

Elio Petri, *L'assassino* (1961): The Nemi Museum and the Ghost of the Ships

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Abstract The recovery of the Roman ships from Lake Nemi (1928-33) was celebrated through films, photographs, and press as a symbol of technological progress and Fascist appropriation of the imperial past. The Museum of Roman Ships (1940) embodied this triumph until a 1944 fire turned it into a monument to loss rather than power. The essay explores Nemi as a visual laboratory, from interwar propaganda to Petri's *L'assassino* (1961), where the ruined museum turns absence into a cinematic device and a space for critical reflection on memory and history.

Keywords Museum of Roman Ships. Void and memory. Propaganda visual culture. Elio Petri. *L'assassino* (1961).

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1 Introduction

The case of the Nemi ships represents a privileged observatory for reflecting on the relationship between images, memory, and absence.¹ Between the late 1920s and the early 1940s, photographs, films, and publications in journals and monographic volumes contributed to the transformation of the recovery of the two ships into a mediatic and political event, a symbol of technical-scientific mastery and of appropriation of the past carried out by the regime. Yet the ships' destruction in the 1944 fire radically altered the scenario, turning the Museum of Roman Ships into an empty shell, devoid of its very contents.

It is precisely this void that constitutes the underlying thread of this essay. A void as the irreversible loss of material heritage; a void as the latency of an image surviving through photographic and film documentation; a void as the potential for new narratives, capable of transforming absence into memory.

From this perspective, the paper seeks to answer a question: in what ways did cinema and images recount and transform the void created by the ships' destruction? The analysis will unfold in two directions: on the one hand, the propagandistic and documentary uses of images in the 1920s and 1930s will be analysed; on the other hand, this contribution interprets Elio Petri's choice to set a sequence of his directorial debut *L'assassino* (1961) in the Museum of Roman Ships, transforming it into a stage for absence and a site of memory.

2 The Image of a National Enterprise (1928-40)

Located in the heart of the Alban Hills, in the Castelli Romani area, Lake Nemi has long preserved a landscape where nature, myth, and historical memory intertwine. Beside the sanctuary of Diana and the legend of the *rex Nemorensis* (Ucelli 1950, 5-6; Diosono 2014, 73-84), the lake has been, for centuries, the setting for tales and hypotheses about the presence of large imperial Roman ships submerged beneath its waters. Despite the scant evidence in ancient sources, occasional finds – often caught in fishermen's nets – and local traditions nurtured the conviction that an extraordinary heritage lay concealed below the water of the lake. From the Renaissance

¹ This paper forms part of a broader doctoral research project currently in progress, dedicated to the archival collections concerning the recovery of the Roman ships from Lake Nemi (1928-32) and the reconstruction and reinstallation of the Nemi Museum after the 1944 fire (1948-60). Some of the reflections developed here connect with related work already published in *La Rivista di Engramma* (no. 228, 2025) and with further research currently being prepared for *Schermi*.

to modern times, numerous attempts were made to recover them: from Leon Battista Alberti (1446) and Francesco De Marchi (1535), to Annesio Fusconi (1827) and Eliseo Borghi (1895), who brought to the surface artefacts of exceptional interest. Yet none of these ventures achieved a definitive result, serving instead to consolidate the legendary aura of the ships.²

A decisive step came in 1926, when the Ministry of Public Education established a first commission to draft a plan for the recovery of the legendary ships (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1927). The following year, on the occasion of a speech to the Reale Società Patria in Rome, Mussolini publicly expressed his support for the enterprise (Mussolini 1927, 26-9), symbolically inscribing it within the regime's broader programme of re-appropriating the imperial past. Within this context emerged the initiative of Guido Ucelli (1885-1964), managing director of the *Costruzioni Meccaniche Riva* company in Milan. Ucelli proposed a project based on reopening the ancient emissary on the lakeshore to allow the waters to drain towards the sea, coupled with the installation of modern pumping systems, offered by his firm as a gift to the Government. The agreement of 15 June 1928 sealed the collaboration between the State, the Società Elettrica e Gas di Roma, the Società Laziale di Elettricità, and Riva of Milan (Ucelli 1950, 42-5). The official inauguration of the draining works was celebrated on 20 October 1928 in the presence of Mussolini.

Between 1928 and 1932, the lake level was lowered by around twenty-two metres, allowing the gradual emergence of the two ships: the first surfaced on 28 March 1929, and the second was fully recovered in 1932 (Ucelli 1950, 57-96). The enterprise was hailed as a triumph of science and technology, but above all it had an enormous media impact. From the very beginning, photographs and film footage did more than simply document operations: they helped to construct the enterprise's narrative. Images of the re-emerging ships travelled around the world, presenting the recovery as a spectacle of engineering and archaeology. Newsreels, documentaries, and press articles disseminated the image of Italy as a country capable of 'reclaiming' its past, transforming the site into an open-air museum visited by authorities, aristocrats, tourists, and scholars alike.³

2 This passage has been contextualised in more detail in Grippa, c.d.s.; for a detailed account of the attempts to recover the ships between 1446 and 1895, see Ucelli 1950, 7-24.

3 This passage has been further expanded on in Grippa, c.d.s. and in Grippa, Redemagni 2025.



Figure 1 The second ship completely drained. 1932. Lake Nemi. Sepia-toned black and white photograph. Photographic Archive, SABAP-MET-RM

Ucelli himself promoted the production of an educational film which, through approximately 1200 metres of footage entrusted to the Istituto Luce, was intended to document every phase of the venture, from the pumps' activation to the museum's opening. Conceived as a work in progress divided into four parts, only fragments survive now of the project. Part of the material was later incorporated into another film, *Das Geheimnis vom Nemi-See*, produced between 1931 and 1933 by the Istituto Luce in collaboration with Berlin's Ariete Film, and directed by Guido Parish and Fritz Puchstein. Released in Berlin in 1933 and screened the same year at the Planetarium in Rome, the film reworked the original sequences by accentuating their spectacular and mythical aspects. In contrast to Ucelli's preference for a technical and documentary register, the German version emphasised an aestheticising and symbolic dimension, in tune with the visual culture of the period (Pietrangeli, Redemagni 2023, 68-74; Grippa, Redemagni 2025, 167-82).

At the same time, as early as the 1926 Commission, provision had been made for the construction of a building to house the ships. After various proposals, it was the design by architect Vittorio Morpurgo (1890-1966), selected in the mid-1930s, that gave shape to this ambition: two large parallel naves connected by a central reinforced concrete gallery, conceived as a monumental shelter for the two ships. The innovative character of the project also lay in its attention to visitor's experience: the building, in dialogue with the

surrounding landscape, allowed the public to observe the ships both from close range, allowing to appreciate their details, and from an elevated balcony accessed via helical staircases positioned at the centre of the gallery (Ballio Morpurgo 1940, 371-6; see also Ucelli 1950, 103-13; Incutti, Porretta 2024, 40-50).

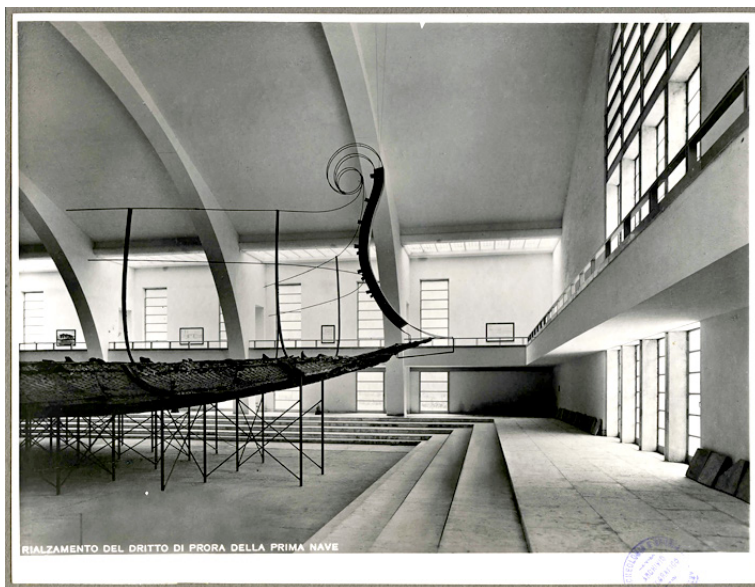


Figure 2 Installation of the right pavilion of the Museum of Roman Ships at Nemi, detail of the first ship. 1938-39. Sepia-toned black and white photograph. Photographic Archive, SABAP-MET-RM

On 21 April 1941, to mark the Natale di Roma, the Museum of Roman Ships was solemnly inaugurated (L.N. 1940, 398-407). With this event, a centuries-long trajectory of attempts and fragmentary memories seemed to culminate, ushering in the age of a monumental celebration, in which architecture, ships, artefacts, and images sanctioned the triumph of archaeological and technical modernity.

3 Fire and Reconstruction (1944-53)

The recovery of the Nemi ships is still regarded as one of the most significant archaeological undertakings of twentieth-century Italy. Yet this triumphant trajectory was abruptly interrupted on the night between 31 May and 1 June 1944, when fire reduced the ships to ashes, leaving the museum as a mere shell, deprived of its contents (Altamura Paolucci 2023a; Altamura Paolucci 2023b, 45-60). The

surviving building thus became the tangible testimony of a void: no longer the 'expectant' void filled by the recovery and the images of the ships, but a new and radical void, generated by the irreversible loss of heritage and destined to mark the museum's subsequent history.

From that moment on, the museum took shape as a suspended place, a liminal space scarred by the trauma of war, unable to perform the function for which it had been conceived.



Figure 3 The 1944 fire: the ashes of the ships and the traces of the bombings. Black and white photograph. Photographic Archive, SABAP-MET-RM, Fonds Guido Ucelli

In an attempt to restore meaning to the architectural space, a new commission – the Consiglio Superiore – was established in 1948. It brought together representatives of the competent ministries along with two key figures: Guido Ucelli and Naval Engineer Colonel Luigi Tursini (1938-1961). Both were entrusted, on an almost voluntary basis, with drawing up a project for reconstruction and reinstallation, with only travel and inspection expenses covered.⁴

Between 1948 and 1949, various proposals and design hypotheses emerged, following two distinct lines of thought: on one hand, the official programmes and proposals drafted by the ministerial bodies of the Consiglio (Ghini 1992, 3-20); on the other, a series of plans jointly developed by Ucelli and Tursini, where a particularly

⁴ ASMUST, *Carla e Guido Ucelli di Nemi*, b. 47, f. 2; ASMUST, *C. e G. Ucelli di Nemi*, b. 49, f. 1.

innovative conception of the relationship between reconstruction and ruin took shape. On more than one occasion, they proposed that one of the pavilions should not be fully restored, but intentionally preserved in the ruined state in which it had been left after the fire and the bombings. The idea was to transform loss into an exhibition element, making the trauma of destruction tangible for visitors. From this perspective, the museum would not conceal the wartime scar but would inscribe it into its architectural and museographic language.⁵

This vision took form in Luigi Tursini's *Memorandum* of 20 March 1949, accompanied by drawings and scale plans. The document distinguished two lines of intervention: the complete reconstruction of one pavilion and the central gallery, destined to house the new display; and the partial reintegration of the right-hand pavilion, preserved and exhibited in its ruined state. Within the restored space were to be placed two 1:5 scale models of the ships, produced by the Italian Navy, together with the surviving artefacts and documentation on the recovery and destruction. Provision was also made for the installation of a 'simulacrum' of the first ship, a tubular steel structure evoking its original full-scale form.⁶ The idea of making the ruin an integral part of the museum narrative introduced an innovative concept: the museum not only as a place of reconstruction and conservation, but also as a critical space in which the memory of loss would be rendered visible and permanent (see Grippa, Toson 2025, 67-92). However, when the museum reopened – on 25 November 1953 – the ruined pavilion was concealed behind a black panel: visitors could access only the restored and refitted left wing.

A subsequent document – a plan dated 21 May 1959, preserved in the Meschini Archive donated to the Museum of the Roman Ships of Nemi in 2022 by Tursini's family – appears to reopen the issue. Here, the ruin is conceived not as a provisional element but as part of a permanent display, with the charred structural remains of the ship left *in situ* and rearranged. Yet the closure of the museum in 1962, due to structural problems, interrupted any further development (see De Angelis 2025, 183-200).

The path of reconstruction, never fully realised, reveals how the void left by the ships was not only material but also memorial. The museum appeared as a container without an object, a place which, in its very incompleteness, displayed the trace of an irreparable loss. In this sense, the void ceased to be mere absence and opened up to

⁵ For an in-depth analysis of the reconstruction of the museum, the proposals, the reconstruction programmes, and on the reflection on ruin as a new museum potential see Grippa, Toson 2025, 67-92.

⁶ Tursini, *Memorandum* 1949.

a further potential dimension: transformed into an exhibited ruin, it could become an integral part of the narrative.

It is precisely this condition – the void as absence but also as potential for new narratives – that, in the following decades, became a privileged ground for cinematic reinterpretations, which turned the museum into a palimpsest of memory and reflection. It is on this threshold, between loss and possibility, that the gaze of cinema took root in the 1960s: *L'assassino* (1961), Elio Petri's directorial debut, chose to traverse the Museum of Roman Ships as a place already imbued with absence and memory. The sequence set in the right-hand pavilion – the one that had housed the first ship and still bore the traces of ruin – reasserts the museum's liminal condition: the bodies, gazes, and dialogues of the protagonists transform their walk among the ruins into a visual device that makes the void into filmic matter, a palimpsest of memory and a critical space (Grippa, Toson 2023, 81-100; see also Grippa, c.d.s.).

4 Elio Petri, *L'assassino* (1961): The Nemi Museum and the Ghost of the Ships

With *L'assassino*, the museum shifts from monument to ruin, from a site of celebration to a critical device. The film was released in Italian cinemas in April 1961, as an Italian-French co-production (Titanus Rome and S.G.C. Paris), shot at the Titanus studios on Kodak film stock. The screenplay was written by Petri himself together with Pasquale Festa Campanile, Massimo Franciosa, and Tonino Guerra.

The choice of a protagonist was not immediate: Marcello Mastroianni, fresh from the international success of *La dolce vita* (1960), had first met Petri years earlier while collaborating with Giuseppe De Santis on *Giorni d'amore* (1954). From that moment on, a professional and personal bond developed between them and that would consolidate over the years (Procino 2014, 75). The actor himself later recalled the experience with enthusiasm, describing the script of *L'assassino* as “very intelligent and different”⁷ and recounting his excitement at finding a poster of the film even in Martin Scorsese's home in Hollywood.⁸

The plot revolves around the antiquarian Alfredo Martelli (Marcello Mastroianni), arrested on suspicion of murdering his former lover Adalgisa De Matteis (Micheline Presle), a bourgeois Roman woman. Considered the last person to have seen her alive, Alfredo becomes the prime suspect; he is acquitted only at the

⁷ Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the Author.

⁸ Petri, *Miscellanea di interviste* s.d.

end of the film, when the real murderer is revealed. The narrative structure alternates between the present of the investigation and the protagonist's recollections: the flashbacks, far from clarifying the contours of the crime, instead sketch the moral portrait of an opportunistic, petty, and cowardly man. This intertwined structure, weaving together individual memory and judicial procedure, openly evokes a Kafkaesque atmosphere, recalling in several respects *The Trial* (see Grippa, Toson 2023, 83).

Flashbacks are a central feature of Petri's poetics from his very debut. In a 1961 questionnaire, the director observed:

L'assassino è vecchio per tante altre ragioni, ma non per i flash-back. Semmai l'uso del flash-back avrebbe potuto essere più elettrizzante, più a frantumi, e l'incastro più audace; ma si è avuto paura di fare un film sperimentale. Si potrebbe persino fare un film in cui presente, passato e futuro si mescolino, e nello stesso Assassino c'è un rozzo tentativo di flash-in-avanti; spero che il cinema progredisca anche in questa direzione⁹

Revolutionary and visionary, Petri's style was not well received by critics. The film in fact suffered a particularly harsh act of censorship, with over a hundred cuts concerning references to the homosexuality of a secondary character, collective fears of the police, and the repressive methods of the security forces (Procino 2014, 76). Petri himself denounced the intervention, defining it as "an arbitrary act" and emphasising how censorship had acted "against the very law it is supposed to defend", without any real justification of public order or morality.¹⁰

If the film's production and distribution history reveals a complex trajectory, even more surprising was the decision to set one of the flashbacks in the Museum of the Roman Ships at Nemi. Roughly thirty minutes into the film, Alfredo, Adalgisa, and Cristina (Nicoletta Nogaro) descend from the village of Nemi towards the Sanctuary of Diana and arrive at the museum. Before entering, they encounter Morello (Andrea Checchi), a young man who refuses to join them, dismissing the ships as a disappointment: a line that foreshadows the sense of disorientation the viewer will feel before a space now emptied of its original function.

Inside, the three walk among the ruins of the damaged pavilion. The metal skeleton of the surviving ship is visible, together with the fire-blackened remains and the contrast between what had been reconstructed and what remained in ruins. Their dialogues, light

⁹ Petri, *Risposta [dattiloscritto] a un questionario* 1961.

¹⁰ Petri, *Lettera dattiloscritta al critico Morandini* 1961.

and disengaged, conflict with the gravity of the place: “But why did the Germans destroy these beautiful Roman ships?” asks Cristina; “Because they are Germans!” replies Alfredo, with an air of flippant arrogance, bordering on the ridiculous. The character’s superficial irony clashes with the symbolic weight of the building: a monument of Fascist architecture, destroyed by fire and resonant with the consequences of the Second World War (see Grippa, Toson 2023, 81-100).



Figure 4 Elio Petri, *L'assassino* (1961). Nicoletta (Cristina Gajoni) in the right pavilion, with the ruins of the ships in the background, still video (28'44")

A particularly interesting aspect concerns the evolution of the screenplay, now preserved in the National Cinema Archive in Turin, in the Elio Petri and Pasquale Festa Campanile collections, whose unpublished documents are made available here for the first time. The sequence of versions reveals significant variations. In the earliest draft, the museum sequence is entirely absent. In a second version, entitled *L'assassino seconda parte*, the action takes place in an “Trattoria all’aperto su un lago dei Castelli”.¹¹ A third draft, dated 1960 and signed by all four screenwriters, relocates the action to the Museum of the Roman Ships – “Museo delle Navi romane. Nemi. Interno. Giorno”¹² – thus defining what would later become the final version.

Here the protagonists are described as “leaning against a balustrade on the first floor”. The reference to the “raised floor”

¹¹ Festa Campanile, *L'assassino seconda parte, secondo tempo della sceneggiatura* s.d., 340-3.

¹² Festa Campanile et al., *L'assassino sceneggiatura* 1960, 79-87.

reflects the viewing logic conceived by Morpurgo in the 1930s, when, before the war, it was possible to observe the ships from above. The stage direction adds:

Il museo è deserto. Al pianterreno al centro, lo scheletro metallico sul quale prima della guerra poggiava la nave romana ritrovata sul fondo del lago di Nemi.¹³

This note highlights the presence of the ship's mere material traces, transforming its residual image into a sort of ghost still inhabiting the cinematic space.

Petri's directorial choice turns the ruined museum space into a true dramaturgical device. The camera follows the characters among the charred beams and pillars of the ruined right-hand pavilion, while their frivolous dialogues heighten the contrast with the materiality of the ruins. The spectator is confronted with a short-circuit: the words seem to ignore the tragedy, yet the images of the ruins function as a mute but insistent language, contradicting the lightness of the dialogues (see Grippa, c.d.s.).



Figure 5 Elio Petri, *L'assassino* (1961). Adalgisa (Micheline Presle) in the restored central gallery of the museum, still video (30')

In this light, the inclusion of the Nemi Museum is not simply a picturesque choice or one functional to the flashback, but a deliberate and partly subversive gesture. Petri appropriates a site conceived and celebrated as a monument of Fascist rhetoric in order to return it in inverted form: no longer a space of imperial and identitarian

13 Festa Campanile et al., *L'assassino sceneggiatura* 1960, 79.

exaltation, but a scenario of ruin, an emptied place, an allegory of a past surviving only as a ghost. If in the 1930s the museum stood as a symbol of the regime's power and of its ability to recover the signs of the '*Romanitas*', in the 1961 film it becomes the ironic and bitter backdrop to a love triangle, the profile of a petty man, and the reflection of a post-war Italy marked by compromises and repression. In this sense, Petri's choice assumes a speculative and critical value concerning the memory of ruins: architectural space is reinscribed in cinema as a locus of void and conflict, where the memory of the regime fractures and reveals its deepest contradictions.

In this sequence the void manifests itself in diverse forms: as erasure (the irreversible absence of the ships), as latency (the traces retaining the memory of what once was), and as potentiality (the space reactivated by cinema and opened to new interpretations). The museum, emptied and incomplete, thus becomes the stage for a meditation on memory and oblivion: not a mere backdrop, but a place where the ghost of the ships survives through the cinematic image.

5 Conclusions: Languages of the Void Between Documentation and Memory

The trajectory reconstructed here shows how the case of the Nemi ships constitutes a genuine visual laboratory in which the tensions between images, memory, and absence are reflected in different ways. In the 1920s and 1930s, photographs, newsreels, and documentaries contributed to transforming the recovery enterprise into a major media event, heavily laden with political and propagandistic significance. The abundant images of the re-emerging ships did not merely document a technical-archaeological achievement, but became part of a narrative celebrating the so-called '*Romanitas*' and Fascist modernity, inscribing the enterprise within the regime's broader project of symbolic appropriation of the past.

The fire of 1944, which irreparably destroyed the ships, produced a radical fracture in this history: from then on, the Museum of Roman Ships no longer housed tangible artefacts, but the sign of a loss. It is precisely within this void – both material and memorial – that those new possibilities for narration opened up. The proposals advanced by Ucelli and Tursini, oriented towards preserving the ruins as an integral part of the display, reveal how, already in the immediate post-war years, there was an awareness of the need to transform destruction into a narrative device, inscribing the memory of trauma into the museum space.

In the 1960s, this very condition was re-elaborated by cinema. In *L'assassino* (1961), the museum is reinscribed in the film in an inverted form: no longer a symbol of power and restituted '*Romanitas*', but

rather a scenario of ruin and absence. The ruins become an ironic yet unsettling backdrop, transforming the museum into a critical device capable of fracturing the memory of the regime and exposing its contradictions.

The case of Nemi thus allows us to observe a trajectory that extends from the 'fullness' of images and monumental architecture of the 1930s to the evocative power of the 'void' in the 1960s. From fullness to void, from celebration to ruin, from images as propaganda to images as memorial speculation: the museum becomes the palimpsest of these transformations, a site in which the ships survive as ghosts, through traces and images rather than as material objects.

This reflection retains contemporary relevance. In the present context of studies on memory, images, and musealisation, the case of Nemi demonstrates how the representation of absence can itself become a tool of knowledge and critical interpretation. The Nemi ships, lost forever, continue to live on in photographs, films, and works. These documents finally recount their fate: a testimony to how the void can become memory, and how images can restore presence to what no longer exists.

Abbreviations of Archives Cited

ASMUST = Archivio Storico del Museo Nazionale Scienza e Tecnologia 'Leonardo Da Vinci', Milano.

MNCTO = Archivio Storico del Museo Nazionale del Cinema di Torino.

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