

Museums and Communities

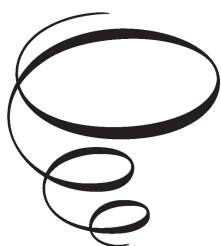
Museums and Communities:

*Diversity, Dialogue and
Collaboration in an Age
of Migrations*

Edited by

Viv Golding and Jen Walklate

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Diversity, Dialogue and Collaboration in an Age of Migrations

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ICOM-ICME dedicates this book to all those still looking for home.

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CHAPTER TWO

HOW LOMBROSO MUSEUM BECAME A PERMANENT CONFLICT ZONE

MARIA TERESA MILICIA

Introduction

On the 27 November 2009, the Museum of Criminal Anthropology “Cesare Lombroso” opened to the public after almost 80 years of institutional neglect (Giacobini, Cilli and Malerba 2010)¹. One month before, as soon as the press launched news of the inauguration, the Neo-Bourbon movement, together with a cartel of Southern political parties located in Naples, began to plan a smear campaign against the opening of the Museum. On the 2 of November the Apulian newspaper *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno* dedicated a banner headline to “The mass grave of Southern brigands”, the patriots devoted to the last Bourbon King of the Two Sicilies who, in the view of protesters, lay still unburied in the Lombroso Museum (Ingrosso 2009)². A few days later, the new display, which was still closed, was positioned through the social media as an intentional racist offense towards the Southern Italian peoples as well as a violation of the dignity of the Two Sicilies martyrs’ remains. The increasing protest converged with the public debate of the counter-narrative against Risorgimento and the then imminent celebration of 150 years of Italian unification (17 March 1861-2011)³. Neo-Bourbon historical

¹ On Cesare Lombroso and his *Criminal Man* see the English edition (Gibson and Rafter 2006).

² The current online version misses the journalist’s crude comment on the “Lack of respect to the Southern dead who fought for the South freedom” published in the printed version. The Apulian newspaper was the first supporter of the print media campaign against the Museum (Ingrosso 2010).

³ I will just give a few references (mainly selected for English readers) of the huge controversial debate on Garibaldi, Risorgimento and Italian nation-building within

revisionism is built on the central ideas of the colonial conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the consequential “genocide” of Southern people perpetrated by the Piedmontese army. The campaign against Lombroso Museum was an extraordinary opportunity to achieve public visibility and call on other political actors in the arena of Neo-Southern (*Neo-meridionalista*) activism. On 8 December 2009, the activists of the Neapolitan political movement *Insorgenza Civile*, created the Facebook group *I meridionali contro il museo lombrosiano di Torino*. The trend of the smear campaign against the Museum is exemplified by the report of the visit to the exhibition posted by Gianluca Bozzelli, one of the leaders of the movement, in which he divulges “first hand” information about Cesare Lombroso:

The Savoys granted him permission to perform experiments on the large catalog of Southern criminals available from the many jails of the Kingdom, autopsies of men still alive, murders for scientific purposes, and more (Bozzelli 2010).

Alongside *Insorgenza Civile* notable protestors included Duccio Mallamaci, a Calabrian engineer, who taught mathematics and physics at a high school in Turin for many years. In charge of the local Neo-Bourbon Committees of the Two Sicilies, Mallamaci created the Facebook group *Lombroso and Fenestrelle* to sustain the protest against the Museum. He fueled an unwavering anti-Semitism reinvigorating the nineteenth-century theory of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy against the Two Sicilies Kingdom that, in his view, is the agent of the reopening of the “Jewish Lombroso” Museum to lead the racist attack against the Southern people (Mallamaci n.d., 2016). After five months of mobilisation on social media, on the 8 May 2010 the “No Lombroso” cartel of the Southern political movement flocked to Turin to protest over the opening of the “Horror Museum” which became a symbol of Southern Italy’s violent annexation into the Piedmont-Sardinia Kingdom of the Savoy house. The protesters marched

the different scholarly and populist waves of revisionism, which was saturated with his public use and supported by the editorial marketing in the wake of the 150th anniversary of Italian unification (Riall 1994, 2007, 2009; Patriarca and Riall 2012; Lupo and Marmo 2010; Banti 2011; Isnenghi 2011; Lupo 2011; Macry 2012; Casalena 2012; De Francesco 2013; Janz and Riall 2014; Meriggi 2014). On Southern Question revisionism: the discoveries of orientalist Mezzogiorno (Riall 2000), the recent Italian “postcolonial turn” (Romeo and Lombardi-Diop 2012; Dal Lago 2014; Giuliani 2017) and, earlier, the revisionist effort of journal *Meridiana* (since 1988) and other scholar’s contributions (Lupo 2010, 2015; De Francesco 2012).

on the site of Lombroso Museum shouting slogans at Giuseppe Garibaldi who had turned from the hero of Risorgimento and Italian unification into the “villain” responsible for Southern colonisation⁴. Many of the participants waved, as a banner, the book *Terroni: Tutto quello che è stato fatto perché gli Italiani del Sud diventassero Meridionali*, published in March 2010 and written by the journalist Pino Aprile (Aprile 2010, 2011) who became a key protagonist of popular anti-unitarian revisionism and a prominent supporter of the No Lombroso movement (*Il Brigante Osco* 2010). The demonstration in Turin marked a turning point of the mobilisation against the Museum. The leaders of the organisation walkout moved quickly off the scene. The baton passed to the hand of the No Lombroso Technical-Scientific Committee founded a few days after the demonstration in Turin where the protesters signed the first petition to close down the Museum. The new online headquarters, www.nolombroso.org, centralised the propaganda machine that would gather momentum in a broad range of strategic activities ranging from the gain of public supporters to territorial expansion as well as to promotion of legal actions⁵.

The long-lasting campaign to close down the Museum has two pivotal requests: The repatriation of the skull of Giuseppe Vilella, who was, in the view of the claimants, the Two Sicilies patriot who defended his home country Motta Santa Lucia in Calabria from the Piedmontese invasion. On the other side, Vilella’s skull is the principal object of the craniological collection of Lombroso, exhibited as a “scientific relic” in the actual Museum display. In the narrative about the foundation of Criminal Anthropology, the theory of “criminal atavism” was inspired by the discovering of an anomalous shape of the median fossa in the occipital bone of Vilella’s skull. The second request is the burial of all the unknown human remains of Lombroso Museum in the cemetery of Fontanelle in Naples, the famous site of the popular cult of the unknown dead, recently converted into a Museum exhibition (Sanità 2016).

⁴ There is an interesting similarity with attacks on Cristoforo Colombo during the celebrations of America’s “discovery” in 1992 (Schuman, Schwartz, and D’Arcy 2005).

⁵ The No Lombroso Committee gained the adhesion of the Calabria Regional Council (May 10, 2012) with the powerful support of the councilor for culture Mario Caligiuri, elected in the right-wing coalition (2010) and Romano Pitaro, head of the press office of the Calabria Regional Council, who personally sustained the No Lombroso campaign against the Museum as director of *Calabria on Web*, the official magazine of the Regional Council (Pitaro 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015; Iannantuoni 2012). The political change produced a climate conducive to the gambit of Vilella’s repatriation case.

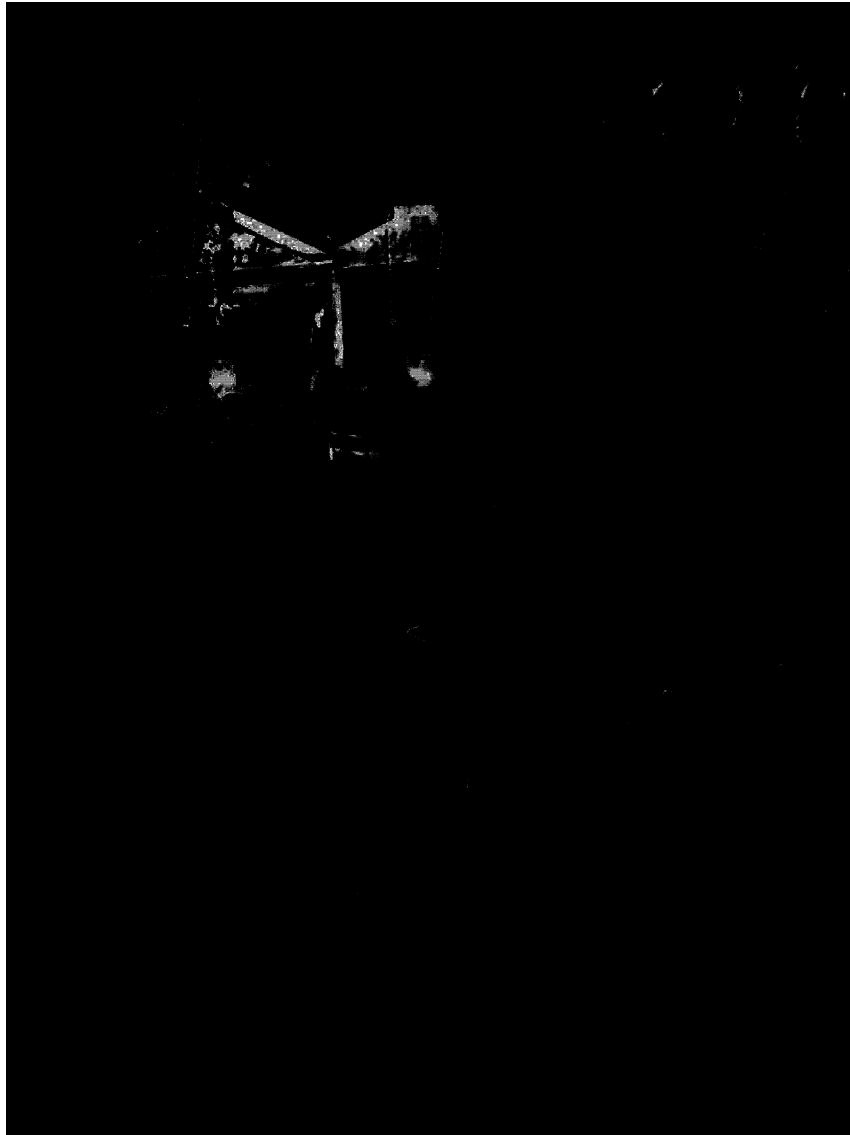


Figure 2.1 Detail of Fontanelle Cemetery. Photo by Maria Teresa Milicia.

The claim for repatriation of Villella's skull to be buried in Motta Santa Lucia is sustained by the mayor Amedeo Colacino, who is still in charge in the local council since the spreading of the protest. The intervention of the municipality plays a key role in the court battle against the Museum⁶.

This chapter is concerned with the complex political entanglements of the mobilisation against the Museum that involves many social actors and is strengthened through an effective communication strategy in the new

⁶ On the 16 May 2017 the court of appeal of Catanzaro ruled in favor of the Museum. The committee and the mayor appealed to the Supreme Court of Cassation, Italy's highest court (Milicia 2017). The case is far from resolution, as the conclusion of this chapter implies.

technological landscape of social media. My ongoing ethnographic research began in 2011, when, while visiting the Museum in Turin I became aware of this repatriation movement from the South of Italy. I gained an in-depth knowledge of this case study through multi-sited fieldwork in Motta Santa Lucia, in Lombroso Museum and in the No Lombroso Facebook group within which I spent eighteen months from September 2012 until March 2014. The archival research in Lombroso Museum, in the civil and parish registers of Motta Santa Lucia, Catanzaro, Lamezia Terme and Decollatura allowed the historic identification of Giuseppe Villella. Before my fieldwork, he was nothing more than the name of a specimen, who then became the fictive symbol of Southern “insurgence”. My purpose here is to present an overview of the focal points which stem from the embedded processes of the mythologising of history, political branding and the production of locality. Furthermore, the “deep mediatization” (Couldry and Hepp 2016, 53) of communication practices gives the leadership of the protest the power to fuel the mobilisation into the online environment, where the activists relaunch everyday the “racist reality” of the Museum. This serves to delineate a kind of “structure of the conjuncture” that could explain how the Lombroso Museum became a permanent “conflict zone” or, more precisely, a “war zone”.

The “genocide of Meridionali” and the Neo-Bourbon Two Sicilies Kingdom

Let us go back to the early nineties, in Naples, when the actual groundwork of the mobilisation against the Museum was laid. In September 1993, Gennaro De Crescenzo, teacher of history in high school, founded the Neo-Bourbon Cultural Association in Naples. As president of the association, De Crescenzo likes to give an anecdotal account of the effort to create the first group of the Neo-Bourbon movement by scrutinising the letters sent to the local newspaper *Il Mattino* to get in touch with Bourbon-sympathetic authors. In reality, it was largely Riccardo Pazzaglia, well-known TV showman, writer and close collaborator of the newspaper, who took part in organising a counter-demonstration of the celebration for Garibaldi’s entry into Naples (7 September 1860) that served to gather those nostalgic for the Bourbon Kingdom for the first time in the public arena. De Crescenzo and the Neo-Bourbon movement had another effective mentor: the politician Angelo Manna, an outsider intellectual who was elected deputy of the right-wing Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale. On September 1991 Manna founded Il fronte

del Sud (The Southern Front) which participated in the 1992 Naples election, without a favourable outcome. In his passionate speech at the first party congress, the core argument was the quest for the “revelation of historical truth” that would have given back to Neapolitans and the Southern peoples a sense of pride in belonging to the great Two Sicilies Kingdom (Manna 1992). The slogan “We have to be Bourbon to become Italians” strengthened their aim to overturn the increasing political consensus of the Northern League that was basically achieved through the racist campaign against the Southerners⁷.

In those years there had been a dramatic change in the Italian political system after the legal investigation “Mani Pulite” (Clean Hands) and consequential dissolution of the traditional parties of the first Republic. At the same time, the structural aid programme for Southern economic development “Cassa del Mezzogiorno” was dismantled, while European funds were going to be the new financial instruments based on local competitive planning. The new election brought to Naples governance the mayor Antonio Bassolino, a left-wing leader, who inaugurated the “Neapolitan Renaissance”:

One of the administration’s priorities was to harness the city’s cultural and architectural heritage [...]. Historical monuments were restored, piazzas and streets were repaved and closed to traffic, and a plethora of open-air events were organized to draw people back to what were considered neglected public spaces (Dines 2012, 9).

Who was the main creator and custodian of this immense cultural heritage if not the Bourbon dynasty?

The idealistic impetus of Fronte del Sud seeded the later Neo-Bourbon movement. The primary agenda of the Association’s activism is the revitalisation of the glories of the past Two Sicilies capital, as well as the restoration of “historic truth” about the peace and prosperity during the Bourbon Kingdom which was destroyed by Italian Unification. The Neo-Bourbon quest for truth faces up to the hotly controversial Southern Question—the recursive meta-narrative of Italian political history—which they interpret as the consequence of Piedmontese exploitation of the great richness of Two Sicilies and its dramatic transformation into a colonised land. The scholarly production on the Southern question is rejected as a result of experts’ intentional falsification of Italian history perpetrated

⁷ The Northern League party, originally the Lombard League, was constituted in February 1991 in force of an alliance with other autonomist parties in the North of Italy. They supported a secessionist programme.

against the South and moreover against the Bourbon Kingdom: “Never has history been so maliciously falsified as it has been with this king and with this dynasty” (Movimento Neoborbonico n.d.).

The Association successfully pursued the goal to restore the public reputation of the Royal House of Bourbon Two Sicilies. Prince Charles first came to Naples in 1994 for the exhibition dedicated to Francis II, the last king of the Two Sicilies, curated by the Baron Roberto Maria Selvaggi, who was involved with the Neo-Bourbon movement while being the secretary of the Bourbon Royal House (Gulì n.d). The prince has been actively engaging the Movement in the aim of promoting the cultural, artistic, historical and spiritual identity of Southern Italy, as he declares on the official website of the Royal House (Royal House of Bourbon Two Sicilies 2015a, 2015b)⁸. By the time of his return to Naples, the revitalisation of the Sacred Military Constantinian Order of Saint George, as a non-profit organisation, had resulted in the sustaining of important charitable activities first in the past capital of the kingdom and in recent years also in Calabria (Royal House of Bourbon Two Sicilies 2015c). The process of cultural and political branding of the Neo-Bourbon movement had also been running parallel to the marketing strategy of the Bourbon Royal House that greatly benefits from the successful brand launching of Caffè Borbone (www.caffeborbone.it).

The Neo-Bourbon affiliated scholars turned on the huge documentation and data sources of “brigandage” accumulated for more than a century and half, to be employed for the purpose of recovering the “concealed” memories of the vanquished:

Thousands of heroic citizens of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies died on the battlefield. In the same way, thousands of men, women, and children were shot in the campaign against Southern Italy—they were called “bandits” or “brigands”, but they were, in fact, the last soldiers and defenders of a history, a tradition, and a culture that would die with them forever (Movimento Neoborbonico n.d.).

The activists of the Movement worked hard to produce a mythical narrative about the Two Sicilies Kingdom that became popular through public performance and rite of institution (Bourdieu 1991, 117) of the new sites of memory. The enduring effort to ritualise symbolic practices to construct a new Southern collective memory would have successfully authenticated the “true” history of the Two Sicilies patriotic resistance.

⁸ I want to emphasise that the Royal House never took part in any kind of activity or public assertion against Lombroso Museum.

Neapolitan right-wing intellectuals were disseminating a popular narrative on the resistance to the conquest of the South, written in the genre of “fictional history” (Ginsburg 2012). Literary production in the 1960s (Alianello 1963, 1972) (De Antonellis n.d.) inspired the screenplay of a popular TV series *L'eredità della priora* (1980) and the movie *Li chiamarono briganti* (*They call them brigands*, 1999), directed by Pasquale Squitieri, with the above-mentioned Baron Selvaggi as historical consultant to the screenplay (Marmo 2011). Another key protagonist of the political and cultural climate that impacted the re-opening of Lombroso Museum is Captain Alessandro Romano, the present director of Rete d'informazione del Regno delle Due Sicilie (www.reteduesicilie.it). A descendant of the Bourbon army sergeant Pasquale Romano, who fought until his death in 1863 around the Apulian town Gioia del Colle, Alessandro received the honorary title of captain from Princess Urraca of the Bourbon Two Sicilies, as he himself declares in interviews (Abate 2011). After he joined the Neo-Bourbon movement, Captain Romano produced an itinerant exhibition on brigandage which is the principal subject of his historic passion. The exhibit *Brigands. Heroes or criminals?* has been traveling Italy, mostly to schools and Neo-Bourbon commemorative events.

From the reduction of the complex multifaceted “brigandage” phenomenon to a form of memorial storytelling emerged a misleading portrait of Lombroso and his Museum.

We Southern, victims of this criminal precursor of the worst Nazi executioners, have the duty to go beyond the actual news of official historiography and illuminate some really horrifying circumstances of one of the most brutal acts of violence enacted deliberately against our people from the worst architects of Italian Risorgimento. Despite many attempts and requests to reopen, the Museum is still closed down. Maybe there is the fear that someone could recognize a missing relative among the pile of severed heads? (Romano 2004)

The “mass grave” of the Two Sicilies patriots is the concluding statement that follows those assumptions. “Brigand” is the offensive label attached to all patriots who defended the Two Sicilies Kingdom against the Piedmontese invasion. Cesare Lombroso was a criminal-physician who collected war trophies for his Museum.

It was in the year 2004 that we saw the beginning of the expansion of the Neo-Southern network of counter-information into the new technological environment of internet communication. Before the creation of the Neo-Bourbon website (<http://www.neoborbonici.it>) in 2005, many of the activists'

articles were posted on the pioneering website *eiam.org* (2000) opened by the Marxist intellectual Nicola Zitara, a Southern left-wing “dissident” who strongly supported the secession of the South from Italy. Despite the fact that he was not a monarchist, Zitara expressed sympathy for Neo-Bourbon revisionism that would enable the Southern peoples to recover consciousness and sense of pride in belonging to the past glory of the Two Sicilies Kingdom⁹. “Neither to Right nor to Left but to South” is the populist call for the project of Southern identity politics.

The attempt to allow such different ideologies to converge into an alliance for achieving a unified Southern community was looking for strong symbols to share and attract public consensus. The reappraisal of the past of the lost Kingdom provided to give public visibility to the places of resistance of the Bourbon army until March 1861 as well as of other infamous massacre in the bloody civil war that went on until 1865¹⁰. Gaeta—the city where king Francis II took refuge, that was besieged for three months until February 13, 1861—Civitella del Tronto, Pontelandolfo and Casalduni—where the retaliation against the massacre of an Italian army squad caused an unspecified number of civilian victims—are all sites of the Neo-Bourbon reappraisal of the contested history of Italian unification.

Fenestrelle Castle in Piedmont is the most famous but controversial Neo-Bourbon site of memory, reevaluated since 2008 (Izzo 1999; Di Fiore 2005; Montaldo 2012a; Barbero 2012; De Crescenzo 2014). Popular revisionism claims the castle to be the first concentration camp of European history, where the Piedmontese exterminated and dissolved in caustic lime more than 40,000 soldiers of the Bourbon army. This process of “branding atrocity” (Muhr and Rehn 2014) has been a successful trend in publisher marketing about the years of the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Italian nation. In fact, it was turned into a huge manipulative part of the epochal rhetoric on the North-South divide that has combined the Bourbon legitimation chronicles of the time with the fresh topic of “genocide”.

⁹ In his last interview he sustained the autonomist radicalism to the point of seeking for a totalitarian leadership to free the South from the colonial exploitation of Italian State, possibly with the help of a foreign country (Zitara 2010).

¹⁰ The definition of civil war (Lupo 2011) does not refer to a North-South ethno-racial divide, but to an internal political divide between Unitarian patriots and anti-unitarian or Two Sicilies patriots. The idea of ethnic cleansing has flowed in some accounts that take in a shallow way the many but rigorous scholarly perspectives of Italian revisionism that never use the category of genocide or ethnic cleansing to talk about the Unification.

The journalist Pino Aprile, since the publishing of the above mentioned *Terroni* (2010) and that of the sequel *Carnefici* (2016) with the meaningful subtitle *Fu genocidio: centinaia di migliaia di italiani del Sud uccisi incarcerati deportati torturati derubati* (*Executioners. It was genocide: Hundreds of thousands of Southern Italians Murdered Imprisoned Deported Tortured Robbed*), is the most popular and representative of this editorial trend that divulged the equation of Piedmontese with Nazis. In this frantic attempt to institute the living memory of the Southern Italian “genocide”, all human remains are likely to become evidence¹¹. The Lombroso Museum provides the “body of proof” of the genocidal intent of the Piedmontese invaders and the skull of Giuseppe Villella is the relic of the forgotten hero waiting to be buried at home, in the Motta Santa Lucia memorial that mayor Colacino was planning to create.

It begins to be clear how the display of Lombroso Museum could be turned to use in the public arena regarding the reclamation of the forgotten memories of the Two Sicilies martyrs.

Motta Santa Lucia. The invention of the site of (post)memory

On 20 October 2009 the president of the Neo-Bourbon association, De Crescenzo, made a telephone call to inform lawyer Amedeo Colacino, recently elected mayor of Motta Santa Lucia, that the skull of the “famous brigand” Giuseppe Villella was about to be exhibited at Cesare Lombroso Museum in Turin. When the Neo-Bourbon president realised that mayor Colacino had never heard of the “famous” brigand in Motta Santa Lucia, he received the stark confirmation that “official history” had succeeded in erasing all memories of the Two Sicilies heroes’ deeds. The mayor was as excited to learn that his home town had such an important hero as much as De Crescenzo was to recapture a site of memory in Calabria, a silent zone in the Neo-Bourbon politics of memory as well as a strategic location for the Southern “*reconquista*”.

Political instinct encouraged the mayor to join the smear campaign against the Lombroso Museum, instead of seizing the opportunity to get in touch with the staff in Turin, more than a month before the date of inauguration. This decision was fraught with consequence. In fact it

¹¹ In 1980 thousands of skulls and human bones were discovered into a crypt of the 15th century church of Annunziata in Pontelandolfo. Those remains were recently attributed to the massacre of 1861 (Di Fiore 2015, 274) without any kind of investigation.

prevented the Museum staff from promoting any kind of cooperation or negotiation with the representatives of the Motta Santa Lucia community. Moreover, it prevented the staff from collaborating on any archive research in the “brigand” homeland which could effectively be compared with the Museum’s records, revealing the historic identity of the remains and the existence of any descendants. Despite this lack of basic information, the mayor decided to publicly declare that he was the great grandchild of Giuseppe Villella, never missing a chance to launch on the press the heartfelt appeals to restore the patriot’s remains to his mourning family. The prejudicial refusal of the mayor to attempt any kind of negotiation with the Museum went on, even when my archive research documented a very different historical reality. There was a clear intention to transform the little town into a “Two Sicilies” site of memory that would attract funding for touristic projects, which I will turn to later.

After nine months of activist mobilisation on the web, the manifestation in Turin, and the foundation of the “No Lombroso techno-scientific committee”, on July 2010 mayor Colacino finally went to the Museum with the official parliamentary visit guided by Onorevole Scilipoti. In the middle of the media parade, while posing in the Museum for a photo beside the skull of his great grand-father, that was posted hundreds of times on his Facebook page and in the local press, the mayor was seeing the materialisation of the dream of making the small country in Calabria a shrine for the commemorative events of the Neo-Two Sicilies homeland as well as the leading place for the strategic alliance of Southern political parties. Motta Santa Lucia could become the “Southern Pontida”, as, on 28 May 2011, the newspaper *La Gazzetta del Sud* reported, quoting the foundation site of the Northern League in Lombardy: “And if the Carroccio is the symbol for Umberto Bossi’s party, for the Southern League it could quite easily be the skull” (Leonetti 2011; Onda del Sud 2011). The close collaboration between the mayor and the president of the No Lombroso committee Domenico Iannantuoni shows how effectively propaganda resulted in visibility for Motta Santa Lucia as well as for themselves.

The engineer Iannantuoni, a native of Apulia who came to Milan with his family in the late 1950s, founded the Two Sicilies Cultural Association (ADSIC) in 2000 (Di Giacomo 2003), and in 2004 the Party for the South (Per il Sud). On the 2006 Election Day, Iannantuoni was an unsuccessful candidate for the Senate in Lombardy and for both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies in Calabria. The Party for the South flags were waving at the demonstration in Turin where the engineer began to collect signs for the petition to close down the Museum. The strenuous efforts of

the No Lombroso Committee gave the mayor the strength to undertake legal action against the Museum, in spite of the indifference, if not the opposition, of his fellow citizens. On the 3 October 2012, the judge Gustavo Danise of Lamezia Terme Court issued an executive order for the restitution of Villella's remains to the Motta Santa Lucia council that made the request (Montaldo 2012b). Comparing the skull to a living prisoner, the grounds of the order is the "wrongful imprisonment" of Giuseppe Villella's remains in the Museum because the Lombroso theory of criminal atavism is outdated, thus denying the historic and cultural value of the collection's exhibit (Garlandini and Montaldo 2016, 323). At the same time the judgment does not attempt to answer a moral dilemma possibly caused by differences in cultural sensitivity for the dead¹². In the word of judge Danise

This right to the moral redemption is the foundation of legitimacy and interest to act by Motta Santa Lucia municipality which could gain social prestige from the recovery of the bones of a character who had such importance to Criminal anthropology and was rehabilitated today. Not only this; the town could become a destination for tourists and the curious who want to see the remains and/or the grave of the man who owned the shape of the typical occipital fossa of Southern criminals, according to the theory of Lombroso, defined by many voices as racist [...] The request made by the Motta Santa Lucia council unwilling to comply with a material interest in the burial of an individual but to realize the collective interest of restoring prestige to the local community¹³.

The No Lombroso Committee also requested ICOM Italia for an opinion on the grounds of article 4.4 of the ICOM Ethics Code about "the request for return of human remains or material of sacred significance

¹² Ferracuti and Lattanzi argue that "feelings of *pietas* for the dead" is at the core of the protest which was "a trailblazer of the condemnation of Lombroso and of claiming the wrongs suffered by the South" (Ferracuti and Lattanzi 2012, 60). Moreover, they write that the Court relied on the precedent of the restitution of the brain of anarchist Giovanni Passannante from the Criminology Museum in Rome to Savoia di Lucania on May 2007. The judge Danise didn't mention this case which never came to trial. Though apparent similarities, the repatriation story of Passannante has profound differences with Villella's case that I cannot address here. On 2003 Ulderico Pesce (<http://www.uldericopesce.it/>) wrote and played the theatrical piece "The sprinkler of Passannante's brain" divulging the repatriation debate on the anarchist who made an attempt on King Umberto's life on 1878 in Naples.

¹³ Despite the irreducible vulgate, Lombroso attributed the occipital fossa to the universal "specimen" of criminal man.

from the originating community” (ICOM 2013). The example cited to corroborate the legitimacy of the demand for repatriation is, not by chance, the repatriation case of the 20 skulls of Namibian warriors from Germany that testifies to one of the worst acts of colonial violence. Some days after the court judgment, ICOM Italia come out in favor of the Museum (ICOM 2012, 2014; Garlandini and Montaldo 2016). They emphasised that Giuseppe Vilella was an Italian citizen, and thus the notion of originating community was meaningless in the context of Italian history. This historically grounded interpretation of “originating community” that implies an ethnic or religious group, even with the colonial legacy of unequal relationships with museum institutions, is a hot topic for museum studies. In this case, for the claimants, who consider the Italian Unification an illegal act of colonial conquest, Vilella continues to be a subject of Two Sicilies Kingdom. The insurgence of Southern identity politics, while producing the resurgence of “brigand” Vilella, would turn a part of the Italian territory into an “indigenous community” that claims its own post-colonial redemption. This skillful blend of Two Sicilies nationalism, post-colonial claims and anti-racist rhetoric, has enabled the Committee to gather a combined consensus in the attack on the Museum (Pandolfi 2014a, 2014b).

On 8 January 2013 the Court of Appeal of Catanzaro accepted the opposition of the University of Turin (on whom the Museum depends) to the restitution of the Vilella’s remains. In the four years spent waiting for the appeal court’s ruling, which at the time of writing in 2017 is finally about to be issued, the process of the “production of locality” (Appadurai 1996)—involving Motta Santa Lucia as a leading site of the new geopolitical configuration of the Southern “First Nation”—empowered through socialised practices of various performances, representation and political action (Appadurai 1996, 180). In 2013 the mayor obtained the first reward for “The site of memory of brigand Vilella” thanks to resources allocated to the Integrated Territorial Project (P.I.T 14) from European Regional Development Fund. The first work to be carried out was the monument dedicated to brigand Vilella which the mayor had already shown on his Facebook page in September 2012, while he was awaiting the judge’s ruling on repatriation [fig. 2]. In April 2014, when the monument was ready to be installed, the citizens of Motta Santa Lucia opposed the fake narrative about “the patriot who fought against the Piedmontese invaders to defend his homeland” that would have been carved on marble for future memory (Comune di Motta Santa Lucia 2014). They had long been aware of the manipulation in place on the identity of Vilella, and the public attack at my *Lombroso e il brigante. Storia di un*

cranio conteso (*Lombroso and the Brigand. History of a contested skull*), before its presentation in Motta Santa Lucia, confirmed the fraudulent strategies of the No Lombroso leaders (Novelli 2014, Montaldo 2014).

Nevertheless, on 11 February 2017, for the Two Sicilies Memorial Day in Gaeta, the Neo-Bourbon Movements, with the active participation of Pino Aprile, organised the ceremonial display of the bricks that will be part of the “Wall of Memory”. The name of Motta Santa Lucia, imprinted on one of the bricks, thus has officially entered into the monumental memory of the Two Sicilies Kingdom (Rete di Informazione delle Due Sicilie 2017a, 2017b).



Figure 2.2 *Bricks of Memory of the Two Sicilies Peoples.* Ceremony for the Wall of Memory of the Two Sicilies peoples, Gaeta, February 11, 2017. Photo by Maria Teresa Milicia.

The mediated construction of the online Memorial No Lombroso

On 23 May 2010 the Technical-Scientific Committee of No Lombroso opened their online location. The emphasis of the self-appointed “technical and scientific” committee was to claim for itself the orthodoxy of the

scientific discourse aimed at correcting the malicious distortion of Cesare Lombroso representation in the Turinese Museum.

The visitor entering the No Lombroso Committee website is embodied in a communicative space construed by the illocutionary force of the utterance: “Look at the havoc”, “The Museum Cesare Lombroso is obscene, inhuman, racist... the absence of God!”.

Those words activate the magic performativity through which Lombroso Museum turns into the mass grave of the Two Sicilies’ patriots. Thanks to the digital repatriation of human remains from the Lombroso collection, the visitor can look at the images—all taken when the Museum was still closed—labeled with captions that describe the evidence of the “crime against the South”:

...Two Sicilian soldiers and peasants were captured, tortured and decapitated for Cesare Lombroso (who is still considered scientist only in Italy) and his studies...

...the remains of the southern soldiers, called “Briganti”, are still exposed like trophies. There is no scientific reason for this obscene show... (Comitato tecnico-scientifico “No Lombroso” n.d.)

As in a horror tale, the criminal scientist becomes the instigator of the Piedmontese massacres to stock up on corpses. The visitor goes down creepy routes seeing “Southern soldiers’ skulls”, “insurgent sectioned skulls”, “brains of insurgents and/or criminals”, “the skull of Mr. Giuseppe Villella”, as well as the dramatic “pile of insurgents’ skulls”¹⁴. This emblematic image of the “mass grave” of Southern people is actually a photo published by Giorgio Colombo in 1975 to document at the time the state of disorder and neglect of the craniological collection (Colombo 2000, 76; Garlandini and Montaldo 2016, 321).

The symbolic manipulation strategy produces the shared vision of an obscene common ossuary of war heroes which is profaned by public exposure: “...you can find Two Sicilies Kingdom’s soldiers exposed like horrible war trophies” (Comitato tecnico-scientifico “No Lombroso” n.d.). When the visitor finally decides to sign in support of the battle against the Museum—for the return of Villella’s skull to the mourning relatives, for the burial of the “martyrs’ remains” on the sacred soil of Fontanelle in Naples, for “the removal of his theories from textbooks and any street or road name memorial and museum on behalf of Cesare Lombroso”—the equation

¹⁴ On May 2010 while presenting in Milan the pamphlet *Terroni*, Aprile told the audience that the Museum exhibits the Southerner’s heads with the caption “Southern Criminal” (Aprile 2010a).

Lombroso-Mengele and Piedmonteses-Nazis has clearly been implanted in the mind: The Museum, evidently inaugurated by the descendants of Piedmonteses-Nazis, is an accomplice to a war criminal.

The No Lombroso website is actually the site of the permanent struggle to bring the genocidal racism of the Museum into existence, allowing the recognition of the status of victim to the Southerners. The performative statements on the online “Horror museum” which seek to bring about what they state (Bourdieu 1991, 225), deactivate the category of the history of science that frames the Lombroso Museum exhibition. At the same time it increases the power of the representative leadership to act in the public sphere through slogans against the Museum and accusations of genocide at the Northern conquerors of the Two Sicilies Kingdom. The performative efficacy of the mediated construction of Lombroso and his museum, as an enemy agency which celebrates genocidal intent, produces the symbolic resources for a permanent conflict that is functional for the mobilisation of Southern identity politics. The online reality of the “No Lombroso” Museum which annihilates the physical reality of the Lombroso Museum is located in the digital environment of *post-meridionalisti* movements. This “mediatized collectivity” (Couldry and Hepp 2016, 172) encompasses websites of political parties and associations, and YouTube channels that are all closely interrelated with activists blogging. The flow of the communication content is captured and shared within the activists and supporters network on Facebook.

The data collected during my participant observation on the No Lombroso Facebook group indicate that many users of Facebook became politicised online, after the widespread mobilisation against the Museum (Milicia 2014b, 266). The participants of the No Lombroso network interact as a “Web communitas” in the everyday ritual practices of instituting the collective memory that sustains the transition to the state of self-awareness of belonging to the Two Sicilies historical and political identity. The liminal phenomenology of “communitas” (Turner 1969) is expressed through the acquisition of a new name, often the nickname *brigante* or *brigantessa*, as well as through the photo profile taken from the iconographic repertoire of brigands. This reinforces the perception of the suspension of social status distinction and, thus, an egalitarian position within the group is acquired. The construction of the “Web communitas” works through the creative process of selecting narrative motifs, textual, visual and musical citations, which focuses attention on the everyday *memento* of violence, exploitation and deception against Southern people, thus favoring a shared common experience of trauma and a unified perception of the reality of “genocide” (Milicia 2015a). As many scholars

argue, the Holocaust became a “universal trope for other traumatic histories and memories” (Pinchevski 2011, 262), “the deep structure of contemporary depictions of trauma, loss, and suffering” (Frosh and Pinchevski 2009, 5).

The book *Terroni* and the movie *Li chiamarono briganti*, are the leading source of the aesthetic performances of this post-memorial work (Hirsh 2012, 33). The film sequences have been dismantled, trimmed and rearranged, spliced and joined together to become visual commentary of the mobilisation propaganda. Hundreds of videos that tell the massacre of the people of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Per il Sud 2010), often with soundtracks from songwriter supporters, go viral into the Web communitas. Here is the heart of the technological replicability of the living memory where the neophytes experience the initiation to the status of witness and to the identity of victim (Brand 2009, 198; Giglioli 2014).

Conclusion: The last word on Giuseppe Villella

Giuseppe Villella has had a historic existence as well as many different discursive existences. The discursive existences are first related to the writings of Lombroso that belong to the two different registers of scientific and popular communication. The seven articles on “The median occipital fossa in the skull of a criminal man” from the first on 12 January 1871 until 1874 are strictly intended for the academic circuit (Milicia 2014a, 2015a). As Lombroso clearly states in those scientific articles, in 1870 he examined only Villella’s skull without performing an autopsy. The contradictory descriptions of physiognomic signs and biographical information suggest that Lombroso never met Villella while he was detained in Pavia prison. In the article of 1874 further information about the criminal conduct of Villella (from the King’s Prosecutor in Catanzaro) confirms he was a recidivist thief who had nothing to do with political brigandage.

After 1906, the scientist, at the peak of his career, forged the foundation myth of Criminal Anthropology (Renneville 2009). In the popular magazine *L’Illustrazione Italiana* Lombroso divulged the illuminating discovery of the atavistic sign in the skull “while I was performing the autopsy of a Calabrian brigand in the Pavia prison” (Lombroso 1906, 302). The year after he stated that Villella’s skull is “the totem, the fetish of Criminal anthropology” (Lombroso 1907, 502). His daughter Gina, the first biographer of Lombroso, contributed to the myth of the “famous brigand Villella” that illuminated the mind of the scientist to theorise the born criminal (Lombroso and Lombroso Ferrero 1911, XIV; Lombroso Ferrero 1921, 130).

Like any myth worthy of respect, the origins are often obscure and mysterious. Lombroso never revealed the date of death of the “brigand” which was hidden in the inscription inside the cranial vault. After making the skull cast, he kept the original in a glass case on the desk of his home studio, away from prying eyes. The glass case entered the Museum collection together with the furniture of the studio, gifted by the scientist’s heirs in 1947.



Figure 2.3 Home Office of Cesare Lombroso. Photograph © Lombroso Museum, courtesy of Lombroso Museum

As a sure sign of lack of interest in the collection, the skull disclosed its secret when it was examined for the first time in 1985 before the exhibition “La scienza e la colpa” at Mole Antonelliana in Turin. The death date of 1864, seven years before the first article of Lombroso on Villella (Villa 1985, 248), corresponds to the date in the first register of the Lombroso craniological collection in Pavia, found by Silvano Montaldo while working on the new Museum exhibition in 2009. In the light of the death date of Villella, it was possible to grasp the importance of popularising narrative for the construction of the origin myth of Criminal anthropology (Renneville 2009; Milicia 2015b).

As I have outlined in this chapter, Neo-Bourbon mythologising of the “Two Sicilies patriot” re-appropriated the Lombroso mythologisation of

the “famous brigand”. The fetish of Criminal anthropology is now the fetish of the leaders who hope to profit from this symbolic capital of Southern identity politics.

In August 2012 I found the death certificate in a dusty repository of the ancient records of Motta Santa Lucia that provides the certain registry identification of the man who died in 1864 at the Civic hospital San Matteo in Pavia. The historic existence of Villella is fixed in the trace of the archives that draws the chronological sequence of births, marriages and deaths of him and his relatives, and the documents of two trials for theft. In 1844, before unification, he was convicted of thieving cheese and goats. The 1863 document of juridical proceedings confirms the recidivism for theft, excluding any involvement in politics as well as criminal brigandage (Archivio di Stato di Lamezia Terme 1844, 1863)¹⁵. Giuseppe was a poor man who suffered the dramatic social economic inequality of the epoch, when thieving was a kind of redistribution of wealth, sometimes the only way to feed large families. Though mayor Colacino knows the historical evidence of Villella’s identity very well, he supports the fake identification that is divulged by the No Lombroso committee in publications and even in the trial against the Museum.

In September 2016, the intervention in the trial of the closest living relative of Giuseppe Villella risked upsetting the political plan of the No Lombroso leaders, since that could reveal the true history of the man whose skull went into the Museum collection. While waiting for the sentence, the No Lombroso supporters on Facebook, who blindly trust the version of their leaders, invoke the DNA test. Perhaps, in a twist of fate, once again the “malign” science will say the last word on Giuseppe Villella.

¹⁵ The 1863 document is unfortunately incomplete: there is only the accusation but not the final sentence.

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