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The Re-identification of Pop Art: its reception from an Italian perspective

PhD program in Analysis and Management of Cultural Heritage
XXXI Cycle

by
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To Simone and Berenice
To my family
To my friends

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List of abbreviations

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Vita and publications

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Publications
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Presentations in Conference
Intersections; May 31st 2018, Florence. "*Revisiting Alfredo Jaar's concept of space in Italian exhibitions through Neuro-Aesthetics".*

8th ENCATC Research Session. Click, connect, collaborate! New directions in sustaining cultural networks; September 29th 2017 Bruxelles. *"Does education help to create sustainable art cities?"*.

XVth MAGIS. Gorizia International Film Studies Spring School. March 29th- April 2nd 2017 Gorizia. Paper entitled: "*Re-enactment of Past Artworks in Contemporary Film and Video-Art: from Jean-Michel Basquiat to Ragnar Kjartansson*".

Conference *About Portrait,* Università degli Studi di Torino; December 1st-2nd 2016 Torino. Scientific poster entitled "*Pietro Comolli's meditative portraiture*".

Conference *Art out of Art, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart,* Milan; October 12th-13th 2016, Milan. "*The comparison of the "Pop tendence" with the political commitment of the Seventies: reception of the posthumous dispute*".

LYNX Conference, *Imaging the Past, Collecting the Future*, IMT. School for Advanced Studies; June 22nd-25th 2016, Lucca. "*The advantages of Peter Greenaway's technique in the valorization of the art masterpieces inside museums and in the cities*".

Abstract

The Pop Art phenomenon has been a subject of discussion for art critics, gallerists, collectors and the artists themselves, since its first appearance in the '50s. However, since the '80s there has been a strong interest in retrospectively studying the current, trying not only to define its spread in geographical and chronological terms, but also to identify which artists and single pieces of artwork can be labeled as 'Pop'. Despite the efforts made in describing the current, previous research has trivialized it, so much so that the term Pop has been misattributed, and its features are not precise.

Within this framework, this thesis aims to investigate the artistic fortunes of Pop Art in Italy, trying to understand whether what happened in Italy could be identified as such, especially focusing on the period between 1962 and 1964, and the period immediately after. Among the centers where Pop Art spread, Milan and Rome are the focus of this investigation that works to observe their possible connections with the US. For this reason, the research has been conducted according to a linguistic and visual philological methodology, analyzing primary material (such as the archives of the so-called Italian Pop artists), as well as critical primary and secondary sources (from the end of the Fifties to nowadays).

Additionally, due to the influence of other art forms, such as music, cinema and theater, the topic calls for an inter-disciplinary approach in order to describe the socio-cultural context in which Pop Art appeared. In light of such analysis, this research provides a comprehensive overview of the Pop current based on historical data, redefining the term, the socio-cultural context and the issues to resolve, in order to re-read such a phenomenon. Finally, the thesis suggests that the work done here be followed as a methodological approach to re-identify Pop Art in single territories, in order to better understand the diverse iterations of either the current itself or its aesthetic characteristics.

Introduction

This thesis surpasses previous studies on the reception of Pop Art in Italy, re-reading its artistic fortune in the Sixties, identifying the socio-historical context and the features that distinguished Italian Pop art, and analytically reconstructing the Italian historical-artistic current within the national and international art system, compared to the US. The current state of Pop Art is the following: Pop Art has been one of the main currents of the twentieth century, and its representatives have generated a vast bibliography. Between 1962 and 1963, a series of major museum exhibitions began in the US (New York, Oakland, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Washington, Kansas City, and Houston), that emphasized the role of a new artistic language, in its authentic expression. This artistic phenomenon itself has therefore been the subject of numerous studies: some of them have investigated or otherwise suggested an investigation into the different types of Pop Art; however, a real, in-depth analysis on the fortune of Pop Art in the UK, the USA and Italy, has not been yet completed. Regarding the different types of Pop Art, two main provocative issues must be pointed out, as they are at the origin of this research project: first, a statement made by Lucy Lippard who, in the book Pop Art (1966), claims that Pop Art was born twice, in the UK and in the USA, marginalizing Europe[1]; second, the confusion in the current bibliography about the term Pop Art: on the one hand, some art historians disagree on the term's definition, on the other hand, the term Pop has been attributed to artwork belonging to this period, as a term taken for granted[2].

[1] Lucy Lippard just mentions Italy in the last chapter of her book *Europe and Canada*, claiming that the further a country's cultural heritage is in its spirit from America's, the more tenuous its relationship between Pop Art and its manifestations will be. See Lucy R. Lippard et al., *Pop Art* (New York, Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966): 173.

[2] On the issue of Pop Art's definition see, for instance, the German curator Tilman Osterwold's question from 1999, on whether Pop art was «Eine Bewegung der sechziger Jahre», trying to give a definition and his opinion about the term: «Pop – ein Wortspiel, Lebensstil, ein Generationsbegriff, neuer Kunstbegriff? Pop Art – der In-Begriff für eine weitrechende kulturelle Bewegung der sechziger Jahre? […] Pop ist eine unbedingt westliche Kulturerscheinung, herangewachsen unter den kapitalistischen, technologischen Bedingungen der industriellen Gesellschaft […] Die englische Nuance für Volk als Masse is »populace«; und »popular« meint volkstümlich, popular, beliebt[…]». See Tilman

This lack of clarity leads the public to strongly believe in an incorrect and confusing definition of the term in the Sixties and afterward and, consequently, has resulted in the improper identification of the phenomenon itself: the lack of correct documentation of the term Pop Art promoted imprecise identifications of artists and their related artwork. In line with the issues stated in the aim and scope of the thesis, the main research question can be specified as follows: first, what was Italy's response to Pop Art starting from the end of the Fifties until the beginning of the Seventies? Second, how did this phenomenon develop and what is the history of the term Pop Art?[3] Finally, what were the key factors for its development and which actors (e.g., artists, gallerists, collectors, dealers, art historians, art critics) of that artistic sphere contributed to its fortune? In line with these issues, this thesis seeks to conduct an analysis that retrospectively recomposes Italian Pop Art's fortune, in all its complexity as a huge phenomenon, considering the intertwined territories. In order to do so, the methodological approach will be philological: this thesis will first investigate Pop Art's common and diverse characteristics, providing data, namely documents in archives (primary sources such as letters, manuscripts and art reviews), that will show evidence of any possible connection between the various geographical areas of evidence; and second, it will consider actors of the Italian art system who contributed to Italian Pop Art's development. Additionally, this thesis proposes to re-read Pop Art with the intent of showing that art historians should not talk either of one Global Pop Movement, or of a general Pop Art distinguished into three distinct currents: American Pop Art, UK Pop Culture and another type of Italian Pop, in between Nouveau Réalisme and Op Art. Rather it should be said that those types of Pop Art are siblings but are different, each with its own main characteristics, closely related to the territory in which they appeared[4].

Osterwold, *Pop Art*, (Singapore: Taschen,1999): 6-7. Translation: «Pop - a pun, a lifestyle, a concept of generation, a new concept of art? Pop Art - the 'in' term for a far-reaching cultural movement of the sixties? [...] Pop is an absolutely Western cultural phenomenon, developed under the capitalistic, technological conditions of industrial society [...] The English nuance for people as a mass is 'populace'; and 'popular' means folk, popular, admired [...]».

[3] Genealogy does not imply etymological research, rather the term's appearance, development and usage according to its context and its consequent 'translation' in art and how then art.

[4] One of the most recent studies on Global Pop Art, *The World Goes Pop*, presented at the Tate Modern in 2015, tries to demonstrate that Pop Art was a global movement, showing artwork produced in Brazil, Japan, and Eastern Europe as instances of a wide phenomenon that originated in parallel in several countries. The main question to raise about this perspective is: why did art critics in 2015 analyze Pop Art through a global viewpoint? What differences between global and international views should be pointed out? Regarding

Following the Introduction, Chapter one examines the framework in which Pop Art research moved so far in different contexts, studying Pop Art's critical fortune comparing Europe and the US. The chapter establishes the main issues of discussion, defining the terms of the debate around which the thesis will be developed, and underlining the historical and socio-cultural issues. It analyzes the historical situation that, even before the Sixties, created a fruitful ground for the advent of Pop Art in Italy, particularly examining the effect that totalitarian regimes had on the creation of a certain type of mass, very much subjected to the will of political parties, such as communism. Additionally, it studies the influence that the US had in being the liberators in Europe, imposing their military supremacy worldwide, as well as world industrial leaders, with an implied cultural supremacy that went along with it. Additionally, it reviews the philology and authorship of the term, investigating the history of the term Pop Art, dividing the debate chronologically, emphasizing the meaning that the word Pop had in Italy, and also comparing it with historical Avant-guard movements. Furthermore, it studies whether and how the term was imported from abroad and started to be used in Italy, as well as the debate of the art critics and linguistic purists who lined up against the term, and the implication of the term in the art market. Finally, this chapter analyzes how the word Pop Art appeared in Italian dictionaries, registering thus its common usage, in almost every decade up until now, starting from the end of the nineteenth century. The analysis of the dictionaries helps re-define the term Pop Art, because it indicates the chief meanings of the word according to Italian people, in terms of perception and usage. Lastly, it creates a philological appendix in order to meticulously compare the nuances that the word acquired, and which linguists have defined it[5].

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the former question, the first answer suggests taking into account the fact that we are in a globalized era. Regarding the latter, the term 'international' (in Lippard's view) seems to indicate a Pop style that resulted from the fusion of the different national features under which Pop Art was shaped. However, the term 'International Pop' is ambiguous itself given that a unique international Pop did not exist. When applied to late Pop Art (the one after the Seventies that was indicated in Morgan's book), the word 'global' could perhaps acquire more meaning, given that at a certain point different national styles were well-known and artists could have been influenced by them. See Jessica Morgan, Flavia Frigeri, *The World Goes Pop*, exh. cat. – London, Tate Modern, 17th September 2015-24th January 2016 (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Tate Publishing, 2015).

[5] In order to properly define a local Pop current within its international development, such as the Italian one in this thesis, it is important to start investigating the phenomenon from its definition. Such an approach would be more productive given that most of the critical banalities published in the current bibliography on Pop Art result from its unsuitable and confused definition, that led to an improper understanding of the phenomenon. In addition, the historical background of other countries, such as Austria, one of whose zones

Chapter two investigates the concept of Pop in Italian Pop artists' artwork, assessing the similarities and differences with Pop artists from abroad. The analysis aims to shed light on the relationships that Italian Pop artists had with other regions, especially the US and American Pop artists during their travels; the presence of American artists in Italy starting from the second half of the Fifties; and the explosion of Pop Art and the so-called official Pop landing in Italy at the 32nd Venice Biennale in 1964, thanks to the American artist Robert Rauschenberg. Particular emphasis is given to the emergent Pop icons that either belong to past tradition and are revisited by artists (e.g., icons of Leonardo da Vinci, Vittore Carpaccio), or belong to the current political parties such as communism and are re-appropriated by artists (e.g., the Hammer and Sickle). Additionally, the political involvement of artists and possible manipulations by parties are carefully considered and documented, either by letters or photographs. Further elements studied include the art critics' comments on artwork exhibited at the numerous exhibits on Pop Art. Moreover, it examines the common point of departure of Socialist Realism and communism that leads some critics in certain types of political newspapers (that had more interest in those artists than art reviews did), to decide on their reception by the art system[e].

Chapter three assesses the impact of Pop Art in Italy, measuring the fortune of its institutionalization in the Sixties within public museums in Rome, Milan, Turin and Venice, which have been the leading cities for the promotion of Pop Art in Italy. In order to weigh how some art institutions rather than others opened up their collection to Italian Pop artwork, two factors are taken into account: first, the private gallerists' relationship with the directors of museums, and second, the director of the museum's relationship with the Public administration. Whereas some gallerists such as Plinio De Martiis, founder and director of Galleria La Tartaruga in Rome, seem to have been powerful figures for the systematization of Pop Art within Italian museums, the openness of the mentality of the Public administration at both a national and local

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divided after the Second World War was given to the US, had similarities with Italy's, and it felt the need for an appropriate definition of the term Pop from the early Sixties (i.e., «Pop (pop) vi/t. A. vi 1. Knallen, losgehen|| [fig.] explodieren (with vor) || [fam.] puffen, paffen, knallen, schiessen (at nach) 2. Schnell gehen or springer; hereinkommen (into) […]»). See George Schmid, *Pop etc.*, exh. cat. – Wien, Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts, 19th September-31st October 1964 (Wien: Museum des 20 Jahrhunderts, 1964): 23.

[e] On this point, in September 1962, the American art critic Jules Langsner referred to Pop Art with the following names (in parallel with Italian critics, even before Lippard's claim): New Social Realism, Common Object Painting, and Commonism. Among them, in particular, Commonism is the one that, according to Langsner's claim, was substituted with Pop culture. See Jules Langsner, "From Los Angeles letter", *Art International*, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 1962): 49-50.

level, together with the economic resources they made available, appeared to have shaped the fortune of the Italian Pop artists in that decade. Thus, archives in private institutions containing acquisition documents are analyzed in this regard. The concluding chapter, instead, addresses the research questions considering the literature review, the findings of the linguistic and visual philological work, and the analysis of the musealization of the Pop phenomenon in Italy in the Sixties.

1. Chapter One. History of the term Pop Art: critical and historical implications

1.1 Introduction

New Realist, the Sidney Janis Gallery exhibit held in 1962 in New York, can be considered the historical moment in which Italy and the US were associated on a artistic level in relation to Pop Art. That exhibit is emblematic of the issue at stake in this chapter: the definition of the group of artists that participated in it. Although some of the Italian and American artists who presented their artwork were later traced back to the Pop Art current (i.e., in 1963), a movement that in the Sixties had diverse iterations in the US, Italy and elsewhere (e.g., in UK), Janis distinguished among Factual artists «referred to as the Pop Artists in England»[7], New Realists in France and New York and Polymaterialists in Italy[8]. Janis defined the New Realist as a kind of urban folk artist, who

[7] Janis defined Factual artists as those who were around 30 years old and were reacting to Abstract Expressionism, see Sidney Janis, *The New Realists*, exh. cat. – New York, Sidney Janis Gallery, 1st November-11th December 1962 (New York: Sidney Janis Gallery, 1962): unpaginated. Hal Foster reflected on what was happening in the UK and the US already by the early '50s: members of the Independent Group delved into popular culture, while in New York and California Jasper Johns and Roy Lichtenstein worked on the images preparing the way for Pop Art, see Hal Foster, *The first Pop Age* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012): 5.

[8] Most of the present bibliography on Pop Italian Art mentions Sidney Janis Gallery's exhibit as the first hint of an association between Italy and the US: Andrea Mecacci, *L'estetica del Pop* (Roma: Donzelli, 2011): 62; Rossana Bossaglia, Susanna Zatti, *Il Pop Art e l'Italia*, exh. cat. – Pavia, Castello Visconteo, 1st June-30th September 1983 (Milano: Mazzotta, 1983): 18; Sergio Salvi et. al, *Pop Art America Europa: dalla collezione Ludwig*, exh. cat. – Firenze, Forte di Belvedere, 4th July-4th October 1987 (Milano: Electa, 1987): 117; Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art Italia 1958-1968*, exh. cat. – Modena, Galleria Civica, Palazzo dei Giardini, Palazzina dei Giradini, 17th April-3rd July 2005 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2005): 31; Germano Celant, *Baj: mobili animati*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Marconi, 26th May-24th July 2009 (Milano: Skira, Fondazione Marconi, 2009): 180. Sidney Janis moved with his wife Harriet to New York City in 1930 (he was from Buffalo, NY). By that time, Janis only had a collection but joined the Advisory Board of the Museum of Modern Art. He founded his gallery in 1949 (15 E. 57th Street) and became well-known for his exhibits of European artists, such as Mondrian, Léger, the Futurists and the Fauvists (during his previous travels to Europe with his wife Harriet, especially to Paris, he met Picasso, Mondrian, Brancusi, Léger). By 1950 his gallery was a «renowned outlet for the American avant-guard-guard, hosting the three solo Jackson Pollock shows, and eventually representing Kline, Motherwell, Rothko,

Adolph Gottlieb, Joseph Albers, and others». See Mark P. Bernardo, *Lichtenstein in New York* (Berkeley: Roaring Forties Press): 83-84. *The New Realists* exhibition saw the presence of artists coming not only from Italy and the US, but also from France, Norway, and UK. However, the core of this thesis is to understand how Pop Art was received in Italy, thus the author will develop only the connections that affected Italy. See Sidney Janis, *The New Realists*, op.cit.. Twenty-nine artists participated in the exhibit. Among the Americans: Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, Claes Oldenburg, James Rosenquist, George Segal. Among the Italians: Mario Schifano, Tano Festa, Gianfranco Baruchello, Enrico Baj, Mimmo Rotella. On the American artists present at the exhibit and the name Pop Art: whereas in 1962 Max Kozloff referred to Pop culture – Max Kozloff, "Pop culture, metaphysical disgust and the new vulgarians", *Art international*, vol. 6, no. 2 (March 1962): 34-36 – in 1963 the name Pop Art appeared in the US with Gwene R. Swenson "What is Pop Art? (Interviews)", *Arts News*, vol. 62, no. 7 (November 1963): 24-27, 60-64; and then in 1964, Gwene R. Swenson, "What is Pop Art? (Interviews) Part. II", *Arts News*, vol. 62, no. 10 (February 1964): 40-44, 62-67. The previous year Swenson referred to those artists, calling them "The new American 'sign painters'", *Art news*, vol. 61, no. 5 (May 1962): 45-47. In April 1963, the first contraposition between the name New Realists and Pop Art is published in "A symposium on Pop Art", published in "Arts", in which Peter Selz, Henry Geldzahler, Hilton Kramer, Dore Ashton, Leo Steinberg and Stanley Kunitz declared to choose the term *Pop Art*, because it seemed to describe «the phenomenon better than the name New Realism, which has also been applied to such divergent forms as Germany's Neue Sachlichkeit of the twenties and Frances's Réalités Nouvelles of the forties […]», see Peter Selz, Henry Geldzahler, Hilton Kramer, Dore Ashton, Leo Steinberg and Stanley Kunitz, "A symposium on Pop Art", *Arts Magazine*, vol. 37, no. 7, (April 1963): 35-45. On New Realism: Pierre Restany wrote "The new realism", *Art in America*, vol. 51, no. 1 (February 1963): 102-104, translated in Italian by Jole de Sanna, Pierre Restany, *Nuovo realismo* (Milano: Prearo, 1973). Also in 1967 Alberto Boatto published an interview of Pop artists present in the Sidney Janis exhibit in 1962, see Alberto Boatto, *Pop Art in U.S.A.: dichiarazioni di Dine, Johns, Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, Rauschenberg, Rosenquist, Segal, Warhol* (Milano: Lerici, 1967). On the exhibits held in New York in 1962 see Sidney Tillim, "Month in review: New York exhibitions", *Arts Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (February 1962): 34-37. Regarding the Italian artists present at the exhibit: according to Calvesi the first Italian overview on Pop Art was published on the first issue of *Collage*, December 1963, but the term Pop Art was ignored by Italian art critics, see footnote 21 in Maurizio Calvesi, *Le due avanguardie. Dal Futurismo alla Pop Art* (Milano: Lerici Editori, 1966): 20. Indeed, whereas in 1963 the Italian artists who participated in the Sidney Janis exhibit were labeled as Pop artists by American art critics, in Italy the label Pop Art was avoided until 1964. For instance the Italian art critics Maurizio Calvesi and Cesare Vivaldi for the Mario Schifano exhibit at Galleria Odyssia, 24th April, 1963, still discussed art trends in terms of Neo-Dada and Nouveau Réalisme; it seemed that each of the artists who participated in the Janis exhibit began to be labeled as Pop only starting in 1964: Cesare Vivaldi for the catalogue of the Umberto Bignardi exhibit on May 1964 wrote about the young Roman school that began from Neo-Dada as Pop artists did, but arrived at different results, see Cesare Vivaldi, *Bignardi*, exh. cat. – Bologna, Galleria de' Foscherari, 27th May – 27th June 1964 (Bologna: Galleria de' Foscherari, 1964). For a further description of the history of the group of Italian artists that participated in the Janis exhibit in terms of their connection to Pop Art refer in particular to: Maurizio Calvesi, Rosella Siligato, *Roma Anni '60. Al di là della pittura*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 20th December 1990 – 15th February 1991 (Roma: Carte segrete, 1991); Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, *Roma-New York, 1948-1964*, exh. cat. – New York, Murray and Isabella Rayburn Foundation, 5th November 1993-10th January 1994 (Milano: Charta, 1993); Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art, 1956-1968*, exh. cat. – Roma, Scuderie del Quirinale, 26th October 2007-27th January 2008 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2007). On Pop Art as a movement: one of the most recent studies, *The World Goes Pop* presented at Tate Modern in 2015, tried

lived in cities such as New York, Paris, London, Rome and Stockholm, looking for an inspiration within urban culture; he also emphasized the need to clarify the label Neo-Dada, which was used in reference to the New Realists' work, because of the common ground shared among former Dadaists and the New Realists. Before investigating from an art critical point of view whether and why the term Pop Art triumphed over other definitions (i.e., New realists and Neo-Dada) in Italy, the historical and social implications between Italy and the US in the two decades preceeding the Janis' exhibit must be analyzed to better comprehend the Italian reception of Pop Art[9].

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to demonstrate that Pop Art was a global movement, showing Pop artwork produced not only in the Western world, but also in Brazil, Japan, and Eastern Europe. The EY Exhibition The World Goes Pop, held at Tate Modern from 17th September, 2015 to 24th January 2016, was edited by Jessica Morgan and Flavia Frigeri. See the exhibition catalogue, Jessica Morgan, Flavia Frigeri, *The World Goes Pop*, exh. cat. – London, Tate Modern, 17th September 2015-24th January 2016 (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Tate Publishing, 2015). On Pop Art and the UK: although the focus of this thesis is neither to investigate whether and when Pop Art born in the UK, nor whether it was born there before its US development, nor does it want to deepen the debate on the name Pop Art and Pop Culture related to the Independent Group, it noticed that the first essays with the name Pop Art that were published in the UK specifically referred to the British artistic context in 1962, see: Lawrence Alloway, "Pop art since 1949", *The Listener*, vol. 68, no. 1761 (December 1962): 1085-1087; in a talk for *Third Programme* (8th November, 1962) published in *The Listener*, Alloway claimed that Pop Art began in London around 1949 with works by Francis Bacon. The British art critic Reyner Banham was also interested in Pop Art, see Reyner Banham, "Who is the 'Pop'", *Motif*, vol.u., no. 10, (December 1962): 3-13. Banham was interested in British popular art as his previous essays provided evidence, see Reyner Banham, "Industrial design e arte popolare", *Civiltà delle macchine*, vol. 3, no. 6 (November-December 1955): 12-14; Reyner Banham, "Machine aesthetic", *The architectural review*, vol. 171, no. 117 (April 1955): 225-228.

[9] Marcel Duchamp initiated the battle around the name of the new current when in 1962 he wrote to Hans Richter claiming that the Neo-Dada that they called New Realism, Pop Art, Art of Assemblage «was an easy way out and lived on what Dada did […] In Neo-Dada they took my ready-mades and found aesthetic beauty in them. I threw the bottle-rack and the urinal into their faces as a challenge and now they admire them for their aesthetic beauty», see Duchamp's letter in Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965): 207-208. Additionally, Andy Warhol's early work was tagged as Neo-Dada, see Daniel Tiffany, *My silver planet: a secret history of poetry and kitsch* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014): 179. Andy Warhol declared: «Dada must have something to do with Pop – it's funny, the names are really synonyms… Johns and Rauschenberg – Neo-Dada for all these years, and everyone calling them derivative and unable to transforms the things they were – are now called progenitors of Pop». Furthermore, according to the artist Robert Motherwell, Dada born as an anti-art, it «had been incorporated into the artistic mainstream and had become, among other things an artistic stance», see Robert Motherwell, *The Dada painters and the poets: an anthology* (New York: Wittenborn, 1989): 12. In this regard, it is also worth noting Barbara Rose's essay, "Dada, then and now", *Art International*, vol. 7, no. 1 (January 1963): 23-28. On the New Realists' work, refer also to Gilbert Sorrentino, "Kitsch into 'Art': the New Realism", *Kulchur*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Winter 1962): 10 – 23, owing to his discussion of New Realism and its place in painting in the Sixties. On Dadaist and New Realists see Ibid.. Filiberto Menna was also investigating similarities

1.2 Italy and U.S.A.: the countries' connection between 1942 and 1962

The years between 1942 and 1962 saw historical facts that created a receptive ground to welcome the coming of Pop Art in Italy; such facts regarded not only the political and economic, but also the diplomatic and cultural, sphere.[10] On the one hand, the role of the American military in Italy from 1943 onward and its financial aid, together with the meaningful influence in the fight against communism of Alcide De Gasperi, foreign Minister (December 1944-December 1945) of the Italian

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between the old and Neo-Dada in the 1962 exhibit at L'Aquila, see Antonio Bandera, Enrico Crispolti, *Alternative attuali: rassegna internationale: architettura, pittura, scultura d'avanguardia. Omaggio a Burri: retrospettiva antologica 1948-1961*, exh. cat. – L'Aquila, Castello Cinquecentesco, 1st July-30th August 1962 (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1962).

[10] In the history of the relationship between Italy and the US, 1942 to 1962 mark two decades of tight connection between the two countries before the advent of Pop Art. While in 1942, the war saw the two countries at their greatest distance, with Anglo-American troops defeating the Italian-German army at El Alamein, 1962, the year of the six-day missile crisis in Cuba between the US and the Soviet Union, marks the end of military action in the Cold War. At the same time, 1962 could be considered the official year when European artists melt together with the American ones at Sidney Janis Gallery in New York, with *The New Realists* exhibit, as was explained in the introduction of this chapter. For the main events that happened in the two decades see in particular: John L. Harper, *L'America e la ricostruzione dell'Italia, 1945-1948* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987); Egidio Ortona, *Anni d'America. La ricostruzione, 1945-51* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984); Aga Rossi Elena, *Italia e Stati Uniti durante l'amministrazione Truman* (Milano: Angeli, 1977); David Ellwood, *L'alleato nemico. La politica dell'occupazione anglo-americana in Italia, 1943-1946* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1977):192-201; Catalano Franco, *L'Italia dalla dittatura alla democrazia, 1919-1948* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1974): 280-323. Most of Pop Art's bibliography that specifically explicates the connections between American and Italian Pop Art, does not really consider the years 1942-1962, whenever the historical background is mentioned, nor is it deepened under economic and political terms. See for instance Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, *Roma-New York, 1948-1964* (New York: Murray and Isabella Rayburn Foundation, 1993); Marco Livingstone, *The Pop 60's-Transatlantic crossing* (Lisbon: Centro Cultural de Belém, 1997); Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art Italia: 1958-1968*, exh. cat. – Modena, Galleria Civica, 17th April-3rd July 2005 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2005). Moreover, the influence that bodies such as USIS (The United States Information Service) for Italy exercised on the cultural sphere (bodies that contributed to mold Italians' minds to be open to receive the American model) is not included. For instance, in Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, *Roma-New York, 1948-1964*, op. cit., the fact that the American way of life entered into Italy is just mentioned without an appropriate historical framework: at p. 13 Celant mentions the arrival of the US in Italy in 1943, the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan of 1947, whereas the rest of the years (1948-1964) are analyzed in the following pages, focusing on the connection between Italian and American Art. For example, on p. 19, he indicates the participation of Peggy Guggenheim at the Venice Biennale of 1948, the exhibition *Twenty Century Italian Art* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, in which Afro, Cagli, Scialoja and Fontana took part. The distinction that this thesis wants to make (meaning, to distinguish between political and economic, versus diplomatic and cultural, factors) is to better understand how such factors acted and influenced the Italian territory in the second postwar, creating a fertile ground for the advent of Pop Art coming from the US. The diplomatic and cultural influence is specifically related to the role that USIS played in the transmission of the American model in Italian culture, as is discussed later in this chapter.

DC party (Democrazia Cristiana) were key factors within the political-economic sphere[11]. On the other hand, American diplomacy acted on the

[11] American military established itself in Italy after the Anglo-American invasion in Sicily on 10th July, 1943. For further developments on the Anglo-American invasion see in particular: Ezio Costanzo, *Sicilia 1943: breve storia dello sbarco alleato* (Catania: Le Nove Muse editrice, 2017); Manoela Patti, *La Sicilia e gli alleati tra occupazione e liberazione* (Roma: Donzelli, 2013); Henri Michel, *La seconda guerra mondiale. La vittoria degli alleati, gennaio 1943-settembre 1945* (Milano: Mursia, 1990); Steven J. Zaloga, *Sicilia 1943* (Gorizia: Libreria Editrice Goriziana, 2013). In the second postwar, communism was a crucial issue for the United States, not only internally in the country but also externally in their foreign policies. Internally, the United Stated had to deal with the Communist Party USA – CPUSA – founded in 1919 against which they enacted the *Smith Act*, 1940, to punish every kind of act of subversion, and the *Taft-Hartley Act*, 1947, that enabled the incrimination of trade unions in which communists were a strong presence. Externally, communism in Italy was constantly controlled by the US through Italian politicians such as De Gasperi, who obeyed the plans decided by the US. Riots and internal subversions of trade unions were considered dangerous as they could lead to political instability, thus interfering with the US's goals in their foreign affairs and in their economic profits in Italy. The bibliography on this topic is obviously extended; for more about how communism was born and how it developed in Italy see especially: Lucrezia Cominelli, *La strategia Americana nei confronti dell'Italia e le sue ricadute sull'eversione di destra* in Vv.Aa., *Il terrorismo di destra e di sinistra in Italia e in Europa: storici e magistrati a confronto* (Padova: Padova University Press, 2018): 115-138; Fabrizio Cicchitto, *L'influenza del comunismo nella storia d'Italia: il PCI tra via parlamentare e lotta armata. Atti del convegno organizzato dalla Fondazione Magna Carta e da L'Ircocervo, Roma* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2008); Giovambattista Vaccaro, *L'idea di Comunismo e il Marxismo del Novecento* (Milano: Mimesis, 2017); John M. Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967): 141-186; Livio Maitan, *Attualità di Gramsci e politica comunista* (Milano: Schwarz, 1955); Flaminio Piccoli, *L'incidenza del comunismo sulla democrazia italiana: relazione svolta al Convegno di studi della Democrazia Cristiana S. Pellegrino: 15 sett. 1963* (Roma: Centro studi Politici di 'via Piemonte', 1963); *L'apparato paramilitare comunista nell'Italia del dopoguerra (1945-1955)* pp. 47-82 in Victor Zaslavsky, *Lo stalinismo e la sinistra italiana: dal mito dell'URSS alla fine del comunismo, 1945-1991* (Milano: Mondadori, 2004); Paolo Mieli, *Storia e politica: risorgimento, fascismo e comunismo* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2001): 287- 361; Giorgio Amendola, *Il comunismo italiano nella seconda guerra mondiale: relazione e documenti presentati dalla direzione del partito al V Congresso del Partito comunista italiano* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1963); Ruggero Orfei, *Sviluppi e tendenze del comunismo italiano* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1966): 44. For further developments on the Communist party in the US see *La «questione comunista» negli Stati Uniti degli anni '30-'40*, pp. 15-33 and *I comunisti americani e la seconda guerra mondiale*, pp. 37-68 in Antonio Donno, *La «questione comunista» negli Stati Uniti. Il Communist Party dal Fronte Popolare alla Guerra fredda, 1935-1954* (Lecce: Milella, 1983); Cristiano Camporesi, *Il marxismo teorico negli USA: 1900-1945* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1973); Robbie Lieberman, *The strangest dream: communism, anticommunism and the U.S. peace movement, 1945-1963* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Adrian Basora, Jean F. Boone, "A New U.S. policy toward democracy in Post-Communist Europe and Eurasia", *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 57, no. 1, (January 2010): 3-16; Alessandro Brogi, "Ending Grand Alliance Politics in Western Europe: US Anticommunism in France and Italy, 1944-7", *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 53, no. 1 (January 2018): 134-157; Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, Kirill M. Anderson, *The Soviet world of American communism* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1998). To see other entities that fought communism in the second postwar similarly to DC, but with lesser impact, see Giuseppe Brienza, *Identità Cattolica e anticomunismo nell'Italia del dopoguerra* (Crotone: Dettoris Editore, 2008):120-127; see also *Into Italy* pp. 33-50 in Ronald

cultural landscape through USIS (United States Information Service) in Italy, established in 1945, and USIA (United States Information Agency), an independent agency founded in 1953 by President Eisenhower in Washington D.C., which was devoted to the circulation of information within the United States and to which USIS offices abroad had to report back[12].

L. Filippelli, *American Labor and Postwar Italy, 1943-1953* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989). To further understand the fear that the US developed toward the power of communism that was profiting off the weakness of some European countries such as Albania, Romania and Hungary, see Ugo Frasca, *Fascismo, comunismo e Guerra fredda: attenzione dell'Italia e diplomazia vaticana in Albania, Romania, Ungheria, 1947-1954* (Roma: Studium, 2018); Giuseppe Mammarella, *Europa-Stati Uniti, un'alleanza difficile, 1945-1973* (Firenze: Vallecchi editore, 1973): 55; Giovanni Franchi, Tito Forcellese, *Il comunismo nella storia europea del 20mo secolo: politica, istituzioni, ideologie* (Roma, Nuova cultura, 2017). On Alcide De Gasperi and DC: De Gasperi was an Italian Catholic politician who played a fundamental role in the foundation of the DC (Democrazia Cristiana-Christian Democratic party) that was established thanks to the initiatives of a group belonging to the former PPI (Partito Popolare Italiano), namely Alcide De Gasperi, Giuseppe Spataro, Guido Gonella, Giovanni Gronchi, Mario Scelba), a lay, interclass and antifascist popular party of Catholics that considered freedom and political democracy fundamental keys to building the new political system, giving a Christian sense to the State without wanting a Christian State. On De Gasperi and DC see in particular: Maria Romana De Gasperi, Pier Luigi Ballini, *Alcide De Gasperi. Un europeo venuto dal futuro* (Udine: Rubbettino, 2009): 134; Mario Bendiscioli, *Alcide De Gasperi e le basi del consenso per la politica interna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985); see also Giovanni Di Capua, Paolo Messa, *DC. Il partito che fece l'Italia* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2011): 15-16; Marco Follini, *La DC* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000): 33-54. De Gasperi became Secretary of the DC in July, 1944 (until September 1946) and, in the meantime, in December 1945 he was nominated Foreign Minister by Ferruccio Parri – at that time Prime Minister; he gladly accepted this position since he understood how it could be a key role to make decisions, understanding the importance of foreign politics as a fundamental medium for the future development of Italy (despite its being destroyed, Italy was in a strategic geographic position in between the West and the Soviet zone. This is why De Gasperi decided to be loyal to the US, which at the time had already understood that they needed a constant presence in Italy for their foreign strategies). See Alfredo Canavero, *Alcide De Gasperi. Il trentino che ricostruì l'Italia e fondò l'Europa* (Milano: Centro Ambrosiano, 1997): 52-53. He became also Prime Minister in eight governments from 10th December, 1945 to 28th July, 1953. See Francesco Squillace, *Democrazia Cristiana da Murri a Martinazzoli. Nell'idealismo del PPI di Sturzo, nel pragmatismo di De Gasperi e nella "terza fase" di Moro* (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte): 33; *L'avvento di De Gasperi*, pp. 61-83 and *Dal governo al potere*, pp. 85-106 in Giorgio Galli, *Storia della DC. 1943-1993: mezzo secolo di Democrazia Cristiana* (Milano: Kaos edizioni, 2007).

[12] The role of USIS is described later in this chapter, however its relevance has been disregarded by multiple historians. Refer to the ones who did notice it: Wilson P. Dizard, *The strategy of truth. The story of the U.S. Information Service* (Washington: Public Affairs, 1961); Edward W. Barrett, *Truth is our weapon* (New York: Funk&Wagnalls Company, 1953); John H. Esterline, Mae H. Esterline, *Innocenti abroad. How we won the Cold War* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), specifically the part on *Cultural Diplomacy* pp. 17-20, in which the authors describe USIS' role and its multiple offices that the US opened in other countries to influence them (e.g., India and Philippines). It seems that only a few authors such as Luigi B. Liberati, *Words, Words Words. La Guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia, 1945-1956* (Milano: Cuem, 2004), Simona Tobia his pupil, who published her PhD thesis, *Advertising*

The first events that took place in the two decades at stake were the Anglo-American invasion of Italy in 1943, specifically the armistice made known on 8th September and the liberation of Rome in 1944. These historical moments marked the beginning of the connection between the two countries, with the United States clearly dominating the relationship from its start. Because of the American military supremacy and the financial aid it offered to Italy, the economic relationship between the two nations was complex in nature from the very beginning[13]. The Allied Military Currency, namely the *Amlire* (meaning «debito a carico del governo italiano»[14]), constituted one of the main elements of debate in

America. The United States Information Service in Italy 1945-1956, (Milano: LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2008), Francesca Anania and Giovanna Tosatti, *L'amico americano. Politiche e strutture per la propaganda in Italia nella prima metà del Novecento* (Roma: Biblink editori, 2000) analyzed in depth how USIS entered and deeply influenced Italy. Perhaps USIS has not been seriously considered when looking at the historical background of Pop Art because of the lack of information on USIS itself. Therefore, the introduction of USIS in a thesis on Italian Pop Art should be seen as fundamental for its re-reading. This chapter will not deepen the role of USIA, given that it was an independent agency based in Washington DC to which the Italian USIS office had to report back. For the present historical framework, it should be noted only that USIA had an internal Office of Research and Intelligence that conducted surveys on foreign audience and analyzed the reports that the USIS offices abroad were sending back home, in order to prepare a plan for the nation. See Simona Tobia, *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956)*, op. cit., 114 and the following texts for further developments on USIA's activity: John W. Henderson, *The United States Information Agency* (New York: Praeger, 1969); Leo Bogart, *The United States Information Agency's operating assumption in the Cold War* (New York: The Free Press, 1976). Simona Tobia in *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956)*, op. cit., 16, claims that «the whole USIS network achieved important results in developing American cultural policies for Italy in the first decade after the war, an important step toward the 'Americanization' of the country during the Cold War». Francesca Anania and Giovanna Tosatti in *L'Amico Americano. Politiche e strutture per la propaganda in Italia nella prima metà del Novecento*, op. cit., 118, describe USIS's activity at that time as gathering information and engaging in public relations; both activities were necessary because of the kind of international relations and communications in the world at that moment, and resulted in a non-involvement in political content, and the creation of consensus on the objectives of America's foreign politics.

[13] The armistice was ratified on 3rd September, 1943 but then made known to the world on 8th September, 1943. To see what happened the day after see in particular: Marcello Pezzetti et al., *16 ottobre 1943: La razzia degli ebrei a Roma* (Roma: Gangemi editore, 2013): 63; Filippo Cappellano, Salvatore Orlando, *L'esercito italiano: dall'armistizio alla Guerra di liberazione. 8 settembre 1943-25 aprile 1945* (Roma: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito Ufficio Storico, 2005): 17-19. For the economic relationship between the two nations See *1944, La preparazione della missione economica*, pp. 11-30 in Egidio Ortona, *Anni d'America. La ricostruzione: 1944-1951* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino). See also *Esigenze militari e obiettivi politici. La natura del controllo alleato*, pp. 205-306 in David W. Ellwood, *L'alleato nemico. La politica dell'occupazione anglo-americana in Italia, 1943/1946* (Milano: Feltrinelli editore, 1977): 205-306.

[14] See John L. Harper, *L'America e la ricostruzione dell'Italia: 1945-1948* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987): 51. For the monetary issue see also *Le problematiche della politica monetaria*, pp. 41-87 in Diomede Ivone, Marco Santillo, Alcide *De Gasperi e la ricostruzione: 1943-1948* (Roma: Edizioni Studium, 2006).

Italian-American negotiations after 1943: the US supported Italy to fight inflation to favor the recovery of the local economy and the use of trade channels[15]. AFA (Allied Financial Agency) was created precisely to control local banks and the emission of the *Amlire*. The New Deal for Italy, which was declared on 26th September, 1944 within the Anglo-American joint declaration held in Hyde Park, promised other forms of economic support as well, to help increase food supplies, the network of transportation and the industrial sector that had suffered during the war[16].

The transportation and construction industries were not the only sectors to experience setbacks during that time: the iron and the steel industries, due to the damage to the steelwork of South-Central Italy; the chemical industry due to the destruction of several factories; the food industry (particularly in sugar production); the agricultural and zootechnic industries were hurt by the sheer reduction or farmable land. On the contrary textile production, cotton and wool in particular, was practically undamaged by the war, as was the production of cars, trucks, and vehicles[17]. In facing this situation, many were the discussions and

[15] To further develop the theme of inflation and the need for foreign capital in the years of economic reconstruction see especially: *L'inflazione e il bisogno di capitali esteri*, pp. 10-15 and *Il problema del cambio*, pp. 15-18 in Luigi de Rosa, *Lo sviluppo economico dell'Italia dal dopoguerra a oggi* (Bari: Laterza, 1997). See also *La diplomazia del periodo bellico* pp. 47-73 in John L. Harper, *L'America e la ricostruzione dell'Italia: 1945-1948*, op. cit.

[16] Harry L. Coles, Albert K. Winberg in their book *United States Army in World War II. Civil Affairs: soldiers become governors* (Washington DC: Center of Military History - United States Army, 2014): 355, describe how the AFA worked: «The Allied Financial Agency [AFA] had earlier advanced money to help meet communal, provincial and state deficits. Through the institution of a system of financing whereby the public deposited money in the banks, the banks redeposited the money at the Banca d'Italia, and the Banca d'Italia made the money available to the government, the necessity for further AFA advances was eliminated». Then in 1944 «the Banca d'Italia was able to make an initial repayment of AFA of over one-third of the previous advances made, or a total of 2,100 million lire». See also: Simona Colarizi, *Storia del Novecento Italiano* (Milano: Biblioteca Rizzoli, 2010): 311; Anthony L. Sancette, *The development of central banking in Italy: a study of structural growth and credit control* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952): 171. On *Amlire* see John L. Harper, *L'America e la ricostruzione dell'Italia: 1945-1948*, op. cit., 51. For the New Deal see Ibid., 22-40. To further develop how the US built its supremacy in the postwar see in particular: Kiran K. Patel, *The New Deal: a global history* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016); Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American liberalism* (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1973).

[17] For the sectors that experienced setbacks see Giuseppe Mammarella, *Europa-Stati Uniti, un'alleanza difficile: 1945-1973*, op. cit., 27. For data on the economic situation in the postwar see Camillo Daneo, *La politica economica della ricostruzione, 1945-1949* (Torino: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 1975): 3-21; see also *The economic background to recovery* pp. 38-46 in Muriel Grindrod, *The rebuilding of Italy. Politics and economics, 1945-1955* (London, New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1977). For a deeper analysis on the Italian industrial system see *La liberazione e il sistema industriale*, pp. 354-382, especially pp. 379-382,

attempted analyses to quantify the need, but only a few concrete initiatives were started to help industries: on one side, the CIAI (Consiglio Industriale Alta Italia) was the only one attempting to create industrial planning, grouping the industrial committees of sectors and dealing with both the breakdown of raw materials as well as the business planning, responding to the allies' indications[18]. On the other side, the cooperation between CADMA (Commissione Assistenza Distribuzione Materiali Artigianato) and the HDI (Handicraft Development Inc.) in 1944-1945 was also extremely meaningful to the artisan field[19]. A small group of Italian-born Americans willing to socially and economically rescue Italy and CADMA was established in November of 1945 to help artisans and to put into action an initiative born in the US few months before, called the HDI, with the same goals as the CADMA. Both bodies, the CADMA, «ente libero»[20], and the American HDI foundation, were born to collaborate in assisting Italian artisans in the post-war, and to facilitate artisanal production, protect the independence of medium and small productions, encourage the diffusion of free cooperation and

in David W. Ellwood, *L'alleato nemico. La politica dell'occupazione anglo-americana in Italia 1943-1946*, op. cit..

[18] CIAI was located in Milan and was established by CLN (Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale). For more information on the activity done by CIAI see Mattia Granata, *Roberto Tremelloni. Riformismo e sviluppo economico* (Milano: Centro per la cultura d'impresa, 2010): 125-146; see also Mario F. Aggradi, *La svolta economica della Resistenza. Primi atti della politica di programmazione* (Bologna: Forni stampa, 1975): 127-135. For confirmation that CIAI was the only one attempting to create an industrial planning see Camillo Daneo, *La politica economica della ricostruzione, 1945-1949*, op. cit., 139. To further develop the functions attributed to CIAI in the second postwar see *Un esperimento di controllo dell'industria nell'immediato dopoguerra*, pp. 171-180 in Bruzio Manzocchi, *Lineamenti di politica economica in Italia 1945-1959* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1960).

[19] C.A.D.M.A. was located in Florence at the Istituto d'Arte di Porta Romana and operated on national basis. See Vv.Aa., *C.A.D.M.A. Commissione Assistenza Distribuzione Materiali Artigianato* (New York: Handicraft development Inc., 1946-1947): 12. For the role of Max Ascoli and Carlo L. Ragghianti in the creation of C.A.D.M.A. (who were respectively President of the *Consiglio Direttivo* and President of *Commissione di Presidenza*, see C.A.D.M.A., op. cit., 4; see also Alessandra Taiuti, "La 'rimessa a foco' dell'Italia. Il carteggio tra Max Ascoli e Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti (1945-1957)", *Nuova Antologia*, vol. 1, no. 2 (April-June 2006): 5-45; see also the second volume of the same review u. vol., no. 2 (April-June 2006): 5-42. For more concise information on C.A.D.M.A. in the second postwar see Renato Camurri, *Max Ascoli. Antifascista, intellettuale, giornalista* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2012): 192.

[20] Ibid., 12. Trans. «ente libero»: free body. C.A.D.M.A. is a free body, inspired by the aim of public interest, that wants to contribute to the restoration and development of Italian artisanal productions. See Ibid.. Both C.A.D.M.A. and H.D.I. were convinced that the Italian artisanal sector could be helped and renovated by free and spontaneous initiatives of the artisans themselves. Both bodies wanted to help Italian artisans to reground without reorganizing themselves. See Ibid., 5-6. For more on C.A.D.M.A.'s and H.D.I.'s program see Ibid., 13-14. To know how C.A.D.M.A. facilitated the contacts between producers and possible abroad buyers see Ibid., 12-13; 16.

associations, promote the improvement of the quality of products, and facilitate their allocation on the leading markets abroad, especially the American one[21].

The turning point for the affirmation of the political alliance between the American government and Italian political parties is 1944 when, that autumn, Italy faced a governmental crisis (focused on agrarian reforms, purging fascists, and negotiating the power of the monarchy and the CLN, the Comitato di liberazione nazionale) that alarmed Washington D.C., given that the Italian political instability would have damaged the credibility of its mission there[22]. After the

[21] H.D.I. had investigated for some months how the American market could absorb Italian artisanal products, sending a mission to study local issues and what was necessary to activate their program. C.A.D.M.A. was established in November 1945. See Ibid.. The Handicraft Development Inc. established in the US some months before C.A.D.M.A., was exclusively financed by donations, and could not have any profitable activity.

[22] For more on the crisis that Italy faced in 1944 and that alarmed Washington, given that it risked undermining Italy's political stability, see the following texts: Simona Colarizi, *La seconda guerra mondiale e la Repubblica* (Torino: UTET, 1984): 432; Gianfranco Bertolo, *Operai e contadini nella crisi italiana del 1943-1944* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1974); *L'Italia liberata point 1.3. La crisi politico-militare della Resistenza. CLNAI, Alleati e governo di Roma,* pp. 144-146 in Antonio Gioia, *Italia 1940-1945: Le storie di ieri e i ragazzi di oggi* (Lucca: Argot edizioni, 2018). On the agrarian reform see in particular: Emanuele Bernardi, *La riforma agraria in Italia e gli Stati Uniti: Guerra fredda, Piano Marshall e interventi per il mezzogiorno negli anni del centrismo degasperiano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006); see also Pasquale Villani, Nunzia Marrone, *Riforma agraria e questione meridionale. Antologia critica 1943-1980* (Bari: De Donato, 1981): 47. For more on the antifascist purge in 1944 see especially the following texts: Elisabetta Tollardo, *Fascist Italy and the League of Nations, 1922-1935* (London: Palgrave, 2016): 238, where she mentions Massimo Pilotti, Italian State Prosecutor, who in 1944 started to be considered anti-fascist enough to purge the public administration; Stanislao G. Pugliese, *Italian Fascism and Anti-Fascism: A critical anthology* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press): 206, where the speech of 2nd April 1944 of Palmiro Togliatti, at that time Minister of Justice, is mentioned: Togliatti planned to eradicate fascists and to free Italy from foreign invadors; Martin Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871 to the Present* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008): 380-383; Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (London: Penguin Group, 2003): 52-54. On the monarchy's power: when Rome was occupied by the Germans in 1944, the Italian royal family left the city. On 5th June, 1944 Rome was invaded by the Allies and King Vittorio Emanuele IIIrd passed his power to his son, Prince Umberto, who became Umberto IInd and became the new king of Italy on 9th May, 1946. However, the following month a referendum declared Italy to be a republic. Accepting the outcome of the referendum, Umberto IInd accepted the deposition and the end of the monarchy on 3rd June, 1946 and spent the rest of his life in exile. For more details on Vittorio Emanuele IIIrd and his son Umberto IInd see Harris M. Lentz, *Heads of States and Governments since 1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014): 435-436. To further develop how the monarchy still wanted to impose its power in the early years of the postwar, see Domenico De Napoli, Antonio Ratti, Silvio Bolognini, *La resistenza monarchica in Italia, 1943-1945* (Napoli: Guida Editori, 1985); Elio Lodolini, *Dal governo Badoglio alla Repubblica italiana: saggio di storia costituzionale del quinquennio rivoluzionario, 25 luglio 1943-1 gennaio 1948* (Genova: Associazione culturale Italia storica, 2011); Aldo A. Mola, *Dalla Monarchia alla Repubblica, 1944-1948* (Roma: Bastogi libri, 2017). On the CLN: it was known as the Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale (trans. *National Liberation Committee*), the highest body to have control over the partisan war, and

Foreign Minister resigned and nominated De Gasperi to replace him, the US started to control and influence Italian politics, and such influence grew stronger in 1945 when the first post-World-War-II Italian government was formed. Italy proved to be fertile terrain for communist seeds[23]: on 23rd June, American Admiral Chief Commissioner in Italy, Ellery W. Stone, wrote to the Supreme Allied Chief of the Mediterranean, Harold Alexander, saying that Italy was a rich land for the advent of an anarchic movement encouraged by Moscow which, according to him, wanted to bring Italy under its soviet influence[24]. As a consequence, De

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its headquarters were in Rome. At the very beginning of the Resistance (16th October, 1943) the CLN wanted to substitute the Italian monarchy, but on 2nd June, 1945, a few days before the formation of Parris' government, the CLN parties understood that their functions were changing into to a mere advisory role. The previous year the Allies and the government of Southern Italy had decided to assign a transitory function to CLN; it was thus the crisis of the CLN Resistance. See Giancarlo Monina, *1945-1946. Le origini della repubblica. Vol.1. Contesto internazionale e aspetti della transizione* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2007): 167-168. To further develop the various components of the CLN see for instance the one regarding the CLN of Lombardy in Alfredo Pizzoni, *Alla guida del CLNAI. Memorie per i figli* (Torino: Einaudi, 1993): 269-284, or the one related to the CLN in Umbria in Mario Centini, *Dal fascismo alla democrazia: l'esperimento del CLN* (Foligno: Il formichiere, 2015): 23-28.

[23] On the Prime Minister before De Gasperi: Ivanoe Bonomi was a socialist politician particularly active during the twenties (1921-1922- Bonomi's government), and he had a political resurgence in the years 1942-1943 as President of the CLN (Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale) and as Prime Minister in 1944-1945. For more on the reforms that Ivanoe Bonomi brought to the Italian government see at in particular Luigi Cavazzoli, *Ivanoe Bonomi riformatore* (Manduria: P. Lacaita, 2005): 9-17; Enrico Serra, "La politica estera dei governi Bonomi: 1944-45", *Il Politico*, vol. 52, no. 3 (August 1987): 473-484. To better understand his ideals and his social-democratic experience see Luigi Cortesi, *Ivanoe Bonomi e la socialdemocrazia italiana* (Salerno: Libreria Internazionale, 1971): 105-111. See also Mara Pasetti, *Ivanoe Bonomi, una vita per la democrazia: 1892-1951, pagine di storia italiana* (Mantova: Ca' Gioiosa, 2011). For more details on the figure of Bonomi, on how he was before during Fascism, see Ferruccio Rubbiani, *Dieci anni di politica italiana* (Milano: Unitas, 1923), especially the part related to socialism pp. 52-111. On De Gasperi and the US: whereas De Gasperi did not appreciate American culture due to its Protestant spirit, he sensed that American help was necessary especially for the food industry and for raw materials to restore factories and the commercial market. Therefore, in that situation De Gasperi was totally acquiescent to the Americans' intentions, given the numerous plans and reforms to enact, besides the economic aid. For this reason, the US controlled the internal politics through the figure of De Gasperi. See Alfredo Canavero, *Alcide De Gasperi. Il trentino che ricostruì l'Italia e fondò l'Europa* (Milano: Centro Ambrosiano, 1997): 54-56. The economy was a common point of agreement: indeed Americans were convinced that a long-term economic plan was the leading element that could ensure Italy's political stability. See Rosaria Quartararo, *Italia e Stati Uniti. Gli anni difficili, 1945-1952* (Napoli, Roma: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1986): 166.

[24] According to American officials the problem of communism was one of the most important to solve in Italy after the war and Stone made one of the most concerned analyses on this issue. See Luigi B. Liberati, *'Words, words, words'. La Guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia, 1945-1956*, op. cit., 43. The letter was written just two months after the liberation of Italy. See John L. Harper, *L'America e la ricostruzione dell'Italia: 1945-1948*, op. cit., 79; see also Robert Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy: Culture and Politics in the Italian Election of 1948*

Gasperi's government accelerated the agreements with the US, showing his intent to consolidate the connection to private American industry. For instance, he accepted responsibility for the entire emission of *Amlire*, he made agreements on the technical and financial reconstruction of telecommunications as well as for FIAT, the leading automotive industry at the time that was growing, due to its close relationship with the US[25]. In February and March 1946 the US strengthened its policy against the Soviet Union and the Western communist parties, treating them as a potential danger, following Stalin's threat of another World War on 9th February, 1945, and highlighted by the survey results from American citizens that confirmed their suspicious perception of the Soviet Union (e.g., after the Iranian crisis)[26].

Despite the stronger political approach, from November 1946 until January 1947, both the US and Italy lived a time of uncertainty because of the victory of the Republican Party in the US and the defeat of

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(Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2004): 24. According to Ventresca, Italy could have been a fruitful ground for a Soviet movement had the Allies not helped them in the economic and political reconstruction. For more details on the Italian history of dictatorship and the conditions that at that time must have worried the Allies see Ibid. 24-25.

[25] The TWA, Transcontinental and Western Air, a company for air services between Rome and the US, was created in November 1945 to facilitate the connections between the two countries, see James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For a holistic understanding of the history of TWA see Ronald E. George, *TWA- An Airline and It's Aircraft* (McLean: Paladwr Press, 2011). To see how connections developed from the mid-Fifties on (e.g., the creation of the International Airport of Fiumicino in 1957) see *Il trasporto aereo*, pp. 296-298 in Luigi De Rosa, *Lo sviluppo economico dell'Italia, dal dopoguerra a oggi* (Roma: Laterza, 1997). For further explanations on the interests that the United States had in FIAT see Gian G. Migone, "Stati Uniti, Fiat e repressione antioperaia negli anni cinquanta", *Rivista di storia contemporanea*, vol. 3, no. 2 (April 1974): 232-281, in particular pp. 235-236, where the author states that, according to the US, Italian workers' riots could lead to a loss of profit and, thus, to a disturbance of peace. To know more on how American interests favor anti-communist trade union movements see Federico Romero, Harvey II Fergusson, *The United States and the European trade union movement, 1944-1951* (Chapell Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). To better understand the importance of FIAT for the reconstruction of Italian industry, and the reasons for the United States' interest in such a company see: Chiara Casalino, Valentina Fava, *La Fiat nel mondo, il mondo della Fiat, 1930-1950: il mercato mondiale dell'auto e i lavoratori dell'industria automobilistica nelle carte dell'archivio storico Fiat* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2001).

[26] The Soviets failure to withdraw their troops from Northern Iran in March 1946 was taken as a sign of a non-peaceful postwar, see Scott Lucas, *Freedom's war. The US crusade against the Soviet Union, 1945-56* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999): 17. See also Jamil Hasanli, *At the dawn of the Cold War. The Soviet-American crisis over Iranian Azerbaijan, 1941-1946*, especially pp. 1-25 about the penetration of the Soviet Troops in Iran. To better understand Soviet politics in Iran see Odd A. Westad, *La Guerra fredda globale. Gli Stati Uniti, l'Unione Sovietica e il mondo. Le relazioni internazionali del XX secolo* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2015): 45-81. For Stalin's threat of another World War see John L. Harper, *L'america e la ricostruzione dell'Italia, 1945-48*, op. cit., 77.

the DC Party in Italy. From this time until 1948, in Italy the PSI (Partito Socialista Italiano) became the leading party with Pietro Nenni as its leader, while De Gasperi continued to cultivate his relationship with the US, claiming to be defending America's interests[27]. Between March and September, 1947 the US government came up with a new strategy in order to control communism, namely the PPS (Policy Planning Staff), which followed the famous Truman speech (then called the Truman Doctrine), on 12th March, 1947, in which the president declared that the US had to support those free people who were trying to resist both internal and external armed subversions: 1947 turned out to be the first year of the Cold War[28]. From 1947 to 1962, there were several events

[27] The PSI was born in Genoa in August 1892, with the name of Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani (Italian Workers' Party), adopting the adjective 'socialist' in 1895. The PSI was fundamental in Italy for the involvement of the masses in Italian political life, given that it aimed at the political socialization of popular masses, developing and diffusing a new organizational model: the mass integration party. The socialist Pietro Nenni, a political figure since 1911 who organized the protests against the Libyan war with Benito Mussolini, after 17 years of exile in France and after all parties were banned in the Fascist era, re-founded PSI as PSIUP (Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria) in 1943. PSIUP was renamed in 1947 as the Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano, to then constitute the Fronte Democratico Popolare with the PCI for the 1948 election, defeated that year. To further develop the history of the PSI, and the circumstances of its renewal see Paolo Mattera, *Storia del PSI, 1892*-1994 (Roma: Carocci, 2010): 11-25, 125-148. See also Luciano Guerci, *Il partito socialista italiano dal 1919 al 1946* (Rocca San Casciano: Cappelli, 1969): 199-235. To better understand why there was a need for socialism in Italy see: Costantino Lazzari, *La necessità della politica socialista in Italia* (Milano: Tipografia milanese, 1902); Maurizio Ridolfi, *Il PSI e la nascita del partito di massa* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1992); Paolo Mattera, *Il Partito inquieto. Organizzazione, passioni e politica dei socialisti italiani dalla Resistenza al miracolo economico* (Roma: Carocci, 2004); Marco Novarino, *Compagni e liberi muratori: socialismo e massoneria dalla nascita del PSI alla grande guerra* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2015). To further develop the figure of Pietro Nenni as a leader see in particular: Enzo Santarelli, *Pietro Nenni* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1988): 249-283, 287-317; Giuseppe Tamburrano, *Pietro Nenni* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1986): 9-56; Egidio Sterpa, *Pietro Nenni: un profilo* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2003). To better understand the socialist political framework in which Pop artists were absorbed see *Il Psi e la Cgil: 1943-1966*, pp. 57-147 in Enzo Bartocci, Claudio Torneo, *I socialisti e il sindacato, 1943-1984* (Roma: Viella, 2017). On De Gasperi's claim to be defending America's interest see John L. Harper, *L'america e la ricostruzione dell'Italia, 1945-1948*, op. cit., 206. Despite the imminent economic need to avoid the collapse of Italy, the PCI accused De Gasperi of being subservient to the US, see Elena A. Rossi, *L'Italia nel contesto internazionale*, pp. 45-59, in particular the part on *La svolta del 1947 nella politica italiana: l'esclusione delle sinistre dal governo*, pp. 48-53 in Giancarlo Monina, *1945-1946. Le origini della repubblica. Vol.1. Contesto internazionale e aspetti della transizione* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2007). About the relationship between DC and the US see Guido Formigoni, *La Democrazia Cristiana e l'alleanza occidentale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996): 10-25; see also Alberto Tarchiani, *America-Italia: le dieci giornate di De Gasperi negli Stati Uniti* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1947).

[28] George Kennan was nominated the first director of the Policy Planning Staff which had multiple objectives to favor American foreign affairs: «to formulate and develop long-term programs for the achievement of American objectives in foreign affairs; to anticipate difficulties for the department; to study and report on large problems in politico-military affairs; to evaluate current policy in the context of developments in world affairs; and,

related to the Cold War and to the financial aid given to Italy: in 1947 Marshall plan, named the ERP (European Recovery Program) was promoted for Italy and Europe's economic recovery. It amounted to 14 million dollars, showing the importance of the US in Europe's financial reconstruction, despite the fact that some countries like Italy were trying to leave the US out of their internal policy. After the ERP, the Fifties saw an increase in exports, the abolition of tariff barriers within the common European market and mobility from the Italian working class, leading to greater productivity and investments[29]. Between 1948 and 1953 De

lastly, to coordinate planning with the State Department», see Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin. America's strategy to subvert the soviet bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000): 24-25. See also Adam Ware, "The Policy Planning Staff [establishment effective May 5, 1947]", *American Foreign Service Journal*, vol. 24, no. 9 (August 1947): 7-9. After the Second World War, the European situation was catastrophic and the winter of 1946-1947 was particularly difficult; Great Britain declared the impossibility of keeping the economic and military help in Greece. Additionally, Turkey was facing bad conditions due to Soviet pressure. At the beginning of 1947, the US confronted the situation with the Truman doctrine: on 12th March, 1947, in a speech at the House of Representatives, the President Truman asked them to vote for the concession of help to Greece and Turkey, explaining his will to help these people and anyone else who needed it economically and financially. See Federiga Bindi, Palma D'Ambrosio, *Il futuro dell'Europa. Storia funzionamento e retroscena dell'Unione Europea* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005): 36. On the Cold War: not all historians agree with marking the beginning of the Cold War in 1947. For instance John L. Harper, *The Consolidation of the Blocs*, *1947-1949*, pp. 63-82 in John L. Harper, *The Cold War* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) agrees; Ennio di Nolfo also claims that 1947 is the year of the stiffening of the alliances, see Ennio Di Nolfo, *La Guerra fredda e l'Italia, 1941-1989* (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2010): 30-31; Beatrice Benocci also mentions 1947 as the year in which the USSR refuses the economic aid of the Marshall Plan, and at the same time the US refuses to borrow the money that the USSR required in Yalta in 1945 (about 6 billion dollars for the reconstruction of their economy) and to make commercial exchanges with it, see Beatrice Benocci, *Due presidenti e un'occasione mancata. Kennedy, Kruscev e la fine della Guerra fredda* (Salerno: Plectica, 2015): 46-48. Luigi Salvatorelli documents 1945-1947 as years that are already part of the Cold War. However, he still points to 1947 as the year in which the conflict begins, see Luigi Salvatorelli, *La Guerra fredda, 1945-1955* (Venezia: Neri Pozza Editore, 1956): 62-102. Bruno Bongiovanni instead suggests it starts after 1953 with a conclusion in 1975. The years between 1953 and 1962 were also internationally marked by the events of the Cold War, until 1961, when the Iron Curtain reached its apex with the building of the Berlin wall, followed by the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, see *Inizio, conclusione e tappe intermedia della guerra fredda*, pp. 15-30 in Bruno Bongiovanni, *Storia della guerra fredda* (Roma, Bari: Editori Laterza, 2001).

[29] The application of the Marshall Plan became crucial for Italian-American bilateral decisions: it will be emblematic in the economic and financial issues and above all in the internal political ones that aimed to contain communism, refusing the integration with the American capitalist regime, see Emanuela Primiceri, *L'emigrazione italiana e il piano Marshall. La politica migratoria del centrismo negli anni della ricostruzione* (Lecce, Rovato: Pensa Multimedia editore, 2016): 114-115. For more details on the launch of Marshall Plan see *Launching the Marshall Plan*, pp. 43-74 in Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Other meaningful texts to further develop the importance of the Marshall Plan: Elena A.

Gasperi led the so-called *centrismo*, a coalition formed by the DC, the PLI (Partito Liberale Italiano), the PRI (Partito Reppublicano Italiano) and the PSLI (Partito Socialista dei lavoratori italiani), winning the election against the Fronte Democratico Popolare, composed of the PCI (Partito Comunista Italiano) and the PSI (Partito Socialista Italiano). Moreover, because of his presence, Italy adhered to NATO in 1949[30]. After such

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Rossi, *Il Piano Marshall e l'Europa* (Roma: Ist. Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983); Carlo Spagnolo, *La stabilizzazione incompiuta. Il Piano Marshall in Italia, 1947-1952* (Roma: Carocci, 2001); Pier P. D'Attorre, *Il Piano Marshall* pp. 497-546 in Ennio Di Nolfo, Romain H. Rainero, Brunello Vigezzi, *L'Italia e la politica di potenza in Europa 1945-1950* (Milano: Marzorati, 1990); Roberto Gualtieri, "Piano Marshall commercio estero e sviluppo in Italia: alle origini dell'europeismo centrista", *Studi storici*, vol. 39, no. 3 (July 1998): 853-897; Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan. America, Britain and the Reconstruction of the Western Europe, 1947-1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1987); David W. Elwood, *The Marshall Plan forty years after. Lessons for the International system today* (Bologna: The Bologna Center of the John Hopkins University, 1988). Finally for more data on the actuation of Marshall plan in the different fields (e.g., industry, public works) in all the Italian regions, see Vv.Aa., *Cooperazione economica Italia-Stati Uniti, 1944-1954* (Roma: U.S.I.S., 1954).

[30] In the elections of 18th April, 1948, it became clear that the Italians wanted to be part of the Western sphere instead of communism, thus leading the DC to win. Once De Gasperi obtained the majority, he allied the DC with liberal, republican and social-democratic parties that had their electoral basis in the productive and entrepreneurial class, orienting their economic choices to liberalism. *Centrismo* substantially meant a central role of the State in the postwar development. See *Il centrismo e l'emigrazione* pp. 49-112 in Emanuela Primiceri, *L'emigrazione italiana e il piano Marshall. La politica migratoria del centrismo negli anni della ricostruzione*, op. cit.. In Ibid. see also pp. 51-53. The PLI, in the speech held in Rome, on 3rd September, 1944, stated its intention to raise again the liberal ideal that made progress and freedom flourish in Italy between 1900 and 1914. Additionally, it claimed that its new position wanted to find points of contact with the DC that acted in pararallel to it, due to both the laic conception of the State, pillar of the liberal ideal, and to the religious reasons behind the DC that penetrated its political concept (it nurtured a civic faith in democratic freedom), see Nicolò Carandini, *Il partito liberale e I problemi italiani. Discorso tenuto in Roma il 3 settembre 1944* (Bari: Laterza&Figli Bari, 1944): 3-8, 15 who explains the reasoning behind the party's reconstruction program. To further develop PLI's foundations see Vittorio E. Alfieri, *La funzione del partito liberale* (Milano: Quaderni del 'Risorgimento liberale' 3, 1945): 3-11, in particular p. 9; see also *Il partito liberale italiano*, pp. 51-57 in Luigi Parente, *I partiti politici nell'Italia repubblicana, 1943-1992* (Napoli: edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1996). To better know the insurrectionist and revolutionary foundations of the PRI see Partito Repubblicano Italiano, *Statuto del Partito Repubblicano italiano. XIX Congresso Nazionale* (Bologna: 1947). See also Bruno Di Porto, *Il Partito repubblicano italiano. Profilo per una storia dalle origini alle odierne battaglie politiche* (Roma: 1963); Francesco Leoni, *Storia dei partiti politici italiani* (Napoli: Guida, 2001): 238. PSLI - for the party's program see PSLI, *Il programma d'azione del P.S.L.I.* (Roma: Atena, 1948) - united with the DC after Saragat's travel (Giuseppe Saragat was the leader of the PSLI) in the US: when he came back to Italy, he claimed the importance of supporting the Marshall Plan and the American Reconstruction Plan. Because of his belief, Saragat proposed the political alliance with the DC, see *L''Autunno caldo' e l'ingresso del PSLI nel quarto governo De Gasperi*, pp. 181-195 and *L'avvio della collaborazione governativa con la democrazia cristiana,* pp. 195-209 in Michele Donno, *Socialisti democratici. Giuseppe Saragat e il PSLI, 1945-1952* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2009). For more on Saragat's speech see Saragat Giuseppe, *La nostra via: discorso pronunciato il 14 settembre 1947 al Congresso nazionale del PSLI a Roma* (Milano: Critica sociale,

events, as it will be explained in the following paragraph, the Fifties saw both an economic boom in Italy and the US (an improvement that continued until the beginning of the Sixties with a stable and strong American influence in Italy). However, from a political standpoint, while De Gasperi died in 1954 and Fanfani became the Secretary of the DC, countering the liberal model of the postwar governments and favoring State economic intervention (e.g., in ENI; in 1954-1955 the PSI looked for more dialogue with the Catholics, increasing its electorate in the 1958 election, in which DC was still the winning party), the US focused on the

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1947). See also Alessandro de Felice, "The PSLI and the decision for to join the West (1948-1949)", *Storia contemporanea*, vol.17, no. 1 (February 1996): 69-108. On the Fronte Democratico Popolare: on 24th May, 1947, when De Gasperi took on the role of solving the governmental crisis, he chose to exclude both communists and socialists from the government. However, the PSI and the PCI (for more about these parties see the following notes) constituted the *Fronte Democratico popolare* that became the arrival point of a huge movement to involve the masses. Indeed, between the second half of November and the end of December 1947, the PCI and the PSI promoted important meetings (e.g., *Congresso dei consigli di gestione e delle commissioni interne, Assemblea dei delegate alla Costituente della Terra, Congresso democratico del Mezzogiorno*), see Santi Fedele, *Fronte popolare. La sinistra e le elezioni del 18 aprile 1948* (Milano: Bompiani, 1978): 33, 76-82. See also Carlo Carini, *Il Fronte democratico popolare e l'unità delle sinistre in Italia, 1945-1948* (Perugia: Grafica Salvi, 1978). For the beliefs of the Fronte Democratico popolare see Vv.Aa., *Il manifesto del Fronte democratico popolare* (Milano: SAME, 1948). For the experience of the PCI see Giorgio Amendola, "Riflessioni su una esperienza di governo del PCI (1944-1947)", *Storia contemporanea*, vol. 5, no. 4 (December 1974): 701-736. See also Ennio Di Nolfo, "The U.S. and Italian Communism, 1942-1946, World War II to the Cold War", *Journal of Italian History*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1978): 79-94. For more about the success of DC and the alliance with the other political parties see Agostino Giovagnoli, *Il partito italiano. La Democrazia Cristiana dal 1942 al 1994* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1996): 33. To further develop the years of *centrismo* see Francesco Malgeri, *La stagione del centrismo. Politica e società nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra, 1945-1960* (Rubettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2002): 85-99; about the government and its opposition parties see instead Giorgio Caredda, *Governo e opposizione nell'Italia del dopoguerra, 1947-1960* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1995): 71-104. For more about the relationship between the DC and the United States in the years of *centrismo* see Mario Del Pero, *L'alleato scomodo. Gli USA e la DC negli anni del centrismo, 1948-1953* (Roma: Carocci, 2001). For the political debate in those years see Fiorentino Sullo, *Il dibattito politico sulla programmazione economica in Italia dal 1945 al 1960* (Milano: Giuffré, 1960): 382-413. On DC and NATO: at the international level the DC, supported by the other parties and by the Vatican, adhered to the *Patto Atlantico* in 1949, then entering into NATO. In adhering, Italy chose to be not so much a defeated country, but rather of strategic importance in the Cold War. See Emanuela Primiceri, *L'emigrazione italiana e il piano Marshall. La politica migratoria del centrismo negli anni della ricostruzione*, op. cit., 54. Additionally, to further develop the strategic importance of Italy between Western and Eastern blocks, see Pier P. D'Attorre, *Nemici per la pelle. Sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1991); the year of Italian adhesion to the *Patto Atlantico* (which was according to De Gasperi a treaty of peace, a kind of insurance of non-belligerence) is a crucial year for Italy's position in the Cold War: the presence of NATO troops in Italy meant verifying the action of the Italian secret service, and the social control of the attempt of destabilization, see *La Nato*, pp. 103-116 in Luigi Parente, *I partiti politici nell'Italia repubblicana, 1943-1992* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996).

battle with the Soviet Union. The death of President Truman in 1952 and Stalin in 1953, the explosion of the Soviet hydrogen bomb in 1953 (which showed the technological discrepancy between the two nations), the Suez crisis in 1956, and the erection of the Berlin wall in 1961, followed in succession, culminating in the Cuban Missile Crisis[31]. Italy was molded into a pro-American country not only through the political and economic events described above, but also through USIS, active in Italy between 1945 and 1956[32], as it influenced people's minds and tastes from a cultural and diplomatic perspective, making the American way of life the most appealing[33]:

«The aim of USIS was to convince the Italians that the main objective of American policies was peace, firmly rooted in freedom and

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[31] For more on the rise of Fanfani, the following leaders and the dialogue with PSI see in particular Elena Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio. L'Europeo di Arrigo Benedetti, 1945-1954* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2011): 120-130; Francesco Malgeri, *Gli anni di transizione da Fanfani a Moro*, pp. 3-265 in V.v.A.a., *Storia della democrazia cristiana* (Roma: Cinque lune, 1989); Gianni B. Bozzo, *Il partito cristiano e l'apertura a sinistra: la Dc di Fanfani e di Moro, 1954-1962* (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1977): 186; Luciano Radi, *La DC da De Gasperi a Fanfani* (Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2005): 163-174 on the 1958 election; Linda Basile, *The party politics of decentralization: the territorial dimension in Italian parties agendas* (Cham: Palgrave, 2018): 132-133. For the events of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the US in the Fifties and at the beginning of the Sixties see the following texts: Simon C. Smith, *Reassessing Suez 1956: new perspectives on the crisis and its aftermath* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018): 30-34; *French steel, British will: planning the Suez War, July-October 1956*, pp. 69-90 in Yagil Henkin, *The 1956 Suez War and the new world order in the Middle East: exodus in reverse* (London: Lexington Books, 2015); *Stalin's last struggle*, pp. 143-163 in Yoram Gorlizki, Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Robert L. Brown, *Nuclear authority: the IAEA and the absolute weapon* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2015): 53-64; Richard V. Damms, *The Eisenhower Presidency, 1953-1961* (London: Longman, 2002); Alice L. George, *The Cuban missile crisis. The threshold of nuclear war* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013); Jonathan Colman, *The Cuban missile crisis: origins, course and aftermath* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

[32] In Italy the Fifties are called the 'economic miracle': this topic will be developed in the following paragraph of this thesis, given that the economic miracle sees the introduction of a new concept of mass society as a further point of contact with the US.

[33] Besides underlining USIS's goals in Italy, such as improving the United States's image, persuading Italians of the superiority of the American way of life and its values through the stimulation of democratic action in Italy and weakening communism as a consequence, Joseph A. Raffaele focuses his study on the impact that USIS propaganda had during the Fifties in Italy, based both on a 1958 survey that investigated the attitude that Italian intellectuals (writers, scholars, journalists and teachers) held toward the US, and on his experience as a USIS lecturer in Italy. On the one hand, he documents a certain hostility toward the US due to their lack of correspondence between image and action; on the other hand, on p. 283, he claims that the labor leaders tended to see American acquisitions as a strength. (Joseph A. Raffaele, "United States propaganda abroad: notes on the USIS in Italy", *Social Research*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Autumn 1960): 277-294, in particular see pp. 283-284 and 288-291 for more on the opinions of labor leaders. For further knowledge on the filmic material owned in Trieste, see Giulia Barreri, Giovanna Tosatti, *United States Information Service di Trieste: catalogo del fondo cinematografico, 1941-1966* (Roma: MiBACT, 2007).

security, but they also wished to provoke attitudes and actions in support of the United States' objectives in both the people and the government, as stated in one of Washington's country plan for Italy»[34].

USIS had multiple branches (e.g., American libraries and cultural centers, Press and Publication Services, a Motion Picture Section[35]) whose mission was making «Italians feel they needed American welfare, wellbeing and wealth as linked to the model of democracy and freedom which ultimately depended on the Western choice of the Italian people»[36]. Indeed, Italy was not considered a reliable ally nor was it thought to have a stable political party, beyond having a large presence of communists in its government. USIS involved intellectuals (e.g., from the publishing house *Il Mulino*) who were receptive American culture, which became the fundamental medium to fight communism in Italy[37]. The press was the most important medium to control Italians' taste, and because of this, bodies that controlled press licenses were founded, such as the APB (Allied Publications Board) in late 1943, and strategies for news circulation were established, such as the Press Plan for Italy in 1944 (i.e., it decided the priorities for the creation of two- to four-page newspapers in several Italian cities such as Palermo, Bari, Naples, Rome, and for every kind of newspaper that helped American culture to consolidate itself)[38]. After 1944 additional controls on the Italian press were implemented: ANSA (Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata) was established in January 1945 and was the first free press agency,

[34] See Simona Tobia, *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956)*, op. cit., 17. See also Silvia Cassamagnaghi, *Immagini dall'America. Mass media e modelli femminili nell'Italia del dopoguerra, 1945-1960* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2007): 22.

[35] From its very beginning USIS tried to impose a cultural policy in Italy in order to educate Italians to a renewed democracy, see Silvia Cassamagnaghi, *Immagini dall'America. Mass media e modelli femminili nell'Italia del dopoguerra*, op. cit., 33.

[36] See Simona Tobia, *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956)*, op. cit., 18.

[37] On the publishing house *Il Mulino* see Giuliana Iurlano, "La cultura liberale Americana in Italia: *Il Mulino* (1951-1969)", *Nuova rivista storica*, vol. 5-6, no. 1 (u. month 1983): 671-706; Matteo Lodevole, "Oltre Croce e oltre Gramsci: la fondazione della casa editrice il Mulino, 1954", *La fabbrica del libro*, vol. 10, no. 2 (April 2003): 17-23.

[38] The Allied Publication Board was born in October 1944, with the aim of coordinating all the information bodies, facilitating the transmission of information to mass media or voiding them, and controling publications in the freed areas. For instance, on 20th April, 1945 it created the *Press Plan for Northern Italy*, a 17-point document indicating the plan to suppress all fascist reviews in the freed areas, to keep the publication of *Corriere Alleato*, and to limit publications by clandestine press by requiring them to ask for temporary permission from the Allied Military Government (A.M.G.). See Antonio Martino, *L'ordine pubblico a Savona nel dopoguerra, 1945-1948* (Roma: Cromografica, 2014): 28. On the management of APB see *Allied Publication Board* pp. 56-59 in Alejandro P. Quintero, *Stampa, radio e propaganda. Gli alleati in Italia 1943-1946* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1989).

supported by the US, as well as the Servizio Italiano di Informazioni and ORBIS (Organizzazione Bollettini Informazioni Stampa), all located in Rome[39]. In April 1945 a new Press Plan for Northern Italy was created, due to the unsatisfactory work of the previous plan that was accepted by the Resistance social power that was stronger in Northern Italy. To address the situation, the new plan included suppressing fascist publications (e.g., *Corriere Alleato*, *Il Popolo di Roma*, *Il Giornale d'Italia* and *Il Messaggero*) and fascists elements still found in *Corriere della Sera* in Milan, as well as in *La Stampa* and *La Gazzetta del Popolo* in Turin[40]. USIS also had a role in the publication of both daily bulletins and bi-monthly magazines such as *Nuovo Mondo*, *Mondo d'oggi. Rivista quindicinale illustrate d'informazione internazionale*, and *Notiziario quotidiano USIS per la*

[39] ANSA was established in 1945 as a cooperative aiming to be the main source of journalistic work and to transmit all the information that had already been manipulated. See Marco Binotto, Marco Bruno, Valeria Lai, *Tracciare confine. L'immigrazione nei media italiani* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2016): 87. It was created in Rome under the initiative of daily newspapers published in the liberated Italian regions, and with the full consensus of the English and American military authorities: the original idea of the creation of ANSA belonged to the PWB (Psychological Warfare Branch), the Allies's propaganda body, which believed in the creation of a cooperative agency managed by newspapers rather than by the government. See Carlo Gambalonga, *Casa Ansa. Da settant'anni il diario del paese* (Roma: Centro di Documentazione giornalistica, 2014): 13-14. ANSA was also the first press agency in Italy, see Laura Prinetti, *News making: scrivere le notizie. Agenzie d'informazione e dinamiche della scrittura* (Milano: Educatt, 2012): 45. Both agencies were private and started in Rome in the winter of 1945. *Servizio Italiano di Informazioni* discussed ANSA's role that wanted to impose the monopoly and take advantages of benefits denied to the other private agencies. See Alejandro P. Quintero, *Stampa, radio e propaganda. Gli alleati in Italia 1943-1946*, op. cit., 92. *Servizio Italiano di Informazioni* was directed by Renato Carboni, see Ibid., whereas ORBIS was directed by Luigi Barzini jr. and was the starting point for other journalistic operations, see Ibid., 191. See also Carlo Gambalonga, *Casa Ansa. Da settant'anni il diario del paese*, op. cit., 15.

[40] For the new plan meant to suppress fascist publications see Antonio Martino, *L'ordine pubblico a Savona nel dopoguerra, 1945-1948*, op. cit., 28. To further develop the history of such newspapers with regard to their defascistization in the second postwar, see in particular the following texts: Valerio Castronovo, Nicola Tranfaglia, *La stampa italiana dalla Resistenza agli anni Sessanta* (Bari: Laterza, 1980); Giuseppe Licata, *Storia del Corriere della Sera* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1976); *A Roma moltiplicazione di testate*, pp. 22-47 in Paolo Murialdi, *La stampa italiana dalla liberazione alla crisi di fine secolo* (Roma: Laterza, 1995); in Ibid. see in particular pp. 25-26; Alejandro P. Quintero, *Stampa, radio e propaganda. Gli alleati in Italia 1943-1946*, op. cit.,175-184; Giuseppina Talamo, *Il Messaggero un giornale durante il fascismo* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1984): 328; Renato Lefevre, "Giornali e riviste romane nel dopoguerra", *L'Urbe*, vol. 11, no. 5 (Fall 1948): 31-38. On the importance of the city of Milan as a center of particular relevance for USIS's contacts see *I primi contatti con il mondo della cultura e dell'economia: il caso dell'USIS di Milano*, pp. 74-84 and *Il successo dell'USIS a Milano*, pp. 223-239, in Luigi B. Liberati, *'Words, words, words'. La Guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia, 1945-1956*, op. cit..

stampa, which was distributed to all the Italian press (newspapers and press agencies)[41].

USIS tried to make its way into all the possible media and cultural outlets, from cinema to higher education, to advertise the American way of life. For instance, USIS projected educational films and documentaries in English and Italian, both in city theaters and in temporary structures in rural areas. They distributed the vast amount of books owned by USIS (around 2.500 along with 200-300 newspapers) in their offices in Genoa, Turin, Bari and Bologna[42]. The educational sphere was still manipulated by USIS: Carleton Wolsey Washburne, an American pedagogist, proposed the defascistization of textbooks and the American teaching model in elementary school (e.g., the *Pestalozzi* school

[41] *Nuovo mondo. Rivista per il popolo italiano* published by USIS from March to October 1945. See *Nuovo Mondo e la stampa alleata in Italia* pp. 197-221 in Gian G. Migone, Giorgio Spini, Massimo Teodori, *Italia e America dalla grande guerra a oggi* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1992). *Mondo d'oggi. Rivista quindicinale illustrata d'informazione internazionale*, published from December 1945 to April 1946. *Notiziario quotidiano USIS per la stampa*, published from November 1945 to June 1953. It was the fundamental means for the diffusion of the American model, composed of 6.000-10.000 words that were radiotelegraphed from New York and distributed to American newspapers. See Luigi B. Liberati, *'Words, words, words'. La Guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia, 1945-1956*, op. cit., 57.

[42] This chapter does not detail the VOA's radio programs, but it wants to underscore that together with USIS it hugely contributed to the diffusion of the American cultural policy during the Cold War. See Simona Tobia, *Did the Rai buy it? The role and limits of American broadcasting in Italy in the Cold War*, pp. 171-191 in Linda Risso, *Radio Wars: Broadcasting during the Cold War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). On USIS's films: educational films and documentaries can be found at Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, under the name *The USIS Trieste collection*, which consists of more than five hundred films. Such material has been collected in Trieste during and after the Allied Military Government (1945-1954). According to David W. Ellwood, the material shows American propaganda's strategies (e.g., including Marshall Plan films, – *Men and Machines*, 1955 – those ones on democracy, child rearing, education and agriculture – *Freedom to Learn*, 1944; *Village*, 1950). The newsreels showed problems within Europe too, through the panoramic series *Problems and Progress in the New Europe* (this part seems to have been produced in Britain). Finally the majority of films is American, while only 35/40% is Italian. See David W. Ellwood, "The USIS-Trieste collection at the Archivio centrale dello Stato, Rome", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 19, no. 3 (August 1999): 399-404, especially p. 399. On postwar films: dramatic film denounced the costs of unstable Italian development, e.g., Antonioni's *The Adventure*, 1959, Visconti's *Rocco e i suoi Fratelli*, 1960 and *La dolce Vita*, 1960. See Ibid, 403. On USIS's offices: one of USIS's goals was to create libraries and information centers: in 1953-1954 there were around 160. Such centers were built close to meaningful historical and artistic areas (e.g., the main reading room in Bologna was within the Salone Carracci in the sixteenth-century Palazzo Segni Masetti). See Paolo Scrivano, *Building transatlantic Italy: architectural dialogues with postwar America* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). Additionally, Central and Southern Italian high schools and universities made agreements with USIS to send their students to American libraries. See Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America: the Cold War between the United States and the Communists in France and in Italy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011): 175. To see which books USIS libraries owned, see USIS (Italia), *Catalogo dei libri in italiano nelle biblioteche americane USIS in Italia* (Roma: USIS, 1958).

in Florence), but his attempt was seen as an intrusion into the Italian educational system, and therefore it was challenged and ended in failure[43]. However, the US succeeded in entering the Italian University system through cultural exchange programs, e.g., the Fulbright scholarship (a result of the Fulbright Act) approved on August 1946, sponsored by James William Fulbright, Democratic senator from Arkansas, and the Smith-Mund Program which in 1948 included the plan for scientific and educational cooperation[44]. Cultural exchanges increased

[43] Carleton Wolsey Washburne's ideas on school based on progressive education, were individualism, self-expression, security and social integration, the main needs that had to be satisfied according to the scholar. Such ideas were based on John Dewey's philosophic concept, disseminated in Chicago and in Abbotsholm in UK at the beginning of the twentieth century. To better understand Washburne's school's pillars, see Diega C. Orlando, *C. W. Washburne e l'esperimento di Winnetka* (Brescia: La scuola, 1960): 5-6, 12-22 on the Winnetka plan, a school based in the suburbs of Chicago, IL in which he concretized his thoughts, and the part related to the pedagogical rethinking, pp. 97-156. On the description of the methodology of learning in Winnetka and on the organization of the school see in particular the following books: Carleton W. Washburne, *Le scuole di Winnetka* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1952): 9-34; on how Washburne meant to change the Italian school system see Steven F. White, "Carleton Washburne: L'influenza deweyana nella scuola italiana", *Scuola e città*, vol. 2, no. 40 (June-July 1970): 49-57. On the work that he did in Italy before 1943 see Carleton W. Washburne, *La politica e la legislazione scolastica in Italia dal 1922 al 1943 con cenni introduttivi sui periodi precedenti e una parte conclusiva sul periodo postfascista preparato dalla Sottocommissione dell'Educazione della Commissione Alleata e offerta al Ministero della P.I.* (Milano: Garzanti, 1947): 387-395 on the attendance at elementary schools, the revision of textbooks, and suggestions to form future teachers. For more on his methodology to educate teachers in the United States see Carleton W. Washburne, *La formazione dell'insegnante negli Stati Uniti* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1958): 21-57 on the formation of teachers (e.g., those of Brooklyn college). When Washburne proposed the plan for Italian schools, he was in Milan working as the director of the USIS office for Northern Italy, see Simona Tobia, *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956)*, op. cit., 65. Washburne was supported by several teachers in his work of planning school's programs, inspired by the pragmatist school model that he was promoting as a pedagogist. See Davide Capperucci, Marianna Piccioli, *L'insegnante di scuola primaria. Identità, competenze e profile professionale* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2015): 18. On 25th June, 1947, Washburne wrote a letter on USIS letterhead to Professor Codignola, a teacher at the Pestalozzi city school in Florence: he claimed that such a school was one of the best in the country not only because of the spirit and the atmosphere – which according to Washburne represented the best practice of modern education – but also for the students' creative work, their cooperation and sense of responsibility when working. Washburne proposed to Codignola to create a center in Florence to train teachers according to the Pestalozzi education. See Carleton W. Washburne's letter, *Lettera di Carleton W. Washburne*, pp. 254-255 in Ernesto Codignola, Anna M. Codignola, *La scuola-città Pestalozzi* (Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1962).

[44] Although American political environments mistrusted their plans for spreading information abroad, members of Congress eventually concluded that the transmission of the American mindset could happen also through an exchange of people as a communication channel. See Luigi B. Liberati, *'Words, words, words'. La Guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia, 1945-1956*, op. cit., 16-17. On the Fulbright scholarship: the Fulbright Act established a fund of 20 million dollars destined for cultural exchanges to countries that had post-war relations with the US. The Act provided scholarships for both American

until 1950, but in September of that year they were blocked because no visas were given for scholarship and grants, as a result of the Internal Security Act. In addition to such exchanges, from 1953 on (until 1954-1955), several courses of American literature were held in cities such as Rome, Florence and Venice, all funded either by the USIS or by the Fulbright grant (such as Peter Viereck's course in Florence). The official recognition of a course on American history happened between 1955 and 1956 at the University of Florence, a notable success for USIS, looking to obtain teaching positions in the Academic world[45].

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students willing to study abroad and to foreign students who wanted to study in the US; additionally it substantially contributed to both American and foreign professors who aimed to lecture abroad. The Fulbright program became active in 1947-1948, and its leading idea was to spread the democratic American message not only through the government, but also through American citizens, students, professors, artists, scientists and industrials. See Luigi B. Liberati, *'Words, words, words'. La Guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia, 1945-1956*, op. cit., 16-18. The Fulbright Act aimed to introduce international good will through educational exchange, see Arthur P. Dudden, Russel R. Dynes, *The Fulbright Experience, 1946-1986: Encounters and Transformations* (New Brunswick, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987): 1. The first educational exchanges came from the American private sector, i.e., from American universities, providing fellowships, assistantships and visiting lectureships to foreign students. Also the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored the cooperating agencies for education. See Arthur P. Dudden, Russel R. Dynes, *The Fulbright Experience, 1946-1986: Encounters and Transformations*, op. cit., 2. For the Fulbright scholarship see for instance the case of the scholarship of Italian historians who in the Fifties went to study at Harvard University and the University of Wisconsin to collect data on American puritans, in Donatello Aramini, *George L. Mosse, L'Italia e gli storici* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2010): 22. On Senator Fulbright: he had been in the Senate since 1944 and part of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations since 1959. His role was fundamental in American Foreign policy. See Naomi B. Lynn, Arthur F. McClure, *The Fulbright Premise: Senator J. William Fulbright's views on Presidential points* (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 1973): 50. For more on Senator Fulbright's importance in the postwar see Ibid., 51-68; see also his opinion on American foreign policy in James W. Fulbright, *The crippled giant. American foreign policy and its domestic consequences* (New York: Random House, 1972): 17-47 and Karl E. Meyer, *Fulbright of Arkansas. The public positions of a private thinker* (Washington D.C.: Robert B. Luce, 1963): 34-85. On the Smith Mund Act: it authorized the government to use education and propaganda against communist influence worldwide. See Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America: The Cold War between the United States and the Communists in France and Italy*, op,. cit., 82. The official name of Smith Mund Act was the US Information and Educational Exchange Act, known also as the Smith-Mund Act for Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey. It allowed the use of funds for educational exchanges. See Arthur P. Dudden, Russel R. Dynes, *The Fulbright Experience, 1946-1986: Encounters and Transformations*, op. cit., 3.

[45] The McCarran Internal Security Act was approved in 1950 in order to protect the US from communist danger within the country, arresting whomever made a potential or effective act of espionage or sabotage. See Wilbur R. Miller, *The social history of crime and punishment in America* (London: Sage Publications, 2012): 844. To further develop the reasons for the communist hunt in the US and the following McCarran Act see also *The Domestic Political Economy and U.S. National Security Policy*, pp. 1-23, in Benjamin Fordham, *Building the Cold War Consensus. The political economy of U.S. national security policy, 1949-51* (University of Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 1. The McCarran Act was the most

1.2.1 The importance of the concept of mass in Italy and the USA in the Fifties

The Fifties were characterized by a meaningful economic transformation that deeply influenced and shaped Italian society in its behaviors and lifestyle. Such years began with poverty and underdevelopment that spurred the request to investigate the state of misery in 1952: in 1951 the Italian per capita income was at the level of 1938, and equal to 1/7[45] of America's. Regarding families' consumption, 70% of the expenses were for primary needs (e.g., food, clothes, house), whereas only 11% was used for recreational activities, entertainment, culture, as well as communication and transportation. As a result, Italy witnessed a strong internal and external migration in search of employment and a better quality of life (internal meaning from Southern Italy to Northern Italy, and external meaning out of Italy and toward the US and the rest of Europe, particularly Switzerland)[46].

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fundamental, exhaustive step in American immigration legislation since 1924. See Donna R. Gabaccia, Maddalena Marinari, *American Immigration Policy* only p. 211 in Mitchell B. Lerner, *A companion to Lyndon B. Johnson* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012). On Peter Viereck: he was a Fulbright professor in American Poetry and Civilization at the University of Florence in 1955, see Elizabeth A. Brennan, Elizabeth C. Clarage, *Who's who of Pulitzer Prize Winners* (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1999): 520. See also Leonard R. Sussman, *The culture of freedom: the small world of Fulbright Scholars* (Boston: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, 1992): 71. On the importance of universities at that time: studies on the University Italian system document how at the end of the Fifties and the beginning of the Sixties, the economic and industrial development increased the demand for qualified workers; additionally, universities assumed a leading role in the governments' public policies, not only to implement technical and scientific, but also economic and socio-cultural, progress. See Stefano Paleari, *Il futuro dell'università italiana dopo la Riforma* (Torino: Giappicchelli editore, 2014): 37-38; Andrea Graziosi, *L'università per tutti. Riforme e crisi del sistema universitario italiano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010).

[45] For more on the investigation on misery at the beginning of the Fifties see: Gianluca Fiocco, *L'Italia prima del miracolo economico: l'inchiesta parlamentare sulla miseria, 1951-1954* (Manduria: P. Lacaita, 2004); Enzo Santarelli, *Storia critica della Repubblica: l'Italia dal 1945 al 1994* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1997): 53-61; Pier P. D'Attorre, Alberto De Bernardi, *Studi sull'agricoltura italiana: società rurale e modernizzazione* (Milano: Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, 1994): 434-435; Istituto Luigi Sturzo, *Fanfani e la casa: gli anni Cinquanta e il modello italiano di welfare state, il piano INA-Casa* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002): 27-29. For the Italian situation in the Fifties see Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta* (Milano: Mondadori, 2013): 4-6. See also Gianluca Fiocco, *L'Italia prima del miracolo economico. L'inchiesta parlamentare sulla miseria, 1951-1954* (Manduria, Bari, Roma: Piero Lacaita Editore). See also Giusy Palamara, *Una repubblica fondata sul lavoro. L'inchiesta parlamentare sulla disoccupazione. 1950-1954* (Rubettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2007). For more data on numbers of migrations see Sandro Rinauro, *Politica e Geografia dell'emigrazione italiana negli anni della ricostruzione*, pp. 247-284 in Luigi Ganapini, *L'Italia alla metà del XX secolo. Conflitto sociale, Resistenza, Costruzione di una democrazia* (Milano: ISEC, Guerini e Associati, 2005); Franco Ramella, *Le migrazioni interne. Itinerari geografici e percorsi sociali*, p. 117 in *Storia d'Italia*, *Annali* 24, *Migrazioni* (Torino: Einaudi, 2009); Guido Crainz, *Storia del miracolo italiano. Culture, identità, trasformazioni fra anni cinquanta e sessanta* (Roma: Donzelli,

It was between 1958 and 1963 that Italy saw a great transformation due to the so-called economic miracle that shifted the economy from agricultural to solidly industrial. All the sectors in industrial production strongly developed, such as steel, through an expansion[47]. From 1950 to 1962 steel production increased from 2,4 million to 10 million tons due to the renewal of plants and to political economic choices (e.g., the Marshall Plan). However the mechanical sector increased the most: from 1950 to 1963 the production of cars went from 100.000 to 1,1 million, placing Italy at number six on the list of major manufacturers (U.S.A., West Germany, France, Japan)[48]. Investments were also made to the highway system (e.g., in 1955 the *Autostrada del Sole*, from Milan to Naples, was funded by the major industrial groups interested in the rapid diffusion of mass motorization: Pirelli, Agip, Fiat)[49]. As a consequence of this industrial progress, between 1958 and

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2006): 103-104; Lodovico Meneghetti, *Aspetti di geografia della popolazione. Italia 1951-1967* (Milano: Clup, 1971): 105; Miriam Mafai, *Gli straordinari anni del miracolo economico 1958-1963* (Milano: Mondadori, 1997): 23-24; Gianfranco Petrillo, *La capitale del miracolo. Sviluppo, lavoro e potere a Milano 1953-1962* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1992): 47.

[47] Whereas most of the studies – see the following notes – consider the time-span of the economic miracle to be from 1958 to 1963, some others, such as Francesco Alberoni, *Pubblicità, televisione, e società nell'Italia del miracolo economico* (Roma: Armando, 2011): 39-45, and Renzo Del Carria, *Proletari senza rivoluzione: 1950-1975, dal "miracolo economico" al "compromesso storico"* (Roma: Savelli, 1979): 45, claim that it starts in 1954. From 1958 to 1963 PIL increased by 7.5% with regard to the previous triennium, and it kept growing by 6.5 % per year until it reached an increase of 8% in 1961. Another sign of development was the increase in industrial production between 1955 and 1962 from 9 to 12%: more advanced technologies had been adopted in the US, thus improving their level of efficiency. The role of the Fordist model in big companies was fundamental, allowing them to maximize the use of factories. Additionally, Italy needed the cost of raw material to be fixed since it was not even able to provide the wool for the textile industry. See Valerio Castronovo, *L'Italia del miracolo economico* (Roma, Bari: Editori Laterza, 2010): 29, 32. For more on how Italy went from being an agricultural to an industrial country, see Stefano Musso, *Storia del lavoro in Italia: dall'Unità ad oggi* (Venezia: Marsilio: 2002): 199; *Il problema dell'Italia Agricola e la trasformazione del contadino in operaio* pp. 149-151 in Luciano Vasapollo, *Storia di un capitalismo piccolo piccolo: lo Stato italiano e i capitani d'impresa dal '45 a oggi* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2007); Michele Fratianni, Franco Spinelli, *A monetary history of Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 195-196.

[48] See Andrea Leonardi, Alberto Cova, Pasquale Galea, *Il novecento economico italiano. Dalla grande guerra al "miracolo economico", 1914-1962* (Bologna: Monduzzi editore, 1997): 281-304. For more on the increase in the steel industry, see Jonathan Dunnage, *Twentieth Century Italy: a social history* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002): 149, 594-595; Omar Calabrese, Renato Giovannoli, *Modern Italy: war, postwar, reconstruction, take-off* (Milano: Electa: 1984): 267-268; Bruno Amoroso, Ole J. Olsen, *Lo stato imprenditore* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1978).

[49] See Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta*, op. cit., 63-69; Federico Paolini, *Storia sociale dell'automobile in Italia* (Roma: Carocci, 2007): 43; Enrico Menduini, *L'Autostrada del Sole* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999): 20; Daniele Marchesini, *L'Italia a quattro ruote. Storia dell'utilitaria* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011): 13; Patrizia Gabrielli, *Anni di novità e grandi cose. Il boom economico fra tradizione e cambiamento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011): 127.

1963 the GNP (gross national product) increased by 7.5% from the previous three years, and kept growing by 6.5 % per year, reaching 8% in 1961. The per capita income also grew, from 249.390 to 272.196 lire in 1954, and the Italian lifestyle radically changed, intensifying consumption in many sectors, from transportation to entertainment. Workers could drive to work every day with their own car, just like the Americans. In 1953 on the railway line from Milan to Rome, the train *Settebello* was introduced, giving the impression of the start of a new era: it was fast, its wagons were air-conditioned rooms with restaurant service. Electrical appliances invaded Italian houses too: from 1959 to 1963, from the country saw a 42% increase in refrigerators, dishwashers, washing machines and gas burners[50].

Cinematographic production changed after the years 1949-1950 due to the 29th December, 1949 law, *Legge Andreotti* which guaranteed protection and aid to producers, concentrating all decisions in the *Ufficio centrale per la cinematografia* (central film making headquarters) with a continuation of the anti-Fascist approach; in fact no aid was granted if the screenplay was not pre-approved[51]. The law remained in effect until

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[50] For the growth of per capita income see Francesco Alberoni, *Pubblicità, televisione, e società nell'Italia del miracolo economico*, op. cit., 39-45. See also: Andrea Leonardi, Alberto Cova, Pasquale Galea, *Il novecento economico italiano. Dalla grande guerra al "miracolo economico", 1914-1962* (Bologna: Monduzzi editore, 1997): 289. Between 1959 and 1963 the manufacturing of cars grew from 148.000 to 760.000 units per year; cars from 1954 to 1964 grew from 700.000 to 5 million units, see Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta*, op. cit., 53-55; Valerio Castronovo, *L'Italia del miracolo economico*, op. cit., 94-95. For the train *Settebello* see Valerio Castronovo, *L'Italia del miracolo economico*, op. cit., 93; Giorgio Vecchio, Paolo Trionfini, *L'Italia contemporanea: un profilo storico, 1939-2008* (Bologna: Monduzzi, 2008): 193; Vittorio Vidotto, *Italiani/e. Dal miracolo economico a oggi* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2005). For the electrical appliances see Valerio Castronovo, *L'Italia del miracolo economico*, op. cit., 95; Paolo Sorcinelli, *Identikit del Novecento: conflitti, trasformazioni sociali, stili di vita* (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2004): 302; Antonio Cardini, *Il miracolo economico italiano, 1958-1963* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006): 54; Guido Crainz, *Storia del miracolo italiano: culture, identità, trasformazioni fra anni Cinquanta e Sessanta*, op. cit., 190.

[51] *Legge Andreotti* imposed a policy of protectionism to movie theaters in Italy: among other things, it required that Italian movies be projected for a minimum number of days, it provided financial aid to movies that would gain public consensus, in addition to controlling the screenings according to political criteria, see Aurelio Magistà, *Dolce vita gossip: star, amori, mondanità e kolossal negli anni d'oro di Cinecittà* (Paravia: Bruno Mondadori, 2007): 241. The law also established that the income gained in Italy from American movies could not be reinvested in the US, aiming to force American major studios to produce in Italy, providing economic aid and making Italian cinematographic studios famous, see Vittoria Ferrandino, Maria Rosaria Napolitano, *Storia d'impresa e imprese storiche: una visione diacronica* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2014): 282; see also Lorenzo Quaglietti, *Storia economico-politica del cinema italiano: 1945-1980* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1980): 67; see the footnote n. 78, at p. 126 in Stefano Pisu, *Il XX secolo sul red carpet: politica, economia e cultura nei festival internazionali del cinema, 1932-1976* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2016). For Andreotti's role see Gian Piero Brunetta, *Il cinema neorealista italiano: storia economica, politica e culturale* (Roma: Laterza, 2009): 47-49; Gian Piero Brunetta, *Identità italiana e identità europea nel cinema italiano*

1954, favoring industrial expansion, turning filmaking from an artisanal project into an industrial production (1955 was a record year for ticket sales: 819.000 lire)[52]. In the Fifties, Italy became a cinematographic set for American movies: romantic comedies with male stars and female divas were shot in settings surrounded by fascinating Italian landscapes, monuments, showing the Italian way of life that Americans were yearning to see (e.g., *Vacanze romane*, William Wyler, 1953; *Il Tesoro dell'Africa*, John Huston, 1953; *Tre soldi nella fontana*, Jean Negulesco, 1954)[53]. Contracts between the Italian ANICA (Associazione Nazionale Industrie Cinematografiche ed Affini) and the American MPEA (Motion Picture Export Association), in which ANICA accepted exports of 50% of profits on American movies, whereas MPEA invested 40% of their funds blocked in Italy to support Italian movies and their distribution, were made[54]. 12,5% of income had to be used to promote Italian movies in the

dal 1945 al miracolo economico (Torino: Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1996); David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007): 186.

[52] See David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954*, op. cit., 186-187. In the second post-war, the Catholic Church created over 5,000 parish cinemas in the rural areas. The number of tickets sold went from 525 million in 1947 to 819 million in 1955, see Jonathan Dunnage, *Twentieth Century Italy: a social history* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002): 165. Cinecittà embodied the artisanal know-how of Italy, that later disappeared with cinematographic industrialization, see Gian Piero Brunetta, *The history of Italian Cinema: a guide to Italian films from its origins to the twenty-first century* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009): 73; see also Giovanna Motta, Antonello Biagini, *Fashion through History: costumes, symbols, communication, vol. II* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017): 624.

[53] Consider also the movies *Tempo d'estate/Summer Madness*, David Lean, 1955; *Elena di Troia/Helen of Troy*, Robert Wise, 1956; *Guerra e pace/War and peace*, King Vidor, 1956; *La baia di Napoli/ It started in Naples*, Melville Shavelson, 1960. See David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954*, op. cit., 197. For these and further titles of Italian movies in the Fifties see Giovanna Motta, Antonello Biagini, *Fashion through History: costumes, symbols, communication*, op. cit., 630-631. Rome was more important than London as a location for Hollywood's cinematographic set. Italian studios, with such a combination of international elements, produced films for independent cinema at a low price, see Robert Shandley, *How Rome save Hollywood*, pp. 53-61, especially p. 60 in Richard Wrigley, *Cinematic Rome* (Leicester: Troubador Publishing Ltd, 2008).

[54] Contracts between ANICA and MPEA were renewed on 2nd April, 1953 and signed again on 30th June, 1954. As a consequence, Eitel Monaco, president of ANICA stated that the number of Italian films increased every year from 60 to 140, quadrupling the profits between 1950 and 1954, see Daniela T. Gennari, *Post-War Italian Cinema: American Intervention, Vatican interests* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008): 60. See also Saverio Giovacchini, Robert Sklar, *Global Neorealism: the transnational history of a film style* (Jackson: University Press of Missisippi, 2012): 95. For more on what ANICA did in the second postwar see ANICA, *Vent'anni dell'ANICA per il cinema italiano: 1944-1964* (Roma: Tipografica editrice romana, 1965); see also Barry Langford, *Post-Classical Hollywood: Film industry, style and ideology since 1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010): 57-59. For MPEA's investments see Libero Bizzarri, Libero Solaroli, *L'industria cinematografica* (Firenze: Parenti, 1958).

US, but they were rarely displayed in places other than the *essai* cinema and immigrant rooms (with the exception of *Riso Amaro*). That was because Italian cinema was not creating a diva-centric, consumer model: the majority of stars were a draw in a single location (e.g., figures like comedians Totò and Alberto Sordi drove up revenue for theaters in Rome) but, starting from 1956, actresses Gina Lollobrigida and Sofia Loren established themselves as the most important personalities in Italian cinema, boosting economic growth for the industry more than anyone had ever done before[55].

The cinematographic industry was weakened in the years 1956-1958 due to the increase in popularity of television (in 1953 no one owned a TV while by 1962, 55% of Italian households had one). The RAI channel started to broadcast in January 1954. Since it was controlled by the DC, it followed a rigorous code of behavior (e.g., Filiberto Guala, the first Director General of Rai-tv between 1954 and 1956, banned any potential negative influence for families and promoted morality)[56]. Through *Carosello*, a program for a broadcasting advertisements, RAI contributed to the increase of consumption. *Carosello* was a powerful medium, somewhere between the American model (no limits to advertisements) and the English one (no advertisements); it spread a common advertisement across the entire Italian territory and presented products that fit the public's needs and desires (e.g., for beef, whose per capita production grew from 5kg to 13 kg between 1954 to 1964)[57]. Additionally,

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[55] See David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954*, op. cit., 198-204.

[56] After 1945 RAI, a public company owned by IRI (Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale), a state holding company founded in 1930 by the fascist regime, started to be controlled by the DC, the leading political party at that time, which between 1945 and 1954 adopted the church's codes of morality and decency for its own tv programs. The main interest of the DC was political propaganda and the control of the business sector to expand its electorate; indeed fiction programs were free despite being selected, see Raymond Kuhn, *The politics of broadcasting*, (London: Croom Helm, 1985): 68-69. On the DC controlling RAI, see Franco Monteleone, *Storia della RAI dagli Alleati alla DC, 1944-1954* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1980). On 1st September, 1953 tv programs started a regular broadcast in Northern Italy, expanding their network to Rome at the end of the year. On 1st January, 1954 tv programs were broadcast for 28 hours per week. In 1955, TV reached Naples and by the end of 1956 it reached Sicily. Only in 1959 did it cover the entire Italian territory, see Franco Chiarenza, *Il cavallo morente. Storia della RAI* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2002): 58. See also Giulia Guazzaloca, *Governare la televisione? Politica e Tv in Europa negli anni cinquanta-sessanta* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2007).

[57] *Carosello* was defined as the national popular television space par excellence, see Stefano della Casa, Dario Viganò, Pierpaolo De Sanctis, *Pop film art. Visual culture, moda e design nel cinema italiano anni '60 e '70* (Città di Castello Perugia, Italy: Edizioni Sabinae, 2012): 137. In 1957 State and RAI made an agreement that established a maximum for the time dedicated to advertisement, namely 5%, half of the time fixed in the US that gave six minutes to sponsors. Such agreement shows how the State privileged the viewers' rather than the interest of the advertisers. *Carosello* was broadcast after the TV news at 8.30 p.m., a time of

Carosello made it possible for TV to acquire a certain authority in guaranteeing the quality and stability of certain products strongly influencing people's lifestyles. A great example of this is the community of Scarperia, a small town in Tuscany, a rural community which was heavily modernized through television[58].

The publishing industry also developed in the postwar period, in particular the production of weekly newspapers. An increased level of education brought a much higher number of potential readers, and newspaper circulation was increasing steadily; for instance, from 1950 to 1955 *Epoca* went from 200.000 to 500.000 copies, *Tempo* from 150.000 to 420.000 copies, *Oggi* from 500.000 to 760.000, *Domenica del Corriere* from 600.000 to 900.000 copies, *L'Europeo*, from 100.000 to 130.000[59]. Many of these newspapers were displaying American elements lifestyle too. For example, although *Epoca*'s content was primarily Italian in nature (specifically it dealt with the reality of the Italian workers), the paper's graphic design was similar to *Life*, an American magazine (in the years of the Marshall Plan, *Epoca* received economic benefits to buy new color copy machines)[60]. The adoption of American standards was also evident

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increased audience, see Giovanni Gozzini, *La mutazione individualista: gli italiani e la televisione, 1954-2011* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2011). About tv and *Carosello*, see David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954*, op. cit., 88-89. For which *Carosello* programs were broadcast at that time see the video material present at the Istituto Centrale per i Beni Sonori ed Audiovisivi, Roma (Italy).

[58] The journalist Mauro Calamandrei conducted the investigation on Scarperia for the weekly newspaper *L'Espresso* on January 1959, see Mauro Calamandrei, "La città in campagna", *L'Espresso* (25th January 1959): 12-13. On Scarperia see also Damiano Garofalo, *Storia sociale della televisione in Italia: 1954-1959* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2018); Stephen Gundle, *I comunisti italiani tra Hollywood e Mosca: la sfida della cultura di massa*, op. cit., 163-165. In 1959, only 22 TVs are present in Scarperia, a community with 5.000 inhabitants, see Giovanni Gozzini, *La mutazione individualista: gli italiani e la televisione 1954-2011* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2011). See also the following study on the interest of Scarperia's inhabitants in the use of mass media information: Malcolm S. Jr Maclean, Luca Pinna, "Distance and news interest: Scarperia Italy", *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1 (January 1958): 36-48.

[59] For more on these and additional data on the development of the publishing industry in the Fifties see in particular the following texts: Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta* op. cit., 76-83; Valerio Castronovo, Nicola Tranfaglia, *Storia della stampa italiana*, op. cit., 243; Angelo Varni, *Storia della comunicazione in Italia: dalle gazzette a Internet* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002): 214; Nello Ajello, *Lezioni di giornalismo: com'è cambiata in 30 anni la stampa italiana* (Milano: Garzanti, 1986): 89.

[60] The first issue of *Epoca*, published on 14th October 1950, represented an Italian female worker in the ice cream shop in the Duomo square in Milan. She was named *Liliana ragazza italiana* as was written in the caption under the picture. The photo essay, *Liliana ragazza italiana*, was produced by two photographers, the American John Phillips and the Italian Ettore Naldoni: it was emblematic for the contacts between the two magazines, through Naldoni himself, one of the most important Italian photographers. Such connections were also evident in both covers of the magazines, e.g., David Linton's photo shoot proposed in both *Life*, 30th January, 1950 and in *Epoca*, 4th November, 1950, presented the same title, translated in Italian as *Maternità senza paura*. See Barbara Cinelli, Flavio Fergonzi, Maria

in the review *Selezione dal Reader's Digest*, a mirror of the American propaganda as Cesare Pavese pointed out in *Rinascita*[61]. The cover of the review was colored and shiny as the American cigarettes and socks boxes that were circulating in Italy. The Italian Catholic Press modernized its content as well, opening itself up to a more positive vision of the American models, even indicating America as the ideal of consumer modernity that could strengthen the family, as the Catholic magazine *Famiglia Cristiana* documents, despite being overtly against the influence of divas in the Forties, insofar as it felt their lives did not communicate any aim[62].

Newspapers, together with cinema and television influenced the women and the youth of this decade, attracting them to American culture (youngsters increasily adopted products made in the USA such as jeans, alcohol, cigarettes, jazz music, and Coca Cola)[63]. Italian women desired to reach emancipation through studying and working, and to improve their lifestyle through the usage of technological products, i.e., electrical appliances (such aspirations were also spread through several Italian comedies such as *Le ragazze di Piazza di Spagna*, 1952, and *Ragazze d'oggi*,

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Grazia Messina, Antonello Negri, *Arte moltiplicata: l'immagine del '900 italiano nello specchio dei rotocalchi* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2013): 128. See also *L'editoria: libri, riviste, fumetti* pp. 137-174, in David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954*, op. cit.. See Ibid. also pp. 155, 157,172 for more on the publishing industry development in the Fifties.

[61] For *Selezione dal Reader's Digest* see *Ritratto della famiglia dei lettori di Selezione* (Milano: Selezione dal Reader's Digest, Ufficio pubblicità, 1962): 20, 26, 70, 82. For *Rinascita* see Cesare Pavese, *Saggi letterari*, pp. 198-199 in Cesare Pavese, *Opere. Vol. XII*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1968).

[62] It happened in particular after 1954, when don Giuseppe Zilli became director of *Famiglia Cristiana*, see David Forgacs, Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e società italiana, 1936-1954*, op. cit., 358-360; see also Mario Marazziti, *Cultura di massa e valori cattolici: il modello di "Famiglia Cristiana"*, in Andrea Riccardi, *Pio XII* (Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1984); Stephen Gundle, *Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: "Vie Nuove" e "Famiglia Cristiana" dalla Guerra fredda alla società dei consumi*, in Pier P. D'Attorre, *Nemici per la pelle. Sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea* (Milano: Angeli, 1991); Vv.Aa., *Famiglia Cristiana. Nozze d'oro di un rotocalco* (Milano: Società San Paolo, 1981). The US economic changes cast doubts on Americans themselves and their rootlessness, having as a consequence the massive return to religion and the emphasis on the family, considering both elements as a possibility to confer a sense of identity on people once again, see Douglas T. Miller, Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: the way we really were* (Garden city: New York, 1977): 10.

[63] See Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta*, op. cit., 120-127. On the influence of cinema on the youth see Enrica Capussotti, *Gioventù perduta. Gli anni Cinquanta dei giovani e del cinema in Italia* (Firenze: Giunti, 2004); Mariagrazia Fanchi, *Audience caleidoscopiche. Le trasformazioni del pubblico e del consumo di cinema* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2016). On women's life in the years before the Fifties see Vv.Aa., *Donne e Resistenza in Emilia Romagna* (Milano: Vangelista, 1978): 52; Paola G. De Biase, *Questione femminile e femminismo nella storia della Repubblica* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1979): 43; on the Doxa's investigation on Italian women in 1956, see Emiliano Morreale, *Così piangevano: il cinema melò nell'Italia degli anni Cinquanta* (Roma: Donzelli, 2011): 77-78.

1955)[64]. USIS perceived the interest of Italian women in their American counterparts, and from 1953 on, through the International Press Service, it started to distribute material featuring American women, the *Special USIS Women's Packet*, that contained articles on which Italian women could comment[65]. Among the distributed articles, there was a special issue of *Life* (from 1956) about the American model woman[66]: someone who had no limits in terms of work and education, could travel alone, drive a car, manage the family budget, direct companies, and wear make-up[67]. If these historical and economic data (the GNP, per capita income, the cinematographic industry, TV and the publishing industry) are compared to American ones, it is apparent that Italy was living a mirror of what a bit earlier, starting in 1945, had happened in the US, and that financial aid, and political and cultural propaganda operated by USIS were succeeding in their goal of transmitting the American way of life in Italy, invading the majority of Italian minds.

Starting in 1945, right after the end of the war, there was a constant demand for American mass media that pleased several sectors, especially the entertainment industry. For instance, in 1948, every American household started to own a TV, and in 1956 Americans were buying 20 thousand TVs per day, increasing the rate to one out of ten American households owning TVs by the end of the Fifties. Homeowners went from over 9 million in 1950 to 32.8 million in 1960; car-owners during the decade grew to over 21 million, encouraging the government to invest in roadbuilding projects such as the 40,000-mile Interstate Highway System. This phenomenon, described as the American miracle of consumption, was the result of multiple factors, above all the increase of the average family income (in 1961 it was between 6.000 and 15.000 dollars) which meant greater purchasing power for all families[68]. Mass

[64] See Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta*, op. cit., 57-63.
[65] See Silvia Cassamagnaghi, *Immagini dall'America. Mass media e modelli femminili nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra, 1945-1960*, op. cit., 76, 226. For the *Special USIS Women's packet* see also Kenneth A. Osgoof, *Total Cold War. Eisenhower's Secrete Propaganda Battle Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2006): 433; Simona Tobia, *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy 1945*-1956, op. cit., 179.
[66] See *Life.* Special Issue. "The American Woman. Her achievements and Trouble", u. vol., no. 26 (24th December 1956).
[67] See Silvia Cassamagnaghi, *Immagini dall'America. Mass media e modelli femminili nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra, 1945-1960*, op. cit., 14, 67-68. The model of American women developed in the years before the Fifties, when their emancipation began since they became increasingly part of the American workforce, a trend that kept increasing in the Fifties, see Andrew J. Dunar, *America in the Fifties* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006): 196. On the evolution of the American model see Daniel D. Hill, *Advertising to the American Woman, 1900-1999* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002): 38-67.
[68] For the entertainment industry see James L. Baughman, *The republic of mass culture: journalisms, filmmaking and broadcasting in America since 1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 9. To see how media influenced mass public in the Fifties in the US,

consumer society in the US was the product of such changes, and it was a new concept, different from the one debated in the Forties. Until the beginning of the Fifties, mass society had some similarities in both Europe and the US: its relation to the industrial mechanical system that pushed aside physical labor and substituted the use of machines; improved communication and transportation that brought people to meet and connect more often; and enhanced individuality (in Europe individuality contrasted with the previous indistinct agglomeration of people that totalitarian regimes tried to encourage)[69]. In the Fifties, mass society shifted and precisely became mass consumer society, triggered by mass media, its creator and primary engine that initially developed in the US and was then brought to Italy. Three features describe how it manifested itself in the US, in terms of the effects of consumption: 1) affluence, 2) consumer power and 3) consumer psychology. Affluence, which meant an increase in purchasing power and, accordingly, in consumer goods; consumer power, for the cyclical economic fluctuations and the consumer-dependent economic growth; consumer psychology, for the discretionary demand influenced by the consumer's willingness[70].

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see also Craig Allen, *Eisenhower and the mass media: peace, prosperity, and prime-time* (Chapell Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). On Americans starting to own a TV see Douglas T. Miller, Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: the way we really were* (Garden city: New York, 1977): 7-8. See also Laura Shapiro, *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004); James L. Baughman, *The republic of mass culture: journalisms, filmmaking and broadcasting in America since 1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 30-31. For the Interstate Highway System see Douglas T. Miller, Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: the way we really were* (Garden city: New York, 1977): 7-8. For the American miracle of consumption see George Katona, *The mass consumption society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964): 9.

[69] For the enhanced individuality see Edward Shils, "Mass Culture and Mass Media", *Daedalus*, vol. 89, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 288-314. To further develop the concept of mass developed after totalitarianism see the following texts: José O. Y Gasset, *La ribellione delle masse* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1962); Kurt H. Wolff, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1950); Max Weber, *Essays on Sociology* (London: Sage, 1946); Karl Mannheim, *Uomo e società in un'età di ricostruzione* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1959); Emil Lederer, *The States of the Masses: the threat of the classless society* (New York: Norton and Company, 1940); Hannah Arendt, *Le origini del totalitarismo*, (Milano: Bompiani, 1978); Louis Wirth, "Consensus and Mass Communication", *American Sociological Review*, vol. 13, no. 1 (February 1948): 1-15. Cecilia Dau Novelli documents the evolution of the masses in between the two blocks of the Cold War, when masses were indistinct agglomerations, in which the whole group was worth more than the single person. Those were the same masses that the totalitarian regimes had tried to control and that in the Cold War escaped from the dividing networks, see Cecilia D. Novelli, *Politica e nuove identità nell'Italia del 'miracolo'* (Roma: Edizioni Studium, 1999): 131, 159, 161.

[70] On mass consumer society in the US refer to the following texts: George Katona, *The mass consumption society*, op. cit., 3: «The past few decades have seen the rise, here in America, of a new and unique phenomenon in human history, the mass consumption society»; Matsuyama, Kiminori, "The Rise of Mass Consumption Societies", *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 110, no. 5 (October 2002): 1035-070, states: «The mass consumption society

Indeed the first point of contact with the development of mass consumer society in Italy was the theme of consumption that, under American leadership, became key in the construction of democratic Western societies, in addition to financial aid, political control and the cultural propaganda created by USIS[71].

The introduction of American models of consumption shaped a type of Italian mass society whose features still distinguished it from the one of the Forties: a lack of distinction among social classes, authoritarianism, an elite culture, and communicative codes[72]; a wide distribution across

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can be defined as a society in which not a few individuals, nor a thin upper class, but the majorities of families enjoy the benefits of increased productivity and constantly expand their range of consumer goods […] all the industrialized countries have gone through a similar transformation after World War II»; Walt W. Rostow, "The stages of economic growth", *The Economic History Review, New Series*, vol. 12, no. 1 (August 1959): 1-16, calls the fifth stage the age of high mass consumption, Rostow, 1960. William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959): 255, who believes that the culture of mass society is mass culture, which applies mass standards on the mass man, the type of man that helps mass media's success. Bernard Rosenberg, David Manning White, *Mass culture. The Popular Arts in America* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957): 9-15, focuses on mass society in the US: the former states that mass culture destroys people's authentic taste and modern technology can be faulted for that; the latter questions the influence of mass media, wondering whether they changed American masses' mind. For consumer psychology see George Katona, *The mass consumption society*, op. cit., 3.

[71] On consumption see the following texts: Luca Gorgolini, *L'Italia in movimento. Storia sociale degli anni cinquanta* op. cit., 55; Adriana Signorelli, *Introduzione allo studio dei consumi* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005): 262; Marino Livolsi, *Consumi e vita quotidiana* in Massimo Firpo, Nicola Tranfaglia, Pier G. Zunino, *Guida all'Italia contemporanea vol. IV* (Milano: Garzanti, 1998): 112; Doriano Pela, Paolo Sorcinelli, *Generazioni del Novecento. Guerra, famiglia, partecipazione, consumi* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1999): 338-339; Victoria De Grazia, *L'impero irresistibile. La società dei consumi americana alla conquista del mondo* (Torino: Einaudi, 2006): 371-402; Paolo Capuzzo, *L'Italia degli anni Sessanta* (Roma: Carocci, 2003): 34; Emanuela Scarpellini, *L'Italia dei consumi. Dalla Belle Époque al nuovo millennio* (Roma, Bari: Laterza: 2008): 4; Antonio Cardini, *Il miracolo economico italiano, 1958-1963*, op. cit., 229; Percy Allum, Ilvo Diamanti, *'50/'80. Vent'anni. Due generazioni a confronto* (Roma: Edizioni Lavoro, 1986): 97; Dick Hebdige, *La lambretta e il videoclip. Cose e consumi dell'immaginario contemporaneo* (Torino: EDT, 1991): 97.

[72] Andrea Millefiorini, *Individualismo e società di massa. Dal XIX secolo agli inizi del XXI* (Roma: Carocci, 2005): 118-156, distinguishes two types of mass societies: the first goes from the end of the 19th century until the Forties and the second from the Forties until second half of the 20th century. The elements of difference between the two are: traditional characteristics of the bourgeoise society persisted e.g., classism, authoritarianism, élite culture, communicative codes. This was inherited from the years in which the aristocracy led, the army conserved values of authority, hierarchy, honor, and chivalry; public functionaries had to accept the will of the state, being rigorous, scrupulous, conscientious and diligent; artistic production was made by old cultured élites (people went to the theater and to classical music concerts), see Ibid., 134-136. In the second type of mass society the individual takes distance from their social role and class is abolished, see Ibid., 136-137. The popular youth's more spontanoues and immediate behavior, in the first kind of mass society was affirmed in the second, see Ibid.. On individualism see: Elena Pulcini, *L'individuo senza passioni. Individualismo moderno e perdita del legame sociale* (Torino: Bollati

the territory in which different subcultures, occupational roles, interests, lifestyles, and different levels of social power coexisted; anonymity because people did not know each other, despite belonging to the same group, and isolation because people acted autonomously and not as members of a group; a high degree of permeability to propaganda because of the absence of defined customs and traditions; a lack of organization because of the absence of leadership and a set plan of action[73]. Finally, the members of such mass society featured a mass personality with definite behaviors and ways of living. People invested more in leisure activities, and women had more free time on their hands thanks to their brand new electrical appliances; mobility grew due to the important developments in the transportation sector. Overall there was a stark increase in American-style consumption, from eating, to drinking, dancing, and the use of make-up, all things that came into Italy through the diffusion of advertisements and mass media[74].

As evident so far, the economic context of the Fifties in Italy presented characteristics that developed a mass consumer society, both as an imported product of the US and as a product of the Italian environment that shaped it; this came as an effect of the economic transformation and of consumerism that had taken place in the Fifties both in Italy and the US. Such a concept of mass consumption remained in the Sixties but was more detached from the American way of life and more ambiguous[75]. As such it was debated from a sociological viewpoint,

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Boringhieri, 2001): 126; Ludwig von Mises, *Individuo, mercato e Stato di diritto* (Rubbettino: Soveria Manelli, 1998); Erving Goffman, *Espressione e identità* (Milano: Mondadori, 1979): 154-155; Louis Dumont, *Saggi sull'individualismo* (Milano: Adelphi, 1993): 185. On mass see: José O. Y Gasset, José O. Y Gasset, *La ribellione delle masse*, op. cit.; Alfredo Mancini, *Usi e costumi della buona società* (Vasto: Guzzetti, 1932). On democracy in the US see: Alexis de Tocqueville, *La democrazia in America* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1992): 466.

[73] Franco Leonardi, "Società di massa e svago di massa", *Ulisse*, vol. 7, no. 41 (July 1961): 55-62, claiming that mass media entails mass society and vice-versa, recognizes seven main characteristics that identify mass society. He additionally underlines the consequences of TV that produced a deep isolation within the family: while physical contact remained, the presence of the TV worked as a disincentive for moments of interaction, such as reading, playing games or engaging in conversations; families started to eat while watching tv and considered tv didactic for them and for their children. The time dedicated to mass communication thus doubled. For an overview of the concept of mass society see: *Gli studi sulle comunicazioni di massa e il concetto di società di massa*, pp. 11- 37, in Cesare Mannucci, *La società di massa* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1967).

[74] The product of this type of society was the mass worker, but such a term was coined in the early Sixties. After 1968 it started to refer to the southern immigrants working in car industries, such as FIAT and Pirelli, who lived in the suburbs and peripheries. See John M. Foot, "Mass cultures, popular cultures and the working class in Milan, 1950-1970", *Social History*, vol. 24, no. 2, (May 1999): 134-157, in particular p. 136. On the American way of life see Franco Leonardi, "Società di massa e svago di massa", op. cit., 59.

[75] On the transformation of the concept of mass consumption in the Sixties see Frank Trentmann, "Consumer Society", *Contemporary European History*, vol. 20, no. 1 (February

especially developing the concepts of mass communication, and mass culture, points that I will touch on but not describe in depth[76]. For the

2011): 27-31. On the ambiguity of the concept of mass: Umberto Eco, *Apocalittici e integrati. Comunicazioni di massa e teorie della cultura di massa* (Milano: Bompiani, 1964): 6-25, argues for the ambiguity of the concept of mass that he proposes to use in order to indicate a precise historical period, claiming that mass society exists in all types of industrial societies.

[76] On both concepts see the following authors' position: Joseph T. Klapper, *Gli effetti della comunicazione di massa* (Milano: ETAS Kompass, 1964), who states that mass communication changes unstable societies whereas it strengthens existing ones; Edgar Morin, *L'industria culturale. Saggio sulla cultura di massa* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1963), according to whom mass culture is integrated with mass communications, and mass communication vehiculates mass culture; Armando Plebe, *Introduzione all'edizione italiana*, p. 6 in Edmund Carpenter, Marshall McLuhan, *La comunicazione di massa* (Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1966), indicates radio, cinema, television as the new languages invested of massification thus temporary, and less important than books, concerts and conferences; Luciano Cavalli, *Il sociologo e la democrazia*, (Milano: Silva Editore, 1964): 111-113, according to whom mass civility was created from the urban increase of population; Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, *Lezioni di sociologia* (Torino: Einaudi, 1966): 94-96, according to whom mass is a social product that seems to unite people, whereas through such an illusion it alienates individuals. For the development of the concept of mass in the decades of the Fifties and Sixties, see the following studies conducted more recently: Andrea Millefiorini, *Individualismo e società di massa. Dal XIX secolo agli inizi del XXI*, op. cit., 107-152, states how the second mass society becomes the protagonist of the Sixties (it is also present in the Fifties- see p. 133), expelling the residual part of the bourgeoisie. The clothing style will also undergo a substantial mutation; for instance sunglasses, Texan boots and all those accessories that exalt a person's aggressiveness became fundamental for the affirmation of people and to underline the detachment from rules, from formalism: it is clear that there is a drastic change of the communicative codes (e.g., casual style was seen as more spontaneous and authentic), see especially pp. 118- 119. Such a juxtaposition was not so evident in the first mass society, but it was not absent; however, in the second one, the entire communication sphere is revolutionized: all the gestures and symbols emphasize the individual's capacity of refusing the submission to roles and rules. Masses lived individualism as a possibility of emancipation, of liberation from subalternity, see Ibid., 155-156. Piero Dominici, *Dentro la società interconnessa. Prospettive etiche per un nuovo ecosistema della comunicazione* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2014): 39-41, indicates that at the end of the Fifties sociologists and researchers (e.g., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Robert K. Merton, Elihu Katz) demonstrated how mass communication did not always have negative effects, such as manipulation or persuasion, but rather it allowed the consumer to be able to filter mass-media messages, showing a contrasting idea to that of the passive public. However, the advent of mass media in the modern industrial societies determined radical changes in qualitative terms, i.e., behaviors, culture, circulation of ideas. The birth of industrial culture and the following development of a public opinion was a consequence of growing literacy, and a wider reading capacity of the lower classes. Cecilia D. Novelli, *Politica e nuove identità nell'Italia del 'miracolo'*, op. cit., 161, documents that the new mass era dreamed of a house, a stable job, lasting peace, an identity as citizens who wanted to go beyond the masses, to overcome their belonging to masses. People were looking for entertainment and were trying to forget fascism and the Resistance; Salvador Giner, *Mass society* (New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, Inc., 1976) points out how since the mid-nineteenth century the West has been part of a developing 'mass society', a concept developed by nineteenth century European sociologists (August Comte, Ferdinand Tönnies, Herbert Spencer, George Simmel, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Marx) who explained the effect of the transition from a rural traditional society to a urban modern one, having negative social

current of Pop Art, as this and following chapters will evince, the mass consumer society and its consequent mass behaviors were therefore further elements that helped to prepare a fertile ground for the popularity of this artistic movement in Italy.

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and cultural consequences on the traditional communal life, such as the depersonalization of the individual, and the emergence of materialistic urban values with an emphasis on money and entertainment. The advent of mass media occurred in this same period, and the new forms of communication and entertainment and their product, mass culture, were often considered to be an integral part of the development of mass society and therefore viewed in the same negative light. For sociological reflections on mass consumption in the Fifties and Sixties see: Francesco Alberoni, "L'evoluzione attuale delle strutture Sociali e la teoria del consumo: verso una reinterpretazione", *Rivista Internazionale Di Scienze Sociali*, vol. 43, no. 5/6 (December 1972): 393-412, who investigates how, from a sociological viewpoint, the modification of social structure affects consumption; Guido Baglioni, Bruno Manghi, "Societa' del benessere e conflitti politici", *Studi Di Sociologia*, vol. 4, no. 1 (January-March 1966): 1-27; Italo Vaccarini, "Metodo esistenziale, teoria sociologica e interpretazioni della società dei consumi", *Studi Di Sociologia*, vol. 35, no. 2 (April-June 1997): 187-203, who describes sociological interpretative models of consumer society. To develop instead the concept of mass culture in both the Fifties and the Sixties see: Ernest Van den Haag, "Reflections on Mass Culture", *The American Scholar*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 227-34; Adelheid Von Saldern, "The Hidden History of Mass Culture", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, vol. 37, no. 37 (Spring 1990): 32-40, states that in the Fifties and Sixties, when mass culture became dominant, it appeared that this had happened without any severe clash with working-class culture. See also Victoria De Grazia, Paola Di Stefano, "La sfida dello 'star system': l'americanismo nella formazione della cultura di massa in Europa, 1920-1965", *Quaderni Storici*, vol. 20, no. 58 (January 1985): 95-133; Norman Jacobs, "Introduction to the Issue 'Mass Culture and Mass Media'", *Daedalus*, vol. 89, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 273-277. Finally consider the reflection that Hannah Arendt, "Society and Culture", *Daedalus*, vol. 89, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 278 did in 1960 on the masses of the Fifties and Sixties that entails a contrast between the modern masses and those shaped by totalitarian regimes: «mass culture and mass society (the very terms were still a sign of reprobation a few years ago, implying that mass society was a depraved form of society and mass culture a contradiction in terms) are considered by almost everybody today as something with which we must come to terms, and in which we must discover some "positive" aspects – if only because mass culture is the culture of a mass society. No doubt mass society and mass culture are interrelated phenomena. Mass society comes about when the "the mass of the population has become incorporated into society". Since society originally comprehended those parts of the population which disposed of leisure time and the wealth which goes with it, mass society does indeed indicate a new order in which the masses have been liberated "from the burden of physically exhausting labor". Historically as well as conceptually, therefore, mass society has been preceded by society, and society is no more a generic term than is mass society; it too can be dated and described historically. It is older, to be sure, than mass society, but not older than the modern age». In Ibid., 286, she wrote against mass culture in the Fifties claiming that «The disappearance of culture in a mass society […] comes about when we have a consumers' society which, in so far as it produces only for consumption, does not need a public wordily space whose existence is independent of an outside the sphere of its life process. In other words, a consumers' society does not know how to take care of the world and the things which belong to it: the society's own chief attitude toward objects, the attitude of consumption, spells ruin to everything it touches». For the entire article see: Hannah Arendt, "Society and Culture", *Daedalus*, vol. 89, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 278-87.

1.2.2 Artistic and cultural relations

The historical, economic and political factors mentioned thus far, coupled with USIS's cultural propagandistic activity, were not the only ones that focused Italian attention on US art from 1942 to 1962. Seeing the US as saviors made Italy turn its back on Paris and France because it had compromised with Nazism. Decades of artistic exchange between Italy and the US followed, as parallel developments encouraged the two countries to look at each other from an artistic perspective, although the US held the leadership role because of a multiplicity of factors: from the increase in economic benefits experienced by US museums in the Fifties, to the development of the US art market system, to the government's interest in the New York contemporary art scene of the Forties and the Fifties. This last factor in particular turned out to be the most influential: US diplomacy promoted Abstract Expressionism, a current based mainly on the expression of inner feelings through large-scale paintings and sculpture, as a unique and clear artistic image to defeat communism and to thus establish US primacy at all levels[77].

[77] For Italy turning its back on Paris and France because of the Nazi connection refer to Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, *Roma-New York, 1948-1964*, op. cit., 17. For the Nazi occupation of Paris in the Forties see Allan Mitchell, *Nazi Paris: the history of an occupation, 1940-1944* (New York, Oxford: Berghahan books, 2010): 151; Ted Gottfried, *Nazi Germany: the face of tyranny* (Minneapolis: Kar-Ben Publishing, 2004): 79. For New York's supplanting of Paris in art leadership in those years see Serge Guilbaut, *How New York stole the idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, freedom and the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Thomas B. Hess, *Abstract painting: background and American phase* (New York: Viking Press, 1951): 99; Lucy Lippard, *Ad Reinhardt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981): 44. For New York as a flourishing art capital in the Forties see Dorothea Eimert, *Art of the 20th century* (New York: Parkstone Press International, 2013): 225. On the American art market system: while in the Forties and the Fifties there were approximately twenty art galleries in New York, it developed from the end of the Fifties onward, especially in the Sixties with the advent of Pop Art and then of Minimalism, see Diana Crane, *The transformation of the Avant-gard: the New York art world:1940-1985* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987): 2-3; Eric Homberger, *New York City* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2003): 206-210; Mary Lublin, *American galleries in the Twentieth Century: from Stieglitz to Castelli*, pp. 159-160 in Vv.Aa., *American Art in the Twentieth Century: painting and sculpture 1913-1933* (New York: Te Neues Pub. Co, 1993). For an overall idea of the major art events in the US and Europe from the mid-Fifties and the Sixties refer to Thomas E. Crow, *The rise of the Sixties: American and European Art in the era of dissent* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 2004): 190-193. For the museums' federal support see Catherine Dossin, *The rise and fall of American art, 1940s-1980s: a geopolitics of Western art worlds* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015): 116-118. For the features of Abstract Expressionism refer to Joan M. Marter, *Abstract Expressionism: the international context* (New Jersey: Rutgers University, 2007): 110; Jacob Baal-Teshuva, *Rothko. 1903-1970. Pictures as drama* (Köln: Taschen, 2003): 10; Sunil Manghani, *Image studies: theory and practice* (London, New York: Routledge, 2012): 165; Robert P. Marzec, *The Mid-Atlantic region* (Westport: Greenport Press, 2004): 57. On the tight relationship between cultural diplomacy and Abstract Expressionism see Nancy Jachec, "A partnership of equals: Kennedy, the European Union and the end of Abstract Expressionism as an Atlanticist Aesthetic", *Third text*, vol. 16, no. 2, (u. month, 2002): 105-

The American artist Jackson Pollock was the leader of a current – Abstract Expresssionism – that was developing on the other side of the ocean in a European vein (Informal Art). Paying attention to signs, gestures and matter, Informal Art held commonalities with American Abstract Expressionism. Recognized from the very beginning of the postwar, Pollock had a crucial year in 1942: he received a studio visit by James Johnson Sweeney, American art critic and member of the Consultive Committee of the Museum of Modern Art in New York (founded in 1929) together with Howard Putzel, assistant of the art collector Peggy Guggenheim (who, as will be evident in this thesis, proved to be a key figure in the art exchanges between Italy and the US). Pollock's artwork such as the never-found-again *Collage*, showed in 1943 in a collective exhibit on collage at Art of This Century, Peggy Guggenheim's gallery that had opened the previous year. On that occasion Sweeney wrote an essay in the exhibition catalogue in which he called Pollock's volcanic and explosive energy – coming from his inner impulses – exactly what American art needed, in contrast to the normal, careful American painters. The next year Pollock presented *Stenographic Figure*, 1943, recognized for its revolutionary nature, at the Spring Salon at Art of this Century. More convinced of the quality of Pollock's work, Peggy Guggenheim then offered to make him the first American artist to exhibit again in a solo show at her gallery in November 1943. From then on, Abstract Expressionism established itself, growing in its importance and number of artists, despite the American artistic situation that, until 1945, continued to be conditioned by the existing relationships with European art currents born in between the two World Wars (e.g., Surrealism)[78].

118; Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: art, literature, and American cultural diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015): 10-11.

[78] Jackson Pollock was the leading protagonist of American Abstract Expressionism and of the School of Action Painting in New York. For more on Pollock as the leader of Abstract Expressionism refer to Francis Frascina, *Pollock and after: the critical debate* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000): 330; Deborah Solomon, *Jackson Pollock: a biography* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001): 48; Stefano Bortoli, *L'America di Pollock*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Museo Correr, Mestre, Centro Culturale Candiani, 23rd March-30th June 2002 (Milano: Skira, 2002): 71. For further developments on Pollock and his way of painting see Luciano P. Buemi, Roberto Bellucci, Francesca Bettini, *Alchimia di Jackson Pollock. Viaggio all'interno della materia*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Fondazione Peggy Guggenheim, 14th February-6th Aprile 2015 (Firenze: Edifir, 2019); Luca Beatrice, David Breslin, Carrie Springer, *Pollock e la Scuola di New York*, exh. cat. – Roma, Complesso del Vittoriano-Ala Brasini, 9th October 2018-24th February 2019 (Roma: Artemisia, 2018). On Sweeney: James Johnson Sweeney was an American art critic who in 1942 was a member of the Consultive Committee of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). He would become director of MoMA in 1945. On Sweeney, Pollock and Peggy Guggenheim's relationship and on the Pollock studio visit see Susan Davison, Philip Rylands, Dieter Bogner, *Peggy Guggenheim & Frederick Kiesler: the story of Art of this century*, exh. cat. – Venice, Peggy Guggenheim Collection, 10th October 2003-9th January 2005

(Venice: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004): 296; Robert C. Hobbs, Lee Krasner, *Lee Krasner* (New York: Abbeville Publishing Group, 1993): 112. On Sweeney as a member of the Consultive Committee of the Museum of Modern Art refer to Harriet S. Bee, Michelle Elligott, *Art in our time: a chronicle of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2004): 248. For Howard Putzel as Peggy Guggenheim's assistant in the Forties refer to Doris Berger, *Projected art history: biopics, celebrity culture, and the popularizing of American art* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014): 124; Caroline A. Jones, *Eyesight alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the bureaucratization of the senses* (Chicago, London: the University of Chicago Press): 211. For Pollock's *Collage* exhibited in the collective exhibit at Peggy Guggenheim's gallery refer to Rona Cran, *Collage in Twentieth-Century art, literature, and culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016): 27; Francesco Tedeschi, *La Scuola di New York: origini, vicende, protagonisti* (Milano: V&P, 2009): 71-79. On *Art of this Century*: Peggy Guggenheim opened the gallery in October 1942 where she displayed the artwork that she collected since 1938. Sweeney was one of her art advisors in New York together with Alfred H. Barr, Jr.. For these and further details see Francis V. O' Connor, *Jackson Pollock* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1967): 27. On Pollock's never-found-again collage refer to Stefano Bortoli, *L'America di Pollock*, op. cit., 30; Vincenzo Sanfo, Stefano Bortoli, Stefano Cecchetto, *Jackson Pollock: the Irascibles and the New York School*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Museo Correr, 23rd March-30th June 2002 (New York: Rizzoli, 2002): 30. On the Spring Salon: the Spring Salon for young artists, in which Pollock showed *Stenographic Figure,* was held at Peggy Guggenheim's gallery from 18th May to 26th June 1943. Alfred H. Barr Jr., Marcel Duchamp, Jimmy Ernst, Max Ernst, Piet Mondrian, James T. Soby and James J. Sweeney composed the jury, together with Peggy Guggenheim and Howard Putzel who both represented the gallery, see Francis V. O' Connor, *Jackson Pollock*, op. cit., 27. On the revolutionary nature of *Stenographic Figure* that the art critics recognized refer to Robert Coates, "At Art of this Century", *The New Yorker*, vol. 40, no. 19 (20th November 1943): 97-98. For Sweeney's essay on Pollock refer to James J. Sweeney, foreword to *Jackson Pollock: paintings and drawing*, exh. cat. – New York, Art of this Century, 9th–27th November 1943 (New York: Art of This Century, 1943), reprinted in Francis V. O' Connor, Eugene V. Thaw, *Jackson Pollock: a catalogue raisonné of paintings, drawings, and other works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978): 230. On the commonalities and differences between Informal Art and Abstract Expressionism refer to Roberto Pasini, *L'Informale. Stati Uniti, Europa, Italia* (Bologna: Clueb, 2003). For further details on the term Informal Art see instead *La questione terminologica*, pp. 40-44 in Ibid.. On European Informal art refer to Enrico Crispolti, *L'Informale: storia e poetica. Europa 1940-1951, origini e primi svolgimenti* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2018); Enrico Crispolti, *L'Informale: antologia di poetica 1943-1961* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2017); Maria E. Repetti, *Jean Fautrier e gli Otages: l'Informale europeo tra segno e materia* (Novi Ligure: Litho commerciale, 2016). See also Luca Massimo Barbero's documentary on European Informal art entitled *Luca Massimo Barbero racconta Informale: la poetica della materia. Dubuffet, Fautrier, Fontana, Burri, Gruppo Cobra* (Roma: La Repubblica-L'Espresso, 2014). On Abstract Expressionism see Irving Sandler, *Abstract expressionism: the triumph of American painting* (London: Pall Mall, 1970). On American art's connections with Surrealism in the Forties refer to Isabelle Dervaux, *Surrealism USA*, exh. cat. – New York, National Academy Museum, 5th June-25th September 2005 (New York: National Academy Museum, 2005): 54; Vv.Aa., *Abstract and surrealist American art: fifty-eight annual exhibition of American paintings and sculpture*, exh. cat. – Chicago, 6th November 1947-11th January 1948 (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1947); Vv.Aa., *Les surrealistes en exil et les debuts de l'École de New York*, exh. cat. – Strasbourg, Musée d'art moderne et contemporain, 12th May-27th August 2000 (U.p.: Artes Graficas, 2000); Sidney Janis, *Abstract and Surrealist art in America* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944). For 1942 as a crucial year for the art system see Adachiara Zevi, *Arte USA del Novecento* (Roma: Carocci, 2000): 87-112.

From 1946 onward, each of the artists of the School of New York (as that group of Abstract Expressionist painters was then named), produced his signature elements: Jackson Pollock's dripping, Mark Rothko's multiforms, Clyfford Still's field paintings, Bruce Newman's zip painting, Robert Motherwell's elegies for the Spanish Republic, Willem De Kooning's women and places, Franz Kline's black and white brushes. The group also started to be known in Italy where several factors favored its spread, especially in Rome: the creation of Gruppo Forma 1, a group inspired by international Abstract Art and willing to mediate it with Realism; the return to Italy of antifascist art critic Lionello Venturi, after his exile in the US due to his refusal to swear allegiance to the Fascist regime in 1931, who went back to teach at the Università di Roma from 1945-1955 where he promoted an international perspective that would also become fundamental for the art critics' debate on Pop Art in Italy; the distribution of American magazines such as *Life* and *Vogue* in Italy that showcased the protagonists of Abstract Expressionism, in particular Pollock, De Kooning and Kline, thus making the artistic environment aware of the New York Avant-guard; the increasing interest of several art gallerists and artists in plastic US experiences (e.g., Gaspero del Corso and Irene Brin)[79].

[79] In 1950 Robert Motherwell labeled the group of painters recognized as Abstract Expressionists as the New York School: New York was the city in which the trend was most prominent and the word 'school' indicated a stylistic similarity, despite the strong individual features of each painter. Motherwell found French Surrealism and Symbolism to be their common root; additionally he indicated the artists' emotional side. In 1952, the American art critic Harold Rosenberg labeled the way of painting of some of the artists belonging to the New York School as Action Painting, referring in particular to Pollock, Kline and de Kooning. For this and further information on the New York School and its protagonists refer to *The New York School*, pp. 76-81 in Robert Motherwell, *Collected Writings* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1999); Francesco Tedeschi, *La Scuola di New York. Origini, vicende, protagonisti*, op. cit., 131-179; Luca Beatrice, David Breslin, Carrie Springer, *Pollock e la Scuola di New York*, op. cit.; Flaminio Gualdoni, *Scuola di New York* (Milano: Skira, 2007); Viviana Birolli, *La Scuola di New York* (Milano: Abscondita, 2007); Vincenzo Sanfo, Stefano Bortoli, Stefano Cecchetto, *Jackson Pollock: the Irascibles and the New York School*, op. cit.; Dore Ashton, *The New York School. A cultural reckoning* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973). For Rosenberg's label 'Action Painting' refer to Harold Rosenberg, "American Action Painters", *Art News*, vol. 51, no. 8 (December 1952): 22-23; 48-50. For the facts that helped to spread Abstract Expressionism see Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, *Roma-New York, 1948-1964*, op. cit., 17-18. On Gruppo Forma 1: the group's name comes from the eponymous art review *Forma* that published just one issue in March 1947 in Rome. The artists who composed Gruppo Forma 1 were: Achille Perilli, Carla Accardi, Piero Dorazio, Ugo Attardi, Mino Guerrini, Pietro Consagra, Antonio Sanfilippo, and Giulio Turcato. They wrote a manifesto that showed a shared vision, see Carla Accardi, Ugo Attardi, Pietro Consagra, Piero Dorazio, Mino Guerrini, Achille Perilli, Antonio Sanfilippo, Giulio Turcato, "Manifesto di Forma 1", *Forma. Mensile di arti figurative*, vol. 1, no. 1 (April 1947): unpaginated. For more on the artists of Gruppo Forma 1 and on the group itself refer to Vv.Aa., *Forma 1 et ses artistes: Accardi, Consagra, Dorazio, Perilli, Sanfilippo, Turcato*, exh. cat. – Liegi, MAMAC, 18th October-14th December 2003 (Roma: Gangemi, 2003)-previously in

The spread of such new art intensified after the Marshall Plan enactment in April 1948: the economic and humanitarian aid came together with support for cultural initiatives abroad, and this situation, together with the re-election of Truman in 1948, privileged the export of American art. In the fourth point of his agenda to support cultural initiatives, Truman wrote that he aimed to strengthen the alliance with Western Europe and was willing to gain consensus especially within the radical Italian cultural world through the diffusion of a tolerant and free model. Such an image of American Art helped reinforce an image of New Liberalism, a doctrine in which Truman believed, among radical left thinkers who had a European aesthetic sensitivity. In parallel with such a spread was the growth of the US art system's concentration on Italian art, and both aspects took place in art exhibits: the American Pavilion at Venice Biennale of 1948 exhibited almost eighty American artworks, an occasion that not only introduced Italy to Abstract Expressionism, but also let Americans see Italian art more closely. Indeed the Biennale was followed in 1949 by the exhibit *Twentieth Century Italian Art* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York where, in addition to Futurist and Metaphysical artwork, there was artwork from the Roman and Milanese art scene of the Forties, especially Informal Art[80].

Rome Vv.Aa., *Forma 1 e i suoi artisti: Accardi, Consagra, Dorazio, Perilli. Sanfilippo, Turcato*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria comunale d'arte moderna e contemporanea, 19th December-28th February 2001 (Roma: Galleria comunale d'arte moderna e contemporanea, 2000); Giorgio Cortenova, *Forma 1*, exh. cat. – Parma, Galleria d'arte Niccoli, 1st October-15th November 1994 (Parma: Galleria d'arte Niccoli, 1994); Vv.Aa., *Mostra del gruppo Forma 1*, exh. cat. – Todi, Palazzo del Popolo, u.d.o.b. July-u.d.o.e. August 1976 (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976). For Venturi's fascist refusal see Giovanni Taurasi, "Il dignitoso rifiuto. Lionello Venturi, l'intellettuale che disse no al fascismo", *Annale dell'Istituto storico di Modena*, u. vol., no. 1 (u. month 2011): 36-42; Giovanni Taurasi, *Lionello Venturi intellettuale antifascista* (Carpi: Nuovagrafica scarl, 2006). For Venturi's teaching at the Università di Roma starting in 1945 refer to Giulio C. Argan, "Lionello Venturi", *Belfagor*, vol. 13, no. 5 (September 1958): 555-569. For Venturi's promotion of American art see Lionello Venturi, "America d'oggi", *La Nuova Europa* (18th March 1945): 9. For Pollock's images in *Vogue* and *Life* see his artwork in the background of the models' photoshoot by Cecil Beaton, in *Vogue* 1st March 1951; refer also to Vv.Aa., "Jackson Pollock: is he the greatest living painter in the United States?", *Life*, u. vol., no. 27 (8th August 1949): 42-45. On the art galleries that opened up to US plastic experiences: numerous gallerists were interested in US or Italian artists who had connections with some new American art experiences. All these gallerists are discussed in depth especially in the second and third chapter of this thesis. The intellectuals Gaspero del Corso and Irene Brin opened the gallery L'Obelisco. For more on L'Obelisco see Chapter two of this thesis.

[80] The New Liberalism born after the Second World War was a different type compared to the one in Theodore Roosevelt's presidency (1901-1909). New Liberalism caused the rise of the middle class, the equitable distribution of the abundance the US had in the Forties after the Second World War and the strong belief in individualism. For more on Truman and New American Liberalism see Gary A. Donaldson, *Truman defeats Dewey* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015): 22; Mark S. Byrnes, *The Truman years, 1945-1953* (London, New York: Routledge, 2014): 30; Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal, Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*, op. cit.; *La scuola di New York e la dottrina neoliberista*, pp.

A further element that shows the connection between Italy and the US was the 1950 opening of the Catherine Viviano gallery with the exhibit *5 Italian Painters*, privileging Italian artwork from the very beginning and successfully including them in relevant art collections (e.g., in New York, at Guggenheim, at the Museum of Modern Art and in Philadelphia in the Barnes Collection). From the beginning of the Fifties onward, American Art Museums were able to expand their collections and to organize more exhibits thanks to federal support that allowed consistent tax breaks for charitable and non-profit organizations as museums themselves were recognized in 1953. As a result, museums received huge donations from corporations and private donors, in particular after the tax deduction law was enacted, a fiscal system that contributed to the increase of US art leadership[84].

104-109 in Francesco Tedeschi, *La Scuola di New York. Origini, vicende, protagonisti*, op. cit.; Arthur Schlesinger, *The Vital Center* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949). On the twist between Abstract Expressionism and cultural diplomacy see Eva Cockroft, "Abstract Expressionism, weapon of the Cold War", *Artforum*, vol. 12, no. 10 (June 1974): 39-41; *Jackson Pollock and the Americanization of Europe*, pp. 201-231 in Jeremy Lewison, *Jackson Pollock. New Approaches* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1998); Maz Kozloff, "American painting during the Cold War", *Artforum*, vol. 11, no. 9 (May 1973): 43-54; Nancy Jachec, *The philosophy and politics of Abstract Expressionism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For the artists who participated in the exhibition *Twentieth Century Italian Art* see James T. Soby, Alfred H. Barr, *Twentieth Century Italian art*, exh. cat. – New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 29th June-18th September 1949 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949). On the American Pavilion at the 1948 Venice Biennale see Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Padiglione degli Stati Uniti*, pp. 299-301 in Vv.Aa., *XXIV Biennale di Venezia. Catalogo* (Venice: Edizioni Serenissima, 1948). On the presence of Abstract Expressionists in the 1950 Venice Biennale refer to Alfred H. Barr Jr., *Gorky, Pollock, de Kooning*, pp. 392-393 in Vv.Aa., *XXV Biennale di Venezia. Catalogo* (Venezia: Alfieri, 1950). On European Leftist thought refer to Donald Sassoon, *One hundred years of Socialism. The West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (London: Tauris, 1996): 209-210.

[84] For more on the exchanges of artists between Italy and the US, together with the US art leadership, refer to Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, *Roma-New York, 1948-1964*, op. cit., 19; Francesco Tedeschi, *L'America vista dall'Italia: appunti di un dialogo ininterrotto* pp. 177-195 in Vv.Aa., Domenico Piraina, Sandrino Schiffini, *New York Renaissance. Masterworks from the Whitney Museum of American Art*, exh. cat. – Milano, Palazzo Reale, 21st March-22nd September 2002 (Milano: Electa, 2002); Francesco Tedeschi, Federica Boragina, Francesca Pola, *New York, New York: Arte italiana. La riscoperta dell'America*, exh. cat. – Milano, Museo del Novecento, Gallerie d'Italia, 13th April-17th September 2017 (Milano: Electa, 2017). On Catherine Viviano Gallery: the gallerist Viviano was born in Italy and grew up in Chicago where she studied at the Art Institute's school. With the activity of the gallery (that closed in 1970) she became an important art dealer and art consultant. For more on the Catherine Viviano Gallery see Vv.Aa., "Catherine Viviano, 92, art dealer and expert", *The New York Times* (9th January 1992): 23; Davide Colombo, "Un caso singolare: il mercato americano di Leonardo Cremonini durante gli anni Cinquanta", *Ricerche di confine*, vol. 8, no. 1 (December 2017): 21-46; for the exhibit *Five Italian Painters* refer to Vv.AA., *Five Italian Painters*, exh. cat. – New York, Catherino Viviano Gallery, 1950 (New York: Catherine Viviano Gallery, 1950); Vv.Aa., "Five Italian painters", *Art News*, vol. 48, no. 10 (u. month 1950): 49-50; Unsigned, "Italian Art opens new gallery here", *New York Times* (28th January

With the headship of the US art system in the background in the Fifties, the State Department selected Abstract Expressionism to reach US diplomacy's goals in Italy and several steps made this possible: first, in 1952 Truman established a Committee on Fine Arts in order to develop the role of art in diplomatic relations, thus redressing governmental agencies' scarce understanding of art and increasing the government's scant interest in funding art; second, Eisenhower's presidential mandate in 1953 that lasted until 1961 and included a program for the visual arts that opened up the most important period for the export of Abstract Expressionism. Truman's preparation of terrain for the government's interaction with fine arts made Eisenhower's mandate active in the endorsement of Abstract Expressionism as the world aesthetic. Pollock in particular was the artist judged to have the most efficacious political consequences, the one who best embodied political European values, thanks to the similarities with the European artistic situation: in 1956 the International Council (IC) at the Museum of Modern Art, founded in 1952 and composed of members chosen by USIA, assessed the political efficacy of previous exhibits held at the museum[xc].

From the mid-Fifties, however, new art trends were taking place in both the US and Italy that emerged more evidently at the end of the

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1950): 11. On the connection with the US refer also to the Italian art review *Arti Visive* that showed interest in American art from the beginning of the Fifties. For more on *Arti Visive* see Barbara Drudi, Giacomo Marcucci, *Arti Visive 1952-1958* (Prato: Marcucci, 2011); Federica Ellena, "Testo e immagine nella prima serie di 'Arti Visive' (1952-1954). Modelli, obiettivi e strategie di una rivista militante tra arte non figurativa e civiltà del suo tempo", *Studi di Memofonte*, u. vol., no. 12 (December 2014): 223-244. On the benefits of the US fiscal system for American art museums see Deirdre Robson, "A law of 'unintended' consequences? United States Federal Taxation and the market for Modern art in the United States", *Journal for art market studies*, vol. 3, no. 1 (u. month 2019): unpaginated; *The American fascination with Italy*, pp. 68-71 in Catherine Dossin, *The rise and fall of American art, 1940s-1980s: a geopolitics of Western art worlds* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

[xc] For the establishment of a Committee on Fine Arts in 1952 and for Pollock's evaluation by the IC at the Museum of Modern Art refer to Nancy Jachec, "'A partnership of equals': Kennedy, the European Union and the end of Abstract Expressionism as an Atlanticist Aesthetic", op. cit.. For more on Eisenhower's foreign policy refer to David B. Capitanchik, *The Eisenhower Presidency and American Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969): 22-30; Saki Dockrill, *Eisenhower's New-look National Security Policy, 1953-61* (London: Macmillan, London, 1996): 150-151. For Eisenhower's program for visual arts refer to Nancy Jachec, "'A partnership of equals': Kennedy, the European Union and the end of Abstract Expressionism as an Atlanticist Aesthetic", op. cit.. For further developments on Eisenhower's presidency refer to Louis Galambos, *Eisenhower: becoming the leader of the free world* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018); Jean E. Smith, *Eisenhower in war and peace* (New York: Random house, 2012). For the USIA's improvement of the US's cultural image abroad refer to Gary O. Larson, *The reluctant patron. The United States Government and the Arts, 1945-1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983): 110. For the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art and Abstract Expressionism refer to Robert Gordon, *The International Council of the Museum of Modern Art. The First Forty years* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1993): 127.

Fifties and the beginning of the Sixties, before giving way to Pop Art: Neo-Dada in the US and Nuova Figurazione in Italy. Although different, these artistic stances tried to respond to the new socio-economic and cultural changes of the postwar, intending to break with Abstract Art. Their affirmation brought analogies in their aesthetic together with the beginning of Kennedy's Presidency in January 1961, which curtailed Abstract Expressionism's success after USIA recommended that Kennedy introduce new artists in representing the US. In particular Jasper Johns, one of the protagonists of Neo-Dada, was the artist that USIA recommended in order to showcase a wider spectrum of American Art. Major Italian exhibits at the beginning of the Sixties showed Italy's appreciation of this new type of art that went beyond Informal art and that was looking for new perspectives[83].

[83] Neo-Dada was a movement of young American artists who included modern materials and icons from popular imagery. They were interested in the representation of the common object. The coinage of the term and the debate on whether it was appropriate for the artists was huge in the art critics's discussion. The main question revolved around the re-interpretation of Dada hints in the Neo-Dadaist artists, as many of them denied the connection with Dada. For this and for more on the artists part of Neo-Dada, the genealogy of the term and similarities with the current of New Realism, born in France at the beginning of the Sixties, refer to David Hopkins, *Avant-garde/Neo-avant-guarde* (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2006): 77-85; Alex Potts, *Experiments in Modern Realism: world making, politics and the everyday in postwar European and American art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Catherine Craft, *An audience of artists: Dada, Neo-Dada and the emergence of Abstract Expressionism* (Chicago, London: University of Chicaco Press, 2012); Susan Hapgood, *Neo-Dada redefining art, 1958-1962* (New York: American Federation of Arts in association with Universe Pub., 1994); Maurizio Calvesi, *Il Neo-Dada* – Conf. Proceedings, Roma-Valle Giulia: Galleria Nazionale d'arte moderna, 28th January 1973 (Roma-Valle Giulia: Galleria Nazionale d'arte moderna, 1973). For a wider debate on the term 'Neo-Dada,' for the development of its discussion that in the Sixties overlapped with that of Pop Art refer to Gerald Norland, "Neo-Dada goes West", *Arts Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 9 (May 1962): 102-103; Barbara Rose, "Dada then and now", *Arts International*, vol. 7, no. 1 (January 1963): 23-28; Edward T. Kelly, "Neo-Dada: a critique of Pop Art", *Art Journal*, vol. 23, no. 3 (Spring 1964): 192-201; Susan Hapgood, *Neo-Dada: redefining art, 1958-1962*, exh. cat. – (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1994); on Neo-Dada in Italy in the Sixties refer to Luigi Fontanella, "Il Neo-Dada in Italia negli anni 60", *Arte e poesia: rivista di arte e poesia contemporanea*, u. vol., no. 11-14 (u. month. 1971): 64-75. On Italian Nuova Figurazione, the changes from Abstract Art and the development of the debate until Pop Art, refer to Alfio Borghese, *Dall'astrazione alla nuova figurazione: 1959-1969*, exh. cat. – Frosinone, Villa Comunale, 12th-27th March 2019 (Frosinone: Villa Comunale, 2019); Maurizio Calvesi, Rossella Siligato, *Roma anni '60: al di là della pittura*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 20th December 1990-15th February 1991 (Roma: Carte Segrete 1990): 2. For a wider debate and more references on the Nuova Figurazione current, together with the genealogy of the term, refer to the philological discussion of the term 'Pop Art' in this chapter. For more on the exhibits that showed interest in Nuova Figurazione see Chapter two and Chapter three of this thesis.

1.3 Defining the term Pop Art: art reviews, newspapers and magazines

The history of the term Pop Art is looked at within the historical framework analyzed in the previous paragraph and through art reviews, newspapers and magazines that documented this artistic current in the years 1956 - 1972[54]. The main evidence found is that Pop Art was imported from the US, showing once again the supremacy that America held, not only politically and economically, but in the artistic sphere as well. In order to confirm such evidence, four levels that chronologically overlap slightly in the discussion must be distinguished: in first place, Pop Art and its relationship with the Italian connotation of *arte popolare* and mass society (1956-1963); then, Pop Art and its connection with British Popular culture and with communism (1962-1964); to follow, the art critics' debate after the 1964 Venice Biennale (1964-1968); and finally, the attempt to define Pop Art either as an Avant-guard movement or as a movement (1966-1968). To complete the terminological investigation, the analysis of dictionaries offers a counterpart, documenting the appearance of the term Pop Art in everyday language, changing the meaning of what used to be defined *arte popolare*.

To better comprehend the overall Pop Art discussion, instead, one premise about the critical historical context must be established: in the Sixties art critics attempted to redefine their role on one the hand, by detaching their positions from the philosophical tradition, and on the other hand overcoming artistic idealism, the inheritance of Benedetto Croce's theoretical role in Italy[55]. Such a situation oriented art critics to embrace eclettism and interdisciplinarity, both results of the meeting between academic contexts and foreign artistic research, American in particular (e.g., *Action Painting*): it followed that art commentators not

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[54] 1956 is the first year that Pop Art in the UK is associated with the Independent Group through the exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery, London, see, Vv.Aa., *This is tomorrow today*, exh. cat. – London, Whitechapel gallery, 9th August-9th September 1956 (London: Whitechapel gallery, 1956). On the exhibition see also Brian Wallis, Lawrence Alloway, *This is tomorrow today: the Independent Group and British Pop Art* (London: P.S.1, Institute for Art and Urban Resources, 1987). 1972 is the year in which Renato Guttuso painted *I funerali di Togliatti*. This thesis wants to consider the works of Italian Pop artists up until the beginning of the Seventies because, as will be shown in chapter two, at that time both the style and content of the artwork starts to radically change.

[55] To develop such an art historical critique see in particular Luciano Anceschi, "Della critica letteraria e artistica in generale", *Rivista di estetica*, vol. 4, no. 2 (May-August 1959): 178-196; Francesca Alfano Miglietti, Giancarlo Politi, *Arte in Italia, 1960-1985* (Milano: Flash Art Book, 1988): 26; Renato De Fusco, *La critica discorde* pp. 20-43 in Harold Rosenberg, *La tradizione del nuovo* (Milano, Feltrinelli: 1964). On the art critical context and the conference held in the Sixties see in particular the Masters thesis of Federica Boragina, *I convegni di storia e critica d'arte in Italia negli anni Sessanta* (Milano: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2014).

only came from several disciplines, from poetry, to philosophy and literature, but also that their reflections shaped the Pop Art term under different perspectives, enriching and confusing the discussion. Some hints given in the debate of the term Pop Art can be explained only by taking into account both the art critics' context, developed also in the several conferences held in the Sixties (e.g., at Verucchio)[86], and the term's reflections.

1.3.1 The term *Pop Art*: how it relates to the Italian concept of *arte popolare* and mass society (1956-1963)

A first analysis of the appearance of the term Pop Art in the time span considered shows its absence in Italian art reviews (e.g., *Appia Antica*, *Arti Visive*) from 1956 to 1962, revealing the strong interest for Italian *arte popolare*, meaning local taste and adherence to local tradition[87]. The concept behind *arte popolare* in Italy clashed with what Pop Art meant and stood for in the US at that time; such contrast not only was the origin of a discussion among Italian Pop artists on whether that new term could represent their art but also among art critics after 1964 and among Italian

[86] On Verucchio's conferences see paragraph 1.4.4.1. in this chapter.

[87] There are many art reviews that flourished in Italy from the end of the Fifties to the beginning of the Seventies. This thesis investigates not only those focused only on visual arts, but also on literature that detected and examined the artistic scene nationally and internationally. In this chapter the only reviews reported are those that documented the appearance of the term Pop Art and its related extension (i.e., Popular art) and contrapositions (i.e., Italian concept of *arte popolare*). However, some meaningful reviews that show a lack of interest on the term Pop Art are quoted either in the text or in the footnotes. Most of the reviews active within the debate on Pop Art were translated into English. Therefore, unless otherwise indicated, all the English quotes within the text are as published in the review. The author of this thesis wrote the English translation of Italian quotes, contained in the footnotes. To have a complete overview of the Italian art reviews founded from the end of the Fifties until the beginning of the Seventies, refer in particular to the following texts: Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2017): 77-92; Giorgio Maffei, Patrizio Peterlini, *Riviste d'arte contemporanea d'Avanguardia. Gli anni sessanta e settanta in Italia* (Milano: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2005); Gianni C. Sciolla, *Riviste d'arte fra Ottocento ed età contemporanea. Forme, modelli, funzioni* (Milano: Skira, 2003). *Appia antica. Atlante di arte nuova*, a contemporary annual art review published in Rome from 1959 to 1960, initially directed by Liliana Sisiti and then by Angela Maltese, documented the activity of Emilio Villa's gallery. Although the review paid a lot of attention to the American art trend, such as the School of New York and the Italian Informal current, it did not show any connection with the term 'Pop Art,' nor did it comment on the concept of popular art in the US. For this and more information on the review see: Giorgia Gastaldon, "Emilio Villa e l'esperienza di 'Appia Antica'", *Studi di Memofonte*, u.v., no. 13 (December 2014): 245-261; Gastone Novelli, *Le riviste d'avanguardia in Europa*, pp. 161-162 in Vv.Aa., *Almanacco Letterario Bompiani* (Milano: Bompiani, 1959); Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei*, op. cit., 89.

linguistic purists in the Seventies[88]. *Documento Sud* seems to be the art review that best embodied the specific idea of Naples' *arte popolare*, an art that strived for the experimentalism of Central Europe, a freedom of form and a new depiction of popular taste as well as of the Southern tradition, and that aimed at elevating *arte popolare* to an international level. At the end of the Fifties, *Documento Sud*, published in Naples from 1959 to 1961, was preparing the ground for the Neo-avant-guard season: with the versatile intellectual Luca Castellano as its director, the review focused on art and avant-guard culture, which was not surprising since many of its authors were related to Gruppo 58, the Neapolitan Neo-avant-guard. The review intended to bring the art of the South to an international level and to stand as a bridge among the several avant-guard experiences; thus, it is not surprising that the authors were paying close attention to the meaning of *arte popolare*[89]. In contrast, the definition of the term

[88] On art critics' discussion see the section dedicated to their reactions after the 1964 Venice Biennale in this chapter. Regarding Italian purists instead, Alberto Arbasino, expert on the Italian language, reflected upon protests that readers showed toward the use of foreign terms. He claimed that the choice between Italianization and a whole assimilation of foreign words is still a decisive matter. Pop Art instead of *arte popolare* is one of the words indicated as an example. See Alberto Arbasino, "La bella lingua degli italiani", *Corriere della sera*, (9th February 1973): 3. In another article Arbasino claims that the Italian translation of Pop Art that according to him is *arte popolare*, means artisan art, which is anonymous, folkloristic, universal, and ahistorical, and therefore does not reflect the real meaning of Pop Art, that indicated a precise movement flourished in New York with Rauschenberg, Oldenburg and Warhol, see Alberto Arbasino, "I puristi all'ultimo sangue", *Corriere della sera* (4th September 1973): 3. In a letter sent and published on *Corriere della Sera*, Arbasino affirmed that about 50 million people did not know Italian; thus they said Pop Art instead of *arte popolare*. Such a letter was against the so-called purist Paolo Monelli's rambling about the contamination about Italian language, see Alberto Arbasino, "Lettere al corriere", *Corriere della Sera* (14th August 1973): 5.

[89] *Documento Sud. Rassegna di arte e di cultura di avanguardia*, art review published in Naples from 1959 to 1961. «Documento Sud is the first major magazine linked to the Neapolitan Neo-avant-guard-guard group, that first met around the 58 Group painters (Mario Colucci, Lucio Del Pezzo, Guido Biasi, Bruno Di Bello, Sergio Fergola, Mario Persico, Franco Palumbo), then opened to the contribution of poets, intellectuals and -guardavant-guard theoreticians such as Stelio Maria Martini and Luciano Caruso. The magazine was founded in Naples in 1959 by Luca (Luigi Castellano) and had Guido Biasi for the editor of almost all the issues, later assisted by Stelio Maria Martini. The experience of the Southern Document and the subsequent South Line is of fundamental importance for the history of Italian verbo-visual poetry and for the interconnections between poetry and image, programmatically researched by the Neapolitan Avant-guard-guard. Each issue is opened by an editorial signed by Luca and houses texts and visual works, defined in the index with the term cliché. The magazine also proposes, in advance of the national scene, a recovery and radical re-reading of Futurism». (My translation of the following information: http://www.verbapicta.it/dati/riviste/documento-2013-sud.-rassegna-di-arte-e-di-cultura-di-avanguardia). For information on *Documento Sud* see also: Claudio Caserta, Nicola Scontrino, *Avanguardia a Napoli: riviste 1958-1983* (Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2001): 89 and also p. 150 that emphasizes the difference with *Linea Sud*, and its evolution; Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie,*

mercato, collezionisti, musei, op. cit., 91, which states that *Documento Sud* is the first avant-guard review of the South of Italy; Claudio Caserta, Maria Giovanna Sessa, *Per forma di parola: Stelio Maria Martini dagli anni dell'avanguardia a Napoli ai labirinti verbali* (Napoli: Alfredo guida Editore, 2001): 26, that documents in particular the role of the review in Naples' artistic scene in the years of *Documento Sud*'s publication. For the freedom of forms and a new depiction see, Redazione Documento Sud, "Il ponte dell'avanguardia Napoli-Milano-Bruxelles-Paris", *Documento Sud*, vol. 2, no. 4 (April 1960): unpaginated. Regarding *arte popolare*: Paolo Toschi, *Arte popolare italiana* (Roma: Carlo Bestetti-Edizioni d'arte, 1960): 13-35, thoroughly documents the meaning of the name *arte popolare*, how it was perceived at the beginning of the Sixties: the terms often used to call it, *arte rustica* and *arte paesana*, limit the origin of its practical creation to which craftsmanship also contributed, the *volgo* composed of citizens and the art flourished in the main centers of civility. *Arte popolare* stands out for its ingenuousness, simplicity, elementary and ignorance in contrast to the *grande arte* born from deeper thoughts and more professional art techniques. However *arte popolare* can equal *grande arte* in its value, reaching the same stature, see Ibid., 13-14. Finally, *arte popolare* represents the heritage of people, because the word *popolare*, stemming from *popolo,* encompasses the idea of community. To better understand why Documento Sud attempted to elevate Naples' popular art to an international level Toschi's claim is meaningful: Italian *arte popolare* should be compared to *arte popolare* of other nations, because it has a huge and diversified artistic and cultural heritage. The term *arte popolare* thus embodies Italian national art, see Ibid. 13. Additionally, the studies on *arte popolare* re-started after the Second World War (it began in 1891-92 and stopped during the second World War also because part of its heritage was destroyed e.g., the bombing of Villa d'Este in Tivoli that hosted part of the objects of Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari), and its most representative episode was the placement of the *Museo nazionale delle arti e tradizioni popolari*, Rome 1953. To further develop the artisan art of the nineteenth century in Italy see: Helmuth T. Bossert, *L'art populaire en Europe: recueil de 132 planches don't 100 en couleurs, 2100 documents concernant l'ornementation* (Berlino: Ernst Wasmuth, 1927) on European *arte popolare*, especially for its focus on fashion craftmanship; for the relationship between *arte popolare* and cultured art see Roger Taylor, *Arte: nemica del popolo* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2017). For the psychological aspect of *arte popolare* see Benedetto Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte* (Bari: Laterza, 1933): 1-64. To further develop artisan art see Emanuele Pellegrini, *Voglia d'Italia. Il collezionismo internazionale nella Roma del Vittoriano*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Gallerie Sacconi al Vittoriano, 7th December 2017-4th March 2018 (Napoli: Arte'm, 2017): 393-399. On Gruppo 58: it was born in 1958 from the encounter between Luigi Castellano and artists from Naples, and it was opened to new Avant-guard experimentations. The artists were Guido Biasi, Lucio Del Pezzo, Bruno Di Bello, Sergio Fregola, Mario Persico, see Edoardo Sanguineti, *Cultura e realtà* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2010): 219; Massimo Bignardi, *Artisti a Napoli: Del Pezzo et. al* (Napoli: A. Guida, 1997): 20; Claudio Caserta, Maria Giovanna Sessa, *Per forma di parola: Stelio Maria Martini dagli anni dell'avanguardia a Napoli ai labirinti verbali*, exh. cat. – Ravello, Cappella Rufolo, 12th-15th August 2001 (Napoli: A. Guida, 2001): 25. To know how the review intended to bring the art of the South to an international level see Giorgio Bacci, "Non una rivista ma un documento. Documento Sud (1959-1961) tra avanguardia artistica e testimonianza socio-culturale", *Palinsesti*, u.v., no. 5 (May 2016): 1-16; Edoardo Sanguineti, Italian poet and writer who at the time of Gruppo 58 was beginning his academic career and in 1959 signed the *Manifeste de Naples* together with the artists of Group 58, claimed that among the art review, *Documento Sud* was the only cell of the Italian artistic avanguards, see Edoardo Sanguineti, "Per una nuova figurazione", *Il Verri*, u.v., no. 12 (u. month 1963): 96-100. Recently, in 2010, reflecting on Neapolitan *arte popolare*, he stated that Gruppo 58 invented its own Pop that embodied the Neapolitan local mythology and its folklore and was represented by the artist Mario Persico, see Edoardo Sanguineti, *Cultura e realtà*, op. cit., 260-261. To know more on Edoardo Sanguineti and his connection with Gruppo 58 and the

Popular Art, which is the full name of what was then abbreviated as Pop Art, first became an object of discussion in 1962, the year of the Sidney Janis gallery exhibit. Mario Diacono, art critic, poet and gallerist, interested both in American Art and in the Avant-guard exhibits in Rome, stated his opinion in February 1962, in the review *Quaderno*, the literature and art review he co-directed with Stelio Maria Martini, that was published in Naples only in 1962[xxv]. He claimed that ready-mades,

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Manifest de Naples see in particular: Paolo Chirumbolo, John Picchione, *Edoardo Sanguineti: literature, ideology and the avant-guard* (London: Legenda/Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2013); Tommaso Lisa, *Pretesti ecfrastici: Edoardo Sanguineti e alcuni artisti italiani* (Firenze: Società editrice Fiorentina, 2004): 46.

[xxv] There is little information on Mario Diacono's biography. However, to know more his activity in the Sixties, see in particular his interview with Laura Cherubini: *Intervista con Laura Cherubini sugli Anni* Sessanta, pp. 209-215 in Mario Diacono, *KA: da Kounellis ad Acconci: arte, materia, concetto, 1960-1975* (Milano: Postmedia books, 2013). See also Mario Diacono, *Iconography and archetypes: the form of painting 1985-1994* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2010); Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Ida Gianelli, *Sipario: Staged Art*, exh. cat. – Rivoli, Castello di Rivoli. Museo d'arte contemporanea, 20th February-25th May 1997 (Milano: Charta, 1997): 268; Marjory Jacobson, *Art and business: new strategies for corporate collecting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993): 214. His interest in American art was especially focused on the artists that exhibited at Galleria La Tartaruga from 1958 such as Cy Twombly. For further information on Galleria La Tartaruga and the artists that exhibited see Chapter three of this thesis. One example of the avant-guard exhibits in Rome was Galleria La Vetrina of Tanino Chiurazzi: in 1962 Chiurazzi organized the exhibit Vv.Aa., *Dalì, Ensor, Ernst, Kirchner, Léger, Müller, Permeke, Vlaminck*, exh. cat. – Rome, Galleria La Vetrina, from 20th November 1962 to u.d.o.e. (Roma: Abete, 1962). To know more on Galleria La Vetrina see Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Claudia Terenzi, *Roma 1948-1959: arte, cronaca e cultura dal neorealismo alla dolce vita* (Milano: Skira, 2002): 106-109; Giuseppe Appella, *La collezione Balestra: catalogo generale* (Torino: U. Allemandi, 2004): 21; Elisabetta Cristallini, *Tanino Chiurazzi: lettere a un gallerista eccentrico* (Città di Castello: Lithos, 1996). On *Quaderno*: it was a literature review published in Naples only during the year 1962 (only 3 issues were edited), directed by Stelio Maria Martini and Mario Diacono. Focused on theories and verbal innovations, it continued the experience of *Ana Eccetera. Esercizi, notizie di lavoro*, literature review founded in 1958, published from 1959 to 1971, which focused on the analysis of Italian language. Besides Martini and Diacono, other intellectuals such as Guido Biasi and Emilio Villa collaborated. The review's main polemic was with the Italian cultural situation, see Mario Diacono, "Editoriale", *Quaderno,* vol. 1, no. 1 (January-February 1962): 1-3; Unsigned, "Editoriale", *Quaderno,* vol. 2, no. 2 (March-April 1962): 1; Mario Diacono, *KA: da Kounellis ad Acconci: arte, materia, concetto, 1960-1975*, op. cit., 213. See Glauco Mambrini, *Nuove scritture: poesia visuale nelle collezioni milanesi*, exh. cat. – Milano, Spazio Boccioni, 8th-30th April 2005 (Milano: D'Ambrosio, 2005): 138; Melania Gazzotti, Julia Trolp, *La parola nell'arte: ricerche d'avanguardia nel '900: dal futurismo ad oggi attraverso le collezioni del Mart*, exh. cat. – Rovereto, MART, 10th November 2007- 6th April 2008 (Milano: Skira, 2007): 565; Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei*, op. cit., 85. The other review's director, Stelio Maria Martini, was an art historian who together with Mario Diacono, Mario Persico, Emilio Villa and Luciano Caruso launched several art reviews in Naples, such as *Documento Sud*, *Ex*, and *E/ma/nazione*. To know more on Stelio Maria Martini and the art reviews that he founded see in particular Claudio Caserta, Maria Giovanna Sessa, *Per forma di parola: Stelio Maria Martini dagli anni dell'avanguardia a Napoli ai labirinti verbali*, exh. cat. – Ravello, Cappella Rufolo, 12th-15th August 2001 (Napoli: A. Guida, 2001); Angela Tecce, Nicola

found objects, combine-painting, and collages were «culturazione della primitive & popular art»[91], in which there was an attempt to re-establish tangibility between the idea of reality and that idea of painting, activating the taste of the masses[92]. On the one hand, the Neapolitan Avant-guard experimentation with *arte popolare* that *Documento Sud* detected seem to have given Diacono the idea of considering popular art, and *Quaderno*, also published in Naples, was the perfect review through which to communicate: it focused on literature, but with great attention given to new artistic hints[93]. On the other hand, his words, written in February 1962, eight months before the Janis exhibit, do not demonstrate that he was properly referring to the Pop Art movement, nor that he had identified it before Janis' mention of Pop Art in UK in the catalog's exhibit; surely the popular art that Diacono mentioned had clear features that were in relation with the taste of mass society at that moment, but those still identified an as-yet undefined art trend that had mixed features. Furthermore, Diacono commented on the American artistic scene without having been there: according to Diacono's biography, he had never been to the US before 1968, the year in which he agreed to teach Italian Literature at the University of Berkeley, CA, and he had not participated in the exhibit some months before Janis' in Los Angeles at Ferus Gallery, where the first Pop American artists exhibited. He knew the American art scene perfectly, but he did not have direct contacts in the U.S. territory. For instance, in one of his most recent interviews he decided to review American exhibitions in Italy by reading the catalogs,

Spinosa, Stelio M. Martini, *L'impassibile naufrago: le riviste sperimentali a Napoli negli anni '60 e '70* , exh. cat. – Napoli, Museo Pignatelli, 5th November-7th December 1986 (Napoli: Guida, 1986); Stelio M. Martini, *Breve storia dell'Avanguardia* (Napoli: Nuove edizioni, 1988); Fabrizio Bondi, Andrea Torre, *I verbovisionari: l'altra avanguardia tra sperimentazione visiva e sonora* – Conf. Proceedings, Pisa Scuola normale superiore, 24th-25th November 2016 (Venezia: Engramma, 2017): 85; Giovanni Nocentini, *Compendio autori italiani del secondo '900* (Poppi: MEM, 1996): 76.

[91] See Mario Diacono, "Assembramento e visione l'uomo ®accoglitore, neodada, d'arte – oggetti", *Quaderno*, vol. 2, no. 2 (March -April 1962): 24. Translation: «Culturation of the primitive & popular art».

[92] In 1967 Pop Art is defined as ironic, see Unsigned, "L'ironica pop-art", *Stampa sera*, (12th June 1967): 10, and the typical Pop images are those of «la vita della città moderna, le auto, il traffico, i segnali stradali». Translation: «The life of the modern city, cars, traffic, road signs»; see also Dino Buzzati "Mostre d'arte", *Corriere della sera*, (8th November 1967): 5. The Pop images are still truck wheels, knives that cut big sausages, and tanks, see Dino Buzzati, "Per un milione un prosciutto immangiabile", *Corriere della sera*, (29th July 1967): 3.

[93] For instance, see the following article that also shows the artistic interest of the review: Guido Biasi, "Dal taccuino non intimo di un pittore", *Quaderno*, vol. 1 no. 1 (January-February 1962): 24-28.

as he did in 1960 with the review on *Art of Assemblage* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York[94].

In May 1962 Bruno Alfieri, Italian editor and director of *Metro* (at that time the leading art review in the contemporary scene), without explicitly speaking of popular art, pointed to the large-scale paintings by American Roy Lichtenstein as deriving from the taste of the popular press—the source of his massive and vulgar pictures[95]:

«Lichtenstein literally follows the conventional optical data offered by modern society (a fact wrongly overlooked by a great many exponents of abstract painting, who seem far too closed up in their ivory towers) and paints on a large scale, on big canvases, pictures drawn from the popular press, i.e. the most 'massive' (and also vulgar) images offered the individual by the world, on a merely receptive and, certainly, not selective plane»[96].

Additionally, he defined Lichtenstein's artistic context as «the most remarkable phenomenon now taking place in art: the rarefaction of the 'abstract' and the return to the figurative (of a kind) in US art»[97].

Alfieri gave a more explicit connotation to the popular art sphere: it was American, Lichtenstein was its representative, and it indicated the passage from a rarefied to a figurative art. Differently from Diacono's, Alfieri's focus on American art had older and deeper roots: in 1947 he met the American collector Peggy Guggenheim and was editor of the catalogue of her collection for the Venice Biennale in 1948, and the same year he started to work for his father's publishing house in Venice, *Alfieri Edizioni d'Arte*, thus starting to follow the subsequent Venice

[94] For more on the first Pop American artists' exhibit see Hal Foster, *The first Pop Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012): 9. For Mario Diacono's knowledge of the American art scene see *Spazio ed esistenza nella pittura Americana* on the second issue of *Appia Antica*: it was Diacono's review of a big exhibition on Abstract Expressionism at Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Roma. See Mario Diacono, "Spazio ed esistenza nella pittura americana", *Appia Antica*, vol. 2, no. 2 (January 1960): 16-18. For Diacono's interview see Luca Lo Pinto, "Diaconia. Una conversazione con Mario Diacono", *Doppiozero* (18th February 2013).

[95] For Alfieri's article see Alfieri Bruno, "U.S.A.: Verso la fine della pittura 'astratta'?" *Metro*, vol. 3, no. 4-5 (May 1962): 4-13. On Roy Lichtenstein: he was an American painter, one of the first protagonists of Pop Art. See Danilo Eccher, *Roy Lichtenstein between sea and sky* (Milano: Officina Libraria, 2015); Janis Hendrickson, *Roy Lichtenstein, 1923-1997: l'ironia del banale* (Koln: Taschen, 2011); Michael Lobel, *Image duplicator: Roy Lichtenstein and the emergence of Pop Art* (New Haven: Yale University press, 2002); Dave Hickey, *Roy Lichtenstein, Brushstrokes: four decades*, exh. cat. – Zurich, Galeri de Pury & Luxembourg, 1st November 2001-12th January 2002 (Zurich: de Pury & Luxembourg, 2002).

[96] Ibid..

[97] Ibid..

Biennales (e.g., that of 1950)[98]. For the 1950 Venice Biennale he was credited with taking Jackson Pollock to Italy, at that time the chief exponent of Abstract Expressionism in New York, organizing a show of his work at Ala Napoleonica, located in San Marco square in Venice: it was the first solo exhibition of Jackson Pollock in Italy, displaying his artwork belonging to Peggy Guggenheim's collection. Ten years later, he founded *Metro*, an international art review focused on the international contemporary art scene that was also distributed in the US by George Wittenborn[99]. Besides his bonds to Peggy Guggenheim and the Venice

[98] In 1947 Peggy Guggenheim was already a famous art collector. In Italy Santomaso introduced her to Rodolfo Pallucchini, at that time General Secretary of the Venice Biennale. The result of the meeting was the 1948 exhibit at the Biennale. Her collection was exhibited in the Pavilion normally belonging to Greece, which that year did not participate. The Venetian architect Carlo Scarpa renovated the area for the occasion. See Véronique Chalmet, *Peggy Guggenheim, Un sogno d'eternità* (Bologna: Odoya, 2014): 259-261; Paolo Barozzi, *Peggy Guggenheim: una donna, una collezione, Venezia* (Pasian di Prato: Campanotto, 2011): 30; Orietta Lanzarini, *Carlo Scarpa: l'architetto e le arti. Gli anni della Biennale di Venezia, 1948-1972* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2003); Fred Licht, *Arte italiana del dopoguerra dai musei Guggenheim: Venezia*, New York (Venezia: Marsilio, 1988): 14-22; Luca M. Barbero, *Peggy Guggenheim e l'immaginario surreale* (Firenze: Giunti, 2007). On Pallucchini's diplomatic role see in particular Maria C. Bandera, "Pallucchini protagonista della Biennale", *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, vol. 35, u.n., (u. month 2011): 75-92. For Alfieri as editor of the Guggenheim's catalogue see Peggy Guggenheim, Bruno Alfieri, *La collezione Peggy Guggenheim* (Venezia: Istituto tipografico editoriale, 1948). For the connection between Bruno Alfieri and the 1950 Venice Biennale see Bruno Alfieri, *L'arte moderna: la 25. Biennale: numero unico* (Venezia: Alfieri editore s.r.l., 1950).

[99] Jackson Pollock was the leading protagonist of the School of Action Painting in New York, and of American Abstract Expressionism. At the time in which Alfieri took him to the Venice Biennale, Pollock was very well renowned. He died a few years later, in 1956, and his death has been considered a sign for the end of Abstract Expressionism with the advent of Pop Art as a consequence. See: Luca M. Barbero, *Action painting: arte americana 1940-1970: dal disegno all'opera*, exh. cat. – Modena, Foro Boario, 30th November 2004-27th February 2005 (Venezia: Peggy Guggenheim Collection, 2004); Harold Rosenberg, *Action painting: scritti sulla pittura d'azione* (Firenze: Artout Maschietto, 2006); Enrico Crispolti, *L'informale: storia e poetica. Abstract-expressionism, abstraction-lyrique, action painting, art autre, art brut, automatismo, gesto, informel, new-dada, nuclearismo, spazialismo, tachisme* (Assisi, Roma: Carucci, 1971); Sam Hunter, *Action painting: la generazione eroica* (Milano: Fabbri, 1967). For Jackson Pollock's show at Ala Napoleonica see Giuseppe Marchiori, Bruno Alfieri, Oreste Ferrari, *Jackson Pollock: olii, guazzi e tempere. Mostra personale*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Ala Napoleonica, P.zza San Marco, 22nd July-12th August 1950 (Venezia: Le Tre Mani, 1950) – the publishing house just mentioned in parenthesis was not Alfieri's but Le Tre Mani, an association that Alfieri constituted with the art critic Giuseppe Marchiori and the art historian Giuseppe Ferrari. See "'Piacevole a leggersi e anche da vedersi'. Fotografie ambientate nella prima serie della rivista *Metro* (1960-1968) di Bruno Alfieri", *Palinsesti*, u. vol., no. 6 (December 2017): 19-31, especially p. 16. About the artwork exhibited at Ala Napoleonica: on 23 artworks, only two came from the Stedelijk Museum from Amsterdam: *Toro di mare*, 1946 and *Riflessi dell'orsa maggiore*, 1947. All the others belonged to Peggy Guggenheim. See Ibid.. On George Wittenborg: he came instead from Wittendorn Press, US. *Metro* was conceived in Venice, printed in Milan and also distributed in the US. It was the first art review to launch American Pop artists, and it was considered the most beautiful

Biennale, from 1960 onward Alfieri had a stable working relationship with the art dealer Leo Castelli who, starting in 1957, became one of the main dealers of American art through his gallery. Castelli commissioned articles from *Metro*, sent photographic materials regarding his artists (e.g., Lichtenstein) to Alfieri and purchased the advertising space on his review. Alfieri, in return, had to promote one of Castelli's artists for every exhibit that he would organize at Galleria Lorenzelli, in Milan, and at Galleria Paul Facchetti, in Paris[100]. These data document three key points: first, they show that the relationship with American gallerists, collectors and artists made Alfieri aware of the passage from a rarefied and abstract art, namely Pollock's, to a new depiction whose highest example was Lichtenstein's art; second, they show that Lichtenstein was being promoted under certain influences, despite the neutral attitude he had declared himself to have in December 1960; lastly, they attest to *Metro*'s crucial role as an art review in giving space to the American art scene and in bringing the first features of American Pop Art to Italy, thus preparing the ground for its advent through the 1964 Venice Biennale[101].

In 1963 Robert Rosenblum, the American art historian and curator who was also active in Italy starting from the end of the Fifties

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contemporary art review, see Lea Vergine, *L'arte non è faccenda di persone perbene. Conversazione con Chiara Gatti* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2016): 78; see also footnote n. 75 in Walter De Maria, *L'invisibile è reale* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2015); Umbro Apollonio et al., *Lo spazio dell'immagine*, exh. cat. – Foligno, Palazzo Trinci, 2nd July-1st October 1967 (Venezia: Alfieri edizioni d'arte, 1967).

[100] Leo Castelli and Bruno Alfieri started their correspondence in 1960 and that is conserved at the Archive Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.. For more on their correspondence refer to the Dorothy Jean McKetta M.A. thesis entitled *The Leo Castelli Gallery in Metro Magazine: American approaches to Post-Abstract Figuration in an Italian context* (Austin: The University of Texas at Austin, 2012). The thesis is conserved and consultable at the University of Texas library. Castelli gallery's promotion is in every issue of *Metro*, see for instance: *Metro* no. 1, 1960; *Metro* no. 2, 1961; *Metro* no. 6, 1962; *Metro* no. 8, 1963; *Metro* no. 10, 1965. See also Graham Smith, "Bruno Alfieri, Leo Castelli and Robert Rauschenberg: *Metro* and the introduction of Rauschenberg into Italy", *Visual Resources*, vol. 33, no. 3-4 (September- December 2017): 295-331. On Galleria Lorenzelli's advertisement see, for instance, the first issue of *Metro*, December 1960, in which Alfieri wrote an article on the French painter Georges Noël, and the month later Galleria Lorenzelli organized an exhibit on Noël, see Charles Estienne et. al, "Georges Noël", *Metro-Youngs* in *Metro*, vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1960): 42-73. On the Galleria Facchetti's advertisement see footnote 9 in Giada Centazzo, "'Piacevole a leggersi e anche da vedersi'. Fotografie ambientate nella prima serie della rivista *Metro* (1960-1968) di Bruno Alfieri", op. cit., 18.

[101] For Bruno Alfieri's declaration see Bruno Alfieri, "Dear Reader," *Metro*, vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1960): 4-5. For the crucial role of *Metro* see Lea Vergine, *L'arte non è faccenda di persone perbene. Conversazione con Chiara Gatti*, op. cit.. For more on the editorial history of *Metro* and its collaborators refer to Giada Centazzo, "'Piacevole a leggersi e anche da vedersi'. Fotografie ambientate nella prima serie della rivista *Metro* (1960-1968) di Bruno Alfieri", op. cit., 19-31. Her main source is the correspondence with the art critic Giuseppe Marchiori, who became Alfieri's main interlocutor for his editorial projects. The material is conserved at ARCHIVIO GIUSEPPE MARCHIORI, Lendinara.

and who focused on several art movements spanning from Cubism to Abstract Expressionism, wrote in *Metro*, for which he contributed as correspondent from the US; he reflected upon Lichtenstein's art, indicating American popular images as the source of his artwork and detailing the passage from abstract, rarefied art that Alfieri had signaled[102]. Besides stating that the popular art that Lichtenstein had embraced was a «means of invigorating the moribund mannerisms of abstract painting»[103], he claimed that Lichtenstein's pictures were: «not only fascinating as imaginative commentaries on their popular sources, but also as abstract pictorial inventions whose power may initially be concealed by the unfamiliarity of his choice of subject»[104]. He pointed at two of his artworks in particular: *Little Aloha*, 1962, which according to him embodied a popular American erotic phantasy evoking Ingres and Gauguin's Odalisque[105]; *Eddie Dyptich*, 1962, as a recreation of «youthful

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[102] For further information on Robert Rosenblum see: Jed Perl, *Art in America, 1945-1970: writings from the age of Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art and Minimalism* (New York: Literary classics of the United States, 2014): 583. For more on Rosenblum's texts on American art see instead, Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975): 7-8; Robert Rosenblum, *On modern American art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999). Rosenblum placed Willem de Kooning and Jackson Pollock on one side of the bridge toward postmodernity and Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein on the other, see Daniel Morris, *Remarkable Modernisms: contemporary American authors on modern art* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002): 31. For his activity in the Fifties see for instance the following exhibition catalogue: Robert Rosenblum, *Jasper Johns: 287*, exh. cat. – Milan, Galleria del Naviglio, 21-30th March 1959 (Milano: Galleria del Naviglio, 1959). On Abstract Expressionism see for instance, Robert Rosenblum, "The Abstract sublime", *Art News*, vol. 59, no. 10 (February 1961): 56. Regarding Rosenblum's collaboration with Metro see Robert Rosenblum, "Roy Lichtenstein and the Realist Revolt", *Metro*, vol. 4, no. 8 (March 1963): 38-45.

[103] See Robert Rosenblum, "Roy Lichtenstein and the Realist Revolt", op. cit., 39. Rosenblum, as well as Alfieri, was already in a relationship with Castelli: in 1958 he saw the Jasper Johns' exhibit, and in 1959 he introduced Frank Stella to Castelli, and continued to follow his artists. See Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo&C. Storia di Leo Castelli* (Truccazzano: Johan & Levi editore, 2010): 233-238, 246, 253, 311. The American art critic Dorothy Seiberling in "Is he the worst artist in the US?", *Life magazine*, vol. 56, no. 5 (31st January 1964): 79-83, claims that only he, together with Rosenblum and the painter Salvatore Scarpitta, was fascinated by Lichtenstein's art that Castelli exhibited for the first time in 1962 in his gallery. Rosenblum in a recent interview states that when he saw Lichtenstein at Castelli's for the first time in 1962, he forgot having already seen his paintings at Heller Gallery in 1954. However in another interview he declares that that happened around the year 1956. Regarding the former interview see, Avis Berman, *Interview with Robert Rosenblum*, 20th November 2004, Roy Lichtenstein Foundation New York; regarding the latter see the transcript of the interview by Deedie Rose to both Rosenblum and Lichtenstein held at the Dallas Museum of Art, Texas on 28th May, 1995.
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https://www.dma.org/sites/default/files/transcript/LichtensteinRosenblum_public.pdf

[104] Ibid..

[105] Ibid., 40.

rebellion, parental opposition, omnipotent love» which gave «an accurate mirror of modern popular culture»[106] as a result. Finally, he specified that part of Lichtenstein's art inventory, made of diverse objects such as ice cream sodas and dishwashers, belonged to American popular culture[107]. Rosenblum's opinion together with Alfieri's further attest that the appearance of the term Pop Art in Italy was preceded by a remarkable attention among art critics, who were already reflecting upon the American cultural source behind it. *Metro* was the first one to create a dichotomy with those art reviews, such as *Documento Sud* that were focusing on the promotion of Italian *arte popolare*, paving the way for the debate that would later involve Italian art critics, artists and linguists on what "popular" meant in Italy.

1.3.2 First definitions of the term Pop Art: from the Independent group to communism (1962-1964)

The term Pop Art first appeared in Italy in an article written by the English art critic Vera Sherman in 1962. In *D'Ars Agency*, one of the first Italian contemporary art reviews for which Sherman was a correspondent from London, she related the term to a UK artistic context, namely to the collective exhibit of contemporary art in London: a number of young artists were selected from the most significant art academies in London (e.g., The Slade School of Fine Art London University), attempting their representation of modern life[108]. According to Sherman, Pop Art was a sort of Dadaist movement that expressed modern examples: «E di questa 'vita moderna' c'erano molti esempi. Erano espressi con quella sorta di attuale dadaismo conosciuto sotto il nome di 'Pop Art'»[109] and such art trend represented comic strip-teases, photographs of journals, pin-up portraits and brands of both the Atlantic coasts. Pop Art was a social expression since slogans came from the advertising sphere, and divas were incorporated in this art too, sometimes elevated to the role of examples and other times in a satiric way; the colors characteristic of this art were inspired by the colors of fences and public walls, bringing people's solitude into the art; pop paintings were made using collages and bizarre juxtapositions of images,

[106] Ibid., 42.
[107] Ibid..
[108] Vera Sherman wrote mainly in *D'Ars Agency*, e.g., Vera Sherman, "Dall'Inghilterra. Quattro artisti per la Biennale", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 5, no. 3 (April-June 1964): 74-75. The article mentioned is: Vera Sherman, "Da Londra: Vera Sherman", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 3, no. 2 (March-June 1962): 5-6. Other London Art Academies were, for instance, The Royal College of Art and The Royal Academy School. See Ibid..
[109] See Ibid., Translation: «And there were many examples of this 'modern life'. They were expressed with that sort of current Dadaism known under the name of 'Pop Art'».

e.g., in Peter Phillips' artwork, *For men Only-starring MM and BB*, in which one sees a piece of Marylin Monroe and a piece of a dancer.

There is little information on Sherman as an art critic, and on her relationship with that review, but two points are clear: first, that *D'Ars Agency*, directed by Oscar Signorini, artist and theorist, was open to examining the most contemporary events of its time, and this probably explains why *D'Ars Agency* was interested in having a correspondent from London. Second, it is remarkable Sherman's definition of Pop Art does not mention Lawrence Alloway's article *Pop Art since 1949*, published in 1949 in the British review *The Listener,* nor did she take into account Alloway's definition on Pop Art, even though she defined and referred to that movement with confidence[110]. Besides the fact that *D'Ars Agency* was interested in the contemporary art scene, these facts do not demonstrate why Sherman chose to review that exhibit nor why she related that group of artists to Pop Art—and there could be many interpretations. However, her text offers a precious contribution to the present terminological debate since it shows that the term Pop Art migrated to Italy from the UK. However, compared to the following art critics' discussion developed in 1964, it reveals how such a connection with the British territory is not addressed by art critics in the terminological debate until 1966 and even after that year does not constitute a focal point to determine the reception of the term Pop Art in Italy.

In 1963, Alloway wrote in *Collage. Dialoghi di Cultura*, an art and music review founded in 1962 in Palermo by the writer Gaetano Testa and by art critics and musicologists Paolo Emilio Carapezza and Antonino Titone[111]. Alloway reported the definition of Pop Artmaking an

[110] From what is known so far, Vera Sherman was a correspondent of *D'Ars Agency* from England, see Ibid.. To better understand the importance that *D'Ars Agency* had in providing information on contemporary artists in the Sixties see Domenico Anastasi, *Lambda'70: autori e artisti italiani d'oggi* (Catania: Lambda, 1969): 193. For further information on Oscar Signorini and the evolution on *D'Ars Agency* see in particular: Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei*, op. cit., 92; Pierre Restany, "Editoriale", *D'Ars*, u. vol., no. 95 (April 1981): 1; Alessandro Azzoni, "Incontrare la memoria: ricordando oscar Signorini a 100 anni dalla sua nascita", *D'Ars*, vol. 50, no. 204 (Winter 2010): http://www.darsmagazine.it/incontrare-la-memoria-ricordando-oscar-signorini-a-100-anni-dalla-sua-nascita/#.W_0OGpNKiRs. For *The Listener* refer to Lawrence Alloway, "Pop art since 1949", *The Listener*, op. cit., 1929 – 1991.

[111] Lawrence Alloway was a prominent English and American art curator. He recognized the appearance of Pop Art in both England in late Forties and US at the beginning of the Sixties. Throughout his career, he devoted several essays and texts to analyzing the Pop Art current, especially as related to mass media, as will be explained in the next lines of this thesis. Regarding Alloway as an art critic see in particular: Nigel Whiteley, *Art and Pluralism* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017); Stratton Rachel, "Living Pluralism: Lawrence Alloway as Critic, Curator and Teacher", *Art History*, vol. 39, no. 3 (June 2016): 622-627;

explicit reference to his 1949 article published in *The Listener*. *Collage. Dialoghi di Cultura* focused on a multidisciplinary dialogue open to the influences of the art movements matured between the Fifties and the Sixties both in Europe and the US, and Alloway was one of the correspondents for the British contemporary art scene. In his text, Alloway did not make any reference to Sherman's article, showing either his lack of knowledge or interest in commenting on what she had stated about Pop Art. On the contrary, his intent was probably not only to reaffirm what he had claimed in 1949, but also to legitimate the importance of Pop Art by finding its deeper roots in earlier art movements. For instance, initially Alloway maintained that there was a link between Pop Art and mass media, providing further evidence of what Diacono had previously suggested about the term 'popular art' as related to the concept of the masses and to the specifically American concept of consumerist society:

«'Pop Art': term coined originally to refer to the mass media (for popular art), but loosely extended to apply to fine arts with popular arts references (see Lawrence Alloway, 'Pop Art since 1949', The Listener, London, vol. 67, n. 1761, December 27, 1962, p. 1085)»[112].

He then tried to ground the art movement from a historical point of view by stating that popular art, on the one hand, replaced classical art as «common property»[113] (which was the way it was perceived before) and, on the other, was related to the use of prints, to the popular graphic art that Alloway retraced to a former «mass media explosion»[114].

Silvia Harrison, *Pop Art and the Origins of Post-Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 37-67. Within this thesis his main essays that provide evidence on the history of the term Pop Art will be quoted. *Collage. Dialoghi di Cultura* was a trimestral music and art review, published in Palermo from 1963 to 1970 by G. Denaro editori. The musicologists Paolo Emilio Caparezza and Antonino Titone, together with the writer and poet Gaetano Testa, among the founders of Gruppo '63 (see the note on the review *Marcatré* in this chapter) and of 'La Scuola di Palermo', were the main editors. On *Collage* and its authors refer in particular to: Simonetta Lux, Tortora Daniela, *Collage 1961: un'azione dell'arte di Achille Perilli e Aldo Clementi* (Roma: Gangemi, 2005): 150; Daniela Tortora, *Nuova consonanza: trent'anni di musica contemporanea in Italia: 1959-1988* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1990): 19; Gaetano Bongiovanni, *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Teresa Pugliatti* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2007): 194; Christian Wolff, *Occasional Pieces: writings and interviews, 1952-2013* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Vv.Aa., *La scuola di Palermo* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1963); Piero Violante, *Swinging Palermo* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2015).

[112] See Lawrence Alloway "Six painters and the object", *Collage. Dialoghi di cultura*, vol. 1, no. 7 (December 1963): 54-62 and then italian version "Sei pittori e l'oggetto", op. cit., 62-64.

[113] Ibid., 59.

[114] Ibid., 55.

[115] Ibid., 56. He cites an ongoing discussion on popular graphic art as something better than fine arts. He quotes Van Gogh who made a list of subjects in magazines such as *The*

Furthermore, he specified that popular art was diffused already in the 19th century, and the use of popular sources by artists (e.g., the city was a source of inspiration for Van Gogh and Seurat's popular art) had been already known since the 18th century (e.g., Courbet's use of popular engravings in his paintings).

The links that Alloway drew with mass media and popular sources of the 18th and 19th centuries can be comprehended if considered in terms of further developments of what he had claimed in his previous essays: *The Arts and Mass Media*, 1958[115] and *The long front of culture*, 1959[116]. The former focused both on how masses had changed the world since the 19th century and on the existence of the notion of popular art since the 18th century as a vital substratum of the folks opposed to classicism. Instead, in the latter, he imagined a unique front in which popular art and fine arts coexisted on the same level and were oriented to a new kind of mass audience. What Alloway wanted to underline in his article in *Collage* was his conviction that the connection between Pop Art and mass society was not a novelty of the age but should have been understood in terms of and justified by artistic antecedents.

What both Alloway and Sherman did not do, Jasia Reichardt, British art critic and assistant director of ICA (the Institute of Contemporary Art) in London during those years, did in 1963: for the first time in *Metro* she mentioned the word «Pop Art»[117] connected to the Independent Group[118]. Although Reichardt's criticism does not appear interested in deepening the definition, nor in entering into a wider discussion of the term, she developed the discussion on what Pop Art was and its relationship with the Independent Group in her article published in *Art International*, a Swiss art review, around the same time

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Foundling, *A Queue in Paris during the Seig*, *The Girl I Left Behind Me*, *Waney of the Honeymoon*, *Labourer's Meeting*, *Lifeboat*, *Sunday Evening at Sea* and so on. He claims that such a list «shows that popular art had characteristics of its own with sufficient vitality to form a tradition of its own, different from the main line in the fine arts». See Ibid.

[115] See Lawrence Alloway, "The Arts and Mass Media", *Architectural design*, vol. 28, no. 2 (February 1958): 84-85

[116] See Lawrence Alloway, "The long front of culture", *Cambridge Opinion*, u. vol., no. 17 (Winter 1959): 24-26.

[117] See Jasia Reichardt, "Paolozzi and what led up to a certain event in 2000 A.D.", *Metro*, vol. 4, no. 8 (January-March 1963): 78-87.

[118] On the figure of Jasia Reichardt as art critic and curator refer to: Andreas Broeckmann, *Machine Art in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2016): 256; Nigel Whiteley, *Art and Pluralism*, op. cit.; Charlie Gere, *Art, time and technology* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2006): 124; Margaret Iversen, *Chance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010): 201. Reichardt was assistant director of the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) from 1963 to 1971. The Independent Group had an exhibition at ICA that year, see Karl Ruhrberg, *Art for the XXth century* (Köln: Taschen, 2002): 784.

of her article on *Metro*[119]. In *Art International* Reichardt justified the importance of writing on Pop Art in England in that moment, as the interest in such movement was quite unprecedented at that time, a reaction perhaps also due to the young age of its exponents. While in *Metro* she did not relate the definition of Pop Art to Alloway, in *Art International* she explained not only that Alloway was the first to coin the term, but she also discussed the difference between Alloway's definition and the meaning that was attributed to the term when it became related to the Independent Group. Reichardt juxtaposed Alloway's meaning to that given by Richard Hamilton, one of the members of the Independent Group: «Whereas Alloway did not envisage pop art as fine art at all, nor as anything that called upon one's really creative instincts, Hamilton used the term to describe the sort of source material the artist was drawing on in making his own imagery, which was creative in every sense of the word»[120].

Enrico Crispolti, Italian art historian, art critic and curator, had a very different take on the meaning of the term: he distanced it from the English millieu and associated Pop Art with the communist context instead[121]. He wrote his reflection in 1963 in *Marcatrè*, a contemporary art

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[119] *Art International* was a former art review published in Lugano, Switzerland from 1957 to 1984 and focused on the international art currents. For further information on *Art International* see especially Michael Fried, *Art and Objecthood: Essays and reviews* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998): 8.

[120] See Jasia Reichardt, "Pop Art and After", *Art International*, vol. 7, no. 2, (February 1963): 42-47.

[121] Enrico Crispolti was Lionello Venturi's pupil just like Argan and Calvesi, see Enrico Crispolti, "Brevi riflessioni su Venturi e l'arte del proprio tempo", *Storia dell'arte*, vol. 1, no. 1 (April 2002): 145-148. Differently from Venturi, he explored the path of contemporary art introducing a new methodological approach that was not yet contemplated in Academia, taking a different direction from his mentor. See Rachele Ferrario, *Scanavino e Crispolti: carteggio 1957-1970* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2006): 138. Some of his former interests on the themes rotating in the Pop Art debate were Abstract Expressionism, Industrial design, and the artist Valerio Adami; on Abstract Expressionism see his critical essay on two of Pollock's artworks, Enrico Crispolti, *Pollock* (Milano: All'insegna del pesce d'oro, 1958). On Industrial design, see Enrico Crispolti, *Premesse storiche dell'industrial design* (Roma: Tipografia Coccia, 1958); on the artist Valerio Adami who was moving toward Pop Art, see both catalogues of the collective exhibits at Galleria L'Attico in the Sixties and where Adami participated: Enrico Crispolti, Roberto Sanesi, Emilio Tadini, *Adami, Aricò, Bendini et. al*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria L'Attico, 25th May, 1960 (Roma: L'Attico, 1960); Enrico Crispolti, *Adami*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria L'Attico, 2nd-30th December 1961 (Roma: L'Attico, 1961). Crispolti also focused on the current of Informal Art and the Turin Second Futurism too, see Enrico Crispolti, *Il secondo futurismo: Torino 1923-1938* (Torino: Edizione Fratelli Pozzo, 1961) and Enrico Crispolti, *L'informale come problema storiografico: appunti, 10. Convegno 1961* – Conf. Proceedings, Rimini, Verucchio, San Marino, September 1962 (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1962). His interest in Pop Art, besides initially being manifest in reviews such as *Marcatré*, was summed up later in his 1966 publication: Enrico Crispolti, *Appunti per una ricerca sul Pop Art* (Milano: Fratelli Fabbri, 1966) and later on in the Seventies, Enrico Crispolti, *Sociologia e Iconologia del Pop Art* (Napoli: F. Fiorentino, 1975). His path as art

review focused on the new Avant-guard experiments, founded by Eugenio Battisti in 1963 in Genoa, which published from 1963 to 1970; moreover, the review was related to Gruppo 63, which held Marxist ideals[122]. Several prominent Italian art critics such as Gillo Dorfles and Enrico Crispolti collaborated with *Marcatrè*; the two of them were also part of the executive committee that directed the review to analyze the most important Avanguardist experimentations[123]. Crispolti embraced Marxist ideals more openly than the other critics and became even more explicit later on when, for instance, in 1967 he dedicated part of his studies to artists who conveyed communist principles, as well as in the Seventies when he curated a number of Soviet exhibits[124]. In *Marcatrè*, Crispolti exhorted art critics (the title of the article is an explicit reprimand against their prejudice)[125] to look at Pop Art through a Marxist perspective; he invited them to focus on the communicative inclination of Pop Art and on its instrumentalization of elements of the figurative language, claiming that both features had stemmed from Soviet Socialist Realism:

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historian seems similar to that of Maurizio Calvesi who, besides being Venturi's pupil, studied both Futurism and Pop Art and published the inherent text in 1966 too.

[122] *Marcatrè. Rivista di cultura contemporanea,* focused on art, architecture, design, musique, poetry, literature and theater, was founded in 1963 and published until 1970 under the direction of the art historian and art critic Eugenio Battisti. The editorial board included several intellectuals such as the art critic and painter Gillo Dorfles, the art historian and art critic Enrico Crispolti, the literary critic and poet Edoardo Sanguineti, and the semiotician Umberto Eco. Part of the intellectuals of *Marcatré* (e.g., Eco and Sanguineti) were related to the Neo-avant-guard literary movement *Gruppo 63*. Born in 1963 in Palermo, it closely held the Marxist ideals which in the arts were embodied by the Soviet Socialist Realism. On *Marcatré* and Eugenio Battisti see Massimo Mininni, *Le storie dell'arte: grandi nuclei d'arte moderna dalle collezioni della Gnam* (Milano: Electa, 2011): 159; Vv.Aa., Eugenio *Battisti: storia, critica, progetto nella continuità della ricerca* – Conf. Proceedings**,** Politecnico di Milano, Milan, 4th May 2009 (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2009); Sandro Benedetti, *Le mie architetture* (Roma: Gangemi, 2015): 62. On 3rd November 1963, the art critic Maurizio Calvesi, collaborator for *Marcatré*, asked the artist Claudio Cintoli to buy the art catalogues of the major New York exhibits for *Marcatré*, see Simone Battiato, Enrico Crispolti, *Claudio Cintoli: la nascita dell'uomo nuovo 1958-1978* (Roma: Gangemi editore, 2017). On Gruppo 63, refer in particular to: Renato Barilli, *Da un'avanguardia all'atra: esperienze verbo-visive tra Gruppo 63 e Gruppo 70* (La Spezia: CAMeC, 2016); Umberto Eco, *Il gruppo 63, quarant'anni dopo*, pp. 1-20 in Vv.Aa., *Il Gruppo 63 quarant'anni dopo* – Conf. Proceedings, Bologna, 8th-11th May 2003 (Bologna: Pedrangon, 2003); Nanni Balestrini, Alfredo Giuliani, *Gruppo 63. La nuova letteratura. Palermo 1963* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1964). For further information see: Giorgia Cecilia Martini, *Eugenio Battisti e l'Arte Contemporanea in Marcatrè* (Torino: Università degli studi, 1999).

[123] See also Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei*, op. cit., 77.

[124] See Enrico Crispolti, Gabriella Moncada, *La nuova arte sovietica: una prospettiva non ufficiale* (Venezia: La Biennale, 1977).

[125] See Enrico Crispolti, "Un invito alla mobilità. Contro una critica del pregiudizio e dell'idealismo", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 1, no. 1 (November 1963): 69-75.

«Da un punto di vista marxista una certa attenzione andrebbe posta al fatto che l'artista Pop strumenta concretamente elementi di linguaggio figurativo già di sicuro ed accertato dominio oggettivo, popolare perché concretamente 'comunicatico': e non è questa la giustificazione che si adduce per il cosiddetto 'realismo socialista sovietico?»[126].

In those years, Marxist culture had adjusted to the precepts dictated by Socialist Realism for what was considered art. Thus, Crispolti's claim was in line with those principles and was supported by the communist context of the Fifties, which pushed for a new wave of Soviet Socialist Realism in visual and performing arts, in particular in the cinematographic industry, since cinema was seen as an efficient tool to control mass culture (e.g., the newspaper *Mondo Operaio* reviewed soviet movies)[127]. Crispolti's different point of reference in approaching Pop Art constitutes a crucial element to examine in the Italian artwork, to see whether their reception of Pop Art somehow represented Marxist

[126] Ibid., 73. Translation: «From a Marxist point of view, a certain attention should be paid to the fact that the Pop artist concretely uses elements of figurative language of an already-sure and ascertained objective domination, popular because it is concretely 'communicative': and is this not the justification for the so-called 'Soviet Socialist Realism?'».

[127] The debate on the relationship between Pop Art and Socialist Realism was easier to find in daily and weekly newspapers rather than in art reviews. For instance still in 1963, the daily national newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*, put Pop Art in direct contrast with Socialist Realism of Russia, in the Third Biennial of Paris (28th September-3rd November 1963). Still in regards to this connection Lorenzo Bacchi, art critic who collaborated on *Corriere della Sera*, denigrated Socialist Realism as something retro, as well as Russian art in general, that still looked at populism. It seems that from 1963 to 1972 the connection with Soviet Socialist Realism is no longer discussed, despite art critic Renato Barilli's attempt in 1971 to connect Pop to Soviet art, namely to Constructivism, claiming that it offered precedents to Pop operation: «i moduli rigidi del 'costruttivismo' cercano di allearsi con un fondo di allegria folcloristica, offrendo evidenti preannunci dell'operazione Pop […]». On Marxist culture and Socialist Realism see also Umberto Eco, *Il gruppo 63, quarant'anni dopo*, op. cit., 7. For cinema as a tool to control mass culture refer to: Ugo Ristori, "Tempo libero e cultura di massa", *Mondo Operaio* (July 1963): 40-45. The issue of free time and popular sport culture is raised three times. See also Pio Baldelli, "Cineamatorismo di massa", *Mondo Operaio* (November-December 1972): 79-82. *Mondo Operaio*, the newspaper founded in 1948 by the socialist politician Pietro Nenni, published every fifteen days; it focused on culture, economy and foreign politics, especially socialism. It became the most precious cultural instrument of the PSI, see Piero Craveri, Gaetano Quagliariello, *Atlantismo ed europeismo* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003): 136; Vv.Aa., *1982-1982: PSI novanta anni di storia. Almanacco socialista: cronistoria, schede, commenti, documentazione sul socialismo italiano* (Roma: Rotostil, 1982): 372; Gaetano Arfé, *Mondo operaio: 1956-1965* (Firenze: Landi, 1974): 601. See also the following articles on the situation of Socialist Realism and Cinema in *Mondo Operaio*: Giuseppe Petronio, "Del neorealismo, del realismo e di altre cose", *Mondo Operaio* (April-May 1959): 61; Franco Calderone, "Il realismo nel cinema italiano", *Mondo Operaio* (February-March 1964): 65-66.

principles, thus introducing a different scenario for the investigation of the meaning of the term Pop Art. The Marxist element had stemmed precisely from the Italian context of the Fifties, when communist parties were controlled by the US through the DC, thus providing precious information on the communist perspective through which Pop Art was perceived in Italy.

1.3.3 Reactions to the 32nd Venice Biennale: Pop Art affirming the American supremacy (1964-1968)

On 6th June, 1964, the American artist Robert Rauschenberg won the Leone d'Oro award at the 32nd edition of the Venice Biennale. His victory touched on several issues that would converge in the history of the term Pop Art. USIA was responsible for having invited and awarded Rauschenberg, and some saw his participation and victory as having been manipulated and as a scandal: although there was only one American member on the International Jury (Sam Hunter), the fact that an American was awarded was seen as a sign of the constant American supremacy in Italy from a political perspective, even leading to an accusation of cultural colonialism[128]. From the point of view of art criticism, instead, Rauschenberg's victory was recognized as the advent of Pop Art[129]. Moreover, the event gave new vitality to the Venice Biennale

[128] Sam Hunter, American art historian and Professor at Brandeis University, was part of the International Jury at the 32nd Venice Biennale together with Abraham M. Hammacher, Giuseppe Marchiori, Murillo Mendes, Frank Meyer, Julius Starzinki, Marco Valsecchi. For this and further information on the jury's members refer to: footnote 2, in Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art 1956-1968*, op. cit., 71; Annie-Cohen Solal, *Leo & C.. Storia di Leo Castelli*, op. cit., 269. On the American supremacy at the Biennale see Enzo di Martino, *La Biennale di Venezia, 1895-1995* (Milano: Giorgio Mondadori, 1995): 24. For the polemics and fights at the Venice Biennale in the years before the 32nd edition, see Ibid., 7-24. On the 32nd Biennale as a scandal: Dario Micacchi was, along with Enrico Crispolti, Giuseppe Ungaretti, Lucio Fontana, Renato Guttuso and Gillo Dorfles among the signers of a letter of protest against the overreach of American power, as early as at the 32nd Venice Biennale. See Dario Micacchi, "Censura alla Biennale: protestano gli artisti", *L'Unità* (25th June 1964): 3; Vv.Aa., "Interviste a Venezia. I giudizi dei critici", *Marcatré*, vol. 2, no. 8-9-10 (March 1964): 212. *L'Unità* was a political communist newspaper, the organ of the PCI from its very beginning, 1924 to the Ninenties. Antonio Gramsci, one of the founders of the PCI, was its founder. For more on the PCI and Gramsci see Chapter one of this thesis. For these and further developments on *L'Unità* refer to Fiamma Lussana, Nicola Tranfaglia, *L'Unità, 1924-1939: un giornale nazionale e popolare* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002); Letizia Paolozzi, Alberto Lesis, *Il giornale in rosso: chi ha incastrato l'unità* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 2001). For more on Micacchi and *L'Unità* see Chapter two of this thesis.

[129] For those texts that connect the advent of Pop Art in Italy to the 1964 Venice Biennale, see in particular: Maurizio Calvesi, Rosella Siligato, *Roma anni '60: al di là della pittura*, op. cit., 351; Paolo Rizzi, Enzo di Martino, *Storia della Biennale, 1895-1982* (Milano: Electa, 1982): 55; Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art 1956-1968*, op. cit., 296; Luca M. Barbero, *Venice, 1948-1986. The Art scene: photographs from the Archivio Arte Fondazione* (Milano: Skira, 2006): 131; Andrea Mecacci, *L'estetica del Pop* (Roma: Donzelli, 2011): 14.

itself which was living a time of crisis in terms of its relevance (a crisis that exploded in 1968) and because of the troubled historical moment (i.e., Cold War). Following Pop Art's advent, art critics reacted in different ways: some denigrated Pop Art, while others tried to legitimate it precisely because it was being imported from the US. Among the exponents of the first position there were Giulio Carlo Argan, Bruno Zevi and Toni Toniato. Giulio Carlo Argan, art critic and director of the exhibit *Arte d'oggi nei musei*[130] organized for the same Biennale, was a rival of the art dealer Leo Castelli who represented Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, Kenneth Noland, and other artists showing their artwork at the Padiglione Nazionale ai Giardini, an exhibit that saw Alan Solomon, director of the Jewish Museum in New York at that time, as the curator[131]. Argan was considered a conservative figure, more focused on Renaissance, Baroque and on 18th century European art; however, he did contribute to the discussion on the most contemporary trends supporting

[130] See Giulio C. Argan, *Arte d'oggi nei* musei, exh. cat. – Venezia, Galerija Suvremene Umjetnosti, in 32a Biennale Venezia, 1964 (Zagreb: Galerije Grada, 1964). For further information on such exhibit, especially on the idea behind the project see Giovanni Rubino, " 'Per un museo funzionale'. Palma Bucarelli e l'esposizione croata Nova tendencija 3 del 1965", *Palinsesti*, u. vol., no. 3 (March 2013): 18-34, in particular p. 6.

[131] Giulio C. Argan was a pupil of Lionello Venturi, who created the so-called *scuola romana* (from 1947 to 1950 Venturi was director of Scuola di Perfezionamento in Art History in Rome) and focused on modern art; he gave his contribution on the most contemporary art tendencies such as Pop Art. See Augusta Monferini, *Argan e la mia giovinezza*, pp. 20-23 in Maria C. Di Natale, Mariny Guttilla, *Argan e l'insegnamento universitario. Gli anni palermitani 1955-1959*, Conf. Proceedings – Palermo, Palazzo Chiaromonte, 28th January 2011 (Bagheria: Plumelia Edizioni, 2011). On the rivalry between Argan and Castelli: some contrasts on the artists' invitations were noted from the very beginning among art critics, in particular those who had a role in that Biennale, see Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo&C. Storia di Leo Castelli*, op. cit., 269-270. On Alan Solomon: he was founder and director of the Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, based at Cornell University, from 1953 to 1961. He visited Robert Rauschenberg's exhibit at the Leo Castelli Gallery for the first time in 1958 and acquired one of his paintings for the Dickson Museum. Thus Rauschenberg's art entered a public collection for the first time. In 1962 Solomon became the director of the Jewish Museum in New York for which he promoted exhibits representing the New American Art. It seems that both he and Sidney Janis contemporaneously had the idea to launch an exhibition with a Pop Art show, but Janis preceded him. He then decided to organize a Rauschenberg retrospective in 1963 at the Jewish Museum. He was «more than a vehicle of the American government or the American art community in general, as he had his own agenda to achieve in Venice», see Ikegami Hiroko, *The great migrator: Robert Rauschenberg and the global rise of American Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010): 59. For the 1964 Venice Biennale he chose the following artists: Jasper Johns, Morris Louis, Kenneth Noland, Robert Rauschenberg, John Chamberlain, Jim Dine, Claes Oldenburg, Frank Stella. See James E. B. Breslin, *Mark Rothko: A biography* (Chicago, London: The University Press, 1993): 430; Sam Hunter, Leo Castelli, Ileana Sonnabend, Michael Sonnabend, *A view from the sixties: selections from the Leo Castelli collection and the Michael and Ileana Sonnabend collection*, exh. cat. – East Hampton, Guild Hall Museum, 10th August-22nd September 1991 (East Hampton: Guild Hall Museum, 1991): 10; Annie-Cohen Solal, *Leo & C.. Storia di Leo Castelli*, op. cit., 499.

the educational role of art. He had a precise vision of modern art and its role, which he first put forth at the Biennale di San Marino, *Oltre L'Informale*, 1963 and then substantially developed at the 1963 Conference of Verucchio in Rimini. Argan discussed the responsibility of art and its role within society: he believed in art's ideological engagement and its commitment in an ideological revolution, in the pedagogical role of the cultural élites and in the militancy of art critique that served not merely to pass judgement but to help to detach the artwork from the artist and include it in the world. These reflections stemmed from his conviction that art itself was dead, a consequence of the development of science and technology that changed its original function. Within the new art currents that marked the end of Informal Art, he distinguished between Neo-Gestaltist and Reportage art: while the former applied a critical methodology to common objects and industrial design that was far from the manipulation of images by the mass media, the latter was based on mass media but was far from developing any critical methodology. Although he approved of both of them, neither could respond to the crisis that art was facing[132]. Bruno Zevi, internationally renowned architect, and Argan both knew Lionello Venturi, prominent art critic and Professor at the University of Turin whose research focused on both Modern Art (from da Vinci to Caravaggio) and on the latest art tendencies[133]. While Argan was Lionello Venturi's pupil, Bruno Zevi

[132] For more on the Biennale di San Marino refer to Vv.Aa., *IV Biennale Internazionale d'Arte*, exh. cat. – San Marino, Palazzo del Kursaal, 7th July-7th October (San Marino: Repubblica di San Marino, 1963). For the 1963 Verucchio Conference refer to Vv.Aa., *XII Internazionale artisti, critici e studiosi d'arte*, Conf. Proceedings – Verucchio, San Marino 26th-29th September 1963 (U.p: u. publishing house, 1963); Federica Boragina, *Il convegno di Verucchio del 1963 e il dibattito critico nel mondo dell'arte contemporanea*, pp. 151-163 in Flavio Fergonzi, Francesco Tedeschi, *Arte italiana 1960-1964. Identità culturale, confronti internazionali, modelli americani*, Conf. Proceedings – Milano, Museo del Novecento e Gallerie d'Italia, 25th October 2013 (Milano: Scalpendi editore, 2017). On the Biennale di San Marino and the 1963 Verucchio Conference see Paula B.-López, *La Biennale de San Marino et le Congrès de Rimini de 1963: Argan, Restany et Aguilera Cerni vers un art engagé*, pp. 375-386 in Richard Leeman, *Le Demi-siècle de Pierre Restany*, Conf. Proceedings – Paris, INHA, 30th November-1st December 2006 (Paris: Édition des Cendres, 2009). For Argan's position on Gestaltist research see Giulio C. Argan, "La ricerca gestaltica", *Il Messaggero* (24th August 1963): 3; on the art death see Giulio Carlo Argan, "Possibilità attuali. L'arte non è cosa della realtà, ma la realtà stessa", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 1, no. 1 (November 1963): 31.

[133] In 1966 Bruno Zevi participated with Argan in the XV° Convegno, Verucchio on *Arte Popolare Moderna* and involved architects' projects for buildings for the popular classes. To deepen the figure of Bruno Zevi as architect see, Bruno Zevi, *Arte popolare come architettura moderna* pp. 36-46 in Francesca R. Fratini, *Arte popolare moderna. Gli incontri di Verucchio* – Conf. Proceedings, Verucchio, Rimini, September 1966 (Bologna: Capelli editore, 1968). For more on Bruno Zevi and his activity in Italy, especially for USIS refer to: Michele Capobianco, Emanuele Carreri, *Architettura italiana: 1940-1959* (Napoli: Electa, 1998): 60; Carlo Chiarenza, William L. Vance, *Immaginari a confronto: i rapporti culturali tra Italia e Stati Uniti: la percezione della realtà fra sterotipo e mito* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1993): 92; Fabrizio

considered him his mentor, but their shared esteem for Venturi appears to have brought them to develop a similar perspective on new currents such as Pop Art[134]. Toni Toniato, instead, was an art critic and curator of

Brunetti, *L'architettura in Italia negli anni della ricostruzione* (Firenze: Alinea, 1998): 51. On Lionello Venturi: Venturi, around whom revolved several art critics who led the debate on Pop Art in the Sixties, was interested in the unexpected form of *arte popolare* as he declared in 1956 in *L'Espresso*, see Lionello Venturi, "Le mani ingenue di un'età sparita", *L'Espresso* (25th April 1956): 12. Additionally, evidently from 1958, during the occasion of the 29th Venice Biennale, he was one of the art critics who fostered abstract art, through which he saw the possibility to renew the Biennale. He indicated Marc Tobey in *L'Espresso* as the leading artist on the scene after Pollock's death, see Lionello Venturi, "La sconfitta degli anziani", *L'Espresso* (22nd June 1957): 16. That year he wrote several articles on both Abstract Art and Pollock for *L'Espresso*, see Lionello Venturi, "Mostre d'arte. La biennale degli astrattisti", *L'Espresso* (16th February 1958): 16; Lionello Venturi, "La mostra di Pollock. Dall'America arriva un mito", *L'Espresso* (23rd March 1958): 16. In 1958 he also focused on the new art trends between Rome and New York, later identified by Restany on a Rome-New York axis, see Lionello Venturi, *Nuove tendenze dell'arte italiana-New trends of Italian Art*, exh. cat. – Roma, Rome-New York Art Foundation, 1st May-30th August 1958 (Rome: Rome-New York Art Foundation, 1958). At the beginning of the Sixties, he also wrote on Informal Art, see Lionello Venturi, "In margine all'Informale", *Il Verri*, vol. 5, no. 3 (June 1961): 172-174. To further develop the figure of Lionello Venturi and his studies refer in particular to: Stefano Valeri, *Lionello Venturi: critica e politica per la libertà della cultura*, pp. 655-668 in Cristina Galassi, *Critica d'arte e tutela in Italia: figure e protagonisti nel secondo dopoguerra*, Conf. Proceedings – Perugia, 17th-19th November 2015 (Passignano: Aguaplano, 2017); Laura Iamurri, *Lionello Venturi e la modernità dell'impressionismo* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2011); Carlo Federico Teodoro, *Lionello Venturi e l'avanguardia italiana* (Modena: Artioli, 1991).

[134] On Argan and Venturi see Claudio Gamba, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Intellettuale e storico dell'arte*, op. cit., 16. Calvesi in Ibid., 22, indicates what Venturi taught to Argan: a solid historical base projected on contemporaneity, a strong methodology that included the notion of taste and the activism to defend the cultural heritage. However Argan in the Thirties started to problematize Venturi's vision, trying to go beyond: whereas Venturi's antifascism was the defense of principles such as democracy and freedom, Argan looked at it as an irrational, unreal component. It followed Argan's rational thought that saw Classicism as a rational system and its approval for the art currents that were concretely productive e.g., Gestaltic art, and its opposition to Pop Art, seen as a reactionary phenomenon. To know more on how Argan read Venturi and their relationship refer to Laura Iamurri, *Argan legge Lionello Venturi*, pp. 109- 116, in Ibid.. See also Michela di Macco, "Lezioni di orientamento: gli ultimi anni di insegnamento di Lionello Venturi all'Università di Torino. La formazione di Giulio Carlo Argan", *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, vol. 8, no. 59 (October- December 1996): 17-32; Giulio C. Argan, "Lionello Venturi", *Belfagor*, vol. 13, no. 5 (September 1958): 555-569. Laura Iamurri, *L'azione culturale di Lionello Venturi*, pp. 81-105 in Maria M. Lamberti, *Lionello Venturi e la pittura a Torino* (Torino: Fondazione CRT, 2000). On Zevi and Venturi: Zevi considered Lionello Venturi as his mentor, especially for his theories on Impressionism and Modern Architecture, see Roberto Duilio, *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi* (Milano: Editori Laterza, 2008). Zevi in his book *A proposito di architettura*, 1935 synthetizes the contents of two publications: Marcello Piacentini's *Architettura d'oggi*, 1930 and Edoardo Persico's architecture review *Dopo Sant'Elia*, 1935, in which Venturi wrote several essays. Zevi wanted to be an art critic, but his conflict with his father led him to choose architecture, a faculty that was part of art history. While in 1935 Zevi read Venturi, in 1940 he contacted him when he moved to New York: despite having never met him, he considered him as his art critic mentor. Additionally, he shared with him political ideals, given that Venturi was one of the eleven Italian professors who refused to adhere to the

several exhibitions at the Venice Biennale in the Fifties and was paying attention to the crisis that the Biennale was going through. Each one of the three of them specified that Pop Art had no capacity of judgment, but they also showed different takes within the same position: Argan, supported by Zevi, called Pop-Art «arte di reportage»[135] in *Marcatré*, as he tried to articulate the subtleties of the situation while avoiding judgments; in contrast Toniati, who in *D'Ars Agency* underlined Pop Art's limited capacity of narration and description, at the same time stated that it was different from the line of research that both Nouveau Réalisme and Neo-Dada had had[136]. Furthermore, in *Marcatré* Zevi not

Fascist regime. Zevi was against Fascism because he was Jewish and had to leave Italy after the racial laws of 1938. See Ibid., p. 13.

[135] See Giulio C. Argan, *in* Vv.Aa., "La ricerca estetica di gruppo", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 4-5 (March-April 1964): 91-93.

[136] Argan saw artwork either as a text to read or as a document to interpret. It follows that artwork was an object of scientific research, investigated by disciplines such as art history and archeology, see Claudio Stoppani, *Sistematizzazione dei beni culturali: la necessaria preminenza dell'interesse pubblico*, pp. 74-86 in Marco Lorandi, Orietta Pinessi, *Rileggere Argan. L'uomo. Lo storico dell'arte. Il didatta. Il politico* (Bergamo: Moretti e Vitali, 2003). It seems that Argan's methodology when approaching artwork is explained in Giulio C. Argan, "Una storia di idee. Intervista con G. C. Argan", *Cartabianca*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1968): 29-32. He claims that his attempt was to determine the genesis of the shapes of artwork and to establish which cultural problems they encompass and question, and finally to understand why ancient artwork can represent cultural problems of current society. He wants to explain how visual arts built the cultural system of modern society. Filiberto Menna, his pupil, reviews Argan's studies as an art historian and sheds light on Argan's position as an art historian: Argan is not a historian of Modern Art, but a modern art historian given that his attitude should be the same in regards to past and modern artwork, see Filiberto Menna, "Angelo Trimarco", *Rivista di Studi Salernitani*, vol. 2, no. 3 (January-June 1969): 427. It is crucial to know that Argan's mission was to educate people through art: from the end of the Forties on, he focused on the educational role of museums and published several books for schools. See the following texts: Giulio C. Argan, "Il museo come scuola", *Comunità*, u. vol., no. 3 (May-June 1949): 64-66; Giulio C. Argan et al., "Difendiamo il patrimonio artistico", *Ulisse*, vol. 27, no. 11 (March 1957): unpaginated. Gillo Dorfles in an interview done by Claudio Gamba in 2012, states the theorical approach that Argan had on art, in terms of its creative-conceptual aspect, rather than for the immediate and pathetic sensibility for the artwork, see *"Una lunga amicizia intellettuale". Giulio Carlo Argan e la critica d'arte del Novecento. Gillo Dorfles. Intervista di Claudio Gamba*, pp. 15-18 in Claudio Gamba, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Intellettuale e storico dell'arte*, Conf. Proceedings – Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 19th November 2009, Roma, Università La Sapienza, 9th-10th-11th December 2010 (Milano: Electa, 2012). On Toni Toniato: he was an art historian and art critic, founder of the art review *Evento delle Arti*, published in Venice from 1955 to 1964; at the time of the Venice Biennale he was a young militant art critic of contemporary art and focused on the other Biennales such as the 29th, see Toni Toniato, "29th Biennale", *Evento delle arti*, vol. 3, no. 3-4 (April 1958): 2-23 - and on the Venice Art Scene, see Toni Toniati, *Bacci* (Venezia: Edizioni del Cavallino, 1958), in which Peggy Guggenheim wrote the text to present the work of the Venetian artist Edmondo Bacci for one of the rooms at the 29th Biennale. For his activity as art critic see: Maria Grazia Messina, Dino Marangon, *Venezia 1950-1959. Il rinnovamento della pittura in Italia*, exh. cat. – Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti, 26th September 1999-9th January 2000 (Ferrara: Ferrara Arte, 1999): 62-63; Gianni C. Sciolla,

only agreed with Argan's position but also claimed that Pop Art's genesis in the USA was a reaction to capitalism, thus introducing the idea that the territorial issue could be a factor in the history of the term in Italy as well. These two elements, the former properly inherent to Pop Art's lack of narration, and the latter concerning the territorial genesis of Pop Art, were included in the development of the discussion around Pop Art that took place in 1964, and then again from 1965 to 1967.

The French art critic Pierre Restany was one of the first to illustrate Pop Art's territorial issue: in 1964, in the art and literature review *Europa Artistico-Letteraria,* that was interested in European progressive tendencies, instead of pointing to the American territorial supremacy of Pop Art he showed the existence of an axis linking Italy and the U.S.A., the Rome-New York axis, whose main proof of existence was the Venice Pavilion[137]:

«L'axe Rome-New York a constitué le véritable diapason de la Biennale. Aucun autre Pavillon étranger n'a pris des options aussi marquées er c'est donc dans un contexte confus et plein d'antinomiques

Riviste d'arte fra Ottocento ed età contemporanea: forme, modelli e funzioni (Milano: Skira, 2003): 265-266; Mirella Bandini, *'I 4 soli' 1954-1969: una rassegna d'arte attuale* (Milano: Fabbri, 1989): 29. On Argan supported by Zevi see Vv.Aa., "La ricerca estetica di gruppo", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, op. cit.. Toniato Toni, "A Venezia", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 5, no. 3 (April-June 1964): 141. On the connection between Nouveau Réalisme, Neo-Dada and Venice: two Venetian galleries (Galleria del Cavallino, and Galleria Gritti) opened an exhibit under the trend of Nouveau Réalisme and Neo-Dada. Such a perspective found an unusual development even in Italy, and constituted, according to him, a privileged line of research versus the initial, but limited, Pop Art trend. See Ibid..

[137] Pierre Restany, French art critic who coined the name and the idea of Nouveau Réalisme together with Yves Kline during the exhibition held at Galleria Apollinaire in 1960, Milan. For the concept of Nouveau Réalisme refer in particular to the following texts: Pierre Restany, *Lyrisme et abstraction*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Apollinaire, 1960 (Milano: Apollinaire, 1960); Lucrezia De Domizio Durini, *Pierre Restany: l'eco del futuro* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2005); Pierre Restany, *Avec le nouveau réalisme, sur l'autre face de l'art* (Nîmes: J. Chambon, 2000); Pierre Restany, *Nouveaux realistes anni '60: la memoria viva di Milano* (Milano: Mazzotta, 1997). He collaborated with the Architecture review *Domus* from 1963 until his death, see for instance Pierre Restany, "32. Biennale di Venezia: Biennale della irregolarità", *Domus*, no. 417 (August 1964): 27-42. *Europa artistico letteraria* was a bimestral review, published in Rome from 1960 to 1965. The attention to European intellectuals (e.g., the poet Mario Luzi, the German writer Herman Hesse, the Russian poet Evgenij Evtušenko, the Italian art critic Alberto Boatto, the French art historian Pierre Restany) was a consequence of its director's interest, Giancarlo Vigorelli, at that time Secretary for the European Community. Initially the review focused on literature and then, from June 1960, also on art and cinema. See Enrico Elli, Giuseppe Langella, *Studi di letteratura italiana in onore di Francesco Mattesini* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2000): 597; Carla Tolomeo, Gian Paolo Serino, Lorenzo Butti, *Così tante vite: il Novecento di Giancarlo Vigorelli* (Fidenza: Mattioli, 2007); Carla Gubert, Massimo Rizzante, *Le riviste dell'Europa letteraria* (Trento: Editrice Università degli Studi di Trento, 2002).

mouvances qu'émergent ça et là quelques individualités remarquables par l'affirmation de leur personalité et l'actualité de leurs recherches»[138].

Restany's interest was clear: he wanted to recognize the birth of Pop Art in the US without however disregarding the undeniable supremacy of Europe: an example of that was the participation of some of the artists (e.g., Arman Fernandez, Jean Tinguely) identified with Nouveau Réalisme, a term that Restany himself had coined, at the exhibit of the *New Realists* that took place in New York in 1962. Additionally, the antinomies and the confused context of the Biennial that he stated in the above quote point to an ambiguous debate due to the possibility of several interpretations: during the Venice Biennale, Pop Art was seen in contrast to Neo-Dada, as its equivalent, or also as grounded in common soil but still different.

Probably the whole discussion stemmed from the terms Maurizio Calvesi, art critic and part of the Sottocommissione per le arti figurative at the 32nd Venice Biennale, used to label the art exhibited at the Pavilion in the garden: Pop Art, Neo-Dada and Arte di Reportage[139]. He adopted three names instead of choosing one to identify what was being shown: according to him those names were telling, as he had previously

[138] See Pierre Restany, "L'axe Rome-New York", *Europa artistico-letteraria*, vol. 5, no. 28 (June-September 1964): 156-158. Translation: «The Rome-New York axis was the real tuning fork of the Biennial. No other foreign Pavilion has taken such marked options, and it is therefore in a confused context full of antinomic movements that here and there emerge some remarkable individualities by the affirmation of their personality and the actuality of their research».

[139] Maurizio Calvesi looked at Argan too: remembering Argan in Maria C. Di Natale, Mariby Guttilla, *Argan e l'insegnamento universitario. Gli anni palermitani 1955-1959*, op. cit., 13-15, Calvesi points to him as his second mentor after Lionello Venturi. Calvesi met Argan when he was 22 and Argan was 40, and was introduced by Lionello Venturi in his house in corso Trieste in Rome: it was 1949. Argan at that time was Ispettore Centrale al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione and Calvesi was supposed to work with him at that Ministry. Additionally, Calvesi started to collaborate with Argan, for instance correcting the draft of his publications e.g., *Studi e note*. In 1954 Argan encouraged Calvesi to participate in a public contest to become inspector of Fine Arts and Calvesi won it. In 1969 Calvesi became copy editor for Argan's art review *Storia dell'arte* together with Oreste Ferrari, Luigi Salerno and Angiola Maria Romanini. The review was an expression of the *scuola romana* that stemmed from Lionello Venturi, focused on currents from the Middle Ages to the present. For more on Argan's militancy in contemporary art see in particular: Simonetta Lux, *Giulio Carlo Argan: la militanza nel contemporaneo*, pp. 367-384 in Claudio Gamba, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Intellettuale e storico dell'arte*, op. cit.; Carla Subrizi, *Giulio Carlo Argan negli anni sessanta. Prospettive critiche, chiusure della storia*, pp. 387-395 in Ibid.; Simonetta Lux, *Arte e società*, pp. 197-205 in *Il pensiero critico di Giulio Carlo Argan* (Roma: Multigrafica, 1985). For Calvesi's label at the Pavilion in the garden see Maurizio Calvesi, "Quattro domande a Calvesi", *Marcatré*, vol. 2, no. 2 (January 1964): 91-93.

commented in his 1963 article on *Collage*[140]. However, for the Venice Biennale occasion he did not expound his position on them, nor did he explain whether he thought they were different sides of the same art, but in one of his most important books published in 1966, *Le due avanguardie: dal Futurismo alla Pop Art*[141], he furtherly clarified what he meant: on the one hand, he stated that a term is never true, false, precise or ambiguous in itself, and on the other hand he referred to Neo-Dada and Pop Art as relative definitions both either too extensive or too limited to describe the movement[142]. Although the book was published posthumously, the writing that contained those reflections was dated 1963, showing, as the article published in *Collage*[143] demonstrates, that he was already extensively reflecting upon those terms' definition one year before the 1964 Biennale. In the text he grouped those art trends, namely Neo-Dada and Pop Art, under the label Nuova Figurazione, which described «una condizione potenziale dell'arte di oggi, una condizione d'apertura sull'immagine, in quanto fenomeno concretamente addentrato nella realtà oggettiva dei fenomeni»[144]. Calvesi proposed Nuova Figurazione as a new leading trend that broke with past art, namely Informal art, and included Pop Art within the label. Although art critics had written on Nuova Figurazione as recently as 1963, Calvesi appears to be the only one who, in 1964, included Pop Art under such label. However, he did not invent the designation of Nuova Figurazione as a break with past art, as the term already came up at the end of the Fifties within the Post-Informal debate: the art critic Cesare Vivaldi, who was very attentive to the new experimentation in the Fifties within the Roman art scene, coined the term Nuova Figurazione both in 1957 and 1959 in the art review *L'Esperienza Moderna*, a review that constituted an essential place for questioning the parameters on Informal Art in the Fifties, founded by two Roman artists, Achille Perilli and Gastone Novelli, who were getting closer to Post-Informal art research. In 1957 Vivaldi defined Nuova Figurazione as a diverse approach for the young Italian art trend that was sowing the seeds for a new artistic panorama and asked that the dignity of such new art be recognized; then, in 1959 he further clarified the term in juxtaposition with Informal Art and Action Painting, pointing out its communicative dimension insofar as, in contrast to these latter currents,

[140] Already in 1963 Calvesi wrote an article on such art, see Maurizio Calvesi, "Ricognizione e reportage", *Collage*, vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1963): 65-75, claiming that Pop Art, Neo-Dada and New Realism were relative names.
[141] See Maurizio Calvesi, *Le due avanguardie: dal Futurismo alla Pop Art* (Milano: Lerici, 1966).
[142] For both statements see Ibid., 286, 300.
[143] Ibid..
[144] Ibid., 286.

the new art's interest was to fix an image of reality on the canvas, creating a judgment on the world mediated by the rational "I"[145].

In 1960 at Galleria L'Attico in Rome, the exhibit *Possibilità di relazione*, organized by several art curators such as Enrico Crispolti, more clearly indicated features of New Figuration in relationship with the language of Informale. Differently from what Vivaldi stated, here Informale was not wholly rejected, but rather updated with the communicative need artists were feeling within society, showing thus a further clarification of the new art's connection with communication. The term then continued to define a broad artistic trend that was surely going beyond Informal art as revealed in subsequent exhibitions in 1962: in Bologna, *Nuove prospettive della pittura italiana*, an exhibit that included

[145] The art review *L'Esperienza Moderna* was published in Rome for only two years, from 1957 to 1959. In the first issue Achille Perilli immediately stated the interest of the art review had to investigate the artistic experimentations that viewed the elementary nature of a sign as a thing in which to invest all the reality of existence. The art critic Cesare Vivaldi was close to both artists and in 1958 presented Gastone Novelli's exhibit at Galleria La Salita and in 1959, the year more closely associated with the term Nuova Figurazione, presented both Perilli and Novelli together with the other artists that he identified under Nuova Figurazione in a collective exhibit at Galleria La Tartaruga. For the 1958 exhibit see Cesare Vivaldi, *Gastone Novelli*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Salita, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1958 (Roma: Galleria La Salita, 1958); for the 1959 exhibit, see Cesare Vivaldi, *Giovane pittura di Roma: Scarpitta, Perilli, Novelli et al*., exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 10th February 1959-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria La Tartaruga, 1959). For both of Vivaldi's definitions of Nuova Figurazione refer to Cesare Vivaldi, "Nuova figurazione nella giovane arte italiana", vol. 1, no. 3, *L'esperienza moderna* (December 1957): 20-24; Cesare Vivaldi, "Ancora della 'nuova figurazione'", *L'esperienza moderna*, vol. 2, no. 4 (March 1959): 17-18. The artists indicated as part of Nuova Figurazione in the Roman art scene were: Salvatore Scarpitta, Achille Perilli, Gastone Novelli, Antonio Sanfilippo, Carla Accardi, Ugo Sterpini, Domenico Rotella, Nuvolo (Giorgio Ascani), and Cy Twombly. For more on them refer to the previously mentioned exhibit presented by Vivaldi in 1959 at Galleria La Tartaruga. On Achille Perilli: the Roman artist Perilli was one of the founding members of Forma 1 group, born in 1947. He was introduced to the International art scene by Lionello Venturi, taking part in the First International Congress of Art Critics in Paris. Also he took part in the organization of the first Abstract Art exhibit at GNAM in Rome. He had his first solo show in 1956 at Galleria Strozzina in Florence, following place of debate for the term Nuova Figurazione in the eponymous 1963 exhibit. For more on Perilli see Alberto Fiz, *Barnils, Capogrossi, Perilli, Pijuan. Alfabeto segnico*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Stelline, 15th September-29th October 2017; La Spezia, CaMeC Centro Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, 4th November 2017-7th January 2018 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2017): 14-25; 104-106; Luciano Caprile, *Achille Perilli: dalla scrittura al fumetto*, exh. cat. – Milano Galleria Tega, 10th March-11th May 2013 (Milano: Galleria Tega, 2013); Pia Vivarelli, *Achille Perilli. Opere dal 1947 ad oggi*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, 10th June-25th September (Milano: A. Mondadori; Roma: De Luca, 1988): 9-16; 125-129; 153-155. On Gastone Novelli: the artist Novelli started to be known better in the Roman context from the mid-Sixties when he met Achille Perilli with whom he founded *L'Esperienza Moderna*. For more on Novelli refer to: Marco Rinaldi, *Ogni universo è un possibile linguaggio. Gastone Novelli: dipinti e disegni, 1957-1964*, exh. cat. – Napoli, 4th October 2013-12th January 2014 (Napoli: Intesa San Paolo, 2013); Paola Bonani, Marco Rinaldi, Alessandra Tiddia, *Gastone Novelli*. *Catalogo generale 1: pittura e scultura* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2011).

the participation of several art critics (including Calvesi himself), proposed Nuova Figurazione as a break with Abstract Art[146].

However, in 1963 the catalogue of the exhibit *La Nuova figurazione. Mostra internazionale di pittura* at Galleria La Strozzina in Florence, put the term in relationship with mass civilization and referred to the French current Nouvelle Figuration that, at the beginning of the Sixties (precisely in 1961), was presented in the exhibit *Pour une Nouvelle Figuration* at the gallery Mathias Fels in Paris by the French art critic Jean-Louis Ferrier. Several art critics in the catalogue defined the term Nuova Figurazione, in regards to the artists presented: Calvesi indicated Nuova Figurazione as a potential condition of the current art, an opening into the images as something that was concretely investigating objective reality; Nuova Figurazione was a re-figuration, a re-elaboration of an image already vulgarized, somewhere in between Informal Art and Neo-Dada. Calvesi pointed to Achille Perilli's artwork to exemplify such a current: the graphic sign Perilli adopted did not attest to the existential condition of Informal Art but rather was a means of communication; his artistic signs, taken from billboards and from comic strips, were similar to text-images, ideograms influenced by mass civilization that circulated them. Perilli's artwork indeed showed its inspiration from comic strips, for instance in the layout of its surface in pane-sequences. However, Perilli's interest seemed not to be the mass ideograms but rather their poetic elaboration that aimed at the metaphor of painting. With this premise, the use that Calvesi made of Nuova Figurazione in 1964, including Pop Art in connection with American Pop Art, is clearer, but the inclusion of the term Pop Art itself within the label was new. Although the debate on the term Nuova Figurazione was more developed in the years before 1964, it seems that after 1964 it had a

[146] For the exhibit in Bologna refer to Vv.Aa., *Nuove prospettive della pittura italiana*, exh. cat. – Bologna, Palazzo di Re Enzo, u.d.o.b. – u.d.o.e. June 1962 (Bologna: Alfo stampa, 1962). For the exhibit *Possibilità di relazione* refer to Enrico Crispolti, Roberto Sanesi, Emilio Tadini, *Possibilità di relazione: Adami, Aricò, Bendini, Ceretti, Dova, Peverelli*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria L'Attico, 25th May 1960-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria L'Attico, 1960). For more on such exhibits refer to Cristina Casero, "Nuove possibilità di relazione: l'Informale oltre l'Informale", *Ricerche di confine*, vol. 3, no. 1, (u. month 2012): 45-52. On the overcoming of Informal Art, refer also to Antonio Bandera, Enrico Crispolti, *Alternative attuali: rassegna internazionale: architettura, pittura, scultura d'avanguardia. Omaggio a Burri; retrospettiva antologica 1948-1961*, exh. cat. – L'Aquila, Castello Cinquecentesco, u.d.o.b. July- u.d.o.e. August 1962 (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1962). For more on such exhibits see also Luca P. Nicoletti, "L'Aquila 1962. 'Alternative attuali' e l'idea di 'mostra-saggio'", *Ricerche di confine*, vol. 6, no. 1, (u. month 2015): 105-119. For more on the art critics' debate after 1963 refer to Cesare Vivaldi, *A proposito di nuova figurazione*, pp. 184-193 in Vv.Aa., *Almanacco letterario Bompiani* (Bompiani: Milano, 1963); Edoardo Sanguineti compared it to Nuclear Art in "Per una nuova figurazione", *Il Verri,* u. vol., no. 12 (u. month 1963): 96-100.

marginal echo, not in art reviews (nor in the debate on the Avant-guard) but rather in exhibition catalogues and in books[147].

Filiberto Menna, Argan's and Lionello Venturi's pupil and art critic for *Marcatrè*, not only followed the adverse position of Argan and underlined the inaccurate judgement of the Venice Biennale, but he also claimed that the Biennale was mistaken in distinguishing Neo-Dada from Pop Art: both currents were born from the encounter with modern industrial urban reality and the rise of advertisment, and should not be seen as distinct[148]. It was not by chance that Menna stressed that Pop Art had been generated from the industrial reality, because the relationship between Pop Art and Industry was Argan's focus in those years: Argan had indeed announced the death of art, as a result of capitalism, and Pop Art was the example of such death. It is true that so far there is no evidence that Menna ever explicitly embraced Argan's ideas, but it is equally true that being his pupil, Menna was reading and considering what his mentor was writing (e.g., he also wrote on Industrial Design)[149].

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[147] For instance Crispolti, in the catalogue for the second exhibit *Alternative Attuali* in L'Aquila in 1965, excluded Pop Art from *Nuova Figurazione*, as the former exalted mass media, while the latter withdrew from everyday images, aiming to advance a hypothesis of a new artistic narration. See Enrico Crispolti, *Ricerche dopo l'Informale* (Roma: Officina, 1968). Also the art critic Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco who will be introduced shortly in this chapter, in 1966 published *Rapporto 60*: here he defined Nuova Figurazione as an art current born old, given that the expectation within the artistic scene was the sunset of Informal Art, proposing instead the restoration of old figurative images. In contrast Dell'Arco proposed the term *figurazione novissima*, which included Pop Art, juxtaposed to Neo-gestaltist research. See Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Rapporto 60* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1966). Regarding Perilli's artwork that, at the beginning of the Sixties, evoked the comic book layout, see: *Una parabola sociologica*, 1961; *Il lamento dell'ultimo menestrello*, 1961; *Il trionfo sull'astronauta*, 1961; *Giorgia in Wonderland*, 1961; *Gli amori di Cleopatra*, 1961; *Cima del vuoto, la solidità del silenzio*, 1961; *Do ut des*, 1962; *Studio*, 1962; *Rapporto sulla paura*, 1962. Perilli's interest in United States research is confirmed in the conference *Neo-Dada* held on 23rd April 1961 at GNAM (ciclostilato) in which he participated. For more on the exhibit *Nouvelle Figuration* refer to Jeanne L. Ferrier Reilure, *Une nouvelle figuration*, exh. cat. – Paris, Galerie Mathias Fels et Cie, 8th November-8th December 1961 (Paris: Galerie Mathias Fels et Cie, 1961). Among the artists present in that exhibit there were: Karel Appel, Francis Bacon, Corneille (Guillaume Cournelis Beverloo), Jean Dubuffet, Alberto Giacometti, Robert Lapoujade, Maryan S. Maryan, Roberto Matta, Antonio Saura, and Nicolas de Staël. For further information on *Nouvelle Figuration* refer to Jean L. Chalumeau, *La nouvelle figuration: une histoire, de 1953 à nos jours: figuration narrative, jeune peinture, figuration critique* (Paris: Cercle d'Art, 2003).

[148] According to Gillo Dorfles, at that time being either Venturi's or Longhi's pupil was quite important: Dorfles preferred Venturi, see Claudio Gamba, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Intellettuale e storico dell'arte*, op. cit., 16.. For Menna's comment see N.d., "Interviste a Venezia. I giudizi dei critici", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-9-10 (July-August-September 1964): 196-218. About the confusion between Neo-Dada and Pop Art see also Alberto Boatto, "U.S.A.: Neo-Dada e Pop-Art", *Europa Artistico*-Letteraria, vol. 5, no. 28 (June-September 1964): 149-155.

[149] In 1961 Argan juxtaposed the artisanal praxis to the industrial one as processes ideologically emptied. Craftmanship was the only way for salvation from an industrial

Additionally, at that time Argan was one of the most important and influential art critics on the scene and, as previously said, he played an important role in the Biennale too[150].

Among the critics following Menna's line was Carla Lonzi, feminist art critic and writer. In *Marcatrè*, Lonzi pointed out the difference between Neo-Dada and Pop Art, as the former came from a faction of art critics hostile to the latter, as Alan R. Solomon warned. In her definition of Pop Art as a pragmatic response to the freedom of pictorial action, exigence and awareness—embodied by Informal artists starting from the Spanish Antoni Tapiés—Lonzi looked favorably on it. In addition to her positive consideration of this new art, in the article she contested the predefined categories that moralistic art critics attempted

environment in which the individual's contribution did not have any impact nor awareness. Informal Art, for instance, did not entail any commitment to the future, nor any value, see Giulio C. Argan, "Salvezza e caduta nell'arte moderna", *Il Verri*, vol. 5, no. 3 (June 1961): 3-42. In 1963 Informal Art is replaced in his reflection by Pop Art, which he still casts in a negative light, as lacking a social involvement. As a consequence, Argan announced his preference for the artistic gestaltic research, considering the militant position as the only one possible for an art critic, see Giulio C. Argan, "Aut Aut", *Il Messaggero* (7th August 1963): 3; Giulio C. Argan, "La ricerca gestalstica", *Il Messaggero* (24th August 1963): 3; Giulio C. Argan, "Le ragioni del Gruppo", *Il Messaggero* (21st September 1963): 3. At the end of the Fifties, Argan reproposed the Hegelian concept of the death of art in that current artistic context, denouncing the loss of any social value in contemporary art, see Giulio C. Argan, "La crisi dei valori", *Quadrum*, u. vol., no. 4 (April 1957): 3-15. Dorfles in 1961 shared Argan's position on Design, see Gillo Dorfles, "Pittura, architettura e disegno industrial di fronte all'Informale", *Il Verri*, vol. 5, no. 3 (June 1961): 187-190. To further develop the debate on the death of art refer also to the following texts: Dino Formaggio, *L'idea di artisticità. Dalla 'morte dell'arte' al 'ricominciamento' dell'estetica filosofica* (Milano: Casa editrice Ceschina, 1962); Umberto Eco, "Due ipotesi sulla morte dell'arte", *Il Verri*, vol. 10, no. 8 (June 1963): 65; Enotrio Mastrolonardo, "L'arte è morta, viva l'arte", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 5, no. 1 (December 1963-January 1964): 101. On Pop Art as an example of such death see Giulio Carlo Argan, "Possibilità attuali. L'arte non è cosa della realtà, ma la realtà stessa", op. cit.. Menna opposed Argan's declaration on Gestaltic art as the only possible alternative to the Informal current, see Filiberto Menna, "Processo alla Critica", *Avanti!* (7th December 1963): 2. Such article shows how Menna read Argan's critics. For Menna's text on Industrial Design, instead, see Filiberto Menna, *Industrial design* (Roma: Villar, 1962).

[150] Argan was leading the art critic scene through his role as President from 1963 in several conferences, *Convegni Internazionali di Artisti, Critici e Studiosi d'Arte,* held in Verucchio, Rimini and San Marino in the Sixties. See Vv.Aa., *Testimonianze dagli atti VIII-IX-X-XI. Convegno Internazionale Artisti, Critici, Studiosi d'Arte* – Conf. Proceedings, Rimini, Verucchio, San Marino, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962 (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1963). For further information on such Proceedings, but in particular on those between 1964 and 1966 refer to: Giulio C. Argan, "Convegno internazionale artisti, critici e studiosi d'arte", vol. 5, no. 5 (October 1964-January 1965): 8-11; Giulio C. Argan, "XIV Convegno Internazionale Artisti, Critici e Studiosi d'Arte", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July-October 1965): 1-5. Vv.Aa., "XIV Convegno Internazionale Artisti, Critici e Studiosi d'Arte", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 4, no. 4 (October-December 1965): 9-20; Vv.Aa., "XIV Convegno Internazionale Artisti, Critici e Studiosi d'Arte", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 1, no. 1-2 (March-June 1966): 62-73; Giulio C. Argan, "XIV Convegno Internazionale Artisti, Critici e Studiosi d'Arte. Relazione conclusiva ai lavori", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 3, no. 3-4 (June-October 1966): 1-5.

to use to define Pop Art, for instance comparing it with better-defined art currents, such as New Realism or Neo-Dada, or with Socialist Realism, as artists such as Guttuso did. In the weekly newspaper *L'Espresso*, in an issue published around the same time of Lonzi's article, Guttuso stated that he did not think that Superman's comic style and the painting of a Kyrgyz kid with a bouquet in his hand belonged to the realm of popular art, but that rather they were a challenge to art. Guttuso was inviting reflections on how these images could become part of a cultural context. However, in the same article in *Marcatré*, Lonzi responded to Guttuso, claiming that those examples did not sufficiently explain the need for paintings that justified their activism toward society; otherwise Guttuso's art could be also be considered Pop. Taking a distance from possible socio-ideological interpretations of Pop Art, Lonzi's assertion demonstrated how, once again in *Marcatré*, art critics discussed Marxist perspectives in their texts in relation to Pop Art, and how they carried on, although indirectly, Crispolti's reflection on Socialist Realism gesturing toward Guttuso's art as well, as he had done in 1963. Moreover, in pointing to Guttuso's comparison between Pop Art and Socialist Realism, Lonzi further emphasized the Marxist connotation and interpretation of the term Pop Art in Italy, showing that a Marxist perspective of the popular realm was evolving step by step for art critics as well as for artists and had to be considered in the discussion on Pop even taking distance from the Marxist view[151].

[151] See Carla Lonzi, "Una categoria operativa", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-9-10 (July-August-September 1964): 189-193. For information on Carla Lonzi's activity as art critic see in particular; Laura Iamurri, *Un margine che sfugge: Carla Lonzi e l'arte in Italia 1955-1970* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2016); Laura Iamurri, Lara Conte, Vanessa Martini, *Scritti sull'arte* (Milano: Et Al., 2012); on her feminist activity instead refer especially to Lara Conte, Vinzia Fiorino, Vanessa Martini, *Carla Lonzi: la duplice radicalità. Dalla critica militante al femminismo di Rivolta* (Pisa: ETS, 2011). Lonzi underlined the social aspect, also reflecting on art critics who in the Sixties did not hold a social function. Within the Sixties, contradicting Argan's position in *Avanti!*, see Carla Lonzi, "La solitudine del critico", *Avanti!* (12th December 1963). For Carla Lonzi's comment on Pop Art see Carla Lonzi, "Una categoria operativa", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-9-10 (July-August-September 1964): 193. On Renato Guttuso: he was an artist who since 1937 looked for a new poetics that he called realistic and of nature, adhering to the Communist Party. *I funerali di Togliatti*, 1972 is emblematic of the change of his way of painting at the beginning of the Seventies, based on communication and simplicity. For more on Guttuso see Chapter two of the present thesis. See Franco Solmi, *Renato Guttuso. Funerali di Togliatti*, exh. cat. – Bologna, Palazzo D'Accursio, 1st January-30th February 1974 (Bologna: Comune di Bologna, 1974): 3; Fabio Caparezza Guttuso, *Guttuso: capolavori dai musei*, exh. cat. – Torino, Palazzo Bricherasio, 18th–29th May 2005 (Milano: Electa, 2005): 19-34; Fabio Caparezza Guttuso, Enrico Crispolti, *Guttuso 1912-2012*, exh. cat. – Roma, Complesso del Vittoriano, 12th October 2012-10th February 2012 (Milano: Skira, 2012): 30. For Guttuso's article on L'Espresso see Renato Guttuso, "Una tazza è una tazza", *L'Espresso*, (5th July 1964): 13. On the Kyrgyz kid and socialism: Kyrgyzstan was a socialist republic under the Soviet dominion until 1991, see David C. King, *Kyrgyzstan* (New York: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, 2006); Kelly M.

Differently from Lonzi, Crispolti did not continue to develop his previous thoughts on Socialist Realism, but instead in 1964 reflected more deeply on the phenomenon of industrialization: he described Neo-Dada and Pop Art as new currents that wished to refuse industrialization and to overturn Duchamp's readymades with a parodistic interference through the manual process, very evident from Rauschenberg to Jasper Johns, to Charles Oldenburg, until Andy Warhol[152]. Based on the evidence in this article only, it is complicated to understand the reason behind Crispolti's decision to enter in the Neo-Dada and Pop Art debate precisely in that year, since his main publication on Pop Art, *La Pop Art*, is dated 1966[153]. At the same time, though, this book of his can be read *a posteriori* as giving enlightening clarifications on statements made in 1964: Pop Art embodied a new realism that was the fruit of capitalism as well as of the limited metaphysical and metahistorical fetishization of objects and daily symbols, a reality that was diametrically opposed to the one that had inspired Soviet Socialist Realism. Such new realism rejected industrialization mainly as a rebellion against deplorable working conditions and promoted consumerism as the alternative. This explains, on the one hand, why he focused his attention on the overturn of industrialization, approaching Neo-Dada and Pop Art mainly as juxtaposed with Socialist Realism; however, on the other hand, it does not elucidate the artists' parody that was seen as the sign of their rejection of industrialization. Such an aspect was critiqued after the 1964 exhibit *The American Supermarket*, at the Bianchini Gallery in New York, where Johns, Warhol and Oldenburg marked supermarket products such as beers, fruits and vegetables' boxes with their signature, in order to satirize consumer commodification[154]. Crispolti contributed to the debate that started after the Venice Biennale, with an emphasis on the terminological meaning but chose to focus and to give his opinion about the relationship between Pop Art and industrialization that Argan and Menna had previously deepened in *Marcatrè* as well.

Whereas Menna, Lonzi and Crispolti grounded Pop Art and Neo-Dada in the same terrain but considered them different, the Italian

McMann, *Economic autonomy and democracy: hybrid regimes in Russia and Kyrgyzstan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). To further develop Carla Lonzi's opposition to Guttuso's art refer to Laura Iamurri, *Un margine che sfugge. Carla Lonzi e l'arte in Italia 1955-1970* (Macerata: Quodlibet Studio, 2016): 111-115.

[152] See Enrico Crispolti, "Contropiede al disegno industriale", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-10 (July-August-September 1964): 122-131.

[153] See Enrico Crispolti, *La Pop Art* (Milano: Fabbri, 1966): 152.

[154] Also Rosenquist, Watts, Lichtenstein, Appel, Inman and Wesselman signed supermarket products. See Vv.Aa, *The grand opening of the American supermarket*, exh. cat. – New York, The Bianchini Gallery, 6th October-7th November 1964 (Roma, New York: The Bianchini Gallery, 1964).

art critic Gillo Dorfles, who strongly contributed to the reflection on the social context from which Pop Art originated, once again in *Marcatrè* identified Pop Art with Neo-Dada[155]: «la pop-art, cioè l'arte *popolare* americana o *Neo-Dada*, è una corrente di tipo figurativo, o neo-figurativo»[156]. Although he initially made no distinction between the two definitions, at last the term Pop Art triumphed in his article: Pop Art was the art current that took elements from people's daily life such as Coca-Cola bottles, a toothpaste, and some fragments of a magazine, put them together on canvas, resulting in suggestive compositions. Pop Art was also a type of figurative art that was often pre-constituted: it involved images of photographic collages, posters, bills and pieces of advertisement, and echoed a change of values and iconologies: «questa *pop-art* non è un'arte frivola, come si potrebbe credere, ma anzi è un'arte, direi piuttosto, tragica, un'arte che certamente riflette un momento di crisi, di capovolgimento di valori, di nuove iconologie»[157]. Dorfles' identification of Pop Art with the Neo-Dada current evokes his reflection that preceded the 1964 debate: in *Metro*, in 1961, he reflected on Rauschenberg's art, demonstrating his knowledge of those features of Neo-Dada that were also attributed to Pop Art[158]. He then developed such reflections in *Simbolo, comunicazione, consumo*, a book published in 1962[159], in which he claimed that Rauschenberg's artwork embodied a new iconology that summed up the prestige of both popular and cultured

[155] To read his contributions on the Venice Biennale, in the years from 1949 to 1972 see Anna L. De Simone, *Gillo Dorfles. Inviato alla Biennale* (Milano: Libri Scheiwiller, 2010): 11-385 and Pascale B. Puma, "La revuee *Aut-Aut*, le critique Gillo Dorfles et la Biennale de Venise des arts figuratifs (1951-1968)", *Revue des études italiennes*, u.vol., no. 31 (u. month 1985): 127-132. To learn more about his contributions on aesthetics see Luca Cesari, *Gillo Dorfles. Estetica senza dialettica: scritti dal 1933 al 2014* (Milano: Bompiani, 2016). Dorfles contributed to the reflection on the social context from which Pop Art originated especially through his essay *Nuovi riti, nuovi miti* written in 1965, see Gillo Dorfles *Nuovi riti, nuovi miti* (Torino: Einaudi, 1965). He was interested in the latest tendencies of the time. His former interest was related to the perception that man had with the impact on the environment, and with memories, see Gillo Dorfles, "Percezione, significato e transazione", *Aut Aut*, vol. 36, no. 36 (November 1956): 438-449; in Gillo Dorfles, *Il divenire delle arti* (Milano: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1959): 158-159, he reflects on the relationship between craftmanship, industrial design and pure arts. Industrial objects substituted the artisan ones, predicting the substitution of artisan objects by those produced by machines. Additionally, the creation of new shapes both in objects and in urban cities is a consequence of the *vis formativa* of the industrial object that transfer to the artisan one.

[156] See Gillo Dorfles, "La crisi dell'Informale e le Nuove Tendenze", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-10 (July-August-September 1964): 267. Translation: «Pop-art, that is American folk art or Neo-Dada, is a figurative, or Neo-figurative current».

[157] Ibid., 268. Translation: «This pop art is not a frivolous art, as one might believe, but rather it is an art, I would call tragic, an art that certainly reflects a moment of crisis, of reversal of values, of new iconologies».

[158] Ibid., 34.

[159] See Gillo Dorfles, *Simbolo, comunicazione, consumo* (Torino: Einaudi, 1962).

iconologies. Such iconology entailed mass media products such as television, comics, and *rotocalchi* that could be considered the new myths of the age. In his essay *Nuovi riti, nuovi miti* in 1965[160] he explicitly described these new myths and icons, which he had previously pointed to in 1962 and in 1964[161]. From the very beginning of the discussion around Pop Art, Dorfles looked at the issue as tightly related to the society of mass consumption, postulating the existence of new icons and new myths. Moreover, while he identified Pop Art with Neo-Dada, at last he recognized Pop Art as the most appropriate term to connote the new popular iconology, which he also had identified as the main feature.

Besides the focus that art critics thus mentioned gave to both Pop Art and Neo-Dada, there was a wide range of different reactions to the Biennial which, while they cannot be grouped in one unique discorse from a conceptual viewpoint, still contributed to the progress of the discussion on the term Pop Art. Umberto Eco, Italian philosopher, semiotic and writer who was part of the editorial board of *Marcatrè*, did not enter into the discussion on Neo-Dada and Pop Art but, in *Marcatré*, he identified Pop Art as a key to the Venice Biennale's sections and pavilions, thus indicating the superiority of the term Pop Art over Neo-Dada: «Sì, in senso generale le sale introduttive, anche molte delle varie soluzioni dei padiglioni, sono in chiave pop»[162]. Eco's attention seems to

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[160] See Ibid..

[161] On *rotocalchi* see Laura Iamurri, "Il pennello nell'occhio. La pop art sui rotocalchi, prima e dopo la Biennale del 1964", *Studi di Memofonte*, u. vol., no. 11 (June 2013): 125-135. On the iconology including mass media see Gillo Dorfles, "Rauschenberg, or Obsolescence defeated", *Metro*, vol. 2, no. 2 - *Metro Youngs*, no. 3 - (February 1961): 32-35. Whereas in 1961 Dorfles published *Ultime tendenze dell'arte d'oggi* (Milano: Feltrinelli editore, 1961), in which the expectation could be to better understand why he wrote that article on Rauschenberg, Dorfles continued the reflection on obsolescence the year later in Gillo Dorfles, *Simbolo, comunicazione, consume*, op. cit., 198-203. Industrial objects were made for immediate fruition, tightly related to the use of the object itself, in contrast to pictorial products that are less sensitive to wearing down. In contrast to Informal, Segnic and Gestural art that made use of the lability of the sign, denouncing what leads to obsolescence, painters of Junk Culture and Neo-Dada such as Rauscenberg used such rejected objects. Rauschenberg's *combine-paintings* must not be considered Dada objects e.g., Duchamp's *ready mades*, but as a re-evaluation of the common object i.e., posters, advertisements, newspapers, photography. Rauschenberg's artwork embodies a new iconology that sums up the prestige of popular and culture iconology. Such iconology includes the mass media products' attraction such as television, comics, illustrated magazines that could be considered to be the new myths, the new icons of the age, what Mc Hale defined as expendable icons. See John McHale, "The expendable icon I" and, "The expendable icon II", *The architectural design*, vol. 29, no. 2, no.3 (February-March 1950): 82-83;116-117; Dorfles in Ibid., 111-174 deepens the aspects of the symbol and of communication in the American aesthetic.

[162] See Umberto Eco, "La Triennale di Milano intervista Umberto Eco", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-10 (July-August-September 1964): 134. Translation: «Yes, in a general sense the introductory rooms, even many of the various solutions of the pavilions, are in a pop key».

explicitly signal what he already stated in his book *Apocalittici e integrati*, 1964[163], in which he reflected on the context of mass consumerist society: he was more focused on the term Pop Art, since it was the term that included the consumer attitude of his era, which he was very much interested in. Additionally, he might have been drawn to expose himself on Pop Art, although it did not pertain to his expertise, because of his belonging to Gruppo 63, a group that was literary in nature but still very involved in non-verbal art[164].

Emilio Tadini, instead, was a contemporary painter and art critic who declared his opinion in *Arte Club*, a review focused on art, antiquarianism, painting and graphic art; he regarded Pop Art as fresh, brash, vigorous and secure and connected Pop Art to the European experiences shown in the art fair Documenta III, Kassel, 1964, revealing one crucial similarity with Restany's intent: to unite the artistic experiences coming from the same ground, whether it was European or American[165]. Two more aspects must be highlighted when discussing Tadini's reflections: in the first place, his association with Bruno Alfieri, with whom he also collaborated on *Metro*; in the second place, that in 1959 he curated the exhibit of the artist Valerio Adami, who starting in 1959 embraced the new trend[166]. Whereas Eco classified Pop Art almost as

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[163] See Umberto Eco, *Apocalittici e Integrati*, op. cit..

[164] For more on Umberto Eco's biography and art critical thought see Umberto Eco, *Opera aperta: forma e indeterminazione nelle poetiche contemporanee* (Milano: Bompiani, 2016): 1 – first edition in 1962; on his philosophy see Sara G. Beardsworth, Randall E. Auxier, *The philosophy of Umberto Eco* (Chicago: Open Court, 2017); on his activity as semiotician see Mohamed Bernoussi, *Umberto Eco, sémioticien et romancier* (Milano, Udine: Mimésis, 2017). Eco, besides his previously mentioned article on the death of art in *Il Verri*, already in both 1961 and 1962 manifested his interest in the new art perspectives: in the art review *Il Verri*, see Umberto Eco, "L'informale come opera aperta", *Il Verri*, vol. 5, no. 3 (June 1961): 98-127 – also Renato Barilli, Maurizio Calvesi, Alberto Boatto, Enrico Crispolti, Gillo Dorfles, Marisa Volpi, Cesare Vivaldi and Filiberto Menna wrote in this issue, spelling out the interest for overcoming Informal Art; on the occasion of the exhibit *Nuove prospettive della pittura italiana*, organized together with other young art critics such as Maurizio Calvesi and Renato Barilli, in which artists such as Mario Schifano, Franco Angeli, Tano Festa exhibited, see Vv.Aa., *Nuove prospettive della pittura italiana*, op. cit.. For further information on the artists see Chapter two of this thesis. On Eco's belonging to Gruppo 63 see Renato Barilli, *Il Gruppo 63 e le arti*, in *Il Gruppo 63 quarant'anni dopo*, op. cit., 120.

[165] For Tadini's opinion see Emilio Tadini, "XXXII Biennale di Venezia. C'è proprio tutta l'arte contemporanea d'oggi nei musei contemporanei?", *Arte Club*, vol. 6, no. 22 (September-November 1964): 22-30. On *Arte Club*: *Arte Club*, trimestral review, printed in Milan from 1959 to 1965, by Garzanti editore. On Documenta Kassel, 1964 see Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila. Artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei*, op. cit., 57.

[166] At the end of the Fifties and at the beginning of the Sixties, Tadini also collaborated as curator for Adami's exhibit both at Galleria del Naviglio and at Galleria del Cavallino in Venice during the 32ª Biennale, see Emilio Tadini, *Valerio Adami*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria del Naviglio, 17th-26th October 1959 (Milano: Galleria del Naviglio, 1959); Emilio Tadini, *Valerio Adami: 585. Mostra del Cavallino*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Galleria del Cavallino, 23rd April-

a category through his philosophical perspective, Tadini described different features from those previously recognized by other art critics; he put an end to the discussion over the territorial supremacy of Pop Art, underlining again the European background of Pop Art through the similarities found between Pop artwork and those exhibited within the Documenta III European exhibit.

1.3.3.1 Newspapers and magazines: reactions to the 1964 Venice Biennale

The debate over the Venice Biennale offered different connotations on Pop Art from those discussed so far, if investigated in daily and weekly newspapers (e.g., *Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica*, *La stampa, Panorama*, *L'Espresso*, *Il Messaggero*)[167]: there, poets, writers, artists and painters discussed the term Pop Art as art critics did, but from a different

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5th May 1964 (Venezia: Galleria del Cavallino, 1964). Tadini's interest in post-Informal research is also explicit in Emilio Tadini, "L'organicità del reale", *Il Verri*, vol. 8, no. 12 (December 1963): 12-19. For further information on the artist Valerio Adami see Chapter two of this thesis.

[167] For further information on such newspapers see the following texts: on *Corriere della Sera*, daily newspaper in the Sixties (from 1961 to 1968) directed by Alfio Russo refer to Vv.Aa., *Cento anni del Corriere della Sera, 1876-1976* (Milano: Corriere della Sera, 1976); Giuseppe Are, *Storia del Corriere della Sera* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1976). On *La Stampa*, daily newspaper, founded in Turin in 1867 and directed in the Sixties by Giulio De Benedetti, which took a popular orientation directed toward the FIAT workers, refer to Valerio Castronovo, *La Stampa. 150 anni, 1867-2017: Un giornale, la sua epoca, il suo futuro* (Torino: Aragno, 2017); Mario Grandinetti, *Un giornale, un'azienda: la Stampa dal 1945 ad oggi* (Torino: Gutenberg, 2000). *Panorama,* founded in 1962 in Milan by the editor Arnoldo Mondadori, was initially directed by Nantas Salvalaggio, former collaborator of both *Corriere della Sera* and *L'Epoca*, directed by Leo Lionni starting in 1964 (see footnote on Lionni), and then by Lamberto Sechi, in 1965, who changed the monthly review to a weekly one. On *Panorama,* focused on a variety of topics, from Italian politics to culture, economy and theater, see Giovanni Gozzini, *Storia del giornalismo* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2011): 271; Fausto Colombo, *Libri, giornali e riviste a Milano: storia delle innovazioni nell'editoria milanese dall'Ottocento ad oggi* (Milano: Abitare Segesta cataloghi, 1998): 210. *L'Espresso* was a weekly newspaper founded in 1955 by Arrigo Benedetti and Eugenio Scalfari, respectively former collaborators of the newspapers *L'Europeo* and *Il Mondo*. Scalfari directed the newspaper from 1963 to 1968. On *L'Espresso,* focused on economy, politics and culture, see Massimo Veneziani, *Controinformazione: stampa alternativa e giornalismo d'inchiesta dagli anni Sessanta a oggi* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2006): 177-183; Gianni Corbi, Umberto Eco, Antonio Gambino, Eugenio Scalfari, *L'Espresso 1955-1980* (Pomezia: Editoriale L'Espresso, 1981). *Il Messaggero* was founded in Rome in 1878 by Luigi Cesana and Baldassarre Avanzini both journalists of *Il Fanfulla* (Avanzini was also the founder). On *Il Messaggero*, directed by the journalist Alessandro Perrone from 1952 to 1973, see Giuseppe Talamo, *Il Messaggero un giornale laico: cento anni di storia, vol. 3* (Firenze: le Monnier, 1984): 360; Mario Grandinetti, *I quotidiani in Italia, 1943-1991* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1992): 63; Costanzo Costantini, *La storia del Messaggero: il più grande quotidiano di Roma dalla sua fondazione ad oggi* (Roma: Gremese, 2008); for an overview of the Italian monthly and weekly newspaper see Mauro Forno, *Informazione e potere: storia del giornalismo italiano* (Roma, Bari: GLF editori Laterza, 2012).

perspective, which involved common people and not only the artistic elite. As will be evident from the investigation on Dictionaries, all of the authors seem to have noted the more common usage of the term Pop Art, more than art reviews: indeed, the definition of Pop Art that Italian linguists had registered, demonstrated that those comments in art reviews partly influenced the designation of Pop Art. Among the newspapers investigated, only some considerations emerge for the terminological debate after the Venice Biennale and they were published especially in *Corriere della Sera* and in *Panorama*.

The first in line to be hostile to Pop Art were Eugenio Montale, Leo Lionni and Leonardo Borgese. Eugenio Montale, poet and writer, who was interested in Anglo-American literature and was the editor of *Corriere della Sera*, compared the Venice Biennale to a latrine: Pop Art seemed very distant from its audience, since visitors were not allowed to approach any of the artwork[168]. His comment was also the fruit of his personal point of view on art overall: Montale believed that art should have a direct and immediate participation in the present without undergoing the wear of everyday life and that artwork should modify people's daily life[169]. Montale's comment was similar to Argan's and Zevi's claim about the lack of judgement in Pop Art; however, besides the fact that it remains unknown whether he had read their comments or had had any connection with them, it is to note that his emphasis was more on Pop Art's capacity of engaging with people. Leo Lionni, Dutch Futurist painter and writer, was in line with Montale's hostility; in *Panorama* he claimed that the aggressiveness through which the object came back on the scene in Pop Art was obscuring Abstract art[170].

Lionni's interest in commenting on Pop Art was different from Montale's: in 1964 he was called to New York to become the new director of the newspaper *Panorama*. In his recent autobiography he declares that when he became the director, *Panorama* was finally catching up with the

[168] See Eugenio Montale, "Dal museo alla vita", *Corriere della sera* (27th September 1964): 11. For more on Montale as art critic see Giorgio Zampa, *Eugenio Montale. Il secondo mestiere: arte, musica, società* (Milano: Mondadori, 1996); Elio Gioanola, *Montale: l'arte è la forma di vita di chi propriamente non vive* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2011); Chiara Negri, *Scheiwiller a Milano, 1925-1983: immagini e documenti*, exh. cat. – Milano, Palazzo Sormani, u.d.o.b. November-o.d.o.e. December 1983 (Milano: Libri Scheiwiller, 1983).

[169] For Montale's belief on art see Giorgio Zampa, *Eugenio Montale. Auto da fè: cronache in due tempi* (Milano: Oscar Mondadori, 2016).

[170] See Unsigned, "L'arte ha fatto 'pop': dall'astrattismo al dentifricio", *Panorama* (November 1964): 107. Translation: «the object is back: ugly, desolate, brutal». For more on Leo Lionni see in particular *«Panorama» e la Commissione per le attività antiamericane*, pp. 259-265 in Martino Negri, Francesco Cappa, *Leo Lionni. Tra i miei mondi. Un'autobiografia* (Roma: Donzelli editore); Daniele Saresella, *Dal Concilio alla contestazione: riviste cattoliche negli anni del cambiamento, 1958-1968* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005): 43; Enrico Cicalò, "Anne Fletcher. Il disegno di una vita", *Disegnare idee immagini*, vol. 27, no. 52 (June 2016): 58-69.

contemporary art world[171]. Surely, the fact that he was an artist working in New York and that he wanted to have *Panorama* engaged with the contemporary scene suggests that he was deeply aware of both Abstract Art and Pop Art; at the same time, there is no additional information on Lionni's analysis, and thus it can only be the object of a tentative reconstruction. Different from Montale and Lionni but still an opponent of Pop Art, was the writer and painter Leonardo Borgese, art critic for *Corriere della Sera* from 1945 to 1967. He was a little conservative toward new artistic experiments and adopted Argan's line against Pop Art as his article demonstrated. While on June 1964 he claimed the death of art in *Corriere della sera*, two months later he wrote about Pop Artists «Sparlano dell'industria ma ne sono i parassiti»[172], blaming them for being against capitalism but for living that way anyway. It was surprising that Borgese claimed the death of art in line with Argan, given that the two did not have a pleasant relationship since 1957, when Borgese accused Argan through a letter of having been unfair in judging the art critic Ugo Ojetti after his death[173]. However, a similarity of judgment could be explained both through Borgese's artistic interests in modern art, like Argan, and his introduction into the art critical debate between Pop Art and industrialization.

In contrast to such polemics, Dino Buzzati, Italian writer, journalist, painter, artist, scenographer, and poet, who collaborated with *Corriere della Sera* from his student days and who replaced Borgese in 1967, pointed to two novelties in the term Pop Art: in the first place, he attributed Italian citizenship to Pop Art[174]; in the second place, the distance of the term from the popular world, claiming: «Pop-art significa letteralmente 'arte popolare' ma con l'arte popolare solitamente intesa

[171] See the previous note.

[172] See Leonardo Borgese, "Sparlano dell'industria ma ne sono i parassiti", *Corriere della sera*, (10th August 1964): 3. Translation: «They speak ill about industry, but they are its parasites». The art critic Leonardo Borgese wrote for ten years in *Corriere della Sera* against every type of Abstract Art; see his article from 1958 in which he attacks the 29th Venice Biennale on *Domenica del Corriere*, in June, Leonardo Borgese, "Il nulla alla Biennale", *La Domenica del Corriere* (6th July 1958); he also collaborated with several reviews such as *Arti Plastiche*, *Domus*, *L'Europeo*, *La lettura*, see footnote 7 in Marino Moretti, Simone Margherini, Laura Diafani, *Carteggio. 4, 1963-1974* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2000): 35; Marino Moretti, *Il libro dei miei amici* (Milano: Mondadori, 1960): 205-225.

[173] See GNAM website: https://opac.lagallerianazionale.com/gnam-web/fondi/detail/IT-GNAM-ST0010
-000336/borgese-leonardo-critico-d-arte-e-pittore.html?currentNumber=27&startPage=21&gridView=false

[174] See Dino Buzzati, "Anche popolata di mostri è sempre un grosso fatto", *Corriere della sera*, (19th-20th June 1964): 3.

non ha nessun rapporto»[175]. According to Buzzati the word popular was simply related to elements of modern life, but Pop Art did not have any link with that: he was the first one to draw this line. Perhaps he wanted to state that despite the fact that Pop Art was the abbreviation of Popular Art, the American meaning had nothing to do with what *arte popolare* meant in Italy. He had the knowledge to come to such a conclusion: indeed, from 1963 to 1965, among his several trips as correspondent for *Corriere della Sera* (e.g., in Japan, Bombay, Prague), he went to New York, where he visited the Leo Castelli Gallery where Roy Lichtenstein's artwork was being shown. Coming across Lichtenstein's artwork and understanding it was the source of inspiration for his book *Poema a fumetti*, published in 1969, in which he used comics instead of prose[176]. Buzzati's understanding of the popular art that served as a source for Lichtenstein's is helpful to explain why he made the distinction between what Pop Art meant and what *arte popolare* in Italy meant instead; however, he was not as apt at deepening such nuance as well as art critics in art reviews. Besides Dino Buzzati, the list of art critics who participated in the Venice Biennale debate in newspapers is long, but the articles do not provide information on the object of investigation of this chapter, which is the history of the term Pop Art. Therefore, only meaningful comments to better comprehend the depth and complexity of the relevance of Pop Art's advent in 1964 will be mentioned in footnotes[177].

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[175] See Dino Buzzati, "Arriva la 'pop-art'", *Corriere della Sera*, (20th June 1964): 3. Translation: «Pop Art literally means 'folk art' but it has no relationship with popular art as it is usually understood».

[176] See Dino Buzzati, *Poema a fumetti* (Milano: Mondadori, 1969). For his activity as art critic see in particular: Annalisa Carbone, *Dipingere e scrivere per me sono la stessa cosa. Dino Buzzati tra parola e immagine* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2016): 11-35. For more on how Pop Art was one of the sources for his painting refer to Maria Eugenia Zucco, "Fonti iconografiche della pittura di Dino Buzzati", *Studi buzzatiani* , vol. 2, no. 2 (February 1997): 34; Silvia Zangrandi, *Dino Buzzati: l'uomo, l'artista* (Bologna: Pàtron, 2014) and *Arriva la Pop Art*, p. 486 in Dino Buzzati, *Cronache Terrestri* (Milano: Oscar Mondadori, 2012).

[177] See in particular: Nello Ponente, "Inaugurata ieri la XXII Biennale", *Avanti!* (21st June 1964): 6; Nello Ponente, "La Biennale di Venezia", *Rivista Italsider* (June-September 1964): 17-18; Filiberto Menna, "Bilancio della XXXII Biennale", *L'Europa Letteraria* (June-September 1964):145-148; for the Church's polemic on the Biennale see Unsigned, "La ragione di Venezia", *Osservatore Romano* (25th June 1964):1; Marziano Bernardi, "Un'orgia del più estremo modernismo domina la XXII Biennale di Venezia", *La Stampa* (20th June 1964): 3. Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, despite underlining in *L'Espresso* – Carlo L. Ragghianti, "I nonni della Pop Art", *L'Espresso* (16th August 1964): 18 – how what was exhibited at the Venice Biennale was taken for granted, emphasizing the novelty of the Pop art technique: the use of extra-pictorial material. It was meaningful that a prominent art critic such as Ragghianti did not comment on Pop Art in *Selearte,* the art review that he was directing. For more on the reactions of several newspapers to the 1964 Venice Biennale refer also to Pascale B. Puma, "La Biennale de Venise (1948-1968) vue par il Mondo et L'Espresso", *Cahiers d'études romanes*, u. vol., no. 6 (u. month 1980): 29-47; Pascale B. Puma,

1.3.4 The history of the term Pop Art and its debate from 1964 to 1967: further developments

In comparing art reviews and newspapers, the main evidence is that the former included critics who were more open to novelties, whereas the latter were more conservative: against capitalism, objectiveness and the confusion between Pop Art and *arte popolare* as was commonly understood in Italy. However, both art reviews and newspapers grasped the issue that would be crucial in the development of the debate. Indeed, from December 1964 to 1967, the American origin and supremacy of the current was further defined, while from 1965 to 1968 three main debates on Pop Art were raised: first, about the connection of the term Pop Art to the art market (1965); second about the history of the origin of Pop Art (1965-1967) — outside of the art review debate, but worthy of mention, is also the 15th Verucchio Conference, a parenthesis on *Arte popolare moderna* held in 1966 — and finally about the terminological issue once again (1967-1968).

With regards to American supremacy, in December 1964 Vittorio Rubiu, art critic who was a curator for the Roman Galleria La Salita until 1964 (gallery that was open to the international new currents), not only restated it at that year's Venice Biennale, but also signaled the importance of that event, which caused attention on the US to reach its postwar peak[178]. On the contrary Bruno Alfieri affirmed the European supremacy of the current, tracing the antecedents of «Pop solutions»[179] to Picasso's sculptures (1948-52), denigrating the term Pop itself as vulgar and banal, as an élite phenomenon, in spite of its etymology[180]. Whereas Rubiu's interest was to affirm that American artists were most important, given that he was curating exhibits for American art, Alfieri, after his initial support for them, aligned with the polemics on Pop Art following the

"La stampa socialista italiana e la Biennale di Venezia delle arti figurative (1948-1968)", *Prospettive*, vol. 70, no. 1 (January 1982): 157-168; Pascale B. Puma, "Le Corriere della Sera et la Biennale de Venise des arts figuratifs: le cas Borgese", *Cahiers d'études romanes*, u. vol., no. 9 (u. month 1984): 63-72.

[178] See Vittorio Rubiu, "La materia dell'informale è esplosa nell'oggetto" (Translation: "The material of the informal bursts into the object"), *Collage*, vol. 3 , no. 3-4 (December 1964): 93-97. Vittorio Rubiu was curator with Thomas B. Hess of Boris Lurie and Sam Goodman, both American artists, see Vittorio Rubiu, Thomas B. Hess, *Boris Lurie, Sam Goodman: doom show*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Salita, 8th November 1962-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria La Salita, 1962); see also Vittorio Rubiu, *Titone Titone*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Salita, 15th April 1964- u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria La Salita, 1964).

[179] See Bruno Alfieri, "Dopo il complesso di inferiorità di New York con Parigi (1900-1963) ecco il complesso di Parigi con New York malgé De Gaulle (intanto Londra cresce)", *Metro*, vol. 5, no. 10 (October 1965): 6.

[180] See Bruno Alfieri, "La situazione dell'arte POPuguale NON POPOLARE", *Metro*, vol. 5, no. 9 (April 1965): 4-8.

critics' discussion over the Venice Biennale, denigrating the term and tracing Pop's supremacy to European antecedents.

After 1964, art critics documented the gallerists' position on Pop Art and the art market system with respect to the Pop Art trend: in 1965 in *Metro* the term Pop Art was associated with the gallerist Ileana Sonnabend[181] as the lady who was selling in Paris «certain forms of Pop Art»[182]. Leo Castelli was also introduced into the art market discussion at the end of 1965, when Heidy A. Giusti, correspondent for *D'Ars Agency*, interviewed him, stating that he was considered the father of Pop Art («Lei è considerato il Papà della Pop Art…»[183]). For the first time since the beginning of the debate, the term Pop Art had entered the sphere of the art market, led by two American gallerists, Sonnabend and Castelli, who were prominent art dealers at the Biennale. Indeed, Castelli represented Rauschenberg's art, and Sonnabend, Castelli's former wife, was the director of the Castelli Gallery in Paris[184]. In his interview Castelli took distance from the term Pop Art, claiming that the expression was superficial, and it meant too many things: «l'espressione pop-art è diventata un'espressione che abbraccia troppe cose»[185]. However, he stated that among Pop artists, there were six or seven who were «pop-artisti puri»[186] , namely: Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, James Dine and Robert Indiana, artists he dealt with much before 1964. Alfieri seemed to respect the distance that Castelli took from the term and from the artists represented by him, but at the same time he tried to move away from the American supremacy of

[181] Castelli's former wife, Ileana Shapiro, directed his gallery in Paris in 1962. For more on the activity of Sonnabend as art collector and art gallerist see Manuela Gandini, Achille B. Oliva, *Ileana Sonnabend: the queen of art* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2008); on her activity on Pop Art refer to Ileana Sonnabend, Margaret Sundell, *From Pop to now: selections from the Sonnabend Collection*, exh. cat. – Saratoga Springs, Wachenheim Gallery, Malloy Gallery, State Farm Mezzanine Gallery, Winter Gallery, 22nd June-29th September 2002 (Saratoga Springs: The Frances Young Tanf Teaching Museum, 2002); Vv.Aa., *La collezione Sonnabend. Dalla Pop Art in poi*, exh. cat. – Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, 14th April-2nd October 1989 (Milano: Electa, 1989). Meaningful accounts of Ileana Sonnabend are given by Gillo Dorfles in Gillo Dorfles, *Paesaggi e Personaggi* (Milano: Bompiani, 2017) and in Alan Jones, *Leo Castelli: l'italiano che inventò l'arte in America* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2007).

[182] See Bruno Alfieri, "Dopo il complesso di inferiorità di New York con Parigi (1900-1963) ecco il complesso di Parigi con New York malgé De Gaulle (intanto Londra cresce)", *Metro*, op. cit., 4-13.

[183] See Hedy A. Giusti, "New York. Intervista a Leo Castelli", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 6, no. 5 (December 1965-March 1966): 22-27. Translation: «You are considered as the father of Pop Art».

[184] See Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo&C.*, op. cit., 269-270.

[185] See Hedy A. Giusti, "New York. Intervista a Leo Castelli", *D'Ars Agency*, op. cit., 23. Translation: «The expression Pop Art has become an expression that embraces too many things. After all, there are six or seven pure Pop artists, not counting Rauschenberg and Johns [...]».

[186] Ibid.. Translation: «Pure Pop artists».

the term. In *Metro,* Alfieri connected Sonnabend to Pop Art[187], insofar as she, after marrying Castelli, pioneered with him the international art market of this new trend and denigrated the current because it indiscriminately involved artists such as Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, James Rosenquist and Roy Lichtenstein; nonetheless he reaffirmed its «European cultural derivation»[188]. Alfieri clearly played the role of the mediator: on the one hand he respected Castelli and his thought, on the other hand, in stating the European derivation of Pop Art he also preserved himself as a critic, following his declaration of neutrality on external influences.

Besides the association between Pop Art and art dealers, in 1965 two art critics properly identified the ongoing art market trend: Emilio Tadini noted that the main attempt was to bring Pop Art in museums because Pop Art was a fetishization of the object that extroverted it: Pop Art's iconography was thus neither consumed nor suffered, but contemplated, producing the fetishization of a fetish. Sandra Pinto, instead, observed that in 1965 everything that the American market came in contact with would suddenly become Pop[189]. Pinto reflected also on Italian Pop Artists who aimed at an immediate popularity, making use of culture as something unconventional versus culture-decoration or culture-storage that was traditional in Italian art[190]. Pinto was not interested in noting the relevance of Pop Art for museums; despite being one of Argan's pupils, she was different from his other pupils mentioned so far (e.g., Menna) and did not denigrate Pop Art, nor did she seem against it. In comparison, Pinto apparently distanced herself from the content of Pop Art as well as from those critics who detached from what popular meant in Italy; she appeared to follow Alfieri's line more than Argan's and that could be explained through the fact that she was collaborating with *Metro*, a review that had a clear position on Pop Art and American Art currents. However, in noting that Italian artists were aiming to an immediate popularity through Pop Art, Pinto seemed to

[187] See Bruno Alfieri, "Dopo il complesso di inferiorità di New York con Parigi (1900-1963) ecco il complesso di Parigi con New York malgé De Gaulle (intanto Londra cresce)", *Metro*, op. cit., 4-13.

[188] Ibid., 4-6.

[189] For Pop Art as fetishization of the object see Bruno Alfieri, Emilio Tadini, "Ecco, nella pittura di Valerio Adami, affrontati i problemi grossi e tipici della nuova Operazione Visuale", *Metro*, vol. 5, no. 9 (April 1965): 30-39. Sandra Pinto, "All'ombra delle pompe di benzina. Momenti dell'ideologia popolare nell'arte d'oggi", *Metro*, vol. 8, no. 13 (February 1968): 39-47. On Sandra Pinto: she was Argan's pupil (1958-1959) and his assistant (1968-1969), see Sandra Pinto, *Argan e la contemporaneità*, pp. 90-96 in Claudio Gamba, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Intellettuale e storico dell'arte*, op. cit..

[190] Ibid.. In this situation Pinto indicates Schifano as the Marco Polo of the situation since he circulates materials, techniques, and images that, with a sort of curiosity for travelling, he discovers abroad.

somehow maintain Argan's position on the lack of judgment of Pop Art, once again showing Argan's influence in the Pop Art debate.

From 1965 to 1967 art critics were more interested in accurately defining the origin of Pop Art rather than its link with the art market, as art historian Mila Pistoi did: in *Marcatrè*, referring to Lucy Lippard's book *Pop Art*, 1966[191], she affirmed Hamilton's importance in the generation of Pop Art[192]. Besides Pistoi, the genesis of Pop Art in the UK was underlined more in common newspapers rather than in art reviews, especially considering Lucy Lippard's book, defined as «un breviario della Pop Art, ricco di materiale informativo e documentario»[193]. Pistoi's main claim was that Pop Art initially began in the UK and then independently in New York, grounding the advent of the direct and unexplored language of Pop Art in both European and American antecedents (such as in Cubist collages). Mila Pistoi as an art critic herself was not implicated in the previous debate on Pop Art, probably because she was focused more on Art Nouveau[194]; however, her position seems to continue on the first appearance of Pop Art from the UK on *D'Ars Agency*. Surely her position wanted to enter the discussion on the issue of territorial supremacy, given that she, in contrast to the leading claim of the American supremacy of Pop Art, affirmed its British origin, tracing Pop Art to its European antecedents.

At the same time, though, what she stated appeared an exaggeration of Lucy Lippard's and Lawrence Alloway's declarations in the 1966 publication on the British genesis of the term and of the current, constituting a new part of the ongoing debate. Indeed in 1967, Bruno Alfieri also pointed out the association between the term and the UK in *Metro*[195]: he was the one who introduced the theme of the paternity of the term that Alloway claimed in Lucy Lippards' book. He also took another chance to denigrate the term: Alfieri, in fact, claimed that the word Pop Art was accidentally invented by Lawrence Alloway who misrepresented the trend, and the term as such was more suited to represent fashion accessories: «Dopo il diluvio della 'Pop Art' (termine inventato casualmente da Lawrence Alloway e che ha snaturato tutto un

[191] See Lucy Lippard, *Pop Art*, op. cit..
[192] See Mila Pistoi, "Riviste", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 4, no. 19-20-21 (April 1966): 387-389. In the Sixties, Mila Pistoi was interested in Art Nouveau and in architecture, see for instance, Mila L. Pistoi, *Implicanze astratte dell'art nouveau* (Milano: Comunità, 1966); Mila L. Pistoi, *Torino: mezzo secolo di architettura, 1865-1915: dalle suggestioni post-risorgimentali ai fermenti del nuovo secolo* (Torino: tipografia torinese editrice, 1969).
[193] See Unsigned, "Le mele pop", *Corriere della sera* (13th August 1967): 11. Translation: «A Pop Art breviary, full of informative and documentary material».
[194] See the previous footnote on Mila Pistoi.
[195] See Unsigned, "Editoriale", *Metro*, vol. 7, no. 12 (March 1967): 4.

movimento, e che va rigettato al campo della moda per gli accessori vistosi[196]) fermiamoci un momento a respirare e cerchiamo di essere intelligenti»[197]. Alfieri's position in 1967 was clear as he was still against the name Pop Art, as was Castelli: whereas he did not propose, nor coin, a different term to indicate the Pop Art current, one year later, in 1968 he pointed at *Neorealismo pop* juxtaposed to Abstract Expressionism as something given by the curator Paolo Marinotti for distinguishing the two sections of the exhibition *Campo Vitale*[198], in which Oldenburg, Lichtenstein and Rauschenberg participated together with Dubuffet, Alechinsky, Appel and Saura[199]. Although Alfieri did not explain the reasons of his support for the new term, looking back at the data analysis done so far *Neorealismo pop* seemed to diplomatically solve years of discussion: the term entailed the Neo-Dada current, Realism as in Nouveau Réalisme and the Pop characteristic of Pop Art. This expedient that tried to satisfy all art critics and art dealers was meant to end the terminological debate.

1.3.5 15th Conference at Verucchio

Outside of art review debates but nonetheless worthy of consideration *a latere* of the present discussion is the parenthesis of the 15th Conference at Verucchio on *Arte popolare moderna*, 1966: although the juxtaposition of Pop Art and *arte popolare* raised over the years did not continue in art reviews, art critics who participated in the discussion of the term Pop Art such as Argan, Zevi, Dorfles and Restany developed the concept of *arte popolare*, not in contrast with Pop Art, but considering some aspects with which Pop Art has been related, from Industrial design to Nouveau Réalisme[200]. The main issue centered on whether to consider Modern Art as *arte popolare*, also questioning its relationship with mass society: according to Argan, who led the conference, the contemporaneity of the

[196] The author connects the word Pop with a boutique in Paris that sells 'pop' and 'op' dress.
[197] Ibid., 4. Translation: «After the deluge of 'Pop Art' (a term accidentally invented by Lawrence Alloway and which has distorted a whole movement, and which should be thrown back into the field of fashion to refer to conspicuous accessories) let's pause for a moment and try to be intelligent».
[198] See Paolo Marinotti, *Campo Vitale*, exh. cat. – Venezia, *Centro internazionale delle arti e del costume*, u.d.o.b. July- u.d.o.e. October 1967 (Milano: Rizzoli, 1967). The exhibit was reviewed by Bruno Alfieri four months later.
[199] See Bruno Alfieri, "Mostre, avvenimenti, happenings, scandali, pretesti ed eccitamenti, opere nuove, *Metro*, vol. 8, no. 13 (February 1968): 226-237. Paolo Marinotti, curator of the exhibition, divided the show in two sectors: Expressionism and Pop Neo-Realism. According to Alfieri the division was anti-historical and wrong. However, neither Alfieri, nor Marinotti explained the expression Neo-Realismo Pop.
[200] See Francesca R. Fratini, *Arte popolare moderna. Gli incontri di Verucchio* (Bologna: Cappelli editore, 1968). For Argan see pp. 23-33; for Zevi see pp. 36-46; for Dorfles see pp. 54-59; for Zevi see pp. 36-46; for Restany, see pp. 85-96.

theme followed not only the development of Industrial Society and mass consumer society, but also the change of popular classes, able to influence the role of art. Initially Argan pointed at the equivocality of *arte popolare* as something that goes between folk and cultured art, introducing the ambiguity of popular as referring to the working class, on the one hand and to the bourgeoise, on the other. On the contrary, Dorfles and Restany had clearer positions: while the former considered *arte popolare* as an applied art as well as Industrial design, the latter stated that *arte popolare* was Nouveau Réalisme due to its objectual poetic that embodied man's awareness within industrial society. Finally, Zevi related the theme to popular architecture, defined as such if referred to the building's aim (e.g., destined to the working class). In conclusion the debate ended with Argan's reiteration of the ambiguity of the concept of *arte popolare* and his highlighting the role of *popolo*, a Marxist political strength able to manipulate Modern Art. The 1966 Verucchio conference demonstrates thus how the initial meaning of *arte popolare* documented by art reviews such as *Documento Sud* was more bound to local folklore art, while after the Pop Art advent and the historical-societal changes it needed a wider study and also a redefinition. Additionally, such a conference shows how, when raised, the clash between what popular meant in the US and Italy was really felt and constituted one solid point of opposition with the American import of the current.

1.3.6 Pop Art as an Avant-guard

Throughout the discussion over the history on the term Pop Art, art critics also questioned its being an Avant-guard, and this issue started to be significantly discussed from 1965 to 1967. In order to be comprehended as such, the issue must be contextualized in a wider discussion on Avant-guards that from the beginning of the Fifties involved several fields, from art to literature[201]. Such fields were trying to define which were the artistic Avant-guards, and at the same time which was the Avant-guard lexicon: the common point was the definition of its features. Only a few art critics' studies attempted to defined the term 'avant-guard,' but from Cesare Brandi's publication, in 1952, to Antonio Prete's, in 1967, the shared idea was both a break with past tradition and the production of novelty. In this regard, art historians not involved in the Pop Art debate, but developing their consideration on Avant-guards, underlined different nuances: Cesare Brandi, in 1952, identified the Romantic spirit in every Avant-guard, due to the important break with

[201] See for instance Mario De Micheli, *Le avanguardie artistiche del Novecento* (Milano: Schwarz editore, 1959); Angelo Guglielmi, *Avanguardia e sperimentalismo* (Varese: Feltrinelli, 1964); Piero Raffa, *Avanguardia e realismo* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1967).

the past that Romanticism had enacted[202]; Giuseppe Marchiori, in 1960, reflected upon the improper term 'Avant-guard Art,' which was accepted to show the provocative spirit that it entailed[203]. Roberto Tassi, in 1966, deepened several points: according to him, the novelty was contained within the concept of avant-guard itself that presumed a qualitative jump with respect to the previous art and marked an adventure looking for the new, an exploration toward unknown territories. It was characterized by the fact that it was made of movements or groups that within their linguistic areas had both formal and ideological conventions and a precise temporal delimitation. The element of ideology was a crucial one too: within the movements, ideas needed to be stated very precisely, and for this reason manifestos, programs and theorical treatises were needed. As a consequence, avant-guard art was an élite art. Besides these components, the most important factor was the complete revolution of formal structures: Avant-guards created new linguistic elements that contributed to form the tone of the figurative language of the 20th century and that took into account external inputs coming from reality, such as the modification of social relationships and the enlargement of psychological knowledge, especially the foundation of psychanalysis[204]. Antonio Prete, in 1967, considered the ambiguity that each Avant-guard entailed, meaning the enunciation of linguistic break and the ideological riot that marked the end of the Romantic age, warning that the revision of historical Avant-guards was still blocked in historiographical hypothesis[205].

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[202] See Cesare Brandi, *La fine dell'avanguardia e l'arte d'oggi* (Milano: Edizioni della Meridiana, 1952): 9-41. To further develop Cesare Brandi's theorical activity as art historian see Massimo Carboni, *Cesare Brandi: teoria e esperienza dell'arte* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2003); Paolo D'Angelo, *Cesare Brandi: critica d'arte e filosofia* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2006); Luigi Russo, Emilio Garroni, Paolo D'Angelo, *I dialoghi sulle arti di Cesare Brandi* (Palermo: Centro internazionale studi di estetica, 1997); Vv.Aa., *Cesare Brandi: teoria ed esperienza dell'arte*, Conf. Proceedings – Siena, 12th-14th November 2001 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2001); to further develop his other theories, such as those on Restauro see Cesare Brandi, *Teoria del Restauro* (Torino: Einaudi, 2007).

[203] See Giuseppe Marchiori, *Arte e artisti d'avanguardia in Italia*, 1910-1950 (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1960): 8. Marchiori was interested in Informal Art, and he was Alfieri's mentor, see notes on Alfieri.

[204] See Roberto Tassi, *Le avanguardie: cubismo, futurismo, astrattismo* (Milano: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1966): unpaginated. Roberto Tassi was studying Postimpressionism, Expressionism, Fauvism and Social realism and also collaborated with Carla Lonzi and Filiberto Menna; see in particular: Carla Lonzi, Roberto Tassi, Filiberto Menna, *Tre saggi su Ottone Rosai* (Firenze: Istituto Statale d'Arte, 1958); Roberto Tassi, *Chapter 26. Fauvismo, Espressionismo, Realismo sociale* in Vv.Aa., *Storia della Pittura* (Milano: Fabbri, 1966); Roberto Tassi, *Chapter 28. Dal surrealismo alle correnti più recenti* in Vv.Aa., *I maestri del colore* (Milano: Fabbri, 1969).

[205] See Antonio Prete, "Avanguardia e neoavanguardia", *Vita e pensiero*, u. vol., no. 9 (September 1967): 878-887. To develop his interest on avant-guards in literature see Antonio Prete et al, *Nichilismo e imperialismo: l'avanguardia letteraria in Italia, 1903-1914* (Verona:

Within these premises the reflection on whether Pop Art could be considered an avant-guard acquires a certain meaning, also considering that according to the studies mentioned thus far there was still a need to clarify the term "avant-guard" itself. Among the art critics who debated Pop Art during the Sixties, Argan gave a hint in 1963, but he only claimed that the Avanguardistic spirit was a will of moving art foward, of advancing art, and Pop Art did not embody it[206]. The proper debate on Pop Art as an Avant-guard was mildly developed from 1965 to 1968, through a few comments in books and art reviews, and the protagonists of such debate were Pierluigi Albertoni, Maurizio Calvesi, and Sandra Pinto. Differently from Argan's claim in 1963, the essayist Pierluigi Albertoni, in 1965, in *D'Ars Agency* accused Pop Art for the first time of being a consummated Avant-guard, outside of history, together with Informal and Gestaltic art[207]: «L'Informale prima, come ora la Pop-Art e l'Arte Ghestaltica non hanno ragione d'attualità, sono avanguardie esaurite al loro sorgere perché sono astoriche, o meglio sono fuori dalla storia»[208]. Instead, Calvesi deepened the debate through his book *Le due avanguardie. Dal futurismo alla pop art*: whereas the title gives the impression of finding a huge terminological discussion on Avant-guards, only a small part of the reflection is dedicated to such an issue. From the title of his book, it could be implied that Pop Art was an Avant-guard like Futurism rather than an artistic movement: Calvesi claimed that any art that goes beyond, that moves on, that actively produces the historical

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Bertani, 1978); for more on his literary activity see Carlo T. De Medici, *Antonio Prete, scrittura delle passioni: una conversazione, una bibliografia e due saggi inediti* (Roma: Artemide, 2018).

[206] Argan, besides being a central figure for modern art history, affected a lot contemporary art history, expecially participating in the debate on avant-guards in the first postwar. See Augusta Monferini, *Argan e la mia giovinezza*, op. cit., 20-23. Argan conceived of art as being cognitive and educative, related to teaching and school; he opposed the idea of art as a commodity, see Maurizio Calvesi, *Prolusione per il centenario alla nascita*, pp. 19-28 in Claudio Gamba, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Intellettuale e storico dell'arte*, op. cit..

[207] To further develop what Gestaltic art was, refer in particular to the following texts: Giulio C. Argan, "La ricerca gestaltica", op. cit.; Renato Barilli, Antonio Del Guercio, Filiberto Menna, *Arte in Italia: 1960-1977*, exh. cat. – Torino, Galleria civica d'arte moderna, 14th May-30th September 1977 (Torino: Galleria civica d'arte moderna, 1977): 255; Luca Cesari, *Da Fontana a Yvarai: arte gestaltica nella collezione della Pinacoteca di Verucchio*, exh. cat. – Verucchio (RN), Pinacoteca di Verucchio, 27th July-28th September 2008 (Verucchio: Pazzini, 2008).

[208] See Pierluigi Albertoni, "Arte per la vita", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 6, no. 1 (January-April 1965): 115. Translation: «First informal art, and now Pop Art and Gestalt Art, are not Avant-guards exhausted when they arise because they are ahistorical, or rather they are outside of history». To develop Albertoni's activity as art historian in the Sixties see for instance, the exhibits he curated, such as those on new artistic research, Giorgio Kaisserlian, *Pierluigi Albertoni, Nuove ricerche 1968 a Milano*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria San Fedele, 27th May-27th June 1968 (Milano: Galleria San Fedele, 1968); Pierluigi Albertoni, *Bertini*, exh. cat. – Padova, Galleria La Chiocciola, 8th-21st February 1969 (Padova, Galleria d'arte La Chiocciola, 1969).

rise of figurative shapes, instead of resting on 'epigonism'[209] was avant-guard. The modern idea of avant-guard entailed violent fractures, and a scandalous novelty: «Ciò che allora implica in più l'idea moderna di avanguardia è l'urto, il prodursi della frattura violenta, la novità scandalosa, il rifiuto del pubblico, o meglio della società»[210]. Such a fracture and the rejection from the audience occurred when art interpreted ideological assumptions that encompassed a conservative conduct. Additionally, Avant-guards were born from the crack caused by a non-conformist laic culture, and by a society attached to tranquilizing symbols of material and spiritual welfare, obtained thanks to the action of a conservative power. Finally, he stated that most of the studies identified Pop Art as a movement but not in the conventional sense and without a specific agenda[211].

Sandra Pinto never designated Pop Art as an Avant-guard, but as an American artistic revolution that had a new relationship with societyas a result; in 1968, she indicated a Pop Art statute and a program, both elements that were usually present in the historical Avant-guard and in the comments that the previously considered art historians wrote[212]. About the objective of the Pop Art statute, Pinto claimed that the commitment within a democratic ideology was not evident, however the Pop images fit perfectly with the artists' aims of the Kennedy era[213]. In addition, Pop was strongly linked with American politics, in particular with Warhol and Rosenquist's artwork from 1962 to 1964, which repeated the Kennedys' major ideological commitments such as peace in

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[209] For a general better understanding of the concept of avant-guard it is important to read Renato Poggioli's book, *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1962), translated as *The Theory of the Avant-garde* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). Since he was an important researcher of comparative critique, his book could be an interesting source for the connections of Pop among the various territories.

[210] Ibid.. Translation: «Then what the modern idea of avant-garde further implies is the impact, the production of violent fracture, the scandalous novelty, the rejection of the public, or rather of society».

[211] See David Brauer et al., *Pop Art. U.S./U.K. Connections. 1956-1966*, exh. cat. – Houston, The Menil Collection, 26th January-13th May 2001 (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatjie Cantz Publishers 2001): 16.

[212] See Sandra Pinto, "All'ombra delle pompe di benzina. Momenti dell'ideologia popolare nell'arte d'oggi", *Metro*, vol. 8, no. 13 (February 1968): 39-47. About the relationship between Pop Art and society see also Anna N. Weber, Otto Hahn, "La sfida del sistema. Inchiesta sulla situazione artistica attuale negli Stati Uniti e in Francia", *Metro*, vol. 8, no. 14 (June 1968): 34-71. Allan Kaprow, answering the question about the relationship between the present language of art and the present ideological situation, affirms: «Pop Art was, for perhaps dubious reasons, approved of by the media the 'enemy' in the old terms, and because of which humanistic types in the arts were led to criticize the Pop Artists for being compromizers. This is nonsense. So far no one has examined the true social implications this revealed», see Ibid., 38.

[213] For instance to fight communism, given that he faced the Cuban Missiles Crisis, see paragraph 1.2. of this chapter.

the world, the conquest of space, racial integration, and the fight against hunger and poverty. However, she pointed to Warhol and Lichtenstein as those explicating in figurative terms the whole program of Pop Art[214]. Both Calvesi and Pinto had an evident interest in stating that Pop Art was an Avant-guard given that both were curating Pop Art exhibits and this was certainly a way to give more relevance to the artists they were working with. Surely, among Albertoni, Calvesi and Pinto, it was Calvesi who most significantly influenced the way Pop Art was looked at. However, Albertoni and Pinto's comments together with Argan's add elements for a better understanding of how, on the one hand, the avant-guard discussion on Pop Art was not very clear, nor seemed of wider interest by other art critics, who were more oriented in fighting for the territorial supremacy of Pop Art. The same elements, on the other hand, helped explain why the avant-guard debate on Pop did not continue in the Sixties. Indeed it was rarely developed later on when Neo-avant-guards such as Arte Povera and Minimal Art became predominant and needed to be defined as well, asking for a more precise definition of what an Avant-guard was to distinguish their novelty[215].

Starting from these data, this thesis observes that the question of whether Pop Art was an Avant-guard suggested that the term was either used in the definition to legitimate the importance of the movement due to the weight of Avant-guards for what pertains to art history, or it was used as a term to indicate innovation, given that Avant-guards were the movements that looked forward, entailing the idea of progress. However, this thesis argues that Pop Art cannot be considered an historical Avant-guard nor did it have the proper features identified with the term. It is true that it carried a novelty within itself, but it is equally true that the terminological debate demonstrated that the overlap with Neo-Dada and Nouveau Réalisme showed no actual break with the past. The avant-guard spirit is a feature that can be attributed to Pop Art, but still it is different from the one implied by the historical Avant-guards. The society in which Pop Art developed was mass consumerist, mirrored

[214] It is claimed that their relationship with advertising media endured as exemplary and unsurpassed. For instance, according to her, Rosenquist accepted the challenge of the socio-cultural environment, thus realizing images similar to those seen through car windows. The difference was that times and ways were programed. Indeed, the dimension of progress has to be polemically programed by the artists. Lichtenstein, instead, makes a different choice that, according to Pinto, is very coherent from an historical and aesthetic point of view. He chooses comics that are able to reach the culture. Warhol has a program too, «do it yourself» that later won't be considered any longer. Ibid., 43.

[215] In 1968 Umberto Eco publishes *La definizione dell'arte. Dall'estetica medievale alle avanguardie. Dall'opera aperta alla morte dell'arte* (Milano: Mursia, 1968) where he indicates his positive viewpoint on the new art trends as their innovation and production of new forms.

in the Pop artwork that aimed to denounce it or show the new type of reality in which people were already fully living. Within this context, it is not possible to state that Pop Art wanted to break with tradition, nor with the present society in which it was maturing, even though the mass consumer society was a new context without historical precedent.

1.4 Pop Art, arte popolare and popolare on Dictionaries

In the present investigation, dictionaries are the last phase of the philological work on the term Pop Art. Not only because the appearance the words Pop Art themselves indicate how its diffusion was registered by experts of Italian language, but also because dictionaries allow the cross-checking between a sectorial reception (that of art reviews), and a general one stemming from the word Pop (that of newspapers and magazines). Purists have long discussed the validity of the translation of Pop Art as *arte popolare*; therefore it is necessary to take a moment to understand what the meaning of popular in its relation to art, before the term itself was imported from the US. An appendix at the end of this chapter completes the linguists' definitions of *popolare*, *arte popolare* and *Pop Art* in Italy from the end of nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century; a period that led to the analysis of several issues documented both by art critics and linguists.

In art reviews, the first mention of the Pop Art dates back to 1962 in *D'Ars Agency*, however the term does not appear in dictionaries in 1962 or 1963, nor even in Bruno Migliorini's dictionary published in 1963 dedicated to commonly used foreign words and terms. It is only in the 1967 *Vocabolario illustrato della lingua italiana*[216] that Pop Art is defined, highlighting its connection to the US at first, not connecting the genesis of Pop Art to the UK, even though newspapers in 1966 and 1967 were already reporting on the independently born Pop Art of the UK: «pop-art: <pòp àat> loc. ingl., usata in italiano come sost. femm. Forma di arte contemporanea, elaborata negli U.S.A., ispirata agli aspetti più vistosi della realtà di oggi, ripresentati con violenta immediatezza ed espedienti tecnici talvolta assurdi. [Da *pop(ular) art*]»[217]. The 1967 version remained the only Pop Art found in dictionaries until 1971 when *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* described Pop Art as an avant-guard movement: «Pop-art (ingl.; pr. pòp àat), *s.f.*, (in it.) (*neol.*) movimento

[216] See Devoto Giacomo, Gian C. Oli, *Vocabolario illustrato della lingua italiana* (Milano: Casa editrice Felice Le Monnier and Selezione dal Reader's Digest, 1967): 575. See appendix.
[217] Ibid. Translation: «pop-art: <pòp àat> loc. English, used in Italian as a substitute fem. Form of contemporary art, elaborated in the U.S.A., inspired by the most conspicuous aspects of today's reality, presented again with violent immediacy and sometimes absurd technical expedients. [From pop (ular) art]».

artistico americano d'avanguardia che tende a sostituire, nell'opera d'arte, l'immagine dell'oggetto con l'oggetto stesso | | Tratto da *pop(ular) art* 'arte popolare'»[218]. Both definitions highlight three main aspects of the art critics' debate: the US artistic supremacy in Pop Art, the issue of Avant-guards that was inserted into the debate at the end of the Sixties and its relationship with objects of daily life, proving that in contrast to the broad discussion on such themes and to the other ones developed, those three were the winning ones in the immediate acceptance of the common Italian language.

Besides such aspects, it is necessary to recall the translation *arte popolare* that was reported in 1971 in Italy among purists, who claimed the word *popolare* had a different meaning that conferred a diverse connotation to the iteration of the Pop Art developed in Italy[219]. It was already stated that in art reviews from 1956 to 1962 *arte popolare* was related to local tradition, to people's habits, but in dictionaries the name *arte popolare* properly appeared in 1971, to conform to people's taste and mentality:

«Popolare: (ant. *populare*) agg. 3. Conforme ai gusti e alla mentalità del popolo: detto, leggenda-; arte -; poesia -, quella che esprime sentimenti popolari o che tratta in maniera popolare temi già espressi dalla poesia d'arte»[220].

It is true that other forms of expressions such as literature, poetry and cinema were already connected to the word *popolare* from the Forties to the Sixties, thus creating the association of the term to art as well, but the connection was not clarified until 1971. For instance, in 1941 *popolare* meant something relating to uncultured people (e.g., song, poetry); featuring a simple style meant to be sung by average people, meant to serve people (e.g., shows, parties): «Popolare […] Del popolo semplice, non istruito, ingenuo| v. poesia.| *canzone* -.| Di stile semplice, adatto a esser ritenuto e cantato dal popolo. Adatto all'intelligenza, alle condizioni, e possibilità del popolo, e fatto in suo servigio e vantaggio. *spettacolo, festa* -.|*scuole* -. |*biblioteca*-|»[221]. In 1963 *popolare* referred to things that people would attend (e.g., Cinema), as something that had adapted its qualities for people's enjoyment, that had to draw people in

[218] See Cusatelli Giorgio, *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (Milan: Garzanti editore, 1971): 1295.
[219] See the notes about purists in paragraph 1.3 in this chapter.
[220] See Giorgio Cusatelli, *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (Milano: Garzanti editore, 1971): 1295-1296.
[221] See Zingarelli Nicola, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1941): 1171.

(e.g., writer, songs): «*Popolare*, agg. Abitato, Frequentato dal popolo: *Rione*, *Quartiere*, *Cinema popolare*. Che ha qualità adatte per il popolo, Che ha voga nel popolo: *Scrittore, Poeta, Canzone, popolare*»[222]. In 1967 the term *popolare* instead referred to artists who already enjoyed a certain popularity, sympathy or favor: «Popolare: […] Ampia diffusione o notevole godimento di simpatia o favore (un artista molto p.)»[223], while in 1971 it was both related to Pop Art and to art as something conforming to people's taste and mentality: «Popolare: […] Conforme ai gusti e alla mentalità del popolo: detto, leggenda-; arte»[224].

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided evidence of the intricate terminological debate on Pop Art that brings up issues that go beyond the main discussions among art critics at the time and also finds their roots in political, economic and diplomatic antecedents that truly shaped post-World-War-II Italy, creating a new type of society, that of consumerism. Such context not only created a fertile ground for the diffusion of Pop Art in Italy from the US but also gave way to an historical fight regarding art and the value of the new wave of Pop Art. Many have tried to retrace Pop Art to European antecedents, from Alloway's paternity of the term to Picasso's artwork. Despite these efforts and the American critics' recognition of the UK origins of the beginning of Pop Art already present in Janis' 1962 catalogue, the main origin of the term still continues to be attributed to America alone. Surely the weight of gallerists such as Castelli and Sonnabend, who were both representing their artists in the 32[nd] Venice Biennale and were considered the leading dealers within Pop Art, constituted a further point of triumph for the term in Neo-Dada and Nouveau Réalisme. Meaningful, but underdeveloped was the asserted difference between *arte popolare* and Pop Art that showed how the imagery of popular art from the US was divergent from the one that arose in Italy, that was bound to several regional folkloristic traditions. These intuitions must be considered in the study of Pop Italian artists to see whether their art embraced the American icons or represented the Italian context, namely communism, mass consumer society and Italian popular icons.

[222] See Migliorini Bruno, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Firenze: G.B. Paravia & C., 1963): 1043-1044.
[223] See Giacomo Devoto, Gian C. Oli, *Vocabolario illustrato della lingua italiana* (Milan: Casa editrice Felice Le Monnier and Selezione dal Reader's Digest, 1967): 575.
[224] See Giorgio Cusatelli, *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana*, op. cit..

2. Chapter Two. Artists and Artworks' analysis: re-identification of Italian Pop artwork

2.1 Introduction

A number of the Italian artists who participated in the 1962 Sidney Janis exhibit constituted the central core of the group of artists that could be traced back to the Italian Pop Art current. However, despite their initial contact with American Pop artists through the exhibit and with the American artistic milieu through their travels, it was their participation in the 32nd Venice Biennale in 1964 that earned them the label of Pop, leaving aside other Italian artists who only acquired notoriety as Pop artists after 1966. In response to the advent of Pop at the 1964 Biennale, some of the artists embraced such a classification, whereas others disliked it; however the artists who attempted to verbally distance themselves from the Pop American style were, in fact, painting Pop artwork. This premise, together with the historical context analyzed in Chapter one, raise issues to investigate: first, given that Italian artists directly knew American Pop artists, both in the US at the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1962 and in Rome through the exhibitions organized by Plinio De Martiis at Galleria La Tartaruga, did Italians compete with the Americans in terms of what they represented, in particular the icons that the Italian Pop artists indicated as popular for them? Second, why have these icons been included in the artwork in relation to both the socio-political and the historical-consumerist context of the time, given that the USIS and mass consumerist society both deeply influenced Italians' life? Third, how did Italian art critics evaluate Italian Pop artwork, and did it coincide with the artists' position on Pop? Several Italian art critics point to a distinct difference between Italian and American Pop Art, grounding their affirmation on the cultural images illustrated that stemmed from the historical European and Italian art tradition, which had a solid background.

All these issues appear to hide another competition taking place on a political level: on the one hand, such artistic rivalry is connected to the postwar period, when the US asserted its supremacy internationally; on the other hand, it is motivated by the political events of the late Sixties. While several artists were quietly committed to the PCI's political

ideology and conveyed its icons through a Pop style, other artists conveyed the memories of Fascism, although Fascism no longer existed as a party[225]. With all these issues at stake, this chapter seeks to analyze the following: the possible resonances between American Pop and the Italian iteration; the most relevant features that could visually define the Italian version of Pop Art; and the artists who best represented the Italian Pop style amongst those considered its most representative. Additionally, it attempts to establish the effective political and cultural implications that contributed, together with the icons chosen by the artists, to create the distinct version of Pop made in Italy. Finally it tries to understand the role of art critics in assigning Italian artists the Pop label and their influence, if any, on the artists' way of painting. Before beginning such analysis, two points have to be expanded upon. First, the figure of Plinio De Martiis and his Galleria *La Tartaruga* will be introduced, insofar as they represent the most important link to the US art world, and were the setting in which the *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* was born. Second, an overview of the main features of American Pop styles will be given, in order to form a basis of comparison with Italian Pop artwork.

2.2 Plinio De Martiis and Galleria La Tartaruga: the axis Roma-New York

The gallerist Plinio De Martiis has been a key figure in the Pop connection between Italy and the US and within Italy for the numerous collaborations that he fostered with museums, collectors, gallerists, art dealers and art critics at a national and international level, contributing to make the *romano* soil the most fertile for the reception of American Pop. The connection between De Martiis and the US began in 1957 when he presented a collective exhibit with Burri and Afro, artists who came back to Italy after an experience in the United States: while Burri was unfortunately in the US due to a long postwar stay in a prison camp in Texas, Afro was in a relationship with the Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York, where he exhibited in 1950. A formal relationship with American art dealers, however, started in 1957, through Piero Dorazio, another artist that La Tartaruga represented and who previously lived for five years in the US: Dorazio introduced De Martiis to Castelli with whom he established an agreement in 1958 to exhibit his artists at La Tartaruga. It was after the exhibits in 1957 and the Castelli agreement in 1958 that De Martiis decided to show artists that dealt with American art.

[225] Chapter one demonstrates how the competition with the US was primarily operating on a political level and that through USIS it acquired a cultural dimension as well.

He was supported by the Venetian collector Giorgio Franchetti, financer of the gallery, who had been sent to the US that year to network with artists and gallerists for La Tartaruga[226].

De Martiis' new artistic orientation and Franchetti's trip resulted in a series of solo shows both of American and Italian artists who represented American artistic trends: Yves Kline's, the first in Europe, opened on 27th February; Cy Twombly's opened on 17th May; Salvatore Scarpitta's opened on 26th April; a collective exhibit with Afro Basaldella, William De Kooning and Conrad Marca-Relli opened in July. The whole ensemble of artists was a sign of De Martiis' openness to American Abstract Expressionism: Twombly, using scribble-scrabble as a stylistic cipher, met Rauschenberg in 1950 and in New York got closer to his style and to Jasper Johns' art; his presence at Galleria La Tartaruga was the beginning of a working relationship with De Martiis who continued to promote his art with the other young artists that he represented and ultimately befriended. Kline and De Kooning, instead, stemmed from the Abstract Expressionist school, similar to Pollock, while Afro, and the American-born Scarpitta and Marca-Relli, were interested in American

[226] Giorgio Franchetti's letter to De Martiis from Venice in 1958, is indicative not only of the reasons why Franchetti was passionate about New York, but also of the strong relationship he had with De Martiis, that was not only related to the purchase of artwork, see Letter from Giorgio Franchetti to Plinio De Martiis, 23rd January 1958, FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina – see Appendix. For more on Franchetti and De Martiis see Elisa Francesconi, *«Io ero un pilota d'aereo, ma lui era un pilota d'alto mare». Giorgio Franchetti e Plinio De Martiis*, pp. 49-60 in Claudia Cremonini, Flavio Fergonzi, *Da Giorgio Franchetti a Giorgio Franchetti. Collezionismi alla Ca' d'oro*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, 30th May-24th November 2013 (Vicenza: Mondomostre, 2013); on Franchetti's collection in the Sixties and Rome see Flavio Fergonzi, *Dalla superficie all'immagine. Uno snodo romano, 1960-1964*, pp. 61-72 in Ibid.. On Alberto Burri in the Roman context see Maurizio Calvesi, "Burri", first published in *Quadrum* in 1959 then republished in Maurizio Calvesi, *Le due avanguardie: dal Futurismo alla Pop Art*, op. cit., pp. 190-203. For more on Alberto Burri refer to: Francesco Tedeschi, *Alberto Burri nell'arte e nella critica*, Conf. Proceedings – Milano, Palazzo Reale, Gallerie d'Italia, 29th October 2015 (Milano: Scalpendi, 2017); Bruno Corà, *Burri: lo spazio di materia. Tra Europa e USA: Afro, Andre, Arman et al.*, exh. cat. – Città di Castello, 29th January 2016-6th January 2017 (Città di Castello: Fondazione Palazzo Albizzini - Collezione Burri, 2017); Bruno Corà, *Obiettivi su Burri: fotografi e fotoritratti di Alberto Burri dal 1954 al 1993*, exh. cat. – Città di Castello, 12th March-12th September 2019 (Città di Castello: Fondazione Palazzo Albizzini - Collezione Burri, 2019). On Piero Dorazio and De Martiis see his first catalogue published by Galleria La Tartaruga, opened on 24th January 1957. On Dorazio and Castelli see Vv.Aa., *Piero Dorazio. Il meglio degli anni sessanta*, exh. cat. – Milano, Zonca&Zonca, 15th May-14th July 2001 (Milano: G. Prearo, 2001): 13-16; Gabriele Simongini, *Art club: 1945-1964* (Pietrasanta: Franche tirature, 2013): 231. For more on De Martiis and the early years of Galleria della Tartaruga, namely from 1954 to 1962 see: *1954-1962. Via del Babuino 196*, pp. 17-48 in Ilaria Bernardi, *La Tartaruga. Storia di una galleria* (Milano: postmediabooks, 2018); Silvia Pegoraro, *L'arte e la Tartaruga: omaggio a Plinio De Martiis. Da Rauschenberg a Warhol, da Burri a Schifano*, exh. cat. – Pescara, Museo d'arte moderna Vittoria Colonna, 3rd March-20th May 2007 (Milano: Skira, 2007): 18, 23.

Abstract Expressionism, but still stayed close to the European Informelle, more bound to matter than to gesture. In 1959 Toti Scialoja exhibited his *Improne* at La Tartaruga. A painter and scenographer, Scialoja was among the first Italian artists to adopt Abstract Expressionism, thanks to his study of De Kooning and Mark Rothko who belonged to the sphere of Color Field Abstraction. His works provided evidence of the American Abstract lesson; he taught this style along with Neo-Dadaism at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Rome, where he was professor of scenography. As will become evident in this chapter, many of his pupils are connected to Italian Pop Art and such connections demonstrate that he, too, was a key figure for the importation of the American artistic language in Italy[227].

In addition to these artists' network with the US and the Castelli agreement, other events contributed to strengthen the overseas relationship: in 1957 Frances Mc Cann founded the Rome-New York Art Foundation on Tiberina island, close to Rome where Pollock, De Kooning and Burri exhibited. In 1961 Ileana Sonnabend proposed to De Martiis to open a gallery together to show his artists; however when De Martiis understood that her real intention was to introduce her artists to Italy, he declined the offer, and she opened the gallery in Paris. In 1962 De Martiis brought some of his artists to New York to participate in the Sidney Janis Gallery exhibit, the key event for the connection between the Pop Art of the two coasts. That said, the artists who started to be known as *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* in 1963, after De Martiis moved Galleria La Tartaruga to Piazza del Popolo (next to Caffè Rosati, a coffee bar in which artists, actors and literates used to gather), were in touch with both American

[227] For more on Twombly and Rome see Roberto Pasini, *L'Informale italiano: pittura e segno di materia negli anni Cinquanta*, exh. cat. – Parma, Galleria d'arte Niccoli, 13th December 1997-2nd March 1998 (Parma: Galleria d'arte Niccoli, 1997): 179; Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, Murray and Isabella Rayburn, *Roma-New York: 1948-1964*, op. cit., 191. For more on Twombly see Joshua Rivkin, *Chalk: the art and erasure of Cy Twombly* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2018). For more on the prominent artists in the Roman artistic context in the Sixties refer to Fulvio Abbate, *Roma vista controvento* (Milano: Bompiani, 2018). For a general understanding of Rome and the prominent artists in the Roman artistic context in the Sixties see also Sandra Petrignani, *Addio a Roma* (Vicenza: Beat, 2017). For more on Scarpitta, Marca-Relli and De Martiis refer to Silvia Pegoraro, *L'arte e la Tartaruga: omaggio a Plinio De Martiis. Da Rauschenberg a Warhol, da Burri a Schifano*, op. cit.. For more on Scarpitta, Scialoja, Afro, De Kooning, Marca-relli, Rothko and De Martiis refer to *1954-1962. Via del Babuino 196*, pp. 17-48 in Ilaria Bernardi, *La Tartaruga. Storia di una galleria*, op. cit.. For more on Scialoja and De Martiis see also Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, Murray and Isabella Rayburn, *Roma-New York: 1948-1964*, op. cit., 171; Mario Ursino, *L'effetto metafisico: 1918-1968: attraverso le collezioni della Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna*, op. cit., 152. For Scialoja as professor at Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma see Roberto Gramiccia, *La nuova scuola romana: i sei artisti di via degli Ausoni* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 2005): 69. For more on Scialoja see Vv.Aa., *Masterpieces: Toti Scialoja*, exh. cat. – Santa Croce, Baglioni Hotels, 8th December 2016-11th November 2017 (Santa Croce: Cambi, 2016).

culture and artistic research. De Martiis exhibited some of the *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*'s artwork in the show *13 pittori a Roma*: on this occasion several art critics such as Maurizio Calvesi, Gillo Dorfles, Cesare Vivaldi and literary critics such as Edoardo Sanguineti and Nanni Balestrini wrote texts for the exhibit, constituting the beginning of an interdisciplinary approach that analyzed Italian Pop Art from different viewpoints[228].

Among the art critics with whom he collaborated over the years, De Martiis had a strong relationship with Pierre Restany, who in the Sixties was already presenting several exhibits of the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* with Galleria La Salita in Rome. It seems that through his friendship with Restany, De Martiis reversed his position on American art research: having supported it in the past, at a certain point he turned against it, an opposition that was supported or even influenced by Restany, as their ideology was rooted in communism, as shown by the letter from De Martiis to Restany, written in 1964:

«Vorrei tanto fare qualcosa, l'atmosfera è un po' moscia. Che fare? Lo diceva anche Lenin. Che fare? É possibile continuare ad essere bombardati da questa pop-art, ad essere travolti da questa valanga di carta patinata che dall'America ci travolge e coinvolge sempre di più? Questa pittura di reportage, come dice Argan, può forse esaurirsi da un momento all'altro e un gran vuoto resterebbe da colmare e noi non abbiamo carte per farlo quando sarà il momento… Oppure io mi sbaglio e tu forse hai già degli argomenti, ossia dei pittori? Nuovi voglio dire. Non possiamo certo in Europa rispondere riconoscendo la Cina (che è

[228] For more on Frances Mc Cann and the Rome-New York Art Foundation on Tiberina Island refer to Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, Murray and Isabella Rayburn, *Roma-New York: 1948-1964*, op. cit.; Luciano Caramel, *Arte in Italia, 1945-1960*, op. cit., 361. On Ileana Sonnabend's arrival in Italy and her relationship with De Martiis see Manuela Gandini, *Ileana Sonnabend: the queen of art* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2008): 136; Ilaria Bernardi, *La Tartaruga. Storia di una galleria*, op. cit., 41; Silvia Pegoraro, *L'arte e la Tartaruga: omaggio a Plinio De Martiis. Da Rauschenberg a Warhol, da Burri a Schifano*, op. cit., 18. It seems that was Restany to convince De Martiis to cut the working relationship with Ileana, see Manuela Gandini, *Ileana Sonnabend: the queen of art*, op. cit., 143. In the exhibit *13 Pittori a Roma*, with Gastone Novelli, Achille Perilli, Mimmo Rotella, Peter Saul and Cy Twombly, artists already promoted by De Martiis, there was participation by: Franco Angeli, Umberto Bignardi, Tano Festa, Giosetta Fioroni, Jannis Kounellis, Renato Mambor, Sergio Tacchi, Fabio Mauri. See Vv.Aa., *13 Pittori a Roma*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 9th February 1963-end unknown probably by 6th March when Twomby's exhibit was inaugurated (Roma; Galleria La Tartaruga, 1963). Nanni Balestrini was a poet, and his poetry is present in some of the Italian Pop artists' catalogues (e.g., the Schifano one in 1964 at Galleria Odyssia), see Nanni Balestrini , Mario Schifano, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria Odyssia, 16th November- 12th December 1964 (Roma: Galleria Odyssia, 1964). For more on Balestrini's poetry between the end of the Fifties and the end of the Sixties, see Nanni Balestrini, *Poesie pratiche, 1954-1969* (Torino: Einaudi, 1976).

già una cosa d'altronde!) o comprare dei quadri dalla signora Sonnabend! […] Insomma caro Pierre c'è qualcosa che non va e non possiamo assolutamente ridurci, come tu dicevi, ad uccellini rachitici in attesa di fame. Piu piu piu alza il becco piu piu piu una mollica…. Basta spero di vederti presto»[229].

De Martiis' words are relevant for three reasons: first, because he describes a context of art history in which Italy is being bombarded by the advent of Pop Art, a phenomenon that was imposing and, at the same time, awe-inspiring. Second, because he favors Argan's position toward Pop Art, calling it Reportage-Art, a position mainly supported by Calvesi who had already been collaborating with his gallery since 1954 and, in stating such, De Martiis clearly chooses to move toward American Pop. Third, because the veiled activism of his personality invites Restany not to wait passively but to do something to change the situation. Restany's response is also very telling in explaining the art critics' orientation toward Pop Art in those years:

«La nostra speranza risiede nel diventare più americani degli americani. Lo scopo è affascinante: richiede l'energia, l'entusiasmo, la disciplina e il sacrificio di tutti, francesi e italiani, tedeschi e seneluxiani. Il nostro compito è di sviluppare l'ambiente ideale per la nascita dei super Pollock, degli ultra Kline, dei Neo-Rauschenberg, e anche degli anti-Dubuffet, dei contro Wols, dei para-Fautrier, dei neo-Klein. La semplicità sarà l'unica virtù sociale di domani: l'uomo futuro avendo superato ogni contraddizione interna, sarà semplice, semplice, semplice! […] Sto preparando (attraverso un articolo settimanale in ARTS) una offensiva sul tema "Europa giovani", polemica doppia, e contro l'imperialismo americano, e contro l'inerzia dell'ufficialità francese»[230].

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[229] Letter from Plinio De Martiis to Pierre Restany, Rome, on 12th February 1964 - FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina. Translation: «I would love to do something, the atmosphere is a bit limp. What to do? Lenin also would say so. What to do? Is it possible to continue being bombarded by this pop-art, to be overwhelmed by this avalanche of glossy paper that overwhelms and involves us more and more? This painting of reportage, as Argan says, may perhaps run out at any moment and a great void would remain to be filled, and we have no cards to do so when the time comes... Or I'm wrong and you may already have some subjects, that is, some painters? New ones, I mean to say. We certainly cannot respond in Europe by recognizing China (which is already something else!). Or buy paintings from Mrs. Sonnabend! [...] In short, dear Pierre, there is something wrong and we absolutely cannot reduce ourselves, as you said, to stunted birds waiting for hunger. The more, the more, the more it raises its beak the more, the more, the more a crumb... Enough. I hope to see you soon».

[230] Pierre Restany's answer to Plinio de Martiis' letter, Paris, 19th February 1964 - FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina. Translation: «Our hope lies in becoming more Americans than the Americans. The aim is fascinating: it requires the energy, the

Restany's claims are fundamental in understanding the critics' fight for art historical supremacy: Restany's presumption of becoming more American than the Americans themselves, thanks to the energy, enthusiasm, discipline and sacrifice of all Europeans, especially French, Italians, Germans and Seneluxians, sounds like a pretense. His statement in the letter that he is preparing an attack against American imperialism provides further evidence of Restany's and De Martiis' feelings toward American Pop Art, which seem to have influenced, in turn, the general attitude of art critics toward American Pop Artists. The strong competition that Restany is trying to trigger is made clear when he states that he and De Martiis had to develop an ideal environment to create «super Pollocks»[231], «ultra-Klines»[232], and «Neo-Rauschenbergs»[233]. The assertion of a political implication in Restany's words relies on his claim that simplicity was the only social virtue of the man of tomorrow: the virtue of simplicity was very much connected to communist ideals, but at the same time was more generally inherited from the rhetoric of totalitarian regimes. Restany's political position is made quite clear in this instance, and he was considered one of the chief art critics in the realm of the Avant-guard and contemporary trends at that time, so he certainly had a strong influence on gallerists and artists, as well as on art institutions[234].

Beyond the diverse artists represented (a novelty in the Italian artistic panorama and a merit to De Martiis' gallery) and the collaboration with prominent art critics such as Restany, two further points must be considered in terms of the diffusion of the American language and as a result of De Martiis' political position after 1964 toward Pop Art. First, De Martiis prized the element of communication, primarily through editorial work that helped with the artists' promotion: before founding Galleria La Tartaruga, De Martiis was a communist photographer, who collaborated with several reviews and newspapers

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enthusiasm, the discipline and the sacrifice of everyone, French and Italian, Germans and Seneluxians. Our task is to develop the ideal environment for the birth of super Pollocks, ultra-Klines, Neo-Rauschenbergs, and also anti-Dubuffets, anti-Wols, para-Fautriers, neo-Kleins. Simplicity will be the only social virtue of tomorrow: the man of the future, having overcome every internal contradiction, will be simple, simple, simple! [...] I am preparing (through a weekly column in ARTS) an offensive on the theme 'Young Europe', a double polemic against American imperialism and the inertia of French officiality».

[231] Ibid..

[232] Ibid..

[233] Ibid..

[234] On the *Bollettini d'arte* and *Artecronaca* see especially those published at the end of the Fifties. On *Quaderni di arte attuali* see Lionello Venturi, *Pittori italiani d'oggi* (Roma: De Luca, 1958). For more on the gallery's developments from 1963 onward, in particular until 1968 refer to *1963-1968. P.zza del Popolo*, pp. 49-99 in Ilaria Bernardi, *La Tartaruga. Storia di una galleria*, op. cit..

such as *L'Unità*. Thanks to such activity, when he founded the gallery in 1954, he decided to prioritize its communication, publishing from 1958 to 1959 the reviews *Bollettini della Tartaruga* and *Artecronaca*, both aimed at documenting the gallery's activity. De Martiis published also the series *Quaderni di arte attuali* that Lionello Venturi edited and presented at *Pittori Italiani d'oggi*, an exhibit organized just to present the new books. It seems that De Martiis complained about the scarce attention that the art critics gave to his gallery's publications; however, the large number of articles that art commentators published on De Martiis' artists speak to his successful communication strategy, although these articles were more likely to appear in newspapers whose politics matched with De Martiis' artists than in art reviews. Second, he built a wide network with gallerists and collectors that helped spread Italian Pop style by promoting De Martiis' artists and other Italian artists who shared the Pop style. In particular with Carlo Cardazzo, the gallerist who founded Galleria del Cavallino, Venice in 1942 and Galleria del Naviglio, Milan in 1946; Giorgio Marconi, founder of Studio Marconi, Milan starting in 1965; Arturo Schwarz founder of Galleria Schwarz, Milan and Gian Enzo Sperone, founder of Galleria Gian Enzo Sperone, Turin, starting in 1963[235].

[235] For more about the importance of this gallery and to further develop the related bibliography, see Chapter three. On De Martiis and his collectors: there are nine letters from collectors in particular that offer instances of a process of acquisition, and some of them also bear witness to friendship. From the letters it is clear that not everyone appreciated Plinio's artists. For example the collector Giulia Cavellini from Brescia, initially owner of Casa Cavellini (which then transformed into Galleria Cavellini in 1956), directly stated her negative thoughts regarding Schifano's artwork: «Caro Plinio, Schifano fa proprio schifo. Non potete prostituirci a questi punti!!!... Tutta Milano ride. […] Mi rifiuto di spedire lire 5.000 per ribadire (riacquistare) il risotto giallo - E pago le tele soltanto per mantere la parola. Giulia….», see Guglielmo Achille Cavellini, Brescia 7 letter between 17th June 1962 and 28th March 1967 - FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina. Translation: «Dear Pliny, Schifano is really disgusting. You cannot prostitute yourself to these points!!!.... All Milan laughs [...] I refuse to send 5,000 lire to reiterate (reacquire) the yellow risotto. And I pay for the canvas only to keep my word. Giulia….». Giuseppe Panza, instead, collector related to Ileana Sonnabend and Leo Castelli from whom he acquired Rosenquist's, Oldenburg's and Segal's works from 1958 and 1962, was interested more in American Abstract Expressionism than in Italian Pop artists, and in a letter of 11th March 1959 expresses his interests in Kline and Rauschenberg. On 30th March 1959, he writes Plinio that he likes Gastone Novelli's artworks, and Rauschenberg's drawings, but he prefers the canvas work: «Caro de Martiis, ho visto con molto piacere Novelli e la sua mostra che ho trovato molto interessante. Ho visto anche i disegni di Rauschenberg, mi piacciono molto, ma preferisco vedere le tele […]. Molti cordiali saluti Giuseppe Panza». See Letter from Giuseppe Panza to Plinio de Martiis, 30th March 1959, FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina. Translation: «Dear de Martiis, I saw Novelli with great pleasure and his exhibition that I found very interesting. I also saw Rauschenberg's drawings, I like them a lot, but I prefer to see the canvases [...]. Best regards, Giuseppe Panza». For more on Plinio De Martiis and Italian collectors see for instance the following letters at FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina: Giorgio Franchetti, Venice (6 letters 1956/1958-1986), Guglielmo Achille Cavellini, Brescia (7 letters between 17th June 1962 and

As will be analyzed in Chapter three, these gallerists and their activity led to the artists' institutionalization at a museum level; however, as will be explained, the promotion of the most prominent Italian Pop artists appears traceable to De Martiis' networking efforts[236].

2.3 American Pop style

These premises favored the meeting between the Italian artists considered part of the *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* and the American Pop style with which Galleria La Tartaruga's artists had contact in three different key moments: first, with Rauschenberg's Neo-Dada *Combine Drawings* at La Tartaruga in 1959. Although it was not the first time that Rauschenberg participated in an Italian exhibit, given that in 1953 he presented his boxes and fetish objects at the international Galleria Obelisco, Rome, this thesis will analyze Rauschenberg's exhibit at De Martiis', given that the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* were tightly related to his gallery and less to Galleria Obelisco; additionally Rauschenberg's *Combine Drawings* had a similar style to part of the

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28th March 1967); Malabarba, Milano (letters in the years 1970, 1971, 1972, 1975) probably the poet and collector Gianni Malabarba who bought Klein's from the Fifties, today collector of Gianni and Mina Malabarba collection; Giuseppe Panza (1959, 1960, 1961), Varese; probably the collector Luciano Pomini, Castellanza (all letters from 1964). For more on Guglielmo Achille Cavellini see Vv.Aa., *Vita di un genio. Guglielmo Achille Cavellini* (Brescia: Centro studi cavelliniani, 1989); Vv.Aa., *Cavellini 1914-2014: centenario di Cavellini* (Brescia; Nuovi Strumenti; Praga: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 2001). On Panza see Philippe Ungar, *Giuseppe e Giovanna Panza collezionisti* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012); Richard Koshalek, Sherry Geldin, Christopher Knight, *L'arte degli anni '50, '60, '70: collezione Panza* (Milano: Jaca book, 1999). On Malabarba see Gabriele Biglia, "Milano, da Sotheby's trend al rialzo per il movimento Spazialista e l'Arte povera", *Il Sole 24 Ore* (21st May 2015): unapaginated. On Pomini see Enrico Crispolti, *Alternative attuali 3: rassegna internazionale d'arte contemporanea*, exh. cat. – L'Aquila, Castello spagnolo, u.d.o.b. July-u.d.o.e. September 1968 (Firenze: Centro Di, 1968): 182.

235 Between Guglielmo Achille Cavellini, Brescia and De Martiis there are seven letters between 17th June 1962 and 28th March 1967 - FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina.

236 The one exception is Galleria Gian Enzo Sperone which started to exhibit American Pop artists from its opening in 1963, independently from De Martiis. The two gallerists had contact starting in 1964. Sperone on 29th April 1964 writes Plinio to keep him updated on the catalogues published by his gallery thus showing that he was focusing on De Martiis' artists as well. See Letter from Gian Enzo Sperone to Plinio de Martiis, April 29th 1964 - FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina. On De Martiis as a photographer see Plinio De Martiis' photography in Plinio De Martiis., *Roma 11 Aprile: arrivo e disimballaggio delle opere di Pablo Picasso per la mostra che si terrà alla Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna* (Roma: Fotografia associati, 1951-1953); Plinio De Martiis, *Cassino 1952: un salone di fortuna* (Roma: Fotografi associati, 1952); Lionello Venturi, *Plinio De Martiis, 1953* (Roma: place unknown, 1951-1966). For more on Sperone see Chapter three.

artwork that he exhibited at the 32nd Venice Biennale for which he won a prize that named him the father of Pop[237].

Second, with American Pop artists who exhibited artworks at the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1962: Andy Warhol's *200 Campbell Soup Cans*, 1962 (fig.1), a silkscreen of two hundred Campbell's soup cans, the leading brand of American tomato sauce; Roy Lichtenstein's *Blam*, 1962 (fig.2), a jet fighter in comic style of exaggerated dimensions; the three-dimensional works, Jim Dine's *The Lawnmower*, 1962 (fig. 3), Claes Oldenburg's *The stove*, 1962 (fig.4) and George Segal's *The bus driver*, 1962 (fig.5); Robert Indiana's *Black Diamond American dream# 2*, 1962 (fig.6) where the logos EAT, LOVE, JUKE, JACK appeared in capital letters in the middle of the artwork; Tom Wesselmann's *Still life #17* with housewife and commercial product painted and Wayne Thiebaud's *Salad, Sandwiches and dessert*, 1961 (fig.7), depicting food in a cafeteria. The De Martiis artists Mario Schifano, Tano Festa, Gianfranco Baruchello, and Mimmo Rotella were present together with the Schwarz's Enrico Baj at the Sidney Janis exhibit and saw this style that had new features: the accentuated graphic art signs and vivid colors in Warhol's, Lichtenstein's and Indiana's artwork; giantism in both Lichtenstein's comics and Oldenburg's sculpture; anonymity in Segal's; commercial products in Wesselman's and Thiebaud's. Additionally, all this artwork shared the representation of objectiveness and of daily reality. As will be evident in this chapter, Italian artists grasped and translated such stylistic elements, especially the graphic style and vivid colors[238].

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[237] Galleria L'Obelisco was founded in 1946 by the intellectuals Irene Brin and Gaspero del Corso in Rome. It was the first gallery founded in Rome in the immediate post-war. It constituted one of the most important art international galleries in Rome in the Fifties and the Sixties. Among the artists it exhibited were the protagonists of the post-war: Afro, Fontana, Burri, Rothko, and Rauschenberg. For further developments on Galleria dell'Obelisco see Vittoria C. Caratozzolo, Ilaria Schiaffini, Claudio Zambianchi, *Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e la Galleria L'Obelisco* (Roma: Drago publishing, 2018). For more on Rauschenberg's exhibit "Bob Rauschenberg: Scatole e feticci personali" at Galleria L'Obelisco, inaugurated on 3rd March 1953 see Sergio Romano, *Gli Americani e l'Italia* (Milano: Libri Scheiwiller, 1993): 163; Hiroko Ikegami, *The great migrator: Robert Rauschenberg and the global rise of American Art*, op. cit., 213.

[238] For more on the artists exhibiting at Sidney Janis Gallery in 1962 refer to the Vv.Aa., *New realists*, op. cit.. For more on Warhol in the sixties see Maurizio Vanni, *Andy Wahrol. L'alchimista degli anni Sessanta*, exh. cat. – Monza, Reggia Reale. Orangerie, 25th January-28th April 2019 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2019); on Wharol's graphic art and vivid colors see Rainer Crone, *Andy Warhol: a picture show by the artist* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987): 26. On Lichtenstein's giantism in his comics of the Sixties see, Nicolas Calas, Elena Calas, *Icons and images of the sixties* (New York: Dutton, 1971): 103. On Segal in the Sixties see Thomas E. Crow, *The rise of the Sixties: American and European Art in the era of dissent* (London: Laurence King, 2004): 176; on Segal's anonymity see Eric Shanes, *Pop Art: una reazione alla cultura di massa* (Terzo: Gribaudo, 2007): 49. On Oldenburg's giantism see

Third, at the 1964 Venice Biennale: Alan Solomon presented two exhibits at the American Pavilion in which four young painters (as he defined them), showed different artwork. For instance, Neo-Dada's artwork of Robert Rauschenberg such as *Canyon*, 1963 (fig.8) and Jasper Johns' *Three Flags* (fig.9); Pop artwork of Jim Dine such as *Shoe* (fig.10) *Hatchet with two palettes*, 1963 (fig.11) and Claes Oldenburg's *Soft Typewriter* (fig.12). Also present was the Dadaist Jonathan Chamberlain's steel sculpture *Miss Lucy Pink*, 1962 (fig.13)[239]. Apart from Chamberlain's, all this artwork presented the aforementioned Pop style features: objectiveness, elements of daily reality and products of consumerism. Italians artists around both De Martiis and the gallerist Arturo Schwarz were exhibiting too, and there is no question that that they all participated, aside from Rotella who was in jail. Mario Schifano, Tano Festa, Giosetta Fioroni, Titina Maselli were in one room while Franco Angeli, Lucio Del Pezzo and Concetto Pozzati were in another, both curated by Calvesi. Mimmo Rotella's room was presented by Pierre Restany and Enrico Baj's, by the literary critic Raymond Quenau[240].

Maurice Tuchman, *American sculpture of the sixties*, exh. cat. – Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 28th April-25th June 1967- Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 15th September-29th October 1967 (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1967). On Wesselmann's and Indiana's commercial products see Sam Hunter, *Modern American-Op, Pop and the School of Color* (Milano: Fabbri, 1970): 13.

[239] At the Biennale the American artists also presented the following artworks: Robert Rauschenberg exhibited *Charlene*, 1954; *Letto*, 1955; *Senza titolo*, 1955; *Rebus*, 1955; *Factum I*, 1957; *Coprifuoco*, 1958; *Dono per Apollo*, 1959; *Doppio programma*, 1959; *Prestigiatore*, 1959; *Stagno d'inverno*, 1959; *Studio Painting*, 1961; *Tempo 3*, 1961; *Asso*, 1962; *Scivolante*, 1962; *Riempitivo*, 1963; *Espresso*, 1963; *Ranocchio*, 1964; *Buffalo II*, 1964; *Vampa*, 1964; *Rintracciatore*, 1964; *Aquilone*, 1963. Jasper Johns *Rettangoli grigi*, 1957; *Numeri a colori*, 1958-1959; *Numeri grigi* 1958-1959; *Tennyson*, 1958; *Tre bandiere*, 1958; *Dispositivo-circolo*, 1959; *Giubileo*, 1959; *Dalla finestra*, 1959; *Pittura con regolo e 'grigio'*, 1960; *Dipinto con due palle*, 1960; *Lampadina*, 1960; *Bronzo dipinto*, 1960; *Sulla riva del mare*, 1961; *Sparizione 2*, 1961; *Bersaglio*, 1961; *Dispositivo*, 1961-1962; *Tuffatore*, 1962; *Due bandiere*, 1962; *Mappa*, 1962; *Campo*, 1963-1964. Claes Oldenburg: *7-UP*, 1961; *Due pani*, 1962; *Cena*, 1962; *Fornello*, 1962; *Vetrina con pasticceria*, 1962; *Macchina da scrivere fantasma (modello)*, 1963; *Telefono molle*, 1963; *Tostapane fantasma (modello)*, 1963; *Macchina da scrivere molle*, 1963; *Tubo*, 1964. John Chamberlain *Exciter*, 1962; *Trixie Dee*, 1963; *Madama Luna*, 1964; *Bags Down*, 1964; *Slauson*, 1964. Jim Dine *Scarpa*, 1961; *Pala*, 1961; *Doccia verde*, 1962; *Quattro stanze*, 1962; *Stanza da bagno bianca*, 1962; *Morsa*, 1962; *Lo studio (paesaggio)*, 1963; *Accetta con due tavolozze (II Stato)*, 1963. For all the artwork exhibited refer to Alan R. Solomon, *XXXII Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte: Venezia 1964. Quattro pittori germinali. Quattro artisti più giovani* (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1964).

[240] See Maurizio Calvesi, *XXXII Biennale Internazionale di Venezia,* exh. cat. – Venezia, Biennale, 20th June-18thOctober 1964 (Venezia: Biennale, 1964).

2.4 Antecedents: Enrico Baj, Titina Maselli, Mimmo Rotella

Although Enrico Baj, Titina Maselli and Mimmo Rotella were not the main protagonists of the Italian Pop current, both chronologically and visually they can be considered predecessors when compared to the other artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*, thanks to their trips in the US, before the 1962 Sidney Janis exhibit and the 1964 Venice Biennale. Only the artwork of Enrico Baj, who initially travelled in Europe and worked with Gallery One in London, reflect some influence of the British Pop style, namely Richard Hamilton's; however after his participation in *The Art of Assemblage* held in New York in 1962, where he met Duchamp, Baj seems to have brought his style closer to the American Neo-Dada-Pop style.

2.4.1 Enrico Baj: furnishing items, bodybuilding, generals, past icons

Considering the wide and variegated experience that the Milan-born artist (1924) Enrico Baj had, especially centered on the *Movimento dell'Arte Nucleare*, officially founded in 1952 together with Sergio D'Angelo, it is quite challenging to properly classify him under the Pop Art trend. This is not only because art commentators in the Sixties saw his art mainly as Surrealist, Dadaist and Neo-Dadaist, but also because only a few of his artworks seem to embody the Pop aesthetic, mainly because of Baj's focus on objectivity[241]. For instance, in January 1960 the art critic Giorgio

[241] Despite the fact that in 1950 Enrico Baj and Sergio D'Angelo organized the exhibit *Pittura Nucleare* in Milan at Galleria San Fedele, they officially founded the movement in 1952 in Brussels, as well as publishing its manifesto: *Movimento dell'Arte Nucleare* was against academism and every-ism in art history; it believed in new forms that stemmed from the atomic universe. In 1955 Enrico Baj and Sergio D'angelo also founded the annual art review *Il Gesto. Rassegna Internazionale delle forme libere*, voice of the Nuclear movement, published in Milan from 1955 to 1959. In 1957 Baj published a further manifesto *Contro lo stile*, against Mannerism, proposing instead to refer to Yves Kline's style. Klein, Arman and Restany were among the signers. On the manifesto of *Movimento dell'Arte Nucleare,* see Enrico Baj, Sergio D'Angelo, *Manifeste de la Peinture Nucléaire*, unpaginated in Tristan Sauvage, *Baj et Dangelo Peintures Nucléaires*, exh. cat. – Bruxelles, Galerie Apollo, 4th–17th March 1952 (Bruxelles: Galerie Apollo, 1952); Olivier Penot-Lacassagne, Emmanuel Rubio, *Le surréalisme en héritage: les avant-gardes après 1945* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 2008): 85-86; Edoardo Sanguineti, *Cultura e realtà*, op. cit., 54; Luciano Caramel, *Arte in Italia, 1945-1960*, op. cit., 142; Enrico Brenna, Laura Mattei, *Prefigurazione: prospettive del movimento di pittura nucleare*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria San Fedele, 15th–30th May 1953 (Milano: Arimium, 1953). On the manifesto *Contro lo stile* see Luciano Caprile, *Conversazioni con Enrico Baj: mezzo secolo di avanguardie* (Milano: Elèuthera, 1997): 66; Maria Siniscalchi, Raymond Queneau, Enrico Baj, *Raymond Queneau, Enrico Baj: lettere inedite* (Napoli: Giannini, 1983): 75; Marisa del Re, Giò Marconi, *Enrico Baj, The garden of delights* (Milano: Fabbri, 1991): 110. To further develop *Movimento dell'arte Nucleare* see Rosario Pinto, *Arte nucleare in Italia*, exh. cat. – Sant'Arpino, Pinacoteca comunale Massimo Stanzione, Palazzo Sanchez De Luna d'Aragona, 19th–31st December 2009 (Napoli: Loffredo, 2009). For further developments on Enrico Baj see Martina Corgnati, Alessandra Tibiletti, *Enrico Baj: dal De rerum natura alle Montagne* (Milano:

Kaisserlian, who hosted Baj's first exhibit of *Pittura Nucleare* in his gallery, Galleria San Fedele, Milan in 1957 and was very attentive to the result of figurative representation in Milan, highlighted in *Il Popolo Lombardo* (the Milanese weekly supplement of the daily newspaper *Il Popolo*, organ of the DC), the Neo-Dadaist irony in Baj's mirrors exhibited at Galleria del Naviglio that year; in February 1960 in *Stampa Sera* the objectivity of Baj's chromatic litographies, exhibited at Galleria dell'Immagine, was pointed out, for the spontaneity of the sign; in May 1960, in the weekly review, *Rotosei*, the Nuclear artwork presented at the Mai Salon in Paris was seen as inspired by Surrealism; in 1961 in *Il Giorno*, the political economic daily newspaper of the oil company ENI, Marco Valsecchi, art critic interested in avant-guard work such as Baj's, defined the artist as Neo-Dadaist referring to his *Mobili* in the exhibit at Schwarz gallery[242].

Skira, 2018); Michael Reynolds, *Enrico Baj: the artist's home*, exh. cat. – London, Frieze masters, Luxembourg & Dayan booth, 5th-8th October 2017 (New York: Skira Rizzoli; Luxembourg & Dayan, 2017). For a general reception on *Movimento dell'arte Nucleare* see Stefano Ghiberti, "Scruta il sottosuolo il padre della pittura nucleare", *Gente* (November 1956): 52; Luigi Carluccio, "Enrico Baj", *Gazzetta del Popolo* (5th February 1960): unpaginated; Enrico Brenna, "Baj", *Le Ore* (12th December 1959): unpaginated. For further developments on Baj's biography refer to: Angela Sanna, Enrico Baj, *Automitobiografia* (Milano: Johan&Levi, 2018); Unsigned, "Baj", *Arbiter* (November 1961): 96-97. On Baj and the review *Il Gesto* see for instance Baj, "Interplanetaria", *Il Gesto. Rassegna internazionale delle forme libere*, vol. 4, no. 4 (September 1959): unpaginated. On *Il Gesto* and the Nuclear Movement see also Vv.Aa., *Esposizione Il Gesto: rassegna internazionale delle forme libere organizzata dal movimento nucleare in collaborazione con la rivista Phases di Parigi*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Schettini, u.d.o.b. June-u.d.o.e. July 1955 (Milano: Il Gesto, 1955). On Baj and Pop Art refer to Marco Guastalla, Laura Guastalla, *Pop in Italia: Franco Angeli, Enrico Baj, Paolo Baratella, Tano Festa, Piero Gilardi, Concetto Pozzati, Mimmo Rotella, Mario Schifano, Emilio Tadini*, exh. cat. – Livorno, Guastalla Centro Arte, 26th November 2016-26th January 2017 (Livorno: Graphis Arte, 2016); Marco Guastalla, Laura Guastalla, *Area Pop: Franco Angeli, Enrico Baj, Tano Festa, Piero Gilardi, Mark Kostabi, Ugo Nespolo, Mario Schifano, Emilio Tadini, Joe Tilson*, exh. cat. – Livorno, Guastalla Centro Arte, 30th November 2013-31st January 2014 (Livorno: Graphis Arte, 2013).

[242] For such comments refer to Giorgio Kaisserlian "Enrico Baj", *Il Popolo* (30th January 1960): unpaginated; Unsigned, "Mostre. Litografie", *Stampa Sera*, 12th February 1960: unpaginated; Unsigned, "Nei fantocci e nelle bombe Baj 'Il Nucleare'", *Rotosei* (20th May 1960): unpaginated; Marco Valsecchi, "Le Mostre. Enrico Baj", *Il Giorno*, (23rd December 1961) unpaginated. For further information on Baj's *Mobili* see Germano Celant, *Baj: Mobili animati*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Marconi, 26th May-27th July 2009 (Milano: Skira, Fondazione Marconi, 2009); Octavio Paz, *Baj: "mobili e boiseries", 1960-1962*, exh. cat. – Milano, Studio Marconi, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. December 1989 (Milano: Studio Marconi, 1989); Roberto Sanesi, *Casa Baj: specchi, mobili, dame e altri esempi d'arredo* (Sarzana: Industria Grafica Zappa, 1985). Il *Popolo* was a daily newspaper founded by the journalist and politician Giuseppe Donati in April 1923 in Rome. From 1924 to 1925 it was the organ of the PPI (Partito Popolare Italiano), but then from 1944 it was the organ of DC. On Donati and *Il Popolo* refer to Lorenzo Bedeschi, *Giuseppe Donati nel Partito popolare italiano e la direzione del 'Il Popolo'*, pp. 111-136 in Roberto Ruffilli e Pietro Scoppola, *Giuseppe Donati tra impegno politico e problema religioso*, Conf. Proceedings – Faenza, u.p., 2nd-4th October 1981

These critics seem to have recognized features of movements born of the Avant-guard, namely Surrealism and Dadaism, from which Baj was originating and to which he felt bound, as he declared later in several interviews. At the same time objectiveness and irony were signs that Baj, differently from the other Pop artists who had a direct connection with New York, came rather from London. Baj had contacts with London through Gallery One when he had his first solo show in 1957, and through both the painter Ralph Rumney and the critic Lawrence Alloway. Aldo Aniasi, then Assessore Effettivo all'Economato in Milan and a politician with cultural interests, sent a letter dated 27th February, 1957 to Conte Umberto Morra di Lavriano, director of Istituto Italiano di Cultura in London from 1955 to 1959. In the letter, he names Baj as one of the most prominent artists in Milan who had already exhibited abroad:

«Illustre Conte, nel marzo prossimo esporrà a Londra alla Gallery ONE (20 D'Arblay Street-London W I) il pittore Enrico Baj, che è tra i giovani più in vista della vita artistica Milanese. Qui a Milano il Baj è noto per aver partecipato alle più recenti polemiche e avventure della pittura, creando tra l'altro il Movimento d'Arte Nucleare, che dal 1951 in poi ha tenuto Mostre in Italia e all'estero»[243].

(Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1983). The Milan edition quoted was part of *Il Popolo Lombardo,* the weekly supplement of the daily newspaper *Il Popolo*, the organ of the DC, see Paolo Possenti, *Storia della D.C. dalle origini al centro-sinistra* (Roma: Ciarrapico, 1978): 328. The weekly review *Rotosei: sei rotocalco in uno* was a *rotocalco*, an informational journal, was founded in Rome in 1957 by the journalist and cinematographic critic Pasquale Ojetti, see Elisabetta Merlo, *Moda e industria: 1960-1980* (Milano: Egea, 2013): 45. The daily newspaper *Il Giorno* was founded in Milan in 1953 by Enrico Mattei, at that time President of ENI, which was a public company in charge of electric energy. Mattei wanted to express his economic and political ideas through the newspaper. The second page was dedicated to culture. *Il Giorno* together with *Il Resto del Carlino*, printed in Bologna and *La Nazione* printed in Florence, formed the *QN, Quotidiano Nazionale*. For further developments on *Il Giorno* see Vittorio Emiliani, *Gli anni del 'Giorno'* (Milano: Baldini&Castoldi, 2000); on Mattei see Giovannni Buccianti, *Enrico Mattei: assalto al potere petrolifero mondiale* (Milano: Giuffré, 2005); Luigi Bazzoli e Riccardo Renzi, *Il miracolo Mattei* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1984).

[243] See letter from Aldo Aniasi to Umberto Morra, 27th February 1957 - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. See DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 1 - DOCUMENT 1 - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. On Aldo Aniasi as Assessore all'Economato in Milan see Aldo Aniasi, *Proposte per cambiare* (Milano: SugarCo stampa, 1976): 3; on Aniasi's activity as *Assessore all'Economato* see instead Aldo Aniasi, Ezio Vigorelli, *Problemi milanesi: edilizia popolare, assistenza sociale e sanità, il bilancio, l'economato e la riforma dei servizi* (Roma: Opere Nuove, 1956). Aniasi's cultural interest became evident a decade later, starting in 1968 with Circolo di via De Amicis, where his archive now is located. For further developments on Circolo di via De Amicis see Francesco Alberoni, *I protagonisti discutono: 15 anni di dibattiti al Circolo di via De Amicis* (Milano: Edizioni del Circolo di via De Amicis, 1980). For further developments on Conte Umberto Morra di Lavriano see Roberto Pertici,

The Aniasi–Morra correspondence is indicative of Baj's fame that led him to receive another invitation from Gallery One the next year, in 1961, in which the gallerist proposed to show him together with «the top world ranking artists»[244]. A postcard from the Fifties received by Rumney, an artist who met Baj in Paris when Baj was there working with Asger Jorn, Yves Klein and the Parish group Phases, suggests that he was in contact with Alloway, already at that time an important art critic on London Pop culture; because of the objectiveness and irony present in Baj's artwork, Alloway could have considered it in the sphere of Pop—and of his interest too. In the postcard, Rumney writes that Alloway was away but that they both will write to him, suggesting that there already was a relationship between Alloway and Baj[245].

The attention to objectiveness found in Pop can be observed in Baj's series of *Mobili* (fig.14), that illustrates an interest in the current domestic myths in the Sixties, as evinced in Richard Hamilton's Pop culture manifestos (e.g., *Just what is it that makes today's home so different, so appealing?*, 1956) (fig.15), as well as the artist's experimentation with collage materials and objects themselves: different pieces are assembled to create them, all crooked with respect to the wall and the floor, also

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"Un liberale del nostro tempo: Umberto Morra di Lavriano", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, vol. 14, no. 1 (January 1984): 211-305.

[244] Letter 2nd February 1961 by Gallery One limited in London - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 1 - DOCUMENT 2 - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto.

[245] Postcard from Ralph Rumney - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. See DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 1 - DOCUMENT 3 - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. Enrico Baj, Ralph Rumney and Asger Jorn attended the flea market outside of Milan and Paris as a source for Jorn's artwork, see Karen Kurczynski, "Expression as vandalism. Asger Jorn's 'Modifications'", *Res. Anthropology and Aesthetics*, vol. 53-54, no. 53-54 (Spring-Autumn 2008): 302, footnote 54. On Baj in Paris working with the artists Yves Klein, Asger Jorn and the Phases Group see Riccardo Passoni, *Pop Art Italiana. Dalle collezioni della GAM-Torino*, op. cit., 32. On Baj, Klein and Jorn's group exhibit at Galleria San Fedele in 1957, see Giorgio Kaisserlian, Edoard Jaguer, *Baj, Bemporad, Bertini, Dangelo, Yves Klein, Manzoni, Arnaldo Pomodoro, Gio Pomodoro, Rossello, Sordini, Verga, Jorn, Vandercam*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria San Fedele, 12th-30th October 1957 (Milano: Galleria S. Fedele). For further developments on Phases group see Edouard Jaguer, *Gruppo phases*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 2nd-4th May 1961 (Milano: Galleria Schwarz, 1961). On Klein's activity in the Fifties and the Sixties refer to Pierre Restany, *Pierre Restany presenta Yves Klein: proposte monochrome epoca blu*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Apollinaire, 2nd-12th January 1957 (Milano: Galleria d'arte Apollinaire, 1957); Pierre Restany, *Yves Klein: le monochrome, il Nuovo realismo del colore*, exh. cat. – Milano, 20th-30th November 1961 (Milano: Galleria Apollinaire, 1961). On Jorn's activity in the Fifties and the Sixties refer to Vv.Aa., *Asger Jorn: 389. Mostra del Cavallino*, Venezia, Galleria del Cavallino, 25th July-3rd August 1957 (Venezia: Galleria del Cavallino, 1957); Vv.Aa., *Vingt peintures modifiées par Asger Jorn*, Paris, Galerie Rive Gauche, 6th May-28th May 1959 (Paris: Galerie Rive Gauche, 1959). In the Fifties Baj presented Jorn's exhibit, see Enrico Baj, *Esposizione Asger Jorn*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria L'Asterisco, 20th-30th June 1954 (Roma: Galleria L'Asterisco, 1954).

offering proof of decorativism. Whereas in the Sixties art critics such as the poet Octavio Paz (a friend of Baj's, with whom he shared an affinity for Surrealism and a friendship with its founder André Breton), saw in Baj's *Mobili* a way to better understand and get more involved with reality, an approach that might change his behavior toward the objects, in the Seventies other art critics such as Lorenza Trucchi, (who followed the Biennales, *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*, the result of Pop and the new figuration in the Sixties), wrote a critique in the pro-government, Roman daily newspaper *Momento Sera*, that read such a series as an ironic way for the artist to desacralize domestic myths[246]. While Paz's viewpoint could have been more biased as he was Baj's friend and collaborator, Trucchi's instead, in underlining the domestic myth, seems to confirm her initial negative opinion on Pop Art that she published in *Europa Artistica Letteraria* in 1964: Trucchi here appears to approve of Baj's way of working, ironizing the new idols of consumerism and thus the Pop spirit[247]. Although different, neither interpretation excludes the Pop connection that was already present in his artwork: irony did not necessarily preclude the artist's interest in penetrating into reality, and if

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[246] *Momento Sera* was the evening edition of *Il Momento,* daily newspaper founded in Rome in 1946 by the journalist Tomaso Smith, also founder of *Il Messaggero,* as indicated in Chapter one, and of *Il Paese*. On Smith and *Momento Sera* see Edo Parpaglioni, *C'era una volta 'Paese sera'* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 1998): 4; Giovanni De Luna, Nanda Torcellan, Paolo Murialdi, *La stampa italiana dalla Resistenza agli anni Sessanta* (Bari: Laterza, 1980): 306. Trucchi in the Sixties was an art critic focused on Art Brut, namely on Dubuffet and Tapiés, and on what happened in the Venice Biennale. For further developments on both Trucchi's interests refer to Lorenza Trucchi, "La Biennale degli astratti", *Alfabeto: quindicinale di arti, scienze e lettere*, vol. 14, no. 9-12 (u. month 1958): 2 - ARCHIVIO STORICO ASAC, Venezia; Lorenza Trucchi, "Dal 1948 quest'anno la Biennale peggiore", *Europa artistico letteraria*, vol. 3, no. 17 (November 1962): 105-109; Lorenza Trucchi, *Antonio Tapies*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria Il Segno, 7th-30th May 1962 (Roma: Galleria Il Segno, 1962); Lorenza Trucchi, *Mostra di litografie di Jean Dubuffet*, exh. cat. – Roma, 6th November 1922-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Einaudi, 1962). For Trucchi's critique of Baj see Lorenza Trucchi, "Tutto Baj", *Momento Sera* (2nd July 1971): unpaginated. For further information on Trucchi's activity as art critic of Pop Art and New Figuration see Lorenza Trucchi, "Gli equivoci della 'nuova figuratività'", *Europa Artistica Letteraria*, vol. 4, no. 19 (February 1963): 125-129; Lorenza Trucchi, "Dal Futurismo alla Pop Art", *La fiera letteraria* (23rd February 1967): unpaginated. Octavio Paz was a Mexican writer and a poet. He was Baj's friend and collaborator. Paz met Baj in Paris, the city where he lived starting in 1945: in the postwar, Paris was a dynamic place in which to develop ideas and essays; he felt an affinity toward avant-guard Surrealism, which proved to be fundamental for his poetry, especially his friendship with André Breton, his mentor, see Dario Puccini, "Octavio Paz", *Belfagor*, vol. 54, no. 5 (30th September 1999): 549-581. For Paz's critique on Baj see Octavio Paz, *Baj: ebanisterie e mobili*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 2nd December 1961-12th January 1962, 1. Paz and Baj frequented the same circle of intellectuals such as Edoardo Sanguineti who was curator of Baj's 1957 exhibit in Turin, see Edoardo Sanguineti, *Enrico Baj: dipinti e ceramiche*, Brochure of the exhibit, Torino, Galleria Il Prisma, 10th–23rd October 1957.

[247] See Lorenza Trucchi, "Qualche paragrafo", *Europa Artistica Letteraria*, vol. 15, no. 30 (June-September 1964): 30-32.

Baj viewed everyday objects with irony, it meant that his work really was engaged with what has been later called the Pop spirit in conveying his objects[248].

Still on this theme of objectiveness and decorativism was *Il riposo del decorato*, 1963 (fig.16), part of the series of his *Generals*: without the main figure inside the jacket, what remains is just the decorated uniform, treated as an object in and of itself, revealing the artist's attention to medals and uniforms. *Generals* were part of Baj's memory: since he was born, he witnessed both the First and the Second World War, and the army with its medals was an important memory of his. Baj's *Generals* have been seen as a satire against soldiers and as the populist behavior that tended to make soldiers an exclusive instrument of people, as voiced in a review in *La Nazione*, a nationalist, conservatively oriented journal, that defended the images of those who died for the country[249]; however, despite such judgments, the 32nd Venice Biennale, where he had a personal room, received *Generals* better than his *Ultracorpi*, such as *Adamo e Eva*, 1964 (fig.17), in which grotesque characters were found together with naked men and women. Those were rejected outright: the nudity of his figures was received as scandalous and given that Papa Giovanni XXIIIrd had previously prohibited Catholics from visiting the Biennale, the Commission preferred to avoid having another ban from the Church that would have decreased the number of visitors[250].

Although his medals were associated with the emerging current of Pop Art at the Venice Biennale, the *Ultracorpi* affords a more productive point of comparison with Pop aesthetics, not only because the illustrated people's perfect bodies resemble bodybuilders (a symbol of one of the dominant trends of the time, as Hamilton conveyed in *Just what is it that makes today's home so different, so appealing?*), but also due to its

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[248] On Baj's objectiveness and Pop Art see Carolina Carriero, *Il consumo della Pop Art: esibizione dell'oggetto e crisi* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2003): 114; *Walter Guadagnini, Pop Art 1956-1958*, op. cit., 57, 84; Rossana Bossaglia, Susanna Zatti, *Il Pop Art e l'Italia*, op. cit., 84.

[249] *La Nazione*, a daily newspaper founded in 1859, was published in Florence by Carlo Fenzi, Leopoldo Cempini and Pietro Puccioni. It had conservative and moderate positions; it mainly supported the principles of unity and freedom, see Vv.Aa, *I padri fondatori: 150 anni dello Stato italiano* (Roma: Gangemi, 2010): 167. For further developments on *La Nazione* see Maurizio Naldini, *La nazione 150 anni: 1859-2009: Firenze, l'Italia, il mondo* (Firenze: Ente Cassa di risparmio di Firenze; Bologna: Poligrafici editoriale, 2008). Enrico Mattei directed it from 1961 to 1970, see the previous note on *Il Giorno*; see also "Mostre d'arte. Enrico Baj e i generali", *La nazione* (5th December 1972): 8. On Baj's *Generali* and Pop Art see also Matteo Chini, *Pop Art. Miti e linguaggio della comunicazione di massa*, op. cit., 68; Luciano Caprile, *Conversazioni con Enrico Baj: mezzo secolo di avanguardie*, op. cit., 55; Rossana Bossaglia, Susanna Zatti, *Il Pop art e l'Italia*, op. cit., 84; Gillo Dorfles, *Ultime tendenze nell'arte d'oggi: dall'Informale al Neo-Oggettuale* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1999): 102.

[250] See Eugenio Battisti, "Intervista a Baj", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 5 (May 1964): 212.

similarities with advertisements and graphic art, for both the clarity of the lines and for the choice of vivid colors. Baj's proximity to the London artistic environment with Gallery One, Alloway and Rumney, possibly provided him with better knowledge of the English products of Pop Art, which could explain the naked bodybuilders, similar Hamilton's, emblems not included in American Pop artwork. In his interview in *Marcatrè,* Baj himself declared the aforementioned reason for the rejection of *Ultracorpi* from the Biennale (the threat of a Papal ban) and noted that the current *Procuratore della Repubblica*, who was visiting the *kermesse*, identified his medals as Pop: «Uh che bello, divertente e poi dice, qui fa come un pop pop»[251]. Baj did not seem disappointed by such a connection. On the contrary, he appeared to prefer the Procuratore's comment to the Italian art critics' who wrote in the newspapers: «Questo Procuratore della Repubblica è molto più aggiornato di Dell'Acqua, Marcazzan e i critici italiani Valsecchi e Mattioli […]»[252].

Baj's words sound both like a provocation of art critics such as Valsecchi, who wrote on Baj's art, and for his attempt to annex Pop, while in Baj's carreer this connection does not appear as dominant for him as *Marcatré* does, given that the relevance it offered to Baj's art was not to emphasize such an association. The article in *Marcatré* was perhaps a consequence of several factors: his friendship with both Eco and Dorfles, as documented by the letter dated 28th January, 1964, the fact that he already collaborated with avant-guard reviews such as *Documento Sud*, and the interest that Battisti had for him, as evinced in a November 1964 letter: Battisti proposed to Baj to write an article on him that would be a poetic declaration on the current pictorial problems, but not discuss the Pop connection; the article published was indeed on the Naples art scene[253]. Despite the fact that the article on Baj in 1965 did not mention Pop Art, Baj's appreciation for it appeared linear after the Biennale and onward: Baj's 1965 interview by the photographer of his artwork, Carlo Cisventi, highlights first, Baj's favorable opinion on Pop Art as art that is young and full of energy, in contrast to European art that risks being seen as a fossil; second, the identification of elements of the Pop style as closely related to the American way of life: «Le forme, i colori, le materie, il formato generalmente 'big', la immediatezza di comunicazione visiva,

[251] See Ibid.. Translation: «Uh, how nice, funny and then he says, this is like a pop pop». There is not enough information to determine who the Procuratore della Repubblica was.
[252] See Ibid.. Translation: «This Attorney of the Republic is much more updated than Dell'Acqua, Marcazzan and the Italian critics Valsecchi and Mattioli [...]». On Baj's *Ultracorpi* and Pop Art see Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art 1956-1968*, op. cit., 86; Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art Italia 1958-1968*, op. cit., 55, 63, 190.
[253] For Baj's collaboration with *Documento Sud* see Enrico Baj, "A proposito di coesistenza e modificazioni", *Documento Sud*, vol. 1, no. 2 (October 1959): unpaginated; Enrico Baj, "Mario Colucci", *Documento Sud*, vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1960) unpaginated.

i soggetti, tutto è strettamente legato al modo di vita americano, alle persone, persino al paesaggio urbano ed extraurbano»[254]; third the explication of common points between Pop Art and his artwork with, however, an emphasis on his painting as European:

«Esistono certo punti di contatto tra le mie ricerche e quelle americane. Le mie esperienze di recupero e di introduzione nel quadro di oggetti e di materiale reale, il tutto legato a tematiche deliberatamente figurative e rappresentative, non cominciarono certo dopo le parallele ricerche americane. Ma la mia opera è permeata di tutt'altra atmosfera, di differente colore: insomma credo che sia di tipo europeo e che non arriverei mai ad 'americanizzarla'. Io sono un pittore tradizionale, che cerca di recuperare, quasi di salvare nel quadro un mucchio di cose del passato. Nei miei quadri introduco vecchie trine e bindelli, passamanerie, nastri, cordoni e pizzi e orpelli d'ogni genere, fiocchi, gradi militari, decorazioni e soprattutto *medaglie*»[255].

Baj's interview is precious testimony that provides evidence of the artist's perception of both Pop Art and the American context in the way of life it communicated: the Pop components that Baj identifies are those reproduced by Italian Pop artists and are mirrors of the Americans' lifestyle that, as previously shown in the Italian historical context, became part of the Italians' way of living too. Despite his feeling for the Pop current, Baj still considers his art European: this is a point of contact with most of the other Italian Pop artists who also took their distance from the new US style. What makes Baj different from such artists, however, is the coherence of his position over the years: he never contradicted it, after Biennale or later on, at the end of the Sixties when the wave of Pop Art was waning it. The 1968 interview by the art critic

[254] See Carlo Cisventi, "Baj Ritorno", *Leader* (April-May 1965): 68-71. Translation: «The forms, colors, materials, the generally 'big' format, the immediacy of visual communication, the subjects, everything is closely connected to the American way of life, to the people, even to the urban and extra-urban landscape». On Carlo Cisventi's activity as photographer of Baj's art see Germano Celant, *Baj. Mobili animati*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Marconi, 24th May-24th July 2009 (Milano: Skira, 2009): 62; Enrico Baj, Octavio Paz, *Baj. Dame e generali 1960-1975*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Marconi, 30th January-15th March 2008 (Milano: Skira, 2008): 4.

[255] Ibid., 74-75. Translation: «There are certain points of contact between my research and the American one. My experiences of recovery and introduction into the context of objects and real material, all linked to deliberately figurative and representative themes, certainly did not begin after the parallel American research. But my work is permeated with a completely different atmosphere, of different colors: in short, I think it is European and that I would never get to "Americanize" it. I am a traditional painter, trying to recover, almost to save in the painting a lot of things from the past. In my paintings I introduce old lace and ribbons, trimmings, ribbons, cords and laces and frills of all kinds, bows, military grades, decorations and above all, medals».

Aristide Ballis in *Il Gazzettino*, who followed the artists that participated in the Paris art scene and at the Biennale too (given his collaboration with the Venice edition of *Il Gazzettino*), is meaningful because Baj does not seem concerned in connecting with it or in mentioning it: this is indicative of the fact that, on the one hand, Baj did not feel the 'pressure' of mirroring the US artistic style, as his fame was mainly associated with Nuclear and not Pop Art; on the other hand, his fame as a Nuclear artist, the twin Dadaist and Surrealist spirit recognized in his artwork, and his belonging to a previous generation compared to the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*, led him to give little importance to Pop Art itself, but rather to underline his connection with the European Avant-guards[256].

Aside from Baj's own position on Pop Art, after the Venice Biennale art critics labeled Baj's work as Pop, trying to position him as antecedent of the new style: Rubiu in *L'Europa-Letteraria* claimed that Baj anticipated a situation «con un bello stacco di tempo, vedi il caso della Nuova Figurazione da lui prefigurata sin dal 1953»[257]; *Avanti!* stated that: «Baj è stato uno dei primissimi in questi ultimi anni a riprendere l'esperienza di Schwitters con quello 'spirito nuovo' che è poi sfociato in America e in Europa nelle correnti del 'new-dada' e del 'nouveau-realisme'»[258]; in 1966 *Il Messaggero*, described Baj's collages, object trouvé and ironic dissacrations exhibited at Galleria Odyssia, as «un gioco in definitiva Pop che Baj può essere sicuro di saper condurre con fantasia e maestria tutte personali»[259]. Both the critics and the artists identified a Pop spirit in Baj's objectiveness and in his irony; however what brought Baj closer to Pop Art, besides such features and the series *Ultracorpi*, was the work *Ties*, 1969 (fig.18), an instance of the changing approach to chromaticism with which the artist was experimenting and a sign of his closer relationship to American Pop Art: it recalled his first ambition of re-appropriating pieces of objects at the beginning of the Sixties and

[256] See Aristide Ballis, "'Sono un provocatore'. Il pittore dei 'generali' crede in un'arte dissacrante, scandalistica – i legami sentimentali col dadaismo", *Il Gazzettino Venezia* (21st November 1968): unpaginated. For further developments on Ballis' activity as art critic in the Sixties see Aristide Ballis, "La pittura metafisica l'ho fatta soltanto io", *Il Gazzettino Venezia* (10th March 1965)): unpaginated; Aristide Ballis, "Parigi quarant'anni fa: Mario Tozzi", *Il Gazzettino Venezia* (4th May 1968): unpaginated. For further developments on *Il Gazzettino* see the note on newspapers in Chapter One.

[257] See Vittorio Rubiu, "Il gioco di Baj con i giochi", *L'Europa Artistico-Letteraria*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January-February 1965): 178. Translation: «with an important pace, see the case of the New Figuration which he foreshadowed since 1953».

[258] See Unsigned, "Mostre d'arte. Enrico Baj", *Avanti!* (7th March 1965): unpaginated. Translation: «Baj was one of the very first in recent years to resume the experience of Schwitters with that 'new spirit' which then led to America and Europe in the 'new-dada' and 'nouveau realisme' currents».

[259] See Unsigned, "Mostre d'arte", *Il Messaggero* (7th April 1966): unpaginated. Translation: «a Pop game that Baj can be sure of being able to lead with personal imagination and maestry».

echoed the colors used by Warhol, who also focused several of his works on articles of clothing and shoes. In fact, after 1964 Baj had direct contact with Warhol who, upon visiting Italy later on, told Baj that he and the artists belonging to *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* were the new *Michelangelo*[260].

Differently from Warhol, however, who portrayed clothes in pen, Baj rendered them with both sculptures and collages. In *Ties*, Baj once again chose an emblem belonging to the Pop imaginary, an emblem that he considered the highest symbol of the Western culture. The ties, exhibited at Studio Marconi were seen as «il codificato emblema che, per uso e tradizione ogni mattina ci leghiamo al collo diventa, incorniciato, un quadro, un gesto d'arte»[261] as Domenico Porzio commented in 1969 in *Corriere d'Informazione*. Porzio was an art critic and Valsecchi's collaborator with whom he founded the publishing house *Le Edizioni di Uomo*, which had the first publication dedicated to Surrealism, the movement with which Baj had been previously associated. Undoubtedly Porzio shared ideas and interests with Valsecchi: unsurprisingly they both wrote on the same artist, underlining a similar aspect belonging to the Pop style. However, their comments were three years apart, a time-span that suggests a possible major influence on Porzio by Valsecchi[262].

In contrast to the other Italian Pop artists who appropriated Pop aesthetics to express their protest against the myths of the current society, Baj's work in the Sixties seems to be apolitical, despite the fact that he was an anarchist and on 10th February, 1969 was, together with Aniasi, among the signers of the petition on the occasion of the international manifestation for peace, freedom and man's dignity, held at Teatro Dal Verme[263]. It is true that his irony and desacralization were read as a form

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[260] On *Ties* and Pop Art see Wendy Weitman, Jasmine Moorhead, *Pop Impressions Europe/USA: Prints and Multiples from the Museum of Modern Art*, exh. cat. – New York, Museum of Modern Art, 18th February-18th May 1999 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1999): 34. For Baj's connection with Warhol see Luciano Caprile, *Conversazioni con Enrico Baj: mezzo secolo di avanguardie*, op. cit., 12.

[261] See Domenico Porzio, "La nuova 'contestazione' di Enrico Baj", *Corriere d'informazione* (10th February 1969): unpaginated. Translation: «the codified emblem which, for habit and tradition, we tie to our neck every morning, becomes, framed, a picture, a gesture of art».

[262] Domenico Porzio, Marco Valsecchi and Oreste del Buono founded the publishing house *Le Edizioni di Uomo* in 1944: while Valsecchi was its director, Porzio instead directed the eponymous review. *Le Edizioni di Uomo* publishing house had the first publication on Surrealism, written by Carlo Bo. For further developments see Patrizia Caccia, *Editori a Milano (1900-1945): repertorio* (Milano: Angeli, 2013): 317; Marcello Venturoli, *Il viaggiatore in arte* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1966): 109; Renato Barilli, Vittorio Fagone, *Arte e letteratura: dal futurismo ad oggi* (Bergamo: Lubrina, 1998): 91. On Domenico Porzio as art critic see Domenico Porzio's biography in Domenico Porzio, *Jorges Luis Borges* (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1992): 147.

[263] On 10th February 1969 Aniasi and Baj were among the signers of the appeal, see Franco Bertolucci, Giorgio Mangini, *Pier Carlo Masini: impegno civile e ricercar storica tra anarchismo, socialismo e democrazia. Quaderni della rivista storica dell'anarchismo* (Pisa: BFS, 2008): 59.

of protest (e.g., his *Generals*), but it is equally true that the documents from his archive provide evidence of a proper link with political parties only in the Seventies[264]. Several letters from the PCI, from the Partito radicale and from other political entities that asked him to donate artwork for their fundraising are dated from 1974: on 20th December, 1974 a letter from Partito Radicale asks Baj for a donation in the form of his artwork. On 16th July, 1976, a letter from the PCI acknowledges the receipt of three pieces of artwork from Baj for the Festival Nazionale dell'Unità. On 28th December, 1977, the trade-union FLM (Federazione lavoratori metalmeccanici) wrote to «pittori democratici»[265] requesting an offer of an artwork as a gift for fighting workers[266]. Despite such letters, Baj's work cannot be connected directly to communism, as the artist never explicitly stated anything in this regard through his artwork or otherwise: he was anarchic and against the abuse of power, especially military; to denounce it, he painted the dramatic episode related to the Piazza Fontana massacre in 1969, namely *I funerali dell'Anarchico Pinelli*. Baj completed the artwork in 1972, the year after he received the letters from the parties, letters that reveal that the artist had a preference for the fighting labor movements and the PCI: it would otherwise be difficult for such radical parties to directly request artwork from Baj and ask him to directly help their cause, in the tumultuous context of the years of protest which began in the late Sixties[267].

[264] On Baj's work interpreted as a form of protest refer to Unsigned, "Cronache d'arte. Baj alla Minotauro", *La Voce del Popolo* (21st October 1967): unpaginated; Unsigned, "Alla galleria Chiocciola di Padova. I generali di Baj tra riti e miti", *Nazione Sera* (17th November 1967): unpaginated; Luciano Inga Pin, "La satira di Baj", *Arte* (June-July 1968): 39-42; Domenico Porzio, "La nuova 'contestazione' di Enrico Baj", *Corriere d'informazione* (10th February 1969): unpaginated; Lorenza Trucchi, "Tutto Baj", *Momento Sera* op. cit., unpaginated.

[265] See the letter at FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. Translation: «democratic painters».

[266] See these letters at FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto. For further information on FLM refer to Luigi Palossi, *Metalmeccanici fiorentini del dopoguerra*, Conf. Proceedings – Firenze, u.p., 8th October 2001 (Roma: Ediesse, 2002): 54; Giovanna Cereseto, Anna Frisone, Laura Varlese, *Non è un gioco da ragazze; femminismo e sindacato. I coordinamenti donne FLM* (Roma: Ediesse, 2009): 32-38.

[267] For further developments on the artwork *I funerali dell'Anarchico Pinelli* refer to: Vv.Aa., *Baj, un quadro: i funerali dell'anarchico Pinelli*, exh. cat. – Milano, Palazzo Reale, 21st June-2nd September 2012 (Milano: Skira, 2012); Pierluigi Zavaroni, *Caduti e memoria nella lotta politica. Le morti violente della stagione dei movimenti* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2010): 23; Vittorio Fagone, Lara V. Masini, *I funerali dell'anarchico Pinelli*, exh. cat. – Livorno, Museo progressivo d'arte contemporanea, 14th June-13th July 1975 (Livorno: Museo progressivo d'arte contemporanea, 1975).

2.4.2 Titina Maselli: divas, trucks, boxeurs, skyskrapers, cities.

Titina Maselli, the Roman artist born in 1924, was a pioneer not only of Italian but also American Pop Art. She moved from Impressionism and Futurism, inheriting her colors from the former and her attraction to the modern city from the latter, thus offering an objectivized perspective on all the icons encompassed in her works[268]. As a predecessor of Pop Art, art critics as early as the 1950s commented on her modernity; in 1951, the poet and art critic, Romeo Lucchese who, along with Maselli studied at the Accademia delle Belle Arti, made such an assessment in *La Fiera Letteraria*, an art, literature and science review founded in 1925 in Milan. From the 1960s onward, this review hosted much commentary on Pop Art, its graphics inspired by mass-market magazines. Lucchese's article showed that Titina wanted to paint from a modern perspective before her New York period, as documented by the work *Paesaggio*, 1951, with Rome as its subject[269]. Although divas, trucks, *boxeurs*, skyscrapers and other urban elements had been her privileged subjects since her trip to New York from 1952 to 1955, it was after her participation in the 1962 Sidney Janis exhibit, specifically in 1963, that her work began to be

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[268] For more on Maselli's biography see Sabina de Gregori, *Titina Maselli: autoritratto involontario di una grande artista* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2015). On Maselli and Pop Art see Jean L. Schefer, *Titina Maselli* (Edizioni d'arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1975): 995, 1984, 1990 in particular p. 980 where she is considered as Pop Art ante-litteram; Roberto Gramiccia, *La Nuova scuola romana: i sei artisti di via degli Ausoni* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 2005): 31; Eugenia Roccella, Lucetta Scaraffia, *Italiane: dagli anni cinquanta ad oggi*: 173; Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art Italia 1958-1968*, op. cit., 41, 50; Marco Valsecchi, *Maselli: dipinti* (Roma: Studio tipografico, 1970): unpaginated; José Pierre, *Pop Art: an illustrated dictionary* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1977): 59; Giuliano Briganti, *Titina Maselli*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Milano, 1966 (Milano: Galleria Milano, 1966); Vv.Aa., *Titina Maselli*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 26th April 1965-u.d.o.e. (Roma: La Nuova Pesa); Cesare Vivaldi, Francesco Arcangeli, *Maselli*, Brochure, Roma, Galleria La Salita, 16th May 1963-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria La Salita, 1963): unpaginated; Unsigned, "Maselli alla 'Nuova Pesa'", *Avanti!* (8th May 1965): unpaginated; Duilio Morosini, "Realismo d'oggi. Pop Art in anticipo? Titina Maselli espone oltre quindici anni di creazione artistica", *Paese sera* (6th May 1965): unpaginated; Cesare Vivaldi, *Titina Maselli*, Brochure, Bologna, Nuova Galleria, 29th January-12th February 1963 (Bologna: Nuova Galleria, 1963). For further developments of her work in the Forties and the Fifties see Corrado Alvaro, *Titina Maselli*, Brochure of the exhibit, Roma, Galleria dell'Obelisco, 22nd October 1948.

[269] Starting in 1934, Romeo Lucchese was friends with Ungaretti who, as will be explained later in this chapter, was Schifano's friend and was engaged in the Roman artistic contest. Lucchese started to collaborate with *La Fiera Letteraria* in 1946, after he won a competition of poetry organized that year by the review itself. One of his first articles as an art critic in *La Fiera letteraria* was on the sculptor Pericle Fazzini, a friend of his who introduced him to Ungaretti, see Romeo Lucchese, "Artisti italiani: Pericle Fazzini", *La fiera letteraria* (24th December 1950): 11. Together with Ungaretti they presented the exhibit Pericle Fazzini held in 1951 at Palazzo Barberini in Rome, see Giuseppe Ungaretti, Romeo Lucchese, *Pericle Fazzini*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo Barberini, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1951 (Roma: Fondazione Premi Roma per le Arti, 1951). For more information on Lucchese and Ungaretti refer to Romeo Lucchese, *Ricordo di Ungaretti* (Roma: Istituto grafico tiberino, 1970).

analyzed in the Pop realm: according to art critics' comments, both the February 1963 exhibit at Nuova Galleria, Bologna, directed by the painter and sculptor Antonino Randazzo, and the one held in May 1963 at Galleria La Salita, Rome, directed by the gallerist Gian Tomaso Liverani, are instances of her approaching the domain of Pop. While Randazzo, also the director of Galleria De' Foscherari in Bologna, organized exhibits with artists who worked at an international level (thanks to the extensive network he developed from his experience as a painter himself), in the same years Liverani exhibited artwork that was similar to Maselli's in terms of their shared features of modernity, such as those exhibited at *5 Pittori alla Salita*, and that demonstrate a further connection between La Salita's taste and Maselli's art[270].

In both Nuova Galleria and Galleria La Salita, Maselli showed *Greta Garbo*, 1962 (fig.19): the artwork illustrates the figure of the famous American actress of that time, whose face is covered by thick black lines that on one side, emphasize the fact that the figure is in the background and, on the other side, obscure it so that it partially disappears[271]. Similarly

[270] Randazzo founded the Nuova Galleria in 1959 in Bologna and Galleria De' Foscherari in 1962. For further information on Randazzo see Vv.Aa., *Disegni di Antonino Randazzo*, Brochure of the exhibit, Bologna, Circolo artistico, 2nd-15th November 1960 (Bologna: Circolo artistico, 1960); Vv.Aa., *Randazzo*, exh. cat. – Bologna, Nuova Galleria Farini, 2nd-15th March 1963 (Bologna: Nuova Galleria Farini, 1963). At Galleria Nuova, Bologna, Maselli exhibited: *Boxeur*; *Boxeurs*; *Da un subway l'altro*; *Camion*; *Automobile*; *Greta Garbo*; *Boxeur in riposo*. See Cesare Vivaldi, Titina Maselli, Brochure of the exhibit, Bologna, 29th January-12th February 1963, unpaginated. Liverani founded Galleria La Salita in 1957. At Galleria La Salita exhibited *Camion Grande*, 1961; *Boxeurs neri*, 1963; *Da un Subway all'altro*, 1963; *Calciatori nello stadio*, 1963; *Boxeurs gialli*, 1962; *Calciatori in corsa*, 1963; *Boxeurs blu*, 1963; *Greta Garbo*, 1962; *Camion piccolo*, 1963. For further information on Liverani and Galleria La Salita see Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Roma 1948-1959: dal neorealismo alla dolce vita*, op. cit., 214; Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte in Italia: dal dopoguerra al duemila*, op. cit., 60. On the exhibit *5 Pittori alla Salita*, in which Franco Angeli, Tano Festa, Giuseppe Uncini, Mario Schifano and Francesco Lo Savio were presented by Pierre Restany see Pierre Restany, *5 Pittori alla Salita*, Brochure of the exhibit, Roma, Galleria La Salita, 1960 (Roma: Galleria La Salita, 1960) unpaginated. On Scialoja's exhibit see Vv.Aa., *Scialoja*, Brochure of the exhibit, Roma, Galleria La Salita, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1960.

[271] For the paintings on New York city see Marisa Volpi, *Artisti contemporanei: profili*, (Roma: Il Bagatto, 1986): 193; Duilio Morosini, "Le vertigini della città nei quadri di Titina Maselli", *Paese Sera* (25th November 1970): 3. On *Greta Garbo* see Archivio della Scuola Romana, *Titina Maselli: metafore della città* (Milano: Skira, 2006): 75; Marcello Venturoli, *Tutti gli uomini dell'arte*, op. cit., 65; Giorgio di Genova, *Storia dell'arte italiana del '900: generazione anni Venti* (Bologna: Bora, 1991): 252; Elisabetta Cristallini, *Memoria e materia dell'opera d'arte: per nuovi orizzonti di ricerca* (Roma: Gangemi, 2018); Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art Italia 1958-1968*, op. cit., 41. On *boxeurs* and divas see Marco Valsecchi, *Maselli: dipinti*, op. cit., unpaginated. For all Maselli's artworks' connection with daily reality, urban reality and their mediation through a photographic eye see Jacques Dupuin, *Titina Maselli*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria Il Fante di Spade, 18th April-u.d.o.e. 1973 (Roma: Galleria Il Fante di Spade, 1973): unpaginated. On the immediacy of colors that Maselli uses in her paintings see Michel Buraglio, "Match dans la ville. Notes sur la peinture de Titina Maselli", *Rebelote*, vol. 4, no.

to *Da un Subway all'altro*, 1955 the painting of *Greta Garbo* is an instant frame: in much the same way that the artist immortalizes the fast-paced motion of New York's emblematic subway, Garbo's marked facial features emphasize the directness of the American icon and make the icons appear to be hallucinated[272]. The art critic Cesare Vivaldi, who was very active in Rome starting in the Sixties and was following the artists who presented new artistic research, wrote the text in the brochures of both the exhibits. The February brochure referred to the influence of comics, television, advertisement and street bills that aimed to optically shock viewers with violent images, thus implying the directness of Pop images. The May brochure, instead, compared Maselli's art to the new similar art currents of Neo-Dada-Pop Art and likened her to the group of the Roman painters, referring clearly to the *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*:

«[…] la pittura della Maselli ha acquisito caratteristiche che la staccano decisamente dal modo di operare dei 'figurativi' della sua generazione […] per accostarla invece a quanto di più vivo si fa oggi nel mondo, lo si chiami neodadà, arte *brutal*, *pop art* o persino *nouveau réalisme*. In particolare la pittura della Maselli, senza rinnegare in alcun modo le proprie premesse e la propria storia, mi pare oggi si collochi in una posizione abbastanza vicina a quella di un gruppo di giovani pittori romani provenienti dall'astrattismo i quali, attraverso il passaggio quasi obbligato del neodadà, stanno riscoprendo la 'faccia' sfigurata del mondo e si affidano – come ha scritto recentemente Maurizio Calvesi – a 'un nuovo modo di vedere', conseguito attraverso 'un approfondito riesame del linguaggio' […]»[273].

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3 (October 1973): unpaginated. On the violence of colors refer to Alda Radaelli, "Una donna fragile che è molto forte", *Il Tempo* (25th April 1964): 44-47. On her scenographic activity from 1974 see Domenico Guzzi, "Sui cristalli dei grattacieli", *Arte*, vol. 50, no. 203 (January 1990): 90-93.

[272] On Maselli's works on the cities see *Titina Maselli: metafore della città* (Milano: Skira, 2006); Enrico Crispolti, *Titina Maselli: metropoli, l'immagine ostruente*, exh. cat. – Macerata, Chiesa monumentale di San Paolo, 1st July-30th August 1985 (Macerata: Coopedit, 1985); Enrico Crispolti, *Titina Maselli: la città* (Bagheria: Ezio Pagano artecontemporanea, 1984). Maselli, during her time in New York, participated in two exhibits at the Durlacher Gallery in 1953 and in 1955, see Renzo Vespignani's letter in Renzo Vespignani, "Titina Maselli", *La Tartaruga: bollettino della Galleria* (April 1955): unpaginated. On Maselli's connection with Futurism and with Impressionism see *Titina Maselli: metafore della città*, op. cit., 64; Jean L. Schefer, *Titina Maselli*, op. cit., 993-994.

[273] See Cesare Vivaldi's text in, Cesare Vivaldi, Francesco Arcangeli, *Maselli*, Brochure of the exhibit, Roma, Galleria La Salita, 16th May 1963, unpaginated. Translation: «[...] Maselli's painting has acquired characteristics that strongly separate distinguish her art from the way in which the 'figurative' of this generation operates [...] to bring her closer instead to what is most alive today in the world, that which is called Neo-Dada, brutal art, pop art or even nouveau réalisme. In particular, Maselli's painting, without in any way denying its premises and history, seems to me today to be in a position close to that of a group of young

Vivaldi shared Calvesi's viewpoint on the re-examination of language, and such a comment is similar to what Calvesi wrote in 1962 for the exhibit *Nuove Prospettive della pittura italiana* discussing Neo-Dada. This catalogue also included Vivaldi's text, in which he singled out a group of young Roman painters who had not yet turned thirty but were very promising[274]. It was Vivaldi himself who, on 9th February, 1963, presented such a group of painters in the exhibit *13 pittori a Roma* at Galleria La Tartaruga, Maselli included: these painters were the emblem of the new kind of mass realism that was simultaneously born in Europe and the US. Given his previous texts, in his comments on Maselli's art for the exhibit at Galleria La Salita, Vivaldi reiterates the elements related to that Roman group of artists, understandably, because it was his current focus. He shared that focus with prominent art critics such as Calvesi, with whom he was in contact: Vivaldi shared Calvesi's viewpoint on the re-examination of language and such a comment is similar to what Calvesi wrote in 1962 for the exhibit *Nuove Prospettive della pittura italiana* discussing Neo-Dada. It is noteworthy that in the 1963 texts on Maselli, Vivaldi kept referring to the Roman painters as a group, but he did not identify them as the painters of the *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*: Galleria La Tartaruga moved that year to Piazza del Popolo with its opening on 9th February, and the term did not refer yet to a proper school of the protagonists of Italian Pop Art; however, as the 1960 article *I ribelli di Piazza del Popolo* published in *L'Espresso* documents, some of these Roman artists around De Martiis were already being identified as belonging to the Piazza del Popolo, although not as a formal school, gathering at Caffé Rosati and concerning themselves with modern reality:

«Ciò che più li interessa sul piano artistico è la realtà: non una realtà 'stagionata', ma contingente, moderna, attualissima. La radio, i reattori, la fantascienza, i fumetti, i rotocalchi sono gli aspetti del costume di oggi che più colpisce la loro sensibilità. Anche il loro modo di vivere, i loro gusti letterari, i film prediletti, rivelano una sensibilità comune»[275].

Roman painters from Abstract art who, through the almost obligatory move to Neo-Dada, are rediscovering the disfigured 'face' of the world, and they rely - as Maurizio Calvesi recently wrote - on 'a new way of seeing', achieved through 'an in-depth review of the language' [...]».

[274] In *Nuove Prospettive della pittura italiana*, Franco Angeli, Tano Festa, Francesco Lo Savio, Gino Marotta, Mimmo Rotella and Giuseppe Uncini were among the artists exhibited but the only ones of the Roman group, see Maurizio Calvesi, Renato Barilli, Duilio Courir, Enrico Crispolti et. al., *Nuove prospettive della pittura italiana*, op. cit..

[275] See Maria L. Serini, "I ribelli di Piazza del Popolo", *L'Espresso* (26th June 1960): 21. Translation: «What most interests them on an artistic level is reality: not a 'seasoned' reality,

Although Maselli was chronologically a predecessor of such modernity, for art critics she appeared to be part of that younger generation, sharing common aspects with it: it is true that she participated in the 1962 Sidney Janis exhibit and that brought her closer to both American Pop and the Roman painters; in contrast, it is equally true that the fact that her past had led her to *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* possibly favored the other artists' focus on the features later labeled Pop, features created in part thanks to the diverse mass society, established in the two previous decades during the economic miracle and consumerism.

After *New Realists*, the style of the artworks *Camion*, 1963 (fig.20), *Neon a New York*, 1964 (fig.21) and *Bar a New York*, 1965 (fig.22) suggests that they be considered in the realm of Pop: especially in *Camion* and in *Bar a New York,* the images appear to be part of an unrealistic world, because of their giant shape and violent and immediate colors, reminiscent of a comic book; the type of light painted makes them appear to be nighttime scenes. Additionally, *Camion* represents the part under the truck where the muffler comes out; the big wheel is colored with orange, black and silver paint, a choice of colors that also seems to convey a detachment from reality. Trucks are not commonly represented in her work and the dashed lines mirrored in both the wheel and the muffler create a dialogue between the truck and reality. *Neon a New York* instead catches the electronic signs of New York made of bright neon lights. The multiple recurrences of New York's urban reality stemmed from Maselli's attachment to the city during the years that she lived there from 1952, when she had the chance to absorb the socio-cultural environment of the metropolis, grasping its contemporaneousness and its anonymity, as the impersonal figures represented show[276]. For Maselli, New York was a place where she could restart a new life after the failure of her marriage with Toti Scialoja: the city fascinated her, for the people's hospitality, her connection with the Durlacher gallery and the urban architecture and modern transportation. However, as she declared in an interview

but a contingent, modern, a very actual one. The radio, the reactors, the science fiction, the comics, the magazines are the aspects of today's habits that most strikes their sensitivity. Even their way of life, their literary tastes, their favorite films, reveal a common sensibility».

[276] Titina Maselli dedicates almost the entirety of work during the Sixties to modern New York icons, see Vv.Aa., *Titina Maselli: la poetica della modernità* (Isernia: Archivio della Scuola Romana, 2006); Gilles Aillaud, *Titina Maselli*, exh. cat. – Berlin, Kunstamt Kreuzberg, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. April 1979 (Bologna: Grafiche S.r.l., 1979): unpaginated. On the connection with scenography in her paintings see *Titina Maselli: metafore della città*, op. cit., 68. For her works on trucks see Vv.Aa., *Macro: nuove acquisizioni. Due anni di crescita della collezione*, exh. cat. – Roma, MACRO, 8th June-10th December 2005 (Milano: Charta, 2005): 23; *Figure dallo sfondo*, exh. cat. – Milano, Padiglione d'arte contemporanea, 26th February-25th March 1984 (Milano: PAC, 1984): 34. On the giantism of the artworks' subjects see Dario Micacchi, "La città di Titina", *L'Unità* (8th May 1965): unpaginated.

(posthumously published in 1976), her motives went beyond her failed relationship with Scialoja: she wanted to live as an outsider as a response to feeling alienated in her familiar Roman environment and due to her disillusionment with both *Crocean* aesthetic philosophy and Marxism that failed to provide an explanation for all of life; analogously neither Morandism nor Neorealism, the two dominant Italian art currents in the Forties, could provide any stimulus for her art[277]. Maselli's declaration helps better understand the Italian context in the Forties and Fifties, analyzed in Chapter one, to see how it was perceived by artists that were working before the advent of Pop Art: the interview demonstrates, on the one hand, that Benedetto Croce's doctrine was impactful not only for art critics who were trying to redefine their role but also for artists who felt limited by such theories; on the other hand, it clarifies the role of Marxism that asked to be in alignment with not only political parties and newspapers, but also the artists' work.

In the Sixties, before the advent of Pop Art with the Venice Biennale in 1964, art critics identified some main features of American Pop Art in Maselli's works, and some critics already tried to distinguish her cultured Italian style from the shallow American one. In *Paese Sera*, 1960, the militant art critic Marcello Venturoli defined Maselli as the cultured Italian artist who looked at New York but at the same time, when painting, had Italy in mind, in reference to her exhibit at the Galleria L'Obelisco (the first gallery where she showed *Whisky* and *Piccioni a Manhattan*). With a provocative tone, he seemed to denigrate the quality of her work; at the beginning of the article he questioned her work asking: «Ma qual'è l'attuale stato di animo dell'artista nei confronti del mondo newyorchese? [...] E cos'ha fatto l'artista del suo patrimonio 'decadente' di 'bella pittura', già saccheggiato, a buon fine, nei precedenti 'viaggi', dinanzi a luci e forme imprevedibili e corrosive?»[278], to then answer: «Titina Maselli ha perso troppo della sua iniziale 'qualità': a

[277] For Maselli's desire to live as an outsider refer to Luisa Spagnoli's interview in 1976, Luisa Spagnoli, "Chiamatemi New York", *Il Messaggero* (22nd January 1976): unpaginated.

[278] See Marcello Venturoli, "Pitture di Titina Maselli, italiana fra i grattacieli", *Paese Sera* (10th May 1960): unpaginated. Translation: «But what is the current state of mind of the artist toward the New York world? [...] And what did the artist do with his 'decadent' heritage of 'beautiful paintings', already looted, successfully completed in previous 'journeys', in the face of unpredictable and corrosive lights and shapes?». On Marcello Venturoli: he was a militant art critic as he defined himself in Ibid.. and a PCI member. He collaborated with *D'Ars Agency*. Since the Fifties his attention was focused on the artwork exhibited at the Venice Biennale, see Marcello Venturoli, "Maestri e correnti alla 26esima Biennale di Venezia", *La rassegna: mensile di arte, letteratura, bibliografia*, vol. 21, no. 6-8 (Summer 1952): 3-18. On Maselli's exhibit at L'Obelisco see also Dario Micacchi, "L'America di Titina Maselli", *L'Unità* (5th May 1960): 3 and Antonio del Guercio, "Titina Maselli all'Obelisco", *Vie Nuove* (14th May 1960): unpaginated. On Galleria L'Obelisco and Maselli see Corrado Alvaro, *Titina Maselli*, op. cit..

forza di stare in America (o con la sua presenza effettiva o nella memoria) l'artista ha finito per non stupirsi più [...] Strano, ma pur vero, come l'americanizzarsi dell'artista abbia coinciso con un progressivo scadimento di qualità [...]»[279]. In contrast, Lorenza Trucchi in *La Fiera Letteraria* supported Maselli's artwork as being imbued with the American experience but still rooted in the Cubist tradition of Léger and Delauney: «Diciamo subito che si tratta di un'America tutt'altro che convenzionale e superficiale: un'America che la pittrice ha imparato a conoscere durante i tre anni di permanenza a New York (dal 1951 al 1954) [...] I riferimenti a Léger, a Delaunay (si ricordi il Delaunay dei *Corridori* del 1926), al Lhote intorno al 1917, ai cubofuturisti russi, restano comunque, i più probandi»[280]. In *L'Unità* in 1963 the art critic Marcello Azzolini, who had been focused on the evolution of Italian contemporary art drawings, noted the directness of her artwork exhibited at Nuova Galleria[281]. However, it was especially after 1964, specifically in 1965, that her work started to be discussed in the realm of Pop: the art critic Giuliano Briganti, whose publications were more concerned with seventeenth century painting than contemporary art, investigated the possibility of labeling Maselli's work as Pop. Writing in the newspaper *L'Espresso*, where he had begun to work that year (taking Lionello Venturi's place in Contemporary Art section of *L'Espresso*), he then claimed that perhaps her work was closer to Nuova Oggettività, but then

[279] See Ibid.. Translation: «Titina Maselli has lost too much of her initial 'quality': by dint of being in America (either with her actual presence or in her memory) the artist ended up not being surprised anymore [...]. Strange, but true, how the Americanization of the artist coincided with a progressive deterioration in quality [...]».

[280] See Lorenza Trucchi, "La Regina Maselli, Geiger, Della Bona", *La Fiera Letteraria* (22nd May 1960): 6. Translation: «Let us say immediately that this is an America that is anything but conventional and superficial: an America that the painter has come to know during her three-year stay in New York (from 1951 to 1954) [...] References to Léger, to Delaunay (remember the Delaunay of the Corridors of 1926), to the Lhote around 1917, to the Russian cubofuturists, they remain however, the most proband».

[281] For the comment on superficiality see Unsigned, "Due vivaci personalità artistiche alla Salita e all'Obelisco. La città nei quadri della Maselli. Bodini scultore tipicamente settentrionale", *Paese Sera* (27th May 1963): unpaginated. For the comment on directness see Marcello Azzolini, "Maselli", *L'Unità* (16th February 1963): unpaginated. For further developments on Azzolini's interest in contemporary art drawings at that time see Marcello Azzolini, *Mostra del disegno italiano contemporaneo*, exh. cat. – Faenza, Galleria Voltone della Molinella, 18th March-19th April 1965 (Faenza: F.lli Lega, 1965). For further knowledge on Azzolini's activity as an art critic in the Sixties see for instance Marcello Azzolini, *Vittorio Landi*, exh. cat. – Bologna, Galleria del Circolo di Cultura, 20th March-1st April 1960 (Bologna: Galleria del Circolo di cultura, 1961); Marcello Azzolini, *Amedeo Masacci*, exh. cat. – Cesena, Galleria d'arte La Fontana, 2nd-16th December 1962 (Cesena: La Fontana, 1962); Marcello Azzolini, *Bedeschi*, exh. cat. – Ancona, Arte galleria, 15th-26th February 1964 (Ancona: Arte galleria, 1964).

stated that she used visual techniques close to advertising posters[282]. Thanks to the article in the prestigious venue, Maselli was asked to exhibit at Fabbri, Milano in via della Spiga in 1966, as the letter that she wrote to Briganti says:

«[…] Espongo a Milano, alla Fabbri Milano in via della Spiga i primissimi di marzo: potresti scrivermi una tua presentazione? Ti dico che il tuo scritto su L'Espresso fu molto prestigioso per me, e questa mostra fu arrangiata a quell'epoca in base al tuo scritto. […]»[283].

Briganti's interest in commenting on Pop Art, on which he focused his attention several months before writing on Robert Rauschenberg in *L'Espresso*, has probably been influenced by Ragghianti who, as discussed in Chapter one, wrote on Pop Art in 1964: Briganti considered Ragghianti to be one of his mentors and, starting in 1938, worked with him at the art review *Critica d'Arte*, founded by Ragghianti himself and by the art critic Ranuccio Bandinelli. The art critic Roberto Longhi, who also worked with Ragghianti for *Critica d'Arte* and with whom Briganti collaborated for the art and literature review *Paragone* that he founded in Florence in 1949, was considered his mentor too; as such he possibly influenced Briganti's artistic focus given that, although Longhi did not participate in the 32nd Venice Biennale, he wrote on Pop Art within the review. Perhaps such an article was the one, together with those on the cultural politics of museums and restoration, that contributed to Briganti's and Longhi's fight on the management of the review, who thought that it analyzed art issues that were too current; aside from their fight, the article provides another hint of Briganti's art critical stance vis-à-vis Pop[284].

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[282] See Giuliano Briganti, "Un occhio a Roma e uno a New York", *L'Espresso* (9th May 1965): 21.

[283] See the original letter in the Appendix. The letter was written in Rome on 8th February, 1966 – ARCHIVIO FOTOTECA BRIGANTI, Siena also available online in Giuliano Briganti's digital archive. Translation: «[...] I exhibit in March, at the Fabbri Milano in via della Spiga the very first of March: could you write me your presentation? I tell you that your writing in *L'Espresso* was very prestigious for me, and this exhibition was arranged at that time based on your writing».

[284] For more on Longhi and Pop Art see Roberto Longhi, "Neo-Dada e Pop Art in alcuni giudizi della critica americana", *Paragone*, no. 179 (November 1964): 37-41. For further developments on Longhi, the Venice Biennales and *Paragone* see Pascale B. Puma, "Roberto Longhi, la revue Paragone, Francesco Arcangeli et la Biennale de Venise des arts figuratifs de 1948 à 1968", *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, vol. 99, no. 2 (February 1987): 1143-1155; Maria C. Bandera, *Il Carteggio Longhi-Pallucchini. Le prime Biennali del dopoguerra 1948-1956* (Milano: Charta, 1999). Longhi opposed Guttuso's art before the 32nd Venice Biennale when the art critics were promoting commercial versus past art: he organized a Guttuso exhibit in Parma, under the leftwing of the PCI. The exhibit that had great success. In 1966 Longhi stopped his militancy as art critic in contemporary art. For further information on

A further element that could have influenced Briganti was his participation in the *Legazione delle Restituzioni del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* from 1958 to 1965: such a body aimed to find the artwork seized by Germany in the Second World War. Argan, who served on the 1964 Venice Biennale commission, was among the members, precisely in the years in which part of his attention was focused on criticizing Pop Art[285]. Still in 1965, a review in *Avanti!* came down negatively on the Maselli retrospective at the Galleria La Nuova Pesa, Rome which, since its founding by Alvaro Marchini in 1959, had hosted cutting-edge exhibits. The unsigned review said her art was imprudently close to Pop Art, then it described her work as well adapted to such a current, in contrast to her coherence in style from the very beginning of her career[286].

Differently from the anonymous critic in *Avanti*, in *L'Espresso* Briganti questions not her connection with Pop but rather her current contribution to the New Objectivity art trend from which Pop Art represented an extreme breaking point. Maselli unquestionably brought a new way of painting to Italy, and at the same time her style evolved in the direction of Pop; however none of the art critics seem to have accurately underlined both aspects: her style as precursor of Pop Art and then her later closeness to the sphere of Pop. As shown by the previously analyzed artwork along with Briganti's comment that also deals with Maselli as a predecessor of Pop Art, a fact that becomes a point of debate

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Longhi and Guttuso's exhibit see Arturo Galansino, "Giovanni Previtali, storico dell'arte militante", *Prospettiva*, vol. 149, no. 149-152 (January-October 2013): 86-97, see in particular p. 89. For Guttuso's exhibit in Parma see Roberto Longhi, Giovanni Testori, Franco Russoli, *Renato Guttuso*, exh. cat. – Parma, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Comune and Provincia of Parma, 15th December-31st January 1964 (Modena: Galleria Mutina, 1964).

[285] On Giuliano Briganti's article on Rauschenberg see Giuliano Briganti, "Le Arti. Robert Rauschenberg. Dante contro Nixon", *L'Espresso* (28th March, 1965): 25 – ARCHIVIO FOTOTECA BRIGANTI, Siena. On Briganti's writing activity on Modern Art in the Sixties refer to Giuliano Briganti, *La maniera italiana* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1961); Giuliano Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1962). On Giuliano Briganti and Ragghianti see their correspondence from 1936 to 1946, especially Briganti's letter to Ragghianti on 8th November 1940 in which Briganti expresses his fear that his work might not be approved by him. For further developments see Laura Laureati, "Giuliano Briganti: un carteggio con Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti (1937-1946)", *Paragone*, vol. 54, no. 3 (March 2003): 114-130. On Ragghianti and the art critic mentors of Briganti, refer to Flavio Caroli, *Con gli occhi dei maestri. La storia dell'arte nella vita e negli insegnamenti di Longhi, Graziani, Arcangeli, Briganti, Gombrich e Ragghianti* (Milano: Mondadori, 2015). On Giuliano Briganti and his activity at *Legazione delle Restituzioni del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* see Ibid., 147-148. On Briganti's activity in Contemporary Art see Ester Coen, "Giuliano Briganti e l'arte contemporanea", *Paragone*, vol. 54, no. 3 (March 2003): 91-99. On *Critica d'arte* see Chapter One, when Ragghianti is mentioned.

[286] See Unsigned, "Maselli alla 'Nuova Pesa'", *Avanti!* (9th May 1965): 21.

amongst critics who want to credit her pioneer status, it seems that Briganti was the art critic that most objectively considered Maselli's art[287].

2.4.3 Mimmo Rotella: film, advertisements, politics

The Catanzaro-born artist Mimmo Rotella was one of the most compelling international artists of the Fifties and the Sixties, and his artwork can be seen as a precursor of Pop Art language[288]. After his education in Italy, France and the US, he began his career in the Forties, and the originality of his artistic production was immediately recognized: in 1950 he participated in *Salon des Réalites Nouvelle* in Paris and exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum in New York; in 1951, in *Arte astratta e concreta* at Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna e contemporanea, Roma, organized by Argan and Palma Bucarelli, (a key person for the institutionalization of Pop Art in the Sixties). Subsequently, he had his first solo show at Galleria La Vetrina in Rome: on that occasion, the poet and art critic Luciano Budigna characterized him as international, in *La settimana Incom*, a weekly Roman newspaper that printed what its eponymous cinejournal broadcasted. Rotella hung out at the small coffee bar in via del Babuino, with Italian and foreign artists, as well as actors, poets and intellectuals who were living close to the art galleries between Piazza di Spagna and Piazza del Popolo, some of whom were in Italy for a Fulbright scholarship[289]. His association with such circles likely inspired

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[287] See Giuliano Briganti, "Un occhio a Roma e uno a New York", *L'Espresso* (9th May 1965): 21.

[288] Rotella's connection to Paris is also related to his artistic beginning at Galerie J, presented by Pierre Restany, see the following texts: Ibid., 40; *1965-1970. Dalla Mec Art alla Pop Art*, pp. 252 – 317 in Alberto Fiz, *Rotella: Roma, Parigi, New York* (Milano: Skira, 2009). For the historical background in which Rotella worked see Michele Casamonti, Bruno Corà, *Mimmo Rotella*, op. cit., 34-36. For more on the artist's life and work refer to Germano Celant, Antonella Soldaini, *Mimmo Rotella: Manifesto*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, 30th October 2018-10th February 2019 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2018); Michele Casamonti, Bruno Corà, *Mimmo Rotella*, op. cit., 164-172; Mimmo Rotella, *Autobiografia di un artista* (Milano: Sugar, 1972) then reprinted and edited by Raffella Perna in 2011, see Raffaella Perna, *Autorotella: Autobiografia di un artista* (Milano: Postmedia, 2011); Alberto Fiz, *Mimmo Rotella: Artypo*, exh. cat. – Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, 30th May-11th July 2004 (Torino: U. Allemandi: 2004): 193-196.

[289] See Luciano Budigna, "La gioventù del Babuino", *La settimana Incom* (24th March 1951): unpaginated. Luciano Budigna was a poet and an art critic. In 1951 he presented the artwork of Vespignani, an artist who was exhibiting in the Roman art scene and collaborated with Giorgio Kaisserlian, writing texts for the exhibits at Galleria San Fedele, for example the one in 1956: here he presented artists that dealt with daily reality. On Budigna and Vespignani see Luciano Budigna, *Renzo Vespignani: scalo del gasometro* (Roma: Edizioni del torcoliere, 1951). On Budigna and Kaisserlian see Luciano Budigna, Giorgio Kaisserlian, *Ceretti, Guerreschi, Romagnoni* (Milano: Ed. Del Centro Culturale San Fedele, 1956); for further information on Budigna refer also to Luciano Caramel, *Arte in Italia, 1945-*

him to apply for a Fulbright fellowship as artist in residence at the University of Kansas City in 1951: there he painted a fresco in the geology and physics department, and in 1952 he also had a solo show at the Rockhill Nelson Gallery. The solo show and a successive crisis upon his return to Italy (which was resolved in 1953 by the so-called «illuminazione Zen»[290]) suggests that in the Fifties Rotella had already noticed and assimilated the American antecedents of Pop Art. Through the Zen moment he discovered advertisement posters on the walls of Rome that inspired him to produce the *décollage* series: in 1953 and 1954 he tore images of divas off of urban cinematographic billboards around Piazza del Popolo. Philologist and art critic Emilio Villa, the first to identify the source of these images, invited him to show them in the exhibit *I sette pittori sul Tevere a Ponte Santangelo*[291]. Carlo Cardazzo and the art critic Leonardo Sinisgalli also took notice of Rotella's work: Cardazzo organized a Rotella exhibit in 1955 at Galleria del Naviglio; Sinisgalli published the article in the review *Civiltà delle macchine,* comparing

1960, op. cit., 219. *La settimana Incom*, weekly newspaper on culture, politics and information, was published in Rome from 1948 to 1966 by the founder of the cinematographic house INCOM, Sandro Pallavicini, its first director. The newspaper was the magazine version of the eponymous cinejournal, broadcast in episodes of ten minutes each. For further developments on *La Settimana Incom* refer to Augusto Sainati, *La Settimana Incom: cinegiornali e informazione negli anni '50* (Torino: Lindau stampa, 2001); Massimo Emanuelli, *50 anni di storia della televisione attraverso la stampa settimanale* (Milano: Greco & Greco, 2004): 38; Aurelio Magistà, *Dolce vita gossip: star, amori, mondanità e kolossal negli anni d'oro di cinecittà*, op. cit., 259.

[290] Rotella defined his discovery of the advertisement poster as a Zen illumination that led his painting to the décollage technique, see Katia Anguelova, in Alberto Fiz, *Rotella: Roma, Parigi, New York*, op. cit., 336; Martina Corgnati, *Mimmo Rotella: Dal Décollage alle nuove icone*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria San Carlo, 30th November-30th December 2003 (Bollate: Signum Stampa, 2003): 7; Angela Vettese, *Rotella e il Cinema*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Zonca &Zonca, 20th February-20th April 2002 (Milano: Skira, 2002): 128.

[291] Among noteworthy highlights of his career is the relationship he had with Emilio Villa, the art critic who in 1959 presented Rotella's solo show at Galleria La Salita in Rome and whose attention was also on Mario Schifano, Francesco Lo Savio, Giuseppe Uncini, Franco Angeli, Tano Festa, see *Gli anni cerniera: 1958-1961*, p. 42 in Michele Casamonti, Bruno Corà, *Mimmo Rotella*, op. cit.. According to Plinio De Martiis' interview, Emilio Villa was the first to discover Rotella's ripped *affiches* convincing him to exhibit them, see Plinio De Martiis, p. 33 in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit..; for the connection between Villa and Rotella refer also to Mimmo Rotella's interview in Marina Pugliese, *Tecnica mista: materiali e procedimenti nell'arte del ventesimo secolo* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2006): 206; on this topic see also the following texts: Claudio M. Strinati, Rossella V. Adamo, *Opere della collezione Carlo F. Bilotti. Da Picasso a Warhol*, exh. cat. – Cosenza, Convento di Sant'Agostino, 13th May-30th June 2005 (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2005): 98; Raffaella Perna, *Autorotella: autobiografia di un* artista, op. cit., 15; Alessandro Riva, *Iconica: arte contemporanea e archeologia in Sicilia* (Milano: Charta, 2005). According to Fabio Mauri, Rotella lived close to Mario Schifano, in the apartment next to him in via Brunetta, Roma, see Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia,* op. cit., 24.

Rotella's technique to the Italian informal painters'[292]. While Cardazzo was in De Martiis' network, Sinisgalli probably observed Rotella's work for two reasons: first because of his knowledge of graphic art, since he was art director in 1938 for Olivetti, and starting at the end of the 1940s for Pirelli; second because he was collaborating on *Civiltà delle macchine,* founded in 1953 and financed by the company *Finmeccanica*, with the aim of uniting the scientific and cultural spheres.

Décollages had a precise message that evoked the Pop spirit against the consumerism of society that emptied all things of their contents: the *décollage* series was a form of protest against «una società che ha perduto il gusto dei mutamenti e delle trasformazioni strabilianti»[293], as he wrote both in *Civiltà delle macchine* and in the brochure of the exhibit at Galleria del Cavallino, Venice in 1957. Although his protest was against those who thought that painters needed colors and brushes to make artwork, as he continued to explain in the Cavallino brochure, Rotella's apolitical words denounced a change in present-day society, that he inferred was a consequence of the economic miracle (a situation very similar to the Americans', although imported by the US itself). In the Fifties, art critics were still far from recognizing the American hints in Rotella's art. Instead, their focus was on whether his particular way of realizing *collages* constituted a novelty rooted in the European tradition: while in a 1957 article in *Il Gazzettino,* the art critic who wrote under the pseudonym Vice, judged Rotella's collage at the Cavallino exhibit to be far removed from Cubist constructivism, in 1958 Nello Ponente found Surrealist automatism in the one exhibited at Galleria del Naviglio[294].

Ponente, Venturi's pupil, had been interested in the artists surrounding De Martiis, such as Dorazio, since 1955. In 1957, he translated Venturi's text that considered art from the sixteenth century to

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[292] See Leonardo Sinisgalli, "Rotella," *Civiltà delle macchine*, vol. 3, no. 5 (September-October 1955): 25. Leonardo Sinisgalli was a poliedric figure, poet, art critic, writer and art director. For further information on Sinisgalli as art critic in the postwar see Stefania Zuliani, *É la vita che fa crepare le forme: Leonardo Sinisgalli interprete delle poetiche dell'Informale*, pp. 225-234 in Cristina Galassi, *Critica d'arte e tutela in Italia: figure e protagonisti nel secondo dopoguerra*, Conf. Proceedings – Perugia, 17th-19th November 2015 (Passignano: Aguaplano, 2017); for his working connection with Olivetti see Vv.Aa., *Leonardo Sinisgalli: un geniaccio tutto fare tra poesia e scienza*, Conf. Proceedings – Matera-Montemurro, 15th-16th May 1982 (Venosa: Osanna Edizioni, 1982): 109-110; with Pirelli see Biagio Russo, Gianni Lacorazza, *La basilicata di Leonardo Sinisgalli nella civiltà delle macchine* (Venosa: Osanna Edizioni, 2016): 420; on *Civiltà delle Macchine* see instead Giovanni Scheiwiller, *Civiltà delle macchine. Antologia di una rivista 1953-1957* (Milano: Scheiwiller, 1988).

[293] See Vv.Aa., *Mimmo Rotella,* Brochure of the exhibit, Venice, Galleria Il Cavallino, 5th-14th July 1957, unpaginated.

[294] Vice will comment on a lot of exhibits of Italian Pop artists over the Sixties, as will be seen in this chapter.

the first two decades of twentieth century. Thus, it is comprehensible that he compared Rotella's collage to Surrealism[295]. That year Rotella also participated in the *Nuove tendenze dell'arte italiana* exhibit held at the Rome-New York Art Foundation, organized by Venturi, which means Ponente's attention was undoubtedly on this kind of art[296]. The juxtaposition of the two critiques, although in two different years and regarding two distinctive exhibits, indicates that the art critics presenting Rotella attempted to ground his very novel art in the European Avant-guard; in contrast, the art critics that viewed his exhibit recognized his art was very far from the European tradition. *Collage* was not Rotella's invention, but its use was easily traceable to Cubism and to the Avant-guard, given that Rotella's production came just thirty years later and, thus understandably recalled those movements. The critics attempted to support his art, which was very new chronologically and artistically. However their claim that Rotella's art was inspired by the Avant-guard, decontextualized it from both the historical context of Italy at that time and its connection with the US.

Rotella's artistic operation had another aim, more related to reality and to society, as shown in a letter to Guido Le Noci, gallerist of Galleria Apollinaire in Milan: after his association with Nouveau Réalisme in the 1960 collective exhibit at Galleria Apollinare, thanks to Pierre Restany, Rotella wrote to Le Noci on 7th October, 1961. Explaining his artistic process, Rotella said his artwork was made of fragments taken from reality, and he had fun in creating art through this very loose process[297]: he collected pieces of billboards in the late post-war as

[295] Nello Ponente, beside being Venturi's pupil, was also translator for his texts, see for instance Lionello Venturi, *La pittura italiana* (Ginevra: Skira, 1957). On Ponente as Venturi's pupil see Marcello Venturoli, *Il viaggiatore*, op. cit., 140; Mascia Cardelli, *La prospettiva estetica di Lionello Venturi* (Firenze: Le Cariti, 2004): 28. For further developments on what Venturi and Ponente published together see Lionello Venturi, Nello Ponente, Carlo Alberto Petrucci, *La cultura figurativa e la stampa d'arte ai nostri giorni* (Roma: Associazione italiana per la libertà della cultura, 1957). On Ponente's art criticism on contemporary artists around De Martiis and active in the Roman artistic context see Nello Ponente, *Brunori, Dorazio, Nativi, Perilli, Romiti, Sanfilippo*, invitation to the opening, Roma, Galleria Schneider, 20th–31st January 1955.

[296] See Lionello Venturi, *Nuove tendenze dell'arte italiana*, op. cit..

[297] Guido Le Noci founded Galleria Apollinaire, Milan, in December 1954. Initially the gallery exhibited metaphysical artwork belonging to artists such as De Chirico, Morandi, Savinio. After his travel to Paris where he stayed for some time, he met Pierre Restany then art critic in charge of the gallery, changing its orientation to exhibit more Nouveau Réalisme artwork. Pierre Restany was editor on the Rotella's catalogue on décollage published by Galleria Apollinaire in 1963, see Pierre Restany, *Rotella: dal décollage alla nuova immagine* (Milano: Edizioni Apollinaire, 1963). On Le Noci and Galleria Apollinaire see Luciano Caramel, *Arte in Italia, 1945-1960*, op. cit., 324; Carlo L. Ragghianti, Raffaele De Grada, Pier C. Santini, *Arte in Italia: 1935-1955*, op. cit., 271; Pierre Restany, *Nouveau réaliste anni '60: la memoria viva di Milano* (Milano: Mazzotta, 1997): 11.

«documenti di colore; a scopo allora sperimentale»[298] in which the lacerations, as he called them, were «operazioni sociali»[299]. According to him, billboards had value not only as elements in and of themselves; their newness as images also introduced a novelty in his relationship with daily life: «il suo colore, cioè, acquista un senso nuovo/ed oggi sono le 'immagini' che prendono senso nuovo per me, in quanto riescono ad introdurre una vera novità nel mio rapporto quotidiano con la strada»[300]. Rotella pointed to color as the emotive component that triggered the laceration, a moment of natural culmination that adhered not only to a natural order but also to his vision, to his need to create. What Rotella identified as a social operation reveals that behind the apparently superficial work of taking pieces off billboards and gluing them back together, there was a strong conceptual effort, born out of his willingness to protest against society: in the letter to Le Noci the artist himself again wrote the scope of his protest that he had previously written in the brochure for the Cavallino exhibit. Aside from the emotional part, Rotella's description includes features of American Pop Art, in particular the daily relationship with reality, that in Rotella's case was the street. Not by chance the letter to Le Noci was written in 1961, the year in which he participated in *The Art of Assemblage* exhibit with *Before or After*, 1961, held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. There, he exhibited with Rauschenberg, who was showing *Talisman*, 1958, and *Canyon*, 1959, both combine paintings «related to both art and life»[301] as he wrote in the exhibition catalogue.

It was after the New York experience that Rotella, instead of composing artwork comprised of many lacerated and glued pieces, began to include figures in his artwork: *Oggi al Cinema*, 1962 (fig.23), *Marylin*, 1962 (fig.24) and *Tenera è la notte*, 1962 (fig.25) provide evidence of the new technique while maintaining the same focus on his subjects, all derived from the filmic realm[302]. Bruno Alfieri noticed that Rotella's

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[298] See Mimmo Rotella's letter to Guido Le Noci, Roma 7th October 1961, published in Pierre Restany, *Rotella: dal décollage alla nuova immagine*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Apollinaire, 1st-30th May 1963 (Milano: Edizioni Apollinaire, 1963): 9. Translation: «color documents; for experimental purposes then».

[299] See Ibid.. Translation: «Social operations».

[300] See Ibid.. Translation: «its color, that is, acquires a new meaning / and today it is the 'images' that take on new meaning for me, because they manage to introduce a real change in my daily relationship with the road».

[301] See William C. Seitz, *The art of assemblage*, op. cit., 116.

[302] On Rotella's participating in *The Art of Assemblage* see Alvise Querél, "Mimmo Rotella", *This week in Rome* (2nd March 1962): 9. Regarding his décollage: according to the painter Fabio Mauri's interview, Rotella tore posters apart with a pastry knife in the street, see *Fabio Mauri*, p. 24 in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano*, op. cit.. Regarding his approach to movie stars and to cinema as a main source of his paintings refer to: Rudy Chiappini, Antonella Soldaini, *Rotella e il Cinema*, exh. cat. – Locarno, Pinacoteca Casa Rusca, 13th March-14th

change in process privileged the figure rather than its pieces, though choosing the filmic figures, and he tried to explain the reason for Rotella's connection with Cinema in the 1962 article on *Metro Special*:

«Rotella ha intuito l'importanza del mondo di Cinecittà – che è quanto a Roma esiste di più eccitante e deprimente al tempo stesso – e la sua collusione con i manifesti. Cinema e manifesto sono due creazioni altrettanto artificiali ed effimere, una delle quali, il manifesto, sostiene le basi commerciali sulle quali si regge quasi tutto il cinema prodotto a Roma. Il risultato di questa sua indagine è la serie dei manifesti-collages che efficacemente propongono allo spettatore una nuova avventura figurativa, questa volta tipicamente italiana, in contrasto con quanto di più freddo, sofisticato e drammatico ci viene dagli Stati Uniti»[303].

Alfieri, who was very involved in the international art scene (thanks, in part, to his working relationship with Castelli through *Metro*), immediately underlined the commercial aspect of Rotella's work, distancing it from the American language. In such distancing, Alfieri's critique anticipated what he later wrote, after 1964, about Italian artists in relation to American Pop, providing further evidence of the conservative behavior of Italian art critics in making transatlantic analogies with Italians. Moreover, he identified an important component of Rotella's Roman culture, Cinecittà: despite Rotella's frequent travel abroad and his origins in the Italian region of Calabria, he worked and lived in Rome; he knew the capital's suggestions well, including its market and cinema posters which encompassed popular icons such as divas who were both very famous and marketable. The importance of cinema in this context was clear; however, the popular icons that Rotella conveyed in his works came from other sources: he also drew from past icons, even if at times they were merely quoted in the title, as is the case

August 2016 (Locarno: Pinacoteca Casa Rusca, 2016); Antonio Falbo, *Al cinema con Rotella: décollages & original multiples*, 16th September-16th October 2006 (Palazzolo: F. Bani, 2006); Angela Vettese, *Rotella e il Cinema*, exh. cat. – Milano, Zonca & Zonca, 20th February-20th April 2002 (Milano: Skira, 2002); Vincenzo Sanfo, *Mimmo Rotella: omaggio a Marylin*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Galleria Ravagnan, 27th August-27th September 2003 (Cologno Monzese: Silvia, 2003). On both his *décollages* and *reportages* refer to Guido Ballo, *Mimmo Rotella. Décollages-reportages 1954-1966*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 27th April 1966-u.d.o.e. (Roma: La Tartaruga, 1966).

[303] See Bruno Alfieri, "L''irrealismo' di Rotella", *Metro Special*, vol. 3, no. 6 (June 1962) 98. Translation: «Rotella sensed the importance of the world of Cinecittà - which in Rome is the most exciting and depressing at the same time - and its collusion with posters. Cinema and posters are two equally artificial and ephemeral creations, one of which, the poster, supports the commercial bases on which almost all the cinema produced in Rome is based. The result of this investigation is the series of posters-collages that effectively propose to the viewer a new figurative adventure, this time typically Italian, in contrast to the colder, more sophisticated and dramatic one we get from the United States».

for *Come la gioconda*, 1962 (fig.26), *Le legioni*, 1962 (fig.27), and *Mitologia*, 1962 (fig.28) anticipating from this perspective the approach of Italian Pop artists in revisiting past icons with Pop features. In *Come la gioconda*, Rotella compared a diva to Leonardo da Vinci's historical painting; in both *Le legioni* and *Mitologia,* he aimed to represent Rome's glorious past as it was, in fact, well known, thanks to Pierre Restany's text that the city was very dear to the artist as he viewed it as full of history[304]; here while appealing to the past, he conveyed facts that were relevant to the nineteenth century, as the words *27 maggio 1891* within *Le legioni* show, dates emblematic for the period of the workers' protests in Rome. *Il buon caffè*, 1962 (fig.29) and *Birra scaduta*, 1962 (fig.30), exhibited at the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1962, represented instead the commercial icons that shed light on Rotella's shifting interest when he changed style and focused predominately on industrial chain products: these icons, together with the divas and the other figures taken from the realm of cinema, are what cause the critics to compare Rotella to American Pop Art.

Whereas initially Rotella is identified as one of the members of Nouveau Réalisme, the current associated with the central figure of Pierre Restany, in 1963 he is mentioned in *Successo* (a monthly economic review that also printed articles on art and politics, founded by the journalist Arturo Toffanelli), as the chief of the Nouveau Réalisme group in Italy, which in the US was called Pop Art[305]; in 1964, while he was exhibiting artworks such *Birra!*, 1962, and *Marylin Monroe*, 1962, at the Venice Biennale, critics placed his artwork exhibited at Galleria Gian Enzo Sperone, Turin and at Galleria d'Arco Alibert in Rome, founded by

[304] Pierre Restany wrote that Rotella celebrates Rome as the most important city as «l'Urbs de la tradition et de l'histoire, une métropole tenace», see Pierre Restany, *Mimmo Rotella,* op. cit., unpaginated.

[305] See Unsigned, "Il nuovo realismo", *Successo* (July 1963). The journalist Arturo Toffanelli founded *Successo* in 1959, which was printed in Milan by Aldo Palazzi starting in 1959, after multiple experiences as editor for several newspapers: from 1925 to 1933 Toffanelli founded the weekly newspaper *Epoca Nuova*, then became editor of *La fiera Letteraria*. In 1945 he was editor in chief for *L'Avanti!* and then editor of *Tempo*, the mass-market magazine founded in 1939, given to him by Mondadori, then printed by Palazzi too; it had also a Roman edition. *Tempo* under Toffanelli's direction became one of the most read mass-market magazines. For further developments on Toffanelli as editor of both *Il Successo* and *Tempo* see Mario Guarino, *Mercanti di parole: storie e nomi del giornalismo asservito al potere* (Baris: Dedalo 2012): 59; Raffaele De Berti, Irene Piazzoni, *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra:* (Milano: Cisalpino, 2009): 312; Gian Carlo Ferretti, Stefano Guerriero, *Storia dell'informazione letteraria in Italia dalla terza pagina a internet 1925-2009* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2010): 56. On Tofanelli's information as editor for *La Fiera Letteraria* see Vincenzo Cardarelli, *Epistolario 1933-1957* (Roma: EBE stampa, 1987): 1093: as editor for *Avanti!* see Franco Bechis, Sergio Rizzo, *In nome della rosa: la storia gloriosa e tormentata, quasi una dynasty all'italiana, della casa editrice fondata da Arnoldo Mondadori* (Roma: Newton Compton, 1991): 77.

Mara Coccia in 1964, within the sphere of Pop Art[306]. On the occasion of the exhibit at Sperone's, a gallery that showed American Pop from 1964, *Il Popolo* positioned Rotella's art within the «nuovo realismo di tipo merceologico»[307], as inspired by American Pop Art; on the occasion of his exhibit at d'Arco Alibert's in January 1964, in *Il tempo* (a popular weekly newspaper of art, literature and information also directed by Toffanelli) Vice included Rotella among the Pop Artists, due to his renewed interest in the figure[308]. The artwork he exhibited that year at the Venice Biennale no doubt brought his art closer to Pop, and his successive exhibits in galleries such as Sperone's and D'Alibert's that displayed American Pop artwork (the latter whose proximity to Piazza del Popolo gave it a privileged observatory on its artists), emphasized the analogies between his art and the American Pop style[309]. Despite such an association, Rotella himself did not elicit a formal comparison with American Pop Art in the 1964 Venice Biennale because he was arrested in Rome, and he could not closely follow his personal room in the Biennale, nor participate in the Biennale itself: nonetheless, he wrote to De Martiis from jail, telling him what to exhibit and complaining that, according to him, his room was not adequately set up[310]. His subsequent disappointment in the bad staging of his room in the Biennale and the jail experience led him to leave Rome for Paris where he strengthened his relationship with the artists of Nouveau Réalisme[311]: Rotella explained the reasons why he moved to France in an interview by Vivaldi in *Marcatré*, confirming that he was in a relationship with more collectors and with lots of art critics who associated his work with Nouveau Réalisme, while Italy at that

[306] At Sperone's, Rotella exhibited with Aldo Mondino, Michelangelo Pistoletto and Roy Lichtenstein. There is no published catalogue, just the invitation to the opening on 9th May 1964. At D'Alibert's Rotella exhibited with Franco Angeli, Tano Festa, Gino Marotta, Valerio Adami, Achille Perilli, Concetto Pozzati, Antonio Sanfilippo, Guido Strazza, Cy Twombly: there is no published catalogue, only Vice's article as its reference.

[307] Unsigned, "Rotella", *Il Popolo* (21st May 1964): unpaginated. Translation: «New product-type realism».

[308] Vice, "Collettiva all'Alibert", *Il tempo* (31st January 1964): unpaginated. On *Tempo* see the previous note on *Successo*. Galleria d'Arco Alibert was located in via d'Alibert, a cross street of via del Babuino where La Tartaruga was initially located, see Laura Cherubini's interview of Mara Coccia, pp. 329-331 in Maurizio Calvesi, Rossella Siligato, *Roma anni '60: al di là della pittura*, op. cit..

[309] At the 32nd Venice Biennale, Rotella exhibited the following artworks: *Birra!*, 1962; *Con un sorriso*, 1962; *Marilyn Monroe*, 1962; *Il fiasco di vino*, 1963; *Violenza segreta*, 1963; *Il grande circo*, 1963; *Tenera è la notte*, 1963; *Divertiti*, 1963; *La tigre*, 1963; *Solo per i bambini*, 1963; *Sexy*, 1963; *Lezioni proibite*, 1963.

[310] See Emilio Mazzoli's interview, p. 281 in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit..

[311] Mimmo Rotella was arrested for drug possession, see Roberto Ortensi's interview, p. 78 in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit.. For Rotella's relationship with Nouveau Réalisme's artists refer to Alberto Fiz, *Mimmo Rotella: artypo*, op. cit., 174.

moment was only looking at New York artists. Rotella's choice was evidently related to the art market trend at that time which, however, did not stop him from creating and exhibiting artwork in Pop Art shows abroad (e.g., at Palais des Beaux Arts, *Pop Art, Nouveau Réalisme etc.*, Bruxelles, 1965)[312]. The period in jail probably also marginalized him from the scene in which Pop was protagonist, and when he was released he went back to the art current that had, thus far, better represented his work.

While from his aforementioned letter, his artwork and his so-called protest, Rotella's art seems to be more related to capitalist mass production than to the political situation of the moment, artwork such as *Viva America!* 1963, (fig.31) with the image of Kennedy, US President at the time, says the contrary: the image exhibited in 1965 at Studio Marconi in Milan, is repeated in black and white on a yellow background with the American flag; here a grey sort of square covers a text that, according to the few readable words «nella battaglia per la libertà»[313], seems to affirm justice in battle. With such works he demonstrates his interest in representing relevant political figures, treating them as movie stars[314], earning the title of «[...] leader degli anni Sessanta come documentarista della scena politica e culturale del momento[...]»[315] from the art critic Liana Bortolon. Both his representation of political emblems such as Kennedy and his overtly known message of protest behind his art, preceded other Italian Pop artists' protest in the Pop style, although with the other artists it became evident in the late Sixties during the years of contestation: clearly Rotella's age brought him closer to the wars and the post-war American reconstruction of Italy, and the figure of Kennedy was definitely a political icon of freedom and power. However, the way in which he conveyed Kennedy was different from the other artists' works in which the Pop style was more evident.

In 1966 Rotella made another trip to New York for the *Erotic art* exhibit at Sidney Janis, where he exhibited with Warhol, Dine, Rosenquist, Wesselmann and Segal, who were still the main protagonists of the American Pop current: the fact that he stayed with artists such as Roy Lichtenstein and Robert Indiana during his 1966 visit, as a photograph of them documents, favored his continued use of the Pop

[312] On such exhibits refer to Vv.Aa., *Pop Art, Nouveau Réalisme etc.*, exh. cat. – Bruxelles, Palais des Beaux Arts, 5th February-1st March 1965 (Bruxelles: Palais des Beaux Arts, 1965).
[313] The words are barely readable because of the tears. The work is still a décollage.
[314] For Rotella's connection with cinema refer to Luca Beatrice, *Mimmo Rotella*, exh. cat. – JZ Art Trading, Milano, 8th November 2007-15th January 2008 (Milano: Prearo Editore, 2007): 16.
[315] See Liana Bortolon, "La poetica dei muri dei décollage di Rotella", *Grazia* (u. month 1965): 37-38. On Liana Bortolon as art critic see footnote no. 21, p. 229 in Barbara Cinelli, Flavio Fergonzi, Maria Grazia Messina, *Arte moltiplicata: l'immagine del '900 italiano nello specchio dei rotocalchi*, op. cit..

style[316]. All these elements suggest that whereas Rotella has been positioned in the *Nouveau Réalisme* current, his work instead could be considered amongst the Italian forerunners of Pop Art: it is true that his first artwork owed more to the Cubist *papiers colliers*, but it is equally true that the figures that he chose to transfer onto canvas were already Pop icons themselves. Moreover, his early relation to the US helped develop the American Pop connection, including: his travels; his ties to De Martiis' artistic circle, where Cy Twombly was present along with Afro, Scarpitta and Scialoja; his participation in the *The Art of Assemblage* in 1961 at the Museum of Modern Art and in the *New Realists* Sidney Janis Gallery in 1962; and the collectors who acquired his artwork[317].

2.5 Protagonists

Out of all the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*, a few were protagonists of the Pop Italian art scene, not only for the exhibits in which they participated under the banner of Pop, but also for the significant attention that art critics and gallerists gave them at a national and international level. All these artists who were living and working in Rome at the time of their first important exhibits at Galleria La Salita, such as *Piccolo Formato* in 1958 and *5 Pittori alla Salita* in 1960, were compared with Informal art; however, from the beginning of the Sixties, they produced artwork that presented elements stemming from consumerism, both for their initial connections with international art collectors such as the Sonnabends and their participation and presence in American exhibits such as at Sidney Janis in 1962[318].

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[316] He made a trip to New York not only in 1962 but also in 1966: a couple of pictures document that in New York he was associated with Roy Lichtenstein and Robert Indiana. See both the pictures of Rotella with Roy Lichtenstein and Rotella with Robert Indiana in Ibid., 170. The main connection to Pop Art was his capacity of grasping daily urban life, see Tommaso Trini, *Mimmo Rotella: Cinecittà*, exh. cat. – Firenze, Frittelli Arte Contemporanea, 23rd June-23rd April 2006 (Prato: Gli Ori, 2006): 48; Eric Shanes, *The Pop Art tradition: responding to mass culture* (New York: Parkstone, 2006): 94; Marco Livingstone, Dan Cameron, *Pop Art*, exh. cat. – Montreal, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 23rd October 1992-24th January 1993 (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Art, 1992): 301. For the exhibit *Erotic Art 66* see, Sidney Janis, *Erotic Art 66*, exh. cat. – New York, Sidney Janis Gallery, 3rd–29th October 1966 (New York: Sidney Janis Gallery, 1966).

[317] In 1962 Rotella had contact with the US through Cy Twombly as well: he met Twombly thanks to Plinio De Martiis who at that time was exhibiting their artwork, see the picture with Mimmo Rotella, Cy Twombly, Plinio De Martiis and his wife Maria Antonietta Pirandello at the 1962 Venice Biennale published in Michele Casamonti, Bruno Corà, *Mimmo Rotella*, op. cit., 170. His artwork was already present in K. Burke's collection, New York.

[318] At the exhibit *Piccolo Formato* Franco Angeli, Tano Festa, Francesco Lo Savio, Mimmo Rotella, Mario Schifano, and Giuseppe Uncini participated, at Galleria La Salita, Rome, 30th December, see Claudio Crescentini, Costantino D'Orazio, Federica Pirani, *Roma Pop City*,

2.5.1 Mario Schifano: Television, Advertisement, Politics, Past artworks

Among them, the Libyan-born, naturalized Italian artist, Mario Schifano, best embodied the passage from Informal Art to Pop Art: after his participation in the aforementioned shows at Galleria La Salita, in 1961 he had his second solo exhibit at Galleria La Tartaruga where he displayed *Segnale*, 1961 (fig.32) and *Cleopatra's dream*, 1961 (fig.33), works that reflected the heritage of the delicate drippings of American Abstract Expressionism, but with flat backgrounds analogous to billboards and with well-defined lines similar to those of advertisements[319]. After the exhibit, those pieces became part of Sonnabend's collection: Ileana and Michael were in Europe after Ileana's divorce from Leo Castelli, who had introduced them to De Martiis; he introduced them to Schifano, and it was possibly that meeting, together with Ileana's stay in Rome for the entire summer of 1961, that set the stage for their working relationship. It was thanks to Ileana that the painting *Propaganda*, 1962 (fig.34) was exhibited at the Sidney Janis Gallery exhibit in October 1962. Containing part of the Coca Cola logo at its center, it comes closer to the American Pop style, as the Sonnabend-Schifano epistolary correspondence documents. On 17th March, 1962 Ileana wrote Schifano a telegram saying:

«Please contact Bolliger immediately and send air freight painting Coca Cola Red on Yellow titled Propaganda to Keating and Co for Janis to be paid by Keating and Co for Janis to be paid by Keating on arrival New York. Urgent show opens end October please confirm to me by cable care Castelli. Cordially Ileana»[320].

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op. cit., 246. For *5 Pittori alla Salita* in which Franco Angeli, Tano Festa, Francesco Lo Savio, Mario Schifano and Giuseppe Uncini exhibited see Pierre Restany, *5 Pittori*, Brochure of the exhibit, Roma, Galleria La Salita, 18th November 1960-u.d.o.e.. In this regard see Lorenza Trucchi, "Incisioni di Picasso", *La Fiera Letteraria* (4th December 1960): 6.

[319] For further information on Schifano's biography see Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit.. On Schifano's initial artwork: some Schifano's monochromes of the Sixties include numbers and letters; those with letters such as *Aut Aut*, 1960 and *Cartello*, 1960, convey big letters that recall those of advertisements, see Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano: tutto*, op. cit., 39; additionally the form of the monochrome recalls that of television and of photographic slides, see Giorgio Marconi, *Schifano 1960 -1964: dal monocromo alla strada*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Giorgio Marconi, 9th February-26th March 2005 (Milano: Skira, 2005): 69; such monochromes of Schifano's are an emblematic reaction to Informal Art, especially *Aut Aut*, considered a starting point for his style, see Silvana Bonfili, Monica de Bei Schifano, *Mario Schifano: tutto*, op. cit., 21.

[320] See Ileana Sonnabend's telegram to Mario Schifano dated on 17th March 1962, published in the Documentary Appendix at p. 167 in Giorgia Galdaston, "Ileana Sonnabend e Mario Schifano: un epistolario (1962-1963)", *Storia dell'arte*, vol. 140, no. 41 (December 2001): 148-177. For all the information regarding Schifano's artwork that entered in the Sonnabend collection refer to Ibid.. For Sonnabend's stay in Rome for the 1961 March summer refer to Ibid..

This telegram makes a clear reference to the New Realists' exhibit, opened on 31st October, and to the artwork *Propaganda*: the analogy with the Warhol's piece that also represented Coca Cola, dated 1961 (fig.35), presumes that Schifano knew his artwork and could have been inspired by it for *Propaganda*. Recent studies dismiss the resemblance between Schifano's *Propaganda* and the Warhol: they claim that Schifano did not go to New York before Sidney Janis and had no connections with Warhol, that no reproductions of Warhol's Coca Cola artwork existed at that time, and that Ileana would not have promoted an artist with similarity to Schifano. Nonetheless, this thesis contests such a claim. Although he had no direct connection with Warhol, Schifano was working with De Martiis, who was surrounded by New York artists, such as Twombly and Rauschenberg, in addition to the Italians who travelled there, such as Scialoja, Afro, Scarpitta and Marca-Relli. Moreover, the lack of a printed catalogue/review with a Warhol reproduction that could demonstrate a *direct* connection does not mean that Schifano was not aware of Warhol's painting. He could have known Warhol's painting through the other American artists in Italy and through those coming from the US. Additionally, in December 1961 he had further contact with Rauschenberg and Twombly, exhibiting with them at La Tartaruga. Furthermore, the possible similarity between Warhol and Schifano would not have been a discriminant for Ileana to choose Schifano rather than Warhol given that many gallerists exhibited artists with analogies in their paintings, as De Martiis did in his collective exhibits and as the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* demonstrate[321]. However, from a stylistic angle Warhol and Schifano are different. Since Coca Cola was an American product imported in Italy and a symbol of the American way of life, Schifano could have been attracted by it and simply included it in his canvas: this would show a parallel development of Pop on the two coasts. However, the connection with US artists who came from New York and stayed with Schifano cannot prove his complete independence from Warhol's painting.

Schifano's turn toward the Pop style took place in 1963, one year after the Sidney Janis exhibit, in the artwork exhibited at his solo show *Tutto Schifano* at Galleria Odyssia[322]. His monochromes included not only the icons Coca-Cola, the oil brand Esso, car accidents and landscapes, but also icons of great masters such as Leonardo da Vinci in *Leonardo*, 1964 (fig.36): even though right before the Odyssia exhibit Schifano closed the

[321] The recent studies refer to Giorgia Galdastone's article op. cit. that is published on *Storia dell'arte*, the review still directed by Calvesi.

[322] See Maurizio Calvesi, Cesare Vivaldi, *Tutto Schifano*, Brochure of the exhibit, Roma, Galleria Odyssia, 24th April 1963-u.d.o.e., unpaginated.

contract with Ileana, these artworks still show American Pop features through the way in which he differentiated his style, creating another version of Pop Art. In the texts for Schifano's catalogue, Maurizio Calvesi and Cesare Vivaldi expressed two different viewpoints: while Calvesi signaled Schifano's substitution of an image-object with a vision, a judgment in line with Calvesi's analysis on New Figuration that he tried to define starting in 1963, Vivaldi labelled Schifano's art as Pop, but not only as such; it was more than Pop infantilism because Schifano aimed for a more modern style. However that comment was preceded by Vivaldi's judgment on Schifano's opportunism in the years before Odyssia, claiming that he was ready to appropriate any little American detail classifiable as Neo-Dada and Pop. The opportunism that Vivaldi identified in Schifano's previous years says much about his artistic process of re-appropriation: referring to the Odyssia artwork, the art critics Duilio Morosini (who was involved in the ideal proposal of de-Stalinizing paintings in socialist countries and was a PCI member), and Giancarlo Politi (whose presentation at the exhibit *Celiberti* at La Tartaruga and in New York that year showed his growing proximity to De Martiis), chose to comment on Schifano's dilatation of space of the canvas, namely giantism, in relation with mass society. Both Morosini, in *Paese Sera*, a daily communist-leaning newspaper, and Politi, in *Crisi e letteratura*, a magazine that gave space to the artists then-identified as *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* and to poetry, claimed the widening of objects, common places and space was a signal of the difficult relationship between man and reality, a consequence of the civilization of mass communication[323]. However, while Politi claimed that Schifano's ahistoricized representation of anarchy was non-judgmental, Morosini, saw the artist's consideration of reality as a pure repertoire of shapes to vary[324]. While Politi insisted on the nihilist angle of Schifano's vision,

[323] See Giancarlo Politi, "Mostre romane. Schifano", *Crisi e letteratura* (May 1963): unpaginated. At the beginning of the Sixties Giancarlo Politi was a poet and art critic that founded the review *Crisi e letteratura* in 1961 with fellow poet and literary critic Gaetano Salveti. The review was financed by Salveti and united articles about literature together with ones about art. Salveti and Politi in 1961 published an anthology of *umbra* poetry, see Giancarlo Politi, Gaetano Salveti, *Linea umbra: antologia di poesia contemporanea* (Roma: B. Carucci, 1961). For further information on *Crisi and letteratura* refer to: Giancarlo Politi, "Amarcord 16. La voracità e la velocità di Mario Schifano, artista maledetto", *Arts Life digital version* (3rd October 2018): unpaginated; Vittorio Vettori, *Questa nostra letteratura* (Pisa: Giardini, 1969): 34. For the exhibit *Celiberti* see Giancarlo Politi, *Celiberti*, exh. cat. – New York, Gallery 63; Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 26th November-14th December 1963 (Roma: Stampagraf, 1963).

[324] See Duilio Morosini, "Alla Galleria Odyssia", *Paese Sera*, (15th May 1963): unpaginated. Morosini, was an art critic who, in those years, took an interest in the artwork of Guttuso, an artist who, as will be seen later in this chapter, at a certain point of his career turned Pop

Morosini signalled the giantism of icons as «un'occasione per ironizzare sulla abnorme evidenza delle immagini che è propria della pittura popolare»[325]. Although neither of the two critics explicitly classified Schifano's artwork as Pop, they emphasized features specific to the society in which he was living and that American Pop Art was representing. In fact, it took another year for the art critics to note the Pop association with Schifano's art.

In 1964, Schifano held exhibits at both the Galleria Odyssia and at Libreria Galleria Ferro di Cavallo, showing work that still re-appropriated elements of the Italian Avant-guard tradition: he revisited icons of Photography, such as Muybridge (e.g., *Da destra verso sinistra*, 1964, fig.37) exhibited at Odyssia's and of Realism (e.g., *En plein air*, 1964, fig.38) at Cavallo's where he exhibited with the poet and painter Frank O'Hara, with whom he collaborated in 1963 in New York. All this artwork that refers to past art history shows his interest in the historical tradition of European art; moreover, it clearly asserts its supremacy, which is evident from Schifano's treatment of his subjects, since the formal language is similar to the American Pop[326]. Writing in *Collage* in response to these exhibits, Mario Diacono identified the mass media's influence on Schifano:

«L'unico elemento che il poeta e il pittore si riconoscono comune è la superficie bianca su cui hanno deciso di incontrarsi e di operare. Schifano vi proietta i paesaggi che diaristicamente gli comunica non la 'natura' ma il mass medium rotocalchico e pubblicitario e attivamente li investe poi della più dichiarata sensibilità 'impressionista' – un impressionismo 'usato' freddamente, come 'mito' culturale apertamente denunciato dunque nel suo costituirsi anch'esso mass medium, fonte accettata e/o demistificata (la didascalia apposta spesso da Schifano 'en plein air', è appunto la sigla esemplare di questa proclamata 'indifferenza culturale') [...]»[327].

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though opposing it, see Duilio Morosini, *Guttuso* (Milano: Edizioni di Corrente, 1942). Giancarlo Politi, "Mostre romane. Schifano", *Crisi e letteratura*, op. cit..

[325] See Duilio Morosini, "Alla Galleria Odyssia", op. cit.. Translation: «an opportunity to make fun of the abnormal evidence of images that is typical of popular painting».

[326] On Schifano and O'Hara see Achille B. Oliva et. al, *Words and Drawings. Frank O'Hara-Mario Schifano* (Roma: Archivio Mario Schifano, 2017).

[327] See Mario Diacono, " 'Parole e disegni' di O'Hara e Schifano", *Collage*, vol. 3, no. 3-4 (December 1963): 98-100. Translation: «The only element that the poet and the painter recognize as common is the white surface on which they decided to meet and work. Schifano projects the landscapes that diaristically communicates to him not by 'nature' but by the illustrated, mass market magazine and then actively invests them with the most declared 'impressionist' sensitivity - a coldly used 'impressionism', as a cultural myth openly denounced in its constitution also as a mass medium, an accepted and or

Diacono (who knew Schifano as he introduced him to Ungaretti for whom he was secretary), got interested in the artists of Piazza del Popolo when he presented the Franco Angeli exhibit held in the June of that year at La Tartaruga. Thanks to these two connections it follows that he would have seen Schifano's exhibit that year. Significantly, he points to Impressionism as a style used by Schifano, juxtaposed with the mass media influence, as an attempt to elevate Schifano's style and root it in the European tradition[328]. Instead, in a non-specialist newspaper, art critic Dario Micacchi (a PCI member who denounced the power of the American market in both *L'Unità* and *D'Ars Agency* on the occasion of that year's Venice Biennale), reviewed Schifano at Odyssia, distinguishing his art from the previous similarities with American Pop, saying his art was full of lyrism[329]. Art critic Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco (who was Argan's pupil despite his main focus on Baroque art), began—along with his mentor—to analyze new artistic experiments; in *Avanti!* he claimed Schifano's exhibit at Cavallo's contained icons of the contemporaneity that Schifano included in his work: «il poeta e il pittore si raccontano a vicenda i miti di questo nostro tempo [...] Le tragiche nuvole radioattive, il mondo filmico con le sue vamp, i semplici miti popolari d'Europa e d'USA [...]»[330]. Surely the question of whether to label Schifano's art as Pop was more pressing in 1964 than in 1963, following his participation in the 32nd Venice Biennale. However the critics were divided on whether to classify him as such: on the one hand, they emphasized the distinction between Schifano's artwork and American Pop Art, claiming his Italian diversity; on the other hand, they embraced their analogies. Distinctly from Micacchi, who was one of the protagonists during Biennale, Dell'Arco got interested in the Pop Art

demystified source (the caption often affixed by Schifano 'en plein air', is the exemplary symbol of this proclaimed 'cultural indifference') [...]».

[328] On Diacono and Schifano's friendship with Giuseppe Ungaretti see Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit., 36, 88. On Diacono and Angeli see Nello Ponente, Mario Diacono, *Angeli*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 6th June 1963-u.d.o.e. (Roma: La Tartaruga, 1963).

[329] See Dario Micacchi, "La natura ritrovata di Schifano", *L'Unità* (26th November 1964): unpaginated. On Micacchi and the 32nd Biennale see Chapter one.

[330] See Maurizio F. Dell'Arco, "O'Hara e Schifano al Ferro di Cavallo", *Avanti!* (5th March 1964): unpaginated. Translation: «the poet and the painter tell each other the myths of our time [...] The tragic radioactive clouds, the filmic world with its vamps, the simple popular myths of Europe and USA [...]». For more on Libreria il Ferro di Cavallo see Agnese De Donato, *Via Ripetta 67: Al ferro di Cavallo: pittori, scrittori e poeti nella libreria più bizzarra degli anni '60 a Roma* (Bari: Dedalo, 2005). For further information on Dell'Arco see Miriam Viglione, *Catalogo Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco: il fondo librario donato alla Biblioteca della Pontificia Università Gregoriana da Maria Beatrice Mirri* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2010): 18-19.

scene later and began to collaborate with several art reviews, such as *Metro* and *Marcatré*, starting in 1965[331] .

Although there were disagreements regarding the extent of Schifano's connections with the language of American Pop, evidence of such a relationship comes not only from his paintings but also his life, in which there were multiple examples of his love and awareness of the American art scene and the city of New York, so much so that analyzing his icons without considering these elements would be misleading[332]. He directly knew Rauschenberg, as documented by the 1964 letter he sent to the art critic Calvesi, to whom he was very close, showing a direct relationship with Rauschenberg and a knowledge of Jasper Johns' trips:

«Jasper Johns è partito per Honolulu, ove starà due mesi con John Cage. Rauschenberg mi ha promesso un quadro (così appena torno me lo vendo e mi compro una bella macchina). […] Questi giorni incontro Baruchello e la moglie, li ho portati un po' in giro a qualche parties, e gli ho presentato Rauschenberg»[333].

In addition to Rauschenberg and Johns, he was a friend and collaborator of Frank O'Hara's with whom he worked for a long time in New York (he traveled there in 1962, 1963 and 1964), as the exhibit at Cavallino's demonstrates; he also worked with Ileana Sonnabend, and he knew the protagonists of both the New York art scene, such as Warhol, as evident from the letter to Franco Angeli that Schifano sent in the 1964 Spring:

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[331] See Maurizio F. Dell'Arco, "Antibombardamento segnaletico", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 3, no. 9 (July 1965): 394; Maurizio F. Dell'Arco, "Warhol. The American way of dying", *Metro*, vol. 8, no. 13 (June 1968): 72-79.

[332] The mistaken association between Schifano and Pop Art is harshly commented posthumously, in 1998, by Achille Bonito Oliva who, aside from curating several of Schifano's exhibits in the Sixties, was also a good friend of the artist. Either through saying that Schifano's art stemmed from high-culture imagery, in contrast to American art that was born out of daily life, or through stating that the correct perspective was that of observing how his existence itself was present in his paintings, Oliva appears to support the artist's desire to not be considered a Pop artist, see Marco Goldin, Achille Bonito Oliva, *Descrizione da critico della battaglia d'artista*, in *Schifano Opere 1957-1997*, exh. cat. – Conegliano, Palazzo Sarcinelli; Galleria Comunale d'Arte, 4th April-31st May 1998 (Milano: Electa, 1998).

[333] See letter to Maurizio Calvesi from New York, February 1964 published in Giorgio Marconi, *Schifano 1964-1970. Dal paesaggio alla TV*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Marconi, 23rd February-30th March 2006 (Milano: Skira, 2006): 9-10. This letter documents a direct relationship both with Jasper Johns and Rauschenberg. Translation: «Jasper Johns left for Honolulu, where he will stay for two months with John Cage. Rauschenberg promised me a painting (as soon as I return I will sell it and buy a nice car). [...] These days I've been seeing Baruchello and his wife, I took them to some parties, and I introduced him to Rauschenberg».

«Incontro spesso Henry Geldzahller (si scrive così?) e mi chiede sempre di te, lui è una specie di apostolo della corrente estrema delle arti figurative in NY, è molto amico di tutti, ma soprattutto di Andy Warhol. Quest'ultimo è un vero paravento-talento-cinico-culo-dolce-pittore molto in voga. Come ho scritto a Tano; credo che piacerebbe New York anche a te, io spero di starci un anno (dipende dal visa) […] Alla Biennale sembrava che nel padiglione americano ci dovessero essere solo Johns, Rauschenberg, Noland, Louis, ma grazie ai traffici di Castelli e Janis ci saranno anche Dine, Stella, Rosenquist e altri»[334].

All these elements support this thesis' claim that Schifano chose to appropriate part of the American Pop style by showing, as early as 1964, his supremacy as an Italian artist, creating an Italian Pop style that other artists followed. This supremacy is confirmed by his choice of icons that represented not only consolidated and worldwide recognized masterpieces, but also those that entered into the Italian Pop imaginary (e.g., Coca Cola icon). Additionally, his revisited icons that were recognizable in past masterpieces became Pop icons: Leonardo da Vinci's famous *Vitruvian Man* is historically associated both with Leonardo's reflection on «the canon that apparently regulates the different parts of the human body»[335] and «the Renaissance idea of man as a symbolic microcosm, thus praising his role at the centre of the universe»[336]. Of course, Schifano's goal does not appear to be to reflect upon human proportions nor on the futurist's ideal of revolution; rather the artist made use of icons that implied both a revolutionary aspect and a novelty in Italian art history, and that were already popular images worldwide, given their fame, importance and the fact that they had already been reproduced for posters and had short movies based on them (e.g., *Mystery of Leonardo da Vinci*, 1951)[337]. *En plein air* instead recalls both 19th

[334] See letter to Franco Angeli from New York, Spring 1964 published in Giorgio Marconi, *Schifano 1964-1970. Dal paesaggio alla TV*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione Marconi, 23rd February-30th March 2006 (Milano: Skira, 2006): 12. Translation «I often meet Henry Geldzahller (do you spell it like that?), and he always asks me about you, he is a kind of apostle of the extreme current of the figurative arts in NY, he is very close to everyone, but above all to Andy Warhol. The latter is a real screen-talent-cynic-ass-sweet-painter very fashionable. As I wrote to Tano; I think you would like New York too, I hope to stay there a year (depends on the visa). [...] At the Biennale it seems that in the American pavilion there should be only Johns, Rauschenberg, Noland, Louis, but thanks to the traffic of Castelli and Janis, there will also be Dine, Stella, Rosenquist and others».

[335] Vitor Murtinho, *Leonardo's Vitruvian man drawing: a new interpretation looking at Leonardo's geometric constructions*, vol. 17, no. 2 (July 2015): 507.

[336] Ibid..

[337] For more on media interest in Leonard's artwork see: Elinoir Wiley, on behalf of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, "Audio-Visual Aids", *The Modern Language Journal*, no. 8, vol. 37 (December 1953): 427-428; Lauro Venturi, "Films on

century Realism and Impressionism, but here Schifano does not illustrate landscapes such as the Fointainebleau forest, rather he writes the name EN PLEIN AIR in capital letters, as if trying to create a logo by using the advertising technique that was both revolutionary and popular[338]. Finally in 1960 Italy, the futurist icons (e.g., pictures of futurist revisited), conveyed not only progress, both in terms of ideals and techniques, but also revolution, given that the movement was going against mass culture, capitalism and academic art taste[339].

Until 1966, Schifano continued with the re-appropriation of past icons as shown by the updated version of Futurism *Futurismo rivisitato*, 1966 (fig.39) exhibited at La Tartaruga, that critics such as Micacchi continued to position as a novelty within the new Neo-avant-guard trend; however, Schifano then changed subjects, reproducing in a Pop style icons that he took from past memories, such as the palms from his childhood memories in Libya, and political symbols such as the sickle and hammer[340]. The series *Tuttestelle*, 1967 (fig.40) was displayed at Galleria del Minotauro, Brescia which, from its founding in 1966, hosted exhibits of international graphic art and artists such as Enrico Baj and Emilio Tadini who were close to the Pop realm. It represented palms and stars in the Pop style: in 1968, the local newspaper *Il cittadino-Brescia*, previously a Catholic journal aligned with the Christian Democrats, named Schifano as one of the most promising young artists in Italian art and the Avant-guard and one of the most important vehicles of communication between Pop art and our country: the stars evoked Libyan palms and stars, part of Schifano's memory, but «lo spessore del tempo euro-americano, il filtro dello squallore consumistico trasforma quelle immagini, quegli emblemi: li dissecca, li svuota in sagome ironiche riprese dai mass media infantili e folcloristici; grandi stelle a cinque punte, frammenti di fiaba e di folclore cartellonistico spregiati da qualche sgocciolatura, presentati come articoli in serie da supermarket in specie di enormi scatole trasparenti di plexiglass»[341]. The art critic still recognized

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Art: An Attempt at Classification", *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Summer, 1953): 385-391.

[338] In the second half of the Sixties Schifano seems to define his poetics and to choose icons that constitute the Pop European and Pop Roman style, see Marco Meneguzzo, *1964-1971*, pp. 57-58 in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit..;

[339] For the connection between Futurism and mass culture, see Walter L. Adamson, "Futurism, Mass Culture, and Women: The reshaping of the Artistic Vocation, 1909-1920," *Modernism/Modernity*, vol. 4, no. 1 (January 1997): 89-114.

[340] See Dario Micacchi, "Roma: Avanguardia e lirismo quotidiano in mostra alla 'Tartaruga'. L'ossigeno di Mario Schifano", *L'Unità* (7th February 1967): unpaginated.

[341] See Unsigned, "Mario Schifano", *Il cittadino-Brescia* (27th January 1968): unpaginated. Translation: «the depth of Euro-American time, the filter of consumerist squalor transforms those images, those emblems: it dries them up, empties them into ironic shapes taken from childish and folklorist mass media; large five-pointed stars, fragments of fairy tales and

the features of consumerism specific to American Pop Art. The Catholic *Cittadino* also interpreted the artwork's message as one of non-violence, rather than emphasizing the communist symbol: «Un messaggio, anche qui, della non violenza, mediato su ricerche optical tese ad analizzare 'la percezione nelle sue strutture'»[342].

The theme of non-violence was a preamble to the series that represented symbols of communism in the years of protests, still using the Pop style: *Compagni, compagni*, 1968 (fig.41) represented the hammer and sickle, symbols of communism. Both the series *Tuttestelle* and *Compagni, compagni* share the technique that Schifano accentuated after his 1966 New York trip, a moment that helped him to gain clarity in his work[343]: Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco's book *Rapporto 60* (1966)[344] hypothesizes the reasons why Schifano changed style: after his return, Schifano found the past technique again (e.g., «lo smalto brillante»[345]), as well as Picabia's transparencies of the 20s and 30s. This comment can explain Schifano's post-1966 works because, although they excluded past icons, they were still connected to past tradition through the technique that he applied to new subjects, specifically to the multiple versions of *Compagni, compagni* reproduced through different colors, conveying diverse symbols on the canvas, including stars, leaves, paper but also hay. These paintings appear just with images of people holding a sickle and hammer, or texts such as (fig.42) «*Sulla giusta soluzione delle contraddizioni in seno alla società*»: according to a posthumous 1999 account by Marcello Gianvenuti, Schifano's assistant in the Sixties, Schifano's source for this painting was a photograph that he took from a communist review, which was similiar to *Potere Operaio* and *Lotta Continua*, outlets of the eponymous political parties, which represented

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poster folklore despised by some dripping, presented as mass-produced items by supermarkets in the form of huge transparent plexiglass boxes». For further information on the Galleria del Minotauro exhibit of artists in the realm of Pop from 1966 see: Vv.Aa., *Grafica internazionale*, exh. cat. – Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 10th December 1966-6th January 1967 (Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 1966); Roberto Sanesi, *Tadini*, exh. cat. – Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 11th-24th November 1967 (Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 1967); Vv.Aa., *Baj*, exh. cat. – Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 7th-27th October 1967 (Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 1967). For Schifano's exhibit see Maurizio Calvesi, *Schifano*, exh. cat. – Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 20th January-9th February 1968 (Brescia, Galleria del Minotauro, 1968). On Il Cittadino-Brescia, a daily political Catholic, newspaper refer to: Franco Molinari, Antonio Fappani, *Il Cittadino di Brescia: 1878-1926: mezzo secolo di lotta per la libertà* (Brescia: Centro studi e ricerche "Alcide De Gasperi", 1979).

[342] See Unsigned, Schifano, *Il cittadino- Brescia* (28th January 1968): unpaginated.

[343] Schifano's stay in New York is associated with Pop Art also in Unsigned, "Mario Schifano alla pilotta di Parma. Giovane maestro pop", *Il resto del carlino* (30th March 1974)): unpaginated.

[344] See Maurizio F. dell'Arco, *L'occhio di Schifano* in *Rapporto 60. Le arti oggi in Italia* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1966).

[345] See Ibid.. Translation: «the brilliant enamel».

shapes of men with flags, the symbols of sickle and hammer together with the text *Sulla giusta soluzione delle contraddizioni in seno alla società*. Until the Seventies, such material constituted the iconographical base for the *Compagni Compagni* series without representing a precise political position as Gianvenuti said. Calvesi's posthumous account in 1999 also explained that Schifano's position was not communist, but rather he was fascinated by the protests' appeal: appearing everywhere, red flags were part of the contemporaneity that Schifano photographed. Both the gallerist Plinio de Martiis and Roberto Ortensi, Ileana Sonnabend's former assistant and one of Schifano's closest friends, affirmed that Schifano wanted to be known as coming from the proletariat, and he did not want to belong to the bourgeoisie: such was his ideology[346].

The technique through which Schifano realized these paintings is reminiscent of Warhol's serigraphies, even though Warhol's colors look more brilliant than Schifano's, and it seems that the interest in and the impact of popular icons is also different: whereas in those years Schifano painted revolutionary icons of communism and statements of protest (e.g. the one written in *Compagni, compagni*, fig. 41), and seems to

[112] See Ibid.. On Marcello Gianvenuti's, Plinio De Martiis' and Roberto Ortensi's testimony on Mario Schifano and communism, refer to their interviews in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit., 94-95. It seems to be generally known that Schifano was involved with political parties in Italy, but there is not much documentation on this matter. *Compagni Compagni*, 1968 once again emblematizes Schifano's signage painting, in which he captures symbols of daily life, also taken from political propaganda, thus applying the Pop idea of withdrawing, see Matteo Chini, *Pop art. Miti e linguaggio della comunicazione di massa* (Firenze: Giunti, 2003): 72; aggressive statements such as *Sulla giusta soluzione delle contraddizioni in seno alla società* resemble the texts of the Communist party Lotta Continua, see Marco Goldin, Achille Bonito Oliva, *Schifano: opere 1957-1997*, op. cit., 37; see also Mario De Micheli, *Arte contro. 1945-1970* (Milano: Vangelista stampa, 1970): 220. For instance, there is a published picture where Schifano, Franco Angeli, together with Marcello Gianvenuti, Schifano's assistant in the Sixties, and Lou Castel went to a party of Unione Marxista Leninista, at Paola in Calabria. The picture is published as a document in the artist's biography, yet the true nature of that event and the identities of the other people photographed remain unknown. In a conversation with Marcello Gianvenuti, I discovered that what he said in the interview published in 1999 by Luca Ronchi was conveyed in that photograph that included Schifano, Angeli, Gianvenuti and Lou Castel at the party's event, where they went together with Angeli, who was asked by the party to make a documentary. In addition, still according to Gianvenuti, Schifano was financing the party (Potere Operaio), with a donation of more than 5.000 lire. However, there is no documentation that proves the donation was ever actually made. The picture is published in the following catalogue: Achille B. Oliva, *Mario Schifano. Per esempio*, exh. cat. – Spoleto, Palazzo Racani-Arroni, 27th June-26th July 1998; Napoli, Museo di Capodimonte, 10th September 1998-u.d.o.e. (Milano: Charta, 1998): 184-185. For Luca Ronchi's interview published in 1999 see *Marcello Gianvenuti*, p. 93 in Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit.. About the relationship on Schifano with communism see Ibid.. For *Potere Operaio* in see Giuseppe Trotta, Fabio Milana, *L'operaismo degli anni Sessanta. Da 'Quaderni rossi' a 'Classe operaia'* (Roma: Deriveapprodi, 2008); for *Lotta Continua* see Vv.Aa., *Lotta continua. Lo spontaneismo dal mito delle masse al mito dell'organizzazione* (Milano: Sapere, 1972).

use darker colors for this very purpose, Warhol's aim is often to show images of the star-system, through which he attacks the mass-media that was depriving people and things of their content[347]. Schifano's icons instead represented common people and the proletariat, who had obscured faces or none at all: the figures look impersonal, as does their protest, conveyed through the hammer and sickle symbols. Schifano looked at Warhol, as Maurizio Calvesi stated in a 1999 interview: in addition to his participation in the collective exhibit at the Sidney Janis Gallery, he felt close to Warhol whom he considered much cleverer and more contemporary; also, aside from the aforementioned letter to Franco Angeli that describes Warhol as a genius, when Schifano travelled to New York in 1963 to work for Ileana, he went to the jazz club Five Spot in New York to see Warhol's movies together with his girlfriend Anita Pallenberg, model and actress, joining the other artists, poets and actors at *Caffè Rosati* in Piazza del Popolo[348]. This information provides evidence that, in his artistic phase from 1963 to 1968, Schifano clearly looked at the American Pop artists and at Warhol and was partially influenced by his technique, so much so that over the years he was compared to him as the Roman Warhol[349].

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[347] For Warhol consumerism was a visual and emotional phenomenon. He wanted to fascinate stars and people, and he used advertisement for this aim, see Gianni Mercurio, *The Andy Warhol Show*, exh. cat. – Milano, Fondazione La Triennale, 22nd September 2004-8th January 2005 (Milano, Ginevra: Skira, 2004): 20. For Warhol's paintings on the Star-system see for instance *Four Marilyns*, 1962; *Silver Liz*, 1963; *Single Elvis*, 1964; *Judith Green*, 1963-1964; *Ethel Scull*, 1963; *Nine Jackies*, 1964.

[348] Schifano's first point of reference was Warhol, who was also his friend after the 1963 trip to New York, see Luca Beatrice, *Mario Schifano: gli anni '80*, op. cit., 12; Silvana Bonfili, Monica de Bei Schifano, *Mario Schifano: tutto*, op. cit., 46; Achille Bonito Oliva, *Schifano: 1934-1998*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM 11th June-28th September, 2008 (Roma: GNAM, 2008; Milano, Fondazione delle Stelline, Galleria CREVAL, Accademia di Brera, 17th October 2008-1st February 2009; Saint-Etienne, Musée d'Art Moderne, 21st February-26th April 2009 (Milano: Electa, 2009): 29, 46. For the comparison of Schifano's and Warhol's technique see Walter Guadagnini, *Camera Pop: la fotografia nella pop art di Andy Warhol, Schifano & Co.*, exh. cat. – Torino, Camera Torino, 21st September 2018-13th January 2019 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2018); for the comparison of Warhol's and Schifano's icons see Gloria Bianchino, Arturo C. Quintavalle, *Il rosso e il nero. Figure e ideologie in Italia 1945-1980 nelle raccolte del CSAC*, exh. cat. – Parma, Sala delle Scuderie in Pilotta, 27th November 1999-13th February 2000 (Milano: Electa, 1999): 283; for more on the connection between Schifano and Warhol refer also to Luca Barsi, Lorenzo Madaro, *Mario Schifano e la Pop Art in Italia*, exh. cat. – Lecce, Castello Carlo V, 1st July-23rd October 2017 (Lecce: Castello Carlo V, 2017); for Calvesi's and Anita Pallenberg's testimony on the connection between Schifano and Warhol refer to Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit., 44, 49.

[349] For the comparison between Warhol and Schifano refer to Achille B. Oliva, *Il tallone di Achille: sull'arte contemporanea* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1988): 75; Renato Barilli, *L'arte contemporanea: da Cézanne alle ultime tendenze* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2005): 307; Marco Goldin, Achille B. Oliva, *Schifano: opere 1957-1997*, op. cit., 13. Additionally Andy Warhol's movie *Sleep* comes out in 1963 and influences not only Schifano, but also other artists in the Roman

2.5.2 Franco Angeli: PCI Politics

Similar to Schifano was Franco Angeli: both Roman-born artists (1935), the two friends elicited different responses from art critics. Angeli, like Schifano, started out within the domain of Abstract Expressionism, participating in two exhibits at Galleria La Salita in 1959 and in 1960, *5 Pittori*; however, although it is evident that he looked to the US from the very beginning of his career (e.g., *A Pollock*, 1957), art critics tried to detach his style from Pop, despite its marked American Pop features[350]. Differently from the other artists in his circle, Angeli was not invited to participate in the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1962. However, starting from the exhibit at Galleria La Tartaruga in 1963, art critics identified features in his artwork that, according to this thesis, belong to the domain of American Pop: *Napoleone*, 1963 (fig.43) is one of the works of art displayed at La Tartaruga that manifest the artist's connection with everyday reality, filtered through symbols of an ideological collectivity. In the brochure of the exhibit, Nello Ponente reflects on symbols such as

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scene such as Ceroli, Baruchello, Lombardo, see Luciano Caramel, Elena Di Raddo, Ada Lombardi, *Arte in Italia negli anni '70. Verso i Settanta: 1968-1970* (Milano: Charta, 1996): 63.

[350] In the artwork *A Pollock*, 1957 the red canvas, black, yellow and green signs of gestures are predominant through the technique of dripping. It is an artwork that is both an homage to the prominent American artist, Jackson Pollock, and a manifestation of the artist's orientation toward the US and the painting of gestures. On the one hand, it is known that from 1955, he became friends with sculptor Edgardo Mannucci, who was also a friend of Burri's. It is this relationship that would also bring Angeli to Burri's art and the *Informale Materico*. On the other hand, in 1957 Galleria del Naviglio in Milan hosted a Pollock exhibit where Angeli was present. See Pollock's exhibit in Vv.Aa., *Jackson Pollock*, Brochure of the exhibit, Galleria del Naviglio, 19th December 1956-3rd February 1957. For the connection with the sculptor Edgardo Mannucci who was one of the first to make an Informal sculpture in Italy, see Luca M. Barbero, *Franco Angeli: gli anni '60*, op. cit., 17; for more on Edgardo Mannucci and the Informal current, see Luciano Caramel, *Arte in Italia: 1945-1960*, op. cit., 294; Flaminio Gualdoni, Antonello Rubini, *Edgardo Mannucci: sculture e dipinti 1951 – 1981*, exh. cat. – Livorno, Galleria Peccolo, 24th October-20th November 2015 (Livorno: Edizioni Peccolo, 2015); Massimo De Sabbata, *Burri e l'Informale: Alberto Magnelli, Ettore Colla, Lucio Fontana, Giuseppe Capogrossi, Jean Dubuffet, Edgardo Mannucci, Mario Ballocco, Antoni Tàpies, Piero Manzoni* (Milano: Il Sole 24 ore, 2008). For the beginning of Angeli's career see Elisa Francesconi, *Verso una nuova "immagine": gli esordi di Franco Angeli*, pp. 69-81 in Francesco Tedeschi, Flavio Fergonzi, *Arte italiana 1960-1964. Identità culturale, confronti internazionali, modelli americani*, Conf. Proceedings – Milano, Museo del Novecento, 25th October 2013 (Milano: Scalpendi, 2017). For the friendship between Mario Schifano and Franco Angeli refer to: *Angeli, Festa, Schifano: destini incrociati*, exh. cat. – Paternò, GAM, 8th December 1990-31st January 1991 (Paternò: GAM, 1990); Silvana Bonfili, Monica de Bei Schifano, *Mario Schifano: tutto*, op. cit., 27. According to Plinio de Martiis, the friendship with Schifano changed a bit after 1964 due to Mario Schifano's success, see Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit., 60. For Angeli's connection to Pollock and to the US see Luca Massimo Barbero, *Franco Angeli: gli anni '60*, exh. cat. – London, Ronchini Gallery, 4th October-18th November 2017 (Venezia: Marsilio, 2017): 18.; Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Claudia Terenzi, *Roma 1948-1959: arte, cronaca e cultura dal neorealismo alla dolce vita*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 30th January-8th July 2002 (Milano: Skira, 2002): 147.

the hammer and sickle, the half-moon, the star of the freed Algeria, the acronym S.P.Q.R., all full of ideology and part of the reality of the artist who subtracted them from the habitual and from conformism. In the same brochure, Mario Diacono instead immediately separates Angeli's work from American artwork understood as products, such as the Jasper Johns flags, saying that Angeli's work was not a philological exercise on Johns' flags, not an image that became a symbol, but rather an idea that became a symbol; all the symbols reappeared through the *velatino*, a veil that Angeli applied on his artwork that filtered his political anger. While Diacono's focus on the new figuration resulted in him doing American research early on, and Ponente's was on ideology-laden symbols, starting from 1962 (as documented in the aforementioned article in *Quaderno*), Angeli's communist focus, similar to the position of his mentor, was Argan, who had a clear position on communism. The art critics' reception was different, as they took into consideration both the ideological emphasis and the features close to American Pop, without making such a label explicit: *Avanti!*, a newspaper that held a leftist political position, highlighted the originality of Angeli's ideology; it also signaled that his works no longer belonged to Informal Art, but were «Al di là delle poetiche informali»[351], in confusing contrast to how they previously identified him as Neo-Dada and Neo-figurative. In *Il Punto*, instead, Vittorio Rubiu, who had not positioned himself as favoring Pop Art (given that the Pop advent had not yet happened) as he did after 1964, described Angeli's painting as excluding daily banality from his artwork and claimed that features such as the cold layout of the monochrome surface and the fixity of the color were not limits for Angeli's expressivity, but in some way its premise[352].

Napoleone, 1963 and *Cimitero Partigiano*, 1963 (fig.44), were some of the artworks presented at Galleria dell'Ariete in January 1964, gallery of a manifest interest in American art given the 1961 Rauscheneberg solo show and the 1964 exhibit presented by Gillo Dorfles in which Jasper Johns, Morris Louis, Kenneth Noland and Robert Rauschenberg participated, representing symbols such as the Swastika, crosses and eagles[353]. In the brochure of the exhibit, Ponente juxtaposed Angeli's artistic research on mythic symbols with the oppressive neo-capitalist symbology that resulted in a «reportage sociale»[354] that was very similar

[351] See Unsigned, "Le mostre. Angeli", *Avanti!* (16th June 1963): unpaginated.
[352] See Vittorio Rubiu, "Mostre. Franco Angeli", *Il Punto*, Roma (6th July 1963). Translation: «Beyond Informal Art».
[353] For these exhibits see Vv.Aa, *Rauschenberg*, exh. cat. – Milan, Galleria dell'Ariete, 24th October 1961-u.d.o.e. (Milano: Galleria dell'Ariete, 1961); Gillo Dorfles, *Quattro americani*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria dell'Ariete, 11th June 1964-u.d.o.e. (Milano: Galleria dell'Ariete).
[354] See Nello Ponente, *Angeli*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria dell'Ariete, 23rd January 1964-u.d.o.e.. Translation: «social reportage»; «in several ways by Europeans and

to the other art trends proposed «in vari modi dagli artisti europei e soprattutto americani»[355]. Angeli's originality, according to Ponente, was not a passive denunciation of facts, but rather a means to «additare la vacuità etica di quelle immagini abitudinarie – bandiere, stemmi, iscrizioni lapidarie su cui si esercita la retorica che serve a distogliere dalla verità – un mezzo per ritrovare questa verità»[356]. Reportage becomes thus moralistic and Puritan, dominated by a precise «impegno ideologico e politico»[357]. Noteworthy is the fact that Ponente called Angeli's art social reportage, given that, one month before, in December 1963, in *Collage*, Calvesi had published an article entitled *Ricognizione e Reportage*, (then republished in *Le nuove avanguardie: dal Futurismo alla Pop Art* 1966), in which he attempted to define the new form of figuration: Ponente seemed to share Calvesi's thoughts on the art of reportage, probably because he and Calvesi knew each other and collaborated, definitely by 1958, when they edited a catalogue for Enzo Brunori, a painter outside of the Pop domain, together with Lionello Venturi. Moreover, the definition of social reportage was well-suited to Angeli's artwork insofar as the symbols he conveyed communicated his ideology and recalled current events[358]. In February, *Avanti!* critiqued the overly objective nature of the exhibit, and the clear trust of the artists in the newest poetics of the «obbiettività assoluta dell'oggetto-soggetto»[359], but the unknown art critic saw the artwork under a bad light, as an expedient that obscured the artist's polemics, which surely meant it held less interest for that newspaper[360].

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especially Americans»; «show the ethical emptiness of those habitual images - flags, coats of arms, lapidary inscriptions on which the rhetoric that serves to distract from the truth is exercised - a means to rediscover this truth». Franco Angeli's intent was to participate in the present historical moment by denouncing or warning through his paintings, recalling past history and symbols, see Mario De Micheli, *Arte contro. 1945-1970* (Milano: Vangelista stampa, 1970): 252; Luca M. Barbero, *Franco Angeli. Gli anni Sessanta*, op. cit., 24-25; Riccardo Passoni, *Pop Art Italiana. Dalle collezioni della GAM-Torino*, exh. cat. – Cuneo, Complesso Monumentale di San Francesco, 27th May-22nd October 2017 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2017): 30.

[355] Ibid..

[356] Ibid..

[357] Ibid.. Translation: «ideological and political commitment».

[358] See Maurizio Calvesi, "Ricognizione e reportage," *Collage. Dialoghi di cultura*, vol. 1, no. 2 (December 1963), republished in Maurizio Calvesi, *Le due Avanguardie: dal Futurismo alla Pop Art*, see the last edition (Bari: Laterza, 2008): 280-294.

[359] Unsigned, "Untitled", *Avanti!*, 4th February 1964. Translation: «absolute objectivity of the object-subject».

[360] Franco Angeli's intent was to participate in the present historical situation, denouncing or warning through his paintings by recalling past history and symbols; see Mario De Micheli, *Arte contro. 1945-1970* (Milano: Vangelista stampa, 1970): 252; Luca M. Barbero, *Franco Angeli. Gli anni Sessanta*, op. cit., 24-25; Riccardo Passoni, *Pop Art Italiana. Dalle collezioni della GAM-Torino*, exh. cat. – Cuneo, Complesso Monumentale di San Francesco, 27th May-22nd October 2017 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2017): 30.

In 1964 Angeli participated in the 32nd Venice Biennale showing *La Lupa*, 1964 and *Quarter dollar*, 1964: on this occasion Calvesi interviewed him, specifically posing questions about his symbols and his ideology that Angeli claimed was «di sinistra»[361] but had no impact on his paintings. However, this is contradicted by the letters that Angeli received from 1964 onward from the leftwing PCI party that was clearly manipulating his work, recommending that he paint in the PCI spirit and asking him for a continuous commitment to donate his artwork for their fundraising initiatives[362]. Apart from the PCI, however, it was after the Biennale that Angeli radically changed style, avoiding the *velatino*, and breaking the immediacy and aggressiveness that was within the American Pop style and within mass media[363]. As previously mentioned in a footnote, Dario Micacchi was one of the first art critics against the excess of American power to note Angeli's change and how he tried to ironize American symbols: in a review in *L'Unità* on Angeli's exhibit *I*

[361] See Maurizio Calvesi, "Franco Angeli intervistato da Maurizio Calvesi", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, no. 8-9-10 (July 1964): 220. Translation: «a leftist party».

[362] On 6th October, 1964, the PCI sent a letter to Angeli recommending that he continue to paint with the same spirit of the upcoming PCI event, according to the invitation letter, see ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma. On September 13th, 1966, the artist receives another invitation from the PCI, asking for his collaboration for an upcoming initiative in October. The idea was to raise funds through artwork to support the fights that the PCI and its press had to face, especially on the Vietnam war. Carlo Verdini, the PCI member who wrote the invitation letter, says that art critics supported such an initiative, thus presenting it as a cultural event of high artistic relevance. The art is called *Compagno*, the common term used by communists to refer to each other, – see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 3 – DOCUMENT 1– ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma. Moreover, at the beginning of the Seventies, which were still years of protests, artists were committing to socio-political positions. Angeli was invited to donate his paintings for politically relevant events such as *Consiglio di Fabbrica Nav. Pellegrino*, a council born in Naples after the worker fights on contract renewal between 1969 and 1970. The council thanked the artist because he offered them one of his paintings. Angeli's contribution is described as one that helped realize a unity that was of deep political significance, especially at that moment when the issue of occupation for the proletariat was becoming more critical, see Letter from Consiglio Nav. Pellegrino, Napoli, 5th July, 1972. Still in 1972, the secretary general of the PCI, Enrico Berlinguer, invited Angeli to donate a piece of art to the *Festival Nazionale dell'Unità*. During that year, according to what Berlinguer writes, it was quite fundamental to respond to the center-right party and to the threat of Fascism, see letter from PCI, Roma, 18th July 1972; among the letters that the artist received, worthy of note is the one from *Comitato Promotore del festival nazionale dell'Unità*, Roma, 23rd September-October 1st, 1972, which attests that the artwork made by the artists for this event will be put up for sale to the public that could acquire them, at a «prezzo politico», see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 3 – DOCUMENT 2 – ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma. Trans. «political price».

[363] For more on Franco Angeli's technique, see Franco Angeli, pp. 57-65 in Elisa Francesconi, *Franco Angeli e Tano Festa. Pittori con la macchina da presa* (Milano: postmedia books, 2018), in particular footnote 59; see also Mario Carbone's movie *Inquietudine*, 1961 in which Franco Angeli played the emblematic role of the artist of the Sixties in Rome showing his technique, see Ibid., 59.

frammenti capitolini held at D'Alibert in November 1964, Micacchi contrasted Angeli's painting that became, in his opinion, direct, monumental and clear, with Jasper Johns' American flag; Angeli's irony was brutal and aggressive and «mette in ridicolo le aquile e i lupi che ti hanno tenuti a balia»[364]. An art review such as *Marcatré* held a similar position on Angeli: Dell'Arco, who was getting close to the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo,* pointed at the similarity between Angeli's process and Rotella's, in which images were mediated and not immediate; however, he distanced Angeli from Neo-Dada for the different aim that Angeli had in his paintings, probably because the ideological spirit of his symbols was too evident to being close to American Pop, as the other artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* were[365].

The Pop label first appeared in articles on Angeli's exhibits, along with unnamed references to Pop features, after the collective exhibit *Aspetti dell'arte contemporanea* (organized by Palma Bucarelli, the Soprintendente of GNAM in 1965, and the art critic Giorgio De Marchis, who was part of GNAM staff as *Ispettore* from 1964), and the exhibit at Galleria Zero Verona. Dario Micacchi, in *L'Unità,* described the former as «Mostra di giovani Pop a Roma. Una neo-metafisica degli oggetti della città»[366], even though Micacchi did not label his artwork as Pop, despite the group's label. In contrast, in November 1965 Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco wrote an interpretation in the brochure for the latter exhibit in which Angeli presented half dollars, that he republished in *Avanti!*: he indicated Angeli's symbols as being of power and of youth and making allusion to the death of United States' presidential mythology. He also signaled the strong tone through which Angeli painted the symbols of power, calling him a «pittore moralista»[367] as he analyzed the contradictory elements of existence. These comments reflect the fact that

[364] See Dario Micacchi, "I frammenti capitolini" di Franco Angeli, *L'Unità* (5th December 1964): unpaginated. Translation: «ridicule the eagles and wolves that kept us in care».

[365] See Maurizio F. dell'Arco, "Per una figurazione 'Novissima'", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 3, no. 11-12-13 (February 1965): 306-319.

[366] Palma Bucarelli and Giorgio de Marchis organized the exhibit *Aspetti dell'Arte Contemporanea* in which Franco Angeli exhibited together with Mario Ceroli, Tano Festa, Pino Pascali, Mimmo Rotella, Mario Schifano e Cesare Tacchi and other artists such as Enrico Castellani. The exhibit was held at Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Roma, from 27th March, 1965 to u.d.o.e.. See Claudio Crescentini, Costantino D'Orazio, Federica Pirani, *Roma Pop City*, op. cit., 266. For the comments by art critics see Dario Micacchi, "Mostre di giovani 'pop' a Roma. Una neo-metafisica degli oggetti della città", *L'Unità* (10th April, 1965): unpaginated. Translation: «Exhibition of young Pop in Rome. A neo-metaphysics of city objects».

[367] See Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Angeli*, Brochure of the exhibit – Verona, Galleria Zero, 25th November 1965-u.d.o.e., unpaginated. Dell'Arco also republished the same text in *Avanti!* and in *Marcatré* in 1966: see Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Una mostra alla galleria Zero di Verona. Angeli pittore moralista," *Avanti!* (28th November 1965): unpaginated. Translation: «moralist painter».

dell'Arco maintained his earlier position on Angeli, but after the Biennale seemed more secure in connecting Angeli's work to American symbology, identifying a judgment in his way of painting. In 1966, in his solo show at D'Alibert, a gallery that had already started to exhibit the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*, the name Pop was associated with Angeli's paintings, especially *Half dollar (bianco rosso)*, 1966 (fig.45) with the eagle represented on the American flag.

While *Avanti!* continued to underline the ideological component of Angeli's art, interpreting the half dollar as a symbol of violence and power, in *Momento Sera,* Lorenza Trucchi (who in those years took interest in the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*), identified his artwork as Pop: Angeli removed the veils that previously covered his artwork, adapting the Pop lesson to a European iteration, using Pop objectiveness as a form of denunciation[368]. Still in regards to the series of half dollars, showed in October 1966 at Galleria dell'Ariete, all made that year, 1967 e.g., *Half Dollar*, 1967 (fig.46), art critics highlighted that they were lacking the *velatino* and were presented in simpler chromatic tones that alternated two colors such as white and red[369]. With the exhibit at D'Alibert in 1967, his Pop style and the reference to America was more apparent, insofar as the big painting *America, America* (fig.47) included the words 'America America' written on the artwork, composed of a broken half-dollar, in grey and black, with red and gold stars in the middle and at the bottom[370]. Giuliano Briganti, in his review of the exhibit in *L'Espresso*, opposed Dell'Arco's text published in the Galleria Zero brochure, in *L'Avanti* and, that year, in *Marcatrè*[371]. In contrast to the moralist label that Dell'Arco attributed to Angeli, Briganti claimed «Angeli non è un pittore moralista, spero che ciò gli dispiaccia perchè c'è sempre qualcosa di sospetto nella nozione di moralismo»[372], given the «immediatezza del suo attuale modo di dipingere. [...] In quest'ultima mostra, Angeli dimostra di aver abbandonato, come per stanchezza, per mancanza di convinzione, per nuove distrazioni, quel tanto di lugubre,

[368] The Franco Angeli exhibit *Half dollar* held at Galleria d'Arco Alibert began on 28th January, see Claudio Crescentini, Costantino D'Orazio, Federica Pirani, *Roma Pop City*, op. cit., 277. For the art critics' response see Unsigned, "Angeli", *Avanti!* (5th February 1966): unpaginated; Lorenza Trucchi, "Angeli all'Arco d'Alibert", *Momento Sera* (20th February 1966): unpaginated.

[369] See Vv.Aa., *Angeli*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria dell'Ariete, 5th October 1966-u.d.o.e.. He exhibited the series of half dollars (9 artworks) white-red, red-white all of 1966.

[370] See Vv.Aa., *Franco Angeli. America, America...*, Roma, Galleria d'Arco Alibert, 10th March 1967-u.d.o.e., unpaginated.

[371] See Maurizio F. dell'Arco, "Angeli, peintre-moraliste", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 4, no. 26-29 (December 1966): 336-337.

[372] See Giuliano Briganti, "Angeli all'Arco d'Alibert. La politica nel pennello", *L'Espresso* (9th April 1967): unpaginated. Translation: «Angeli is not a moralistic painter, I hope this displeases him because there is always something suspicious in the notion of moralism».

di funereo che caratterizzava i suoi simboli del potere, così come essi apparivano sul fondo notturno, [...] e di seguire piuttosto, pur senza cambiare soggetti, una vena più immediata ed estroversa cui forse non è estranea l'influenza dello stesso Schifano»[373]. Briganti, whose review on Maselli's exhibit in *L'Espresso* the previous year showed his interest in Pop, also had a motive for supporting Schifano's influence on Angeli's painting, which could have been a consequence of Briganti's connection with Schifano, who sent him the postcard from New York in January that year[374].

Despite all the exhibits and comments in the Pop direction, which continued to increase after the 32nd Venice Biennale, Calvesi declared that the name Pop was hateful to the protagonists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* in regards to the collective exhibit *8 Pittori romani* at Galleria de' Foscherari, Bologna, held that year, in which Angeli participated. Such a feeling seemed common, and it was shared by Angeli especially as a consequence of his disappointment with the United States, which he made explicit in a letter to Plinio De Martiis from 8th January, 1967[375]: Angeli listed all the aspects of the United States and its culture of which he disapproved, such as «le distrazioni monumentali del capitalismo, il desiderio di evasione da ogni responsabilità risolto con i mezzi di una grande potenza economica»[376]; furthermore, he claimed the absolute necessity to get rid of oppressive consumer images, given that they were just «l'apologia del culto della sovranità economica e della megalomania culturale di questa nazione»[377]. Aside from Angeli's letter to De Martiis, which is the first sign of disappointment for the culture coming from such a country, Tano Festa's letter sent to Angeli in 1967 is an even clearer document that expresses not only Angeli's disappointment, but also the common feeling of the artists of *Scuola di*

[373] Ibid.. Translation: «immediacy of his current way of painting. [...] In this last exhibition, Angeli demonstrates that he has abandoned, as if from tiredness, for lack of conviction, for new distractions, so much of the lugubrious, and the funereal that characterized his symbols of power, as they appeared on the nocturnal background, [...] and rather to follow, even without changing subjects, a more immediate and extroverted vein to which perhaps Schifano's influence is not foreign».

[374] See DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 2 – DOCUMENT 2 – ARCHIVIO FOTOTECA BRIGANTI, Siena.

[375] Franco Angeli participated in the exhibit with Mario Ceroli, Tano Festa, Giosetta Fioroni, Jannis Kounellis, Pino Pascali, Mario Schifano, Cesare Tacchi. The exhibit was organized together with Galleria La Tartaruga, see Maurizio Calvesi, *8 pittori romani*, exh. cat. – Bologna, Galleria de' Foscherari, 8th-28th April 1967 (Bologna: Galleria de' Foscherari, 1967): unpaginated.

[376] Letter published in Luca M. Barbero, *Franco Angeli. Gli anni Sessanta*, op. cit., 239. Translation: «the monumental distractions of capitalism, the desire to escape from every responsibility solved with the means of a great economic power».

[377] Ibid., Translation. «the apology of the cult of economic sovereignty and of the cultural megalomania of this nation».

Piazza del Popolo toward American Pop Art. Festa, one of the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* who, as will be explained subsequently, shared American Pop aesthetics, used the dollar symbol that Angeli painted as a matter for discussion[378]: while, according to Festa, the dollar was seen as a positive sign of welfare, democracy, freedom and progress in 1944 when the American army freed Italy, the image was later spoiled by the American role in the bloodshed of the Vietnam war; only Angeli was able to represent the symbol of the dollar because, in contrast to the artists bought by American glory and the power of dollar, he was not: «Nel dollaro come nella bandiera Americana, tu vedevi come tutti noi, il simbolo di un benessero sano, pulito, nella bandiera tu vedevi, noi vedevamo il simbolo della democrazia, della libertà, del progresso»[379].

In this letter, Festa goes against Pop Art stating that all of the artists around *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* had already thought of those symbols, since they were part of their personal and socio-historical history. This letter shows how that circle of artists in 1967 increasingly marked their distance from the Pop phenomenon and that Calvesi was the voice of such artists. In this regard, twenty-five years later Angeli continued to underline how he also was very far from the Pop style, saying it was the first occasion when he could officially deny the Pop spirit of his artwork: «Ritengo di non aver mai dipinto un quadro nello spirit Pop, malgrado l'equivoco che a distanza di 25 anni continua a perseguitare superficialmente il mio lavoro e questa è la prima volta che mi è consentito smentire ufficialmente tale paternità»[380]. Later, in an interview with the art critic Dimitri Buffi, he still underlined such a difference: according to him, Americans only invented giantism and seriality and he implies even then that all they were doing was: «la provocazione di voler simboleggiare come monumenti della loro cultura i barattoli di zuppa o altre cose del genere»[381]. What Italian artists did was a form of provocation, of artistic dissacration: «Noi italiani facevamo

[378] See Tano Festa's letter to Franco Angeli, 10th March 1967 – ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma, published in Luca M. Barbero, *Franco Angeli. Gli anni Sessanta*, op. cit., pp. 230-232.
[379] See Ibid., 230-231. Translation: «In the dollar as in the American flag, you saw like all of us, the symbol of a well-being that is healthy, clean, in the flag you saw, like all of us, the symbol of democracy, freedom, progress».
[380] See undated letter in ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma. Translation: «I think I have never painted a painting in the Pop spirit, despite the misunderstanding that after 25 years continues to superficially pursue my work, and this is the first time that I am allowed to officially deny this paternity».
[381] See Dimitri Buffi's interview to Franco Angeli, undated (post '80s), in Luca M. Barbero, *Franco Angeli. Gli anni Sessanta*, op. cit., p. 251. Translation: «the provocation of wanting to symbolize soup jars or other things like monuments of their culture».

provocazione pura, dissacrazione artistica. Ecco perché Tano smontò a pezzi la Sistina e perché io disegnavo le lupe capitoline»[382].

2.5.3 Giosetta Fioroni: feelings of love, graphic art, fashion, psychology, past artworks, Fascism

Giosetta Fioroni, also a Roman-born artist, initially produced artwork that was classified as an American-inflected example of Neo-Dadaism and Abstract Expressionism, similarly to the group of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*. She was later included in the Pop Art domain after her participation in the 32nd Venice Biennale, where she exhibited the artwork *Prima, seconda, terza and quarta immagine del silenzio*, 1964 (fig.48) that iterated the same figures in different tones of black and white.[383] In the interview by Calvesi published in *Marcatré* in 1964, Fioroni showed her deep awareness of the American Pop art style, pointing out the problem of the definition of Pop Art. Calvesi asked Fioroni whether her art could be inserted in the Pop Art vein, and she answered by saying that it had nothing in common but a certain return to narration, claiming that the

[382] Ibid., 252. Translation: «We Italians made pure provocation, artistic desecration. That's why Tano dismounted the Sistine and why I was drawing the Capitoline wolves».

[383] For Giosetta Fioroni's connection with Pop Art see: Gillo Dorfles, *Giosetta Fioroni: 622° mostra del cavallino*, Brochure of the exhibit, Venezia, Galleria del Cavallino, 7th-16th July 1965, unpaginated; Alberto Boatto, Raffele La Capria, *Giosetta Fioroni: 473a mostra del Naviglio*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria Il Naviglio, 22nd March-4th April 1967 (Milano: Galleria Il Naviglio, 1967): unpaginated; Vv.Aa., *Pop Art perché Roma*, Trissino, exh. cat. – ex Municipio, 9th September-1st October 2000 (Montevecchio: O.G.V., 2000); Marco Meneguzzo, Piero Mascitti, Elettra Bottazzi, *Giosetta Fioroni: Roma anni '60*, exh. cat. – Catanzaro, MARCA, 5th June-31st August 2016 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2016); Marla Prather, *New York Renaissance: dal Whitney Museum of American Art*, exh. cat. – Milano, Palazzo Reale, 21st March-22nd September 2002 (Milano: Electa, 2002): 189; Livia Velani, *Dall'Informale alla Pop Art*, op. cit., 9; Rossana Bossaglia, Susanna Zatti, *Il Pop Art e l'Italia*, op. cit., 89. For Fioroni's participation in the 1964 Biennale in the room directed by Calvesi refer to: Maurizio Calvesi, *Gruppi di opere: pitture e sculture*, p. 133 in Vv.Aa., *XXXII Biennale internazionale d'arte*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Biennale, 20th June-18th October 1964; Marilena Pasquali, *Figure dallo sfondo: Padiglione d'arte contemporanea*, Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti, 26th February-25th March 1984 (Casalecchio di Reno: Grafis, 1984): 38. For Fioroni as unique female artist at *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* and for her biography, in particular for the connection with the Roman artistic context see Giosetta Fioroni, Elettra Bottazzi, *Andiamo in Paradiso* (Imola: Maretti editore, 2015); Giosetta Fioroni, *La mia storia* (Mantova: Corraini, 2013). Her first artwork with Neo-Dada hints can be considered *Galeon*, 1959 and *L'Amour*, 1962; Neo-Dada hints give way to icons that then become clearer and closer to the sphere of television and photography, as in *L'incubo*, 1963. On Fioroni and Neo-Dada see Stefano Trappolini, *Costellazioni* (Roma: Gangemi, 2009): 9. For the artworks *Galeon* and *L'Amour* and Neo-Dada refer to Giorgio di Genova, *Storia dell'arte italiana del '900 per generazioni. Generazione anni Trenta* (Bologna: Edizioni Bora: 2000): 300. For Fioroni's connection with the Neo-Dada of Rauschenberg, and with American artists, such Twombly, around De Martiis refer to Silvia Pegoraro, *L'arte e la Tartaruga: omaggio a Plinio De Martiis. Da Rauschenberg a Warhol, da Burri a Schifano* (Milano: Skira, 2007): 15, 30, 33, 163.

name Pop Art was related to American society and that the meaning of 'popular' was different for Italians:

«Comunque questa parola Pop effettivamente è importante, anche se vista da punti di vista molto differenti. Ossia è importante nel senso che per loro popolare significa una certa cosa, per noi un'altra. Ossia, anche un romanzo di Robbe Grillet è molto popolare, potrebbe esserlo. Da un punto di vista pratico non lo è, ma da un punto di vista filosofico lo è già»[384].

Differently from the other artists analyzed so far, Fioroni, while taking a distance from American Pop through the diversification in the meaning of the word itself, recognized the importance of the current: she did not dislike being included in such a domain by art critics, and her artwork documents marked features that stemmed from American Pop. The constants in her work are the repetition of the same image in a different chromatic tone, the giantism of the figures normally portrayed and the photographic frame that recalled advertisements and billboards, as shown in the reiterated shape of *La Ragazza sulla spiaggia*, 1965 (fig.49) exhibited that same year at Galleria La Tartaruga. In regards to such artwork and the whole exhibit, Vittorio Rubiu, in the monthly newspaper *Il Punto,* defined Fioroni's images as mediated by photography, or by «sequenze di posa di un provino fotografico»[385], taking after an American technique; but differently from American artists who used giant images, Fioroni's attention was focused on daily gestures, on inexpressive figures, photographed close-up[386]. Rubiu's position was pro-American

[384] See Maurizio Calvesi, "Giosetta Fioroni intervistata da Maurizio Calvesi", *Marcatrè. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea,* vol. 2, no. 8-9-10 (July-August-September 1964): 235.

[385] See Vittorio Rubiu, Giosetta Fioroni, *Il punto* (6th February 1965): 19. Translation: «laying sequences of a photographic specimen». *Il Punto. Rivista d'informazione politico-culturale* was a monthly newspaper printed from 1956 to 1965 and directed by the journalist Vittorio Calef. It favored the left party and was very attentive to international politics. For further developments on *Il Punto* and Vittorio Calef refer to Caterina Napoleone, *Enciclopedia di Roma dalle origini all'anno Duemila* (Milano: Franco Maria Ricci, 1999): 742. For Fioroni's connection with photography and for more on Italian Pop Art and photography see Carlotta S. Calò, *Arte e fotografia tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta: il laboratorio fotografico di Luigi Sarro* (Roma: Gangemi, 2010): 27-30; Raffaella Perna, "Tra presente e passato: alcune considerazioni sui quadri d'argento di Giosetta Fioroni", *Arabeschi. Rivista internazionale di studi su letteratura e visualità*, u. vol., no. 8 (July-December 2016): 12-24. For Fioroni's connection with graphic art as a Pop element see Plinio De Martiis, *L'arte Pop in Italia: pittura, design e grafica negli anni Sessanta*, exh. cat. – Parma, Galleria d'arte Niccoli, 18th December 1999-6th March 2000 (Verona: Grafiche Aurora, 1999).

[386] *Ragazza TV*, 1964 and *Ragazza a Villa R*, 1965 are pieces of art considered, but not analyzed in the text, that trace her growing interest in photography and television icons: whereas *Ragazza TV* shows a black and white impersonal female figure, *Ragazza a Villa R*, stereotyped as well, presents more personalized components, as shown by the repeated

Pop Art because, as stated in Chapter one, in 1964, one year before his comment on Fioroni at La Tartaruga, he declared America's undisputed supremacy at the Biennale, and the fact that Fioroni participated in the Biennale probably led him to link her directly with the American Pop technique. Despite the fact that *Il Punto* was a newspaper that favored the center-left political party, it was a very progressive one that also focused on international politics; thus a cultural article like Rubiu's, related to the connection between Italy and the US during the Cold War, could have favored the conservation of the party's moderate position. In contrast, in *Corriere d'Informazione*, Goffredo Parise (who was Fioroni's husband and respected her position), after making an initial panegyric on the tenacity with which Plinio De Martiis proposed Pop art to the public, wrote that Pop Art was born the previous year in the Venice Biennale amidst polemics.

Despite the Americans' role as initiator of that current, Parise claimed that Italy also had artists who worked in the vein called Pop Art; however, whereas American art was composed of an objective tradition made of materials in continuous repetition that stemmed from a consumer production, Parise juxtaposed the Italian tradition composed of centuries of painting and sculpture. Giosetta Fioroni was an example of Italian artists in this sphere who created autobiographical painting with the psychological aspect of female feelings that trapped rapid instances of reality[387]. Marcello Venturoli, instead, in the weekly photographic and literary review, *Le Ore*, claimed Fioroni adopted the American Pop style in order to contrast the old tradition of Informal Art: «Applicare semplici ingrandimenti di fumetti e di fotografie, infatti, come mi è accaduto vedere per taluni pop artisti statunitensi, è forse più coerente ad esprimere quella ribellione alla sudditanza della vecchia immagine tutta di pennello, tutta inventata per successive elaborazioni di colore»[388]. As an art critic and PCI member, who was very attentive to

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letter R, the colors, and the particular angle through which the piece is conveyed on the canvas. On Fioroni and the sphere of television, refer to Gloria Bianchino, *Giosetta Fioroni*, exh. cat. – Parma, Salone delle Scuderie della Pilotta, 6th March-18th April 2004 (Milano: Skira, 2004); Laura Maggioni, *Giosetta Fioroni: ceramiche* (Ginevra, Milano: Skira, 2005): 107.

[387] See Goffredo Parise, "Roma Pop Art", *Corriere d'informazione* (5th February 1965): 3. Translation: «painting of female feelings». For Fioroni's artwork on feelings see the recent documentary *Giosetta Fioroni: Pop sentimentale* projected at MAXXI, Rome in November 2018, on the occasion of *Festa del Cinema di Roma* and then broadcast on Sky Arte, in which Fioroni explains the sentimental Pop side of her work; see also Flavio Arensi, Elettra Bottazzi, *Giosetta Fioroni: viaggio sentimentale*, exh. cat. – Milano, Museo del Novecento, 6th April-2nd September 2018 (Milano: Electa, 2018). For more on Fioroni's and Parise's relationship refer to Goffredo Parise, Giosetta Fioroni, *Lettere d'amore* (Mantova: Corraini, 2016).

[388] See Marcello Venturoli, "La dolcezza delle imprimiture", *Le Ore* (18th February 1965): 73. Translation: «Applying simple enlargements of comics and photographs, in fact, as I have

the type of images related to photography and Pop icons used by Fioroni, Venturoli noted that she understood that the obsessive American sort of radicalism that transferred images «inerti ed elementari»[389] on canvas was sterile and did not have a message of value without an adequate stylistic awareness. On the one hand, Venturoli's position was against Pop Art as it was presented in the 32[nd] Venice Biennale, and as he commented in *D'Ars Agency* in 1964[390]; on the other hand, it supported Pop Art long as it inherited avant-guard elements such as the Dada ones manifest in Rauschenberg. His critical contribution tried to insert Fioroni in the Pop Art sphere, while detaching her style from the American one. Moreover, through this article Venturoli seems to align himself with socialism, the political party favored by *Le Ore*, in which the article was published, that was against US political dominance[391].

Fioroni's focus on photography is instead more distinct in *Gli involucri*, 1965 (fig.50), exhibited in 1967 at Galleria del Naviglio, where the personalization of the figures illustrated introduces fashionable female images taken from fashion magazines such as *Vogue*, as the artist would declare in an interview in *Successo* that year:

«Sono partita prima da volti di sconosciuti che ritenevo particolarmente interessanti o per un particolare, o per un gesto o per l'espressione degli occhi, guardando facce femminili su foto di *Vogue*. Alla Biennale c'erano quattro quadri miei con la stessa ragazza vista con luce e atteggiamenti differenti»[392].

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seen from some American Pop artists, is perhaps more consistent in expressing that rebellion against the subjection of the old image, all painted by brush, all invented for successive color elaborations». *Le Ore: settimanale fotografico d'informazione politica e letteraria* was a weekly newspaper born in 1957, inspired by the model of *rotocalchi*. During the Sixties it started to support socialism and to host cultural articles. For further developments on *Le Ore* see Aurelio Magistà, *Dolce vita gossip: star, amori, mondanità e kolossal negli anni d'oro di Cinecittà* (Milano: B. Mondadori, 2007): 259; Centro italiano ricerche e documentazione, *Annuario politico italiano: 1963* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunita, 1963): 900.

[389] See Ibid. Translation: «inert and elementary».

[390] See Marcello Venturoli, "Commenti sulla XXII[esima] Biennale di Venezia", *D'Ars Agency*, vol. 5, no. 4 (June 1964): 41-42.

[391] In the Sixties he commented on the 1964 Venice Biennale and, at the beginning of the Seventies, wrote the article "Cronistoria delle Biennali", showing how he paid a great deal of attention to what was exhibited in Venice. Unsurprisingly, he commented on Fioroni's artwork the year later, given that she exhibited in the room directed by Calvesi in the Pop Art room. See Marcello Venturoli, "Cronistoria delle Biennali", *Le arti: premi, concorsi, manifestazioni culturali*, vol. 22, no. 6 (June 1972): 5-17.

[392] Unsigned, "Sequenza. I ritratti di Giosetta Fioroni", *Successo* (August 1967): 80. Translation: «I started first with faces of strangers whom I thought were particularly interesting, either for a detail, or for a gesture or for the expression of the eyes, looking at female faces on Vogue's photos. At the Biennale there were four paintings of mine with the same girl seen with different light and attitudes».

In the brochure for the Fioroni exhibit at Galleria del Naviglio, Alberto Boatto, one of the Pop art critic supporters in those years, compared Fioroni to Warhol: he stated that whereas Warhol was fine with normal photographic techniques, Fioroni selected particular angles, introducing a more personal style between iconography and mechanical language, insofar as the artificial face can be repeated and fit in the series[393]. The reproduction of images taken from *Vogue* proves Boatto's comment on Fioroni's process, even if, while Boatto pointed out a subtle distinction between Warhol and Fioroni, the comparison with Warhol's technique does not seem to be the only factor recognizable in her style; Fioroni's work as a cinematographer, an artform with which other Italian Pop artists were experimenting in those years, was the main explanation for the repeating images.[394] Moreover, in the 1964 Calvesi interview, Fioroni herself expressed an interest in the repetition of the cinematographic image in the process of creating artwork: «a me interessava una cosa molto semplice, una certa narrazione legata ad una immagine cinematografica, che si ripete. Insisto sul fatto narrativo nel senso che ormai da un anno a questa parte, io ho cercato, ho desiderato di raccontare delle cose»[395].

Particolare della nascita di Venere, 1965 (fig.51), exhibited at Galleria del Cavallino in July 1965, seems to unite these cinematographic features with those of American Pop, not only because the image is multiplied, but also because it implies a certain dynamicity[396]. Such artwork, together with others realized from 1965 onward, contribute to showing Fioroni's interest in revisiting past artwork, associating her painting to Schifano's and Festa's experiment with past tradition, in both

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[393] See Alberto Boatto, *Giosetta Fioroni*, Brochure of the exhibit, Galleria del Naviglio, 22nd March-4th April 1967, 1-2.

[394] On Fioroni's connection with Warhol see Mario Ursino, *L'effetto metafisico: 1918-1968: attraverso le collezioni della Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna* (Roma: Gangemi, 2010): 154. Fioroni's interest in cinema led her to produce four movies later on in 1967: *Gioco*, *Coppie*, *Solitudine femminile*, *Goffredo*. On Fioroni's short film refer to Bruno di Marino, *Sguardo inconscio azione: cinema sperimentale e underground a Roma: 1965-1975* (Roma: Lithos, 1999): 113; Giulia Simi, *Rivoluzioni in cerca di sé: il Sessantotto intermediale di Giosetta Fioroni* pp. 233-241 in Lucia Cardone, Sara Filippelli, *Filmare il femminismo. Studi sulle donne nel cinema e nei media* (Pisa: ETS, 2015). On Fioroni as a multifaceted artist, see in particular Cristina Casero, "Giosetta Fioroni. Oltre il dipingere", *Arabeschi. Rivista internazionale di studi su letteratura e visualità*, u. vol., no. 8 (July-December 2016): 25-39.

[395] See Maurizio Calvesi, "Intervista a Giosetta Fioroni", op. cit., 235. Translation: «I was interested in a very simple thing, a certain narrative linked to a cinematographic image that repeats itself. I insist on the narrative fact in the sense that for a year now, I have tried, I wanted to tell some things».

[396] On Fioroni's citation of Renaissance Art refer to Antonia R. Arconti, Claudio Crescentini, *Rinascita di una Venere: Goldfinger/Miss di Mario Ceroli. Storie e Restauro* (Roma: Gangemi, 2016): 11.

Liberty piccolo, 1965 (fig.52) and *Le cortigiane da Carpaccio*, 1966 (fig.53); in the latter piece, the three courtesans' hairstyles are conveyed through a sort of mosaic, and the little dogs as well as the birds are illustrated with different motifs, oval decoration, diagonal lines, and grey dots. In both, the decorative aspect is extreme, but the graphic art and vividness of colors, reminiscent of American Pop, are evident[397].

A final point to touch upon regarding Fioroni's work is in regards to her implication in politics through the Pop technique, as was the case with Franco Angeli and Mario Schifano: *Bambino solo*, 1967 (fig.54) and *Obbedienza*, 1969 (fig.55) exhibited at Galleria L'Indiano in 1970, conveyed that artist's infancy contextualized in the Fascist time period: both pieces seem to illustrate children that belong to the artist's memory of that totalitarian time, in which education was a fundamental pillar and, together with indoctrination, was the path to lead people to acknowledge, understand and accept the new regime and its ideal. *Obbedienza* shows a child making the *Roman salute*, where the arm is inclined at a thirty-five-degree angle with respect to the vertical axis of the body, a salute that was used also by the Nazis as a sign of respect and obedience: this artwork could evoke questions about the nature of Fioroni's political position at this time, given that the majority of the artists who were close were seemingly embracing communist ideals in their lives and also expressing them in their artwork. However, it brings up the question of whether, in a case like this one, the political issue is just part of the artist's memory, or whether it is, in fact, part of a wider intention that could mean taking an opposite position toward the dominant artistic communist environment[398]. Such a question is answered

[397] For *Le Cortigiane da Carpaccio* see Antonia R. Arconti, Claudio Crescentini, *Rinascita di una Venere: Goldfinger/Miss di Mario Ceroli. Storie e Restauro*, op. cit., 32; Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art 1956-1968*, op. cit., 120; in Unsigned, "Giosetta Fioroni", *Il Giorno* (26th January 1966): unpaginated. Fioroni said she was finishing pieces of artwork inspired by the famous Italian masterpieces of Sandro Botticelli, Vittore Carpaccio, Simone Martini, and Piero di Cosimo.

[398] For the political issue as part of the artist's memory see Dario Micacchi, "La laguna di luce di Giosetta Fioroni", *L'Unità* (27th November 1970): unpaginated; Arturo C. Quintavalle, Gloria Bianchino, *Il rosso e il nero. Figure e ideologie in Italia 1945*-1980, op. cit., 519. For the past memory present in her artwork, particularly the last ones, see Diletta D'Eredità, Camilla Miglio, Francesca Zimarri, *Paul Celan in Italia: un percorso tra ricerca, arti e media 2007-2014*, Conf. Proceedings – Roma, Università La Sapienza, 27th-28th January 2014 (Roma: Sapienza Università, 2015):17-18; Raffaella Perna, *Lo sguardo obiettivo della Scuola di Piazza del Popolo: alcune riflessioni sui rapporti fra arte e fotografia a Roma intorno al 1963*, pp. 57-58 in Claudio Crescentini, Costantino D'Orazio, Federica Pirani, *Roma Pop City 1960-1967*, op. cit.. For more on education and indoctrination during Fascism see Alberto Cappa, *Le generazioni nel fascismo* (Roma: edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2018); Cristina Obber, *Balilla e piccole italiane: la scuola, i sogni, la vita* (Bassano del Grappa: Attiliofraccaroeditore, 2009). See also Balzarro Anna's PhD thesis discussed at Università di Cagliari, 2007, entitled *L'educazione delle bambine durante il fascismo: La piccola italiana. Settimanale illustrato di guida e*

by Fioroni's 1970 retrospective judgment about her work, claiming that both the images that stem from the first years of Fascism and those icons belonging to consumer society had a didactic and pedagogic aim, to look for a new figurative Pop expression:

«La partenza alla visita interiore sono state alcune immagini dei primi anni del fascismo. La coincidenza (figurativa) con la visita esterna nella nostra società, sono volti, vestiti e mode e soprattutto sentimenti che si aggirano, spesso fantasmi del consumo, del 'remake' funebre intorno a noi. Perché ho detto dall'inizio che i quadri che espongo vogliono essere in qualche modo illustrativi e didattici mi pare giusto chiarire che illustrazione e pedagogia sono nel mio lavoro, anzi nel sentimento del mio lavoro oggi, in questo particolare momento, elementi rischiaranti il 'sonno della ragione', 'materie d'insegnamento in una nuova, ipotetica, ma non necessariamente utopica, ricerca di espressione figurativa popolare»[399].

From these words, it is arguable that the political question was not taken into account in her work, because what still really mattered to her was to create a new Pop expression filtered through autobiographical memories. However, her choice to make decorative, fashionable pieces, as well as her decision to convey images of the child fascist, result in a singular version of the Italian Pop trend at that time.

2.5.4 Tano Festa: past artworks, graphic art

Differently from Schifano, the Roman-born Tano Festa (1938) had, aside from proximity to De Martiis, contact with the US at the very beginning of his career, with the exhibit *Arte Italiana* at the Mohology Nagy Institute of Modern Art of Chicago in 1960. In fact, from his earliest shows, critics identified the American side of his art: in reviewing his 1961 exhibit at Galleria La Salita, the internationally focused journal, *Europa*

di coltura per le giovinette italiane (1927-1943). For more on the *Roman salute* under Fascism, see Carlo Galeotti, *Saluto al duce! I catechismi del Balilla e della Piccola italiana* (Roma: Gremese, 2001); for the *Roman salute* under Nazism, see Tilman Allert, *Heil Hitler! Storia di un saluto infausto* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008).

[399] See Giosetta Fioroni, *Giosetta Fioroni*, Brochure of the exhibit, Firenze, Galleria L'Indiano, 7th–17th March 1970. Translation: «The departure to the inner visit were some images of the early years of fascism. The (figurative) coincidence with the external visit in our society, are faces, clothes and fashion and above all feelings that roam, often ghosts of consumption, of the funeral 'remake' around us. Because I said from the beginning that the paintings that I exhibit want to be illustrative and didactic, I think it is right to clarify that illustration and pedagogy are in my work, rather in the feeling of my work today, at this particular moment, elements risking the 'sleep of reason', subjects of teaching in a new, hypothetical, but not necessarily utopian, search for popular figurative expression».

d'informazione, compared Festa to American artist Barnett Newmann, because of the lack of objectiveness that characterized his artwork[400]. However, apart from the American element, like the other artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo,* critics included Festa in the limited circle of Italian and international painters who were at the intersection of Neo-Dada and New Realism. For example, Vivaldi, in the brochure of the exhibit at La Salita, or Vice, in *Il tempo*, who also labeled his art as such especially for its attempt to stun viewers with its casual tone[401]. These exhibits (together with the one *La Pittura Contemporanea* at Galleria La Pantera, Lucca, where he participated with Twombly and Scialoja), helped interest him in American art research, preparing him for the meeting with American Pop Art at *New Realists* in 1962[402]: at Janis' he participated with *Persiana*, 1962 (fig.56), a piece of artwork in wood that showed his interest in the objectiveness of the material, that was inspired by a memory of a childish episode in which he stayed in bed with the shutters closed for long time. It seems that the invitation for the exhibit at Sidney Janis arrived directly from Ileana, who also chose Festa from the group of artists around De Martiis because, although his art was still related to Informal art, it also made use of novel techniques and had initial institutional acknowledgments: in February 1962, Festa was awarded the *Premio d'incoraggiamento* at GNAM; in June he exhibited at *Nuove prospettive della Pittura Italiana*, Palazzo Re, Bologna, together with Schifano, Angeli, where, as previously mentioned, Calvesi presented their art as remaining close to metaphysics.

Before the Janis exhibit, Festa's art was classified in several different ways. Most were related to the European Avant-guards but with the show at Galleria La Tartaruga in May 1963, the classifications had an initial change: Giorgio De Marchis, curator of the exhibit, separated Festa's art from the Dadaist reminiscence of *object trouvé*: Festa created real objects such as windows, wardrobes, doors, mirrors and obelisks, objects that recalled a sphere of mystery that was still related to

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[400] See Unsigned, "Galleria d'arte la Salita", *Europa d'informazione*, (6th May 1961): unpaginated. On the exhibit in Chicago, in which Festa participated with Franco Angeli, see Claudio Crescentini, Costantino D'Orazio, Federica Pirani, *Roma Pop City 60-67*, op. cit., 243.

[401] See Cesare Vivaldi, *Festa*, Brochure of the exhibit, Galleria La Salita, 3rd May 1961; Vice, "Mostre. Festa alla Salita", *Il tempo*, (17th May 1961): unpaginated; Unsigned, "Galleria d'arte la Salita", *Europa d'informazione*, 6th May 1961. He said that the meaning of Tano Festa's art lies in the action of breaking, poetry in this non-utilitarian gesture plunged down in a manufactured article of excellent execution.

[402] For more on the artists that Galleria La Pantera in Lucca represented see Vv.Aa., *Evelina Gaddi*, exh. cat. – Lucca, Galleria La Pantera, 2nd-14th May 1959 (Lucca: Ind. Graf. Lorenzetti & Natali, 1959); Vv.Aa., *Alba Feula Peri*, exh. cat. – Lucca, Galleria La Pantera, 29th December 1960-9th January 1961.

metaphysics[403]. It seems that De Marchis' comment was well received by art critics and led to the recognition of a Pop component in Festa's art: while in *Il Successo*, Politi also underscored Festa's distance from the object trouvé, insofar as Festa's were actually reconstructed objects and recalled the metaphysical period, in *Avanti!* Marisa Volpi, militant art critic focused on the happenings at the Venice Biennale and Pop Art from 1964 and who got interested in Pop especially after her Fulbright scholarship in 1966 after which she published *Arte dopo il 1945. USA*, 1969, positioned his big wooden frames as painted in between Dada objects, similar to Duchamp's, and the ironic, grotesque illusionism of Pop Art[404]. Volpi identified the artistic change that Festa, Angeli and Schifano made and the artistic context that contributed to their change: «sono stati protagonisti di un movimento neo-dada romano in cui gli elementi ironici ed eversivi delle vecchie origini dadaiste si sono ricomposti in una pittura-oggetto, in una pittura-forma, cioè in significati espressivi e pragmatici diversi dal lessico da cui traevano origine le loro immagini»[405]; in this transformation, Burri and the sculptor Colla were present in Rome from 1948, and Twombly had been there from 1956, as part of Rauschenberg's Neo-Dada group. Volpi was very aware of what these Roman artists were doing, given that in 1961 in *Avanti!* she wrote an article on Festa and Angeli, after visiting their atelier for a piece she had to do on the atelier of Roman artist. That year she also wrote several articles on the artists surrounding the Roman group such as Burri and Twombly in *Avanti!* and in the contemporary art review *Arte Oggi*[406].

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[403] See Giorgio De Marchis, *Festa*, Brochure of the exhibit, Rome, Galleria La Tartaruga 6th May 1963-u.d.o.e., unpaginated.

[404] Marisa Volpi, Longhi's pupil from 1956, in 1966 was in New York thanks to the Fulbright scolarship for young researchers. For her publication in 1969 see Marisa Volpi, *Arte dopo il 1945. USA* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1969). For more on Volpi see Antonella Sbrilli, *Ricerca e narrazione. La storia dell'arte di Marisa Volpi*, pp. 63-72 in Manuel Barrese, Riccardo Gandolfi, Maria Onori, *Le storie dell'arte alla Sapienza. Linee di ricerca, docenti e didattica del Dipartimento di Storia dell'arte dalla fondazione ad oggi*, Conf. Proceedings – Roma, u.p., 19th November 2014 (Roma: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2017); Marisa Volpi, *Una testimonianza autobiografica*, pp. 169-180 in Laura Iamurri, Sabrina Spinazzè, *L'arte delle donne nell'Italia del Novecento* (Roma: Meltemi, 2001). On Pop Art she published Marisa Volpi, "Che cos'è la Pop Art? reportage sulla XXXII Biennale di Venezia", *Avanti!* (15th August 1964), republished in Vv.Aa., *Artisti contemporanei profili* (Roma: Il Bagatti, 1986). On the 32nd Venice Biennale she published "Ma è poi così scandalosa la XXXII Biennale di Venezia?", *Avanti!* (11th July 1964), republished in Vv.Aa., *Artisti contemporanei profili* (Roma: Il Bagatti, 1986).

[405] See Marisa Volpi, "Festa", *Avanti!* (2nd June, 1963): unpaginated. For Politi's text refer to Giancarlo Politi, "Mostre romane. Schifano e Festa", *Crisi e letteratura*, op cit..

[406] On Marisa Volpi's publication regarding some of the Roman artists see Marisa Volpi, "La difficile reazione dei più giovani alla schiacciante strumentalizzazione", *Avanti!* (29th December 1961): unpaginated. On Burri see Marisa Volpi. "Appunti sull'interpretazione critica di Burri", *Arte Oggi*, u. vol., no. 10 (October 1961): 14-19; on Twombly see Marisa Volpi, "Cy Twombly dalla Virginia a Roma insegue i suoi ideali neoclassici", *Avanti!* (23rd November 1961): unpaginated.

The radical association of Festa's art to Pop Art's features took place after his participation in the 32nd Venice Biennale where he exposed with *La creazione dell'uomo (a colori)*, 1964 (fig.57) and *La creazione a colori (in bianco e nero)*, 1964: both represented the creation of man, in which Michelangelo painted Adam stretching out his hand and finger to touch God, rendered in wood. In 1963, Festa had already done a painting with Adam for the filmic reproduction *Particolare della Cappella Sistina dedicato a mio fratello Francesco Lo Savio* (fig.58). Nonetheless, his attention to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel in 1964 appears to be influenced by Bruno Zevi and Paolo Portoghesi's exhibition *Mostra critica delle opere michelangiolesche*, held that year at Palazzo delle Esposizioni in Rome on the occasion of the fourth centenary of Michelangelo's death: the Sistine Chapel was reproduced through architectural scenography, slides and projections that zoomed in on details of the Chapel, both in color and in black and white. The analogy between this exhibition and Festa's *La Creazione dell'uomo,* also in black and white and in color, shown at the 1964 Venice Biennale, seems clear: Not only is there an echo in the subjects and the colors but also in the technique, suggested by the mirrors positioned in front of the details of the Sistine Chapel, refracting the images and reversing their orientation[407]. The filmic reproduction of the *Particolare della Cappella Sistina* 1963, seems instead related to the movies made on Michelangelo to celebrate his fourth centenary, namely the art critic Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti's critofilm *Michelangiolo* and the architects Charlie Conrad's and Luigi Moretti's art movie *Michelangelo*.[408]

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[407] For the 1964 Michelangelo exhibition see Bruno Zevi, Paolo Portoghesi, Corrado Maltese, *Mostra Critica delle Opere Michelangiolesche*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1964 (Roma: Ist. Grafico Tiberino di S. De Luca, 1964). For a detailed description on how the room was set refer to: Ibid., 31; Elisa Francesconi, *Mostra Critica delle opere Michelangiolesche*, pp. 243-246 in Emanuela Ferretti, Marco Pierini, Pietro Ruschi, *Michelangelo e il Novecento*, exh. cat. – Firenze, Casa Buonarroti, 18th June-20th October 2014 and also Modena, Galleria Civica, 20th June-19th October 2014 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2014); Alessandra Capuano, *Temi e figure nell'architettura romana* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2005): 276; Paolo Portoghesi, *La tradizione come avvenire* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2001): 100-102. For the connection between Michelangelo's exhibit and Tano Festa's subjects and technique see the following texts: Monica Maffioli, Silvestra Bietoletti, *Riconoscere Michelangelo: la scultura del Buonarroti nella fotografia e nella pittura dall'Ottocento a oggi*, exh. cat. – Firenze, Galleria dell'Accademia, 18th February-18th May 2014 (Firenze: Firenze Musei, 2014): 34; 73-75; Elisa Francesconi, *Franco Angeli e Tano Festa. Pittori con la macchina da presa*, op. cit., 45 – 47. For a description of the technique that Festa used for la *Creazione dell'uomo* see Tano Festa's interview made on 29th March 1966 and published the year later in Giorgio De Marchis, *Festa*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Salita, 28th April 1967-u.d.o.e., unpaginated.

[408] The critofilm *Michelangiolo* was financed by the Italian State. Ragghianti wrote the text and Alberto Mortara produced it for the film production house *Rumor film*. For more on Ragghianti's critofilm see Cesare Molinari, "Un critofilm d'arte su Michelangiolo", *Critica d'arte*, vol. 11, no. 65-66 (November 1964): 53-72; Unsigned, "Carlo L. Ragghianti: commento al critofilm Michelangiolo", *Luk*, vol. 15-16, no. 10-11 (January-December 2007): 40-49. For

The former, a union of critical analysis and cinematographic vision, lingered longer on both the Sistine Chapel and the Tombe Medicee that Festa would later create, while the latter includes an analysis of Michelangelo's architecture, painting and sculpture.

In all the exhibits he had after the Venice Biennale until the end of the Sixties, art critics questioned and classified the similarities his art had with American Pop Art: in April 1965 at Galleria del Leone, Venice, Festa displayed the artwork with clouds and brush, *Untitled*, 1965 (fig.59) that was juxtaposed to a big brush of Lichtenstein: *Il Gazzettino* initially called Festa one of the most important artists of Italian Nuova Figurazione, for his focus on a repertoire of comics and mass media billboards; his objectiveness is «mutuato dal più basso linguaggio popolare»,[409] but in contrast to Lichtenstein, he does not simply present a fragment, but rather he interprets it with a compositional game of edges and pure colors in an aesthetic key. Particular attention by art critics is given to his attention to framing, cutting and composition, a consequence of Festa's study of photography at Istituto d'Arte in Rome. However, the end result is seen as banal, for the passivity the artist demonstrates with the immense repertoire of Italian industrial civility. No doubt, Festa was compared to Lichtenstein after their artworks were displayed together and not for a similarity in their language of comics; however their stylistic analysis is accurate, as it relates to mass media billboards and the objectiveness stemming from a popular, not cultured, language, as critics usually said about the works of the Italian Pop Artists up to this point.

In October 1965 at Galleria La Tartaruga, then, Festa exhibited a new series of artworks *Tombe Medicee*, showing his attention not only to Michelangelo's *frescoes*, but also to his sculptures:

he revisits Michelangelo's Tombe Medicee, Florence, where the sculptures in honor of Lorenzo il Magnifico, such as *Aurora* and *Crepuscolo*, and in honor of Giuliano de Medici, such as *Giorno* and *Notte* are located. Festa chooses *Aurora* and makes it in disparate ways, such as in black and white marking lines and shadows (fig. 60)[410]. Duilio Morosini,

more on Carlo L. Ragghianti's critofilms refer to Valentina La Salvia, *I critofilm di Carlo L. Ragghianti: tutte le sceneggiature* (Lucca: Fondazione Ragghianti studi sull'arte, 2006). Luigi Moretti was member of the Comitato Nazionale per le Onoranze Michelangiolesche. For both movies and authors see also footnote 15, p. 67 in Elisa Francesconi, *Franco Angeli e Tano Festa. Pittori con la macchina da presa*, op. cit.;

[409] See Unsigned, "Mostre d'arte. Festa", *Il gazzettino*, Venezia (13th May 1965): unpaginated. Translation: «borrowed from the lowest popular language».

[410] For the connection between Tano Festa and Michelangelo's sculpture see Monica Maffioli, Silvestra Bietoletti, *Ri-conoscere Michelangelo: la scultura del Buonarroti nella fotografia e nella pittura dall'Ottocento a oggi*, op. cit., 34; Lucilla Meloni, *Arte guarda arte: pratiche della citazione nell'arte contemporanea* (Milano: postmedia books, 2013): 42-43; for Tano Festa and the visual issues of the production and reproduction of the image see Elisa Francesconi, *Franco Angeli e Tano Festa. Pittori con la macchina da presa*, op. cit., 48-49.

in *Paese Sera*, interpreted them as a way of expressing his attraction for American Pop Art through the ironic exaggerated giantism of his imitation of advertising, which reproduces a rough figurative peremptoriness of American Pop Art through the photographic dilatation of an artwork. In *Avanti!* Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, who that year started to write about Pop, agreed with labeling Festa as part of American Pop Art, because of their linguistic commonalities: «la forza della Pop art è proprio a livello linguistico [...] I quadri odierni, vedono una grande immagine che occupa tutto il quadro (un cielo o un'opera di Michelangelo)».[411] In regards to the exhibit at Galleria Schwarz in March 1966, Fagiolo presented Festa's thirty-four pieces of art as an «omaggio-oltraggio alla Pop Art for the grades of tones».[412]

Festa's position on Pop Art was questioned, instead, in 1967 during his big solo show at Galleria La Salita, in which he displayed new artwork inspired by his experience abroad in both New York and Paris: in *Odalisca*, 1967 (fig.61) literally conveyed Ingres' *La grande Odalysque*, 1814, seen at the Louvre, in which he cuts the silhouette, makes it light pink and grey and realized in four panels, one of them substituted by the artist's sky that appears to be the background of a comic strip; in *Tricromia del cielo*, 1965 (fig.62) exhibited in 1967 he reproduced the skies that fascinated him on his first trip to New York, also rendering them as comics[413]. In the brochure of the exhibit, Giorgio De Marchis reprints his interview of Festa, in which Festa responds with the key elements in order to read his work in relation to American Pop Art and explains the circumstances in which he created the new paintings. He has many salient points on his connection with Pop Art: first, his approach to objects that interest him when reconstructed and not *trouvé*, valued in the moment of their contemplation, since the act of using an object obscures one's awareness of it, while the reconstructed object provides a sense of

[411] See Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Le mostre a Roma. Un pittore-regista alla 'Tartaruga'", *Avanti!*, (5th November 1965): unpaginated. Translation: « the strength of Pop art is precisely at the linguistic level [...] Today's paintings see a great image that occupies the whole picture (a sky or a work by Michelangelo)».

[412] For the amount of artwork that Festa exhibited see "Tano Festa alla Schwarz", *Carlino sera* (11th March 1966): unpaginated. For Dell'Arco' presentation of Festa, see Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Festa*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 1st-30th March 1966. For the report of dell'Arco's text refer to Unsigned, "Gallerie Milanesi. Alla galleria Schwarz", *Italia-Milano* (17th March 1966): unpaginated. In New York he went to the happenings and ballets that American Pop artists as Dine and Oldenburg were organizing in that year, together with Rauschenberg, see the letters from Tano Festa to Giorgio Franchetti dated on 11th May 1965 and on 14th May 1965 – ARCHIVIO GIORGIO FRANCHETTI, Roma.

[413] For Festa's trip to the US refer to the following letters: the letters from Tano Festa to Plinio De Martiis, New York, dated on 31st March 1965 and on 21st May 1965 – FONDO LA TARTARUGA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO LATINA, Latina; see also the letter from Tano Festa to Giorgio Franchetti, 14th April 1965 – ARCHIVIO GIORGIO FRANCHETTI, Roma.

its presence; second, the iconography of historical works of art, that he comments on as such: «Nel 1964 ho fatto una serie di quadri su Michelangelo, non più oggetti. Comunque penso che il problema sia lo stesso, questa visione un po' privata si allarga dalla casa alla piazza e al museo. Ti ricordi che ti parlavo di iconografia? Cioè io quando ho fatto questi Michelangeli, fra l'altro non ero mai andato a vedere la Cappella Sistina, erano cose profondamente legate a Roma, al tipo di immagine che si consuma qui. Ti ricordi il discorso che ti facevo: un americano dipinge la Coca Cola, come valore per me Michelangelo è la stessa cosa nel senso che siamo in un paese dove invece di consumare cibi in scatola consumiamo la Gioconda sui cioccolatini»[414]; third, his technique, namely the photographic collage glued on wood, painted to assimilate the image to the background to avoid the sense of collage itself: «Questa cosa la pensai nel '63 a Parigi al Louvre vedendo la Grande Odalisca che poi ne ho fatto un quadro, cioè pensavo che un quadro quando piace, uno l'assume come assume qualsiasi altro oggetto: io guardavo questa Grande Odalisca e pensavo 'questa cosa mi piace, potrei metterla in un quadro come potrei metterci una pianta, una macchina, una persiana'»[415]. Fourth, the affinity with the New York Pop Art generation that he pretends is the same one present in Rome: «La Pop Art è legata a New York, ma un certo tipo di sensibilità è una cosa generale che esiste a New York come a Roma: voglio dire che ogni tipo di generazione ha la sua sensibilità»[416].

In *L'Espresso*, the part of Festa's claim about contemplation is emphasized; in *Il Messaggero* Gianmaria Volonté, intellectual and actor who was close to Festa and the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*,

[414] Festa is one of the unique artistic figures in Rome in the Sixties who does not oppose being labeled as such: in an interview, posthumously published in the Eighties, the art critic Antonella Amendola asks him whether or not he likes being considered one of the most important Pop artists, and he answers saying that there is something true in such a consideration. Translation: «In 1964, I made a series of paintings on Michelangelo, no longer objects. However, I think the problem is the same, this somewhat private vision extends from the house to the square and the museum. Do you remember I was talking to you about iconography? In other words, when I did these Michelangeli, among other things I never went to see the Sistine Chapel, they were deeply connected to Rome, to the kind of image that is consumed here. You remember the speech I made to you: an American paints Coca Cola, in terms of value for me Michelangelo is the same thing, in the sense that we are in a country where instead of consuming canned food we consume the Mona Lisa on chocolates».

[415] Ibid.. Translation: «This thing I thought of in Paris in 1963 at the Louvre seeing the Great Odalisque which I then made a picture of, that is, I thought that when one likes a picture, one takes it as they take any other object: I looked at this Great Odalisque and thought 'this what I like, I could put it in a painting like I could a plant, a car, a shutter'».

[416] Ibid.. Translation: «Pop Art is linked to New York, but a certain kind of sensitivity is a general thing that exists in New York as in Rome: I mean that every kind of generation has its own sensitivity».

especially at the end of the Sixties for their experiments with Cinema, underlines the association between ancient and modern taste in *Dalla Creazione dell'Uomo*, 1965; in *Paese sera,* Duilio Morosini defines Festa as a young artist with a Pop education, but with the advertising technique that has to be re-scaled into culture and history; in *Momento Sera,* Festa is also mentioned as one of the first protagonists of Pop Art, and the particular cultured feature of Italian Pop is reaffirmed, especially the Roman one that distinguished Pop from its US matrix[417]. Both the Festa interview and the critics' comments provide a valuable testament of the spirit that they both had toward American Pop Art; Pop was translated as an affinity, but still with the cultured distance that had its fundamentals in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel and the insertion of European masterpieces also treated in the Pop style. Despite the attempt to distinguish Festa's Italian Pop Art from the American version, he approaches reality in the same manner: what he sees and likes, he inserts into his artwork. True is the affinity that both generations of American and Italian Pop had, but equally true is the direct contact the Italian artists had with the American ones and Italian consumerist society, which suggests the importance of looking at how the Italians looked at the United States. Festa, however, with his series on Michelangelo's frescoes and sculptures, seems to mark the boarders of Italian Pop Art and to equate the brand of Coca Cola to Michelangelo's works, making Michelangelo himself into a brand.

2.6 Secondary artists: the Pop residue from 1966

After the biennium of 1964-1966 when the Italian Pop artists analyzed so far were protagonists of such a wave, the new biennium of 1966-1968 opens up, with Pop on the decline, with only traces remaining: several artists who had been close to *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* and to De Martiis from the very beginning of their careers (but not previously promoted at the same level as Schifano, Angeli, Festa and Fioroni), were launched with the 33rd and 34th Venice Biennale, in 1966 and 1968, just as Pop is ceding the stage to the current of Arte Povera, inaugurated with the Germano Celant exhibit at Galleria La Bertesca, Genoa in 1967. There are four observations to make about this second wave of Pop on the decline: first, the major importance that Milan acquires with the exhibits held at Studio Marconi, Galleria del Naviglio and Galleria Schwarz, despite the

[417] See Unsigned, "Festa", *L'Espresso* (30th April 1967): unpaginated; Gianmaria Volontè, "Festa", *Il Messaggero*, (16th May 1967): unpaginated; Duilio Morosini, "Festa", *Paese sera* (27th May 1967): unpaginated; Unsigned, "Festa alla Salita", *Momento Sera* (12th May 1967): unpaginated. On Gianmaria Volonté and his connection with the artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* refer to Luca Ronchi, *Mario Schifano. Una biografia*, op. cit., 116,119, 285.

continuous activity of Galleria La Tartaruga; second, a reduction of articles on Pop Art, as art critics are more focused on recognizing Geometric Abstraction and Arte Povera; third, the large number of artists included in Pop exhibits that have just a distant, aesthetic reminiscence (not emblematic for the present investigation); fourth, an approach to the protests of 1968 that re-appropriates the vividness of the American Pop colors, as well as their realism, but that leads to a mass realism, a new current that seems to have Pop as its antecedent but that cannot be studied as such. A final reflection instead on recent reconsiderations must be done: artists not included in the Pop realm in the Sixties have been recently analyzed in Pop Art exhibits in Italy, in terms of single pieces of art created in those years that evoke Pop aesthetics, even though their work was not relevant for the cultural war that seems to start with the protagonists of Italian Pop and end with the second wave of artists still close to this scene.

2.6.1 Pino Pascali: gigantism and television

Pino Pascali, an artist from Bari who studied at Accademia delle Belle Arti of Rome where he was a student of scenographer Toti Scialoja, differed from most of the Italian artists associated with the realm of Pop: first because he adopted his symbols from media, that ranged from television to comic books; seeming to steer away from the political movements, he instead showed an interest in incorporating the stylistic and linguistic elements of all contemporary consumer goods without delving into their political dimension; second, because his artwork became well-known as Pop later, probably for the more immediate sensitive and anthropologist side of his poetics, after his participation in the 34th Venice Biennale in 1968, the year of his death, where he exhibited several artworks such as *Pelo (Contropelo)*, 1968 (fig.63)[418]. His site-specific

[418] *Pelo (Contropelo)*, 1968, is an instance of the anthropologic dimension of Pino Pascali's art: the artwork associated with *tarantismo*, a popular belief about a person bitten by a spider, healed through the repetitive rhythm of the *tarantella*. Ernesto de Martino (1908-1965), Benedetto Croce's pupil, made an ethnological investigation of the tradition of the South of Italy between 1940 and 1960. He published the book *La terra del rimorso*, 1961 which analyzed *tarantismo* as a belief of the region of *Puglia* from Lecce to the end of the Italian boot, passing through the village Galatina. On Di Martino's work that was well known at that time in Puglia, the Italian film director Gianfranco Mingozzi produced a twenty-minute documentary film, *La Taranta*, which was showed in Galatina between May and June 1961. Probably Pascali knew both the documentary and de Martino's book, and they both contributed to raise his interest in embodying *tarantismo* in his artworks. See *Une oeuvre anthropologique: d'Ernesto de Martino à Claude-Lévi Strauss*, pp. 209-229 in Valérie Da Costa, *Pino Pascali: retour à la Méditerranée* (Dijion: Les presses du réel, 2015). For more on Ernesto de Martino see Ernesto de Martino, *Sud e magia* (Milano: G. Feltrinelli, 1959); Ernesto de Martino, *La terra del rimorso. Contributo a una storia religiosa del Sud* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1961). On Gianfranco Mingozzi refer to Gianfranco Mingozzi, *La taranta: il primo*

installations, considered sculptures, are the most related to American consumer Pop culture, in which scenography was one of the dominant features: the scenographic element stemmed from his training with Scialoja, who worked on overcoming naturalistic colors when reflecting upon phosphorescent tarps used for landing strips at airports[419]. Pascali began to investigate his scenography installations starting from his first solo show at Galleria La Tartaruga in 1965: lips as *Labbra rosse*, 1964 (fig.64) and bodies as *Grande bacino di donna (Mons Veneris)*, 1964 (fig.65) were the main works displayed that demonstrate the giantism of Pop Art. However, in Pascali's art, this giantism acquired a metaphysical dimension, as suggested by Vivaldi who introduced the catalogue: he supported the novelty of Pascali's artwork and justified his being out of the scene until that moment insofar as it was time he spent to work far away from the market and the critics.

In January 1966 at Galleria Enzo Sperone, Pascali showed *Cannoni* which, according to Calvesi (curator of the exhibit with Rubiu), bordered on scenography rather than Pop Art. The female nudes (fig.65), shown at the 1966 exhibit held at Libreria Guida in Naples, was compared with Oldenburg's giantism in *Il Mattino*, in response to Marisa Volpi and Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco's text: while Volpi did not like the name Pop and preferred 'objectual art' for Pascali's works, dell'Arco emphasized its sensual side and his enthusiasm in creating the artwork, feelings far from the nauseating process of the media's communication of the objects.

In October 1966 at L'Attico, Pascali was present with several sculptures, mainly of animals *Il Cimitero degli animali*, 1966 (fig.66); contrary to what is said in what Calvesi wrote, Boatto and Rubiu do not

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documento filmato sul tarantismo (Nandò: Besa, 2002). On both the interpretation of the real in sensitiveness and the anthropologic key that Pascali himself seemed to suggest, refer also to the interview that Marisa Volpi published in *Marcatrè* in 1968, in which the artist says a nursery rhyme in the Taranto dialect as a means to evoke the change of the materials used and the heterogeneous technique, see Marisa Volpi Orlandini, "Tecniche e materiali: Pino Pascali", *Marcatré*, vol.5, no. 37-40 (May 1968): 73. For more on Pascali and his relationship with his land refer to *La langue et la terre: Pino Pascali-Pier Paolo Pasolini*, pp. 231-248 in Valérie Da Costa, *Pino Pascali: retour à la Méditerranée*, op. cit.

[419] For more on Pascali's biography see: Vittorio Rubiu, *Vita eroica di Pascali* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2013); Claudia Lodolo, *32 anni di vita circa: Pino Pascali raccontato da amici e collaboratori* (Poggibonsi: Cambi, 2012). For Pascali's connection with Pop Art refer to Roberto Lacarbonara, Giuseppe Teofilo, *Super: Pino Pascali e il sogno americano* (Milano: Skira, 2017). For his sculptures in the period 1964-1968 see Marco Tonelli, *Pascali: catalogo generale delle sculture 1964-1968* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2011). For the ludic element of his sculptures see instead Marco Tonelli, *Pino Pascali: il libero gioco della scultura* (Milano: Johan & Levi, 2010). To better understand Pascali's connection with the Roman context see Rosalba Branà, *Pino Pascali e gli anni '60 a Roma: fotografie di Claudio Abate*, exh. cat. – Polignano a Mare, Palazzo Pino Pascali, Museo Comunale d'arte contemporanea, 27th June-7th September 2008 (Polignano a Mare: Aliante, 2008).

include these sculptures in Pop; two other articles instead signal the similarities between his former and current works and Pop: in *L'Unità*, Dario Micacchi states the major longevity of the previous sculptures treated as Pop billboards compared to the animals; Lorenza Trucchi instead does not define the current works as Pop but sees the monumental taste of the sculptures as stemming directly from Pop Art[420]. In *32 mq Mare circa*, 1967, (fig.67), exhibited at L'Attico in 1967, the main elements identified as similar to US Pop Art were giantism and parody, in connection with Oldenburg, together with the use of bright colors, and both their immediacy and simplicity. *32 mq Mare circa*, composed of 32 light blue and blue zinc tubs, highlighted his interest in investigating the environment by recreating natural components[421]. The Pop elements were filtered by the echo of the *pugliese* environment in which he grew up: aside from *32 mq Mare circa*, *5 Bachi da setola*, 1968 (fig.68) (also exhibited in 1968 at L'Attico presented by Argan), was a silkworm, one of the animals present in his native Puglia, transformed in the image of cleaning brushes which are twisted and industrial matter, melted with psychedelic colors such as neon pink. In the art critic panorama, Guido Giuffré seems to be the only one to go against Pascali's Pop Art: in 1966 in *Sette Giorni*, he stated Pascali's lack of popularity, probably because he

[420] See Lorenza Trucchi, "Pascali all'Attico", *Momento Sera* (11th December 1966): unpaginated; Dario Micacchi, "Il Cimitero degli animali", *L'Unità* (3rd December 1966): unpaginated.

[421] For more on Pascali's interest in giant sculptures and nature refer to Carla Lonzi's interview of Pino Pascali in 1967, Carla Lonzi, "Discorsi. Carla Lonzi e Pino Pascali", *Marcatré. Notiziario di cultura contemporanea*, vol. 5, no. 30-33 (July 1967): 238-245. On Pascali's similarity to Oldenburg's sculptures see Achille B. Oliva, *Minori maniere: dal Cinquecento alla transavanguardia* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1985): 98; Alberto Breschi, Flaviano M. Lorusso, Massimo Bianchi, *Nuove figurazioni urbane: disegni, progetti di architettura per Firenze contemporanea* (Firenze: Allinea: 1987): 6; Germano Celant, Anna Costantini, Murray and Isabella Rayburn, *Roma-New York: 1948-1964*, op. cit., 39-40; Adriano Altamira, *Il Secolo sconosciuto: protagonisti, opere, tendenze dell'arte del '900* (Milano: R. Bigi, 1997): 298. On his love for technological matters, see Alberto Arbasino, "Inquietudine di Pascali", *Corriere della sera* (16th September 1968): 3. For more on Oldenburg and Pascali refer also to Carlotta S. Calò, *Corpo a corpo. Estetica e politica nell'arte italiana degli anni Sessanta* (Macerata: Quodlibet Studio, 2018): 130. On the importance of naturalistic elements in his works and to see that those were present already at the very beginning of the artist's career refer to Unsigned, "Inaugurata la Mostra collettiva dei giovani pittori al «Tommaseo»", *Il Messaggero* (12th May 1956): unpaginated. On Pascali's works on silkworms refer to: Vv.Aa., *Bachi da setola ed altri lavori in corso di Pino Pascali*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria L'Attico, 25th March-18th April 1968 (Roma: Galleria L'Attico, 1968); Francesco Stocchi, *Pino Pascali: bachi da setola e altri lavori in corso* (Milano: Fondazione Carriero, 2017); Simona Tarantino, *Pino Pascali: cinque bachi da setola e un bozzolo*, exh. cat. – Polignano a Mare, Fondazione Museo Pino Pascali, 14th September-25th November 2012 (Roma: Fabio Sargentini Associazione culturale L'Attico, 2013). For further developments on Pascali's *32 mq di Mare circa* see Maria Vittoria M. Clarelli, Livia Velani, *Pascali: il mare ecc.*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, 15th October-27th November 2005 (Milano: Electa, 2005). On Pascali and industrial matter, see Renato Barilli, *L'arte in Italia nel secondo dopoguerra*, op. cit., 128; Germano Celant, *Arte dall'Italia* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1988): 27.

wanted to oppose the leading art critics' judgment denouncing the excessive power of those critics who support the Galleria La Tartaruga and Galleria L'Attico, critics against which after the exhibit at GNAM in which Pascali participated, polemics against these critics[422].

Although the sculptures offered suggest more sparks for art critics to compare Pascali's art to Pop giantism, Pascali's graphic artwork provides more connections to Pop. Mainly derived from his work with Studio 1 on the Rai network between 1964 and 1966, these works of art are less studied because they were produced for television and thus not addressed by art critics: in works such as *Logo definitive per la sigla di TV 7*, 1961 (fig.69), *Sigla TV 7*, 1963 (fig.70), *Studio per TV7*, 1963 (fig.71), *Servizi Speciali TG*, 1964 (fig.72) and *Storyboard di "Una piccola spesa"*, 1964 (fig.73), TV is treated as an icon itself, shown in its entirety when the signal does not work and does not broadcast images. In *Studio per TV 7*, the word TV is repeated all over the paper; in *Un'Ora* (fig.74) the figures appear as the images of prominent political personalities represented on TV; and in *Storyboard,* the daily gesture of food-shopping is illustrated: all of these artworks are a combination of Pop components that appear to be dear to the artist. *Bimbetta*, 1965 (fig.75), instead, provides evidence of the artist's comparison with the Warholian way of elaborating commercial products: while Warhol represented Campbell's Tomato Soup, the icon of American tomato soup, Pascali represented Cirio, the Italian equivalent. Diversely from Warhol, who extrapolated and repeated the soup by reproducing the industrial mechanism, Pascali juxtaposed it with a baby girl, drawing the whole artwork closer to the sphere of advertisement, where the girl presents the product to convince the viewer. In *Bimbetta,* Pascali also mixed advertisement with comics: a thought-bubble cloud, drawn in the classic style of comics, comes out from the head of the baby girl, also apparently derived from a comic, containing the Cirio tomato box: this artistic operation was new in the Pop Art panorama in Italy, and it sheds light on the deep comprehension by the artist of the object tendencies that were going on at that moment[423].

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[422] See Guido Giuffré, " Natura innaturale", *Sette giorni* (5th May 1968): unpaginated.

[423] For Pascali's connection with advertising, see in particular the following texts: Anna L. Baroni, *Pino Pascali: lavori per la pubblicità* (Siena: Carlo Cambi editore, 2006): 66; 122. Ludovico Pratesi, Daniela Ferraria, *L'altro Pascali: un itinerario attraverso le opere per il cinema e la televisione*, exh. cat. – Pesaro, Fondazione Pescheria centro arti visive, 2012 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012); Daniela Ferraria, *Pascali: disegni per la pubblicità*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria Emme Otto, 29th February-30th April 2008 (Roma: Emme Otto, 2008); Claudia Lodolo, *Pino Pascali. Lavori per la pubblicità*, exh. cat. – Firenze, Galleria Frittelli, 18th November 2006-20th January 2007 (Firenze: Frittelli Arte Contemporanea, 2006); Flaminio Gualdoni, Sandro Lodolo, *Pino Pascali. Lavori su commissione e pubblicitari*, exh. cat. – Livorno, Galleria Peccolo, 9th April-12th May 2005 (Livorno: Edizioni Roberto Peccolo, 2005); Caterina Niccolini, Vittorio Rubiu, Marco Giusti, *Pino Pascali, disegni per la pubblicità*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria Arco Alibert, 15th January 1991. See also the exhibition catalogue

Regarding this fusion of industrial elements and comics, another significant artwork is *Gran General*, 1964 (fig.76): it introduces the characters he represented many times in diverse artwork, that is to say the *Killers* as *Al Cafone e I Killers*, 1964 (fig.77), stereotyped men inspired by the gangster groups of the 30s, conveyed with sharper stylistic graphic elements, with an urban background where the logo of ESSO stands out (in 1961, the industrial company Algida commissioned 16 Caroselli from the TV production house Lodolofilm, which created stories with those figures, and *Gran General* appears to be the Pop evolution of such characters). This element shows how Schifano was not the only one interested in re-elaborating industrial signs; so, too, was Pascali, even though his style here is totally different from Schifano's, that privileged a monochrome containing Pop icons and texts, and the fruition of the works was also distinct[424].

The most significant critical comments on the Pop components of Pascali's work analyzed thus far came between 1966 and 1968, immediately after the 1964 Venice Biennale when the Pop current was already quite established. Regarding Pascali's artwork, art critics especially underlined the scenography element (transmitted by Toti Scialoja, his mentor and teacher), the ludic tone, the connection with television and advertising, the simplicity of the medium and the focus on the matter of the objects, that were often industrially prefabricated[425]. For instance in 1966, in *La Repubblica di Stato*, regarding the exhibit at L'Attico, Vito Apuleio stated that Pascali's goal was to de-mythicize the monument, in order to transform it in «quinte sceniche di un palcoscenico immaginario sul quale tutti noi ci muoviamo»[426]; the animals

published at the end of the Sixties, Palma Bucarelli, *Pino Pascali nella storia dell'arte italiana dal 1956 ad oggi*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, 31st May-27th June 1969 (Roma: De Luca, 1969) and on such exhibit see Sandra Pinto, *Pino Pascali nella storia dell'arte italiana dal 1956 ad oggi* (Milano: D'Ars, 1969). The artwork *Bimbetta* was created for a spot that was never produced, see Vv.Aa., *Archivio storico nazionale del progetto d'artista # 2015* (Roma: Gangemi editore, 2015): 82.

[424] On *Gran General* and the *Killers* refer to Anna L. Baroni, *Pino Pascali. Lavori per la pubblicità*, op. cit., 182; Ludovico Pratesi, *Il disegno tra visione e progetto*, exh. cat. – Roma, 18th February-31st March 2007 (Milano: Skira, 2007): 66.

[425] To further develop the scenographic element, see Unsigned, "Una mostra a Spoleto di giovani scenografi", *Il Messaggero* (6th July 1959): unpaginated, and to Unsigned "Le quinte sceniche di Pascali", *La repubblica di stato* (8th December 1966): 5. For the natural medium to Lorenzo Bocchi, "Aperta la biennale di Parigi dedicata ai pittori d'avanguardia", *Corriere della Sera* (30th September 1967): unpaginated; for the objectual domain see, Unsigned, "Mambor e Pascali alla Libreria Guida Veninio Naldi alla Modern Art Agency", *Il mattino* (19th January 1966): unpaginated; for the ludic element refer also to Vittorio Rubiu, Maurizio Calvesi, *Pascali*, Brochure of the exhibit, Torino, Galleria Gian Enzo Sperone, u.d.o.b. January-u.d.o.e. February 1966.

[426] See Unsigned, "Le quinte sceniche di Pascali", *La repubblica di stato* (8 December 1966): 5. Translation: «Scenic wings of an imaginary stage on which we all move».

that he created, according to the author, remained monumental as well as inoffensive at the same time. Marco Giusti, regarding the exhibit at Libreria Guida in Napoli on *Il mattino* indicated how Pascali operated in the domain of new figuration and new objectual research[427]. In 1967, in *Frasi Letterarie*, review on art and literature, Vittorio Rubiu commented on Pascali's *Mare*, in which the artist made water with water, creating a sea similar to the bottom of the sea, using analogy to represent something through the same thing, through a prefabricated material. Rubiu also underlined the ironic gaming component and the tradition of novelty stating: «Cerca un contatto con le cose attraverso il gioco, e un distacco attraverso l'ironia […] Sa che esiste una tradizione del nuovo»[428].

In the same year in *Corriere della Sera*, Dino Buzzati indicated the simplicity of the media of his works exhibited at Galleria Jolas in Milan, media such as water and earth[429]. Despite the art critics' numerous indications of Pascali's use of industrial matter, it was more after his death that his art was associated with Pop Art. In 1968 in *La Fiera Letteraria* Cesare Brandi, president of the jury that awarded Pascali with Premio F.lli Fabbri in 1967, emphasized Pascali's ability to appropriate and leave Pop elements, but with an originality that distanced his work from Pop and moved it closer to humor: «L'originalità di quei pezzi anatomici, l' 'humour' del muro di guanciali portavano assai più in là della Pop-art: il gusto di una forma finita, precisa, misurata, l'estrema forbitezza dell'esecuzione, l'eliminazione di qualsiasi avanzo informale»[430]. The journalist and art critic Angelo Dragone in *Stampa Sera* placed his early development between Neo-Dada and Pop Art[431]. On the

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[427] See Marco Giusti, "Mambor e Pascali alla Libreria Guida Veninio Naldi alla Modern Art Agency", *Il Mattino* (19th January 1966): unpaginated.

[428] See Vittorio Rubiu, "L'Acqua fatta in casa", *Frasi letterarie* (20th Decembre 1967): unpaginated. Translation: «He looks for a contact with things through play, and a detachment through irony [...]. He knows that there is a tradition of the new».

[429] Dino Buzzati, "Mostre d'arte", *Corriere della sera* (30th November 1967): unpaginated. On Pascali and Jolas see Cesare Brandi, *Pascali*, exh. cat. – New York, Milan, Galleria Jolas, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1966 (New York: Alexandre Jolas, 1966). For more on Galleria Jolas see Vv.Aa., *Mattiacci: omaggio a Alexandre Jolas* (Roma: Edizioni Galleria dell'Oca, 2007).

[430] Cesare Brandi, "Pino Pascali. Entrava con autorità e sicurezza nella pista opinabile della pop-art e come ne entrava ne usciva," *La Fiera letteraria* (26th September 1968): 14. The award F.lli Fabbri consisted of a prize of 1.000.000 lire, see Arturo Bovi, "Associazione dei critici d'arte", *Il Messaggero*, (11th September 1967): unpaginated. On Pascali's death, see also the following articles: Unsigned, "In gravi condizioni lo scultore Pascali", *Il Mattino* (4th September 1968): unpaginated, in which he is indicated as an exponent of objectual art; Giorgio Ruggeri, "É morto Pino Pascali", *Il resto del Carlino* (12th September 1968): unpaginated; Unsigned, "Morto lo scultore Pascali", *Corriere della sera* (12th September 1968): unpaginated.

[431] See Angelo Dragone, "É scomparso con Pascali il 'ragazzo terribile' della scultura italiana," *Stampa sera* (12th September 1968): unpaginated. In 1950 Angelo Dragone founded Centro Piemontese di Studi d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea in Turin, together with his

one hand, Rubiu, Buzzati, and Brandi represent instances of art critics already getting involved in the Pop current, as documented in Chapter One of this thesis and, on the other hand, suggest the broader connotations of Pascali's Pop Italian formula. Since the newspapers in which they wrote were not explicitly connected to any political party, their comments on Pascali's art were not pressed to support any political position, leaving perhaps more space to their objectivity in regards to the connection with the Pop style; in Rubiu's case, this was in contrast to newspapers such as those in which, for instance, he commented on Fioroni's artworks, such as *Il Punto*[432].

2.6.2 Mario Ceroli, Valerio Adami, Renato Mambor, Sergio Tacchi et al.: Pop Aesthetics

Thanks to his participation at the Sidney Janis exhibit in 1962, Gianfranco Baruchello should be one of the first artists considered in the Italian Pop current, with whom it would expect to find multiple analogies with American Pop; however, differently from his companions that were compared with Pop after Janis', Baruchello turned toward a more conceptual type of art that included comics, but miniaturized, and a conceptual approach that did not even offer hints of American Pop. Only his wooden extendable sculptures, such as *The Queen*, 1964 (fig.78) and *A choice of ten*, 1967 (fig.79) can be marginally traced back to the Pop domain for his attention to the objective matter[433]: the former, when closed, form silhouettes painted with brilliant colors; when open, they show miniaturized comics, words, and numbers. The latter presents repeated aluminum figures that encompass images of the American flag, and signs of electricity as such as a becket bend or toggle. Besides these Pop elements, however, it is very hard to find art critics who, in the Sixties, placed his art in the Pop Art realm.

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wife Jolanda Conti. As art critic was awarded in 1954 Venice Biennale. In 1960 became the official art critic of *Stampa Sera*. To know more on Dragone see Angelo Dragone, Jolanda Dragone, *Dragone e Torino: cinquant'anni di arte e vita: documenti di cultura e costume raccolti da Jolanda e Angelo Dragone* (Torino: u.p.h., 2007).

[432] See Fioroni's paragraph in this chapter. For his prize-winning article in the 1954 Venice Biennale see Angelo Dragone, "La 27. Mostra Biennale internazionale d'arte di Venezia", *Centroparete: Rivista d'arte e Informazione della stampa del Circolo degli artisti*, vol. 1, no. 2 (u. month 1954): 6-13.

[433] For more information on Baruchello's technique see what Achille B. Oliva says in *Certain Ideas*: «So Baruchello adopts a strategy and tactic. The tactic is organizing art's operative space (the painting, the wall of the gallery or museum), in accordance with asymmetric forms upon which to apply elements that are mobile and variable by position, in that they are simply resting upon the support». See Achille Bonito Oliva, Carla Subrizi et al., *Certain Ideas*, exh. cat. – Amburgo, Sammlung Falckenberg, 14th June-28th September 2014 (Milano: Electa, 2014): 17.

In contrast, the Abruzzese sculptor and scenographer Mario Ceroli, appeared to be more in the Pop domain. Ceroli had his first solo show at Galleria La Tartaruga in 1964 with *Adamo ed Eva*, 1964, *Uomo di Leonardo*, 1964 (fig.80) and *Asso di Fiori*, 1964 pure wooden shapes destined for theater stages, and art critics located these silhouettes within the Pop Art sphere as examples of the relationship with daily life and of the communicative role of art: the material chosen by the artist was a Russian pine wood, whose cruelty, wickedness, dryness and aridity invited viewers to pose the problem of communication, one of the key aspects of American Pop, because of its apparent incommunicability[434]. Leading art reviews did not dedicate much attention to Ceroli's art until 1972 and even then, not as Pop artist, despite the prominent art critics, such as Calvesi and Parise, who presented his exhibit at La Tartaruga in 1965 and Dorfles, too, in 1966 at Galleria del Naviglio; only art commentators in newspapers discussed Ceroli's art in the realm of Pop[435]: in 1965, in contrast to what Calvesi wrote about the 1965 Mario Ceroli exhibit at La Tartaruga in the text *Dritto Rovescio*, recognizing the Pop part of its sculptures as tangential, the art critic Giuseppe Gatt in the current review *Italia Moderna Produce* claimed that Ceroli took the objects out of their Pop dimension to return them to an «*autre*»[436], namely intellectual and psychological, dimension[437]. It was starting in 1966, the year in which he presented *Cassa Sistina*,1966 (fig.81) at the 33rd Venice Biennale, and after which he had many exhibits abroad (e.g., in Zurich, Paris, Losanne) that the criticism on Ceroli and Pop increased. In *Avanti!*, Sandra Pinto, who already wrote on Pop Art in previous years (especially on its art market), underlined the evolution of Ceroli's sculptures, such as *La Cina*, 1965 (fig.82), *La fila*, 1966 (fig.83) and *Uomo di Leonardo*,1964

[434] See Angelo Trimarco, "I legni di Ceroli ravvicinano l'arte all'uomo e alla sua storia", *Il Mattino-Napoli* (4th April 1969): unpaginated. See also Orazio Napoli, "I giocattoli di Mario Ceroli", *L'Eco della stampa* (May 1968): 50-53; 51: «Le opere di Ceroli sono ricavate dalle tavole gregge delle comuni casse d'imballaggio. "Ho scelto questo materiale perché da ragazzo lo avevo a portata di mano». Translation: «Ceroli's works are taken from the raw pallets of common packing boxes. 'I chose this material because I had it at my fingertips as a boy'». See Marco Valsecchi, "Statue da falegname", *Tempo* (15th March 1969): unpaginated. See also Unsigned, "Legni di Ceroli", *Gazzetta di Parma* (3rd January 1969): unpaginated.

[435] See for instance the article on the exhibit held at Galleria Il Segnapassi in Pesaro, Vv.Aa., "Mario Ceroli a Pesaro. Foto di Giorgio Colombo", *Data*, vol. 2, no. 5-6 (July 1972): 28-32,109.

[436] See Giuseppe Gatt, "I legni di Ceroli", *Italia moderna produce* (April 1965): 51.

[437] On Ceroli's exhibit from 1965 to 1966 refer to: Maurizio Calvesi, Goffredo Parise, *Ceroli*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 19th November 1966-u.d.o.e. (Roma: La Tartaruga, 1966); Gillo Dorfles, *Mario Ceroli. 443a Mostra del Naviglio*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria del Naviglio, 10th-23rd February 1966 (Milano: Galleria del Naviglio, 1966). For Calvesi's text *Dritto Rovescio* refer to Maurizio Calvesi, *Dritto Rovescio*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. February 1965 (Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 1965): unpaginated.

presented that year at Galleria La Tartaruga by Goffredo Parise and Maurizio Calvesi, from the initial reference to mass media to those deprived of it: «Dai primi oggetti giganti, Pop, nel loro riferimento ai mass-media, è venuto agli oggetti 'senza tempo' su scala naturale»[438]. Notwithstanding Parise's comment on the apparent mythomania of Ceroli's sculptures and Pinto's initial comment referring to mass media, comparisons that appear far from what Ceroli's sculpture's style emblematizes, it seems that Pinto's further description of *Cina* in fact finds similarities with Pop's anonymity: two rows of men and two rows of women are about to march, their anonymity made through amorphic cut profiles. Still on the subject of the exhibit at Galleria La Tartaruga, *Il Messaggero* described Ceroli's irony as more stimulating than Lichtenstein's Pop comics and Rosenquist's visual billboards, showing how art critics initially detached Ceroli from Pop Art; given that Lichtenstein also exhibited in the Biennale that year, it seems that the comparison with Pop Art in this direction had to forcedly pass through a comparison with him.

Regarding the detachment, poet and art critic Orazio Napoli (previously part of the generation of poets with Sinisgalli who also commented on Pop Art), also traced Ceroli's gestures to new tendencies in Pop, Op and Neo-Dada, in an article in the monthly popular review *Bellezz*a, about the *Ninfee* displayed at Galleria del Naviglio in 1966. The article neglected to mention the revisiting of Monet's *Ninfee*, nor described the artwork as Pop but grounded in European roots, signaling the end of the culture wars with American Pop artists, both on the part of art critics and artists. A final evident separation from Pop is manifest in the 1968 critique by Cesare Brandi, who in 1958 was among the members that recognized Ceroli as young Italian sculptor; in *Arte*, he tried to disengage Ceroli's sculptures from Pop: «E se qualcosa c'entra, c'entra poco. Sarà il colore acceso, il lucido, le forme estate, tecnologiche, ma lo spirit del Pop […] è assente»[439]. Brandi's comment was related to Ceroli's *Scenography for Shakespeare's Richard III*[st], 1968 (fig.84) at Teatro Stabile, Torino, directed by Vittorio Gassman: besides art and literature, Brandi was also interested in theater, and Ceroli was both an artist and a scenographer, increasing his collaborations with theaters at the end of

[438] See Sandra Pinto, "Ceroli alla Tartaruga," *Avanti!* (3[rd] December 1966): unpaginated. Translation: «From the first giant objects, Pop, in their reference to the mass media, has come to objects 'timeless' on a natural scale».

[439] See Cesare Brandi, "Il meglio nelle scene," *Arte* (21[st] March 1968): 24; Unsigned, "I giocattoli di Mario Ceroli", *Bellezza* (May 1968): 50-53. Translation: «And if something comes into it, it has little to do. It will be the bright color, the gloss, the summer shapes, technological, but the spirit of Pop [...] is absent».

the Sixties, for instance doing the scenography for Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio* for the Festival del Teatro at the Venice Biennale.

Although Brandi tried to disconnect Ceroli from Pop, what he wrote confirms Ceroli's closeness with Pop aesthetics, providing analogies with it: Brandi was not very favorable to such a current; he was at the 32nd Venice Biennale presenting Manzù, aimed at promoting another type of art that was closer to Figurativism, but he did not disdain Rauschenberg's artwork; in 1967, he also got closer to another Pop-identified artist, Pascali, writing text for his exhibits[440]. In 1969 *Corriere d'Informazione* journalist Mario Perazzi, on the occasion of the exhibit at Pilotta di Parma in which Ceroli presented *Cassa Sistina*, 1966, *La scala*, 1965 and *Adamo ed Eva*, 1964 along with many other artworks, underlined Pop features, such as the human shapes within the Mr. Muscolo series. Perazzi substituted Buzzati, who was also his friend, as the vice director of the art page of *Corriere della Sera* at the time when Buzzati was writing on Pop Art, which means Buzzati's influence could have been very possible[441].

Valerio Adami constitutes a diverse example of an artist who emblematized the second wave of Pop analogies related to comics and graphic art and who was closer to Milanese rather than Roman galleries: his first solo show in 1959 was at Galleria del Naviglio, in 1962 at L'Attico, in 1963 at Galleria del Naviglio, in 1964 at Galleria del Cavallino, in 1965 at Galleria Schwarz and again at L'Attico. Aside from his association with Pop that was mainly recognized as detached from 1966, the graphic elements of Adami's artwork drew comparisons to Lichtenstein, mainly from 1964 onward, when he was exhibiting at Galleria del Cavallino at the same time as the 32nd Venice Biennale; in *Venezia Notte,* art critic Berto Morucchio (who worked a lot with Galleria del Cavallino, presenting artists belonging to Spatialism), compared Adami to Lichtenstein, stating how direct the narration of his paintings was, as they convey daily violence and detachment, as well as the repetition of symbols, none of these, however, considered features of Pop[442]. The working link with Galleria del Cavallino explains Morucchio's attention to the exhibits presented there, aside from his active

[440] For Brandi and Pop Art see Anna M. De Santis, Giorgia Marotta, "Cesare Brandi: cronache e recensioni delle attività espositive tra gli anni Trenta e gli anni Ottanta del Novecento. Aspetti e metodologie", *Studi di Memofonte* (June 2011): 16. For Brandi and theater see Cesare Brandi, *Musica, danza, teatro: scritti ritrovati 1937-1986* (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2013).

[441] See Mario Perazzi, "La mostra di Ceroli a Parma. La cassa Sistina", *Corriere d'informazione* (3rd March, 1969): unpaginated. On Buzzati and Perazzi see Vittorio Feltri, Bruno Rossi, Gianluigi Colin, *Buzzati e il Corriere* (Milano: Corriere della Sera, 1986): 68; Dino Buzzati, *Il giornale segreto* (Milano: Fondazione Corriere della Sera, 2006): 37.

[442] See Berto Morucchio, "I fumetti sofisticati di Valerio Adami", *Venezia notte* (19th May 1964): unpaginated.

involvement in the Venice art scene subsequent to his collaboration with Galleria d'arte "Il Canale" and with the foundation Bevilacqua La Masa, both in Venice; he privileged the Venice artistic scene, as suggested by his collaboration in the Fifties with *Diorama*, the monthly cinematographic and figurative art review for which he wrote on the Italian Art at the 28th Venice Biennale, in addition to his collaboration with *Venezia Notte*[443].

Although the comparison with Lichtenstein was not related to Pop Art given that Lichtenstein participated in the 33rd Venice Biennale in 1966, and Pop Art in 1964 was attributed to Rauschenberg's art, Adami's knowledge of Lichtenstein's artwork could have stemmed from the fame that Lichtenstein was acquiring in Italy: he had his first solo show at Galleria il Punto in Turin, between the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964, and his art was advertised on *Metro*[444]. Morucchio connected the two without pointing to a direct relationship between them: Adami did not participate in the *New Realists* exhibit, and his knowledge of Lichtenstein's art could have been the same as Morucchio's. However it is important to consider the fact that Tadini was his teacher at Accademia di Belle Arti in Brera, a curator of his exhibits, and was involved with the critics on Pop Art in those years, given that Tadini could have wielded considerable influence on Adami in making Pop artwork, and in light of his interest in 1965 for Pop in relation to the art market.

In newspapers, the comments on Adami continued alternating their emphasis either of his Pop features or the comparison to Lichtenstein; however as well as it did with the other Italian artists in the Pop sphere, the critique found, aside from Pop aesthetics, connections with European Art: in 1965 Dario Micacchi, who had the aim of denigrating Pop Art, grasped the chance in *L'Unità*, writing about his exhibit at Galleria L'Attico, in particular the artwork that represented a car coming out from a broken egg. Micacchi maintained that Adami took the plastic slang of Pop Art and ironized it with the American myth of

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[443] On Berto Morucchio's collaboration with *Diorama: mensile d'arte foto cinematografica e figurativa* in the Fifties refer to Berto Morucchio, "L'arte italiana alla 28° Biennale", *Diorama: mensile d'arte foto cinematografica e figurativa*, vol. 6, no. 10 (October 1956): 26, footnote n.30. For further developments on Morucchio's activity as curator at Galleria del Cavallino, Galleria d'arte Il Canale and Fondazione Bevilacqua La Masa see Berto Morucchio, *Tancredi, 1958-1960*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Galleria Il Canale, 23rd July-5th August 1960 (Venezia: Galleria Il Canale, 1960); Berto Morucchio, *Hoehs*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Opera Bevilacqua La Masa, 13th-27th February (Venezia: Opera Bevilacqua La Masa, 1960); Berto Morucchio, *Guido La Regina*: *291° Mostra del Cavallino*, Brochure of the exhibit – Venezia, Galleria del Cavallino, 3rd-12th May 1954.

[444] For more information on the artists exhibited at Galleria Il Punto in 1963 see Enrico Crispolti, *Aldo Mondino*, exh. cat. – Torino, Galleria Il Punto, 3rd-18th May 1963 (Torino: Teca, 1963); Enrico Crispolti, *Antonio Recalcati*, exh. cat. – Torino, Galleria Il Punto, 22nd January-12th February 1963.

Pop that imitated comics, with its fetishism of objects and the mercy of American paradise, canceling means and techniques of 'mass markets', trying to elevate Adami's features of comics by grounding them in European traditions: «la sforbiciatura fumettistica delle figure è filtrata attraverso le sagome delle figure di Guernica e di Sogno e Menzogna di Franco di Picasso e ciò è assai evidente nei quadri di grandi dimensioni. Al colore, brillante scanzonato luminoso, il pittore affida l'ilarità dell'immagine […]. La voluta banalità dell'immagine è riscattata da una cultura pittorica autentica e da una tecnica solidissima»[445]. Similarly Duilio Morosini in *Paese Sera*, recognized the Pop irony and the echo of Cubism but went against the curator, Tadini, saying that he did not understand the profound fractures that figurative art had with modernity. In contrast to Micacchi and Morosini, Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco in *Avanti!* instead clarified Adami's dependence on Pop where comics are the means in between painter and reality, underlining his distance from Lichtenstein's flat objectivity as opposed to Adami's participation in the image. Together, Dell'Arco, Micacchi and Morosini attest that the cultural war with American Pop Art was still ongoing; however, it seems less intense with Adami, probably because he felt less of a need to clarify his novelty from American Pop, given that he did not have a direct comparison with Pop Art—either from 1962 at the Sidney Janis Gallery or the 32nd Venice Biennale.

In 1966 Adami exhibited several artworks that resembled comics at Schwarz and Studio Marconi, including *La piscina*, 1966 (fig.85), *La vasca*, 1966 (fig.86) and *Henry Matisse che lavora a un quadro di disegni*, 1966 (fig.87). In a review in *Il Telegrafo,* Giorgio Kaisserlian pointed to Lichtenstein as a possible starting point for Adami's art, but found more extensive analogies with Juan Gris; additionally he called Adami one of the most indicative young international painters, tired of the demystificatory schemes of Pop Art and focused on recuperating an original figurative language[446]. In 1960 Kaisserlian, who in 1958 presented an Adami exhibit in his gallery, took interest in Baj's Neo-Dada declination, in 1961 presented another Adami exhibit at Il Salone dell'Annunciata and in 1964 wrote on *D'Ars Agency* about the new artistic experiments at the Venice Biennale, also indicating Adami's

[445] See Dario Micacchi, "La risata 'Pop' di Adami", *L'Unità* (20th February 1965): unpaginated. Translation: «The comic strip cutting of the figures is filtered through the shapes of the figures of Guernica and of Dream and Menzogna by Franco di Picasso and this is very evident in large paintings. The painter entrusts the hilarity of the image to color, a brilliant light hearted bright [...]. The desired banality of the image is redeemed by an authentic pictorial culture and a solid technique».

[446] See Giorgio Kaisserlian, "Le mostre a Milano. Le ultime proposte dell'avanguardia. Oltre la Pop Art dei fumetti la voce nuova di Valerio Adami", *Il telegrafo*, Milano (22nd October 1966): unpaginated.

possible relationship with Lichtenstein's Pop Art. However, he appeared to defend Adami's European cubist analogy, insisting on the European negative feelings on Pop Art, and was trying to recuperate Figurativism: such thought was very related to Kaisserlian's focus in those years on new figurative research, as documented by the exhibits *Proposte figurative 1955-1965* at Galleria d'arte Nuova Milano and *Nuove ricerche visive in Italia* at Galleria Milano, respectively held in 1965 and 1966, an attempt to move on to investigate a new type of art, and, thus, a signal of the vanishing interest in Pop in 1966. In 1968 in *La Voce di Padova*, the art critic Mario Gorini stated, regarding Adami's exhibit at Galleria La Chiocciola, in Padova, that his artwork was supported by the contemporary man's reality, anonymous and forced by the consumerist society to live in the new strengths, filtered by his canvas with hallucinatory evidence: «Gli stessi colori acrilici sono piatti, come è piatta, con chiara allusività la suggestione della pop-art, assorbendone lo spirito acre e polemico»[447].

According to him, the main difference with Pop Art consisted in the different means Adami used, and in the colors and signs in place of the real, prefabricated objects that were dear to Dine, Oldenburg and Rauschenberg, while his language was icy and impersonal. Gorini did not have direct contact with Pop Art, although he wrote texts for exhibits in which leading art critics on Pop Art, such as Dorfles, wrote too. Nonetheless, his critique provides instances of recognition of Pop aesthetics in Adami's art, without proving a direct contact with it. In 1969 militant art critic Franco Sossi, writing about Adami's exhibit at Galleria Schwarz, with artwork representing internal environments (fig.88), pointed to his language, describing it as elementary and common but controlled from a «senso autentico della cultura»[448]; Lichtenstein's Pop Art could have favored his artistic path, but it was supported instead by Cubist taste and culture. Sossi offers a further instance of the unproved comparison with Lichtenstein's art, but he inserts his critical thought within the leading feeling of the critic focused on proving the cultured origin of the roots of Italian artists who withdrew from Pop Aesthetics. Additionally, he says that Adami and Lichtenstein had commonalities without stating a direct relationship.

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[447] See Mario Gorini, "Mostre d'arte", *La voce di Padova* (2nd November 1968): unpaginated. Translation: «The same acrylic colors are flat, in the same way the suggestion of Pop Art is flat, with clear allusiveness, Art, absorbing the acrid and polemical spirit». For more on Galleria La Chiocciola in the Sixties see Vv.Aa., *Mostra antologica di De Pisis: olii, acquerelli, disegni, litografie e manoscritti inediti*, exh. cat. – Padova, Galleria d'arte La Chiocciola, 24th October-8th November 1964 (Padova: Galleria La Chiocciola, 1964); Vv.Aa., *Mostra di Guttuso*, exh. cat. – Padova, Galleria d'arte La Chiocciola, 17th December 1964-12th January 1965.

[448] See Franco Sossi, "Note d'arte. I racconti-pittura di Valerio Adami", *Corriere del giorno* (4th April 1969): unpaginated.

In addition to Ceroli and Adami, many artists were compared with the Pop aesthetic, but as stated in the introduction, their art became noteworthy mainly after 1966, when the attention of the critics and the art market moved on other types of figuration: surely similar to Ceroli was Gino Marotta, the sculptor who made meccanomorph shapes in industrial matters, 1966 (fig.89); Renato Mambor and Sergio Tacchi's artwork was more on Adami's side, for their evident analogy with graphic art that included monuments such as the Colosseo, in *Colosseo e Farfalle*, 1966 (fig.90) and texture matters, in *Poltrona Gialla*, 1964 (fig.91) and in *Sul divano a fiori*, 1965 (fig.92). Sergio Lombardo, who was compared with Pop in 1963-1964 when he made works with political icons such as *Kennedy and Fanfani*, 1963 (fig.93), became famous in 1968, especially with the exhibit at La Salita where he showed *Super componibile*, 1968 (fig.94), a sculpture oriented toward objectual abstraction, despite the plastic laminate with vivid colors and the giantism of the work that highlighted Lombardo's Pop starting point. This thesis shows in-depth how the aforementioned artists are emblematic of a Pop aesthetic and of the evolution of the current in the biennium 1966-1968; however it considers all the artists labeled under the Pop domain, particularly those whom De Martiis launched in the exhibit *13 Pittori a Roma* in 1963, and the main evidence will be deepened in the footnotes[449].

A final analysis instead must be done on the isolated case of Renato Guttuso, who was never present in the Pop Art network in the Sixties in the galleries mentioned so far. Instead, he was presented by Longhi in a major exhibition in Parma, in February 1964, in which he contrasted Guttuso's Socialist Realism with American Pop Art: Longhi, after his avant-guard support of Futurism, acted as a censor toward Pop Art. He was polemical about the quality of artwork being left while paying significant attention instead to international art trends. Starting in 1954, he was also against Argan, showing thus the other side of the art critics' group that influenced the war with the US from a subtle angle, rooted in the political position of socialism that caused all the art critics against American Pop mentioned thus far to be against Pop, and resulted in Longhi's definition of Guttuso's artwork[450]. Aside from Socialist

[449] For more on Renato Mambor, Sergio Tacchi, Sergio Lombardo and all the artists in the realm of Pop in the Sixties even a tangential one refer to the following texts: Claudio Crescentini, Costantino D'Orazio, Federica Pirani, *Roma Pop City. 60-67*, op. cit.; Riccardo Passoni, *Pop Art Italiana. Dalle collezioni della GAM-Torino. Io non amo la natura*, op. cit.; Walter Guadagnini, *Pop Art 1956-1968*, op. cit..

[450] Roberto Longhi was in contact with Guttuso from the end of the Fifties, and in the letter for Guttuso's exhibitions in New York, 1958, he stated the importance for an art critic to discover the quality of the artwork, see Roberto Longhi, "Lettera per la mostra di Guttuso a New York, 1958", *Paragone*, vol. 9, no. 101 (May 1958): 72-76. For further developments

Realism, after the Pop advent, Guttuso created works that had analogies with Pop, but were recognized as such by art critics only recently. Posthumously, Enrico Crispolti found similarities between *Testa di donna (Particolare)*, 1970 (fig.95) and Roy Lichtenstein's *Hopeless*, 1963 (fig.96) in which the head of the woman is in the same position of Guttuso's. *Donne Stanze Paesaggi Oggetti*, 1967 (fig.97), *Le visite*, 1970 (fig.98), with a naked woman in a room, recalls Tom Wesselmann's *Great American Nude*, 1963 (fig.99)[451]. Naked women and objects were also one of the artist's interests at the end of the Fifties, as *Nudi femminili rosa e figura picassiana*, 1957 (fig.100) shows. However, the majority of his production was far from the Pop realm. Also, Guttuso, together with artists such as Gian Giacomo Spadari, Fernando De Filippi, Paolo Baratella who also have been posthumously analyzed for their connections to Pop, found a current of work that started from a Pop language, but their art was not Pop, and it developed mainly in the Seventies. Thus, the artwork of Guttuso, and the other artists who paint Pop aesthetics after 1969, opens a new decade of protests, with art more related to political parties such as the PCI, which shows how the Italian Pop decade ended with 1968. Nevertheless, these artists' production proves a precious point of reference in order to identify the waves of Italian Pop art and the mechanisms that triggered their posthumous popular implications[452].

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on Longhi's difficult approach to contemporary art trends see Pascale B. Puma, "Roberto Longhi, la revue 'Paragone', Francesco Arcangeli et la Biennale de Venise des arts figuratifs de 1948 à 1968", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Ages, Temps modernes*, vol. 99, no. 2 (u. month 1987): 1143-1155; Arturo Galansino; Giuliana Tomasella, "Una convivenza difficile: Longhi e l'arte novecentesca", *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 16, no. 32 (u. month 1995): 203-2015. In *Paragone*, art review out of the choir, Longhi wrote that American Pop Art was an insolent parade, see Roberto Longhi, "Neo-Dada e Pop Art in alcuni giudizi della critica americana", op. cit., 37-41. For the Guttuso exhibit in Parma see Roberto Longhi, Arturo C. Quintavalle, Franco Russoli, Giovanni Testori, *Renato Guttuso. Mostra antologica dal 1931 ad oggi*, exh. cat. – Parma, Palazzo della Pilotta, 15th December 1963-31st January 1964 (Parma: Palazzo della Pilotta, 1963).

[451] See Enrico Crispolti, *Attraverso e oltre il centenario*, pp. 63-78 in Fabio C. Guttuso, Enrico Crispolti, *Guttuso 1912-2012* – Roma, Complesso del Vittoriano, 12th October 2012-10th February 2013(Milano: Skira, 2012). For more on Crispolti and Guttuso see Enrico Crispolti, *Catalogo ragionato generale dei dipinti di Renato Guttuso. Vol. 1, 1924-1953* (Milano: Giorgio Mondadori &Associati, 1983).

[452] 1968 brings an explosion of political artwork: this can be considered the year that introduces the last chapter of Italian Pop Art, because what is later produced is an excerpt of the Pop aesthetics. At the beginning of the Sixties, Sergio Lombardo, one of the other protagonists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* mainly with Schifano and Angeli, painted images of famous international politicians, conveyed in black and white. Such a series seems to be a fundamental antecedent for (the group of) the Milanese painters who participate in the years of political protests, feeling the responsibility of their arts and their social commitment. Giangiacomo Spadari's *Propaganda*, 1969, and *Una rabbia*, 1970 are instances of the development of the Pop aesthetic in the years of protest. The lines of the skin, bodies and figures are less clear than those conveyed in the other Italian artists close to Pop Art.

These artworks appear as images that show the artists' will to compare with Pop Art, but to develop a language that has a different result. Still, the colors are similar, and the interest of the subject is related to facts of daily life; however, the post-1969 artwork has the taste of social reportage and political propaganda or of a warning not to forget. Paolo Baratella's *Colpevole*, 1968, recalls the explosion of the atomic bomb through a bottle, probably to evoke the possible dangers of the Cold War that the world was experiencing. Fernando De Filippi's *Sull'asse della memoria*, 1969, in the central section conveys a clash between demonstrators and police, while in the section below depicts palms that recall *Cuba*, an artwork that he made one year later, very likely indicating the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, when the USSR was building a base to launch nuclear missiles against the US from Cuba. Giangiacomo Spadari's *Le bandiere della lotta*, 1969, Fernando De Filippi's *Episodi della vita di Lenin*, 1971, *Pavimento*, 1971, *Una percezione d'impotenza*, 1970, *Lo spazio possibile della sua esistenza quotidiana*, 1970 and Renato Guttuso's *I funerali di Togliatti*, 1972, are instances of a trend of artists who were not recognized as part of the popular art realm, but who still used Pop features, dropping them in manifestations of protests and political symbols. *Episodi della vita di Lenin* and *I funeral di Togliatti* could be compared for their similarities: on the one hand, an analogy could be found in the public moments that gather people to sort of adore who is speaking or who is on stage. On the other hand, both artworks document and immortalize the moment that is emblematic of communism, Lenin for Russia, and Togliatti as leader of the PCI in Italy from 1927 to 1964. His connection with Russia was not only related to communism but was also personal, given that he got Soviet citizenship. *Pavimento*, 1971, *Una percezione d'impotenza*, 1970, and *Lo spazio possibile della sua esistenza quotidiana*, 1970, could be considered important in the present analysis, because of the symbols of the hammer and sickle still represented in a graphic art style: a clear, simple and understandable image. It is true that among the artists and artwork investigated so far, only Sergio Lombardo could be properly included in the Pop domain. However, it is equally true that at the beginning of the Seventies, the artistic path of Renato Guttuso, who became the artist of PCI to the point that he designed its symbol, brought him very near to Pop iconography. For more on Guttuso's artwork in the Sixties and the Seventies in Italy refer to Giovanni Testori, *Quadriennale 1959-1960: VIII Quadriennale d'Arte Nazionale di Venezia*, exh. cat. – Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, u.d.o.b. December 1959-u.d.o.e. April 1960 (Roma: Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 1959); Roberto Longhi, *Renato Guttuso*, exh. cat. – Biennale 1960, XXX^a Biennale Internazionale di Venezia, 18^a June-16^a October 1960 (Venezia: Biennale, 1960): unpaginated; Antonello Trombadori, *Pitture e disegni*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 15^th October 1962-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 1962); Raffaele Carrieri, *Guttuso: 12 opere* (Milano: Edizioni del Milione, 1966); Mario De Micheli, *I classici dell'arte. Guttuso* (Milano: Il Torchietto, 1966); Raffaele Carrieri, *Da Morandi: 12 dipinti, 35 disegni e guazzi di Renato Guttuso*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria del Milione, 28^th March-23^rd April 1966 (Milano: Edizioni del Milione, 1966); Raffaele Carrieri, *Renato Guttuso "Da Morandi"*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 18^th May 1966-u.d.o.e. (Roma: Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 1966); Enrico Crispolti, Antonio Del Guercio, *Burri, Cagli, Fontana, Guttuso, Moreni, Morlotti. Sei pittori dagli anni Quaranta ad oggi*, exh. cat. – Arezzo, Galleria Comunale d'Arte Contemporanea, 6^th May-11^th June 1967 (Firenze: Grafiche Giovacchini, 1967); Vv.Aa., *Renato Guttuso. Immagini autobiografiche ed altre opere*, exh. cat. – Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti, 11^th July-8^th September 1968 (Ferrara: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, 1968); Antonello Trombadori, *Renato Guttuso*, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 5^th March-23^rd May 1969 (Roma: Galleria La Nuova Pesa, 1969); Leonardo Sciascia, Franco Russoli, Franco Grasso, *Mostra antologica dell'opera di Renato Guttuso*, exh. cat. – Palermo, Palazzo dei Normanni, 13^th February-14^th March 1971 (Palermo: Palazzo dei Normanni, 1971); Luigi Cavallo, *Morlotti, Guttuso, Burri*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria d'Arte Cocorocchia, 6^th May-6^th June 1972 (Milano: Galleria d'Arte Cocorocchia, 1972); Franco Russoli, *Guttuso 1972. Le "visite" e altri dipinti* (Milano: Toninelli Arte Moderna, 1972). For more on Baratella, Spadari and De Filippi and Pop Art and on further related bibliography

2.7 The singular case of Michelangelo Pistoletto and Piero Gilardi: Sperone and Pop Art's reception in Turin

Although the major concentration of the most impactful artwork related to Pop Art was in Rome and Milan, the Turin area nonetheless deserves consideration despite its problematic reception of Italian Pop, because of its focus on American Pop Art. Such attention resulted from the activity of the gallerist Gian Enzo Sperone who, in addition to his interest in American Pop research, also tried to promote Italian artists, such as Michelangelo Pistoletto and Piero Gilardi, yet Sperone's exhibitions lacked the impact of the other gallerists in Rome and Milan who displayed such experimentations. In his early work at the Turinese Galleria Galatea (a gallery that was opened in 1957 by the art gallerist Mario Tazzoli and was attentive to the new figurative art research), in 1961 Sperone met the artist Michelangelo Pistoletto who had an exclusive contract with the gallery: their reciprocally inspiring meeting gave rise to their collaboration and intellectual exchanges. Sperone then began to work at Galleria Il Punto as director, initially assisted in the planning of the gallery's catalogue by Enrico Crispolti, who was clearly focused on research beyond Informal Art and within the debate of Nuova Figurazione, but who then left—leaving Sperone to decide the program on his own. In 1963 Sperone, still invested in promoting new objectual research, displayed Pistoletto's *Quadri Specchianti*, 1963, made of inox mirror, polished with silhouettes and images on tissue-paper glued on them. However, Pistoletto did not get a positive reception, and Sperone perceived it as a rejection by the Turinese art environment. Following the weak appreciation of his artwork, Pistoletto went to Paris to see the Pop artists' artwork exhibited at the Sonnabend gallery. On that occasion, he showed them a catalogue of his exhibit at Sperone and the Sonnabends (both Michael and Ileana) went to Turin to buy the complete exhibition. Pistoletto then broke his exclusive contract with Galleria Galatea and signed a contract with the Sonnabend Gallery in Paris[453].

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see Ginevra Addis, *Il confronto della tendenza Pop con l'impegno politico degli anni Settanta: la ricezione postuma della contestazione*, pp. 190-197 in Cristina Casero, Elena Di Raddo, Francesca Gallo, *Arte fuori dall'arte. Incontri e scambi fra arti visive e società negli anni Settanta*, Conf. Proceeding – Milano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 12th-13th October 2016 (Milano: postmediabooks, 2018).

[453] The Mario Tazzoli's gallery Galleria Galatea was opened in 1957 initially with an interest in displaying artists such as Morandi, Casorati, Campigli but also Picasso and De Chirico, in 1960 moved his attention on Expressionism and Figurativism (e.g., Bacon). See Massimo Melotti, *Vicende dell'arte italiana dal dopoguerra agli anni Duemila: artisti, gallerie, mercato, collezionisti, musei*, op. cit., 69; Luciano Caramel, *Arte in Italia, 1945-1960*, op. cit., 69. Pistoletto, after the Venice Biennale homaged Oldenburg's kitchen with one of his *Quadro specchiante*, see Carlotta S. Calò, *Corpo a corpo. Estetica e politica nell'arte italiana degli anni Sessanta*, op. cit., 120. For more on Sperone refer to Vv.Aa., *Gian Enzo Sperone. Torino, Roma,*

Out of this collaboration another emerged between the Sonnabend Gallery, Paris, and Sperone who, in the meantime, was still working at Galleria Il Punto: in December 1963 Il Punto hosted Roy Lichtenstein's exhibit and within the catalogue Michael Sonnabend wrote that the exhibit was a collaboration between them. The contact with both the Sonnabends and Ettore Sottsass Jr., art critic who wrote in *Domus* on American Pop (e.g., on Pistoletto in 1964), encouraged the series of exhibitions of American Pop artists that he organized from 1963 to 1967, first at Il Punto and then at the gallery that he founded, Galleria Gian Enzo Sperone - Arte Moderna (then Galleria Sperone from 1967). From June 1964 to May 1967 he exhibited the works of Robert Rauschenberg, James Rosenquist, Andy Warhol, Jim Dine, and Tom Wesselmann. Within this timespan he hosted an exhibit of Piero Gilardi, artist whom he met in 1963 thanks to the art critic Clino Trini Castelli who worked for Ettore Sottsass Jr., initially in a collective exhibit with his earlier artworks, which were decorative panels, and then in 1966 with his

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New York. 35 anni di mostre tra Europa e America. Vol. 1 (Torino: Hopefulmonster, 2000): 18-45; 74-109; Ida Gianelli, *Intervista a Gian Enzo Sperone*, p. 169 in Ida Gianelli, *Un'avventura internazionale. Torino e le arti 1950-1970*, exh. cat. – Torino, Castello di Rivoli, 5th February-25th April 1993 (Charta: Milano, 1993); Corinna Criticos, "La Galerie Gian Enzo Sperone: notes pour une historique", *Ligeia*, vol. u., no. 25-28 (October 1998-June1999): 147-160; Sandra Reberschak, "Galleristi. Il botanico Sperone", *Il Giornale dell'Arte*, vol. u., no. 84 (December 1990): 46; Mariano Apa, *Intervista a Gian Enzo Sperone*, p. 373 in Maurizio Calvesi, Rossella Siligato, *Roma anni '60. Al di là della Pittura*, op. cit.. At Galleria Il Punto Sperone organized a Baj exhibit in 1963 and then one for Schifano in 1964, see Vv.Aa., *Baj*, exh. cat. – Torino, Galleria Il Punto, 26th November-16th December 1963 (Torino: Galleria Il Punto, 1963); Vv.Aa., *Schifano*, exh. cat. – Torino, Galleria Il Punto, 23rd January-8th February 1964 (Torino: Galleria Il Punto, 1964). For more on Sperone and Pistoletto see Germano Celant, *Michelangelo Pistoletto intervistato da Germano Celant*, pp. 26-29 in Germano Celant, Ida Gianelli, *Pistoletto*, exh. cat. – Firenze, Forte di Belvedere, 24th-27th March 1984 (Milano: Electa, 1984). For more on Clino Trini Castelli and Piero Gilardi see Vv.Aa., *Piero Gilardi*, exh. cat. – Torino, Galleria L'Immagine, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1963 (Torino: Galleria L'Immagine, 1963). For further developments on Michelangelo Pistoletto refer to: Tiffany Edwards, Julia Speed, Lisa Varghese, *Michelangelo Pistoletto: the minus objects 1965-1966*, exh. cat. – New York, Luhring Augustine Bushwik, 18th December 2013-11th May 2014 (New York: Luhring Augustine 2017); Vv.Aa., *Michelangelo Pistoletto: da uno a molti, 1956-1974*, exh. cat. – Roma, MAXXI, 3rd March-15th August 2011; Philadephia, Philadephia Museum of Art, 2nd November 2010-16th January 2011 (Milano: Electa; Philadephia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2011). On Michelangelo Pistoletto's exhibit at Galleria Galatea refer to Vv.Aa., *Michelangelo Pistoletto*, exh. cat. – Turin, Galleria Galatea, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. April 1960 (Torino: Galleria Galatea, 1960); Vv.Aa., *Michelangelo Pistoletto*, exh. cat. – Turin, Galleria Galatea, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. April 1963 (Torino: Galleria Galatea, 1963). On Pistoletto's reception in 1963 refer to Angelo Dragone, "Michelangelo Pistoletto", *La Stampa* (6th May 1963): unpaginated. For further information on Piero Gilardi refer to: *Piero Gilardi. Nature forever* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017); Tommaso Trini, *La mia biopolitica: arte e lotta del vivente. Scritti 1963-2014* (Milano: Prearo, 2016); Giuseppe Biasutti, *Piero Gilardi: opere storiche 1964-1969*, exh. cat. – Turin, Biasutti&Biasutti Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, 20th March-31st May 2008 (Torino: Biasutti&Biasutti, 2008). For more on Gilardi's reception see Ettore Jr. Sottsass, "Piero Gilardi", *Domus*, u. vol., no. 445 (December 1966): unpaginated.

Tappeti Natura, 1966, an artificial landscape made of synthetic material, such as polyurethane enamel with a pebbly riverbed, that aimed to make a piece of reality for the future landscape that would have surrounded man's world; just like Pistoletto, they did not achieve the desired level of success, and Gilardi continued his career internationally, particularly thanks to his promotion by Ileana Sonnabend[454].

Although Sperone exhibited Pascali's *Le Armi*, 1965, in January 1966, he did not contribute to his consecration. Nonetheless, it was still not widely recognized as Pop, given that the connection between Pascali and Pop strengthened after 1968. Thus, Sperone remained a singular and marginal case in the dynamic of art markets within Italian Pop, a fact that confirms Rome's and Milan's leadership in art system dynamics. Indeed a letter sent in April 1964 by Sperone to De Martiis revealed how it was Sperone who was looking for De Martiis' artists and was interested in what happened in Rome, rather than the other art gallerists dealing with Pop who were looking for Sperone's: «Vi saremmo grati se ci faceste pervenire per ogni mostra i cataloghi della vostra galleria. Molte grazie e distinti saluti (Gian Enzo Sperone)»[455]. In addition, Sperone's promotion of American Pop art, the direct relationship with Ileana Sonnabend with whom De Martiis broke up in 1961, and both De Martiis' and Pierre Restany's negative judgment of American Pop (from which they tried to distance the Italian results after 1964), probably did not encourage Italian Pop artists to look for an exhibition at Sperone's. Nevertheless, the case of Sperone in Turin further problematizes the investigation on Pop Art in Italy which, due to the Sonnabends' involvement, followed more international dynamics of the art market system.

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[454] From 1962 onward Galerie Sonnabend in Paris hosted a series of exhibits of American Pop artists from Jasper Johns to Jim Rosenquist. From 1967 onward such gallery displayed artwork of the artists belonging to Arte Povera that exhibited at Sperone's: Piero Gilardi, Gilberto Zorio, Giovanni Anselmo, Pier Paolo Calzolari, Giorgio Griffa, Mario Merz. On Gilardi and Sonnabend gallery see Vv.Aa., *Gilardi*, exh. cat. – Paris, Sonnabend Gallery, u.d.o.b.- u.d.o.e. January 1967 (Paris: Ileana Sonnabend Gallery, 1967). For the influence the Sonnabend gallery of Paris had on Italian art in the Sixties see Robert Lumley, "Tra Pop Art e Arte Povera: l'influenza americana sulle arti visive in Italia negli anni Sessanta", *AGALMA*, vol. u., no. 2 (u. month 2000): 2; For Ettore Sottsass's critic on Pistoletto in 1964 see Ettore Sottsass jr., "Pop e non pop, a proposito di Michelangelo Pistoletto", *Domus*, u. vol., no. 414 (May 1964): unpaginated.

[455] Letter from Gian Enzo Sperone to Plinio De Martiis sent on 29th April 1964 – FONDO LA TARTARUGA – ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI LATINA, Latina. Translation: «We would be grateful if you could send us your gallery catalogs for each exhibition. Many thanks and best regards (Gian Enzo Sperone)».

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter emphasizes two main aspects of Italian Pop currents: the first is a cultural war through the re-appropriation of old masterpieces revisited in a Pop Aesthetic that highlights features of commercial and graphic art: the revisiting of old masters such as Leonardo da Vinci surely underpins the art critics' claim that the illustration of cultured images belongs to an Italian art historical tradition and reveals the artists' deep understanding of the Pop aesthetic, because the commonalities with American Pop Art are evident; additionally in their artwork they choose images from daily life, television, comics, industry and fashion that clearly confirms their knowledge of American Pop. Such signs demonstrate the will to compete with American Pop artists, revenging Italian originality anchored in the solid past art historical tradition, a will that finds its explanation in the context of Italy, as culturally conquered by the US. Such a subtle fight seems to find root in the second aspect, the use of communist symbols of propaganda that signal the deep involvement of artists with political parties. Whereas at first, at the beginning of the Sixties, artists looked to the US in order to chase the American dream, the reinforcement of the US army in 1965 in the Vietnam War betrayed the artists' expectations that were still related to the image of Americans as liberators and heralds of peace. Indeed, many of them such as Giosetta Fioroni, Mimmo Rotella, Mario Schifano, Franco Angeli and Tano Festa went to spend some time in the US for their artistic career, thus demonstrating their attraction not only to the US, but also to the American Pop artists they knew and befriended (e.g., Lichtenstein, Rauschenberg). However, Rauschenberg's award at the 32nd Venice Biennale, together with the dominant power of USIS in culture, and the delusion caused by the Vietnam War, triggered the germ of communism that in art critics, gallerists and newspapers meant a rebellion against the US and the consequent separation on the only level in which they could detach their art.

The Italian Pop artists' decision to embrace Pop Art was at first closely related to the art market, piloted by leading American art gallerists such as Leo Castelli and Ileana Sonnabend who, with the help of Italian gallerists such De Martiis, were promoting them at an international level. It seems that almost all the artists who were invited to the Sidney Janis Gallery exhibit in 1962 had a serious comparison with Pop and realized noteworthy artwork that elicited multiple comments by art critics putting their works in the Pop domain, comments that found space in newspapers with political (particularly socialist and communist) implications. The communist seed appears to find fertile ground in the Italian Pop aesthetic only in the late Sixties with Guttuso and the politically and socially committed artists who, starting in the Seventies,

create artwork from a political angle, when Pop gives way to new art currents such as Arte Povera[456].

[456] For more on Arte Povera refer to: Germano Celant, *Arte Povera*, exh. cat. – Galleria de' Foscherari, 24th February-15th March 1968 (Bologna: Galleria de' Foscherari, 1968); Germano Celant, *Arte Povera* (Milano: Mazzotta, 1969).

3. Chapter Three. The musealization of Italian Pop Art

3.1 Introduction

Rome, Milan, Turin and Venice were the cities rich in Italian art history that were selected to host the highest number of Pop Art exhibitions in the Sixties. This was thanks to the work done by the local galleries at both a national and international level that activated a wide network of collectors which, in turn, contributed to the diffusion and valorization of Italian Pop artwork: Rome with Galleria La Tartaruga, Galleria L'Attico, Galleria La Salita, and Galleria Odyssia; Milan with the former Studio Marconi (now called Fondazione Marconi), Galleria del Naviglio, Galleria Apollinaire and Galleria Schwarz; Turin with Galleria Enzo Sperone; Venice with Galleria del Cavallino and the Venice Biennale. When looking instead at the public institutions that in the Sixties started to acquire and collect Italian Pop artwork, it is noticeable how, geographically speaking, there were fewer locations than the number of cities that housed the aforementioned private galleries, namely Rome and Turin[457].

Although Milan and Venice were privileged settings for the advent of Pop Art, due to the unceasing activity of Studio Marconi, Galleria Schwarz and Galleria del Naviglio, and of the Venice Biennale and Galleria del Cavallino in Venice, as well as the collector Giorgio Franchetti who constituted an important collection at Ca' d'Oro, they were not actively institutionalizing Pop. Moreover, it seems that in both

[457] On Carlo Cardazzo, Galleria del Naviglio and Galleria del Cavallino refer to Luca M. Barbero, *Carlo Cardazzo: una nuova visione dell'arte*, exh. cat. – Venezia, Peggy Guggenheim collection, 1st November 2008-9th February 2009 (Milano: Electa; New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2008); Angelica Cardazzo, *Lettere di artisti, scrittori e critici a Carlo Cardazzo dal 1933 al 1952* (Venezia: Cavallino, 2008). On Sperone see Anna Minola, *Gian Enzo Sperone: Torino-Roma-New York: 35 anni di mostre tra Europa e America*, op. cit.. On GAM and Pop Art see Riccardo Passoni, *Pop Art Italiana: dalle collezioni della GAM Torino: io non amo la natura*, op. cit.. On *Studio Marconi* see Vv.Aa., *Autobiografia di una galleria: lo studio Marconi 1965-1992* (Milano: Skira, 2004); On Ca' Pesaro see Vv.Aa., *Da Giorgio Franchetti a Giorgio Franchetti. Collezionismi alla Ca' D'Oro*, op. cit.. On Galleria Schwarz see Lucrezia De Domizio Durini, *Arturo Schwarz. Il Coraggio della verità. Correlazioni empatiche* (Torino: Lindau, 2015).

Milan and Venice, Pop Art remained secluded in the smaller circle of galleries, and was even less considered in the Sixties and later on by public museums and institutions: in the Sixties, contemporary to the advent of Pop Art in 1964, Milan certainly was a showcase for Duchamp, as demonstrated by both the big exhibit at Schwarz's and *Pittura a Milano dal 1945 al 1964* held at Palazzo Reale; Venice instead already had the Biennale devoted to advertising and promoting contemporary art trends, so perhaps public institutions did not feel the need to acquire Pop artwork, as Pop Art (albeit the American iteration), was perceived as a scandal in Venice[458]. This chapter aims to investigate public art institutions in the Sixties, in terms of acquisition and the connected points of controversy such as public resistance to acquisition, analyzing the direct link between the private galleries and such art institutions, and the influence, albeit indirect, of the art market system at that time. Such an analysis on the musealization of Italian Pop Art will complete the study on its reception in Italy and its re-reading, in order to grasp further implications and strengthen already discussed implications in Italy (e.g., that of communism, and the close comparison with American Pop Art).

3.2 Rome

GNAM

Before becoming the *soprintendente* at GNAM from 1941 to 1975, Palma Bucarelli was a student of literature at the Università La Sapienza, Rome, at the beginning of the Thirties, during the fascist era. There, she studied under Adolfo Venturi and Paolo Toesca. During the subsequent *Corso di perfezionamento,* Bucarelli met Argan, and the two began a working relationship: they became key figures for the reidentification of the role of GNAM as an active museum, and served on the Ministry of Education's Commission for acquisition at the 1960 Venice Biennale and

[458] Only Museo del Novecento, the first museum dedicated to contemporary art in Milan, established in December 2010, has a section devoted to Pop Italian artists, namely Mario Schifano, Mario Ceroli, Gino Marotta, and Valerio Adami, located in the part of Palazzo Reale that connected to the museum. Throughout the years, other public art institutions such as GAM and the Civic Museums moved their interests toward the art of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Neither American nor Italian Pop artwork is included in their collections. Venice, as well as Milan, has Ca' d'Oro that hosts Barone Franchetti's Pop Art collection, and thus it honored the private work that Franchetti did during his life as collector. Ca' Pesaro also has some Pop artwork, such as Adami's, although they acquired it later on. Even though Ca' Pesaro recently did an exhibit of artwork that it had in storage, donated by the Sonnabend collection, it showed no Pop artwork. For more on the Museo del Novecento and Italian art that had connections with the US refer to Francesco Tedeschi, Francesca Pola, Federica Boragina, *New York New York: arte italiana. La riscoperta dell'America*, op. cit.. For more on Museo del Novecento and its collection see Vv.Aa., *900: Museo del Novecento* (Milano: Comune di Milano, 2010).

in 1966 for GNAM. Bucarelli's professor, Venturi, spent a period abroad in exile for his antifascist position during the regime; when he returned in 1945, he allied with Bucarelli in affirming modern art. Bucarelli and Argan decided on a program for GNAM full of conferences, exhibitions and educational activities that took place from 1945 to 1952. GNAM started to host several exhibitions that both determined the gallery's orientation and its affirmation at an international level: in 1951 the exhibit *Arte astratta e concreta in Italia* spoke to the gallery's taste in the painting of the contemporary art scene; in 1952, the first monograph on Alberto Savinio put the gallery at the center of the national artistic scene; in 1953 GNAM hosted the most important Picasso solo show in Italy; in 1954, Scipione; in 1958, Pollock, which opened up the gallery's doors to American Abstract Expressionist Painters, in line with the offerings of the Roman gallery art scene (e.g., at De Martiis') and moving its interests closer to the new American artistic research[459].

[459] For all the information on Bucarelli in this chapter refer to: Mariastella Margozzi, *Palma Bucarelli. Il museo come avanguardia*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, 26th June-1st November 2009 (Milano: Electa, 2009); Elio Mazzella, *Palma Bucarelli: cronaca di un incontro* (Napoli: Litografia Vigilante, 2018); Rachele Ferrario, *Regina di quadri: vita e passioni di Palma Bucarelli* (Milano: Mondadori, 2018). For all the exhibits organized by Bucarelli from 1944 to 1975 refer to Claudia Palma, *Mostre di arte contemporanea organizzate da Palma Bucarelli*, pp. 257-261 in Mariastella Margozzi, *Palma Bucarelli. Il museo come avanguardia*, op. cit.. For more on Bucarelli and the Venice Biennale from 1948 to 1968 see the Giorgia Cicalini's Master thesis, *Palma Bucarelli e la Biennale di Venezia (1948-68): acquisizioni, prestiti e interventi critici della direttrice della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna di Roma* (Venezia: Università Ca' Foscari, 2016). For more on Palma Bucarelli see Lorenzo Cantatore, Edoardo Sassi, *Palma Bucarelli: immagini di una vita* (Roma: Palombi, 2011); Lorenzo Cantatore, Giuliana Zagra, *Palma Bucarelli a cento anni dalla nascita*, Conf. Proceedings – Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 25th November 2010 (Roma: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 2011). On Bucarelli's activity in the Forties see Lorenzo Cantatore, *Cronache indipendenti: arte a Roma fra 1945 e 1946. Palma Bucarelli* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2010). On Bucarelli's activity in the Fifties see the Silvia Loddo's Master thesis, *La Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna di Roma, anni Cinquanta: politica museale e metodologie espositive di Palma Bucarelli* (Bologna: Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2001-2002). On Bucarelli and Argan see Raffaella Cordisco's Master thesis, *L'attività didattica di Palma Bucarelli e il neoclassicismo di Giulio Carlo Argan* (Roma: Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2003-2004). On GNAM see Palma Bucarelli, *La Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna* (Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995). For further information on Adolfo Venturi see Stefano Valeri, *Adolfo Venturi e gli studi sull'arte* (Roma: Bagatto Libri, 2006); Stefano Valeri, Arianna Angelelli, *Adolfo Venturi: la bibliografia, 1876-1941* (Roma: Bagatto Libri, 2006); Nadia Raimondi, Claudia Zanfi, *Maestri del Venturi: per una storia dell'Istituto d'arte di Moderna dal 1923 al 1970* (Carpi: Nuovagrafica, 1999); Stefano Valeri, *Adolfo Venturi e l'insegnamento della storia dell'arte*, Conf. Proceedings – Roma, u.p., 14th-15th December 1992 (Roma: Lithos, 1996); Giacomo Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia: Adolfo Venturi, dal museo all'università, 1880-1940* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1996); Vv.Aa., *Adolfo Venturi e l'insegnamento della storia dell'arte* (Roma: Tipografia F. Albanese, 1992). For further developments on Pietro Toesca see Michela di Macco, "Toesca, venturi, Argan: storia dell'arte a Torino, 1907-1931", *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, u. vol., no. 59 (u. month 1996): unpaginated; Monica Aldi, *Pietro Toesca tra cultura tardopositivista e simbolismo. Dagli interessi letterari alla storia dell'arte* (Pisa: u.p.h., 1997).

In 1961, the gallery instead hosted a Fautrier exhibition, introduced by Ungaretti, whose participation speaks to the interdisciplinary approach of the gallery as it transformed itself, involving not only university professors who were art critics, but also poets who were art critics too. That year, Bucarelli gave a speech at a conference at Columbia University and at the Istituto Italiano di Cultura in New York, becoming known at an international level. In 1962, she hosted another American Abstract Expressionist exhibit, this time, Rothko, keeping the gallery in the American direction confirmed by the 32nd Venice Biennale. Although Bucarelli did not much appreciate Pop Art, the 32nd Venice Biennale moved the center of artistic interest from Europe to the USA. Whereas the group of Roman artists of *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo* saw in GNAM the institutional point of reference for national art, the gallerists' commitment, in particular Galleria La Tartaruga, Galleria L'Attico and Galleria La Salita, followed the developments of their art and its position in the art market[460].

Bucarelli had contacts with such galleries, in particular with Plinio De Martiis, starting in the Forties: in 1944-1945, De Martiis, who aside from being a photographer, was also passionate about theater before opening his gallery, founded *Teatro dell'Arlecchino*; although short-lived due to financial troubles, it was a place where actors, artists and important intellectuals, such as Bucarelli, gathered. The meeting with De Martiis started a collaboration: Bucarelli wrote texts for some exhibits at La Tartaruga, as in 1956 when she wrote together with Paolo Toesca, her professor, for the painter Corrado Cagli in *Bollettino della Tartaruga*; in 1958, for Twombly's first solo show in Europe; in 1963, for another Twombly exhibit, extracts of her previous texts were reprinted in the brochure which also contained texts of Frank O'Hara, Emilio Villa, Cesare Vivaldi, Pierre Restany and Gillo Dorfles, the curator. With these premises, Bucarelli's connection with the leading art critics, the galleries at stake in Italian Pop Art and the Venice Biennale, becomes clearer. She used this network to transform GNAM from a public gallery to an active museum, and Argan helped her a lot in this direction: during the 32nd Venice Biennale, in the show *Arte Oggi*, where eighteen European and non-European museums participated in addition to GNAM (recognized best participant), the role of museum in the art market scene was discussed, aside from its relationship with the public; the museum was

[460] On Bucarelli and Fautrier see Giuseppe Ungaretti, Palma Bucarelli, *Jean Fautrier, pittura e materia*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, u.d.o.b.-u.d.o.e. 1960 (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1960). On Bucarelli and Rothko refer to Palma Bucarelli, *Mark Rothko*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, u.d.o.b.-u. d.o.e. (Roma: De Luca, 1962). For more on GNAM and its exhibits see Stefania Frezzotti, Patrizia R. Ferrari, *La Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna: cronache e storia, 1911-2011* (Roma: Palombi, 2011).

indicated as the arbiter of the historical value of an artwork hosted in its institution. In this way museums were separated from, and had a greater power than, the art market[461].

This situation explains the leading role that GNAM had in the institutionalization of artists and, in this case, Italian Pop Artists in Rome, and the chief role it had over the other museums in Italy: it seems that only the three Italian public institutions that participated in the *Arte Oggi* exposition, namely GNAM, Rome, GAM, Turin, and Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna, Venice, had an interest in the institutionalization of Pop; however GNAM had a major dominance over the others thanks to Bucarelli's notoriety and network. These premises explain why Italian Pop artists over the years sent out invitations to Bucarelli for their exhibits as her correspondence conserved at GNAM's current archive reveals: her promotional efforts were substantial in those years and the artists whose work fit within her preferred style were actively seeking her interest. However, Bucarelli's selection criteria is explained in a letter to Marconi from 17th January, 1964: she says that she did not accept donations if they were not worthy of being shown within the GNAM and represented by it, providing evidence of the strictness of her planning principles she adopted, in order to enhance the museum.

The analysis of the documents of GNAM's acquisitions in the Sixties provides evidence of Bucarelli's interest initial in European artists included in Nouveau Réalisme, in Italian artists in the Pop realm at the beginning of their career when their works were not classified as Pop yet, and in Italian Pop artists, as such, only late in 1968. The documents also highlight how Bucarelli acquired the artwork, always requesting the approval of the Education Ministry through a letter that supported her choice[462]. From 1960 to 1962 several pieces of artwork that still show traces of Informal Art and hints of the objective research came into GNAM's possession as the fruits of the *Premio di Incoraggiamento*, an award announced every year to advertise new artistic research, hosted by the gallery and promoted by *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* (Giacinto Bosco, 1960-1962; Luigi Gui, 1962-1968): Gastone Novelli's *Dice Meraviglioso*, 1950 and *Gesto respinto*, 1959, Franco Angeli's *Immagini*

[461] For more on Bucarelli and Galleria La Tartaruga refer to Ilaria Bernardi, *La Tartaruga. Storia di una galleria*, op. cit., 13, 25, 50, 113, 118, 122. On Cagli and Bucarelli refer to Palma Bucarelli, Corrado Cagli, exh. cat. – Roma, Galleria La Tartaruga, 11th April-u.d.o.e. 1956 (Roma: Tipografia Artigiana). On Bucarelli and Twombly see Palma Bucarelli, *Twombly*, Brochure of the exhibit, Venezia, Galleria del Cavallino, 18th-27th August 1958.

[462] In 1960 Renato Guttuso, who Bucarelli knew from the Forties because of their attendance at *Casa Bellonci* (a Roman salon born during Fascism that continued afterwards), proposed to exchange *Ritratto di Montale* already owned by GNAM, with *Ritratto Virile*, a more recent artwork that would have better represented his art at the gallery, see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 1 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

negative, 1959, Renato Mambor's *Larva*, 1960 all after the *Premio di Incoraggiamento* in 1960; Tano Festa's *La città di Genova*, 1962, after the *Premio di Incoraggiamento* in 1962; Mario Schifano's *Senza titolo*, 1963 after the *Premio di Incoraggiamento* in 1963[463]. In 1964 the proposal of acquisition written by Palma Bucarelli, addressed to *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, states Bucarelli's position on Pop Art: in the letter she claims that GNAM did not yet have any artwork from the new contemporary art trends such as «la nuova realtà, o realtà d'oggetto, Pop-art, neo-costruttivismo o arte di formazione di gruppi o ghestaltica»[464]. She proposes to acquire a piece by Arman Fernandez (Nice, 1928) and says that he belongs to Nouveau Réalisme and to the Art of Assemblage. In order to justify the acquisition she states that since the trends listed are actually not so recent, the best museums in the world already own representative artwork; also, their important exhibitions have already been held in New York City, Amsterdam, Paris and San Marino. Finally, when writing about Arman at the end of the letter she mentions Galleria Schwarz that she visited, indicating her interest in purchasing another Arman artwork for GNAM[465].

In this letter, Bucarelli refers to a collective exhibit in which Arman participated in March 1964, together with artists of different currents: from the art of assemblage represented by Duchamp, Picabia, and Man Ray, Art Brut represented by Dubuffet, Spatialism represented by Fontana, Nuclear Art represented by Baj that already had hints of Pop, and surrealism represented by Mirò[466]. Bucarelli went to see the exhibit probably because she had already been in contact with Duchamp starting from 1961, as their correspondence documents, and she was aware of the artists close to Nouveau Réalisme from her previous travels in Paris in 1948, when she was invited to participate in the *I^er Congrés International des critiques d'art*, on the occasion when she visited *Salon des Réalites Nouvelles*. Additionally in those months Schwarz was organizing a big

[463] On *Premio d'incoraggiamento* from 1960 to 1962 see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 2 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

[464] On Bucarelli's letter on Arman acquisition, see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 3 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma. Translation: «The new reality, or reality of object, Pop-art, neo-constructivism or art of formation of groups or ghestaltics».

[465] To know more on Arman see Pierre Restany, *Arman*, exh.cat. – Milano, Galleria Apollinaire, u.d.o.b. – o.d.o.e. December 1959 (Milano, Galleria Apollinaire, 1959); Vv.Aa., *Arman*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 6th-29th November 1963.

[466] Vv.Aa., *Arman, Baj, Cavaliere, Crippa, Dubuffet, Duchamp. Max Ernst, Farfa, Fontana, Jorn, Mirò, Picabia, Prévert, Man Ray, Spoerri*, Brochure of the exhibit, Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 3rd-13th March, 1964.

anthology of Marcel Duchamp's ready-made, inaugurated in June, an exhibit that earned Galleria Schwarz much attention[467].

Although with Argan, who was helping her in the transformation of GNAM and in the choice of artists who participated in the *Premi di incoraggiamento* (as demonstrated by a letter from Pasquale de Santoro, one of the artists participating in the *Premio di Incoraggiamento* 1962) Bucarelli was assisted by Calvesi, who became Ispettore at GNAM through a public competition in 1964 together with Giorgio de Marchis, as highlighted by the acquisition proposal for the Vedova's *Scontro di situazioni*, 1959[468]. Apart from these 1964 acquisitions, 1966 to 1970 are the years in which Bucarelli acquires Italian Pop artwork: in 1966 she buys Valerio Adami's *Tromp*, 1963, 300.000 lire and Lucio del Pezzo's *Mensola in alto*, 1964, 375.000 lire from Giorgio Marconi, who had opened Studio Marconi the year before and was already representing the artists who had previously exhibited at Galleria La Tartaruga[469]. A letter to the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* in regards to Jannis Kounellis' *Bianco*, 1966, 300.000 lire, explains that the artwork that should have been displayed in the exhibit of recent acquisitions and donations on the occasion of Museum week scheduled to take place at GNAM in the first week of April[470]. In 1966 she also bought Mario Ceroli's *Ultima Cena*, 1965, 600.000 lire displayed that year at Galleria La Tartaruga for his solo show; however it was not the first time that Bucarelli saw Ceroli's work, given the artist's participation in the *Premio d'incoraggiamento* in 1960; Bucarelli bought Pino Pascali's *Primo Piano Labbra*, 1964, 300.000 lire from the artist himself, part of his series of sculptures in relief, realized in 1964, some of which were exhibited at his first solo show at Galleria La Tartaruga in January of that year[471].

Although he was less famous than other Italian Pop artists, Bucarelli seems to privilege Pascali; indeed the year later, in 1967 she buys another Pascali, *Dinosauro*, 700.000 lire, an artwork that, as explained in the letter she sent to *Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione*, was

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[467] See Walter Hopps, Ulf Linde, Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp. Ready mades, etc. (1913-1964)*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 5th June-30th September 1964 (Milano: Galleria Schwarz, 1964).

[468] On the acquisition of Emilio Vedova's *Scontro di Situazioni*, 1959 see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 4 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

[469] On the acquisition of Valerio Adami's *Tromp*, and Lucio del Pezzo's *Mensola in alto* see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 5 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

[470] On the acquisition of Jannis Kounellis' *Bianco*, 1966 see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 6 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

[471] On the acquisition of Mario Ceroli's *Ultima Cena*, 1965, see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 5 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma. On Pino Pascali's *Primo Piano Labbra*, 1964, see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 7 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma. On the acquisition of Pascali's *Pelo*, 1968 and *Contropelo*, 1968 and on the correspondence between Bucarelli and Nicosia see ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

exhibited in the recent *Biennale dei Giovani* in Paris and would have substituted a Luigi Russolo artwork; if acquired, it would happily fit in the whole ensemble of the *Nuove Tendenze* that GNAM aimed to offer within the new organization of the 20th-century GNAM collections. Additionally in 1968, year of the 34th Venice Biennale in which Pascali participated with *Pelo (Contropelo)*, 1968 bought by Bucarelli, he died in a car accident: the Biennale selected him anyway, and it was the first award given by an international contemporary art fair to a deceased artist. Perhaps because of her involvement in Pascali's art, Bucarelli wrote to the Prefect of Venice, Dr. Giovanni Nicosia, pushing for the payment of the award to Pascali's family, in light of their difficult economic situation. Other representative paintings of the Sixties were also bought in 1968 during the 6th Biennale Romana held at Palazzo delle Esposizioni where, with the encouragement of the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, Bucarelli went, along with Giulio Carlo Argan and Giorgio Vigni, former Soprintendente of the Galleries of Sicily, who was on the Commission for acquisitions for the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* at the 33rd Venice Biennale in 1966 with Argan and Bucarelli[472]. There, she bought Franco Angeli's *Of America*, 1965 (350.000 lire) and Gianfranco Baruchello's *Louis Philippe to Micene*, 1967, (150.000 lire): according to the letter sent to the Public Instruction Ministry, these were hard choices to make because so few of the exhibited pieces were worthy of entering into the GNAM collections; additionally these painters' works were big and the artists accepted just a minimum income[473]. Since Bucarelli had been at the 6th Biennale Romana, she knew both the artists' works well, as documented by Angeli's participation in the *Premio di Incoraggiamento* at the beginning of the Sixties and Bucarelli's picture with Duchamp at Baruchello's exhibit at Galleria La Tartaruga in 1963.

In 1968, Liverani of Galleria La Salita proposed that Bucarelli buy artwork from Schifano and from Festa, but she chose Schifano's *Incidente*, 1963, 400.000 lire that Schifano displayed at Galleria Odyssia, in 1963, the exhibit in which he made the turn from monochromes to Pop Art, a choice that once again exemplifies Bucarelli's interest in including

[472] For further information on Giorgio Vigni see Giorgio Vigni, "La Galleria Nazionale della Sicilia a Palermo", *Bollettino d'arte. Ministero della pubblica istruzione, Direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti*, vol. 40, no. 2 (April-June 1955): 185-190. On Giovanni Nicosia see Giovanni Di Stefano, Giannantonio Paladini, *Storia di Venezia. 3. Dalla monarchia alla repubblica* (Venezia: Supernova Grafiche Biesse, 1997): 501. On Luigi Russolo see Mara Folini, Anna Gasparotto, Franco Tagliapietra, *Luigi Russolo: al di là della materia* (Milano: Skira, 2014); Luigi Cavadini, *Luigi Russolo: grafiche, disegni, dipinti* (Varese: Liceo artistico A. Frattini, 2008).

[473] On the acquisitions of Franco Angeli's *Of America*, 1965 and Gianfranco Baruchello's *Louis Philippe to Micene*, 1967, see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 8 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

Pop Art in GNAM[474]. In 1969 she organized a Pascali retrospective at GNAM, waiting until 1970 to buy other Pop artwork such as Franco Angeli's *Natale di Roma*, 1964, 700.000 lire, bought from Coccia of Galleria D'Alibert that Coccia herself said had been exhibited for a long time at the D'Alibert, probably since the Angeli exhibit *Frammenti Capitolini* in 1964 or since 1966 as demonstrated by the document dated 20th July 20th, 1966 from Mara Coccia's archive (it is said that Angeli gave his artwork to be sold); Coccia also proposed Pozzati's *La troppo facile preda,* saying she would have sold it for a much lower price, a promise that provides evidence of the different importance that the two artists had over the years and at that time[475]. In 1970, after the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* rejected her request to buy the Sergio Lombardo, *Sfera con sirena*, exhibited in the room *7 Sfera con Sirena* at the 35th Venice Biennale, she acquired his artwork *30 Aste*, 700.000 lire[476].

3.3 The dominance of GNAM over GAM

The influence of Palma Bucarelli appears to have decided the fate of GAM, Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Rome, a public art institution as well: although an analysis of the acquisitions suggests that GAM did not have a director engaged with Pop Art trends (as was instead the case for GNAM), studying the history of the gallery reveals that its exclusion from the real contemporary art scene was in fact piloted by Bucarelli. It is very suspicious indeed looking at the GAM register that no acquisitions within the Pop art trend were either made or recommended by a gallery that was paying a great deal of attention to the Roman scene. GAM's scarce interest in the art current investigated in this thesis seems due to the main focus of the gallery that, until 1945, was the first to exhibit Futurism, and the artists of Rome. In the post-war years, letters reveal the ambiguity behind the general administration of GAM and the conflict between GNAM and GAM that became more acute later in the Sixties

[474] On the acquisition of Schifano's *Incidente*,1963, see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 9 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

[475] On the acquisition of Franco Angeli's *Natale di Roma*, 1964 see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 10 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma.

[476] On the acquisition of Sergio Lombardo's *Sfera con sirena*, 1969 see DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX. SECTION 4 - DOCUMENT 11 - ARCHIVIO GNAM, Roma. On Bucarelli and Pascali see Palma Bucarelli, *Pino Pascali*, exh. cat. – Roma, GNAM, 31st May-27th June 1969 (Roma: De Luca, 1969). On GNAM's collection see Massimo Minini, *Le storie dell'arte: grandi nuclei d'arte moderna dalle collezioni della GNAM, 3: Accardi, Corpora, De Chirico, Dorazio, Guttuso, Manzù, Perilli, Scialoja, Turcato, Uncini* (Roma: Gangemi, 2012).

when the competition for the acquisition of contemporary artwork was at an all-time high[477].

The main fight was between the Municipality of Rome and the Ministry: with the municipality asking for the restitution of artwork bought by GNAM, and the Ministry seemingly agreeing, it was Palma Bucarelli who kept pushing back the meetings. Thus, by the end of the Forties the situation was already so tense that the Roman *Soprintendente* made a list of the GNAM artwork that had to stay, and eventually exchanged them with some from GAM. Both in the Fifties and in the Sixties Bucarelli set herself up as the mentor for the decisions of the cultural heritage hosted at GAM. From this position she pushed to have artwork of national interest at the GNAM, while relegating those of regional interest to the GAM. For instance, although in 1963 the GAM was opened again within the Palazzo delle Esposizioni, thus having a wider exhibition space, Bucarelli said that only the GNAM had the right space to promote and valorize artwork of a certain type, and so those works already owned by them had to stay there. Therefore the GAM policy of acquisition was focused on artists such those in the Roman art scene of that time that were not in the GNAM's interest. It was only in 1995 that Gianni Borgna, *Assessore alle Politiche Culturali del Comune di Milano*, began a policy of acquisitions of the masterpieces of the former fifty years. Much artwork that is now associated with Italian Pop Art has been included in the MACRO collection due to its more contemporary trend and its wide space. This data is preserved in the GAM archive that documents acquisitions and donations both for the GAM and the MACRO in Rome[478].

According to the register of GAM acquisitions, a couple of donations on artists close to Pop Art were made later in the seventies: Guttuso's *Disegno*, 1964, cm 50x70, without information on the origin, and *Ritratto Femminile*, Renato Guttuso, 1969, litografia, donated in 1974 by Galleria Cocorocchia, Milan, in which he exhibited in 1971, with features quite close to the Pop trend, which he approached in the last part

[477] In the Thirties its collection included artists such as Cesare Mariani, Francesco Podesti, Pietro Gagliardi, Francesco Coghettu, Cesare Fracassini, Nino Costa, Vincenzo Cabianca, Aristide Sartorio, Angelo Morbelli, Ardengo Soffici, Mario Sironi and the gallery was called Galleria Mussolini. For more on GAM and its artists on the Thirties and onward refer to Maria Catalano, Federica Pirani, Stefano Roffi, Giovanna Bonasegale, *Roma 900: De Chirico e gli altri nelle collezioni della Galleria d'arte moderna di Roma capitale* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2015) in particular to the Giovanna Bonasegale's essays; Vv.Aa., *Temi per una collezione: opere della Galleria d'arte Moderna di Roma* (Roma: Gangemi, 2017).

[478] For further developments on MACRO's collection refer to: Vv.Aa., *Nuove acquisizioni: due anni di crescita della collezione* (Milano: Charta, 2005); Antonia R. Arconti, *Segni, alfabeti, scritture: percorsi nell'arte contemporanea attraverso la collezione MACRO* (Roma: Palombi, 2016); Antonella Arconti, Paola Coltellacci, *L'altra metà dell'arte: un percorso femminile nella Collezione Macro* (Roma: Palombi, 2015).

of the Sixties. MACRO instead owns several pieces of Italian Pop artwork, but the acquisitions were made after the Seventies, and they are only by the artists Titina Maselli, Gianfranco Baruchello and Mario Ceroli. Both the history of GAM and its archival material of acquisitions make this thesis deduct how making GNAM the most important public gallery devoted to the 20th century was a political choice, driven by the *Soprintendente* Palma Bucarelli, and none of the *Assessori*'s complaints was of any help in gaining Pop artwork[479].

3.4 Turin

GAM

The GAM acquisition team in Turin—the city where Gian Enzo Sperone exhibited Lichtenstein from the very beginning of his activity as an emblem of Pop Art—met in Paris in 1963[480]. Despite buying American Pop artwork in the late Sixties, it appears to have had an inexistent role in the institutionalization of Italian Pop artists in the Sixties, which probably resulted from an issue that emerged in 1964 with the Rauschenberg acquisition. The GAM committee had problems in 1964, when they wanted to acquire Pop artwork from the Venice Biennale, as the Rauschenberg acquisition was blocked[481]. In a meeting of the *Consiglio comunale* of Turin held a couple of evenings before, the Mayor Engineer Giovanni Carlo Anselmetti and some *Assessori* who knew the polemics that followed Pop artwork at the Venice Biennale asked to examine photographs of the artwork proposed for the GAM acquisitions. The communist Municipal *Consigliere* Diego Novelli, who was an intellectual and a member of the PCI, opposed such a request saying that, although legitimate, it was unpolite toward members of the commission in charge of the acquisitions, as it questioned their freedom of choice and judgment. Such a commission was composed of the lawyer Gianni

[479] For the Cocorocchia's donation see the diary of acquisition at ARCHIVIO GAM, Roma. On Cocorocchia and Guttuso see the footnote on Guttuso in chapter two. To know more on Galleria Cocorocchia and the artists it exhibited see: Mario Nono, *Mostra di Luigi Nono*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 15th October-4th November 1966 (Milano: Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 1966); Vv.Aa., *Mostra di Giovanni Bruzzi*, exh. cat. – Milano, Palazzo Melzi, 22nd March-8th April 1969 (Milano: Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 1969); Vv.Aa., *Mostra di Filippo De Pisis*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 9th-30th October 1971 (Milano: Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 1971).

[480] For further developments on Sperone and American Pop artists refer to: Vv.Aa., *Rosenquist*, Flyer, Torino, Gian Enzo Sperone Arte Moderna, 5th November-u.d.o.e. 1964; Vv.Aa., *Jim Dine*, Flyer, Torino, Gian Enzo Sperone Arte Moderna, 23rd October-u.d.o.e. 1965; Vv.Aa., *Pop: Dine, Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, Pistoletto, Rauschenberg, Rosenquist, Warhol, Wesselmann*, Gian Enzo Sperone Arte Moderna, u.d.o.b. June-u.d.o.e. July 1965.

[481] See Unsigned, "Anche a TORINO polemiche sulla 'Pop Art'", *Corriere della Sera* (9th July 1964): 14.

Agnelli, reputed to be one of the most important private collectors who owned numerous pieces of artwork from Impressionism and the modern art current; Vittorio Viale, director of the Turin museums; Enrico Paolucci, director of the Turin Accademia di Belle Arti; the sculptor Mastroianni; the art critic Renzo Guasco and the Assessore alle belle Arti Angelo Tettamanzi. The experts abandoned the idea of acquiring a Rauschenberg but chose artwork for 5.000.000 million lire. However, neither another American nor an Italian Pop artist's artwork was among the pieces bought. Such a polemic demonstrates that the Municipality of Turin was already open to contemporary trends, given the presence of Gianni Agnelli, a supporter of the Galleria Enzo Sperone in those years, on that commission. However, probably the echo of polemics that divided art critics on Pop Art after the Venice Biennale of 1964 and the economic limitations of the Municipality of Turin influenced GAM's orientation toward Italian and American Pop artists: indeed, according to the current documentation, the first Pop artwork bought by GAM was *Orange Car Crash (5 deaths 11 times in orange)*, 1963, by Andy Warhol, sold by Galleria Enzo Sperone in 1967—still not a piece of Italian Pop art[482].

The main event that helped move the museum's collection in the direction of Pop Art research and contribute to the institutionalization of Pop in the Sixties, without being active in terms of acquisitions, was

[482] For the acquisition of Warhol's *Orange Crash Car (5 deaths 11 times orange)*, 1963 see Archivio GAM, (digital version) Torino. Only recently, starting in 2004, GAM acquired Italian Pop artists from the Fondazione CRT of Turin e.g., Mario Schifano, *Io non amo la natura*, 1964, Franco Angeli, *Napoleone*, 1963, exhibited now in the collection named *Novecento*, currently located at the first floor of GAM. For more on GAM's collection and Pop Art see Riccardo Passoni, *Pop Art italiana dalle collezioni della GAM Torino: io non amo la natura*, op. cit.. On Gianni Agnelli see Sarah T. Janicus, *Dieci anni dopo: il fu Gianni Agnelli e la vedova Italia* (Colorno: Saturnia Parmense, 2014); Henry Kissinger, *Gianni Agnelli* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2008). On Enrico Paolucci see Vv.Aa., *I sei di Torino: 1929-1931*, exh. cat. – Acqui Terme, Palazzo Liceo Saracco, 19th July-7th September 1986 (Acqui Terme, Lizea, 1986); Vv.Aa., *Enrico Paolucci. Antologia: disegni, pastelli, guazzi dal 1929 al 1974* (Torino: Le immagini, 1975). On Renzo Guasco see Giorgio Auneddu, *L'arte di saper scrivere d'arte: saggi di critica d'arte contemporanea* (Torino: Fògola, 1995). On Angelo Tettamanzi see Vittorio Viale, *Il Museo Civico di Torino: 1959-1960* (Torino: Fratelli Pozzo-Salvati-Gros-Monti & C.,1961): 6. On Vittorio Viale see Enrica Pagella, *Uno specialista perfetto. Sull'attività di Vittorio Viale per i musei di Torino*, pp. 145-160 in Bruno Signorelli, Pietro Uscello, *Torino 1863-1963. Architettura, arte, urbanistica* (Torino: Società piemontese di archeologia e belle arti, 2002). On Diego Novelli see Diego Novelli, *Per coerenza. Stralci di vita di un militante non pentito* (Torino: Piazza editore, 2004); Diego Novelli, *Dossier Fiat: il costo umano e sociale dello sviluppo economico diretto da un monopolio. La lotta di Torino per il 'diritto alla città'* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 1970). On Giovanni Carlo Anselmetti see Giuseppe Grosso, *Commemorazione del sindaco ing. Giovanni Carlo Anselmetti, Cavaliere del lavoro* (Torino; Tipografia Baccola & Gili); Giovanni C. Anselmetti, *Il problema delle migrazioni interne*, Conf. Proceedings – Napoli, Palazzo Reale, 5th-7th June 1964 (Napoli: Palazzo Reale, 1964). On Turin and communism see Renata Y. Levi, Ilaria Cavallo, *Il Partito comunista a Torino, 1945-1991: i suoi archivi, la sua storia organizzativa* (Roma: Fondazione Istituto piemontese Antonio Gramsci, 2006).

Eugenio Battisti's 1965 donation of the collection of the Museo Sperimentale d'arte Contemporanea, Genoa, to GAM. The huge collection, initially created in 1963 at the Istituto di Storia dell'Arte of the University of Genoa (where Battisti taught), responded to the need to expand the discussion and reflection on contemporary art that had been limited to a few host cities. The collection was then exhibited at Teatro Stabile, Turin, in 1963-1964 and in 1964 at Teatro Falcone, Genoa. After his trip to the US, Battisti decided to leave the collection to GAM in Turin because he wanted his artwork to keep its cultural stimulus, and GAM was able to offer a high level of didactic activity around it. Thus in 1965 Battisti donated the collection to the city of Turin for GAM, whose incoming director, Luigi Mallè was open to new artistic research. In 1966 the Museo Sperimentale d'Arte Contemporanea was constituted as a section of GAM which, in 1967, organized an exhibition for it. From that year onward GAM received many donations, including Italian Pop artists such as Mario Schifano, *Strada*, 1964, Giosetta Fioroni, *La ragazza della TV*, 1964, Sergio Lombardo, *Ritratto di Raffaele*, 1963, Renato Mambor, *Colonia foro*, 1965, Cesare Tacchi, *Indianapolis Op III*, 1962, and Titina Maselli, *Bar*, 1965. However in the Sixties, GAM, Turin, did not show an interest in acquiring Pop but only accepted these donations, whereas GNAM, Rome had an active role in the institutionalization of Pop[483].

[483] For the Museo Sperimentale within GAM, Turin refer to Mirella Bandini, Rosanna M. Serra, *Il Museo Sperimentale di Torino. Arte italiana degli anni Sessanta nelle collezioni della Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna*, exh. cat. – Torino, Castello di Rivoli, 20th December 1985-10th February 1986 (Milano: Fabbri editori, 1985): 11-12; 22-23. The artists close to Pop Art research who donated their artwork in 1967 to the GAM of Turin were: Mario Schifano, *Strada*, 1964; Aldo Mondino, *Pittura d'artista*, 1964; Pietro Gallina, *Ombra di ragazza seduta*, 1967; Giosetta Fioroni, *La ragazza della TV*, 1964; Sergio Lombardo, *Ritratto di Raffaele*, 1963; Renato Mambor, *Colonia foro*, 1965; Cesare Tacchi, *Indianapolis Op III*, 1962; Titina Maselli, *Bar*, 1965; Ugo Nespolo, *Questo grotesque, questo grotesque triste*, 1966; Gianfranco Baruchello, *Modello frigobibita/Milano*, 1964 (donation from the artist and from Arturo Schwarz). In 1969 instead Mario Ceroli donated *Part of the scenography of Riccardo III, Shakespeare*, 1969. Regarding the GAM acquisition see: Aldo Mondino, *Bianco giallo arancio rosso con sgabello cromato*, 1965, donated by Eugenio Battisti in 1966; Concetto Pozzati, *Disagio pubblicitario*, 1963 donated by Eugenio Battisti in 1966; and Mimmo Rotella, *Dalla Sicilia*, 1966, donated by Eugenio Battisti in 1966. Michelangelo Pistoletto, *Uomo e donna alla balconata*, 1966 was acquired istead from Pistoletto himself in 1968. Piero Gilardi entered in the GAM collection after the Eighties with *Tappeto natura (Zuccaia)*, 1966 acquired from Fondazione Guido ed Ettore De Fornaris in 1985. On Luigi Mallé: Mallè studied with Venturi in Rome and in 1965 was nominated director of Musei Civici di Torino (GAM was part of it) in place of Vittorio Viale. For this and more information refer to Annarita Colturato, *Le fonti musicali in Piemonte: Torino* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2006): 299. For more on the acquisitions of Musei Civici di Torino under Mallé's directorship in the second half of the Sixties see Luigi Mallé, *I Musei Civici di Torino. Acquisti e doni 1966-1970* (Torino: GAM, 1970).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted how the institutionalization of Italian Pop Art in the Sixties took place thanks to the engagement of Palma Bucarelli in the contemporary art scene, together with the influence by the art critics as Argan and Calvesi, along with Bucarelli's wide network of galleries. Undoubtedly Bucarelli's international fame and respect was also a result of Rome's internationality and openness toward the US that was strengthened by the proximity of the Rome-New York Art Foundation, on Isola Tiberina, and the American Art exhibits promoted in the Roman galleries since the end of the Fifties, such as at Galleria La Tartaruga. However, this analysis suggests that the public institutionalization of the Pop current could take root especially thanks to GNAM in Rome and Rome itself, which indeed has been the privileged area of observation for the birth of Italian Pop Art. Nevertheless, the promotion of Pop by the other cities taken into account did help the Italian institutional mentality open toward the new trend, however only few people were making the choice to endorse Pop.

Conclusion

This research aimed to examine the huge phenomenon of Pop Art in its specific impact in Italy and to retrospectively re-read it. It proposed a different, exhaustive methodology necessary in order to study such a complex current that takes into account the main issues discussed by researchers, about which there is confusion. It suggested that such a methodology should be applied in each geographical territory where the artistic trend of Pop Art had any manifestations. Whereas this thesis was primarily motivated by the great misperception of Pop Art in the current bibliography, the core that it then developed turned to elucidate and respond to the issues debated, investigating both letters and documents, published and unpublished. Additionally, it discovered new factors that proved fundamental in shaping Italian Pop Art and the overall comprehension of its impact in Italy.

I. Findings

Regarding the Pop Art artistic re-reading and reception in Italy in the Sixties, the main findings are:

- The American and Italian war for art historical supremacy: a fight that extends from the term Pop Art to the artwork itself

What is arguable both from the linguistic history of the term Pop Art and the analysis of the artwork, is that Italy claims to fight for art historical supremacy: whereas such a fight initially appears hidden, supposedly due to the lack of knowledge of the Pop current in its early days, after 1964 it explodes. On the one hand, art critics such as Gillo Dorfles, Alberto Boatto, Enrico Crispolti, and Dino Buzzati embraced the new art current that in Italy was mainly recognized as coming from the US (even though according to Lawrence Alloway, Jasia Reichardt and Vera Sherman it came from UK). On the other hand, other critics such as Pierre Restany and Maurizio Calvesi tried to distinguish the features of Italian Pop artists who were producing a different and better Pop Art, stemming from revisited cultured images. Such a fight for supremacy allegedly had roots in the historical framework in which Pop Art was born. On the one side, art critics and artists were willing to receive American art as they

received the US liberating army at the end of the Second World War. On the other side, their military and economic supremacy was already too much for Italians to further support their art historical supremacy, given that Europe had, up until that moment, the most striking Avant-guard, and innovative movements. Indeed, regarding the debate on the name Pop Art, it is essential not to forget that when Lawrence Alloway wrote in the review, *Collage. Dialoghi di Cultura,* in 1963, he included the name Pop Art and popular art in general already in regards to Nineteenth-century art, thus conferring a solid base for the development and acknowledgment of the term. Finally, the confusion surrounding the term is also due to the fight of Italian linguistic purists toward the foreign term Pop Art, claiming to call the Italian version *arte popolare*. Nonetheless this is an additional element that provided evidence of the competition with the US that emerged almost in every aspect.

- Communism: from art critics to art gallerists

Communism is very present in the rhetoric of the artwork but at the same time is introduced at a terminological level, especially by Enrico Crispolti, Pierre Restany and Carla Lonzi. The capacity of communication and instrumentalization of the subjects represented is compared to Soviet Realism by art critics, and these features reflect the meaning of the word Pop, as was also identified by linguists in the dictionaries, as associated with the word "mass." Aside from the art critics, the gallerist Plinio De Martiis had the most influence on the artwork: his membership in the PCI was quite well known, and many of the Italian artists that he chose to promote at an International level (later known as the artists of the *Scuola di Piazza del Popolo*), had a relationship with the Communist party, namely the PCI (e.g., Franco Angeli) and Potere Operaio (e.g., Mario Schifano). Communism thus had a strong political influence on the artistic fortune of Pop Art in Italy that this analysis shows to be quite compelling.

- Waves of Italian Pop Art

At the outset, this thesis initially anticipated finding two Italian waves, corresponding to the American ones: from 1954 to 1962 and from 1962 to 1968. In contrast, however, it identified four waves in Italy. Taking into account the antecedents, the first wave of Italian Pop Art should start in 1955, to coincide with Titina Maselli's return from New York and Mimmo Rotella's exhibition of his décollages at *I sette pittori sul Tevere a Ponte Santangelo*, and end in 1962, with the exhibit at Sidney Janis Gallery, which was the official point of contact

between Italian Pop artists and American Pop artists in the US and the entrance of the word Pop Art in Italian art reviews and newspapers, as data that provide evidence of the beginning of Pop Art in Italy. Spanning from 1962-1964, the second wave should consider its appearance in Italy, until its rise in the 32nd Venice Biennale. The third wave instead should consist of the biennium 1964-1966, given that the Italian artists' participation in the 32nd Venice Biennale immediately establishes the protagonists of Italian Pop Art, acting as a discriminant; indeed the 33rd Venice Biennale in 1966 initiated a new wave of Pop protagonists, in a time when art critics began to feel less of a necessity to point out the differences between Italian and American Pop Art, and the artistic scene in Italy, making way for new kinds of art research, such as Arte Povera, ending the third wave in 1968. The fourth wave should start in 1968, year of protest for antonomasia. In the last wave, artwork from Italian Pop's most famous artists, such as Schifano, documents an involvement in the events of protest with symbols of communism; however the last group of artists, from De Filippi to Guttuso, considered in the footnotes, had a marginal reminiscence of Pop language that continued at least until 1972, with Guttuso's *Funerali di Togliatti*. They worked especially later in the Seventies, and their style was evolving toward something that was not Pop, though it still had to deal with concrete, real events.

II. Limitations of the study

The main limitation of this study is the vast nature of the debate on Pop Art, in terms of the broad current itself and the resultant bibliography; the overlap of data, given the multiple actors at stake that require analysis on several levels, from art critic to art market, and the extensive documentation, most of which is not accessible to researchers. As a result, a lack of clarity remains on some important points on Pop Art.

- First, the importance and the success of the current brought many countries to improperly appropriate the Pop label, without considering the implication of the word itself on the artists' works. This is also the case for Italy: although the word Pop entered art reviews, newspapers, and there is much documentation that demonstrates the close relationship between Italian Pop artists and American artists and gallerists, it does not mean that the word Pop Art is necessarily positive for the Italian artwork. Perhaps *arte popolare* would be a better phrase to describe the work of

Italian artists, due to the connotations of *popolare* in Italy in terms of tradition, historical facts, and of the common general meaning that it evoked among Italians (e.g., solidarity). It is true that Pop Art is the English abbreviation of Popular Art— literally the translation of *arte popolare*—but it is equally true that popular in the US meant something different from *popolare*, given that it was a word that connoted American tradition and society, itself different from British *popular culture* for the same reasons. Aside from the phrase *arte popolare* and the others that have been part of the debate such as New realism, Neo-Dada, Commonism, Objectual Art, Factualist Art, Arte Ok, and Nuova Figurazione, none of them seem to adapt to describe all the features of the Italian Pop current. Those terms unevenly reflect just one of the many aspects encompassed by the Pop current and appear unable to take any position on a revolutionary art tendency.

- Second, the wide debate on Pop Art as a current, a movement and an Avant-guard did not shed sufficient light on the factors that led art critics to name it as such. On the one side, art commentators, especially those willing to embrace the trend and systematize it in the history of art, were trying to do so by defining it as a derivative from the past Avant-guards such as Dada, Cubism and Futurism. On the other side, the confusion on the true definition of Pop Art still remains in the current literature on Pop Art. This thesis proposes to call Pop Art a current, rather than a movement or an Avant-guard, because it did not have either a manifesto or artists gathered around a common objective. However, it is true that after the Avant-guards, Pop Art was the first art current that lasted almost for ten years, and the extended length of time is a criteria that could signal the importance of the movement. Thus, the remaining question in regards to this limit is whether time should be the primary reflection to underpin the possibility to consider Pop Art as a movement, the first movement without a manifesto, but one that was put together by the art market system and its following success.

- Third, the geographical and chronological issues still have restrictions in the discussion: according to the viewpoint of several art critics, it is quite difficult to establish when and

where the phenomenon of Pop Art began, although it seems to be in the UK. However, this thesis wants to know whether, when artists such as Titina Maselli and Mimmo Rotella went to the US in the Fifties, they helped to shape a new style already in the US, thus creating the basis of American Pop Art. If such a premise were correct that would mean that the so-called Pop Art style imported to Italy was already a US-Italian Pop Art style. However, the lack of documentation on many artists and their travels could not reveal anything beyond what has already been stated, constituting thus a further limit.

III. Contribution of the thesis

Within the explained framework and the developed methodology that confronts issues encompassed—but not solved—by the current Pop Art bibliography, there is no scientific work on Italian Pop Art that investigates its Italian reception in the Sixties and that proposes such results, to the best knowledge of this author. Instead, there are numerous valid curatorial texts that analyze many aspects studied in this thesis. Additionally, it seems to be the first work that offers a necessary re-reading of Pop Art as a phenomenon itself within the territory of Italy, and redefines and re-contextualizes it within the international global framework. Finally, the interdisciplinary approach, including the analysis on institutionalization, shed light on further dimensions, in order to provide a complete picture of what happened in Italy. In this regard, the main contributions of this research can be outlined as follows:

- The critical fortune of Pop Art in Italy has been extensively documented and the leading discussions, debated. In so doing, it emphasized previously unknown aspects, such as the war for supremacy between US and Italy, and reduced others that were highlighted as primary by the art critics after 1966 and in the current literature on Pop Art, such as the connection between Italy and UK, that looked at the paternity of the term (i.e., Alloway) as the main element to categorize Pop Art.

- The philological methodology is based on a close reading of critical responses to Italian Pop Art and to the melting of American and British style within the artworks, e.g., when Baj notes the dominance of the American style. All the issues discussed are studied within contexts that illuminate their significance and relevance from an historical viewpoint on the one hand, and from a socio-cultural impact, on the other. Thus,

this thesis builds on arguments that present different and critical nuances to re-read the current of Pop in Italy.

- To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first study on Italian Pop artwork, grouped in such a way, with a particular focus on the concept of Pop within the artwork, illustrating its Italian meaning (namely what was popular for these artists), taking into account the personal background of each artist, the historical context in which they were moving, and the art system (namely the influence of their gallerists and collectors on their works).

- The institutional documentation on Pop artwork acquisitions by public museums provides a solid basis to assess the musealization of the Pop Art current in Italy and the achievements of private gallerists in promoting their artists at both a national and international level. Thus it can be recognized as pioneering research on the institutionalization of the Italian Pop Art at a national level, with its wider scope.

Overall, examining the complexity of the Pop trend and the intricacy of its Italian reception, this thesis specifies further connections and associations not only between Europe and the US, but also within Italy, including the particular results of territorial localisms.

IV. Future research

In proposing a solid methodology for the investigation of the Pop Art current in Italy, this thesis aims to be a model for further analysis in other countries, particularly in Europe. Given the huge discussion surrounding the art historical supremacy that Italy claimed to have over the US, in order to verify whether there has been a wider battle, the Pop currents of other European countries (specifically those freed from oppressive totalitarian regimes by the US, such as Germany) should be investigated in relationship to the US. In so doing, the Pop current could be re-read from a broader angle that tries to better comprehend the results of Pop at a continental level. In this way Europe, with its strong diversity, could really elucidate the intersections among its countries and the influence of the actors of the art system. Thus, the connections between Pop Art in the US and in Europe could then perhaps explain the artistic results in each territory.

Dictionary Appendix

Scarabelli Luciano, *Vocabolario universale della lingua italiana* (Milan: Giuseppe Civelli, 1878): 906.
Popolare: *Add. Com.* Dicesi in generale di Qualunque cosa che si riferisca al popolo o volgo; Del popolo, Popolesco. – Ridea del *popolar* giudicio vano (Ar. *Orl. Fur*. 27. 106). L'empio che i *popolari* impeti teme (TASS. *Ger*. 4. 58). Deliberazioni *popolari* (*Cron. Vell.*).
2 – Che ha le maniere del popolo, che sa farsi amare dal popolo, Accetto al popolo. – Pareva che… i nobili avessino deposta quella loro superbia e fussino diventati d'animo *popolare* sopportabili da qualunque ancora infimo (Mach. Op. 5.30). Il duca di Guisa, affabile di parole e *popolare* di fatti (DAVIL. 1. 26). Como fanno i tiranni col mostrare qualche atto virtuoso e *popolare* per iscemare l'odio e l'invidia (SALVIN. Disc. Ac. 6. 108).
3 – Farsi popolare: Conciliarsi l'affezione del popolo. – Facendomi così degnevole, comune e *popolare* (SALVIN. in Pros. fior. Lett. 4. 1. 312).
4 – Eloquenza popolare: Parlar proporzionato all'intendimento del popolo, Da essere inteso e gustato dal volgo. I quali col credito loro e con plausibile e *popolare eloquenza*… andavano innescando gli animi entrare nella collegazione (DAVIL. 2. 364).
5 – Aura popolare: per favore e grazia popolare. V. AURA 7.
6 – Stato popolare, Governo popolare: Forma di Governo o Stato in cui l'autorità è riposta nelle mani del popolo. Per tal verso ciascheduno di quei capi *popolari* andò quello Stato augmentando in popolar governo interamente (SEGN. *Polit*. 2.10)
7 – Della setta e fazione del popolo, *ed in questo senso usasi anche in forza di Sm. altrimenti* Popolano. *Lat*. popularis. *Gr.* Δημεραστής – Gli cittadini di Roma sono molto isdegnosi grandi e *popolari* (*Nov. Ant*. 54.7). Sia io tenuto, fra un mese dall'entrata del mio reggimento far giurare tutti e singoli *populari* della città di Pisa (*Arch. St. Ital*. 15. 4). Più si conviene a una ricca che a una *popolare* o semplice femina (*Esp.* P. N. 85). Chiamarono tre grandi e *popolari* priori di parte (G. VILL. 7.16.2). Contenea, che ecc. dovesser essere presenti a ogni partito e deliberazioni de' *popolari* (*Cron.* Vell. 111). Dietro a' quali correndo gli altri *popolari*, si fece perla città grandissima sollevazione (GUICC. *Stor*. 9). L'altra (*voce*) ch'è pure usata da' *popolari*, non fu rifiutata dal Petrarca (TASS. *Apol.*).
8 – (Med.) Malattie popolari: Malattie endemiche ed epidemiche.
9 – (Mit.) Aggiunto di Venere; altrimenti Pandemo o Pandemia. *Popolari* amanti: che non seguono la Venere Urania, ma la Pandemo, non la celeste, ma la *popolare* (SALVIN. *Annot. F. B. 3.4.6*)

Policarpo Petrocchi, *Novo dizionario universale della lingua italiana*, (Milano: Fratelli Treves Editori, 1931): 537.
Popolare, agg. Di popolo. *Governo, Stato – Parte La gran massa –* A favore del popolo. *Biblioteca – gratuita. Banca mutua. – Scuole, Istruzione – Le maggioranze – devono transigere di fronte al diritto. Larghissima base. – Forviare il criterio – Furor – Tumulti – Ufo, Festa – Aura, Favore, Plauso, Credulità, Potere – Uomo* – Che gode il favore del popolo. *Autore, Poeta, Scrittore* – Che è affabile col popolo. Non com. Del gusto e dell'intendimento o del conio del popolo. *Romanza – Frasi* – sost. T. stor. Uno di parte popolana.

Zingarelli Nicola, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1941): 1171.
Popolare= a. Empire di popolo, Rendere abitato, Fornire di popolazione. |*terre incolte, disabitate*. | il paese. | Empire di gente. | *Sala, teatro; scuole, prigioni.*| rfl. Crescere di popolazione. |ag. *POPULĀRIS. Attinente a popolo. Di tutta la moltitudine dei cittadini e abitanti. | *plauso* -. | *aura, favore* - | furore – della folla eccitata.| Diffuso tra tutto il popolo. | *Perché la letteratura non sia – in Italia*, Titolo di un libro di R. Bonghi. |*scrittore molto* -. | Che gode il favore del popolo.| *ministro* -.| Del popolo semplice, non istruito, ingenuo| v. poesia.| *canzone* -.| Di stile semplice, adatto a esser ritenuto e cantato dal popolo. Adatto all'intelligenza, alle condizioni, e possibilità del popolo, e fatto in suo servigio e vantaggio.

spettacolo, festa -.|*scuole* -. |*biblioteca*-.|v. università.|banca -, per piccoli prestiti.| Democratico.| governo -. |*partito* -, cattolico, che si appoggia sul voto del popolo minuto, nel quale si serba più viva la fede religiosa.| Affabile, Umano col popolo e con tutti.

Migliorini Bruno, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Florence: G.B. Paravia & C.): 1043 – 1044.
Pòpe: s.m. Prete della chiesa russa. Dal russo *pop*.
I. **Popolare**, agg. Del popolo: *Ceto, Tumulto, Favore, popolare*. Abitato, Frequentato dal popolo: *Rione, Quartiere, Cinema popolare*. Del popolo in senso politico sociale: *La sovranità popolare, Democrazia popolare*. Istituto per il popolo: *Biblioteca, Rappresentazione, Banca, Scuola Popolare*. Che ha qualità adatte per il popolo, Che ha voga nel popolo: *Scrittore, Poeta, Canzone, popolare*. Sim., *Parole, Frasi, popolari*, Usate correntemente dal popolo. In questi casi l'agg. ha significato più largo e più nobile che nei prec., e non esclude le persone civili.

Populismo, s.m., Nome di vari movimenti politici e letterari che intendono manifestare la loro aderenza ai ceti più popolari.

Devoto Giacomo, Gian Carlo Oli, *Vocabolario illustrato della lingua italiana* (Milan: Casa editrice Felice Le Monnier and Selezione dal Reader's Digest, 1967): 575.

Pop-art: <pòp àat> loc. ingl., usata in italiano come sost. femm. Forma di arte contemporanea, elaborata negli U.S.A., ispirata agli aspetti più vistosi della realtà di oggi, ripresentati con violenta immediatezza ed espedienti tecnici talvolta assurdi. [Da *pop(ular) art*].

Popolare: 1. Rel. Al popolo, spec. In quanto entità sociale (cui spesso si associano fattori di ordine culturale e politico): *costumi p.; la sovranità p.*
2. Part., con riferimento al livello sociale, l'agg. Può implicare, soggettivamente, svalutazione (*un quartiere p.*) o una spiegazione istintiva, non fondata storicamente (*un'etimologia p.*), ma anche un senso di considerazione (*il buon senso p.*), precisabile, anticamente, nei confronti di una certa innata franchezza e affabilità (*Placido affabilmente e p., Tasso*). Oggettivamente, spec. Sul piano culturale, può designare la continuità o l'importanza di una tradizione ininterrotta, contrapposto all'innovazione o al recupero operati dagli scienziati e dai dotti (*medicina p.; poesia p.*), oppure, in posizione a scelte o discriminazioni di tipo aristocratico, indicare sempl. Ampia diffusione o notevole godimento di simpatia o favore (un artista molto p.). Al motivo politico, infine, tende affiancarsi soprattutto quello economico, sia che si vogliano indicare istituzioni dirette ad agevolare le classi meno abbienti (*credito p.; biblioteca p.*), sia che si voglia alludere a quanto può corrispondere a disponibilità limitate (prezzi p.). [Dal lat. *Popularis*].

Giorgio Cusatelli, *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (Milan: Garzanti editore, 1971): 1295 – 1296.
Pop-art (ingl.; pr. pòp àat), *s.f.*, (in it.) (*neol.*) movimento artistico americano d'avanguardia che tende a sostituire, nell'opera d'arte, l'immagine dell'oggetto con l'oggetto stesso || Tratto da *pop(ular) art* 'arte popolare'.

Pop-corn (ingl.; pr. pòp kòon), s.m. (in it.) chicchi di granturco che, esposti al fuoco vivo, sono stati fatti scoppiare ed hanno acquistato un piacevole sapore || forma contratta di *popped corn* 'grano scoppiato'.

Popolare: (ant. *populare*) agg. 1. del popolo: *movimento, manifestazione -; linguaggio -*, quello di tutti i giorni, né colto né scientifico, proprio della massa. 2. Fatto a favore del popolo: *prezzi popolari*; *biblioteca, scuola -; casa -*, adatta alle possibilità economiche del popolo 3. Conforme ai gusti e alla mentalità del popolo: detto, leggenda-; arte -; poesia -, quella che

esprime sentimenti popolari o che tratta in maniera popolare temi già espressi dalla poesia d'arte 4. che è molto noto o diffuso tra il popolo; che ne gode le simpatie: *canzone -*; *attore -*; *un uomo politico molto*.

Populismo: s.m. forma di socialismo generico, senza precisa impostazione dottrinale; in particolare il movimento rivoluzionario russo della seconda metà del sec. XIX, anteriore al diffondersi del marxismo || Dall'ingl. *populism*, deriv. di *populist*, V. *populista*.

Zingarelli Nicola, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1983): 1434.
Pop [vc. ingl., acrts. di *popular* 'popolare'] agg. inv. Detto di genere artistico che, per i suoi contenuti sociologici, culturali e di costume, trova ampia diffusione spec. tra i giovani: *musica*, *cantanti -*; *cultura-*. **Pop Art** [vc. ingl., da *pop(ular) art* 'arte popolare'] s.f.inv. Forma artistica, di origine americana, che trae ispirazione dagli aspetti più immediati della civiltà dei consumi, presentandoli nella loro assurda oggettività o combinandoli in messaggi provocatori e surrealistici.

Pop corn [vc. anglo-amer., comp. di *Pop*'scoppiato' (di origine espressiva) e *corn* 'granoturco' vc. germ. di origine indeur.)]s.m.inv. Chicchi di granoturco arrostiti.

Popolare (2) [vc. dotta, lat. *populāre(m)*, da pŏpulus 'popolo (1)'] agg. **1** Del, relativo al popolo, inteso come moltitudine di cittadini: *favore*, *plauso -*; *manifestazione -*; *ridea del popular giudicio vano* (ARIOSTO) | *Lingua -*, comunemente usata | *Voce -*, notizia o chiacchiera ripetuta da molti, molto conosciuta | (dir.) *Giudice -*, privato cittadino chiamato eccezionalmente a svolgere funzioni giurisdizionali in processi civili o, nella corte d'assise, in processi penali. **2.** Del, relativo al popolo, inteso come classe socialmente ed economicamente meno elevata: *interessi popolari*; *rivendicazioni popolari***. 3.** Che proviene dal popolo, che vive ed è diffuso tra il popolo: *canzone*, *musica -*; *antiche leggende popolari*. **4.** Fatto o realizzato per il popolo, tenendo conto delle sue necessità, dei suoi gusti e sim.: *case popolari*; *spettacolo*, *festa-*.**5.** Che gode il favore e le simpatie del popolo, che è largamente conosciuto o diffuso: *ministro*, *attore*, *romanzo* -. CONTR. Impopolare. 6. Democratico: *governo -*.

Populismo [ingl. *populism*, dal lat, pŏpulus 'popolo' (1) col suff. *–ism* '-ismo'] s.m. **1.** Movimento politico russo della fine del XIX sec., che aspirava alla formazione di una società socialista di tipo contadino, contraria all'industrialismo occidentale. **2.** est. Ideologia caratteristica di movimento politico o artistico che vede nel popolo un modello etico e sociale.

Palazzi Fernando, *Novissimo Dizionario della lingua italiana* (Milan, Varese: Industrie grafiche A. Nicola & C. , 1957): 861.
Popolare: agg. [dal lat. populàris] del popolo: *canzoni*, *costumi popolari*, *festa popolare* || fatto, istituito per il popolo: *letture popolari* || *governo popolare*, in cui ha parte il popolo || conosciuto, compreso, ammirato dal popolo: *uomo popolare*, *scrittore popolare* || usato dal popolo, diffuso tra il popolo: *modi di dire popolari*, *musiche popolari* || *banca popolare*, per piccoli prestiti || **N.** popolaresco, famoso, noto, volgare, in auge, in voga | *contr.* Impopolare.

Migliorini Bruno, *Parole nuove. Appendice di dodicimila voci al «Dizionario Moderno», di Alfredo Panzini* (Milan: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, 1963): 228.
Pop-corn. Voce statunitense (pron. Pòpcòon). Chicchi di granturco fatti scoppiare esponendoli al fuoco vivo. Nei dialetti veneti questi chicchi scoppiati si chiamano *galéti*=galletti.

Populismo. Nome di vari movimenti politici e letterari, che già nel nome vogliono sottolineare la loro aderenza al popolo: un importante movimento politico letterario russo della seconda metà dell'Ottocento (in russo *naròdničestvo*, da *naròd*=popolo) che intendeva portare le classi colte ad accostarsi al popolo, conoscendolo, amandolo e facendosene amare (al populismo letterario si orientarono Turgenev e Tolstoj); un movimento letterario francese fondato nel 1929 da Lemmonier e Thérive. Sim., *populista*, *populistico*.

Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana*, *Vol. XIII*, (Turin: Unione Tipografico- Editrice Torinese, 1988): 866 – 892.
Pòp, agg. Invar. Neol. Che è proprio, che si riferisce a un ambito culturale (o a un prodotto che a esso fa riferimento più o meno diretto) derivante dalle esperienze della *Popmusic* e più in genere della *Popculture* americana (e nel linguaggio comune, indica genericamente modernità e successo presso il pubblico giovanile). Anche sostant.
F. Russo [«L'Espresso», 27 –XI – 1966], 20: Cosa sta succedendo nella musica pop? È vero che la 'Beatlemania' sta tramontando?... Il consumo della musica Popsta diventando così rapido… che l'industria della musica Popin Inghilterra dura fatica a seguire il ritmo di evoluzione del consumo popolare… Il pubblico Popè estremamente imitativo: per il successo di un disco Popè necessaria la sua inclusione nella Top Twenty Chart.
2. Che è proprio, che si riferisce alla Pop Art, alle sue espressioni o agli artisti a essa ascrivibili.
= Forma abbreviata dell'ingl. *pop[ular]*

Pòp art, sf. Invar. Pitt. Movimento artistico americano degli anni sessanta (ma derivato da analoghe ricerche inglesi della metà degli anni cinquanta già designate con lo stesso termine), caratterizzato dal continuo riferirsi in modo per lo più critico e ironico alla realtà visiva della civiltà dei consumi e, in partic., all'immaginario connesso alle forme della pubblicità e della cultura popolare.
P. Rizzi [«Il Gazzettino», I – VII – 1964], 9. È con Rotella che si tocca il fondo. La banalità dei suoi manifesti strappati non trova giustificazione neppure in un nuovo ordine di ricerche espressive, come potrebbe essere per la 'Pop Art'. *M. Calvesi*, I- 295: Neo-Dada e Pop Art escludono, assai più che non si dica, la linea dell'espressionismo.
= Forma ingl. abbrev. Di *pop[ular] art*

Pop Artista, sm. E f. (plur. m. *–i*). Cultore, seguace della Pop Art.
Bigiaretti, II – 168: Mi volsi verso la mia sinistra, … dove la discussione sull'arte, al punto in cui Guarnieri l'aveva interrotta per dedicarsi a me, era stata abbandonata, lasciata assurda e inservibile come quei simulacri di oggetti pratici di cui si servono appunto i pop-artisti.
=Deriv. da *Pop Art*, secondo l'ital. *Artista*

Pop Artistico, agg. (plur. m. *-ci*). Che è proprio, che si riferisce alla Pop Art.
Montale, 4-3II: Nuovo era il contesto in cui appariva alla Biennale veneziana il Pop Artistico W. C. sottratto alla primitiva 'fruizione'.
=Deriv. da Pop Art, secondo l'ital. *Artista*

Popolare[1] (ant. *Popolaro, populare, povolare*), agg. (plur. ant. anche *populai*; superl. *popolarìssimo*). Che è proprio, che si riferisce alla popolazione di una città, di un luogo.
Falier, LII-3-3: Di quanto giovamento sia sempre stato ad una bene istituita repubblica, sapere il particolar governo de' potentati, l'animo e la disposizione loro, la diversità dei regni, il sito e le parti delle province, i costumi e le varietà popolari, da Vostra Serenità, per la somma sua sapienza e da voi, miei osservandissimi padroni, è benissimo conosciuto. *Chiabrera*, I-III-31: In qualunque parte egli appariva / ei venia segno a' popolari sguardi. *De Luca*, I-14-4-140: Sopra la censura dell'interdetto universale o popolare di tutta una città o di tutto un luogo abitato, cadono grandissime dispute. *Bandini*, 2-I-242: Se si spopola il

contado, bisogna ricorrere a cagioni più popolari, quali sono la povertà, la fatica, gli stenti, cose tutte efficacissime a spergere la campagna colle malattie, colle diserzioni, niente meno che accade negli eserciti. *Algarotti*, I-IX-303: Quale il fisico esperto i velenosi / sughi delle erbe in chimico fornello / a salute converte e a medicina / tale dai vizi popolari estrae / saggio legislator con l'alta mente / forza al comun, virtù, ricchezza e onore. *Ortes, 71*: Che il vizio nasca dalla forza e dalla prudenza di prevenire le offese temute, può parer strano alle orecchie popolari. *Carducci*, III-2-99: Senta come a fatti egregi è scola / anche una tomba cui pietà civile / e largo pianto popolar consola.

-Che colpisce un gran numero di persone o, anche, un'intera popolazione (un male fisico o morale, un'epidemia).

Tesauro, I-125: Era facil cosa introdurre il soccorso come il risolversi, perché i nimici, non ostanti i soccorsi, non bastano a fornir tanti posti, avendo gran parte degli uomini e de' cavalli da morti o da morbi populari abbattuta. *Muratori*, 7-IV-421: Di questi mali popolari degli animi niuno per avventura più pernicioso e di maggior durata partorì e provò l'Italia, quanto le funeste fazioni de' Guelfi e Ghibellini, … che almeno per tre secoli lacerarono le viscere di questo nobil regno. *A. Cocchi*, 5-I-118: Il meritamente da tutti medici venerato Ippocrate, com'egli stesso narra nel quinto libro de' mali popolari, quella donna grassa e svenuta, che morta pareva, ben trenta secchie di acqua fredda gettatagli sopra risvegliò.

-Acquisito da una totalità di persone (un'esperienza).

Targioni Tozzetti, 6-69: Segni avverati per popolare esperienza di mutazione d'aria, di mosse di venti, di piogge, di nevi.

2. Esercitato dal popolo intero (secondo una concezione democratica dello Stato).

B. Spaventa, I-21: Una lunga e fastidiosa polemica col giornale de' gesuiti, la «Civiltà Cattolica», su principi politici e sopra tutto quello della sovranità popolare. *B. Croce*, III-27-32: Richiesta di libertà individuale, di eguaglianza civile e politica e di sovranità popolare. *Bacchelli*, I-III-64: La sovranità popolare poi manco l'aveva udita mentovare.

-Espresso da tutte le persone aventi diritti politici.

Vittorini, 5-220: A questo mirava l'istanza democratica del popolo anche in America: a decidere per volontà popolare chi dovesse applicare la legge.

3. Concesso, accordato dal popolo (il favore, la gloria, l'onore).

Dante, Conv., I-XI-8: Boezio giudica la populare gloria vana, perché la vede sanza discrezione. *Prose e rime spirituali antiche*, 5: Più difficilmente manchiamo d'arroganzia che d'oro e di gemme, chè, gittate via queste cose, alle volte gonfiamo per le gloriose immondizie e offeriamo la vendibile povertà al popolare applauso. *Castelvetro*, 8-I-518: Se [le tragedie] si recitano senza contrasto, non piacciono al popolo e i poeti di quelle caggiono da quello alto grado di favore popolare dove erano saliti o speravano di salire. *Di Costanzo*, I-232: A tardo assai tornò al Castel di Capuana, avendo con la presenza soddisfatto molto a tutta la città, perch'era di bell'aspetto et atto a conciliarsi l'aura popolare. Tasso, 12-105: Così disse egli, e l'aure popolari / con applauso seguir le voci estreme. *Campiglia,* I-292: Don Antonio, priore del Crato, figliuolo di Lodovico fratello dell'istesso cardinale, si faceva nepote maschio e solo vero e legittimo erede di quel regno; e se bene pareva che avesse l'aura popolare, tuttavia per essere illegittimo nato d'una ebrea ne rimase escluso. *Rosa*, 2-310: Chi per via del bordello onor ricerca, / s'incammina all'infamia: io vo' più tosto / che l'aura popolar mi sia noverca. *A. Cattaneo*, I-465: L'immagine apparente e vana che il cane ingannato abboccò dentro l'acqua è gloria vana, il plauso e l'aura popolare che gli uomini pensano di stringere, quando danno ascolto e si compiacciono delle lodi. *Salvini*, 39-II-229: Più volentieri s'apprendono gli uomini ad una certa aura popolare, la quale senza molta pena e in breve tempo col solo mostrare di sapere s'acquista.

-Che proviene dal pubblico (un applauso).

B. Fioretti, 2-5-120: Si poteva e si conveniva in luogo di persona istrionica introdurre a domandar estrinsecamente l'applauso popolare, sì come usa spesse volte Plauto.

4. Sentito, provato dal popolo (un sentimento, uno stato d'animo).

C. Campana, IV-114: I Guantesi dall'altra parte, mossi da un certo popolare umore, si sollevarono e cercarono di far prigione il conte. *Martello*, 232: Questo amore veramente

platonico non è popolare, non essendo o inteso o amato dal popolo inclinato alla libidine. *Alfieri*, 4-133: Memmio, più alla maestà di Roma che al popolare sdegno mirando, di placarlo e di raddolcirlo ingegnavasi, affermando che mai non infrangerebbe egli la pubblica fede. *Nievo*, 387: Le porte furono sfondate da due zappatori: il sergente penetrò nella cassa, chiuse le somme ritrovatevi nella sua valigia, dichiarò che non v'aveano se non quattromila ducati, e riprese il cammino verso i granai lasciando anche là la rabbia popolare sfogarsi nei mobili e nelle carte. Pascoli, I-842: M'è venuta la nostalgia di quella mia povera chiusa, asilo di pace in mezzo all'imperversare degli odi e asti clerico-popolari.
-Accessibile al sentimento religioso del popolo, consono alle sue tradizioni religiose.
Savonarola, II-68: Ogni sera infino a domenica… ognuno si inginocchi e dica la Avemaria e li sette salmi penitenziali con letanie e orazioni, e chi non sa leggere dica trenta 'Ave Marie' e trenta 'Pater nostri'. E digiunate lunedì, mercoledì e venerdì. Questa orazione populare e unita a una ora placa molto l'ira di Dio: fatela che ce n'è bisogno.
5. Che appartiene al popolo, inteso come ceto sociale intermedio fra quello elevato della nobiltà e dell'alta borghesia e quello inferiore della plebe, soprattutto nell'età comunale (una persona, una famiglia).
Novellino, 54 (195): Li cittadini di Roma sono molto isdegnosi, grandi e popolari. Dante, Conv., I-XI-6: De l'abito di questa luce discretiva massimamente le populari persone sono orbate, però che, occupate dal principio de la loro vita ad alcuno mestiere, dirizzano sì l'animo loro a quello per forza de la necessitate che ad altro non intendono. *Testi fiorentini*, 138: Uno nobile cittadino popolaro ch'avea nome Giano della Bella, avendo una differenza co messer Berto di Frescobaldi, volendoli acupare sue ragioni per forza, il decto messer Berto, nella chiesa di San Pietro Scheraggio, puose la mano in sul naso a Giano della Bella, e disse ch'el glle moccerebbe.
A. Dei, 106: Come era intervenuto a Nardo Oricellaio, uno de' grandi popolari di Fiorenza, che, parlando contro di lui, fece pigliare e dopo alquanti dì, a pitizione e per detto de' grandi di Fiorenza e per loro procaccio, il fece impiccare per la gola. *Boccaccio*, *Dec.* 7-10 (I-IV-658): Furono… in Siena due giovani popolari, de' quali l'uno ebbe nome Tingoccio Mini e l'altro fu chiamato Meuccio di Tura. *Cronichetta d'incerto 280*: I Fiorentini elessono otto uomini, due per quartiere, sette populari e uno gentile, buoni e valentri e amatori del comune di Firenze. *Cappellano volgar.*, I-85: Nella popolare femmina prodezza procede solo da virtù dentro nell'animo nata e da ottima disposizione di mente, sicchè quasi naturale si può dire. *Acciaiuoli*, 191: Io vostro cittadino popolare e guelfo. *Sanudo*, LIII-564: Vi sono 'etiam' ducati 250 in zerca per paga da esser dispensati al maridar di donzele popular. *Agostino Giustiniani*, 115: In questi tempi era uno chiamato Abbate, avvegna che fussi seculare et uomo populare, il quale in qualche cosa ministrava ragione alla plebe. *Speroni*, I-2-276: In Venezia ed in Padova nelle nostre contrade, dal Bembo in poi, che ci fè noto il Petrarca, maggiore è il numero delle donne, sì populari come gentili, che hanno il nome della sua Laura che nell'avanzo di tutta Italia. *Campiglia*, I-616: Sedici soli uomini popolari erano contrari a sua Maestà. *Zilioli*, II-49: Stati si chiamano in Francia i tre ordini ne i quali si distingue per antica consuetudine il popolo francese, capace sempre d'una medesima libertà, e nel quale nascendo tutti egualmente popolari e abili al gran consiglio della nazione, non si conosce alcun altra distinzione tra gli uomini privati che quella della robba e della virtù. *G. Gozzi*, I-2-173: Per un poco dunque di vanagloria e di amor proprio tu giudichi ora che un uomo debba abbandonare l'esame della verità e s'egli vede gli errori delle teste popolari, abbia a tacere e a non cercare di sgombrare dalle teste del popolo quelle tenebre che le circondano? *S. Spaventa*, I-174: È chiaro che, per riconquistare il nostro territorio, ci bisognava l'impiego energico e illimitato di tutte le nostre forze: tale era il nostro dovere morale e la necessità esteriore delle cose: ma quelle forze erano nel braccio popolare anziché nel cuore generoso dal ceto educato e bene istrutto. *Carducci*, III-6-202. Quindi il novero dei grandi santi, popolari, operosi, civili, si chiude al finir del cinquecento con Filippo Neri.
-Sostant.

Ristoro, I-7: Troviamo vi stelle raunate, delle quali le quattri fanno uno quadrangolo, e le due stanno con una coda ritta, e sono chiamate 'plyades', ed i popolari le chiamano gallinelle. *Vita di S. Petronio*, 19: Alora li bolognixi si vestino tuti, li çentili omini e povolari da bene. *Cavalca*, 19-194: Incominciarono a correre gli nobili e gli popolari, gli maschi e le femmine, e vennero a vedere lo santissimo Isaac. *G. Villani*, 9-76: In Firenze si cominciò grande sisma e parte tra guelfi; e dall'una parte che disamavano la signoria del re Ruberto erano capo messer Simone della Tosa con certi grandi e Magalotti con certi popolari. *Niccolò del Rosso*, VII-520 (64-9): Lor terre rezen populari, / dove nullo secreto sta coperto / per l'encostancia digli merzenari. *Colombini*, 94: Missere lo vescovo… narrò che 'l signore di Pisa ch'è uno popolaro, istà come un Dio e continuo gli stanno innanzi da trenta conti e cavaglieri, i quali gli mirano tutti alle mani. *S. Gregorio Magno volgar.*, III-14 (14): La qua cosa sapiandose incontenente per la terra incomençam a corre' li nobili e li populai. *Trattatello di colori rettorici*, I-22: O bassi popolari di Firenze, voi siete nelle piazze grandi aringatori, ma ne' consigli state mutoli. *Ottimo*, III-279: Molti nobili e popolari, cherici e laici, dispregiata la pompa del secolo, s'accostarono alle sue [di Francesco] vestigie, li quali il santo padre ammaestrò l'evangelica perfetta povertade. *Cronica d'Orvieto*, 647: In questo medesimo dì si rifece un consiglio in casa de' Sette di certi popolari grossi, et oridinarono che li Sette insieme con Petruccio conte e messer Ciuccio di messer Nericola fossero conservatori e difensori de l'officio de' Sette e del Popolo. *Capellano volgar.*, I-61 Avvegna Iddio che io gli tuoi sermoni riprendere non voglia, per nessuna ragione posso vedere se'l popolare avanza il nobile in prodezza, perché più degno non sia di ricever doni, con ciò sia cosa che tutti da un principio dirivati siamo. *Leonardo*, 2-115: Uno artigiano, andando spesso a viçitare uno signore sanza altro proposito dimandare, al quale il signore domandò quello che andava facendo, questo disse che veniva lì per avere de' piaceri che lui aver non potea, però che lui volentieri vedeva omini più potenti di lui, come fanno i popolari, ma che l' signore non potea vedere omini se non men possa di lui; e per questo i signori mancavano d'esso piacere. *Sanudo*, XI-370: Lui à fato intender a molti citadini e populari che, auto el castelo, tutti debano amazar quelli arano in caxa, acciò possino venir a la bataia. *Guicciardini*, II-197, Al principio delle contenzioni co' nostri gentiluomini intervenne quasi la maggior parte de' popolari. *Sozzini*, 14: Nacque tanto sdegno infra quei popolari dello stato…che stavano tuttavolta per tumultuare. *Agostini*, I-47: I poderosi cittadini son lasciati vivere così oziosi come vogliono e li soli popolari meschini sono quelli che per gli uni e per gli altri pagano le pene corporali della frusta e della galea. *Garzoni*, 7-403: A Mestre ed a Marghera presso a Venezia vediamo certi bambocci indorati, che in quei luoghi son chiamati dai popolari poavole, su le carrocce vendersi e comprarsi per i putti solamente. *F. Badoer*, LXXX-3-143: Li popolari odiano la nazione spagnuola quanto si possa dire. *Gualdo Priorato*, 10-VII-17: Partita la corte da Parigi, risorsero più strepitosi che mai i rumori che sembravano già quasi estinti, così nella città fra i populari come nel Parlamento, per divertire e porre ogni impedimento possibile ai progressi del re. *Brusoni*, II: Venne da tutti universalmente detestata questa congiura come intrapresa per sola superbia di spirito de' popolari di non poter soffrire il dominio della nobiltà. *Giannone*, I-V-312: Passandosi dal tumulto alla ribellione, dimandavano i popolari al vicerè i Castelli. *F.A. Grimaldi*, XVIII-5-530: Un popolare ricco può divenire facilmente pernicioso allo stato. *De Nicola*, 238: Alle ore 11 mi è stato detto che una compagnia di soldati saliva le nostre scale…Si è saputo dopo che, colto il momento che le due sentinelle non erano avanti al portone, un popolare malintenzionato…è andato a chiamare la detta partita di soldati per portarli al saccheggio. Bacchelli, I-III-76: Ora, quanto più vero fosse che il fisco non aveva altro mezzo efficace ai suoi bisogni, tanto più appariva impotente il governo a rimediare alla miseria. Dato che il popolare distingua fra impotenza e malavoglia, è invogliato a ribellarsi dalla prima e anche più che dalla seconda.

-Che si colloca all'interno del ceto suddetto (l'origine di una persona).

De Luca, I-3-2-102: La più fina pazzia… che frequentemente si pratica, a mio giudizio, par che sia quella di coloro li quali avendo natali popolari et essendosi per il loro valore o per virtù, in armi o in lettere, vantaggiati a stato di fortuna migliore, disprezzando la nobiltà,

forse maggiore della propria virtù, cominciano a far delle càballe nel mutar patria e nel ritrovare per il mondo qualche fameglia nobile, la quale abbia someglianza di cognome, facendosi dell'istessa e assumendo l'istess'arme.
-Con riferimento all'argomento e ai personaggi della commedia classica, che secondo la concezione aristotelica dovevano esser tratti dai ceti medi.
B. Fioretti, 2-5-119: In essa [commedia]…sono alcune specie intrinseche, sustanziali e necessarie: prima il subbietto, o sia vero, conforme all'uso della commedia antichissima; o favoloso, secondo lo stile della commedia nuova: il qual subbietto debb'esser fondato sopra popolari e non signorili affari, per non confondere la commedia con la tragedia. *F. F. Frugoni*, 4-181: La commedia è di suggetti popolari.
-Composto, costituito da persone del popolo, di modeste condizioni economiche e culturali (un gruppo, una folla, una classe sociale).
Castelvetro, 8-I-361: Conciosia cosa che coloro li quali non menano una vita così santa, come generalmente fa la moltitudine popolare, prendano maggior spavento e più si sgomentino veggendo la persona migliore di loro patire, che non farebbono se vedessono uno simile a loro, dubitando che a loro non incontri simile disaventura. *Ghirardacci*, 3-380: Cominciorono a gridare: «Popolo, popolo», ma non faceva la gente popolare segno di mozione alcuna. *Baldi*, 4-2-68: Giunta l'ora e concorsavi la città tutta, che sì per buon principio cominciava a respirare, Guido Staccoli, preposto del Duomo e prima dignità della cattedrale…riccamente apparossi, solennemente cantolla [la messa], trovandovisi presenti Antonio, Paolo, Vitellozzo e tutti gli altri più principali gentiluomini e cittadini, e con esso loro tutta la moltitudine popolare. *Duodo*, LII-15-157: Il terzo stato comprende tutte quelle condizioni di uomini che non sono né ecclesiastici né gentiluomini, il quale non potressimo dire stato popolare. *Gualdo Priorato*, 3-I-78: Il luogotenente civile si ritirò nel Castellet con alcuni consiglieri, e qui fu assediato dalla turba popolare. *Brusoni*, 456: Bolliva… tuttavia lo spirito della sedizione per le città del regno sovra l'estinzione delle gabelle: e il viceré, per diminuire il numero de' malcontenti in Napoli, spediva in quei luoghi le soldatesche popolari ben pagate alle spese de' popoli tumultuanti. *Fanfani*, LVII-13: Già morto Lorenzo e succedutogli Pietro, uomo di piccolo animo e di piccola mente, venne fuori per opera di fra Girolamo Savonarola, una propria setta repubblicana tutta popolare, che pur ebbe seguito assai. *Ungaretti*, XI-36: Alta sopra una collina, in mezzo a un quartiere di Egiziani di ceto popolare, domina anche oggi la colonna, detta di Pompeo, ma che, tolta al tempio di Serapide, fu forse eretta da Teodosio, in commemorazione della vittoria del Cristianesimo. *Caproni*, 2-20: Livorno popolare / correva con lei a lavorare. /Né ombra né sospetto / era allora nel petto.
-Formato dai rappresentanti del popolo.
Castiglione, 486: Oltre a questo consiglio dei nobili, ricordarei che fossero eletti tra il populo altri di minor grado, dei quali si facesse un consiglio populare che communicasse col consiglio dei nobili le occorrenzie della città appertinenti al publico ed al privato. *Caro*, 5-160: Sono questi apologi molto accomodati ai parlamenti popolari.
6. Provocato, suscitato e, anche, compiuto dal popolo (un moto, un tumulto, una rivolta).
L. Dati, XXXVI-20: Ma l'dio Indoctus populare alunno / standosi in mezzo il popular tumulto / molto mi sbeffa, seguitando seco / tutta la turba. *Ariosto*, 23-47: Da parte del signore un bando venne / che tosto il popular strepito rompe / e promette gran premio a chi dia aviso / chi stato sia che gli abbia il figlio ucciso. *Nardi*, 40: Solo sosteneva [Cesone Quinzio] l'empito dei tribuni e la tempesta popolare. *Alamanni*, 6-68: Venia portato / dal furor popolare a proprio danno. *Tasso*, 4-58: L'empio che i popolari impeti teme, / così le sue menzogne adorna e tesse / che la città, del ver dubbia e sospesa, / sollevata non s'arma a mia difesa. *Giuglaris*, I-158: I Napolitani in una popolare sedizione, più che frenetici, al solo comparire del re Ferdinando deposte l'armi, in un momento si racquetarono. *Vico*, 4-I-861: Per cagion di debiti eran sepolti ne' privati carceri di essi nobili, finchè assai tardi con una sollevazion popolare furono costretti liberarsene con la legge Petelia. *Botta*, 6-I-45: Siccome suole accadere nei moti popolari, chi ne diceva di più, questi n'era più applaudito e miglior popolano tenuto. *Manzoni, Pr. Sp.*, 13 (229): Ne' tumulti popolari c'è sempre un

certo numero d'uomini che, o per un riscaldamento di passione, o per una persuasione fanatica, o per un disegno scellerato…, fanno di tutto per ispinger le cose alla peggio. *Aleardi,* I-356: Con la prima / pietra di strage popolar vermiglia / de la vinta Bastiglia / incominciò la rapida ruina / de le gotiche reggie. *Montanelli*, 72: So come al primo ruggito popolare i più ostinati nemici della libertà vengono a patti. *Pasolini*, 9-342: Era il momento in cui tutta la Resistenza e tutto l'antifascismo si presentavano idealmente come socialismo, rivolta popolare.

7. Favorevole agli interessi del popolo (spesso concepito come partito o fazione dei ceti bassi, in contrapposizione al ceto dominante), alle forme politiche democratiche, a una politica economica di redistribuzione delle ricchezze. – In partic.: nell'antica Roma, che sostiene la fazione (detta anche *popolare*) contrapposta a quella senatoria o patrizia.

Machiavelli, I-I-135: Pareva che… i nobili avessono disposto quella loro superbia e fossero diventati d'animo popolare e sopportabili da qualunque ancora che infimo. *Nardi*, 41: La gioventù era tutta populare. *Foglietta*, LVIII-38: Popolare, cioè seguitante il bene e l'utile comune del popolo ed inimico della causa nobile. *T. Contarini*, LII-5-435: In evento che i francesi potenti passassero i monti, potrebbe facilmente accadere che la parte popolare, scacciando i nobili (come altre volte scambievolmente è successo in quella città), si dichiarasse apertamente francese. *G. Averani*, I-156: Cicerone nella difesa di Rabirio graziosamente motteggia Labieno, che si spacciava per un uomo popolare e grazioso alla plebe ed amorevole. *Alfieri*, 4-134: Questa pessima usanza di dividersi i Romani in popolare e senatoria fazione, e quanti vizi doveva tal dissessione produrre, nati erano pochi anni prima e dall'ozio e dall'abbondanza di quelle cose che reputan gli uomini prime. *Oriani*, X-13-28: Attraverso le ultime barriere doganali e linguistiche i mestieri irreggimentano i lavoratori; una solidarietà formulata nei vangeli del nuovo partito popolare e confermata dai suoi sinodi internazionali oppone una politica operaia unitaria alla politica internazionale dei governi. *Pascoli*, I-208: Viva la Monarchia poetica puntellata dalla Massoneria e dai partiti popolari.

-Sostant.

Bartolomeo da S.C., 73: I popolari romani erano caduti e stramazzati per molte cagioni. *Cantoni*, 658:-Con certi commediografi, con certi medici, con certi esteti, coi parroci oltramontani, coi moderati e coi popolari…Devi dire piuttosto con chi non l'ha! – E vuoi che te lo stronchi io? *Beltramelli*, I-72: Il conte Agesilao…è fra coloro che difendono il nostro patrimonio d'arte dell'eccessiva praticità dei cosidetti popolari.

-Per estens. Vantaggioso, utile per il popolo.

Boccaccio, VIII-I-20: Colui, nel quale poco avanti pareva ogni publica speranza esser posta, ogni affezione cittadina, ogni rifugio popolare, subitamente, senza cagione legittima, … è furiosamente mandato in inrevocabile esilio.

-Che interpreta i bisogni delle masse.

Volponi, 3-217: Questo Nikita pugliese stalinista, sorrise Gaspare, aveva ammesso che sì, era necessario romperla; romperla sì… ma per rifarla meglio, nel principio dell'unità popolare come strumento efficiente proprio in quanto unitario e popolare… di rinnovamento, avanzamento..elevamento.. anche elevamento?

8. Caratterizzato dalla partecipazione politica del popolo, cioè di tutti i cittadini con pari diritti; democratico (una forma di governo).

G. Villani, 12-19: Riformarono la terra a popolare stato. *Neri di Donato*, 209: Lo 'mperadore riformò Luca a populare, e fecene vicario la Chiesa, e misse el cardinale nella gosta in Luca. *Marsilio Ficino*, 6-39: La generazione umana, solo signoreggiante il monarca, è per cagione di sé e non di altri, perché solamente allora le torte repubbliche si dirizzano, come sono le popolari e quelle che in pochi reggono e primi famosi e grandi. El terzio è populare, che si chiama civile e politico. *Castiglione*, 472: Dei modi di governar bene i populi tre sorti solamente si ritrovano: l'una è il regno; l'altra il governo dei boni, che chiamavano gli antichi ottimati; l'altra amministrazione populare. *Guicciardini*, 2-I-224: Uno governo populare in ogni cosa uno Stato stretto, et è pazzia imitarlo in quello che lo fanno odioso e non in quelle che lo fanno gagliardo. *B. Segni*, 4-109: Popolare Stato è quello dove

massimamente s'usa l'ugualità. *Albergati*, 268: Seguirà che in quello stato, da poco numero anco di cittadini governato, dove si vorrà la libertà senza freno e la intera egualità in ogni cosa e la depressione de' nobili quivi sarà la repubblica popolare. *C. Campana*, I-I-I-18: Usciti che furono i Medici, lo stato della città si ridusse a republica populare, creatone confaloniere Nicolò Capponi, che si portò con somma prudenza. *Botero*, 9-72: Le repubbliche antiche, perché erano per lo più popolari… e perciò di natura loro tumultuose e vaghe di novità e di rumore, facile a sollevare e a spingere or qua, or là, e più intente a dilatar il dominio che a conservarlo, si dilettavano dell'arti della guerra anzi che della pace. *Bontempi*, I-I-16: La democrazia è poliarchia nella quale la somma potenza è collocata solamente nel popolo, onde si chiama stato popolare. *Vico*, 4-I-862: Alla plebe si comunicò ancor la censura e, acconciatamente alla forma del governo, da aristocratico cangiato in popolare…, nella terza parte della medesima si cangiò la natura de' plebisciti. *Filangieri*, I-86: Nei governi popolari conviene lasciare ad ogni cittadino una speranza ragionevole di servire in qualche maniera la sua patria. *Solaro della Margarita*, 31: Nelle monarchie, quali da più secoli nella colta Europa esistono, i tiranni sono l'eccezione: nei governi popolari le discordie e i disordini permanenti. *Settembrini*, VII-218: Il novello ministero voleva divenire popolare, e fu plebeo.
-Con riferimento a un'istituzione ecclesiastica.
Mamiani, 4 -112: Oggi, non ostante le contrarie apparenze, non sembra possibile che la libertà dei reggimenti civili moderni non riconduca la Chiesa alle antiche sue istituzioni che furono tutte popolari e tutte elettive.
-Proprio di uno stato democratico; che si ha in una democrazia.
Giov. Cavalcanti, 50: Non vogliate fingere, sotto popolare vivere, ogni dì fare nuovi rimbotti, e farvi a compagni chi non sta contento se non in volervi soprastare, e con l'opere vi manifestino il vostro pericolamento. *Savonarola*, 7-I-69: Dalla Ascensione in qua, che è cessata questa predica, si è fatti in questa terra più peccati e in numero maggiori, più intensamente che non si erano fatti da indi innanzi ne' tempi passati, da poi che cominciò questo vivere populare. *Foscari*, LII-7-67: Questo consiglio, nel presente vivere popolare, è proprio il principale. *Guicciardini*, 2-I-213: La memoria del vivere populare continuata dal 1494 al 1512 si è applicata tanto nel populo che, eccetto quelli pochi che in uno Stato stretti confidano di potere soprafare gli altri, il resto è inimico di chi è padrone dello Stato, parendogli sia stato tolto a se medesimo. *Idem*, 12-187: Non è contrario alla equalità del vivere populare che uno cittadino abbi più reputazione che uno altro. *C. Campana*, I-175: Il fine di esso [dell'Oranges] e de' suoi fautori altro non era che di ridurre tutte le province a stato di libertà popolare sotto nome di stati, riserbandovisi solo una certa preminenza onoraria, senza forza di operar nulla, a Sua Maestà. *Vico*, 547: Omero sembra esser venuto in tempi ch'era già caduto in Grecia il diritto eroico e 'ncominciata a celebrarsi la libertà popolare perché gli eroi contraggono matrimoni con istraniere e i bastardi vengono nelle successioni de' regni. Mazzini, 21-347: La libertà popolare s'era, presso al morire, riconcentrata tutta, come la vita al cuore, in Firenze.
9. Che è proprio, che si riferisce, che è tipico del popolo (in quanto tradizionalmente rappresentato con una precisa unitarietà culturale).
V. Borghini, 6-III-120: Questi elesser vita quieta e stato popolare, quegli mantennero molto magnificamente la grandezza. *Rosmini*, 2-I-226: Fu ad agevolare l'intelligenza popolare che Platone usò una favola adattata alla popolare intelligenza. *Mazzini*, 27-92: Il giovane che ti reca questa è un dei nostri operai, natura candidissima popolare. *Montanelli*, 163: Nel 1846 la vita popolare si risvegliava in Italia e il movimento inaugurato nel nome del papa ingrossava irresistibile e prometteva ordini rappresentativi.
-Atto ad accattivarsi le simpatie della gente; cordiale.
M. Zane, LII-5-344: Esso don Antonio è dotato di quelle virtù popolari che son proprie ed attissime ad acquistar la volontà di tutti, che sono l'umanità, l'affabilità e la liberalità. *Gualdo Priorato*, 10-VI-93: Il non mostrare gratitudine fu peccato di natura, mancando di quelle maniere popolari e cortesi che si richiedono in un grande che per impotenza non può con la liberalità della mano mostrar la grandezza d'animo.
-Per estens. Umano, terreno.

Tasso, 13-I-681: O di valor non già ma sol secondo / di nome, Alcide glorioso e forte, / che mentre al mortal corpo eri consorte / facei bella la terra e lieto il mondo, /manda dal ciel un messagier giocondo / che d'Astrea la bilancia in terra porte, / chè l'altre popolari or son sì torte / che in lor virtù non si conosce il pondo.
-Vivo, acceso (un colore: e ha un valore enfatico).
Alvaro, 9-46: Sentii un pianto improvviso, uno strillo, e vidi la bocca del bimbo rossa, d'un rosso popolare, spalancarsi e mostrare i pochi denti tra le gengive.
-Stor. Che è proprio, che si riferisce alla plebe romana.
Livio volgar., 2-114: M. Manlio non pur solamente faceva parlamento colla plebe, anzi moveva spesso rumore in aperto per fatti popolari. *Fausto da Longiano*, IV-36: Ebbe M. Aurelio per usanza di leggere, di dare udienza e di sottoscrivere stando allo spettacolo de' giuochi circesi, onde molte fiate fu provocato dalle voci e scherzi popolari.
-*Tribuno popolare*: tribuno della plebe.
Livio volgar., 2-114: Raro altre volte avvenne che il parlamento di alcun popolare tribuno fosse tanto accetto alla plebe, quanto fu l'orazione del severissimo console.
10. Che si rivolge a un pubblico dai gusti semplici; che è inteso con felicità dal popolo per la sua chiarezza (un artista). – Anche: che scrive con stile poco raffinato e ricercato (uno scrittore, in contrapposizione a quello dotto).
Gioberti, I-I-29: Oggi chiamansi popolari gli scrittori che abbassano se stessi, le lettere, le dottrine alla capacità del volgo, dove che gli antichi collocavano la popolarità legittima ed efficace nel nobilitare esso volgo e sollevarlo all'altezza delle idee e di se medesimi. *Tommaseo*, 15-315: Il Manzoni, se non poeta popolare, può certo dirsi poeta cittadino. *De Sanctis*, II-42: I poeti che si abbandonavano ingenuamente alla loro ispirazione eran detti popolari. *Periodici popolari*, I-483: La letteratura popolare, ossia universale, è la più utile, la più sublime, e senza dubbio, la più difficile. Per essere poeta popolare, bisogna essere poeta davvero. Carducci, III-12-161: Volevasi che sorgesse ad esempio un ingegno di tanto privilegiato che in lui le facoltà più diverse e ineguali si temperassero a mirabile armonia, imitatore e inventore, improvvisatore e squisito maneggiatore di stile, scrittor popolare e scrittore dotto, poeta e critico. *R. Longhi*, 893: Il pubblico cerchi…di leggere 'naturalmente' un pittore [Caravaggio] che ha cercato di essere 'natuale', comprensibile; umano più che umanistico; in una parola: popolare. *Bacchelli*, 2-XIX-577: Nel Settecento, e in Italia, la Commedia dell'Arte sopravviveva nel contenuto divertente delle maschere, negli improvvisi briosi e innocui degli attori popolari. *Pasolini*, 9-114: In realtà [Barbarani] è stato un poeta facile nel senso più umile del termine: popolare solo nella misura che poteva rappresentare un dato popolo già imborghesito, vivente in una periferia cittadina o nelle immediate campagne, con una coscienza di puro campanile del proprio modo di essere.
11. Accessibile a un vasto pubblico in quanto si conforma ai suoi gusti, alla mentalità, alle esigenze. – Anche: scritto o esposto in forme semplici, di facile e immediata comprensione, con tono divulgativo (un giornale, un'opera letteraria, un argomento, ecc.); destinato al popolo in quanto dotato di una cultura modesta, di una limitata capacità di comprensione, di propensione per il patetico e per le situazioni e passioni estreme.
Tasso, II-II-II: - Ma io credo che Socrate e Ulisse non tanto per alcuna eloquenza persuadessero quanto per alcuna arte incantassero, non ch'altri, l'incantatrici medesime. – L'eloquenza di Socrate non fu popolare, come era quella di Gorgia e d'altri sofisti del suo tempo. *Sarpi*, II-95: Il conte di Monfort, vedendo trattarsi di materia tanto controversa, e massime della comunione del calice, che era la più palpabile e populare e da tutti intesa, giudicò che, se quella fosse determinata, non s'avrebbe potuto indur li protestanti a venir al concilio. *Davila*, I-2-364: Co 'l credito loro e con plausibile e popolare eloquenza…andavano inescando li animi ad entrare nella collegazione. *Tesauro*, 8-52: Fra tutti gli argomenti popolari assai più plausibile e più conveniente è l'argomento 'a simili', onde argomento socratico dall'istesso Aristotele si chiama e manco è chimerico per la proporzion naturale che corre fra 'l significante e il significato. *Pallavicino*, 10-III-74: Vorrei minor dottrina, ma più popolare e più popolarmente spiegata. *Menzini*, II-166: Così la penna per temprar maestra / in questo lieto e popolar cimento / guarda pria se al costume

ella si addestra. *Muratori*, 5-I-166: Noi primieramente rispondiamo non esser vero che i buoni romanzatori trascurino il verisimile, purchè si comprenda la natura e il proponimiento de' lor poemi. Sono questi indirizzati propriamente al rozzo e ignorante popolo, né altro fine hanno essi che di piacere a tal gente. Ora due verisimili ci sono: l'uno è tale agli occhi del volgo idiota e 'popolare' può appellarsi; l'altro tale rassembra agli occhi delle persone dotte, e può darsegli nome di 'nobile'. *Algarotti*, I-VIII-19: In Francia i tanti libri popolari che escono giornalmente in luce formano agli uomini lo spirito, come sartori formano la vita alle donne. *G. Gozzi*, I-4-II6: Gli animi forniti di gentilezza sanno ben essi in che sia posto il vero intrattenimento dell'intelletto, ai quali io fo professione di scrivere…Ci sono alcuni, i quali vorrebbero cosette più dozzinali e popolari. *Cuoco*, I-209: La sua eloquenza popolare era sublime, straordinaria…Egli tuonava, fulminava: nulla poteva resistere alla forza delle sue parole. *Mazzini*, 5-6: Mi vien detto che voi vi occupate d'un progetto di giornale a Livorno. Sarebbe ottima cosa, perché i giornali, i drammi e i romanzi sono i tre generi più popolari di letteratura che io conosca. *De Sanctis*, 7-7: Manzoni ha combattuto a morte quell'atmosfera classica…Egli vi ha sostituito una forma diretta e popolare…Popolare, perché non l'ha cercata in questo o quel circolo o accademia, ma nel popolo, e l'ha resa accessibile a tutte le classi. *Idem*, II-9-877: Stato di petrificazione, che oggi dicesi letteratura popolare, come se la letteratura debba scendere al popolo, e non il popolo debba salire a lei. *Periodici popolari*, I-19: Ove la materia il richieggia, le lezioni di scienza populare saranno illustrate con incisioni… perché l'intelligenza del testo sia resa così più chiara ed evidente. *Di Giacomo*, II-680: L'«Arlecchino», il famoso «Arlecchino» il più letto, il più salace, il più popolare di tutti i giornali del '48, che si dichiarava giornale politico di tutti i colori, apparve in piazza la prima volta il 18 marzo 1848. *B. Croce*, III-9-171: Il libro di Colaianni è un libro popolare, che si volge a sradicare le fallaci idee intorno alle razze e a combattere il pangermanesimo cieco e spesso comico dei Chamberlain, dei Woltmann e di altrettali. *Saba*, I-55: Come dai romanzi di cavalleria sono nati l'Orlando Furioso e il Don Chisciotte, è possibile che, un giorno, un grande autore ricavi, dallo sterminato materiale greggio dei romanzi polizieschi, un'opera popolare e di stile. *G. Raimondi*, I-62: Erano delle vite di Robespierre, di Danton; un romanzo di Hugo; il 'Ça ira' di Carducci, in piccoli libri popolari. *Moravia*, I-133: Era un'anima presa a prestito dal cinema, dalle riviste popolari e dai romanzi a buon mercato che parlava d'amore al Vittoni, non la sua. *Caproni*, 2-22: Sii arguta e attenta: pia. / Sii magra e sii poesia / se vuoi esser vita. / E se non vuoi tradita / la sua semplice gloria, /sii fine e popolare / come fu lei.

12. Rappresentato o costituito da forme e moduli espressivi spontanei, naturali e quotidiani per lo più di uso comune fra il popolo e caratteristici di un luogo geograficamente ristretto, in contrapposizione al linguaggio letterario o ufficiale di un ambiente dotto (un linguaggio, una scrittura, una parlata, che può essere di volta in volta considerata rozza, grossolana, fiacca e disarmonica oppure schietta, genuina, vivace, naturale, inventiva). In senso generico: usato nella lingua parlata.

Bembo, III-137: Da sciegliere…sono le voci, se di materia grande si ragiona, gravi, alte, sonanti, apparenti, luminose; se di bassa e volgare, lievi, piane, dimesse, popolari, chete. *Castelvetro*, 8-2-85: I tragici usano così fatta maniera di parole affinchè schifino la bassezza della popolare favella. *B. Davanzati*, II-601: Io conosco molte bellissime nostre maniere fiorentine messe in disuso ricever torto, e forse potrebber ad alcuno piacere nel ritornare, ed alcune popolari di grande spirito non meritare di starsi in basseza, ma mostrarsi sì bene come molti uomini di sangue vile adoperansi ad alti affari. *Aleandro*, I-71: Se fuori eziandio di tali materie [il Marini] adopera talvolta alcuna voce popolare, che altro queste sono…che piccioli nèi quali offuscar punto non ponno il bellissimo corpo di quel maraviglioso poema? *Muratori*, 10-II-3: Nel popular linguaggio suol essere ristretto il nome della limosina a quel solo porgere danaro o altra roba materiale ai poverelli. *F.M. Zanotti*, I-4-97: La qual virtù se noi chiameremo gentilezza, non credo che molto ci allontaneremo dal parlar popolare. *Leopardi*, III-535: Quanto al supplemento che mi chiedete, voi non avete che a leggere l'Iscrizione per vedere che essa è scritta in una lingua affatto popolare, nella quale non si segue nessuna regola di sintassi latina, di significazion di parole, di frasi. *Cattaneo*, I-I-115:

Da certo tempo in poi nacque la pretesa d'uno scrivere che taluni chiamano 'popolare'; e con ciò intendono una certa compostura di parole, il più delle quali non solo non è inteso da popolo alcuno, ma riesce assai malagevole anche ai più studiosi. *Bacchelli*, 2-XXV-241: I vezzeggiativi, proprio di questa sorta, son frequenti nell'uso della parlata popolare marchigiana. *Bernari*, 8-50: Ricorreva ad una metafora popolare: 'Il rozzo' diceva, per dire guardia, poliziotto.
-Che è proprio, che si riferisce a tale tipo di linguaggio.
Tasso, 16-43: Sarà sublime l'elocuzione, se le parole saranno non comuni, ma peregrine e dall'uso popolare lontane. *Foscolo*, IX-I-391: Dialetto umano non può convertirsi in lingua letteraria se non perdendo molte sue qualità popolari e accogliendone moltissime letterarie. *Idem*, XI-I-158: Il fiorentino, quanto più diveniva lingua italiana, tanto più era scritto e meno parlato; tanto più era spogliato d'ogni sembianza popolare e municipale, e tanto più il concorso degli scrittori lo arricchì variamente di forme o create di pianta o trovate per mezzo d'antiche e nuove frasi e parole ringiovinite, combinate con arte.
-Con riferimento alla lingua neogreca: demotico.
Cattaneo, V-2-366: Una terza scrittura, molto più semplice e interamente fonetica, fu dai Greci chiamata popolare, vulgare ('demotica'), ovvero territoriale ('enchoria'), o anche epistolografica.
-Che, nell'evoluzione di una lingua parlata, ha subito i mutamenti fonetici del volgare (una parola: e si contrappone a *parola dotta*).
Ascoli, 25: 'Diede' per 'dĕdit' è voce schiettamente popolare e italiana e toscana, quanro è 'piede' per 'pĕde'; il dittongo vi assicura, se ne fosse d'uopo, che essa è uno dei fiori più spontanei e delicati della vostra terra.
13. Che fa parte della tradizione e del patrimonio culturale di una popolazione (un proverbio, un racconto, una festa, ecc.).
A. Cattaneo, I-332: Il provverbio è un detto popolare e antico, cioè a dire che va da gran tempo per le bocche del popolo e si usa ne' discorsi famigliari, ne' conviti, ne' congressi, nelle lettere, e quanto più è usato, è anche più autorevole. *Delfico*, II-75: La quarta sorgente degli errori sì facili negli storici contemporanei è la credulità nei popolari racconti. *Alfieri*, 7-213: Qui non c'è differenza fra carnevale e quaresima, se non le maschere popolari nelle strade, che quest'anno per via delle circostanze sono state proibite. *Colletta*, I-78: Si ripeterono le feste civili, le ecclesiastiche, e il re ne aggiunse altra popolare, la 'coccagna', macchina vasta raffigurante gli Orti Esperidi, abbondanti di grasce donate alla avidità e destrezza di popolari. *Visconti Venosta*, 28: Parecchi mi canzonavano perché avevo i capelli rossi, e mi lanciavano dei proverbi popolari poco lusinghieri. *Tarchetti*, 6-II-10: Se la taccia di fama usurpata…potesse applicarsi anche alle feste popolari, il carnevale di Milano ne avevo indubbiamente la sua parte. Queste feste non sono più che una mistificazione.
-Che risponde alle aspettative della massa dei giocatori del lotto, secondo le regole della cabala (una combinazione di numeri).
Piovene, 7-102: Tutti distribuivano cartoline postali ai loro parenti ed amici; l'avaro divenuto prodigo, affrancava con trenta franchi anche una semplice cartolina con firma; spirava, su quella folla, l'aria di lieve eccitazione, l'euforia collettiva delle vincite al gioco, come nei vicoli di Napoli quando esce un terno popolare.
-*Architettura popolare*: quella spontaneamente prodotta da una comunità in dipendenza e armonia col proprio ambiente naturale, le tradizioni culturali e le esigenze della vita pratica, al di fuori dell'influenza dell'architettura e urbanistica colta.
-*Arte popolare*: l'insieme di espressioni figurative e di oggetti materiali, che, prodotti e usati dal popolo, possono essere riguardati e studiati sotto l'aspetto estetico (e con tale espressione di indicano anche le forme di cultura, i processi tecnici e formali, la mentalità operativa e i modi di fruizione che si legano a questi prodotti).
Piovene, 7-259: L'arte 'popolare', invece, restando sempre marginale, si limita a riecheggiare ed a tradurre invenzioni formali a cui non partecipa; alligna indifferentemente, parassitaria, accanto al primitivo, al classico ed al barocco; è per così dire, cascame, né originale né inventiva, assente dalla vita delle forme che si muta.

-*Filosofia popolare*: espressione che traduce quella tedesca 'Popularphilosophie', con cui, nel sec. XVIII, si designò l'attività filosofica di un gruppo di scrittori (M. Mendelssohn, T. Abbt, J.J. Engel, Chr. Garve, Chr. Nicolai, E. Platner, J.G. Sulzer) che, secondo il principio illuminista, si proposero di divulgare e diffondere fra un più vasto pubblico le dottrine filosofiche note solo in un ristretto ambito.
-*Medicina popolare*: v. MEDICINA, n. 2.
14. Chi è o viene ritenuto il prodotto poetico o genericamente letterario di una collettività, caratterizzato soprattutto da contenuti elementari e da semplicità di forma, da strumenti espressivi conformati alla tradizione e ai costumi di un popolo che li assume come espressione delle proprie conoscenze, credenze, ideologie (e la *poesia* e la *letteratura popolare* in età romantica furono considerate, in contrapposizione a quelle d'arte, in quanto espressione di un sentimento collettivo, le sole in grado di rappresentare la vera storia delle nazioni; successivamente, la filologia novecentesca individuò nella rielaborazione di forme dotte il segno distintivo di tale letteratura, mentre il Croce identificò, all'interno di tali strutture poetiche, il tono del sentimento e dell'espressione nella sfera intellettuale e la condizione di candidezza e di innocenza nella sfera morale, come loro caratteristiche, negando che tale tipo di poesia possa essere letto come prodotto collettivo, perché la creazione poetica, anche la più rozza, è sempre originata dal lavoro di un singolo; la critica marxista riprende il concetto di collettività in quanto fase iniziale da cui essa nasce).
Berchet, III: La poesia popolare (e per tale intendo quella che è direttamente prodotta, e non soltanto gradita dal popolo) non mette fuora opere materialmente immobili come la poesia d'arte; non le raccomanda come questa alla scrittura; ma le affida al canto transitorio, alla parola fugace. *Tommaseo*, 2-I-*Tit*.: Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici, greci. *Fanfani*, LVII-14: Questi poemetti o novelle son per avventura da recarsi tra le poesie popolari, come quelli che erano scritti da cantarsi per le piazze. *De Sanctis*, II-6-47: La poesia amorosa era da lungo tempo in voga. Non è bisogno ricordare i trovatori. In Italia era già cominciata una poesia popolare, plebea e rozza. *Padula*, 350: La poesia popolare è il sublime gemito del popolo, il grido che lascia dietro a sé questo torbido torrente senza nome, che scorre per un alveo interrotto di sassi. *B. Croce*, III-25-267: La poesia popolare è concetto, non già storico, ma estetico: anche presso poeti colti s'incontrano talvolta poesie popolari di qualità e d'intonazione. *Gozzano*, II-356 (Tit.): La notte santa (Melologo popolare). *Gramsci*, 6-220: Ciò che contraddistingue il canto popolare…non è il fatto artistico, né l'origine storica, ma il suo modo di concepire il mondo e la vita, in contrasto con la società ufficiale. In ciò, e solo in ciò, è da ricercare la 'collettività' del canto popolare, e del popolo stesso. *Vittorini*, 5-259: Si ha una poesia popolare contemporanea di Dante, di Ariosto e di Racine…che si distingue molto superficialmente, nella sua stessa vantata freschezza (e quanto monotona!) dalla poesia popolare di venti secoli prima o di popoli lontanissimi ancora al primo stadio della cultura. *Pasolini*, 9-139 (*Tit*.): La poesia popolare italiana.
15. Prodotto anonimamente in mezzo al popolo, senza finalità puramente estetiche o eseguito unicamente dal popolo (un'espressione musicale, che si contrappone alla musica colta).
G. G. B. Baini, I-2-II-297: Furon felicissi, in distender di cento maniere motivi che desumevano o dal canto ecclesiastico o dalle popolari canzoni. *Tommaseo*, 16-125: Gioverebbe nel canto fermo…studiare le tenui varietà che distinguono l'apparente uguaglianza, e aiutarsene alla educazione della musica popolare. *G. Raimondi*, 2-49: Non cantavano i più giovani. Spesso era il ritornello popolare, dove la desolata mestizia d'amore s'incupisce delle notti bolognesi.
-Di facile ascolto, orecchiabile.
Algarotti, I-VIII-20: Nei vecchi spartiti delle opere in musica che si conservano in Venezia si legge assai volte nel margine di qualche arietta: 'aria per i barcaroli'. Tali arie non sogliono esser le men belle perché le più popolari. *V. Bellini*, 428: Cercherò musica popolare come si vuole in tal teatro, che è nel gusto italiano, e sai se le mie cantilene si ritengono a memoria. *Savinio*, 12-124: La musica popolare, come più orecchiabile, è la musica che nasce dal popolo stesso (Verdi, Puccini, sono espressioni di popolo) e piace naturalmente al popolo perché

sta allo stesso livello del popolo: ma non 's'impone' al popolo. *Montale*, 3-74: L'altra sera, a teatro il capo-claque doveva essersi addormentato. L'opera, bella ma non popolare, favoriva il sonno e rendeva difficile la dosatura dei 'bene' e dei 'bravo').
-Per estens. Leggero, destinato a un vasto pubblico (una musica: e ricalca l'inglese 'pop' o popular music').
16. Diffuso fra la gente comune che lo accetta e lo condivide per lo più senza spirito critico, per credulità o superstizione (un giudizio, un'opinione, un errore).
Dante, Conv., IV-VII-5: Poi che la mala condizione di questa popolare oppinione è narrata, subitamente quasi come cosa orribile, quella percuoto fuori di tutto l'ordine de la riprovagione. *Ariosto*, 27-106: Ridea del popular giudicio vano. *Di Castro*, 3-424: A messer Silvio de Bellis, ingegniere, so di aver detto più volte che, se ben egli avesse scritto cotali ragioni, non potrò mai persuadermi che senta come scrive, ma che parli come forzato a difendere un'opinione invecchiata e popolare. *B. Davanzati*, II-329: Il consiglio del re per debito di suo uficio l'avvertì non facesse un tanto errore: non disputando come laici, del iure divino, ma chiarendo lui con pruove grandissime, oltre al dire popolare della vita di lei infame e soza. *Malpighi*, 94: Il credere…che la medicina consista nel ritrovare un nuovo rimedio e che gl'inventi, quando non portino questo, non siano parte della medicina è concetto troppo popolare e falso. *Fr. Serafini*, 455: Troppo felicemente ha preso piede tra gli uomini quell'error popolare che dice esser un vizio da grandi la superbia, e aggirarsi, come fumo, tra que' capi più eccelsi i quali vantano di portar seco più accesa fiamma di gloria. *Muratori*, 4-183: La mente farà riflessione ai fondamenti vani della popolare opinione intorno alle comete e alle ragioni di tanti scrittori assennati, comprovanti che quei sono non istraordinari, ma ordinati e stabili fenomeni della region celeste e nulla aver essi che fare sopra le azioni libere ed avventure de' mortali. *F. M. Zanotti*, 1-5-180: Similmente è da concedersi agli oratori e a tutti quelli che vogliono persuadere le menti deboli, massimanente se hanno fretta, che derivin talvolta i lor discorsi da princìpi popolari ed incerti. *Delfico*, II-420: Polibio non da vaghe e popolari voci ma dagli storici della tirrenica dominazione aveva tratti i suoi racconti. *Leopardi*, V-222 (*Tit.*): Saggio sopra gli errori popolari degli antichi. *Bacchelli*, I-II-578: L'idea di far causa al governo era diventata popolare.
-Fondato su un'opinione corrente, privo di un riscontro oggettivo.
Caserotti, I-XXI, 196: Questa replica è popolare più che legale…Ciò che egli allega per prova è una presunzione fortissima, non un argomento convincente.
-Usuale, corrente.
P. Neri, I-VI-125: Ho stimato…opportuno di ricercare le cause di questo corso o prezzo popolare che si vede dare alle monete diverso da quello tariffato dalle leggi.
17. Con uso spreg. Che denota o è incline alla volgarità; plebeo.
Giov. Calvalcanti, 211: I nostri commissari, siccome accecati dalla superbia ventura, a tutto al conte, con popolare superbia, a nulla acconsentirono. *F. F. Frugoni*, V-28: Trovossi già nell'aria un principe spiritosone, ch'avea populare il genio, benchè la nascenza non vulgare, ma di nobiltà non interrotta né avvilita dalla mischianza che suole infettar le genealogie.
-Vile, basso (un compito).
Bembo, 10-V-68: Non è principe alcuno, per potentissimo che egli sia, mercé di questo nostro vile e povero secolo, che s'uom dotto ha seco, occupato non lo tenga in ogni altro basso e popolare esercizio più tosto che lo voglia vedere ozioso in quello eccellente ed alto delle buoni composizioni e scritture onde essi ne perdono maggiormente.
-Numeroso, abbondante di numero.
Michiele, II-80: Cerco la strada / di salire alla gloria, ove non stampi / popolari vestigia il volgo ignaro.
18. Abitato, frequentato dal popolo (un quartiere, una strada, ecc…).
Salvini, 48-121: Quando… / … / … reo Fenon dietro ne venga, / pigro spuntando, o pur mirando incontra, / dalla sede di sordida casetta / e da comune popolar covile / levate a casa menano le spose. *De Amicis*, XII-279: Al passare lungo i quartieri popolari dove pullulano migliaia di bimbi scalzi, sdraiati per terra, coricati sui marciapiedi, ammucchiati

nei fossi…, un altro grido mi vien sulle labbra. *Deledda*, III-372: Un giorno del settembre scorso passavo, verso sera, in una strada popolare di Roma. *Barilli*, II-178: Il ritrovo è piuttosto popolare, benchè si tratti di portare il 'frac' o lo 'smoking'. *Sbarbaro*, I-135: Qualcuno…è venuto a nascondere nel quartiere popolare la conseguenza d'un amore che doveva restare dov'è nato: tra la macchina da scrivere e il sofà dei clienti, per lasciare al più la traccia d'una cifra nel libro delle spese personali. *Cassola*, 3-215: La vista delle vie deserte, poi del fiume scuro sotto la pioggia e delle misere stradette dei quartieri popolari, stringeva il cuore a Mara.
-Che accoglie le spoglie di una persona comune, non illustre (una tomba).
L. Curino [«La Stampa», 7-VIII-1985], 3: La guida informa che nelle tombe popolari sono stati scoperti scheletri con segni di artrosi…Questa informazione rende Micene a dimensione umana, abitata non solo da personaggi omerici, ma da gente qualunque.
19. Istituito a favore del popolo, in partic. degli strati sociali meno privilegiati.
A. Cocchi, 8-404: Si può con ragione dedurre che fosse tuttavia tra gli abitanti in voga il costume ed anco il lusso romano delle terme popolari.
-*Casa popolare*: v. CASA, n. I
-*Edilizia popolare*: attività svolta dallo Stato (direttamente attraverso i suoi organi o indirettamente mediante la concessione di contributi agli enti pubblici o privati che si dedicano alla costruzione di case) per fornire un'adeguata e civile abitazione quei cittadini che, per insufficienza di mezzi economici, non sono in grado di procurarsela.
-*Banca popolare*: società cooperativa di credito che ha il compito specifico di sovvenire con piccoli prestiti le classi umili, anche indipendentemente dalle garanzie di natura reale (e attualmente, in partic. in Italia, tali banche sono diventate istituti di credito ordinario, con struttura simile alle società per azioni e con attività estesa a tutte le operazioni, proprie delle altre banche).
Cantù, 3-269: Quante volte il suo Comune lo elesse consigliere o sindaco o conciliatore, e della camera di commercio, accettò senza farsi rincrescere. Fu in commissioni, fu amministratore dell'ospedale, fu sorvegliante alla banca popolare e di mutuo soccorso, fu giurato, e mai mancò ai suoi doveri. *Piovene*, 5-154: La Banca Popolare di Novara… ha un'importanza nazionale, essendo la sesta banca italiana per la raccolta del denaro e la prima delle banche libere.
-*Credito popolare*: quello concesso a piccoli imprenditori, artigiani e commercianti per la loro attività.
20. Che ha per scopo l'elevazione culturale del popolo (l'educazione).
Filangieri, II-253: Mezzi da supplire alle spese che richiede questo piano di popolare educazione. *Gioannetti*, LV-63: La libertà della stampa, le popolari istruzioni, il chiaro sviluppo delle umane passioni, che sono le vie del cuore, sono cose tutte che dispiacciono fortemente agli occulti nemici del comun bene. *Mazzini*, 24-168: Leggi l'unito manifestino. Vorrei inserire una serie di articoli che facessero conoscere a questi nostri semi-barbari italiani ed agli inglesi gli uomini che hanno fatto più per l'istruzione popolare in Italia, Lambruschini, Aporti, etc. *Bonghi*, I-222: Una letteratura popolare è il più bello e l'ultimo effetto e frutto delle letterature moerne, e non manca mai sola. Si compone, credo, di tutti que' libri che si dirigono alla educazione ed istruzione delle classi inferiori o meno colte. *Labriola*, III-215: È cosa del tutto priva di significato il parlare della coltura popolare, quando non si è ancora in grado di ordinar le scuole in maniera da ingenerare nei giovanetti l'attitudine as esaminare con occhio sicuro le cose del mondo interiore ed esteriore.
-*Biblioteca popolare*: v. BIBLIOTECA, n. 3.
-*Edizione popolare*: v. EDIZIONE, n. I.
-*Ministero della cultura popolare*: v. CULTURA, n. 4.
-*Scuola popolare* (anche solo *popolare*, sf.): scuola elementare frequentata da adulti analfabeti o da ragazzi in età non più scolare, di solito appartenenti alle classi meno abbienti (e tale scuola risale a iniziative filantropiche del sec. XIX). – In partic.: istituzione destinata all'educazione degli adulti in Italia, creata stabilmente con un decreto legislativo del Capo provvisorio dello Stato il 17 dicembre 1947 n. 1599 (e con successive modifiche con la legge

16 aprile 1953 n. 326); è una scuola gratuita, diurna o serale e i corsi, istituiti dal provveditore agli studi o su richiesta di enti, sono tenuti presso le scuole elementari; lo scopo di tale istituzione è quello di combattere l'analfabetismo e di permettere a coloro che non hanno potuto seguire i normali corsi di studio di completare l'istruzione primaria.
Svevo, I-95: La madre guadagnava più di tutti quale maestra in una scuola popolare, ma senza i proventi di Lucia i mezzi non sarebbero bastati. *Stuparich*, 9-39: Frattanto cresceva la generazione che aveva approfittato delle moltiplicate e migliorate scuole popolari. *Sciascia*, II-98: Io dico alle mamme che [i bambini] non studiano, che non saranno promossi. Mi rispondono che sperano nell'anno venturo, che del resto possono anche andare alle popolari, dove li promuovono di certo. Infatti un maestro delle popolari prende tremila lira per ogni alunno promosso, figuriamoci quello che succede.
-*Università popolare:* ciascuno degli istituti sorti nel primo ventennio del secolo XX per favorire la divulgazione della cultura universitaria fra i ceti sociali non in grado di frequentare l'università tradizionale; la loro attività si basa su conferenze e lezioni teoriche a cui vengono affiancate materie di insegnamento pratico, atte a perfezionare nell'esercizio delle professioni e dei mestieri (e tali istituti ebbero un notevole incremento dopo la seconda guerra mondiale).
Fogazzaro, 13-175: Massimo tenne due conferenze all'Università Popolare sui Riformatori italiani del Secolo XVI. *Vittorini*, 5-158: Questo mi domando. Se dovremo accontentarci di vederla spiegata al popolo [la pittura] pur per il suo meglio, nella miseria delle università popolari. O se i popoli potranno, di nuovo, considerarla confusa con una loro 'religione'. *La Stampa* [I-X-1985], 22: Si sono aperte il 23 di questo mese le iscrizioni all'Università popolare, l'associazione culturale fondata nel 1900 che svolge la propria attività nelle aule della Facoltà di Scienze in via Principe Amedeo 8.
21. Destinato al consumo e all'uso degli strati più bassi di una popolazione (e vi è per lo più connesso un giudizio negativo, di poco pregio, di qualità inferiore).
A. Cocchi, 4-2-219: L'uso di questo grano sarebbe assai proprio per farne il pane popolare, cioè per le persone meno delicate e più avvezze al continuo esercizio. *Alvaro*, 2-18: Queste serve avevano smesso l'abito popolare.
-*Sigaretta popolare* (anche solo *popolare*, sf.): prodotta con tabacco alquanto forte, fino al secondo dopoguerra.
Sbarbaro, 4-21: Lo tenevo d'occhio [Ravà] e quando franava lo imboccavo sollecito d'una 'popolare' …solo il fumo gli dava una momentanea revivescenza. *C. E. Gadda*, 9-220: Squadrò il responsabile del diavolìo della porta, crollò il capo come a dire: «Niente che fa per me». Accese una mezza popolare, sparì. *Tomizza*, 3-89: Arrivarono di corsa… con zolfanelli, un pezzo di formaggio e sigarette 'popolari'.
-*Posti popolari* (anche solo *popolari*, sm. plur.): in un teatro, in uno stadio, in qualsiasi luogo di spettacolo, quelli a cui si accede col biglietto di prezzo inferiore (e anche le persone che li occupano).
Tobino, 5-30: Alla partita, se accadeva che il tempo era per finire e la squadra locale non vinceva, la Lucchese non vinceva, dai popolari, dalle tribune dei signori, unanime tutto lo stadio scandiva il nome del campione più generoso, del Codecasa, che facesse gol, salvasse la squadra, la portasse alla vittoria. *E. De Maria* [«La Stampa», 22-II-1982], I: Lo stopper vercellese…ha perso la testa, abbandonando clamorosamente il campo dopo aver scagliato il pallone verso i popolari.
-Con metonimia: che assiste a uno spettacolo in tali posti (una persona).
G. Bassani, 5-233: Quale imbarazzo per le persone distinte vederlo laggiù, così ben vestito come eral confuso in mezzo alla peggiore teppa popolare!
-*Quota popolare*: in un concorso a premi, in una lotteria, modica somma di denaro devoluta come pagamento di una vincita (e l'esiguità della cifra è dovuta o alla scarsa entità del capitale giocato o al numero eccessivo dei vincitori).
-*Treni popolari*: durante il regime fascista, treni istituiti per gite, visite a mostre, ecc., con uno sconto ragguardevole sul prezzo del biglietto normale.

Panzini, IV-530: 'Treni popolari', con forte ribasso per visite a mostre, villeggiatura, gite. «Sei venuto col popolare?». (istituzione fascista, 1933).
22. Che si è conquistato il favore, la simpatia e la stima del popolo; benvoluto, benvisto.
Machiavelli, I-I-224: Egli [Appio] s'era fatto in modo popolare con le dimostrazioni che pareva maraviglia ch'egli avesse preso sì presto una nuova natura e uno nuovo ingegno. *Nuovi documenti intorno a fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 32: Contro hanno da considerare frate Ieronimo essere stato popularissimo. *Davila*, 14: Il Duca di Guisa, affabile di parole e popolare di fatti. *Rocco*, 271: Io vi stimo per uomo prudente, che non operiate a caso, che drizziate le operazioni al fine, al sortimento dei vostri disegni; che non senza mistero abbiate scritto il vostro libro in lingua nostrana, ma con disegno di farvi capo popolare nelle dottrine, con speranza che, avendo da essere letto dalla maggior parte degli uomini che non hanno lingua latina, dall'applauso di essi, che non hanno pescato nei profondi reconditi del liceo, vi sia ammesso per vero ciò che vi piace. *Cattaneo*, IV-1-269: Il Comitato di Difesa incaricherà fin d'ora in ogni comune una persona proba e popolare d'assistere le famiglie a fare quest'operazione [di evacuamento] col minor danno possibile. *Monelli*, 2-436: Non si vuole creare subbuglio di popolo, sai che il tiranno è molto popolare nella Suburra e in Trastevere.
-Che ha un comportamento affabile e cordiale con la gente comune.
Tasso, 18-5: Poi che le dimostranze oneste e care / con que' soprani egli iterò più volte, / placido affabilmente e popolare / l'altre genti minori ebbe raccolte. *Salvini*, 19-IV-I-312: Come fanno i tiranni con mostrare qualche atto virtuoso e popolare per iscemare l'odio e l'invidia. *C. I. Frugoni*, I-II-290: A me un nappo si prepari / di tue mense a lo splendor, / de' tuoi doni popolari / fra il lietissimo clamor.
-Gradito, apprezzato.
G. Bassani, 5-133: A definirlo consolante, il vasto complesso architettonico del Camposanto Comunale di Ferrara… c'è rischio, lo comprendo bene, di farsi ridere in faccia od i guadagnarsi alla peggio qualche brutta qualifica! In nessun luogo d'Italia, e tanto meno qui in Emilia, la morte è mai stata popolare.
23. Conosciuto fra la gente o in un determinato ambiente; che gode di una certa fama o notorietà per doti non comuni, per significative qualità, per l'eccellenza delle opere o delle azioni.
Mazzini, 9-370: In Savoia il nome di Ramorino, nome popolare, era corso: e ad ogni dubbio, nelle menti dei più, ligie delle grandi rinomanze, sorgeva il dubbio che egli si ritraesse, non perché traditore, ma perché più potente politico non vedesse il momento propizio. *Leoni*, 80: Fu uno spettacolo nuovo il veder questa piazza, gremita di gente ovunque, pender dal labbro di questo fecondo e popolarissimo oratore. *Fogazzaro*, 7-277: Entrò il fido cameriere già popolare in Vaticano col nome di don Teofilo. *Periodici popolari*, I-168: Voi predicate la popolarità, volete diventar popolari, e vi scordate che chi vuol diventarlo non lo è; che per esserlo bisogna innalzarsi dal popolo, bisogna farsi apostoli dell'istruzion naturale e non già dell'artificiale. *E. Cecchi*, 3-84: Un attore popolarissimo: Roberto Soto, simile anche nel fisico al nostro Pasquariello, si produceva in una 'rivista' di sua creazione: quadri e danze di corifee in vario costume, frammezzati di monologhi e canzonette. *Moretti*, II-496: Io non ho studiato l'irta grammatica, io non ho fatto sciocchi esercizi; eppure eccomi qui fresco come una rosa, studente a Leida, e non a Bologna o.. a Camerino. Ciò mi ha reso subito popolare fra i miei compagni che non sapevano come fosse fatto uno studente straniero. *Gramsci*, 4-219: Articolo di Ezio Chiorboli nella 'Nuova Antologia' del I maggio 1928 su Anton Francesco Doni: profilo interessante su questo pubblicista, popolarissimo al suo tempo, nel '500, spiritoso, caustico, di spiriti moderni. *Montano*, I-42: La gente sfila per lo più contegnosa sotto gli occhi delle venditrici che hanno i loro banchi da ambe le parti; solo ogni tanto un passante alla buona si chiama e si motteggia con qualcuna di loro la cui bellezza sia popolare.
24. Noto, divulgato, risaputo, molto diffuso; che è giunto a conoscenza di un grandissimo numero di persone.

Daniello, I-95: Noi sempre fuggir dobbiamo que' nomi tutti che sono o troppo popolari o non molto usati. *Botero*, I-59: Gli effetti di chi aggrandisce l'imperio sono più manifesti e più popolari, fanno più strepito e più romore, hanno più d'apparenza e più novità, della quale l'uomo è oltremodo amico e vago. *Pacichelli*, I-679: Se non è scelta e recondita la materia, plausibile non può divenir la forma della istoria, la quale scorre per altro agevolmente o a sparger notizie popolari o a spiegar lumi caliginosi nelle carte. *Zanon*, 2-XIX-248: È cosa per essi indifferente o l'arrivarvi facendo delle nuove scoperte, o pubblicando quelle che sono state fatte, aumentando il fondo delle cognizioni attuali, ovvero spargendole nel pubblico, affine di renderle per così dire popolari. *Foscolo*, IX-I-235: Il significato di 'voce' per 'fama civile', o in bene o in male, è tuttavia popolare ne' dialetti d'Italia. *De Sanctis*, II-9-499: Un negromante o astrologo che fa mestiere di sua arte, e con sue bugie cava quattrini da' gonzi, è un argomento popolarissimo e trattato allora da tutt'i novellieri. *C. Arrighi*, 3-147: Egli zufolava, stonato come un Samoiedo, sul motivo popolarissimo del 'Beatrice il cuor mi dice' nel 'Boccaccio'. *Carducci*, III-14-186: Popolare per tutto il Cinquecento, la composizione del Marsi intitolata poi pomposamente tragicommedia. *D. Martelli*, 81: L'arte moderna non è destinata, secondo me, a destare più grandi fanatismi, ad essere, come prima, popolare. Quanto più l'artista cerca individualmente, tanto meno può aspirare ad un numeroso pubblico. *Zena*, 2-209: Quello stupendo poema dello sciopero così vero, così vissuto…, farà leggere 'Germinal', quando altre opere più popolari di Zola saranno dimenticate.

-Diffuso ovunque, di facile reperibilità (una specie botanica o animale).

Landino [Plinio], 3II: Le pesche supernate vengono da' Sabini; le popolari d'ogni luogo. *Bacchi della Lega*, 162: Parrebbe che un uccello così piccolo dovesse essere dei più timidi, ed è invece uno dei più arditi; parrebbe che dovesse essere uno dei più delicati, ed è invece uno dei più robusti. Tutti lo sanno: dico tutti, perché lo scricciolo è popolare.

25. Dir. *Giuria popolare*: istituto giudiziario composto da giudici popolari e giudici togati facenti parte di un unico collegio giudicante (in Corte d'Assise: cfr. anche GIURIA, n. I).

Bernari, 6-93: «Fesserie, avvocato egregio» lo interruppe il contadino ricco. «Se i giudici volessero stare dietro a tutte queste storie che dite voi». «Eh ma ci sarà la giuria popolare. Su di lei bisogna fare leva».

-*Giudice popolare* v. GIUDICE, n. 1.

26. Mitol. *Venere popolare*: Venere pandemia.

Salvini, 23-24: Ai medesimi mortal la primavera / son più gli amori, ché la primavera / ingombra citerea la popolare.

27. Polit. *Partito popolare*: partito ispirato alle dottrine della scuola sociale cristiana, fondato in Italia il 18-I-19I9 da Luigi Sturzo (1871-1959) e da un gruppo di uomini politici cattolici; il testo del programma diffuso da Roma al Paese, con un appello «ai liberi e forti», venne firmato da una commissione direttiva provvisoria in cui figuravano alcuni parlamentari come G. Bertini, G. Longinotti, A. Mauri, G. Rodinò e altre note personalità del laicato cattolico come S. Cavazzani e A. Grandi; don Sturzo venne nominato segretario politico; il nuovo partito, che si collocava al centro dello schieramento politico, fra i gruppi liberali e socialisti, nelle elezioni del 16 novembre 1919 conquistò 100 seggi in parlamento e riconfermò la sua forza politica in quelle del luglio 1921; l'omicidio di G. Matteotti durante le elezioni dell'aprile del 1924, a cui seguì quello di don Minzoni e la progressiva soppressione della libertà costituzionale da parte del regime fascista, provocarono l'irrigidimento dell'opposizione del partito che, con gli altri partiti democratici, approvò la secessione parlamentare dell'Aventino e scatenò sul giornale «Il popolo» una dura campagna contro gli esecutori e i mandanti dell'omicidio Matteotti; dopo l'ultimo congresso, avvenuto nella primavera del 1925, vista l'impossibilità di un collegamento delle opposizioni antifasciste per fermare la caduta dello Stato democratico, De Gasperi e Gronchi (rispettivamente capo del gruppo parlamentare e segretario del partito) furono costretti a ritirarsi dalla vita politica e il partito fu sciolto (e nel dopoguerra l'eredità del partito fu raccolta dalla Democrazia Cristiana).

B. Croce, IV-12-399: Sono stato anch'io al posto che ora occupa l'onorevole Gonella, e proprio quando il partito cattolico e popolare fece la sua prima e grande entrata nel

Parlamento italiano. *Gobetti*, I-92: I contadini e i piccoli proprietari partecipando al partito popolare entravano per la prima volta nella vita pubblica portandovi un caratteristico spirito di avversione verso la politica megalomane e la preponderanza plutocratica.
-Che aderisce a tale partito. – Anche sostant.
Panzini, IV-530: 'Popolari': dopo il 1919, gli ascritti al 'Partito popolare italiano'. *B. Croce*, IV-II-II: I popolari, ossia i cattolici, sebbene dessero loro uomini ai vari ministeri, non erano del tutto liberi della loro azione. *Ojetti*, I-19: La Giunta, che ancora per caso era una delle poche giunte di partito liberale rimaste in Italia, non voleva per tanto poco romperla coi 'popolari' e dichiarava di non aver tempo da perdere dietro una burla del secolo scorso. *E. Cecchi*, 13-323: Lo spettacolo della povertà non c'è più, ecc. I 'preti' non ci sono più: ci sono i 'popolari'. Teatro, l'operetta austriaca, puzzo di Bela Khun. *Sciascia*, 8-117: - Ci sono marxisti che non hanno letto una pagina di Marx – disse il signor Romeris. – E popolari – poiché il barone si ostinava a chiamare i popolari i democristiani – che non hanno letto una pagina di don Sturzo.
-Che è proprio di coloro che aderiscono a tale partito.
Gobetti, I-I-466: Il fatto centrale e caratteristico della cultura popolare, trascurate quelle che sono esterne incrostazioni come Tangorra, Anile, De Sanctis, è il pensiero di don Sturzo, il messianico del riformismo.
-*Democrazia popolare*: v. DEMOCRAZIA, n. I.
-*Fronte popolare*: v. FRONTE, n. 9
28. *Movimento popolare*: organizzazione cattolica sorta del 1975 da una scissione interna di Comunione e Liberazione.
S. Giacomoni [«La Repubblica», 30-VIII-1985], 4: Nel '75 alcuni ciellini ormai maturi fondavano il Movimento popolare, destinato a diventare l'attuale tormentone della Dc. *C. Sorgi* [«Avvenire», 31-VIII-1985], 2: Quando don Giussani si presenta al popolo del Meeting…e dice le parole che ha detto mercoledì scorso, è giusto che il Movimento Popolare e Comunione e Liberazione si sentano felici di avere un simile padre.
29. Ant. Laico, secolare.
Catzelu [Guevara], II-43: Così come nell'arca di Noè v'erano stanzie e stanziette, così parimente nella chiesa di Dio vi è stato ecclesiastico e populare, nel quale abitano i fideli cristiani di Gesù Cristo.
-Sostant.
G. Paleotti, L-II-173: L'una [schiera] chiamorno de' laici, cioè popolari, perciochè ritenevano la condizione conceduta da principio a ciascun del popolo, che è di poter pigliar moglie e servire a tutti gli usi necessari della città.
30. Residente in un luogo o in una città determinata.
G. Bentivoglio, 4-728: Era grandissimo il giro della città, poca in numero la gente pagata, né al fine tanta la popolare che potesse a gran pezzo supplire a tutte le occorrenti necessità.
-Che si trova in un luogo determinato.
Siri, I-613: Quelli beni allodiali, che immuni acquistati avevimo, non solo sono stati fatti taliabili contro patuiti privilegi, ma anche caricati contro il rescritto di naturalità come effetti popolari de'forastieri.
31. Affollato (un luogo); popoloso (una città).
Bizoni, 113: Arrivammo la sera assai di buon'ora a Cantalberì, luogo popolare e grande, copioso di arti e di botteghe di vari esercizi. *Segneri*, II-36: Quanto a me, gli basta ch'io vegga la plebe apprestare ad altri più numerosi concorsi e più popolari udienze che a me, e ne sia contento.
32. Dimin. *Popolarùccio*.
Pietro de' Faitinelli, VI-677 (16-23): Né Nello, mercenario popolaruccio, / germoglia per vigor di compagnie, / né puote star colìe / per torre a bocca aperta come 'l luccio. *Carducci*, III-3-307: Ecco il Feccia ed ecco il Truglia, / detti ancor bocche di luccio: /il miglior di tutti è Nello, / merciaiuol popolaruccio.
= Voce dotta, lat. populāris, deriv. da popŭlus (v. POPOLO).

Populismo, s.m. Stor. Movimento culturale e politico sorto dopo la metà del sec. XIX fra gli intellettuali russi che propugnavano l'emancipazione delle classi diseredate, in partic. dei contadini e dei servi della gleba, e il miglioramento delle loro condizioni di vita, insieme con vaste riforme dell'ordinamento politico e burocratico zarista, da perseguire con un'opera capillare di studio socioculturale delle popolazioni agricole, di educazione e di proselitismo, o anche, secondo una corrente estremista, con azioni violente, culminate nel 1881 con l'uccisione dello zar (e la repressione poliziesca e l'evoluzione delle idee socialiste e marxiste disgregarono nella sua dimensione politica il movimento, il quale però sopravvisse con un atteggiamento sentimentale, e sotto tale aspetto, con il suo interesse per la vita degli umili, influenzò la letteratura e l'arte; a livello politico e ideologico Lenin e il comunismo sovietico polemizzarono duramente con le concezioni del movimento, pur recependone di fatto alcuni aspetti, per cui il termine assunse nella cultura marxista-comunista una forte connotazione negativa). In senso generico: atteggiamento sentimentale e velleitario di amore per il popolo e di sensibilità per i problemi sociali, che non determina un impegno attivo, umanitarismo vago.
Gramsci, 6-5: Il De Sanctis nell'ultima fase della sua vita e della sua attività rivolse la sua attenzione al romanzo 'naturalista' o 'verista' e questa forma di romanzo, nell'Europa occidentale, fu l'espressione 'intellettualistica' del movimento più generale di 'andare dal popolo', di un populismo di alcuni gruppi intellettuali sullo scorcio del secolo scorso, dopo il tramonto della democrazia quarantottesca e l'avvento di grandi masse operaie per lo sviluppo della grande industria urbana. *C. Levi*, 2-75: Si poteva pensare che le esperienze sociali, il populismo, l'attività politica mi nascondevano a me stesso, erano destinate a fallire. *Pavese*, II-II-332: Attenzione al populismo accademico in agguato. *Pasolini*, 13-159: In quel mio epigramma la lettera può far pensare a un populismo storico (quello contro cui polemizzava Lenin) o a un populismo sentimentale (quello di cui mi accusa Salinari): ma in realtà, se letto nelle sue implicazioni, quell'epigramma pone semplicemente sul tavolo una questione viva e vera, e che, secondo me, il PCI non ha ancora affrontato con piena energia e piena coscienza.
2. Polit. Atteggiamento politico favorevole al popolo (identificato nei ceti sociali economicamente più umili e soprattutto culturalmente più arretrati), ma in modo generico, velleitario o demagogico (adulando il popolo come depositario di tutte le virtù sociali e come vittima del cinico egoismo e dell'amoralità dei ceti dominanti, e formulando proposte politiche atte a gratificare il desiderio di rivalsa da parte dello stesso popolo, ma non idonee a incidere efficacemente sui complessi problemi che pone la società moderna) e non di rado in modo strumentale perché sostanzialmente diretto a perseguire fini di mera conquista o mantenimento del potere o progetti politico-sociali sostanzialmente reazionari (volti, cioè, più a ripristinare forme storiche già superate che a introdurre moderne riforme strutturali: e in tale accezione il termine assume per lo più una connotazione polemica negativa).
Piovene, 7-444: Il declino del comunismo non si accompagna adesso più con la tendenza all'ordine tradizionale. Ma piuttosto con un populismo diffuso, generico, di fondo acre: un umore (di cui oggi si fa l'esperienza ogni giorno) insofferente ed irritato, nei ceti popolari.
3. Nell'ambito artistico e letterario, rappresentazione fortemente idealizzata e celebrativa del popolo da un punto di vista paternalistico e protettivo, come depositario di sane e autentiche virtù e d'una totale positività di vita e di comportamento.
Calvino, 13-288: Sul fronte della critica politicamente impegnata l'ala più radicale dei critici attaccava e distruggeva la pretesa esemplarità della letteratura impegnata, accusandola di populismo.
-Nella storia della letteratura francese, programma formulato nel 1929 da Léon Lemonnier e Andé Thérive per riportare il romanzo a temi popolari, eliminandone l'intellettualismo e lo psicologismo tipicamente borghesi.
=Dall'ingl. *populism* (deriv. da *populist*: v. POPULISTA), che traduce il russo narodničestvo; per il n. 3, cfr. il fr. *populisme*).

Cortelazzo Manlio, Ugo Cardinale, *Dizionario di Parole Nuove. 1964-1984* (Torino: Loescher Editore, 1986), 135.
Pop: detto di genere artistico che, per i suoi contenuti, è molto diffuso, specie tra i giovani (1977, A. Arbasino: *l'uso comune inventa* plot *e* Popo *adatta* gap e off, p. 242). – Voce inglese, abbreviazione di *pop(ular)* "popolare", diffusasi soprattutto verso gli anni Cinquanta come sostantivo con il significato di "canzone, disco di successo".

Cortelazzo Manlio, Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Zanichelli, , 1989): 955-957
Pop-Art: s.f. "forma artistica d'avanguardia, d'origine americana, che trae ispirazione dagli aspetti più immediati della civiltà dei consumi" (1964, "Il Gazzettino" 1 luglio, p. 9).
Vc. ingl. (1957), da *pop(ular) art* "arte popolare". "Come indirizzo delle arti figurative, la *Pop Art* è nata negli Stati Uniti e ha raggiunto la notorietà nel 1964 grazie alla Biennale di Venezia; ma sotto l'influsso delle precedenti espressioni americane *Popmusic, Popculture* e simili, l'abbreviazione *Pop*è stata adoperata per vari tipi di attività "popolari", come musica *Pop*(chiamata anche semplicemente *il pop*: "Espresso" 48/1966, 20) *moda pop, cultura pop*, fino a diventare uno dei tanti termini con cui i giornalisti indicano qualunque cosa moderna e che piace ai giovani" (Klajn 39).

Pop-corn: s.m. 'chicci di granturco arrostiti' (popcorn: 1958, *Il mondo*, 23 sett., p. 7).
Vc. Ingl. (1848), comp. di *Pop*'scoppiato' (d'orig. espressiva) e *corn* 'granturco' (vc. germ. d'orig. indeur.)

Popolare: sotto popolo. Agg. "relativo al popolo, inteso come moltitudine di cittadini" (1532, L. Ariosto), "relativo al popolo", inteso come classe socialmente ed economicamente elevata (sec. XIV, *Esposizione del padre nostro*) "che proviene dal popolo, che è diffuso tra il popolo" (1828, G. Baini), "conosciuto, benvoluto dal popolo" (av. 1527, N. Machiavelli).

Populismo: s.m. 'movimento politico russo della fine del sec. XIX, che aspirava alla formazione d'una società socialista di tipo operaio' (1921, P.A. Kropotkin, cit. in Orioles *Russismi* 133), 'ideologia di movimento politico o artistico che vede nel popolo un modello etico e sociale' (1931 A. Consiglio, cit. in Orioles Russismi 133).

Populista (sotto populismo), *s.m.* e *agg.* 'chi è fautore del populismo' (1919, A. Kolpinska, cit. in Orioles *Russismi* 132), populistico, agg. 'del populismo' (1963, Migl. *App.*).
"Nell'uso contemporaneo italiano la denominazione di *populismo* si applica a concezioni e dottrine politiche eterogenee, talora divergenti, che hanno come termine comune di riferimento «il popolo considerato come aggregato sociale omogeneo e come depositario esclusivo di valori positivi…» (*Dizionario di politica*, Torino 1983 s.v.). La parola populismo nasce peraltro come traduzione del russo *narodničestvo*, designazione di un movimento di giovani intellettuali (i *narodniki*, «populisti»), che prese forma organizzata dopo il 1870, caratterizzato dall'idealizzazione delle masse popolari contadine, in mezzo alle quali essi intendevano diffondere il loro messaggio rivoluzionario (si rinvia per l'analisi storica alla fondamentale monografia di F. Venturi, *Il populismo russo*, Torino, 1972; per il progressivo allargamento semantico conosciuto dalle due voci modello *narodničestvo* e *narodnik* in seno alla tradizione russa è d'obbligo il riferimento allo studio di R. Pipes, *Narodnichestvo: A Semantic Inquiry* in *Slavic Review* 23 [1964] pp. 441-458, ove si dimostra che nell'ultimo decennio del secolo XIX l'appellativo di *narodnik* si ridusse ad un «polemical device» sfruttato dai marxisti russi per bollare i propri antagonisti politici. Di narodničestvo si occupa diffusamente Nicolai, *Parole russe* s.v.) La sorte dei due russismi nelle lingue europee occidentali appare questa volta differenziata: mentre infatti il tedesco predilige la tipologia del prestito, le altre tradizioni ricorrono ai propri derivati, formati sul latinismo *populus* (=russo *narod*). Ad avviare quest'ultimo processo è stato l'inglese d'America,

nell'ambito del quale le espressioni *populism* e *populist* furono coniate per designare l'ideologia e gli esponenti del *People's party*, una formazione politica di ispirazione popolareggiante affacciatasi sulla scena politica statunitense nel 1891 (per questa genesi di *populist*, foggiato nel 1892, orientano le esplicite indicazioni di H. Sperber – T. Trittschuh, American Political Terms. An Historical Dictionary, Detroit 1962, p. 331; su *populist* è rifatto l'astratto *populism*, la cui creazione, stando ai materiali dell'OED, risale al 1893). L'analogia fra il partito populista americano ed il populismo russo fu la molla che fece scattare l'identificazione interlinguistica delle formazioni russe *narodnik* e *narodničestvo* con i due anglicismi, i quali assumono ben presto la nuova valenza semantica (*populist* già dal 1895). La resa inglese fungerà poi da modello per il francese e per l'italiano, dove le omologhe creazioni *populiste* e *populista* appaiono rispettivamente nel 1907 e nel 1919 […]. Perché *populista* e *populismo* conoscano una definitiva consacrazione nell'uso bisognerà attendere l'ulteriore impulso fornito dai corrispondenti francesmi *populiste* e *populisme*, utilizzati dal 1929 come denominazione di un movimento letterario che si proponeva di ritrarre la vita reale della gente comune (la prima eco italiana della nuova scuola di romanzieri francesi si ha nello scritto di A. Consiglio, *Populismo e nuove tendenze nella letteratura francese* in «Nuova Antologia», marzo-aprile 1931, pp. 380-9)"(Orioles *Russismi*).

Cortelazzo Manlio, Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, (Bologna: Zanichelli, Bologna: 1999): 1229 – 1231.
Pop-art: s.f. "forma artistica d'avanguardia, d'origine americana, che trae ispirazione dagli aspetti più immediati della civiltà dei consumi" (1964, "Il Gazzettino" 1 luglio, p. 9).
Vc. ingl. (1957), da *pop(ular) art* "arte popolare". "Come indirizzo delle arti figurative, la *Pop Art* è nata negli Stati Uniti e ha raggiunto la notorietà nel 1964 grazie alla Biennale di Venezia; ma sotto l'influsso delle precedenti espressioni americane *Popmusic, Popculture* e simili, l'abbreviazione *Pop*è stata adoperata per vari tipi di attività "popolari", come musica *Pop*(chiamata anche semplicemente *il pop*: "Espresso" 48/1966, 20) *moda pop, cultura pop*, fino a diventare uno dei tanti termini con cui i giornalisti indicano qualunque cosa moderna e che piace ai giovani" (Klajn 39).

Pop-corn: s.m. 'chicci di granturco arrostiti' (popcorn: 1958, *Il mondo*, 23 sett., p. 7).
Vc. Ingl. (1848), comp. di *Pop*'scoppiato' (d'orig. espressiva) e *corn* 'granturco' (vc. germ. d'orig. indeur.)

Popolare: p. 1230 sotto popolo significato n. 2, *agg.* 'relativo al popolo, inteso come moltitudine di cittadini' (fine sec. XV, L. Falier), 'relativo al popolo, inteso come classe socialmente ed economicamente meno elevata' (fine sec. XIII, *Novellino*), 'che proviene dal popolo, che è diffuso tra il popolo' (1828, G. Baini), 'conosciuto, benvoluto dal popolo' (av. 1527, N. Machiavelli).

Populismo: s.m. 'movimento politico russo della fine del sec. XIX, che aspirava alla formazione d'una società socialista di tipo operaio' (1921, P.A. Kropotkin, cit. in Orioles *Russismi* 133), 'ideologia di movimento politico o artistico che vede nel popolo un modello etico e sociale' (1931 A. Consiglio, cit. in Orioles Russismi 133).

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intendevano diffondere il loro messaggio rivoluzionario (si rinvia per l'analisi storica alla fondamentale monografia di F. Venturi, *Il populismo russo*, Torino, 1972; per il progressivo allargamento semantico conosciuto dalle due voci modello *narodničestvo* e *narodnik* in seno alla tradizione russa è d'obbligo il riferimento allo studio di R. Pipes, *Narodnichestvo: A Semantic Inquiry* in *Slavic Review* 23 [1964] pp. 441-458, ove si dimostra che nell'ultimo decennio del secolo XIX l'appellativo di *narodnik* si ridusse ad un «polemical device» sfruttato dai marxisti russi per bollare i propri antagonisti politici. Di narodničestvo si occupa diffusamente Nicolai, *Parole russe* s.v.) La sorte dei due russismi nelle lingue europee occidentali appare questa volta differenziata: mentre infatti il tedesco predilige la tipologia del prestito, le altre tradizioni ricorrono ai propri derivati, formati sul latinismo *populus* (=russo *narod*). Ad avviare quest'ultimo processo è stato l'inglese d'America, nell'ambito del quale le espressioni *populism* e *populist* furono coniate per designare l'ideologia e gli esponenti del *People's party*, una formazione politica di ispirazione popolareggiante affacciatasi sulla scena politica statunitense nel 1891 (per questa genesi di *populist*, foggiato nel 1892, orientano le esplicite indicazioni di H. Sperber – T. Trittschuh, American Political Terms. An Historical Dictionary, Detroit 1962, p. 331; su *populist* è rifatto l'astratto *populism*, la cui creazione, stando ai materiali dell'OED, risale al 1893). L'analogia fra il partito populista americano ed il populismo russo fu la molla che fece scattare l'identificazione interlinguistica delle formazioni russe *narodnik* e *narodničestvo* con i due anglicismi, i quali assumono ben presto la nuova valenza semantica (*populist* già dal 1895). La resa inglese fungerà poi da modello per il francese e per l'italiano, dove le omologhe creazioni *populiste* e *populista* appaiono rispettivamente nel 1906 e nel 1919 […]. Perché *populista* e *populismo* conoscano una definitiva consacrazione nell'uso bisognerà attendere l'ulteriore impulso fornito dai corrispondenti francesmi *populiste* e *populisme*, utilizzati dal 1929 come denominazione di un movimento letterario che si proponeva di ritrarre la vita reale della gente comune (la prima eco italiana della nuova scuola di romanzieri francesi si ha nello scritto di A. Consiglio, *Populismo e nuove tendenze nella letteratura francese* in «Nuova Antologia», marzo-aprile 1931, pp. 380-9)"(Orioles *Russismi*).

D'Anna Guido, Sintesi, *Dizionario italiano ragionato* (Florence: Officine Grafiche Stianti, 1988): 1374-1375.

Pop ingl. [pop] agg. Che è di gusto popolare, Che si ispira a forme d'arte popolare. Anche Che è molto diffuso tra i giovani. *Musica -*, *Cantante -*, *Teatro-*. /Abbreaviaz. di *popular* «popolare». / / **pop-art** locuz. ingl. ['popa:t] sf. Movimento artistico nato in Inghilterra negli anni cinquanta del sec. XX e da quel paese diffuso negli Stati Uniti e in Europa, con rifer. Nel nome («popolare») agli oggetti e alle immagini più comuni, quotidianamente proposte dai mezzi di comunicazione di massa. Queste immagini vengono astratte dal loro contesto consueto, e caricate di nuovi significati con i più disparati mezzi espressivi e tecnologici (sovrapposizioni, iterazioni, ingrandimento dei particolari). Da *pop(ular) art* «arte popolare». / / / v. *popolo*.

Pop-corn angloamer. ['popko:n] sm. Granturco bianco abbrustolito in chicchi. /Comp. da *Pop* «scoppiato» con *corn* «mais». Uno dei consumi diffusi dal costume americano.

Popolare agg. Relativo all'insieme dei cittadini che costituiscono la nazione; oppure proprio delle classi subalterne (con la duplicità di signif. già segnalata alla voce *popolo*). Nella prima accez. *Volontà*, *Voto*, *Favore*, *Sfavore popolare*. *Giudici popolari*, Cittadini che in corte d'assise costituiscono temporaneamente il collegio giudicante, insieme con i giudici togati (i giudici di professione). *Rappresentanti popolari*, Quelli eletti al Parlamento dall'insieme dei cittadini. Nella seconda accez. *Case popolari*, *Prezzi popolari*, *Romanzi popolari*. In partic. in questo senso popolare si contrappone a dotto nella storia della lingua: nel presente dizionario si distinguono infatti con tale criterio le voci giunte dal lat. attraverso una trasmissione diretta dei parlanti da quelle riprese dal lat. per opera di uomini di cultura (ad es. *pieve* e *plebe*, ambedue dal lat. *plebs*, *plebis*). Tuttavia l'opposizione

«popolare-dotto» non è sempre evidente, perché molteplici sono i rapporti e le influenze reciproche./ In molti regimi di tipo comunista e socialista l'agg. *popolare* ha il valore (persino ostentato, solenne, definitorio) proprio della prima accez.: *Repubblica popolare cinese*. /Anche nel signif. di *Noto, Conosciuto, Caro a larghi strati del popolo. Un uomo politico molto popolare*. Lat. *populāris*, da *populus* «popolo».

Populismo s.m. Movimento politico russo di emancipazione popolare, durato dalla fine del XIX sec. alla rivoluzione del 1917; auspicava la distribuzione delle terre ai contadini e l'instaurazione di una democrazia rurale di tipo socialista. Se ne ravvisano profonde tracce nella narrativa dell'epoca./Lo schietto gusto, la simpatia, tipici di alcuni autori dotti, nei confronti della letteratura di intonazione popolare: *Il populismo di Luigi Pulci.* /Spreg. Esibizione demagogica di solidarietà verso il popolo: *Il populismo di alcuni autori dell'Ottocento.* /Ingl. *populism*, deriv. dal lat. *populus* «popolo»./ /

Tristano Bolelli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* (Milan: Editori Associati S.p.A., 1989): 349- 350.
Pop. ingl. Abbreviaz. di *popular* «popolare».
Pop-art ingl. Da *pop(ular art)* «arte popolare».
Pop corn angloam. Comp. di *pop(ped)* «scoppiato» e *corn* «mais»
Popolare[1]. Lat. *populāris*, da *populus* «popolo».
Popolare[2]. Da *popolo*.
Populismo. Ingl. *populism*, da populist «populista».

De Mauro Tullio, Marco Mancini, *Dizionario Moderno. Parole straniere nella lingua italiana*, (Cernusco S.N: Garzanti, 2001): 412-413.
Pop: agg.iv., s.m.inv CO [1964; ingl. *pop*, accorc. di popular "popolare"]
agg.inv., popolare, di massa, che trova ampia diffusione, spec. tra i giovani: cultura p., moda p.
agg. inv., che aderisce, che si ispira alla Pop Art o alla Popmusic: *pittore, musicista* p.
s.m.inv. TS mus. Popmusic.

POP: sigla
1. TS inform. Post Office Protocol, protocollo ufficio postale, in Internet, protocollo che permette a un server di gestire il traffico di posta elettronica.
2. TS telecom. Point of Presence, punto di presenza, nodo in cui una linea telefonica internazionale viene collegata a una linea locale. **Der.** Poppista

Pop Art: loc.s.f.inv. TS arte [1964; ingl. *Pop Art*, 1955, comp. di *Pop*(vd.) e *art* "arte"] movimento artistico americano degli anni Sessanta caratterizzato dal continuo riferirsi in modo per lo più critico e ironico alla realtà visiva della civiltà dei consumi, spec. all'immaginario connesso alle forme della pubblicità e della cultura popolare. Var. Pop Art, pop-art.

Pop Artist: loc.s.m. e f.inv. TS arte [1964; ingl. *Pop Artist*, pl. *Pop Artists*, comp. di *Pop*(vd.) e *artist* "artista"] artista seguace della Pop Art **Sin.** popist.

Popculture: s.f.inv. CO [1966; ingl. *Popculture*, comp. di *Pop*(vd.) e *culture* "cultura"] cultura di massa, cui sono legate le forme della Pop Art, della Popmusic, ecc.

popist: s.m. e f. inv. TS arte [1966; ingl. *popist*, pl. *popists*, contrazione di Pop Artist] Pop Artist.

Popmusic: loc.s.f. inv. TS mus. [1965; ingl. Popmusic, comp. di *Pop*(vd.) e *music* "musica"] musica leggera, che ha una diffusione di massa, spec. con riferimento a quella che negli

anni Sessanta rompeva gli schemi formali della canzone tradizionale, dando maggior risalto al ritmo e alla sonorità rispetto alla melodia. **Sin.** Pop**Var.** pop-music.

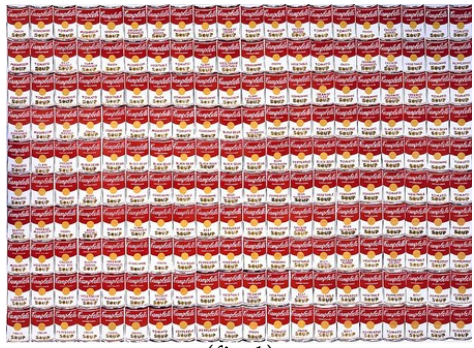
Alberto Nocentini, *L'ETIMOLOGICO Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Varese: Le Monnier, 2010): 903-904.
Pop agg. e s.m. [1964] – di fenomeno artistico o musicale capace di attirare un pubblico di massa.
PRESTITO GERMANICO DI ORIGINE NEOLATINA: **ingl.** pop, abbrev. Di *popular* 'popolare, di massa', dal **lat.** Populāris – e (POPOLO).
-**Pop Art** loc. [1964], ingl. *Pop Art*, da *pop(ular) art* 'arte popolare'.

Pop corn s.m. [1927] – chicchi di granoturco fatti scoppiare al fuoco.
PRESTITO MODERNO DA LINGUE GERMANICHE: **ingl. d'America** *popcorn*, comp. di *Pop*'scoppiettare' e *corn* 'mais'.

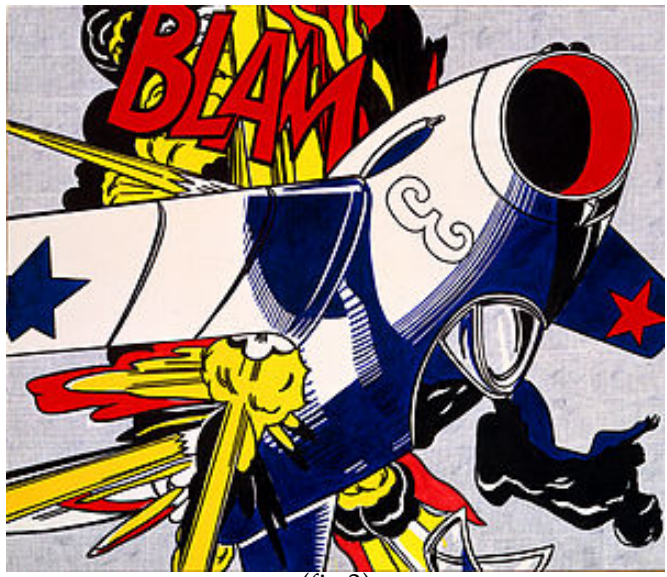
Popolare (sotto popolo) agg. [metà sec. XIII], dal lat. populāris –e, der. di pŏpŭlus.

Populismo s.m. [1921]: movimento politico-culturale russo sviluppatosi tra la fine dell'Ottocento e l'inizio del Novecento, che aspirava alla costituzione di una società socialista di tipo contadino.
FORMAZIONE ITALIANA DI ORIGINE ROMANZA: der. di *popolo* come calco di traduz. del **russo** narodníčestvo è der. astratto di *naródnik* 'populista', termine der. di naród 'popolo', che apparve nel tardo Ottocento col primo manifestarsi delle ideologie rivoluzionarie.
-**populista** agg. e s.m. e f. [1919], dall'**ingl.** *populist*, der. del lat. pŏpŭlus.
-**populistico** agg. [1963].
BIBL Orioles, *Russismi* 131-133.

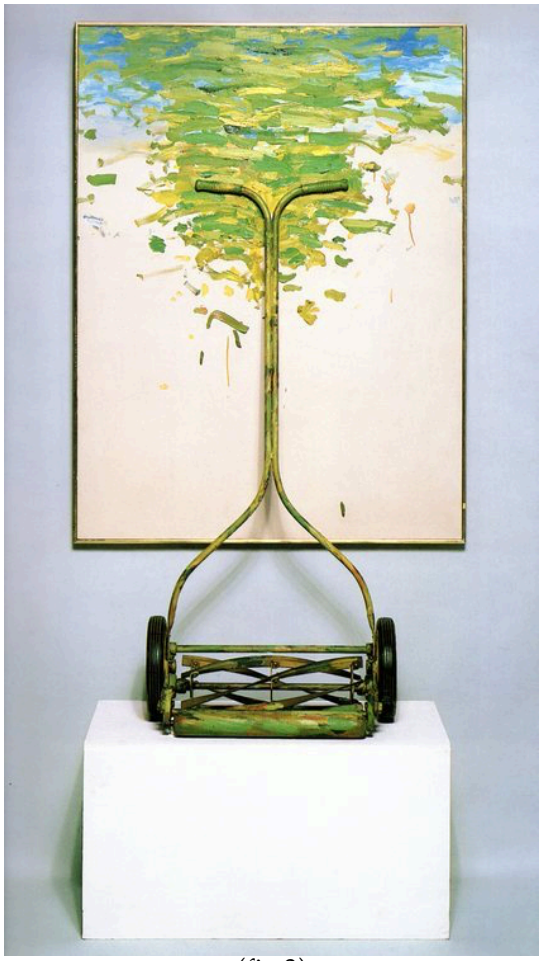
Iconographic Appendix



(fig.1)
Andy Warhol, *200 Campbell Soup Cans*, 1962, synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 182.9x254.6cm, The John and Kimiko Powers Collection, New York



(fig.2)
Roy Lichtenstein's *Blam*, 1961, 172.7x203.2cm, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

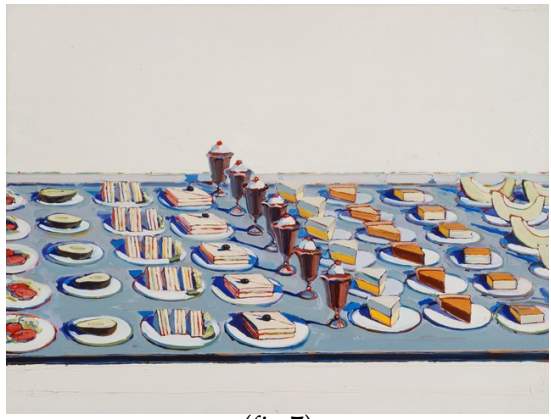


(fig.3)
Jim Dine's *The Lawnmower*, 1962, oil on canvas with lawnmower on painted wood base, 196.6x91.4x47.5cm, Aichi Prefectural Museum, Nagoya, Japan

(fig.4)
Claes Oldenburg, *The stove (Assorted food on stove)*, 1962, stove and cooking utensils in plaster 146x72x70cm, Peter and Irene Ludwig Stiftung, Aachen

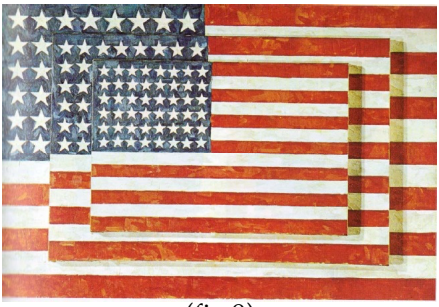
(fig.5)
George Segal, *The bus driver*, 1962, plaster over cheesecloth, bus parts including coin box, steering wheel, driver's seat, railing, and dashboard, over wood and cinder blocks, 226x131x195cm, MoMA, New York

(fig.6)
Robert Indiana, *Black Diamond American dream#2*, 1962, oil on canvas, 215.9x215.9cm, Museu Colecção Berardo, Lisbon

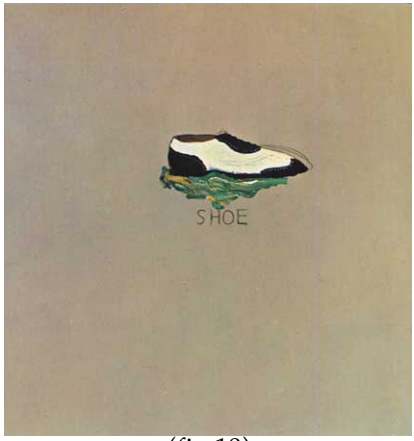


(fig.7)
Wayne Thiebaud, *Salad, Sandwiches and dessert*, 1962, oil on canvas, 146.1x189.2cm, Dallas Museum of Art, Texas

(fig.8)
Robert Rauschenberg, *Canyon*, 1963, combine: oil, pencil, paper, fabric, metal, cardboard box, printed paper, printed reproductions, photograph, wood, paint tube, and mirror on canvas with oil on bald eagle, string, and pillow, 207.6x177.8x61cm, MoMA, New York



(fig.9)
Jasper Johns, *Three Flags*, encaustic on canvas, 30x45x5cm, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York



(fig.10)
Jim Dine, *Shoe*, 1961, oil on canvas and wood, 161.2x137.8x17.7cm, Ileana Sonnabend Collection, New York

(fig.11)
Jim Dine, *Hatchet with two palettes (State II)*, 1963, oil on canvas with wood and metal, 72x54x15cm, The Harry N. Abrams Family Collection, New York

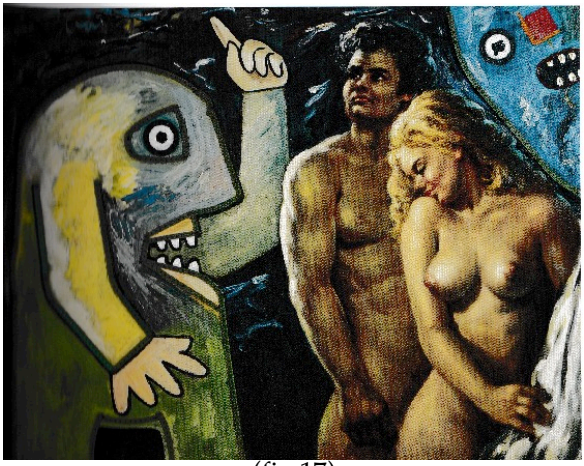
(fig.12)
Claes Oldenburg, *Soft Typewriter*, 1963, vinile, kapok, fabric and plexiglass, 27x26x9cm, Private Collection, London

(fig.13)
Jonathan Chamberlain, *Miss Lucy Pink*, 1962, painted metal, 45x50x40cm, Private collection, New York

(fig.14)
Enrico Baj, *Mobile*, 1961, collage, inlay, veneer, objects on cloth on table, 97x125x8cm; Fondazione Marconi, Milano

(fig.15)
Richard Hamilton, *Just what is it that makes today's home so different, so appealing?*, 1956, collage on paper, 26x24.8cm, Kunsthalle Tübingen, Tübingen

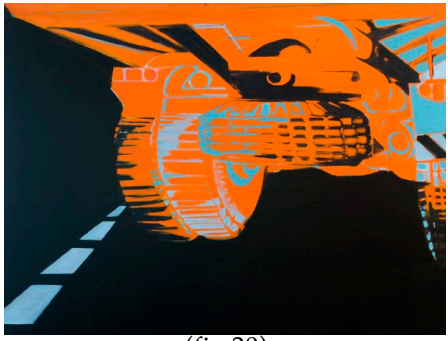
(fig.16)
Enrico Baj, *Il riposo del decorato*, 1963, mixed media, 180x220cm, Private collection u.p.



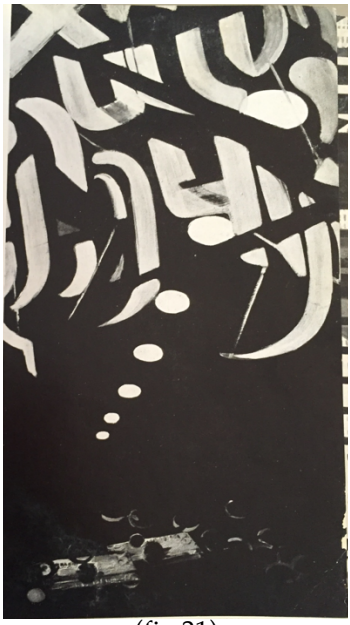
(fig.17)
Enrico Baj, *Adamo ed Eva*, 1964, oil on canvas, collage, 114x146x10cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.18)
Enrico Baj, *Ties*, 1969, hand in velvet and silk-screen printing on plastic in a Plexiglas box, 136x12.5cm, Fondazione Marconi, Milano

(fig.19)
Titina Maselli, *Greta Garbo*, 1962, mixed media, 98x123cm, Private collection, u.p.

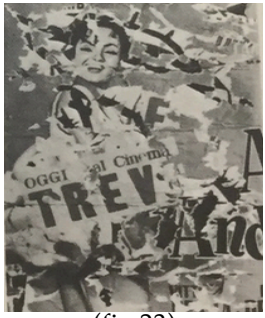


(fig.20)
Titina Maselli, *Camion*, 1963, oil on canvas, 250x200cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.21)
Titina Maselli, *Neon a New York*, 1964, oil on canvas, 100x200cm, Private collection, u.p.

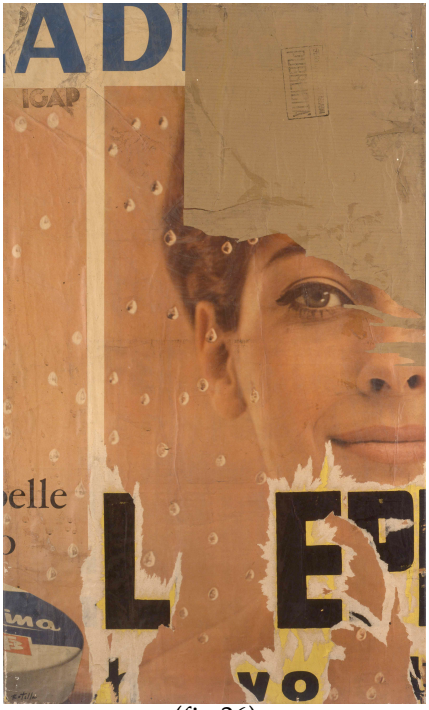
(fig.22)
Titina Maselli, *Bar a New York*, 1965, mixed media, 150x123cm, Private collection, u.p



(fig.23)
Mimmo Rotella, *Oggi al Cinema*, 1962, 40x70cm, printed paper on canvas, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.24)
Mimmo Rotella, *Marylin*, 1962, décollage on canvas, 154x132cm, Private collection, u.p.

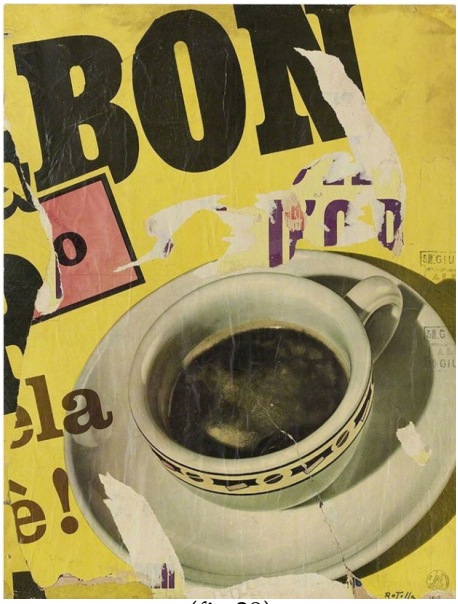
(fig.25)
Mimmo Rotella, *Tenera è la notte*, 1962, printed paper on canvas, 165x124cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.26)
Mimmo Rotella, *Come la gioconda*, 1962, décollage on canvas, 60x100cm, Fondazione Marconi, Milano

(fig.27)
Mimmo Rotella, *Le legioni*, 1962, décollage on canvas, 84x56cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.28)
Mimmo Rotella, *Mitologia*, 1962, décollage on canvas,141x133cm,
Fondazione Marconi, Milano



(fig.29)
Mimmo Rotella, *Il buon caffè*, 1962, décollage on canvas, 62x81cm,
Private collection, u.p.

(fig.30)
Mimmo Rotella, *Birra scaduta*, 1962, décollage on canvas, 93x133cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.31)
Mimmo Rotella, *Viva America!* 1963, décollage on canvas, 85x89cm, Fondazione Marconi, Milano

(fig.32)
Mario Schifano, *Segnale*, 1961, enamel on framed paper, 150x120cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.33)
Mario Schifano, *Cleopatra's dream*, 1961, enamel on framed paper, 130x120cm, Sonnabend collection, New York

(fig.34)
Mario Schifano, *Propaganda*, 1962, enamel on framed paper, 180x150cm,
Private collection, u.p.

(fig.35)
Andy Warhol, *Coca Cola*, 1961, casein and crayon on linen, 170x132cm,
The Andy Warhol Foundation, Pittsburgh

(fig.36)
Mario Schifano, *Leonardo*, 1964, enamel and paper laid down on two attached canvas, 200x200cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.37)
Mario Schifano, *Da destra verso sinistra*, 1964, oil and enamel on canvas, 180x140cm, Private collection, u.p.

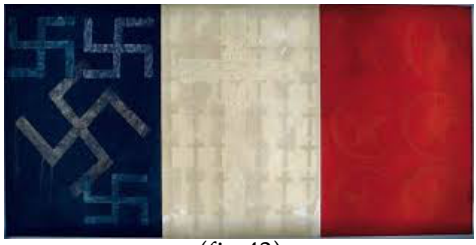
(fig.38)
Mario Schifano, *En plein air*, 1964, oil and enamel on canvas, 200x200cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.39)
Mario Schifano, *Futurismo rivisitato*, 1966, enamel and spray on canvas and perspex, 174x336cm, Fondazione Marconi, Milano

(fig. 40)
Mario Schifano, *Tuttestelle*, 1967, enamel and spray on canvas and perspex, 130x99 cm, Fondazione Marconi, Milano

(fig.41)
Mario Schifano, *Compagni, Compagni*, 1968, enamel and spray on canvas and perspex, 130x100cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.42)
Mario Schifano, *Sulla giusta soluzione delle contraddizioni in seno alla società*, 1968, enamel and spray on canvas and perspex, 140x140cm, Fondazione Marconi, Milano

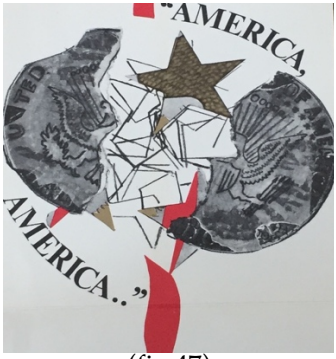


(fig.43)
Franco Angeli, *Napoleone*, 1963, mixed media with velatino on three canvas, 185x375cm, GAM, Torino

(fig.44)
Franco Angeli, *Cimitero Partigiano*, 1963, mixed media on velatino, 155x200cm, Private collection, u.p

(fig.45)
Franco Angelis, *Half dollar (bianco rosso)*, 1966, oil on canvas, 160x200cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.46)
Franco Angeli, *Half Dollar*, 1967, mixed media on canvas with velatino, 160x200cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.47)
Franco Angeli, *America America*, 1967, unique paper folded, u.d., Private collection, u.p.

(fig.48)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Prima, seconda, terza and quarta immagine del silenzio*, 1964, pencil and aluminum enamel on paper, Collection Archivio Goffredo Parise-Giosetta Fioroni, Roma

(fig.49)
Giosetta Fioroni, *La Ragazza sulla spiaggia*, 1965, enamel and aluminum on paper, 70x100cm, Collection Archivio Goffredo Parise-Giosetta Fioroni, Roma

(fig.50)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Gli involucri*, 1965, mixed media,100x100cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig. 51)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Particolare della nascita di Venere*, 1965, pencil, white and aluminum enamels on canvas, 200x100cm, Collection Intesa San Paolo, Milano

(fig.52)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Liberty piccolo*, 1965, enamel on canvas, 40x50cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig. 53)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Le cortigiane da carpaccio*, 1966, enamel on canvas, 200x100cm, Private collection, u.p.

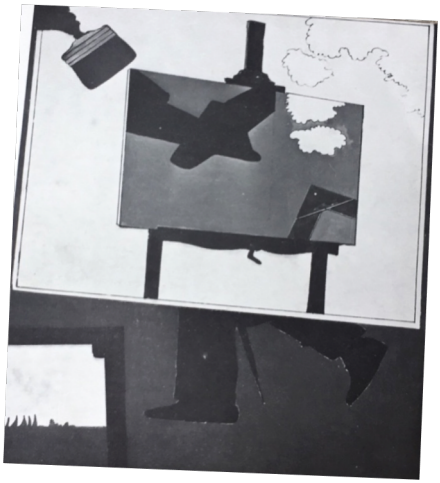
(fig. 54)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Bambino solo*, 1967, pencil, aluminum enamel on paper, 100x70cm, Collection Archivio Goffredo Parise-Giosetta Fioroni, Roma

(fig. 55)
Giosetta Fioroni, *Obbedienza*, 1969, pencil, white enamel and aluminum on canvas, 178x140cm, Private collection, u.p.

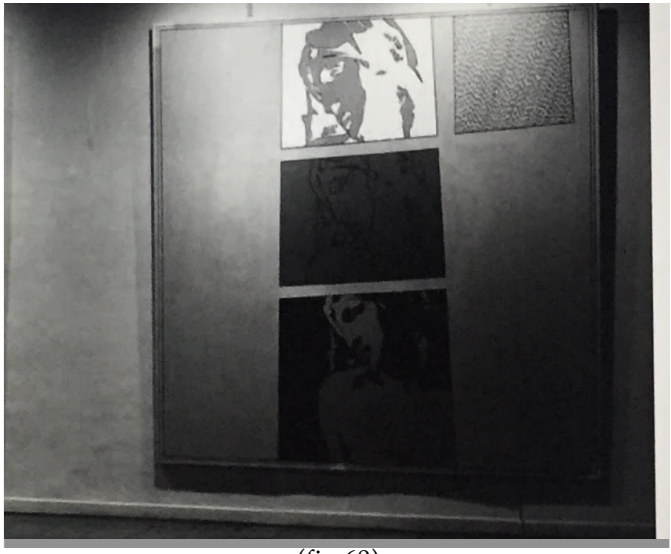
(fig.56),
Tano Festa, *Persiana*, 1962, mixed media on wood, 200x291cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.57)
Tano Festa, *La creazione dell'uomo*, 1964, enamel and emulsified paper on wood, cm 190x272x4, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.58)
Tano Festa, *Particolare della cappella Sistina dedicato a mio fratello Francesco Lo Savio*, 1963, oil on wood, 194x130cm, Private collection, u.p



(fig.59)
Tano Festa, *Untitled*, 1965, décollage, un. dim., Private collection, u.p.

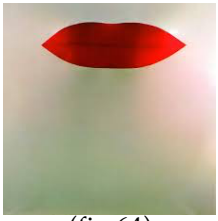


(fig.60)
Tano Festa, *Michelangelo*, 1965, mixed media, 3 panels 81x100cm each, installation view at Galleria La Tartaruga, Private collection, u. p.

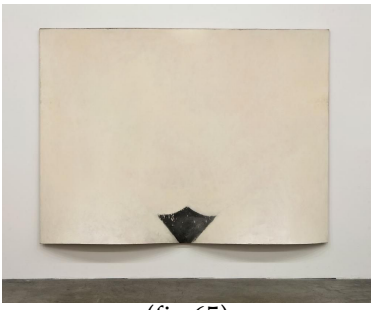
(fig.61)
Tano Festa, *Odalisca*, 1967, mixed media and enamel on four panels, 199x296cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.62)
Tano Festa, *Tricromia del cielo*, 1965, enamel on board, 116x89cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.63)
Pino Pascali, *Pelo (Contropelo)*, 1968, acrylic hair on eternit structure, 120h.x165l.x165d.cm, GNAM, Roma

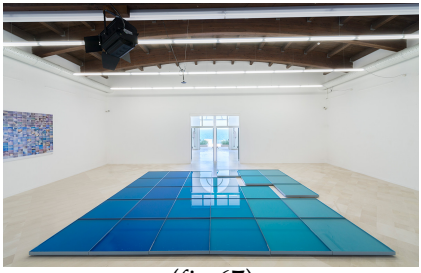


(fig.64)
Pino Pascali, *Labbra rosse*, 1964, enamel on wooden slight arch, 75x120x30cm, Museé des Beaux Arts, Nantes



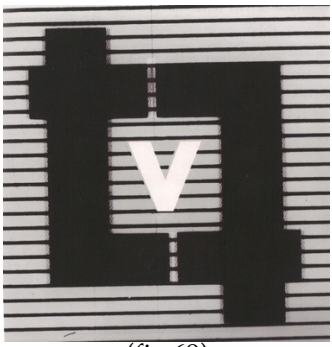
(fig.65)
Pino Pascali, *Grande bacino di donna (Mons Veneris)*, 1964, wooden structured covered by a painted canvas, 185,4x250,2x22cm, Goestz Collection, München

(fig.66)
Pino Pascali, *Il Cimitero degli animali*, 1966, Installation view Galleria L'Attico, mixed media, various dimension, Different collections

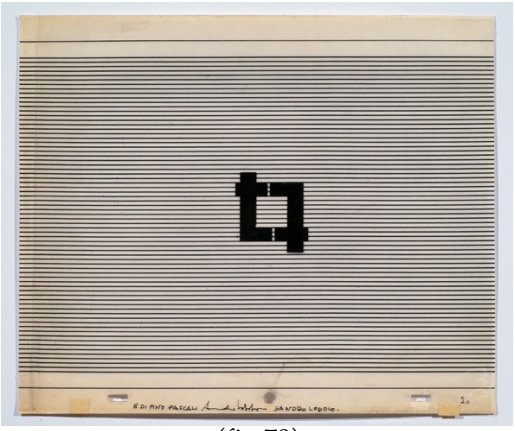


(fig.67)
Pino Pascali, *32 mq Mare circa*, 1967, mixed media, 30 panels 6,5x6,5x110cm each, GNAM, Roma

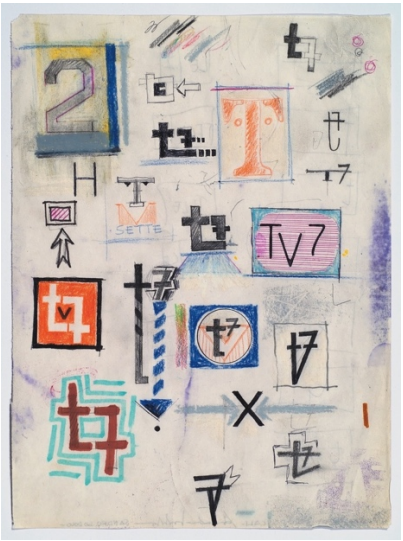
(fig.68)
Pino Pascali, *5 Bachi da Setola*, 1968, acrylic brushes, metal, 5 elements, several dimensions, Private collection, Asiago.



(fig.69)
Pino Pascali, *Logo definitive per la sigla di TV 7*, 1961, china and crayons on acetate, 25x29.7cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.70)
Pino Pascali, *Sigla TV 7*, 1963, china on acetate, 25x 29.7cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.71)
Studio per TV7, 1963, pen, crayons, felted pen and china, 28,1x 21cm, Private collection, u.p.

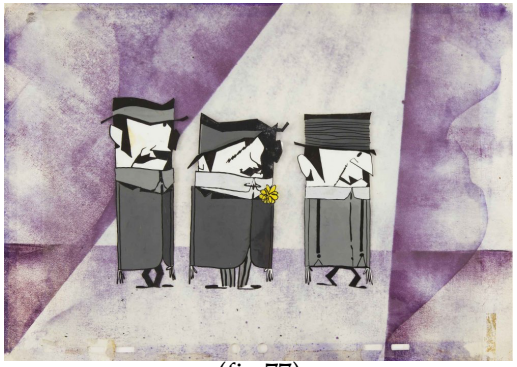
(fig.72)
Pino Pascali, *Servizi Speciali TG*, 1964, mixed media, 18x25cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.73)
Pino Pascali, *Storyboard di "Una piccola spesa"*, 1964, mixed media, 30x15cm, Private collection, u.p.

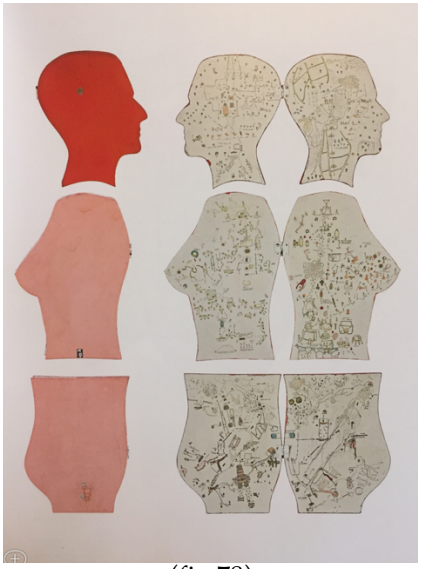
(fig.74)
Pino Pascali, *Un'Ora*, 1965, tempera and china on acetate, 24x30cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.75)
Pino Pascali, *Bimbetta*, 1965, mixed media, 20x23cm, Private collection, u.p.

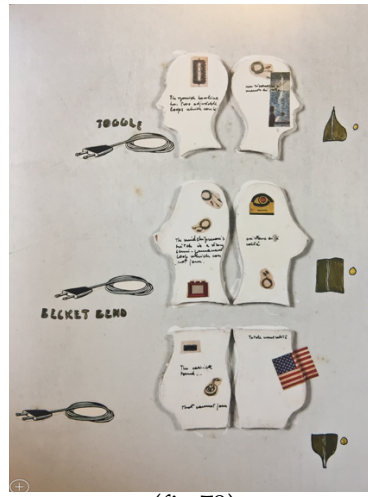
(fig.76)
Pino Pascali, *Gran General*, 1963-1964, mixed media on paper and acetate, 23x35cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.77)
Pino Pascali, *Al Cafone e I Killers*, 1964, mixed media, 24.5x34.5cm, Private collection, u.p.

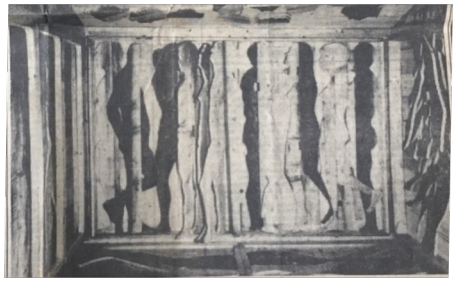


(fig.78)
Gianfranco Baruchello, *The Queen*, 1964, indian ink, industrial elements, photographs, garter hook, metal hinges, wooden shapes; I el.: 29x48x5x1.8cm (open); II el.: 36.5x51x1.8cm (open); III el.: 34x51x1.8cm (open), Private collection, u.p.



(fig.79)
Gianfranco Baruchello, *A choice of ten*, 1967, mixed media on aluminum, 100x100cm, Private collection, u.p.

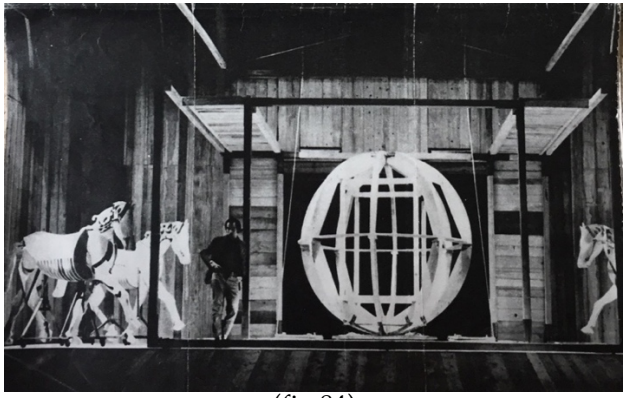
(fig.80)
Mario Ceroli, *Uomo di Leonardo*, 1964, wood of Russia pine, 200x200x25cm, Private collection, u.p.



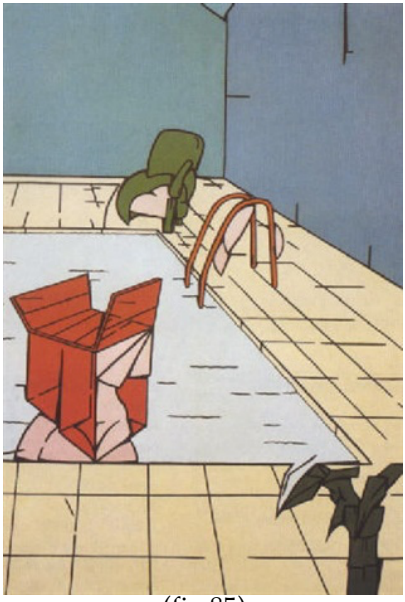
(fig.81)
Mario Ceroli, *Cassa Sistina*, 1966, russian pine, 200x300x230cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.82)
Mario Ceroli, *La Cina*, 1965, russian pine, 200x500x1000cm, Mario Ceroli collection, Rome

(fig.83)
Mario Ceroli, *La fila*, 1966, wood, 180x 217x186cm, Private collection u.p.



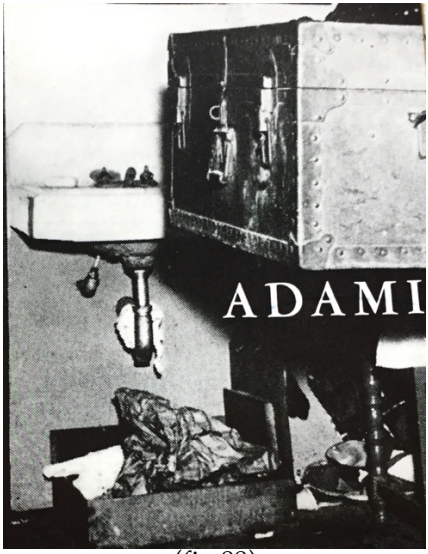
(fig.84)
Mario Ceroli, *Scenography for Shakespeare Richard III*, 1968, wood, several dimension, installation view at Teatro Stabile Torino, Private Collection, u.p.



(fig.85)
Valerio Adami, *La piscina*,1966, acrylic on canvas, 195x130cm, Private collection u.p.

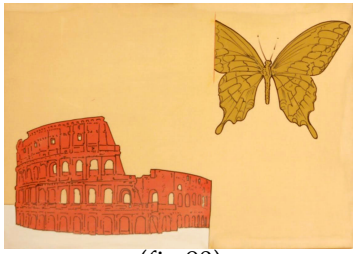
(fig.86)
Valerio Adami, *La vasca*, 1966, acrylic on canvas, 200x300cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.87)
Valerio Adami, *Henry Matisse che lavora a un quadro di disegni*,1966, acrylic on canvas, 200x300cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.88)
Valerio Adami, *Internal environments*, mixed media, several dimensions, Installation view at Galleria Schwarz, 1966, Private collection u.p.

(fig.89)
Gino Marotta, *Natura Modulare,* 1966, six elements on transparent methacrilate, several dimensions, Museo del 900, Milano

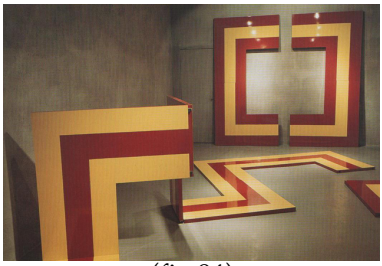


(fig.90)
Renato Mambor, *Colosseo e farfalle*, 1966, enamel and acrylic on canvas, 70×100cm, Patrizia and Blu Mambor collection, Roma

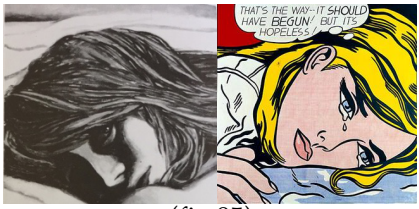
(fig. 91)
Sergio Tacchi, *Poltrona gialla*, 1964, mixed media, 160x120cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig.92)
Sergio Tacchi, *Sul divano a fiori*, 1965, mixed media, 160x120cm, Maramotti Collection, Reggio Emilia

(fig.93)
Sergio Lombardo, *Kennedy e Fanfani*, 1963, enamel on canvas, 150x200cm, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.94)
Sergio Lombardo, *Super componibile*, 1968, mixed media, several dimensions, installation view, Galleria La Salita, Private collection, u.p.



(fig.95)
Renato Guttuso, *Testa di donna*, particolare, 1970 - left
(fig.96)
Roy Lichtenstein, *Hopeless*, 1963, oil and acrylic paint on canvas, 111.8x111.8cm, Kunstmuseum Basel.

(fig.97)
Renato Guttuso, *Donne stanze paesaggi oggetti* (detail), 1967, mixed media, 19,5x27cm, Museo Guttuso, Villa Cattolica, Bagheria

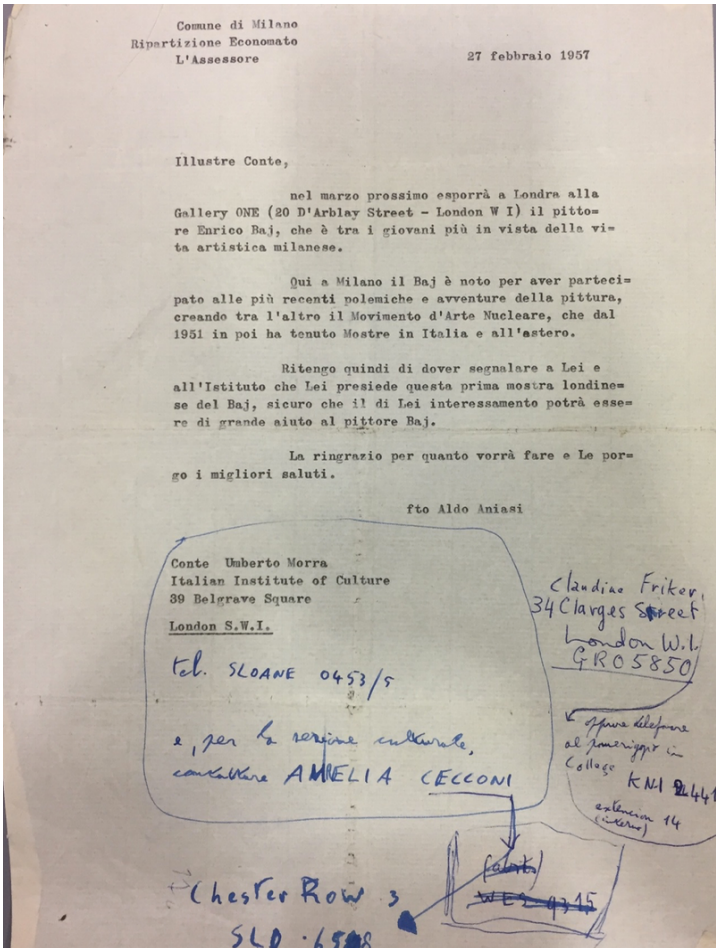
(fig.98)
Renato Guttuso, *Le visite*, 1970, oil and collage on paper on paper mounted on plywood; 183x163 cm, Private collection, u.p.

(fig. 99)
Tom Wesselmann, *Great American Nude*, 1963, synthetic polymer paint with cut and pasted paper and fabric on wood panel, MoMA, New York

(fig.100)
Renato Guttuso, *Nudi femminili rosa e figura picassiana*, 1957, Collage on paper, 365x510cm, Private collection, Roma

Documentary Appendix

SECTION 1 – DOCUMENT 1 - Letter from Aldo Aniasi to Conte Umberto Morra di Lavriano, 27th February 1957 – FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto.



Comune di Milano
Ripartizione Economato
L'Assessore

27 febbraio 1957

Illustre Conte,

nel marzo prossimo esporrà a Londra alla Gallery ONE (20 D'Arblay Street - London W I) il pittore Enrico Baj, che è tra i giovani più in vista della vita artistica milanese.

Qui a Milano il Baj è noto per aver partecipato alle più recenti polemiche e avventure della pittura, creando tra l'altro il Movimento d'Arte Nucleare, che dal 1951 in poi ha tenuto Mostre in Italia e all'estero.

Ritengo quindi di dover segnalare a Lei e all'Istituto che Lei presiede questa prima mostra londinese del Baj, sicuro che il di Lei interessamento potrà essere di grande aiuto al pittore Baj.

La ringrazio per quanto vorrà fare e Le porgo i migliori saluti.

fto Aldo Aniasi

Conte Umberto Morra
Italian Institute of Culture
39 Belgrave Square
London S.W.I.

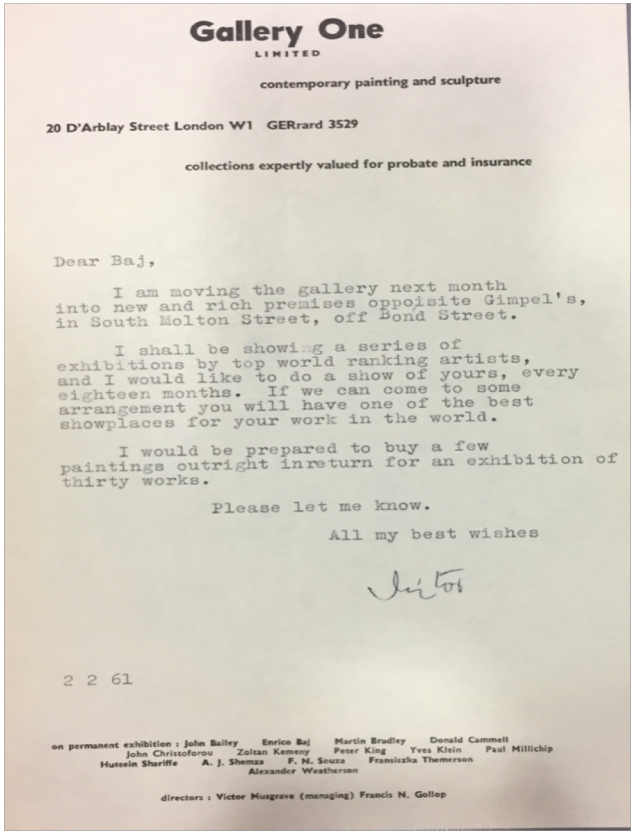
Tel. SLOANE 0453/5

e, per la versione culturale, contattare AMELIA CECCONI

Claudia Frikor,
34 Clarges Street
London W.1
GRO 5850

Chester Row 3
SLO 6508

SECTION 1 – DOCUMENT 2 – Letter from Gallery One limited, London, 2nd February 1961 - FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto.



Gallery One
LIMITED

contemporary painting and sculpture

20 D'Arblay Street London W1 GERrard 3529

collections expertly valued for probate and insurance

Dear Baj,

I am moving the gallery next month into new and rich premises oppoisite Gimpel's, in South Molton Street, off Bond Street.

I shall be showing a series of exhibitions by top world ranking artists, and I would like to do a show of yours, every eighteen months. If we can come to some arrangement you will have one of the best showplaces for your work in the world.

I would be prepared to buy a few paintings outright inreturn for an exhibition of thirty works.

Please let me know.

All my best wishes

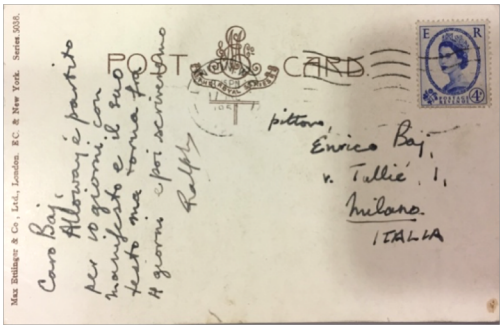
Victor

2 2 61

on permanent exhibition : John Bailey Enrico Baj Martin Bradley Donald Cammell John Christoforou Zoltan Kemeny Peter King Yves Klein Paul Millichip Hussein Shariffe A. J. Shemza F. N. Souza Franciszka Themerson Alexander Weatherson

directors : Victor Musgrave (managing) Francis N. Gollop

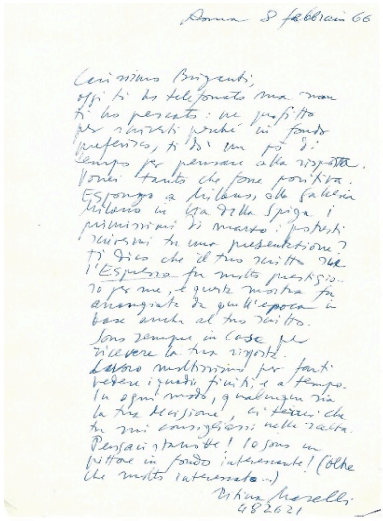
SECTION 1 – DOCUMENT 3 - Postcard from Ralph Rumney from the Fifties– FONDO ENRICO BAJ, ARCHIVIO '900, Rovereto



Transcription

«Caro Baj,
Alloway è positivo per 10 giorni con manifesto e il suo testo ma torna con il suo testo fra 4 giorni e poi
scriveremo. Ralph».

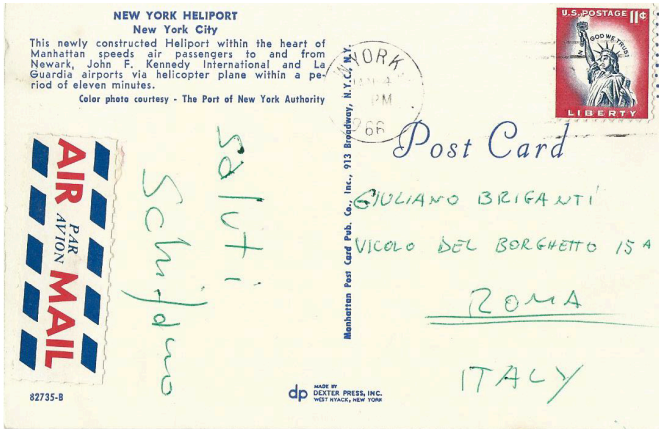
SECTION 2 – DOCUMENT 1 - Letter from Titina Maselli to Giuliano Briganti , 8th February, 1966 - ARCHIVIO FOTOTECA BRIGANTI, Siena.



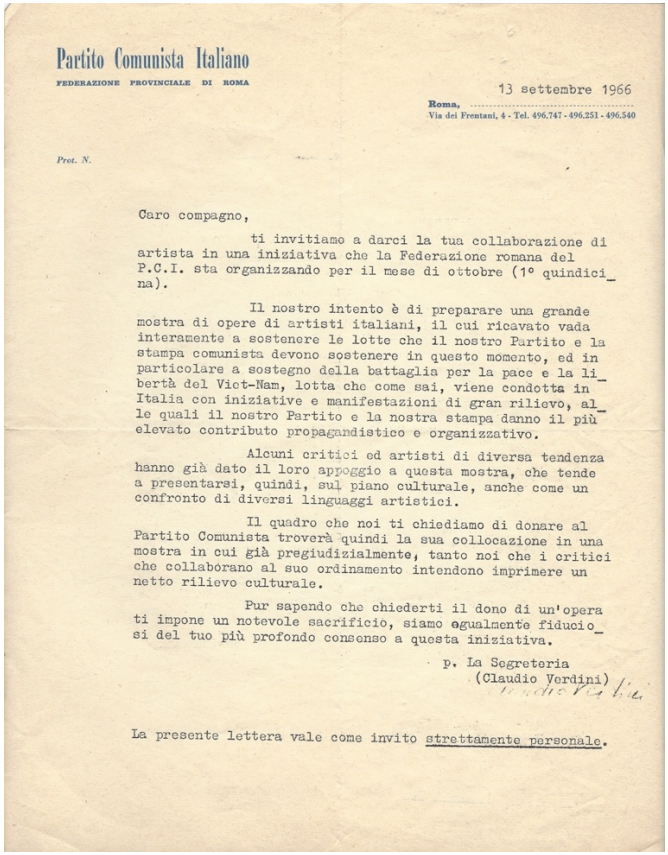
Transcription
Roma 8 Febbraio 1966

«Carissimo Briganti,
oggi ti ho telefonato ma non ti ho pescato: ne profitto per scriverti perchè in fondo preferisco, ti do' un po' di tempo per pensare alla risposta.Vorrei tanto che fosse positiva. Espongo a Milano, alla Galleria Milano in via della Spiga i primissimi di marzo: potresti scrivermi tu una presentazione? Ti dico che il tuo scritto su l'Espresso fu molto prestigioso per me, e questa mostra fu arrangiata da quell'epoca in base al tuo scritto. Sono sempre in casa per ricevere la tua risposta. Lavoro moltissimo per farti vedere i quadri finiti e a tempo. In ogni modo, qualunque sia la tua decisione, ci terrei che tu mi consigliassi nella scelta. Pensaci intanto! Io sono un pittore in fondo interessante! (oltre che molto interessata...). Titina Maselli, 482621»

SECTION 2 – DOCUMENT 2 - Postcard from Mario Schifano to Giuliano Briganti – ARCHIVIO FOTOTECA BRIGANTI, Siena.



SECTION 3
DOCUMENT 1 - Letter from PCI to Franco Angeli, 13th September 1966 - ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma.



Partito Comunista Italiano
FEDERAZIONE PROVINCIALE DI ROMA

13 settembre 1966

Roma, ...
Via dei Frentani, 4 - Tel. 496.747 - 496.251 - 496.540

Prot. N.

Caro compagno,

ti invitiamo a darci la tua collaborazione di artista in una iniziativa che la Federazione romana del P.C.I. sta organizzando per il mese di ottobre (1° quindici_ na).

Il nostro intento è di preparare una grande mostra di opere di artisti italiani, il cui ricavato vada interamente a sostenere le lotte che il nostro Partito e la stampa comunista devono sostenere in questo momento, ed in particolare a sostegno della battaglia per la pace e la li_ bertà del Viet-Nam, lotta che come sai, viene condotta in Italia con iniziative e manifestazioni di gran rilievo, al_ le quali il nostro Partito e la nostra stampa danno il più elevato contributo propagandistico e organizzativo.

Alcuni critici ed artisti di diversa tendenza hanno già dato il loro appoggio a questa mostra, che tende a presentarsi, quindi, sul piano culturale, anche come un confronto di diversi linguaggi artistici.

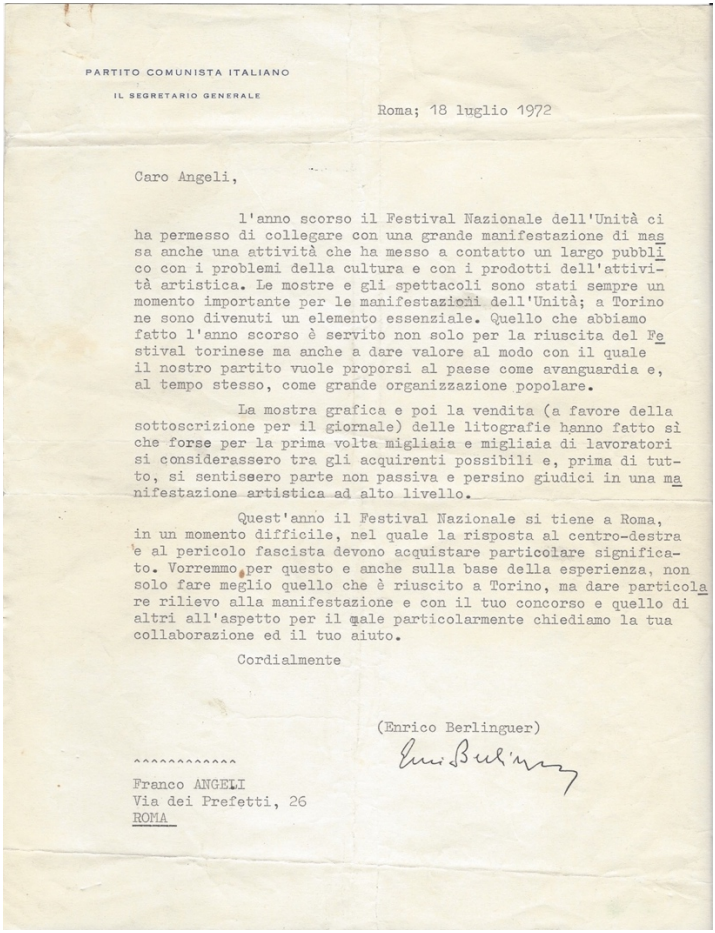
Il quadro che noi ti chiediamo di donare al Partito Comunista troverà quindi la sua collocazione in una mostra in cui già pregiudizialmente, tanto noi che i critici che collaborano al suo ordinamento intendono imprimere un netto rilievo culturale.

Pur sapendo che chiederti il dono di un'opera ti impone un notevole sacrificio, siamo egualmente fiducio_ si del tuo più profondo consenso a questa iniziativa.

p. La Segreteria
(Claudio Verdini)

La presente lettera vale come invito strettamente personale.

DOCUMENT 2 - Letter from PCI to Franco Angeli, 18th July 1972 - ARCHIVIO FRANCO ANGELI, Roma.



PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO

IL SEGRETARIO GENERALE

Roma; 18 luglio 1972

Caro Angeli,

l'anno scorso il Festival Nazionale dell'Unità ci ha permesso di collegare con una grande manifestazione di massa anche una attività che ha messo a contatto un largo pubblico con i problemi della cultura e con i prodotti dell'attività artistica. Le mostre e gli spettacoli sono stati sempre un momento importante per le manifestazioni dell'Unità; a Torino ne sono divenuti un elemento essenziale. Quello che abbiamo fatto l'anno scorso è servito non solo per la riuscita del Festival torinese ma anche a dare valore al modo con il quale il nostro partito vuole proporsi al paese come avanguardia e, al tempo stesso, come grande organizzazione popolare.

La mostra grafica e poi la vendita (a favore della sottoscrizione per il giornale) delle litografie hanno fatto sì che forse per la prima volta migliaia e migliaia di lavoratori si considerassero tra gli acquirenti possibili e, prima di tutto, si sentissero parte non passiva e persino giudici in una manifestazione artistica ad alto livello.

Quest'anno il Festival Nazionale si tiene a Roma, in un momento difficile, nel quale la risposta al centro-destra e al pericolo fascista devono acquistare particolare significato. Vorremmo, per questo e anche sulla base della esperienza, non solo fare meglio quello che è riuscito a Torino, ma dare particolare rilievo alla manifestazione e con il tuo concorso e quello di altri all'aspetto per il quale particolarmente chiediamo la tua collaborazione ed il tuo aiuto.

Cordialmente

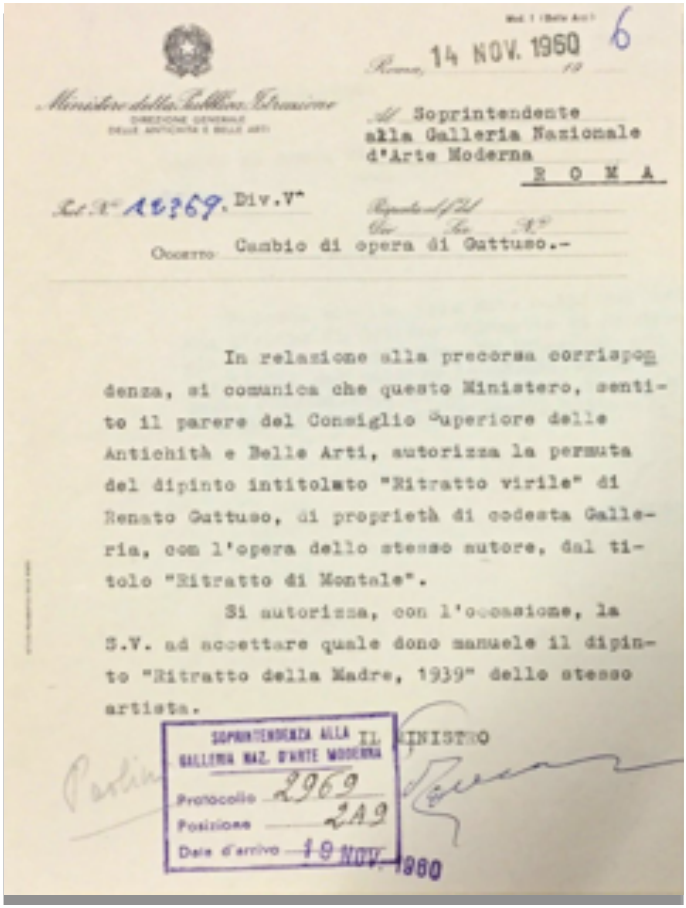
(Enrico Berlinguer)

Enrico Berlinguer

^^^^^^^^^^^^

Franco ANGELI
Via dei Prefetti, 26
ROMA

SECTION 4
DOCUMENT 1 - Acquisition of Renato Guttuso's Ritratto virile, 14th November 1960- Archivio GNAM, Roma.



Roma, 14 NOV. 1960

Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione
DIREZIONE GENERALE DELLE ANTICHITÀ E BELLE ARTI

Al Soprintendente alla Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna
ROMA

Div. V°

Oggetto: Cambio di opera di Guttuso.-

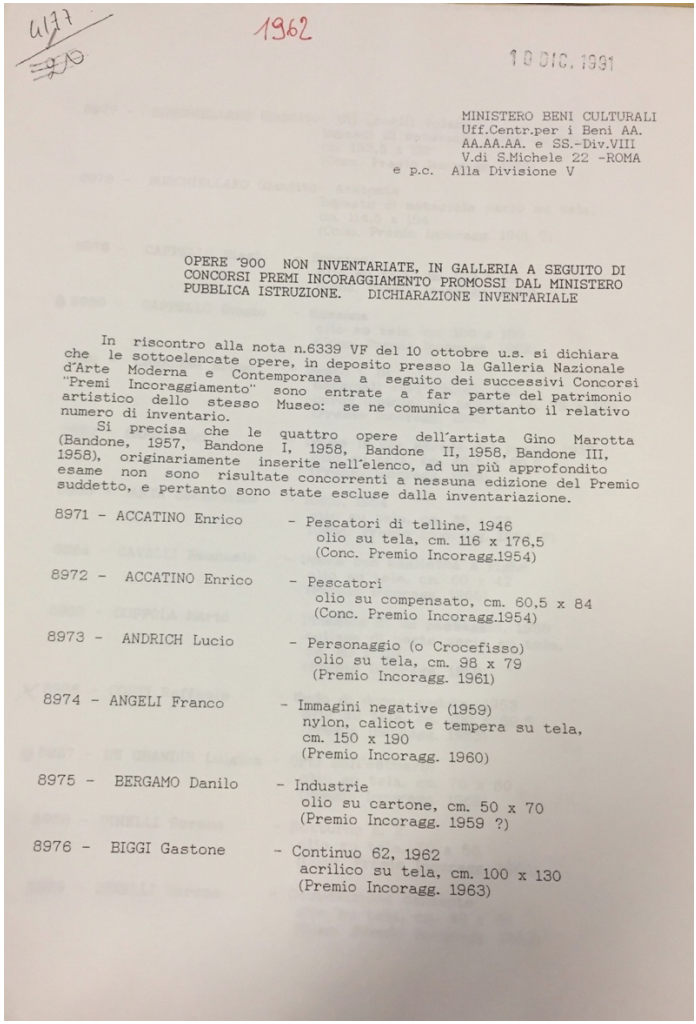
In relazione alla precorsa corrispondenza, si comunica che questo Ministero, sentito il parere del Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti, autorizza la permuta del dipinto intitolato "Ritratto virile" di Renato Guttuso, di proprietà di codesta Galleria, con l'opera dello stesso autore, dal titolo "Ritratto di Montale".

Si autorizza, con l'occasione, la S.V. ad accettare quale dono manuale il dipinto "Ritratto della Madre, 1939" dello stesso artista.

IL MINISTRO

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLA GALLERIA NAZ. D'ARTE MODERNA
Protocollo 2969
Posizione 249
Data d'arrivo 19 NOV. 1960

DOCUMENT 2 - Acquisition of artworks from *Premio d'incoraggiamento*, from 1960 to 1962 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



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MINISTERO BENI CULTURALI
Uff.Centr.per i Beni AA.
AA.AA.AA. e SS.-Div.VIII
V.di S.Michele 22 -ROMA
e p.c. Alla Divisione V

OPERE '900 NON INVENTARIATE, IN GALLERIA A SEGUITO DI CONCORSI PREMI INCORAGGIAMENTO PROMOSSI DAL MINISTERO PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE. DICHIARAZIONE INVENTARIALE

In riscontro alla nota n.6339 VF del 10 ottobre u.s. si dichiara che le sottoelencate opere, in deposito presso la Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea a seguito dei successivi Concorsi "Premi Incoraggiamento" sono entrate a far parte del patrimonio artistico dello stesso Museo: se ne comunica pertanto il relativo numero di inventario.

Si precisa che le quattro opere dell'artista Gino Marotta (Bandone, 1957, Bandone I, 1958, Bandone II, 1958, Bandone III, 1958), originariamente inserite nell'elenco, ad un più approfondito esame non sono risultate concorrenti a nessuna edizione del Premio suddetto, e pertanto sono state escluse dalla inventariazione.

8971 - ACCATINO Enrico - Pescatori di telline, 1946
olio su tela, cm. 116 x 176,5
(Conc. Premio Incoragg.1954)

8972 - ACCATINO Enrico - Pescatori
olio su compensato, cm. 60,5 x 84
(Conc. Premio Incoragg.1954)

8973 - ANDRICH Lucio - Personaggio (o Crocefisso)
olio su tela, cm. 98 x 79
(Premio Incoragg. 1961)

8974 - ANGELI Franco - Immagini negative (1959)
nylon, calicot e tempera su tela,
cm. 150 x 190
(Premio Incoragg. 1960)

8975 - BERGAMO Danilo - Industrie
olio su cartone, cm. 50 x 70
(Premio Incoragg. 1959 ?)

8976 - BIGGI Gastone - Continuo 62, 1962
acrilico su tela, cm. 100 x 130
(Premio Incoragg. 1963)

8977 - BURCHIELLARO Giantito- Gli uccelli volano
impasti di materiale vario su tela,
cm. 152,5 x 110
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1961)

8978 - BURCHIELLARO Giantito- Anatomia
Impasto di materiale vario su tela,
cm. 114,5 x 154
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1961 ?)

8979 - CAPPELLO Biagio - Scontro
olio su tela, cm. 100 x 99
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1962)

8980 - CAPPELLO Biagio - Susanna
olio su tela, cm. 100 x 100
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1962)

8981 - CARACENI Bruno - Gesto C 19
materiali vari (chiodi, fili,
corde dipinte) su tavola, cm. 79 x 100
(Premio Incoragg. 1961)

8982 - CAROLI Carlo - Donne in una strada del porto, 1957
olio su tela, cm. 40,5 x 60,5
(Premio Incoragg. 1955)

8983 - CARTA Sebastiano - Indio, 1954
olio su tela, cm. 35 x 25
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1954 ?)

8984 - CAVALLI Emanuele - Donna con maglietta a righe
olio su tela, cm. 60 x 42
(Premio Incoragg. 1955)

8985 - COPPOLA Mario - Dinamica di un paesaggio, 1959
collage di carte varie su tela,
cm. 80 x 119
(Premio Incoragg. 1959)

8986 - COSTI Raffaele - Nudo di donna seduta, 1953
olio su tela, cm. 100 x 69,5
(Premio Incoragg. 1953)

8987 - DE GRANDIS Luigina - Orti dell'estuario
olio su tela, cm. 70 x 80
(Premio Incoragg. 1962)

8988 - DINELLI Serena - Notturno n. 2
olio su tela, 70 x 50
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1960)

8989 - DINELLI Serena - Composizione danzante
olio su tela, cm. 49 x 69
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1960)

9004 - NOVELLI Gastone - Dice meraviglioso, 1959
tecnica mista su tela, cm. 110 x 125
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1960)

9005 - NOVELLI Gastone - Gesto respinto, 1959
collage di carta e tempera su tela,
cm.112x127
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1960)

9006 - PACE Achille - Composizione n.2 (Pittura per un
paesaggio)
olio su tela, cm. 70 x 80
(Premio Incoragg. 1959 ?)

9007 - PIANCA Valentina - Ricordo di Provenza, 1960
olio su tela, cm. 87 x 102
(Premio Incoragg. 1962)

9008 - RONDINELLA Ciro - Pittura, 1960
tecnica mista su tela, cm. 90 x 105
(Premio Incoragg. 1960)

9009 - RUOTOLO Enrico - Natura morta, 1962
olio su tela, cm. 57 x 67
(Premio Incoragg. 1962)

9010 - SCHIFANO Mario - Senza titolo, 1963
collage, tempera e matita su carta
reintelata su tela, cm. 70 x 99
(Premio Incoragg. 1963)

9011 - STERPINI Ugo - Ettore e Andromaca, 1956
olio su tela, cm. 70 x 50
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1957)

9012 - TRENTO Guglielmo - Turbina, 1952
olio su tela, cm. 80 x 100
(Conc. Premio Incoragg. 1957)

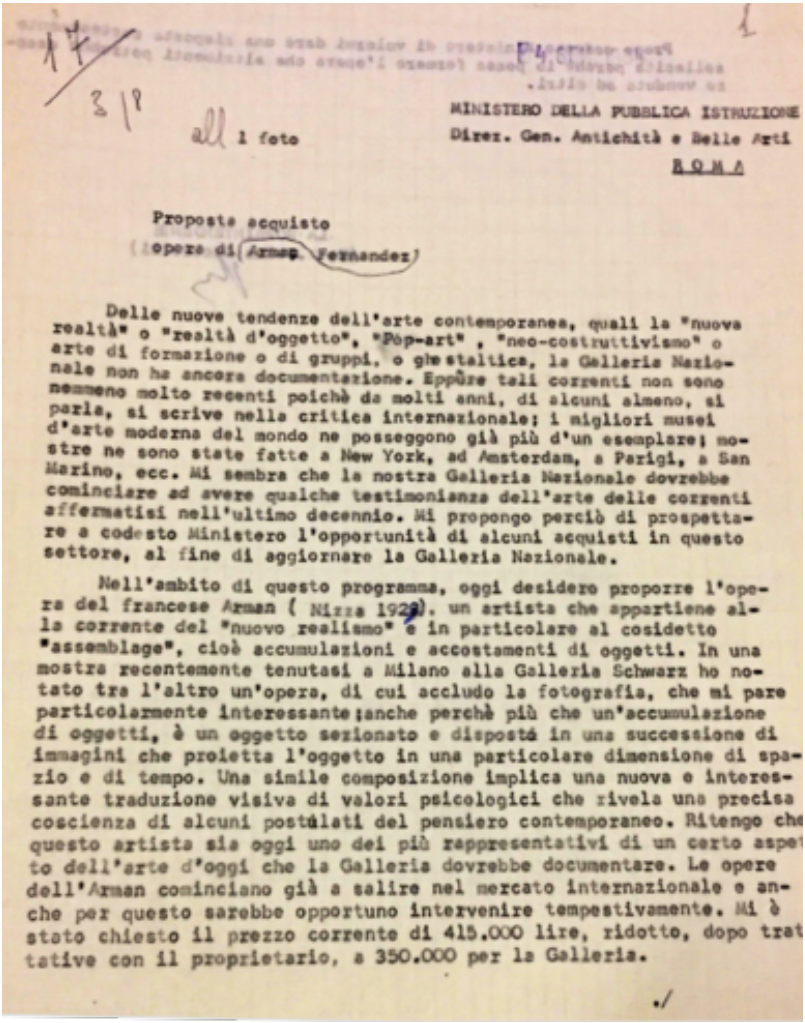
9013 - WASCHIMPS Elio - Pittura, 1961
olio su tela, cm. 171 x 141
(Premio Incoragg. 1962)

9014 - ZOTTI Carmelo - Personaggio
olio su tela, cm. 120 x 90
(Premio Incoragg. 1961

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott.ssa Augusta Monferini)

BT/lc

DOCUMENT 3 - Acquisition of Arman Fernandez' s *Le Rêve Passe*, 1963 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti
ROMA

all 1 foto

Proposta acquisto
opere di Arman Fernandez

Delle nuove tendenze dell'arte contemporanea, quali la "nuova realtà" o "realtà d'oggetto", "Pop-art", "neo-costruttivismo" o arte di formazione o di gruppi, o gestaltica, la Galleria Nazionale non ha ancora documentazione. Eppure tali correnti non sono nemmeno molto recenti poichè da molti anni, di alcuni almeno, si parla, si scrive nella critica internazionale; i migliori musei d'arte moderna del mondo ne posseggono già più d'un esemplare; mostre ne sono state fatte a New York, ad Amsterdam, a Parigi, a San Marino, ecc. Mi sembra che la nostra Galleria Nazionale dovrebbe cominciare ad avere qualche testimonianza dell'arte delle correnti affermatisi nell'ultimo decennio. Mi propongo perciò di prospettare a codesto Ministero l'opportunità di alcuni acquisti in questo settore, al fine di aggiornare la Galleria Nazionale.

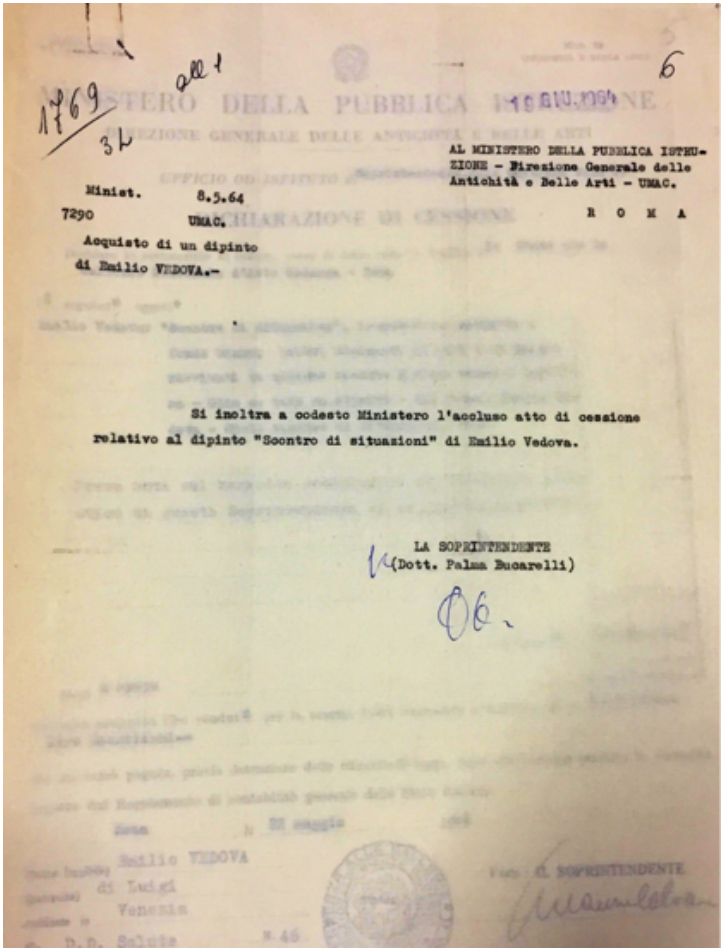
Nell'ambito di questo programma, oggi desidero proporre l'opera del francese Arman (Nizza 1928), un artista che appartiene alla corrente del "nuovo realismo" e in particolare al cosidetto "assemblage", cioè accumulazioni e accostamenti di oggetti. In una mostra recentemente tenutasi a Milano alla Galleria Schwarz ho notato tra l'altro un'opera, di cui accludo la fotografia, che mi pare particolarmente interessante; anche perchè più che un'accumulazione di oggetti, è un oggetto sezionato e disposto in una successione di immagini che proietta l'oggetto in una particolare dimensione di spazio e di tempo. Una simile composizione implica una nuova e interessante traduzione visiva di valori psicologici che rivela una precisa coscienza di alcuni postulati del pensiero contemporaneo. Ritengo che questo artista sia oggi uno dei più rappresentativi di un certo aspetto dell'arte d'oggi che la Galleria dovrebbe documentare. Le opere dell'Arman cominciano già a salire nel mercato internazionale e anche per questo sarebbe opportuno intervenire tempestivamente. Mi è stato chiesto il prezzo corrente di 415.000 lire, ridotto, dopo trattative con il proprietario, a 350.000 per la Galleria.

./

Prego codesto Ministero di volermi dare una risposta cortesemente sollecita perchè io possa fermare l'opera che altrimenti potrebbe essere venduta ad altri.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott.Palma Bucarelli)

DOCUMENT 4 - Acquisition of Emilio Vedova's *Scontro di Situazioni*, 1959 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



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6

AL MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE - Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti - UMAC.

R O M A

Minist. 8.5.64
7290 UMAC.

Acquisto di un dipinto di Emilio VEDOVA.-

Si inoltra a codesto Ministero l'accluso atto di cessione relativo al dipinto "Scontro di situazioni" di Emilio Vedova.

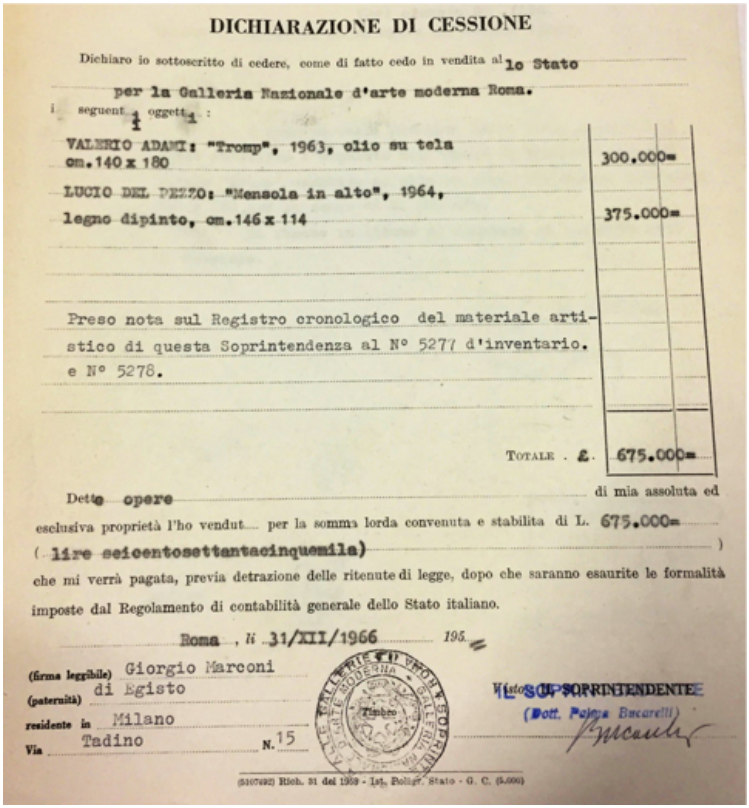
LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott. Palma Bucarelli)

06.

Emilio VEDOVA
di Luigi
Venezia

Il SOPRINTENDENTE

DOCUMENT 5 - Acquisition of Valerio Adami's *Tromp*, 1963 and Lucio del Pezzo's *Mensola in alto*, 1964, Mario Ceroli - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



DICHIARAZIONE DI CESSIONE

Dichiaro io sottoscritto di cedere, come di fatto cedo in vendita al lo Stato

per la Galleria Nazionale d'arte moderna Roma.

i seguent 1 oggett 1 :

VALERIO ADAMI: "Tromp", 1963, olio su tela cm. 140 x 180	300.000=
LUCIO DEL PEZZO: "Mensola in alto", 1964, legno dipinto, cm. 146 x 114	375.000=
Preso nota sul Registro cronologico del materiale artistico di questa Soprintendenza al N° 5277 d'inventario. e N° 5278.	
TOTALE . £.	675.000=

Dett e opere di mia assoluta ed esclusiva proprietà l'ho vendut per la somma lorda convenuta e stabilita di L. 675.000= (lire seicentosettantacinquemila) che mi verrà pagata, previa detrazione delle ritenute di legge, dopo che saranno esaurite le formalità imposte dal Regolamento di contabilità generale dello Stato italiano.

Roma , li 31/XII/1966 195

(firma leggibile) Giorgio Marconi

(paternità) di Egisto

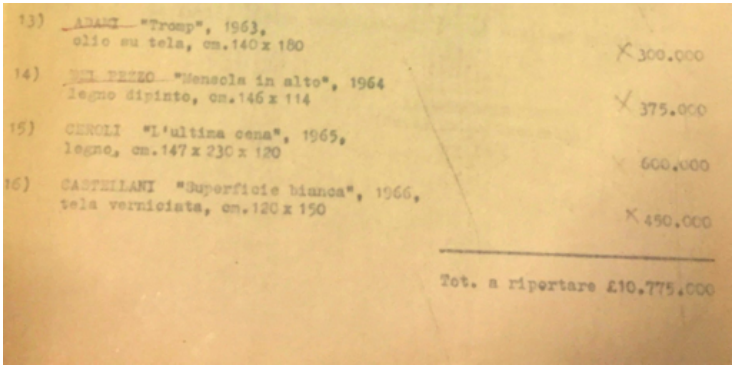
residente in Milano

Via Tadino N. 15

Visto: IL SOPRINTENDENTE

(Dott. Paolo Bucarelli)

(5167492) Rich. 31 del 1959 - Ist. Poligr. Stato - G. C. (5.000)



13) ~~ABATE~~ "Tromp", 1963,
olio su tela, cm.140 x 180 — X 300.000

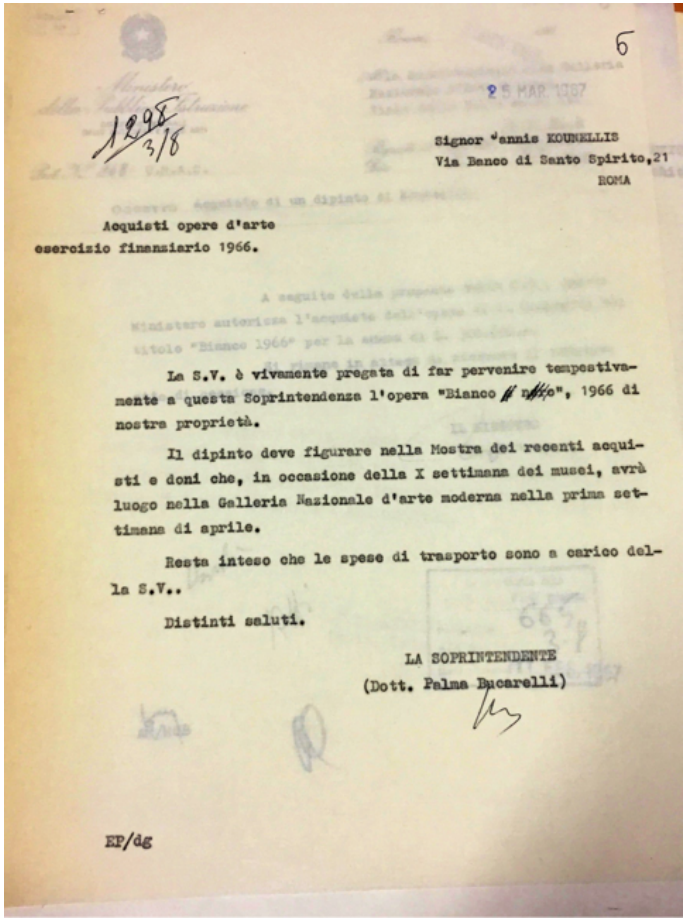
14) ~~DEL PEZZO~~ "Mensola in alto", 1964
legno dipinto, cm.146 x 114 — X 375.000

15) CEROLI "L'ultima cena", 1965,
legno, cm.147 x 230 x 120 — X 600.000

16) CASTELLANI "Superficie bianca", 1966,
tela verniciata, cm.120 x 150 — X 490.000

Tot. a riportare £10.775.000

DOCUMENT 6 - Acquisition of Jannis Kounellis' *Bianco*, 1966 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



6

25 MAR 1967

1298
3/8

Signor Yannis KOUNELLIS
Via Banco di Santo Spirito, 21
ROMA

Acquisti opere d'arte
esercizio finanziario 1966.

La S.V. è vivamente pregata di far pervenire tempestivamente a questa Soprintendenza l'opera "Bianco [illegible]", 1966 di nostra proprietà.

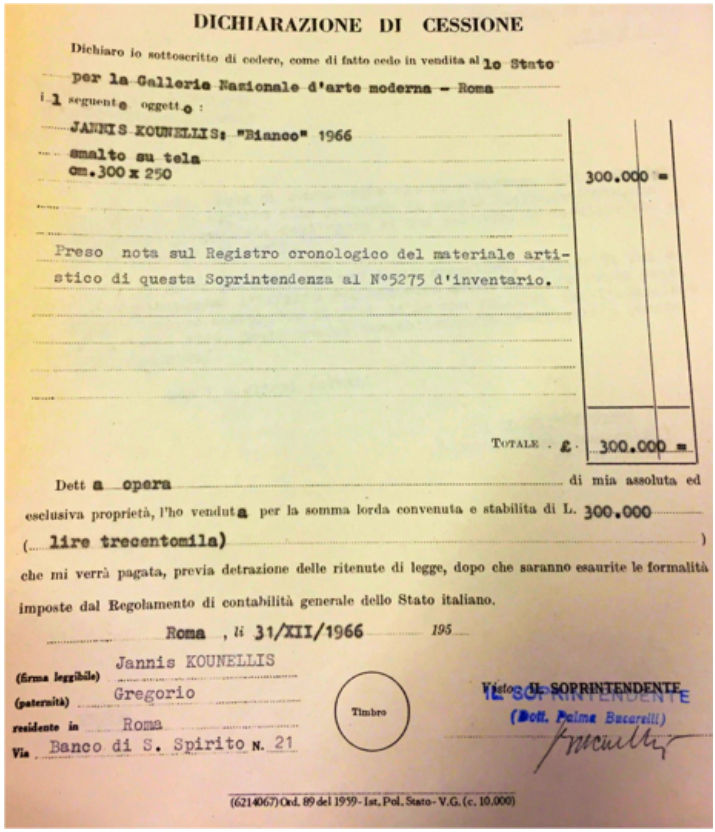
Il dipinto deve figurare nella Mostra dei recenti acquisti e doni che, in occasione della X settimana dei musei, avrà luogo nella Galleria Nazionale d'arte moderna nella prima settimana di aprile.

Resta inteso che le spese di trasporto sono a carico della S.V..

Distinti saluti.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott. Palma Bucarelli)

EP/dg



DICHIARAZIONE DI CESSIONE

Dichiaro io sottoscritto di cedere, come di fatto cedo in vendita al lo Stato per la Gallerie Nazionale d'arte moderna – Roma il seguente oggetto:

JANNIS KOUNELLIS: "Bianco" 1966
smalto su tela
cm. 300 x 250 — 300.000 =

Preso nota sul Registro cronologico del materiale artistico di questa Soprintendenza al N°5275 d'inventario.

TOTALE . £ 300.000 =

Dett a opera di mia assoluta ed esclusiva proprietà, l'ho venduta per la somma lorda convenuta e stabilita di L. 300.000 (lire trecentomila) che mi verrà pagata, previa detrazione delle ritenute di legge, dopo che saranno esaurite le formalità imposte dal Regolamento di contabilità generale dello Stato italiano.

Roma, li 31/XII/1966 195

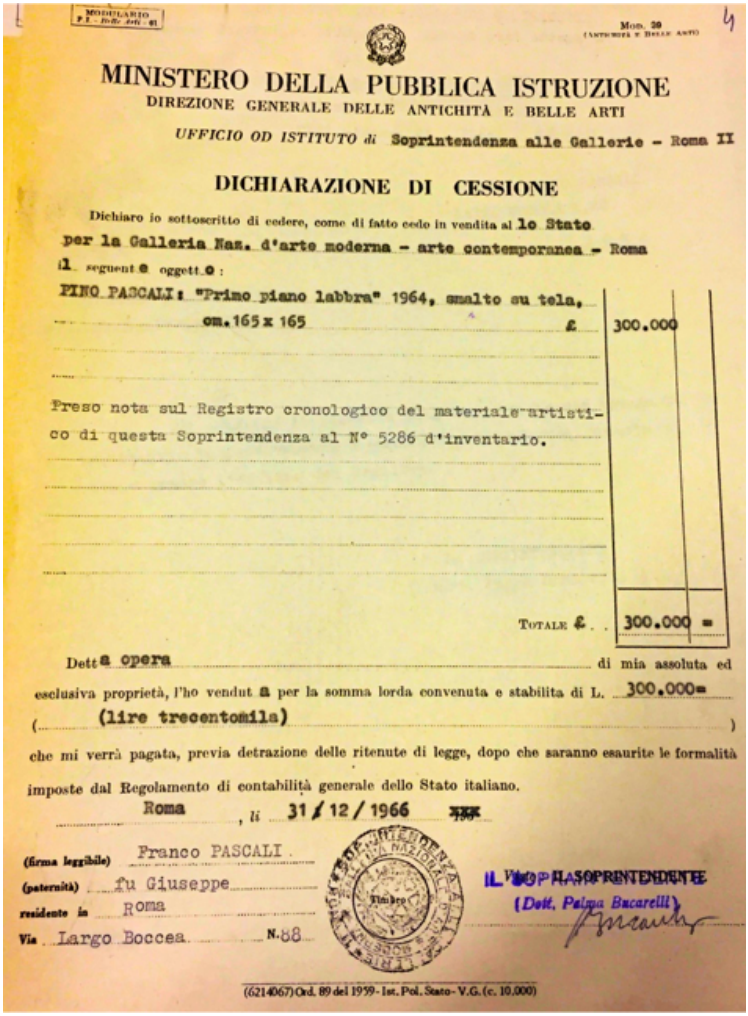
(firma leggibile) Jannis KOUNELLIS
(paternità) Gregorio
residente in Roma
Via Banco di S. Spirito N. 21

Timbro

Visto: IL SOPRINTENDENTE
IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott. Palma Bucarelli)

(6214067) Ord. 89 del 1959 - Ist. Pol. Stato - V.G. (c. 10.000)

DOCUMENT 7 - Acquisition of Pino Pascali's *Primo Piano Labbra*, 1964 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



MODULARIO P.I. – Mod. 339 – 61

Mod. 39 (ANTICHITÀ E BELLE ARTI)

4

MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE

DIREZIONE GENERALE DELLE ANTICHITÀ E BELLE ARTI

UFFICIO OD ISTITUTO di Soprintendenza alle Gallerie – Roma II

DICHIARAZIONE DI CESSIONE

Dichiaro io sottoscritto di cedere, come di fatto cedo in vendita al lo Stato per la Galleria Naz. d'arte moderna – arte contemporanea – Roma il seguente oggetto:

PINO PASCALI: "Primo piano labbra" 1964, smalto su tela, cm.165 x 165	£	300.000
Preso nota sul Registro cronologico del materiale artistico di questa Soprintendenza al N° 5286 d'inventario.		
TOTALE £		300.000 =

Dett a opera di mia assoluta ed esclusiva proprietà, l'ho venduta per la somma lorda convenuta e stabilita di L. 300.000=

(lire trecentomila)

che mi verrà pagata, previa detrazione delle ritenute di legge, dopo che saranno esaurite le formalità imposte dal Regolamento di contabilità generale dello Stato italiano.

Roma, li 31 / 12 / 1966

(firma leggibile) Franco PASCALI

(paternità) fu Giuseppe

residente in Roma

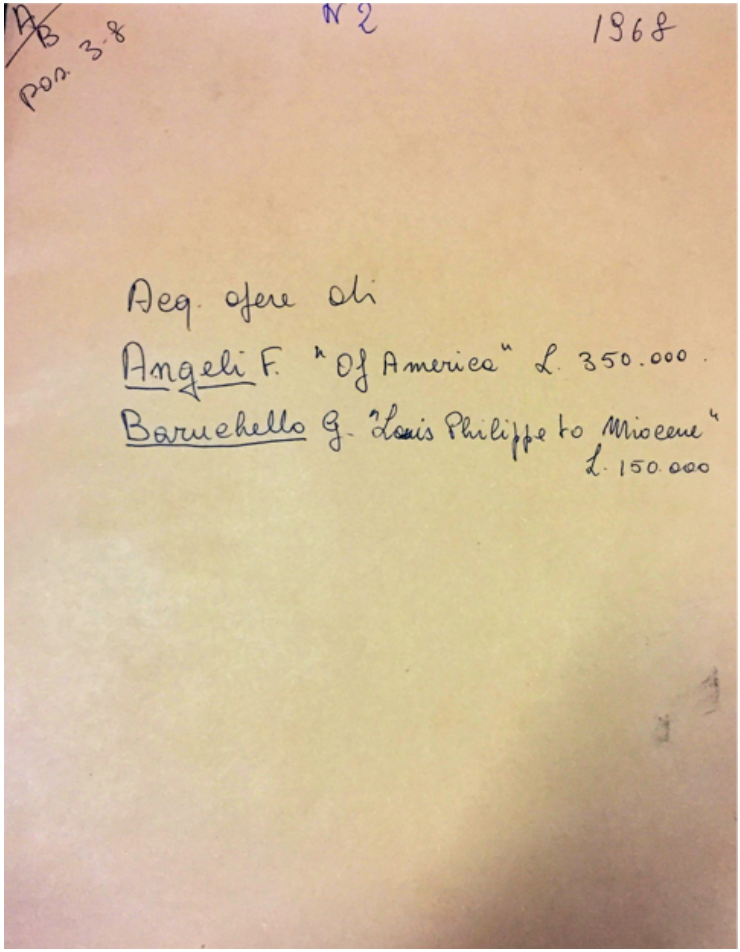
Via Largo Boccea N. 88

IL SOPRINTENDENTE

(Dott. Palma Bucarelli)

(6214067) Ord. 89 del 1959 - Ist. Pol. Stato - V.G. (c. 10.000)

DOCUMENT 8 - Acquisition of Franco Angeli's *Of America*, 1965 and Gianfranco Baruchello's *Louis Philippe to Micene*, 1967 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.


A/B
Pos. 3.8

N 2

1968

Acq. opere di

Angeli F. "Of America" L. 350.000

Baruchello G. "Louis Philippe to Micene" L. 150.000

All.1

Signor Franco ANGELI
Via dei Prefetti 26
ROMA

Acquisto di un'opera
di F.Angeli

Si trasmette, in allegato, copia conforme della lettera che il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, da noi interpellato in merito al pagamento dell'opera "Of America", ha inviato a questa Soprintendenza.

Con i migliori saluti.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott.Palma Bucarelli)

EP/cb

1415
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13 APR. 1968

3

MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direz.Gen. AA.BB. - UMAC

lett. 29-3-68 ROMA
1049 UMAC
Acquisto opere alla VI
Biennale Romana

Informo codesto Ministero che a seguito della sua comunicazione ho scelto alla VI Biennale Romana due opere per l'importo stabilito di 500.000 lire. Faccio presente che la scelta non è stata facile perchè ben pochè erano le opere degne di entrare nelle collezioni della Galleria Nazionale e quelle poche erano di artisti già ivi rappresentati. Tuttavia ho fermato l'attenzione sui quadri di due artisti interessanti e non ancora rappresentati nella Galleria: "Of America" di Franco Angeli e "Louis Philippe to Miocene" di Gianfranco Baruchello.

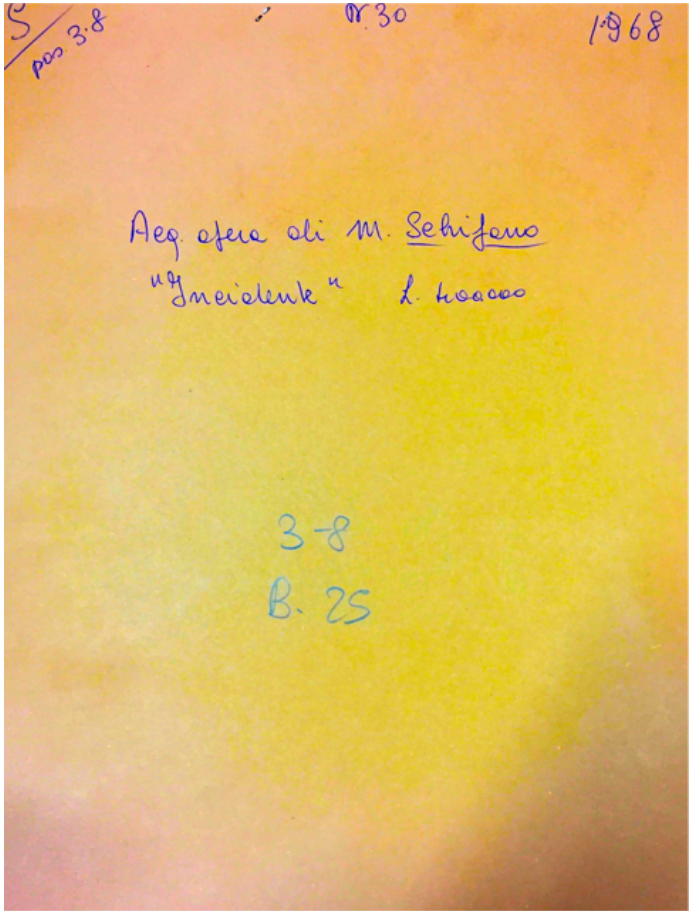
Informo anche codesto Ministero che il prezzo di catalogo di ognuna delle due opere superava da solo l'intera somma messa a disposizione e che dunque gli artisti, aderendo alla mia richiesta e in omaggio alla Galleria Nazionale, hanno accettato un compenso veramente minimo: 350.000 lire l'Angeli, per un quadro molto grande e impegnativo, 150.000 il Baruchello per un'opera anch'essa di grandi dimensioni e particolarmente significativa della sua pittura.

Attendo l'approvazione di codesto Ministero per inviare i contratti di acquisto.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott.Palma Bucarelli)

PB/cb

DOCUMENT 9 - Acquisition of Schifano's *Incidente*, 1963 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



9

LA SALITA ARTE CONTEMPORANEA VIA GREGORIANA 5 ROMA 672841 689935

G. T. LIVERANI

Roma, 28 marzo 1968

Galleria Nazionale
d'Arte Moderna
V.le Belle Arti, 131
ROMA

Allegate alla presente trasmettiamo N. 3 copie del contratto di compra-vendita dell'opera di

MARIO SCHIFANO
"Incidente", 1963
smalto su carta intelata
in due parti cm. 120x160 ognuna

Distinti saluti.

Micletta Lampa

La Segretaria

Parlevi

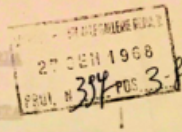
Alt.

-2 APR 1968
PROT. N 1362 POS 3/8 all. 3

3

LA SALITA ARTE CONTEMPORANEA VIA GREGORIANA 5 ROMA 672841 689935

G. T. LIVERANI



Roma, 19 gennaio 1968

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna
V.le Belle Arti, 131
ROMA

In c. visione:

MARIO SCHIFANO:

1. "CASTELLO", 1961, cm.140x170
punti 110xL.7000 L. 770.000

2. "POGGIODORO", 1963, D-664/I e /II in 2 parti
cm.160x120, punti 100xL.7000 L. 700.000

3. "INCIDENTE", 1963, D-662/I e /II in 2 parti
cm.120x160, punti 100xL.7000 L. 700.000

SCONTO 10%

Gian Tomaso Liverani

LA SALITA ARTE CONTEMPORANEA VIA GREGORIANA 5 ROMA 672841 689935

G. T. LIVERANI

PROMEMORIA

Roma, I8 gennaio I967.

TANO FESTA :

I. "GRANDE ROSSO N.43", I96I, cm.200xI50,
punti I30xL.6000 L.780.000

2. "VIA VENETO N.I", I96I, cm.200xI50
punti I30xL.6000 L.780.000

3. "VIA DEL LAVATORE 83", cm.I80xI40, I96I
punti II0xL.6000 L.660.000

MARIO SCHIFANO :

I. "CASTELLO", I96I, cm.I40xI70
punti II0xL.7000 L.770.000

2. "POGGIODORO", I963, D-664/Ie/II, in 2 parti,
cm.I60xI20, punti I00xL.7000 L.700.000

3. "INCIDENTE", I963, D-662/I e /II, in 2 parti,
cm.I20xI60, punti I00xL.7000 L.700.000

SCONTO I0°/°

Gian Tomaso Liverani.

1943
3-8

RACCOMANDATA

7 MAR. 1968

Sig. Giantomaso LIVERANI
Direttore della Galleria "La Salita" - Via Gregoriana, 5
ROMA

PROGETTO

Acquisti opere d'arte 1967.

Invio contratto compra-vendita.

Si comunica che il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione ha autorizzato l'acquisto, per la Galleria Nazionale d'arte moderna, dell'opera di Mario Schifano: "Incidente" 1963, di proprietà di codesta Galleria.

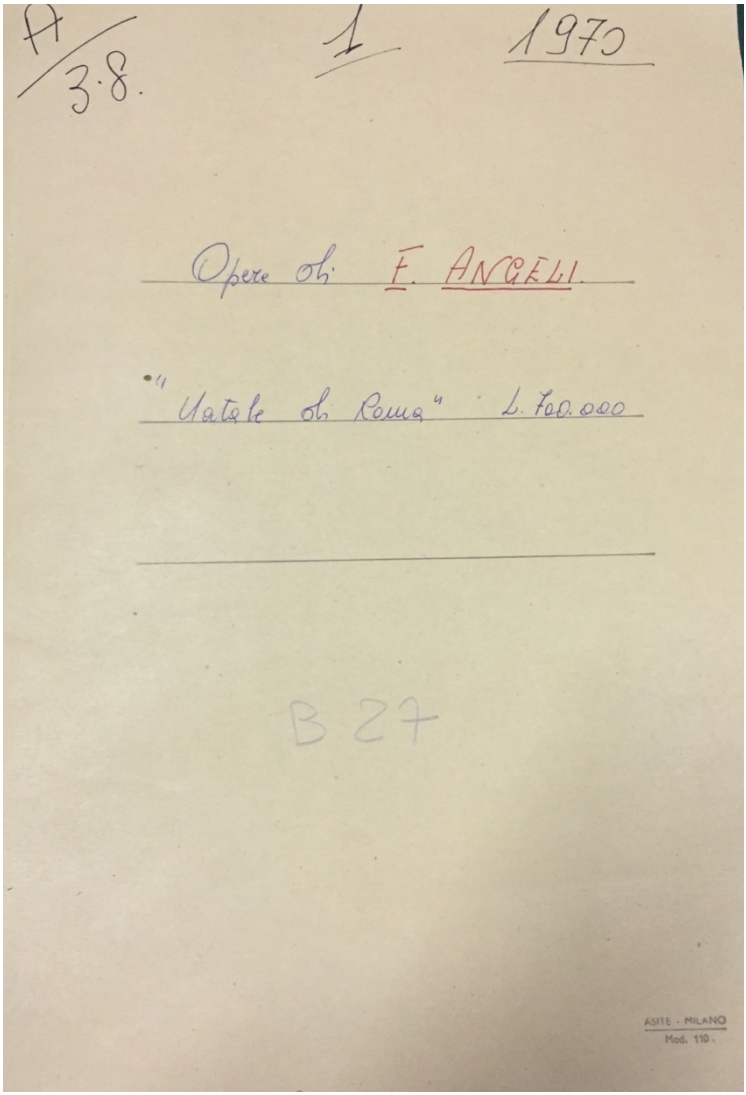
Si acclude pertanto alla presente il relativo contratto di compra-vendita in quattro originali con preghiera di firmarli, chiaro e per esteso, nel punto indicato a sinistra della Soprintendente; farli registrare presso l'Ufficio del Registro e restituire quindi, con cortese urgenza, a questa Soprintendenza, i tre esemplari che Le verranno rilasciati, completi delle annotazioni dell'avvenuta registrazione, dall'Ufficio del Registro stesso.

Con i migliori saluti.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott. Palma Bucarelli)

EP/pl

DOCUMENT 10 - Acquisition of Franco Angeli's *Natale di Roma*, 1964 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.


A
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1

1970

Opere di F. ANGELI.

"Natale di Roma" L. 700.000

B 27

ASITE - MILANO
Mod. 110

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all 3

8

21 NOV 1970

MINISTERO PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direzione Generale AA.BB.AA.
Div. UMAC
ROMA

nota 8.7.70

2173 UMAC

Acquisti opere d'arte,1970

Con riferimento alla nota sopraindicata con la quale Codesto Ministero autorizza l'acquisto dell'opera di Franco Angeli " Natale di Roma", di proprietà dello Studio d'Arte Arco d'Alibert, per il prezzo convenuto di lire 700.000 (settecentomila), si comunica che la suddetta opera è stata assunta in carico nel Registro cronologico d'entrata del materiale artistico della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna col n° 5430.

Nulla osta al pagamento della somma, dedotte le ritenute di legge, alla signorina Maria Maddalena Coccia, nata in Roma, il 7 novembre 1925 e residente in Roma.

Le modalità di pagamento sono indicate nel contratto di compravendita che, per i provvedimenti del caso, si allega alla presente in duplice esemplare in bollo, unitamente al certificato della Camera di Commercio relativo allo Studio d'Arte Arco d'Alibert.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott.Palma Bucarelli)

EP/ac

1

29 gennaio 1970

Dott.ssa Palma Bucarelli
Direttrice della Galleria Nazionale
d'Arte Moderna di Roma

31 GEN 1970
PROT. 1308 POS. 3/8

Gent.ma Dott.ssa Bucarelli,

tengo innanzi tutto a ringraziarLa per aver voluto prendere in considerazione l'acquisto del quadro di Franco Angeli "Natale di Roma" da tempo esposto nelle sale della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna di Roma. Le confermo quanto dettoLe per telefono e cioè che tenuto conto della destinazione dell'opera, ci è possibile ridurre il prezzo ed offrire il quadro per la somma di Lit. 700.000.

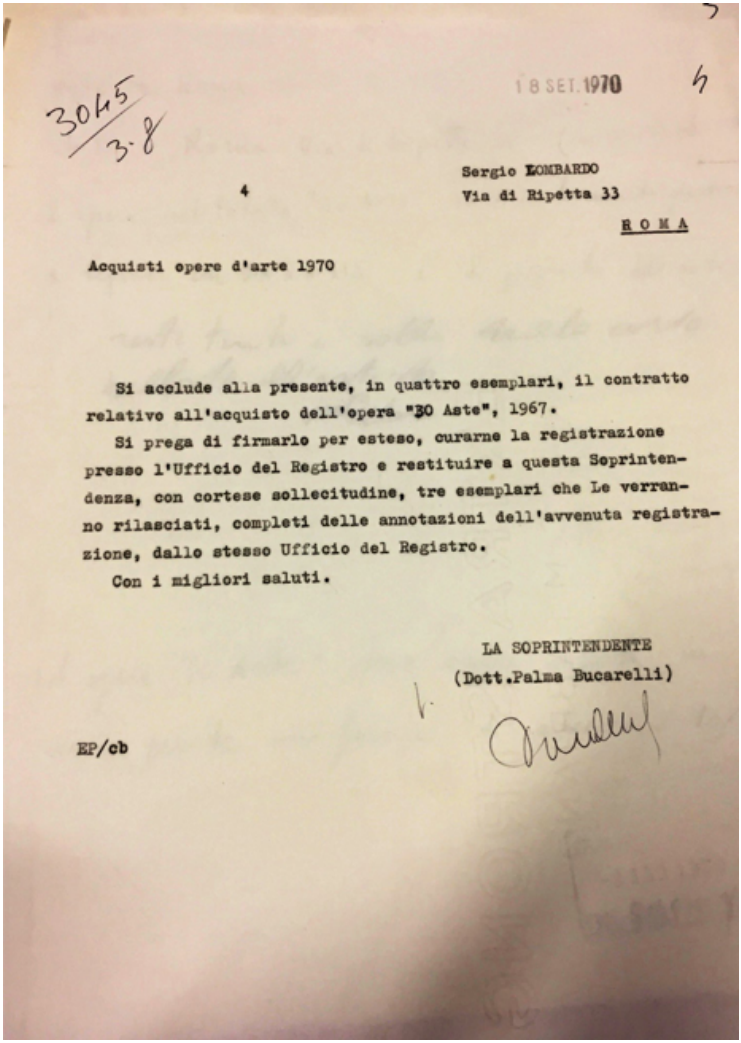
Le invio inoltre in visione il quadro di Concetto Pozzati "La troppo facile presa" di cm. 200X175. Spero che questa opera possa interessarLe ed entrare a far parte della raccolta della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna. Anche per questo quadro saremmo naturalmente disposti a praticare un prezzo notevolmente ridotto.

Spero di sentirLa interessata e Le invio i miei ringraziamenti ed i migliori saluti.

(Mara Coccia)

studio d'arte ercole D'ALIBERT 2, via ferdinando di savoia 311593 roma 0019

DOCUMENT 11 - Acquisition of Sergio Lombardo's *Sfera con sirena*, 1969 - Archivio GNAM, Roma.



3045
3-8

18 SET. 1970

4

Sergio LOMBARDO
Via di Ripetta 33
ROMA

Acquisti opere d'arte 1970

Si acclude alla presente, in quattro esemplari, il contratto relativo all'acquisto dell'opera "30 Aste", 1967.

Si prega di firmarlo per esteso, curarne la registrazione presso l'Ufficio del Registro e restituire a questa Soprintendenza, con cortese sollecitudine, tre esemplari che Le verranno rilasciati, completi delle annotazioni dell'avvenuta registrazione, dallo stesso Ufficio del Registro.

Con i migliori saluti.

LA SOPRINTENDENTE
(Dott.Palma Bucarelli)

EP/cb

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CHAPTER ONE

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Vv.Aa., *Arman*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 6th-29th November 1963 (Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 1963).
Vv.Aa., *Autobiografia di una galleria: lo studio Marconi 1965-1992* (Milano: Skira, 2004).

Vv.Aa., *Enrico Paolucci. Antologia: disegni, pastelli, guazzi dal 1929 al 1974* (Torino: Le immagini, 1975).

Vv.Aa., *I sei di Torino: 1929-1931*, exh. cat. – Acqui Terme, Palazzo Liceo Saracco, 19th July-7th September 1986 (Acqui Terme, Lizea, 1986).

Vv.Aa., *Jim Dine*, Flyer, Torino, Gian Enzo Sperone Arte Moderna, 23rd October-u.d.o.e. 1965.

Vv.Aa., *Mostra di Filippo De Pisis*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 9th-30th October 1971 (Milano: Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 1971).

Vv.Aa., *Mostra di Giovanni Bruzzi*, exh. cat. – Milano, Palazzo Melzi, 22nd March-8th April 1969 (Milano: Galleria d'arte Cocorocchia, 1969).

Vv.Aa., *Nuove acquisizioni: due anni di crescita della collezione* (Milano: Charta, 2005).

Vv.Aa., *Pop: Dine, Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, Pistoletto, Rauschenberg, Rosenquist, Warhol, Wesselmann*, Gian Enzo Sperone Arte Moderna, u.d.o.b. June – u.d.o.e. July 1965.

Vv.Aa., *Rosenquist*, Flyer, Torino, Gian Enzo Sperone Arte Moderna, 5th November – u.d.o.e. 1964.
Vv.Aa., *Temi per una collezione: opere della Galleria d'arte Moderna di Roma* (Roma: Gangemi, 2017).

Walter Hopps, Ulf Linde, Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp. Ready mades, etc. (1913-1964)*, exh. cat. – Milano, Galleria Schwarz, 5th June-30th September 1964 (Milano: Galleria Schwarz, 1964).