dare una nuova integrità formale alla struttura. Ma senza di fatto stravolgerne il carattere né inserendo elementi destinati a raccontarne la storia (Kjelmeland 2005).

Nel quadro degli interventi di riuso dal basso, invece, è interessante mettere in luce le iniziative intraprese da Bunkerology¹⁷, una associazione sorta nel 2005 a Lista, nel sud della Norvegia che in partenariato con l'amministrazione locale ha da alcuni anni intrapreso diverse azioni per lo sfruttamento turistico di alcuni bunker. Interventi che si limitano all'aggiunta parassitaria, e facilmente removibile, delle strutture necessarie allo sfruttamento ludico dei bunker senza modificarne l'impianto, ma trasformandoli attraverso interventi pilota in belvedere, saune, ricoveri temporanei, *bird watching cabin*, ecc.¹⁸ Su questa stessa linea si muove anche il progetto di recupero e riconversione delle centinaia di migliaia di bunker che punteggiano la costa dell'Albania. Concrete Mushrooms¹⁹, questo il nome del progetto partito nel 2010 con una tesi di laurea al Politecnico di Milano e presentato anche alla XIII Biennale di Architettura di Venezia nel 2012. In questo caso, l'idea è di assicurare, ricorrendo ad un kit di attrezzature, la rapida ed efficace riconversione dei bunker in piccole stanze di un immenso albergo diffuso (Mydyti 2012). Un manuale-catalogo, di grande efficacia comunicativa, raccoglie le strategie e le tattiche del progetto che però mostra i propri limiti proprio nel fatto di prendere con leggerezza eccessiva e con un certo approccio kitsch l'addomesticamento di queste strutture bellissime dai caratteri così respingenti.

Più efficace, nel campo delle speculazioni progettuali prive di una reale commessa, Ospitare le differenze²⁰, un lavoro di un altro gruppo di studenti del Politecnico di Milano che perlustrano la possibilità di trasformare la grande base sottomarina di St. Nazaire in Francia in un grande mercato delle culture, stressando l'interesse e l'obiettivo di agire, attraverso gli interventi della proposta progettuale, su una inversione di percezione e di fruizione della base: da luogo confinato ed escluso dalla vita della città a polo di attività commerciali, ludiche e culturali. Sia l'introduzione parassitaria di alcune strutture di servizio, quali cinema e biblioteca, oltre a quelle tradizionali di un mercato, sia la proposta di intervenire con tagli profondi nella ciclopica struttura di calcestruzzo, onde sconfiggerne l'impossibile distruzione, mostrano la concreta possibilità di azioni progettuali in grado di dialogare con l'esistente in maniera utile e appropriata (Brunelli 2010).

16 Il progetto con motto "Proscenium" (entry: EU 031), presentato da Marianna Rentzou (GR), Alexandros Gerousis (GR), Beth Hughes (AU), Konstantinos Pantazis (GR), si aggiudica il primo premio e nonostante il regolamento del concorso imponga la realizzazione del progetto vincitore, la proposta è rimasta per ora solo sulla carta.

17 <http://www.bunkerologi.no>

18 <http://ebookbrowse.com/gdoc.php?id=315813532&url=78c23731f25f1aa4f3a40129df73d76c>

19 <http://www.facebook.com/concretemushrooms>

20 <http://www.lablog.org.uk/2008/11/14/ospitare-le-differenze>

Fig. 6:
Campo base di
Nesheim,
Bunkerology, 2005

Fig. 6:
Basecamp Nesheim,
Bunkerology, 2005
© Bunkerology



overlooks, saunas, temporary shelters, birdwatching cabins, etc.²⁷ The project of reuse and reconversion of the hundreds of thousands of bunkers that are scattered along the Albanian coast moves in the same direction. The name of such project is Concrete Mushrooms²⁸ it started in 2010 with a degree thesis defended at the Politecnico of Milano and it was also presented at the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale in 2012. The idea of the project is to guarantee the fast and effective reconversion of the bunkers – through an equipment kit – into small rooms of a huge diffused hotel²⁹. A manual-catalogue, with great communicative efficiency, contains all the strategies and tactics of the project, which, however, shows its limits as it deals with the domestication of such military structures with repulsive features with excessive flippancy and a rather kitsch approach.

Within the field of design plans which are not part of a real research project, *Ospitare le differenze*,³⁰ a project by another group of students from Politecnico of Milano, seems to be more effective. The group is investigating the possibility of turning the large submarine base of St. Nazaire in France into a great cultural market, highlighting the interest in and aim at acting, through the interventions of the proposed design plan, on the subversion of the perception and fruition of the basis: from a confined place, excluded from city life, to a centre of commercial, recreational, and cultural activities. Both the parasitic introduction of some leisure facilities, such as a cinema and a library, besides a traditional market, and the proposal to intervene with deep cuts in the colossal structure in concrete, show the real possibility of planning actions capable of exchanging a dialogue with the existing structures in a useful and appropriate way.³¹

27 <http://ebookbrowse.com/gdoc.php?id=315813532&url=78c23731f25f1aa4f3a40129df73d76c>

28 <http://www.facebook.com/concretemushrooms>

29 Mydyti 2012.

30 <http://www.lablog.org.uk/2008/11/14/ospitare-le-differenze>

31 Brunelli, Parati 2011.

Azioni artistiche e abbandono

Accanto alle azioni di riuso spontaneo o pianificato, negli anni, si sono registrate sui patrimoni di guerra, non solo dell'Atlantikwall, azioni progettuali di natura prevalentemente artistica finalizzate a sollecitare lo sviluppo di nuove consapevolezze. Questo ruolo è stato anche al centro delle riflessioni proposte dalla Settima Biennale d'arte di Berlino²¹ del 2012 che non a caso si intitola *Forget Fear*. Sin dalla fine del secondo conflitto mondiale, infatti, in un momento dominato dall'esigenza di un oblio collettivo, sono stati gli artisti gli unici ad affrontare in modo provocatorio il tema della memoria spezzata e del trauma attraverso tre linee d'azione principali.

Alcuni artisti, come ad esempio Christian Boltanski, Naomo Tereza Salmon e Fabio Mauri, hanno lavorato sul concetto di memoria come perdita. Altri artisti hanno invece preferito lavorare al tema della negazione del monumento come unica possibile tipologia di intervento, considerandola superata e soprattutto non più in grado di stimolare alcun significato. James Young ha definito queste opere *counter-monument* una sorta di monumento al contrario. Uno degli esempi più rappresentativi in tal senso è costituito dal *Monument Against Fascism* (1986) di Esther e Jochen Gerz, una scultura realizzata per scomparire lentamente secondo un processo che vede il migrare della memoria dalle cose alle persone. Sottolineando la necessità di ritrovare un coinvolgimento attivo e partecipato dei singoli individui negli interventi commemorativi e in tutti quelli che hanno come obiettivo il preservare memorie collettive. Negli ultimi anni, infine, l'attenzione di alcuni artisti ha riguardato anche le rovine, come è accaduto ad esempio nelle performances di Magdalena Jetelova (1994-95) o di Ejdrup Hansen (1995) che sono intervenuti con azioni specifiche su alcuni bunker dell'Atlantikwall per demolirne l'aurea luttuosa che li accompagna.

La ricchezza dei casi che è possibile mappare, mostra come i patrimoni difficili rappresentino un campo privilegiato delle pratiche artistiche, le uniche in grado di affrontarne i temi e i contenuti in essi preservati aggirandone il peso negativo che solitamente prevarica, talvolta neutralizzandola, qualsivoglia concreta azione di recupero (Bassanelli, 2013).

In ultimo, considerando le diverse azioni di cui l'Atlantikwall è stato oggetto e continua ad essere oggetto, non si può non citare il vasto grado di abbandono in cui versano la maggior parte delle sue strutture. Al di fuori del circuito di un selezionato gruppo di casi emblematici, infatti, i bunker del Vallo Atlantico non sono oggetto di alcuna attenzione né di recupero né di conservazione. Se si escludono i casi eccezionali della Norvegia (Wilberg 2000), dove le tracce del Vallo Atlantico sono state inserite in una ampia campagna di rilievo e restituzione di tutto il patrimonio militare nazionale, e in parte della Francia, dove le DRAC locali hanno iniziato un censimento puntuale delle strutture presenti nei propri territori, le migliaia di strutture di cui è costellato il litorale atlantico europeo sono per lo più ignote oltre ad essere lasciate in uno stato di totale abbandono (Toulier 1996). Un tentativo di approccio sistematico, almeno relativamente all'identificazione e riconoscimento anche se solo di un numero limitato di siti, è stato compiuto dal progetto *The Atlantic Wall Linear Museum* che ne ha messo in evidenza il valore transnazionale, non solo perché effettivamente sparse in paesi diversi ma soprattutto perché interpretate come patrimonio europeo condiviso. L'iniziativa, che ha reso disponibili in rete un insieme consistente di dati, si configura come primo vero museo dell'Atlantikwall, considerando la rete l'unico luogo in cui il progetto di costruire una *Festung Europa* può trovare ancora la sua originaria unità almeno narrativa (Postiglione 2006).

21 La Biennale di Berlino del 2012 è stata curata da Artur Zmijewski.

Fig. 7:
 “Funghi di cemento
 (Concrete Mushrooms)”,
 Tesi di laurea di
 Gyler Mydyti e Elian
 Stefa, Politecnico di
 Milano, [http://blog.
 concrete-mushrooms.
 com/?page_id=112](http://blog.concrete-mushrooms.com/?page_id=112)

Fig. 7:
 Concrete Mushrooms
 MA dissertation of
 Gyler Mydyti and Elian
 Stefa, Politecnico di
 Milano, [http://blog.
 concrete-mushrooms.
 com/?page_id=112](http://blog.concrete-mushrooms.com/?page_id=112)



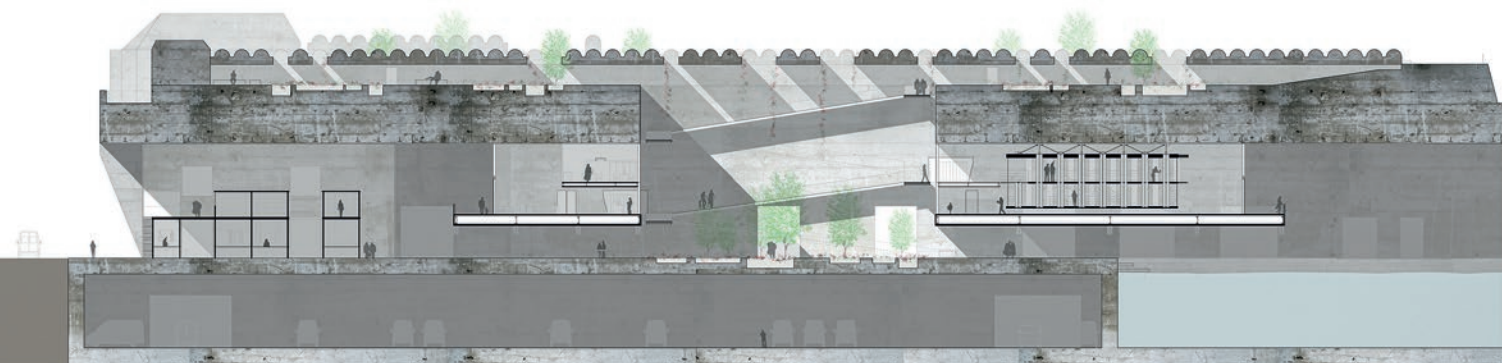
Artistic actions and abandonment

Apart from the actions for spontaneous or planned reuse, other projects with a mainly artistic character, aiming at stimulating new awareness, have been observed over the years on military heritage, not only of the Atlantikwall. The cases that are possible to identify are so many that it is clear how difficult heritages represent a privileged field in artistic practices. Indeed, they are the only ones capable of facing the themes and contents that such heritages preserve, bypassing the negative load that usually overbears, sometimes to the point of neutralizing, any concrete salvage action. This theme is exhaustively dealt with in this book, in the section entitled *Art & Conflict Heritage*.

Finally, if we consider the various actions which the Atlantikwall underwent and is still undergoing, we cannot but mention the high degree of abandonment of most of its buildings. Apart from a selected group of emblematic cases, in fact, the bunkers of the Atlantikwall are not subject to any planned intervention of salvage or conservation. The exception is Norway,³² where the traces of the Atlantikwall have been included in a large campaign for the enhancement and restoration of the whole national military heritage, and, partially, France, where the local DRACs (Direction régionale des affaires culturelles) have started a census of the structures present on their territories, the thousands of structures scattered along the European Atlantic coast are mainly unknown and left in a state of complete abandonment.³³ An attempt for a systematic approach, if only to the identification of a limited number of websites, has been made by the project The Atlantic Wall Linear Museum. As a matter of fact, it has highlighted its transnational value, not only because the structures are scattered along various countries, but mostly because they are considered as European shared heritage. The initiative, which has made a considerable amount of data available on the net, presents itself as the

³² Wilberg 2000.

³³ Toulrier 1996.



Azioni estensive e sistematiche di demolizione sono state compiute esclusivamente in Germania, dove all'opposto di quanto accaduto altrove, i bunker sono stati per la quasi totalità distrutti, cancellandone qualsiasi traccia che potesse suscitare ricordi di questo periodo buio della storia tedesca. L'urgenza e il peso insostenibile della memoria ha imposto una rigorosa azione di pulizia e rimozione che ha tenuto la stessa storia tedesca ostaggio del silenzio per un passato impossibile da accettare o semplicemente ricordare. Ci sono voluti diversi decenni perché nuove generazioni riprendessero in mano i fili della storia per ricucirne gli strappi e le omissioni.

L'abbandono appare essere in ultima analisi lo strumento prescelto, per una scelta talvolta obbligata, cui affidare la demolizione di tutte quelle tracce del Vallo Atlantico, ancora tante, presenti sul territorio europeo. Impossibili da rimuovere a causa della possente struttura costruttiva che rende qualsiasi operazione di questo tipo estremamente onerosa e lunga, i bunker vengono lasciati all'azione della natura che rapidamente se ne è appropriata e che lentamente ne sta trasformando la consistenza, erodendone prima che le strutture la stessa percezione. Muschi, piante, acqua e altri agenti sono gli strumenti di un processo di naturalizzazione forzata di elementi completamente atopici, per forma collocazione e materialità, rispetto ai territori in cui sono inseriti, essendo le ragioni della loro esistenza dettate esclusivamente dalle necessità strategiche di controllo visivo e difensivo del campo di battaglia: quella sterminata fascia di mare e di cielo compresa tra la linea di costa e quella dell'orizzonte, dai Pirenei fino a Capo Nord.

Fig. 8:

Ospitare le differenze. Progetto di un mercato nell'U-boot bunker di Saint Nazaire, Francia. Tesi di laurea di Claudia Brunelli, Valeria Bormolini e Margherita Parati, Politecnico di Milano.

Fig. 8:

"Ospitare le differenze. Progetto di un mercato nell'U-boot bunker di Saint Nazaire, Francia". MA dissertation of Claudia Brunelli, Valeria Bormolini and Margherita Parati, Politecnico di Milano.



Fig. 9:

Bunker 599, RAAAF e Atelier de Lyon, Amsterdam, 2010

Fig. 9:

Bunker 599, RAAAF and Atelier de Lyon, Amsterdam, 2010

© Rietveld Landscape

Fig. 10:
Casa costruita su
un bunker, batteria
Gneisenau, Guernsey

Fig. 10:
House built on a
bunker, gun battery
Gneisenau, Guernsey

© P. Bourgaize



first real museum of the Atlantikwall. Indeed, it considers the web as the only place where the project of building a *Festung Europa* can still find its original unity, or at least a narrative one.³⁴

Extensive and systematic actions of demolition have been performed exclusively in Germany, where, contrarily to what happened elsewhere, bunkers have been almost completely destroyed, erasing any trace that could trigger memories about that dark period of German history. The urgency and the unbearable weight of memory have imposed a rigorous action of cleanliness and removal, which has kept German history itself hostage of the silence for a past that is impossible to accept or even remember. It took many decades for the new generations to take the threads of history and sew together its snags and omissions.

Ultimately, abandonment seems to be the preferred tool for the choice, which is sometimes forced, to demolish all the many traces of the Atlantikwall that are still on the European territory. The bunkers are impossible to remove, because of their massive building structures which make any such operation extremely expensive and long. As a consequence, they have been left at the mercy of nature, which has soon taken possession of them, and is slowly transforming them, eroding their structures but, most of all, their perception. Moss, plants, water, and other agents are the instruments of a process of forced naturalization of elements that are extraneous to the territories where they have been inserted, by form, collocation, and materials. In fact, the reasons why they exist are connected exclusively to strategic necessities of visual and defensive control of the battlefield: that endless stretch of sea and sky between the coastline and the skyline, from the Pyrenees to North Cape.

³⁴ Postiglione 2006.

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Karin Dalla Torre

Von der Kraft des Unsichtbaren

Das kulturelle Potential militärischer Bauten

Das Forschungsprojekt zum „Vallo Alpino del Littorio“, den Befestigungsanlagen des sogenannten Alpenwalls in Südtirol, das im Auftrag des Südtiroler Landesmuseums Festung Franzensfeste aus dem Forschungsfonds des Betriebes Landesmuseen finanziert und von Architekt Heimo Prünster 2019 bis 2022 bearbeitet wurde, stellt einen weiteren wichtigen Schritt der „Erschließung“ militärischer Strukturen und Areale des 20. Jahrhunderts in Südtirol dar, der den notwendigen Diskurs über die kulturhistorische Bedeutung und den Umgang mit diesen sperrigen Objekten der Erinnerungskultur weiter führt.

Dass dieser Forschungsauftrag vom Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste ausgeht, in dem in den nächsten Jahren eine Dauerausstellung zur Südtiroler Zeitgeschichte entstehen wird, ist eine starke Botschaft, die vermittelt, dass sich die Forschungs- und Vermittlungsstrategie dieses Museumsprojektes im politischen Auftrag bewusst auch den schwierigen Themen und bis heute dunklen Flecken der Geschichtsbearbeitung und Geschichtsverarbeitung zuwenden wird.

Die Ergebnisse dieses Forschungsprojektes schaffen eine breite wissenschaftliche Basis zur Gesamtanlage des Alpenwalls in diesem Land, die eine solide Grundlage für die weitere Themenführung darstellt. Das architektonisch und historisch reizvolle Thema der Bunker ist in den großen Kontext der militärischen Bauten des späten 19. und des 20. Jahrhunderts eingebunden. Die Dokumentation und der Gesamtüberblick ermöglichen eine Neubewertung und eine neue Auswahlgrundlage auch in Zusammenhang mit der Strategie der Erhaltung, der Erinnerungskultur und auch der Denkmalschutzbindungen. Vor allem ist es wichtig, die einzelnen Bunker des Alpenwalls als Mosaiksteine eines ausgeklügelten Systems wahrzunehmen, die als Einzelteile nicht hätten wirken können.

Seit dem Übergang der zwischen 1933 bis 1942 errichteten Teile der Verteidigungsanlagen des Alpenwalls als militärisches Großprojekt mit seinen 350 Bunkern ins Eigentum der Autonomen Provinz Bozen im Jahr 1999, hat sich schon wieder eine neue Zeitschicht von fast einem Vierteljahrhundert über diese Bauwerke gelegt. Vieles hat sich bewegt, das wir im Zusammenhang sehen sollten, um zu bewerten, in welche Richtung die Rezeption sich bewegt.

Zwischen Februar und August 1999 waren im Zuge der großen Eigentumsübertragung rund 2500 Parzellen vom Staat auf das Land übertragen worden und die Vermögensverwaltung der Autonomen Provinz hatte ein unüberschaubares Arbeitsvolumen zu bewältigen. Da all diese baulichen Strukturen bis dahin der militärischen Geheimhaltung unterworfen waren, haben die Kolleginnen und Kollegen der Landesverwaltung damals eine riesige terra incognita betreten. Allein die Akten, Dokumente und Materialien zu den Anlagen haben einen Lastwagen gefüllt. Im Zuge von zahllosen Lokalausgängen ging es darum, die Bunker und anderen Anlagen zu besichtigen, zu bewerten, zu

Karin Dalla Torre

On the power of the invisible

The cultural potential of military structures

The research project on the “*Vallo Alpino del Littorio*” – the fortifications that make up South Tyrol’s so-called Alpine Wall – was commissioned by the Provincial Museum of Franzensfeste Fortress in South Tyrol with financing from the research fund of the Province’s Department of Museums; developed by the architect Heimo Prünster from 2019 to 2022, it represents another important step in the “opening up” of 20th-century military structures and areas in South Tyrol, thus continuing the necessary discourse on the cultural and historical significance of and approach to these unwieldy objects of the culture of remembrance.

The fact that this research assignment was originated by the Franzensfeste Fortress Museum, where a permanent exhibition on the contemporary history of South Tyrol will be established in the coming years, is a strong message that the research and mediation strategy of this museum project will, under its political mission, also consciously scrutinise the difficult topics and still-dark corners in the treatment and processing of history.

The results of this research project will form a broad scientific basis for the overall complex of the Alpine Wall in this land, providing a solid foundation for further developing the theme. The architecturally and historically appealing subject of bunkers fits into the larger context of military buildings of the late 19th and 20th centuries. The documentation and general overview enable a reassessment and a new basis for selection, not least in relation to the strategy of conservation, the culture of remembrance and indeed the preservation obligations. Above all, it is important to perceive the individual bunkers of the Alpine Wall as mosaic stones of an elaborate defensive system that could not have functioned as individual parts.

Ownership of the parts of the Alpine Wall – built between 1933 and 1942 as a large-scale military project with some 350 bunkers – was in 1999 transferred to the Autonomous Province of South Tyrol; since then a new chronological layer, almost a quarter of a century, has covered these structures. Much has in the meantime happened that we should view in context in order to assess in which direction this handover is moving.

Between February and August 1999, the Italian state disposed of some 2,500 parcels of land to South Tyrol as part of an enormous transfer of ownership, with the Estate Management Department of the Province having to deal with an almost insurmountable volume of work. As all of the structures had until then been subject to military secrecy, the staff of the provincial administration were faced with a gigantic *terra incognita*. Merely the files, documents and materials concerning the complexes filled a whole truck. The bunkers and other facilities had to be inspected, evaluated, secured and photographically documented, with a relevant system developed during the course of countless on-site inspections, while a legal basis for their transfer had to be created.



Abb. 1:
Hanf Mähne an der
Kaserne

Fig. 1:
Hemp mane at the
barracks

© Ariel Trettel

sichern, fotografisch zu dokumentieren und eine Systematik dazu zu entwickeln. Außerdem musste eine gesetzliche Grundlage für die Abtretung dieser Immobilien geschaffen werden.

Das mit diesen Aufgaben betraute Team entwickelte sehr bald Gespür und Begeisterung für die historischen und bautechnischen Reize der vielfältigen Typologien von Bunkern, die sich untrennbar mit der Landschaft verbunden hatten. Aus der erstellten Dokumentation wurde eine dokumentarische Entscheidungsgrundlage für die Landesregierung erstellt, die sich dafür entschied, lediglich 20 besonders interessante und bedeutende Bunker zu schützen und im Landeseigentum zu behalten, man sprach damals von einer möglichen „kulturellen, didaktischen und touristischen Verwendung“. 2005 erschien die von der Autonomen Provinz herausgegebene Publikation *Bunker* als „Grundlage für eine Beschäftigung mit dem Kalten Krieg und dessen – nicht nur baulichen – Auswirkungen auf Südtirol“.¹ Mit dieser Veröffentlichung nahm die kulturelle Auseinandersetzung und Vermittlung des Themas Bunker ihren Anfang. Aus dem Material der Publikation entstand auch eine Wanderausstellung, die mit einem Vortragsangebot bei der Vermögensabteilung angefordert werden konnte.

2006 legte Heimo Prünster mit einer Diplomarbeit zu den Bunkern mit dem Titel *Die Ästhetik des Wiederauftauchens* das erste Dokument seines heutigen Arbeits- und

¹ Josef Urthaler, Andrea Pozza, Christina Niederkofler: *Bunker*. Autonome Provinz Bozen – Südtirol, 2005, S. 6.

The team entrusted with these tasks very soon developed a feeling and enthusiasm for the historical and architectural attractions of the various types of bunkers that were now inseparable from the landscape. The documentation produced formed the basis of a documentary decision by the Province, which decided to preserve only twenty particularly interesting and significant bunkers and retain them in its ownership; the talk at the time was of a possible “cultural, didactic and touristic use”. In 2005, the Province issued its publication “*Bunker*” as a “basis for a study of the Cold War and its – not only structural – effects on South Tyrol”.¹ This work marked the beginning of the cultural discussion and mediation of the subject of bunkers, with the material in the publication also used to create a travelling exhibition that could be requested from the Estate Management Department, with accompanying lectures.

In 2006, Heimo Prünster submitted his diploma thesis on the bunkers under the title *Die Ästhetik des Wiederauftauchens* [The aesthetics of re-emergence]: the first document of his current work and research focus. In 2017 a themed issue, supervised by Heimo Prünster, of the magazine of the Architecture Foundation of South Tyrol appeared under the title *Bunkerlandschaft Südtirol. Paesaggi fortificati* [South Tyrol’s bunker landscape].²

The comprehensive research project, to which this conference record is also dedicated, represents a (provisional) culmination of the debate. It was developed in parallel with the project for the new permanent exhibition *Eingebunkert. Bunker in Südtirol* [Dug in. Bunkers in South Tyrol], opened in May 2022 at the Franzensfeste Fortress Museum as a thematic complement to the permanent exhibition concerning the fortress itself. The tours of Bunker no. 3, now part of the Museum, are also part of this focus on the construction of military fortifications.

Although the above-mentioned measures and projects might suggest a certain institutionalisation of the thematic complex of military architecture and bunkers, the topic remains politically sensitive and susceptible to political appropriation. The military architecture and constructions of the Alpine Wall are still regarded by large parts of the South Tyrolean population, especially the German-speakers, as visible traces of the painful Fascist era that should simply be erased. Even after almost 25 years following the handover of the works, it is still very difficult to win over the public for a differentiated cultural discourse on the military architecture of the 1930s and 1940s. But, especially in the context of the huge barracks areas transferred to the Province and the municipalities in recent decades, we still have to answer the question of what should be done with these buildings.

A *tabula rasa* strategy is for political reasons out of the question, not least in regard to the current discussion on sustainability that in South Tyrol revolves around the Province’s flagship project known as “Everyday for future”. Considerable time has passed since the handover of the areas, and the topics of climate protection and grey energy are playing a new and important role in the context of the climate crisis. Today, it is more a question of the interim use, conversion and further construction of the existing buildings that can give new life and energy to the wasteland of neglect, vandalism and destruction of this military architecture: as high-quality, long-lasting buildings, as architecture worthy of preservation, as memorials for a peaceful and democratic society that, despite different and dissonant cultures of remembrance, can productively negotiate a path through our complex and mournful spaces of memory together.

1 Josef Urthaler, Andrea Pozza, Christina Niederkofler: *Bunker*. Autonomous Province of South Tyrol, 2005, p. 6.

2 Turris Babel, Architecture Foundation of South Tyrol, no. 108, 12/2017.

Forschungsschwerpunktes vor. Im Jahr 2017 erschien ein Themenheft der Zeitschrift der Architekturstiftung Südtirol mit dem Titel *Bunkerlandschaft Südtirol. Paesaggi fortificati*, das von Heimo Prünster betreut wurde.²

Das umfassende Forschungsprojekt, dem auch dieser Tagungsband eingeschrieben ist, stellt einen – vorläufigen – Höhepunkt der Auseinandersetzung dar. Es entstand parallel zum Projekt der neuen Dauerausstellung *Eingebunkert. Bunker in Südtirol*, die im Mai 2022 im Landesmuseum Festung Franzensfeste eröffnet wurde und die Dauerausstellung zur Festung selbst thematisch ergänzt. Auch die Bunkerführungen im musealisierten Bunker Nr. 3, der zum Museum gehört, sind Teil dieses Themenschwerpunktes zum militärischen Befestigungsbau.

Obwohl die genannten Maßnahmen und Projekte eine gewisse Institutionalisierung des Themenkomplexes Militärarchitektur und Bunker nahelegen könnten, bleibt das Thema politisch sensibel und anfällig für politische Vereinnahmungen. Die Militärarchitektur und die Bauwerke des Alpenwalls gelten bei großen Teilen vor allem der deutschen Sprachgruppe der Südtiroler Bevölkerung noch als sichtbare Spuren der leidvollen faschistischen Ära, die einfach nur ausgelöscht werden sollte. Selbst fast 25 Jahre nach dem Übergang der Immobilien ist es noch sehr schwierig, die Öffentlichkeit für einen differenzierten kulturellen Diskurs über die Militärarchitektur aus den 1930er- und 1940er Jahren zu gewinnen. Gerade aber im Zusammenhang mit den riesigen Kasernenarealen, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten auf das Land und auf die Gemeinden übergegangen sind, müssen wir die Frage beantworten, was mit diesen Gebäuden geschehen soll.

Eine Tabula-rasa-Strategie aus politischen Gründen verbietet sich nicht zuletzt in der gegenwärtigen Nachhaltigkeitsdiskussion, die sich in Südtirol rund um das Leitprojekt „Everyday for future“ der Landesregierung dreht, von selbst. Seit dem Übergang der Areale ist viel Zeit vergangen und die Themen Klimaschutz und Graue Energie spielen eine neue und wichtige Rolle im Rahmen der Klimakrise. Es stellen sich heute vielmehr Fragen der Zwischennutzung, der Umnutzung und des Weiterbaus im Bestand, die der Brache von Vernachlässigung, Vandalismus und Vernichtung der Militärarchitektur neues Leben und neue Energie schenken können. Als qualitätvolle, langlebige Gebäude, als erhaltenswerte Architektur, als Mahnmale für eine friedliche und demokratische Gesellschaft, die trotz unterschiedlicher und dissonanter Erinnerungskulturen unsere komplexen und leidvollen Erinnerungsräume gemeinsam und produktiv durchschreiten kann.

Das kann nur gelingen, wenn der öffentliche Blick auf diese Bauten sich einem neuen, einem kulturhistorischen Fokus zuwendet, der auch diese Zeitzeugen als identitätsstiftende Kulturgüter sehen und wertschätzen lernt. Dafür sollten die Menschen diese Orte kennen lernen dürfen, um sich ihnen auch emotional zu nähern. Doch wie soll das gehen, wie kann das gelingen? Eine wichtige Rolle wird dabei dem kulturellen Potential dieser Gebäude und Baustrukturen zukommen, das zeigt das Beispiel der Franzensfeste als Befestigungsanlage, die zahlreiche Parallelen zu den Verteidigungsanlagen des Faschismus aufweist. Auch sie wurde als „Kathedrale in der Wüste“ gebaut, für einen „Feind, der nie kam“.³ Auch diese riesige Militärarchitektur auf drei Ebenen, die 1838 eingeweiht wurde und damals als Meisterwerk der österreichischen Militärarchitektur galt, ist im Grunde die gebaute Angst einer Gesellschaft – so wie der hundert Jahre später errichtete Alpenwall.

² Turris Babel, Architekturstiftung Südtirol, Nr. 108, 12/2017.

³ Josef Rohrer: Die Franzensfeste. Für einen Feind, der nie kam. Geschichte eines imposanten Bauwerks. Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol, Abteilung Denkmalpflege, 2008.

Abb. 2:
Mähne am Bunker
Nr. 23, Tartsch

Fig. 2:
Mane at the bunker
no. 23, Tartsch/Tarces

© Othmar Prenner



This can only succeed if the public view of these buildings is directed to a new, cultural-historical focus that also learns to see and appreciate these contemporary witnesses as cultural assets that can create identity. In return, people should be allowed to get to know these places in order to approach them on an emotional level. But how is this to be done, and how can it succeed? An important role will be played by the cultural potential of these buildings and structures, as shown by the example of Franzensfeste as a fortification that contains numerous parallels with the defensive structures of the Fascist era. It, too, was built as a “cathedral in the desert” for an “enemy that never came”.³ This huge specimen of military architecture, built on three levels and inaugurated in 1838, was considered a masterpiece of Austrian military architecture at the time, but also basically represents the fear of a society in concrete form – just like the Alpine Wall one hundred years later.

3 Josef Rohrer: Franzensfeste. Für einen Feind, der nie kam. Geschichte eines imposanten Bauwerks [For an enemy who never came. History of an imposing structure]. Autonomous Province of South Tyrol, Office for the Preservation of Monuments, 2008.

Auch die Festung Franzensfeste hat bis in unsere Zeit dem italienischen Heer als Kaserne gedient, bevor sie zunächst der Gemeinde Franzensfeste in Konzession und zuletzt der Autonomen Provinz ins Eigentum übergeben wurde. Die Bücher von Dario Massimo wissen viel darüber zu erzählen. Interessant ist, dass der Staat im Fall der Franzensfeste den Übergang mit der Bedingung verbunden hat, die Festung müsse einer kulturellen Nutzung zugeführt werden. Das ist ein wesentlicher Aspekt, der die Umnutzung dieser Militärkaserne mit der Kultur als Treiberin für ihre Zukunft beschenkt hat. Zuerst war es die internationale Kulturbienale Manifesta, deren 7. Ausgabe von 2008 in der Festung einen ihrer Standorte gefunden hat. Danach war es die Landesausstellung *Labyrinth::Freiheit* im Jahr 2009, die die Kultur in Mauern eingeschrieben hat, die heute eines der zehn Landesmuseen beherbergen und die der Architekt Markus Scherer in einzigartiger Weise weitergebaut hat. Eine Forderung, diese Militärarchitektur zu schleifen, hat es nicht gegeben. Offenbar wurde und wird die österreichische Militärarchitektur des 19. Jahrhunderts bei uns nicht als „schwieriges Kulturerbe“ gesehen.

Neben politischen Aspekten der Bewertung von Kulturgütern, die nicht den Anspruch der Schönheit oder künstlerischen Bedeutung für sich beanspruchen können, scheint es vor allem die zeitliche Distanz zu sein, die eine Dissonanz abklingen lässt. In unserem Grenzland, wo seit jeher Kulturen aufeinanderprallen, gibt es zahllose Spuren und Zeugen von gesicherten Siedlungsplätzen und Befestigungen über die Zeit, die dem menschlichen Schutzbedürfnis des Gebauten entspringen und sich mit der Landschaft verbunden haben: Burgen, Schlösser, Festungen, Ansitze und Stadtmauern prägen unsere Denkmallandschaft. Die Besucherinnen und Besucher dieser musealisierten Orte besuchen Wehrgänge mit Schießscharten, Waffenkammern mit Foltergeräten, Kerker und Verliese. Dazu kommen noch wertvolle Innenausstattungen der Wohnräume und Kapellen, die den jüngeren Militärstrukturen allerdings weitgehend abgehen.

Schlösser und Burgen in der Landschaft gelten heute als schön, diesen verklärenden Blick haben wir vor allem der Epoche der Romantik zu verdanken. Auch sie waren Technische Kulturgüter und Verteidigungsanlagen ihrer Zeit, mit dem Unterschied, dass wir ihr kulturelles Potential aufgrund der zeitlichen Distanz besser lesen können. Die öffentliche kontroverse Diskussion über die kulturelle Relevanz und den Denkmalwert der ehemaligen Drusus-Kaserne in Schlanders, mit deren Dokumentation und Bauforschung ebenfalls Architekt Heimo Prünster gemeinsam mit den Architektinnen Barbara Lanz und Sonja Mitterer vom Landesdenkmalamt beauftragt wurden, hat gezeigt, nach welchen Kriterien zumeist die Öffentlichkeit hierzulande jüngere Militärarchitektur, vor allem auch der 1930er Jahre beurteilt.

Nun müssen wir die Bunker und Strukturen des Alpenwalls und die Militärkasernen nicht als „schön“ wahrnehmen, auch weil der Wert eines Gebäudes für die Erinnerungskultur mit vielen anderen Kategorien gemessen wird, wobei einzelne Gebäude wie das Kommandogebäude in der Drususkaserne in Schlanders durchaus besondere architektonische Qualität aufweisen. Nur sollten wir in der Beurteilung der Militärarchitektur berücksichtigen, dass die fehlende zeitliche Distanz die Bewertung verfälschen kann und dass eine kulturelle Umnutzung für die Zukunft dieser Bauten eine große Rolle spielen kann.

Doch zurück zu den Bunkern. Diese Ergebnisse der ersten Großbaustelle in Südtirol, mit der nur die Brennerautobahn und das Brennerbasisprojekt vergleichbar sind, bleiben unsichtbar und lassen sich von der Natur überwuchern. Diese Meister der Mimesis trotzen mit ihren Betonmassen der Zeit und zeigen sich uns oft erst auf den zweiten oder gar dritten Blick, wie es ihrem Zweck entspricht. Die ehemals enteigneten Grundstücke sind zu einem geringen Preis samt den Bunkern in vielen Fällen an die ehemaligen Eigentümerinnen und Eigentümer zurückgegangen, die mehr am Grundstück als an den

Franzensfeste fortress until recently also served the Italian Army as a barracks before first being handed over to the Municipality of Franzensfeste as a concession, then finally to the Autonomous Province as its own property. Dario Massimo's books have a lot to say in this regard. It is interesting to note that, in the case of Franzensfeste, the Italian government made the transfer conditional on the fortress being put to cultural use. This is an essential aspect that has endowed the conversion of this military barracks with culture as a driver for its future. First came the international cultural biennial *Manifesta*, with the fortress acting as one of the sites for its seventh edition in 2008; then came the 2009 exhibition *Labyrinth::Freiheit* [Labyrinth::Freedom], which made culture a part of the walls that now house one of the ten Provincial museums and that architect Markus Scherer has continued to extend in unique ways. There was no demand to obliterate this military architecture. Evidently the 19th-century Austrian military architecture has not been and is not seen as a "difficult cultural heritage" in these parts.

Apart from the political aspects when evaluating cultural assets that cannot lay claim to beauty or artistic significance, it seems above all temporal distance that permits dissonance to subside. In this borderland, where cultures have always clashed, there are countless traces and witnesses of secured settlements and fortifications that over time arose from the human need to protect the built environment and that are now part of the landscape: castles, forts, palaces, stately residences and city walls all mark our landscape of monuments. These museums offer visitors battlements with loopholes, armouries with implements of torture, jails and dungeons. The living quarters and chapels may also contain valuable interior furnishings, although these are largely absent from the more recent military structures.

Castles and palaces in the landscape are today considered beautiful: this transfiguring view is owed primarily to the Romantic era. They too were the technical cultural assets and defensive structures of their age, with the difference that, thanks to the distance in time, we can better read their cultural potential. The controversial public discussion about the cultural relevance and monumental value of the former Drusus barracks in Schlanders/Silandro, which the architect Heimo Prünster was also commissioned to document and research together with the architects Barbara Lanz and Sonja Mitterer from South Tyrol's Office for the Preservation of Monuments, has shown the criteria by which the South Tyrolean public usually judges more recent military architecture, especially that from the 1930s.

Now, it is not necessary to perceive the bunkers and structures of the Alpine Wall and the military barracks as "beautiful", as the value of a building for the culture of remembrance is measured by many other categories, with individual buildings such as the command building in the Drusus barracks in Schlanders undoubtedly having a special architectural quality: when assessing military architecture, however, we should take into account the fact that the lack of temporal distance may distort our evaluation and that cultural repurposing can play a major role for the future of these buildings.

But back to the bunkers: these, the results of the first major construction project in South Tyrol, comparable in size only to the Brenner autobahn and the Brenner base tunnel, remain invisible and allow themselves to be overgrown by nature. The concrete masses of these masters of mimesis defy time, often only revealing themselves to us – as befits their purpose – at a second or even third glance. The once-expropriated plots of land have in many cases been returned, together with the bunkers, at a low price to their former owners, who were more interested in the land than in the bunkers. As it is very costly to demolish a bunker, they have a good chance of surviving the test of time, while nature and a wide variety of conversion projects – from storage spaces to apiaries – gnaw away at them. The network formed by this huge cultural asset continues to



Abb. 3:
Mähne am Bunker
Nr. 23, Tartsch

Fig. 3:
Mane at the bunker
no. 23, Tartsch/Tarces

© Othmar Prenner

Bunkern interessiert waren. Da es sehr aufwändig ist, einen Bunker abzutragen, haben sie gute Chancen die Zeit zu überdauern, während die Natur und unterschiedlichste Umnutzungen von Lagerraum bis Bienenstand an ihnen nagen. Das Netz dieses riesigen Kulturgutes wirkt weiter in der Landschaft und behält seine Faszination. Ihm annähern können und sollten wir uns vor allem durch kulturelle Projekte, die in und mit den Bunkern umgesetzt werden.

Eine wirtschaftliche Nutzung hat sich vereinzelt entwickelt, in manchen Bunkern lagern und reifen Käse und Wein. In St. Lorenzen gibt es sogar einen Genussbunker. Mit solchen Nutzungen wird das kulturelle Phänomen der Eiskeller weitergeschrieben, die es bei uns zum Beispiel im Überetsch und Unterland gibt.

Interessanter ist die Rolle von Kultur und Kunst bei der Umnutzung einiger Bunker. In den Planungsunterlagen der Bunkerbauten, die die Archivrecherche ausheben konnte, zeigen sich in den Tarnstrategien für diese Bauten unvermutet kreative Ansätze. Sogar fiktive Bauernhäuser sollten den Bunkern wie ein Hut aufgesetzt werden, um den imaginären Feind zu täuschen.

Eine naheliegende kulturhistorische Strategie für die Bunker ist ihre Musealisierung. Beispiele dafür sind der Bunker Nr. 3, der Teil des Landesmuseums Franzensfeste ist, das Bunker-Museum in Toblach oder das Mooseum in Moos in Passeier, die sich in den letzten Jahren entwickelt haben. Sie alle haben im Grunde das Ziel, das sich das Projekt in Toblach setzt: „Learning Peace through History – Geschichte lehrt Frieden“. Ein solches Projekt ist auch für das ehemalige Nato-Areal in der Gemeinde Natz-Schabs zu entwickeln. Dort lässt sich die Geschichte des Kalten Krieges im Kontext der Festung Franzensfeste, ihres Bunkers und weiterer benachbarter Strukturen bestens erzählen und erleben.

impinge upon the landscape and to retain its fascination. We can and should approach it primarily through cultural projects that are realised in and with the bunkers.

There are a few cases of their economic use; cheese and wine are stored and aged in certain bunkers; at St. Lorenzen/San Lorenzo di Sebato, there is even a bunker devoted to high-quality cheesemaking. Such uses perpetuate the cultural phenomenon of the ice cellars that exist here, for example in the Überetsch/Oltradige and Unterland/Bassa Atesina regions.

Yet more interesting is the role of culture and art in the conversion of some bunkers. The planning documents for the bunkers unearthed by the archival research revealed unexpectedly creative approaches in the camouflage strategies of these buildings; even pretend farmhouses were to be placed over the bunkers to deceive the imaginary enemy.

An obvious cultural-historical strategy for the bunkers is their museumisation: examples include Bunker no. 3, now part of the Franzensfeste Museum; the Bunker Museum in Toblach/Dobbiaco and the Mooseum in Moos in Passeier/Moso in Passiria, all created in recent years. They all have the same fundamental goal as the project in Toblach: "Learning Peace through History". Such a project is also planned for the former NATO base in Natz-Schabs/Naz-Sciaves, where the history of the Cold War can clearly be told and experienced in the context of the Franzensfeste fortress, its bunker and other neighbouring structures.

Contemporary art in its own way fulfils the peace mission of culture for the bunkers. The artist, writer and performer Matthias Schönweger, for example, acquired around fifty bunkers in the course of the disposals and turned some of them into art bunkers in order to "breathe a peaceable nature into them" with symbolic themes such as love. Bunker no. 23, located in Tartsch/Tarces in the Vinschgau/Venosta Valley, was also transformed into an art project by Benny von Spinn in collaboration with Othmar Prenner. Since then, the bunker has acquired a caravan that serves as a bedroom for residential use, while there is also a "Terrace of Peace": a blond hemp flag by the artist Ariel Trettel that has previously done duty in the Schlanders barracks currently flies there. The raising of this unusual flag is intended to make people aware of how places and buildings can be transformed without erasing or forgetting their history.

Photographers too are fascinated by the strange and austere aesthetics of the bunkers as relics of a failed major project and an unprecedented waste of resources. Photographs of bunkers by Guido Guidi were on show in the gallery of the Fotoforum in Bozen/Bolzano a few years ago: in February–March 2023, the same gallery showed an exhibition by the photographer Vincenzo Pagliuca⁴ who, in a project lasting two years, traced these abandoned and silent journeymen, portraying how they stand and are used today: quirky and at the same time fascinating.

Since 1999, the political assessment of the architecture created during the Fascist era has changed, as can be seen in several preservation orders that the Provincial administration has agreed to in recent years at the suggestion of its Office for the Preservation of Monuments. The high-quality rationalist architecture of the former "Industria Nazionale Alluminio-Alumix" (which acquired listed status in 2004) is no longer in doubt; today it even serves as a marketing tool of the NOI Technology Park located there. More recent examples are the INPS building on Bozen's Piazza Mazzini (listed 2022) and the holiday home planned by Armando Ronca on the Col da Lech in Wolkenstein/Selva (listed 2023); these are however industrial, residential, administrative or commercial edifices.

4 Vincenzopagliuca.com/bunker

Die Zeitgenössische Kunst erfüllt den Friedensauftrag der Kultur für die Bunker auf ihre Weise. So hat der Künstler, Schriftsteller und Performer Matthias Schönweger im Zuge der Abtretungen rund 50 Bunker erworben und einzelne zu Kunst-Bunkern gemacht, um ihnen mit symbolhaften Themen wie der Liebe „Friedfertigkeit einzuhauchen“. Der Bunker Nr. 23 in Tartsch im Vinschgau wurde von Benny von Spinn in Zusammenarbeit mit Othmar Prenner ebenfalls zum Kunstprojekt transformiert. Seither ist dem Bunker ein Wohnwagen angewachsen, der der Wohnnutzung als Schlafzimmer dient und es gibt eine „Terrasse des Friedens“. Dort weht derzeit eine blonde Hanffahne des Künstlers Ariel Trettel, die vorher auch schon in der Schlanderser Kaserne ihren Dienst getan hat. Das Hissen dieser ungewöhnlichen Fahne soll bewusst machen, wie Orte und Gebäude verwandelt werden können, ohne ihre Geschichte zu löschen oder zu vergessen.

Auch die Fotografen sind fasziniert von der merkwürdigen herben Ästhetik der Bunker als Relikte eines gescheiterten Großprojektes und einer beispiellosen Ressourcenverschwendung. Vor einigen Jahren waren in der Galerie des Fotoforum in Bozen Aufnahmen von Bunkern von Guido Guidi zu sehen. Im Februar/März 2023 zeigte die Galerie Fotoforum eine Ausstellung des Fotografen Vincenzo Pagliuca⁴, der in einem zweijährigen Projekt diesen verlassen und schweigenden Gesellen nachgegangen ist, wie sie heute dastehen und genutzt werden. Skurril und faszinierend zugleich.

Seit 1999 hat sich die politische Einschätzung der Architektur verändert, die während des Faschismus entstanden ist, das lässt sich an mehreren Denkmalschutzbindungen ablesen, denen die Landesregierung in den vergangenen Jahren auf Vorschlag des Landesdenkmalamtes zugestimmt hat. Die qualitätvolle rationalistische Architektur der Bauten der ehemaligen „Industria Nazionale Alluminio- Alumix“ (Unterschutzstellung 2004) wird nicht mehr in Frage gestellt, sie ist heute sogar ein Marketinginstrument des Technologieparks NOI, der dort untergebracht ist. Jüngere Beispiele sind das INPS-Gebäude am Bozner Mazziniplatz (Unterschutzstellung 2022) und das von Armando Ronca geplante Ferienhaus am Col da Lech in Wolkenstein (Unterschutzstellung 2023). Allerdings handelt es sich hier um Industrie-, Wohn-, Verwaltungs- und Geschäftsgebäude.

Heute haben wir auch die noch schwierigere Erhaltungs- und Denkmalschutzdiskussion für die Bunker und Militäranlagen wie die Kasernen zu führen, weil die riesigen Areale, die vorher weiße Flecken der Militäргеheimhaltung waren, derzeit Gegenstand von weitreichenden Planungen der Gemeinden sind. Wenn wir rechtzeitig eine gut begründete Auswahl für das Erhalten und Schützen treffen wollen, müssen wir dies auf der Grundlage einer fundierten wissenschaftlichen Basis tun. Für den Alpenwall und die ehemalige Drusus-Kaserne in Schlanders liegt sie bereits vor. Weitere Forschungsarbeiten werden und müssen folgen, sie sind das wirksamste Instrument der Dokumentation und gemeinsam mit Kulturprojekten auch das beste Remedium gegen die Tabuisierung und Ablehnung der Militärarchitektur. Es geht nicht darum, alles zu erhalten. Es geht darum, einen Weg zu finden, Geschichte nicht zu löschen, sondern mit Gebäuden und anderen Elementen dieser Strukturen weiterzuerzählen. Es gilt interdisziplinär zu vermitteln, dass die Aufmerksamkeit für diese Architektur nicht der Kriegsverherrlichung oder Kriegsverharmlosung dient, sondern dem Frieden und dem kulturellen Potential dieser Bauten verpflichtet ist.

4 Vincenzopagliuca.com/bunker

Today we also face the even more difficult discussion concerning the preservation and protection of the bunkers and military installations such as the barracks, as the huge areas that were previously blank zones shrouded in military secrecy are currently the subject of far-reaching planning on the part of the municipalities. If we want to make proper choices for preservation and protection in good time, we must do so on a sound scientific basis. While this is already in place for the Alpine Wall and the former Drusus barracks in Schlanders, further research will and must follow: this is the most effective instrument of documentation and, along with cultural projects, is also the best remedy for countering the taboos surrounding military architecture and its rejection. It is not a question of preserving everything; it is more about finding a way not to erase history, but rather to continue telling it with buildings and other elements of these structures. It is a matter of conveying, in an interdisciplinary manner, that an awareness of such architecture will not serve to glorify or trivialise war, but instead is a commitment to peace and to the cultural potential of these buildings.

Kurzbiografien

Short biographies

Esther Erlacher

Esther Erlacher studierte Kunstgeschichte in Innsbruck, Kulturmanagement in Wien und Ausstellungsmanagement und -design in Krems. Seit 2006 ist sie im Museumsbereich tätig, von 2018 bis 2022 leitete sie als Koordinatorin die Festung Franzensfeste, seit Herbst 2022 für die Kuratie der Ausstellungsprojekte verantwortlich.

Heimo Prünster

Freelance architect and independent researcher in the field of cultural and military heritage. Scientific director of the research project "Vallo Alpino in South Tyrol". Studied painting and architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna.

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Rafaël Deroo worked for Flemish, Belgian and European governments for 25 years in European policy, policy support and stakeholder management. He currently consults various organizations on heritage communication and European networks. He holds a law degree with postgraduate degrees in political science, marketing and disaster planning. He is secretary of the European fortress association EFFORTS and was coordinator of the European cultural project "Atlantikwall Europe", which he initiated.

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Marco Ferrari, Carla Colzani

PAESAGGI FORTI è un progetto di ricerca collettivo nato nel 2019 con l'obiettivo di costruire un nuovo immaginario ecologico e paesaggistico per i forti austro-ungarici della Prima Guerra Mondiale in Trentino. Il progetto è curato dall'architetto Marco Ferrari (professore di Teorie dell'architettura presso l'Università di Ferrara, partner di Aidel.arch e già ricercatore per SAT e Fondazione Caritro) ed ha coinvolto nel corso del suo sviluppo un team di studenti e giovani professionisti provenienti da vari ambiti disciplinari, di cui la co-autrice di questo articolo Carla Colzani (studentessa magistrale in architettura presso l'Università Luav di Venezia) fa parte.

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Karin Dalla Torre, geboren in Bozen, Studium der Germanistik und der klassischen Philologie in Innsbruck, seit 2018 Landeskonservatorin für Südtirol, Coach und Mediatorin, lebt in Bozen und Stils.

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D Der vorliegende Band ist die Begleitpublikation zur internationalen Konferenz *Vallo Alpino. Die Zukunft? Die Zukunft!*, die im September 2021 im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes des Landesmuseums Festung Franzensfeste zum Südtiroler Teil des *Vallo Alpino* abgehalten wurde. Die Konferenz setzte sich auf multidisziplinärer Ebene mit dem monumentalen Kulturerbe auseinander. Der vorliegende Band umfasst alle Beiträge der Konferenz sowie zusätzliche Gastbeiträge von weiteren Fachleuten.

I Questo volume è la pubblicazione a corredo della conferenza internazionale *Vallo Alpino. Il futuro? Il futuro!*, tenutasi nel settembre 2021 nell'ambito del progetto di ricerca del Museo Provinciale Forte di Fortezza sulla parte altoatesina del *Vallo Alpino*. La conferenza affrontava l'argomento del patrimonio culturale monumentale in forma multidisciplinare. Questo volume raccoglie tutti i contributi della conferenza ed aggiuntivi saggi di altri esperti.

E This volume accompanies the international conference *Vallo Alpino. The future? The Future!*, which was held in September 2021 as part of the research project of the Provincial Museum Franzensfeste Fortress on the South Tyrolean part of the *Vallo Alpino*. The conference discussed the monumental cultural heritage from a multidisciplinary perspective. This volume contains all the conference proceedings plus additional expert's essays.

