

Proceedings of the 34th World Congress of Art History

第 34 届世界艺术史 大会文集

全三卷
Vols. I-III

邵大箴 范迪安 朱青生 主编

Shao Dazhen / Fan Di'an / LaoZhu

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概 念

不同历史和不同文化中的艺术和艺术史

Proceedings of the 34th World Congress of
Art History

第 34 届世界艺术史 大会文集

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邵大箴 范迪安 朱青生 主编

Shao Dazhen / Fan Di'an / LaoZhu

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1. 本文集共收录2016年第34届世界艺术史大会参会者发言稿325篇，其中英文225篇，中文99篇，法文1篇。

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August 20, 2019

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| 1354 | 李啸非 | 乡绅的桃花源：《环翠堂园景图》与晚明出版业中的图像消费 |
| | Li Xiaofei | A Merchant' Arcadia: <i>Huancui Tang Yuanjing Tu</i> and the Consumed Images in Publishing in the Late Ming |
| 1364 | 文以诚 | 逾墙的视线：17世纪园林文化中的视像与虚构 |
| | Richard Vinograd | Looking over the Garden Wall: Visions and Fictions in 17th-Century Garden Culture |
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| | Liu Guan | There-Then: The Artistic Nature of Jiangnan Garden in the Ming and Qing Dynasties |

第 13 分会：传播与接受 Session 13: Transmission and Adoption

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| 1381 | 井手诚之辅 | 第13分会综述 |
| | Seinosuke Ide | Introduction to Session 13 |
| 1384 | 刘 晨 | 第13分会综述 |

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| | Liu Chen | Introduction to Session 13 |
| 1387 | 张书彬 | 神圣导引与视觉朝圣：敦煌莫高窟第61窟《五台山图》的时空逻辑 |
| | Zhang Shubin | Divine Guidance and Visual Pilgrimage: The Tempo-Spatial Logic of the <i>Panoramic Mural Map of Mt. Wutai</i> in Dunhuang Mogao Cave 61 |
| 1397 | 萨连纳·阿卜杜拉 | 马来西亚艺术的早期（视觉）现代性：扩大叙事 |
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| 1402 | 罗穆亚尔德·齐博佐 | 欧洲艺术技巧在非洲的传播和采纳过程：对美学实践的影响？ |
| | Romuald Tchibozo | Process of Transmission and Adoption of the Techniques of European Art in Africa: What Impact on Aesthetic Practices? |
| 1410 | 陈艺婕 | 20世纪初日本的中国美术研究及其回应——以内藤湖南与芥川龙之介对中国文人画的想法为例 |
| | Chen Yijie | Chinese Art History Research in Japan and Its Reception in 1920s: Illustrated by the Case of Naito Konan and Akutagawa Ryunosuke's Literati Painting |
| 1419 | 田中健一 | 鉴真在日本的艺术传播与接受 |
| | Ken'ichi Tanaka | Jianzhen's Transmission of Art and Adoption in Japan |
| 1424 | 里卡尔多·文图里 | 曼谷的瓦萨里，或现代艺术如何来到东南亚：以科拉多·费罗奇为例 |
| | Riccardo Venturi | Vasari in Bangkok, or Modern Art in South-East Asia: The Case of Corrado Feroci |
| 1432 | 孙美琳 | 背离中的继承——试析1939—1949年庞薰琹作品中的“现代”与“传统” |
| | Sun Meilin | Inheritance in Departure: Analysis of "Modern" and "Tradition" in Works of Pang Xunqin from 1939 to 1949 |
| 1443 | 东家友子 | 中日两国接受珂勒惠支艺术过程的比较分析 |
| | Tomoko Toya | First Reception of Käthe Kollwitz's Art in Japan and China: A Comparative Approach to the Introductory Texts by Koreya Senda and Lu Xun |

- 1452 范丽雅 透过“日本之眼”的中国画——试论劳伦斯·宾扬对中国画的理解与误解
- Fan Liya Chinese Painting Through “Japanese Eyes”: With Special Reference to Laurence Binyon’s Understanding and Misunderstanding of Chinese Painting
- 1461 维里厄·乔普拉 / 萨马·哈克 共时传播：从玉佛寺拉玛壁画说起
- Virien Chopra / Sama Haq Synchronic Transmission: A Look at the Ramakien Murals at Wat Phra Kaew in Thailand
- 1470 张 啸 / 杨得聆 无尽的艺术超链接——网络博物馆扩大艺术的文化后生产
- Zhang Xiao / Yang Deling Endless Art Hyperlinks: The Expanded Cultural Post-production of Art in Online Museums

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- 1485 马里纳·维切利加 中世纪西欧艺术中的罪人和异教徒：伊斯特拉中的两个例子
- Marina Vicelja Depicting Sinners and Heretics as Others in Western European Medieval Art: Two Examples from Istria
- 1497 马利亚·贝尔巴拉 现代早期欧洲动物学中的他者：以狃狃为例
- Maria Barbara The Zoological Other in Early Modern Europe: The Case of the Armadillo
- 1505 儿岛由枝 澳门《大天使圣米迦勒持圣体匣》：远东—基督教画作之风格、图像志及其重要性研究
- Yoshie Kojima *St. Michael the Archangel Holding a Monstrance* in Macau: Style, Iconography, and Importance of a Christian Painting in the Far-East

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| 1510 | 泰恩·韦斯特奇 | 他者的光学：维米尔画中的瓷器 |
| | Thijs Weststeijn | The Optics of Otherness: Vermeer's Painted Porcelain |
| 1514 | 内纳德·马库列维奇 | 真实的杂糅：文化接触、地域与早期现代巴尔干视觉文化 |
| | Nenad Makuljević | Hybridity as Authenticity: Cultural Contact, Geography and Early Modern Balkan Visual Culture |
| 1519 | 韩若兰 | 皇家农业：18世纪在中国和法国工作的皇帝代表 |
| | Roslyn Lee Hammers | Agriculture by Royal Example: 18th-Century Representations of the Emperor at Work in China and in France |
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| | Allison Leigh | Russian Occidentalism: The Hybrid Self in 18th-Century Russian Portraiture |
| 1535 | 马修·马丁 | 拼在一起的漆柜 |
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| 1541 | 托德·波特菲尔德 | 在殖民地的家中？雷诺阿父子在印度和阿尔及利亚 |
| | Todd Porterfield | At Home in the Colonies? The Renoirs, Jean and Auguste, in India and Algeria |
| 1547 | 安妮·黑尔姆赖希 | 作为文化交流区的商业美术馆 |
| | Anne Helmreich | The Commercial Art Gallery as Cultural Contact Zone |
| 1553 | 安·奥尔布里顿 | “他者”是谁？“他者”在哪里？——国际与区域诸展及双年展 |
| | Ann Albritton | The What and Where of “Other” in Exhibitions and Biennales in Regions and the World |
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| | Rafael Cardoso | Severed Heads and Ideal Portraits: The Real Versus the Typical in the Iconography of 1930s Brazil |
| 1564 | 李周妍 | 安东尼·蒙塔达斯的《亚洲协议》：中、日、韩关系转化中的内外视角 |

- Joo Yun Lee Antoni Muntadas' *Asian Protocols*: Being an Insider and Outsider in the Translation of the Relationality of China, Japan, and Korea
- 1569 翟 晶 没有他者性的他者：论三位当代艺术家
- Zhai Jing The Other Without Otherness: On Three Contemporary Artists

第 15 分会：误解与曲用 Session 15: Creative Misunderstanding

- 1583 潘耀昌 第15分会致辞：艺术史中的误读
- 1585 Pan Yaochang Opening Words to Session 15: Misunderstanding in Art History
- 1587 张 坚 第15分会引言
- 1589 Zhang Jian Introduction to Session 15
- 1590 胡 隽 第15分会综述：创造性的误解与世界艺术史
- Hu Jun Introduction to Session 15: A Confederation of Confounded Tongues or an Embarrassment of Riches: On Creative Misunderstanding and World Art History
- 1594 拉斯洛·贝克 第15分会综述
- László Beke Introduction to Session 15
- 1595 维克多·罗林兹 第15分会综述：气氛与创造
- Viktor Lörincz Introduction to Session 15: A for Atmospheric and C for Creativity
- 1601 赫丽斯塔-玛利亚·莱姆·哈耶斯 错误是发现的门户：乔伊斯的错误和（博伊斯的）艺术发现乔伊斯
- Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes Mistakes Are the Portals of Discovery: James Joyce's Mistakes and (Beuys') Art Discovering Joyce
- 1608 陈 绮 意大利文艺复兴时期艺术家对容貌的认识和误解
- Chen Qi Understanding and Misunderstanding of Physiognomy in Italian Renaissance Artists—A Case Study of the *Vita* of Benvenuto Cellini

- 1613 安德鲁·佩奇克 / 艾伦·菲尼克斯 / 劳拉·里弗斯 超越经验主义：杰克逊·波洛克《壁画》的技术分析与解读
- Andrew Perchuk / Alan Phenix / Laura Rivers Beyond Empiricism: Technical Analysis and Interpretation of Jackson Pollock's *Mural*
- 1617 李 彩 关于非洲艺术的曲用与误解及相关讨论
- Li Cai Creative Misunderstanding, Misunderstanding and Related Discussions Concerning African Art
- 1622 克里斯塔·布莱克-马宗达 误读产生的意义：抄写错误及960年版莱昂圣经
- Krysta Black-Mazumdar Meaning Through Misunderstanding: Scribal Error and the León Bible of 960
- 1629 张长虹 中西艺术的“高处相逢”——对吴冠中石涛解读的再思考
- Zhang Changhong "Thrilling Collision" of Chinese and Western Art: Rethinking Wu Guanzhong's Interpretation of Shi Tao
- 1637 线 智 一路错到对——在误解中诞生的“泼墨皴法”
- Xian Zhi All the Way from Wrong to Right: The "Splash-ink Texturing Methods" Born amid the Misunderstandings
- 1652 罗伯托·肯德鲁 里约热内卢宗比纪念碑：错误背后的释意
- Roberto Conduru Releasing Mistakes? Appropriation and Ambiguity in the Monument to Zumbi dos Palmares in Rio de Janeiro
- 1656 蒂里·迪弗勒内 我的大脑，那位艺术家！
- Thierry Dufrene My Brain, That Artist!
- 1664 陈妤姝 从想象到印象：通过马戛尔尼的绘画观察中国
- Chen Yushu From Imagination to Impression: The Observation of China Through the Paintings Attributed to the Macartney Embassy
- 1670 陈 璐 托马斯·阿罗姆创造的中国图像
- Chen Lu The Image of China Created by Thomas Allom
- 1677 李丹丹 清末法国耶稣会士范世熙对中国文化及图像的误解与曲用
- Li Dandan The Creative Misunderstanding and Misuse of Chinese Culture and Images by Vasseur

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| 1687 | 傅无为
Uwe Fleckner | 第16分会综述：商品与市场——艺术史研究的新方向
Introduction to Session 16: Commodity and Market: New Directions in Art Historical Research |
| 1692 | 赵 力
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| 1694 | 马学东
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Calling for Another Art History: Sidelights of Session 16 of the 34th World Congress of Art History |
| 1701 | 于 渺
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Engaging and Disengaging the Market: The Practice of Self-circulation in Chinese Contemporary Art in the 1990s |
| 1707 | 徐 丹
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| 1713 | 沈淑琦
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From Nobody to Somebody: Agents, Commodity and the Making of Qi Baishi 's (1864–1957) Art |
| 1720 | 克里斯蒂·霍华德
Christine Howald | 走近“他者”：19世纪到20世纪法国的中国艺术品市场
Approaching the “Other”: The French Market for Chinese Art (19th–20th Centuries) |
| 1726 | 莱斯·扬科夫斯基
Lyce Jankowski | 批发收藏品：以康茂洋行为例谈东方艺术的古董商
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| 1732 | 施 茜 | 从日本伊万里到中国伊万里：18世纪欧洲市场上的东方外销瓷 |
| | Shi Qian | From Japanese Imari to Chinese Imari: Oriental Export Porcelain on the European Market in the 18th Century |
| 1741 | 西尔维斯特·奥库诺杜·奥贝希 | 新黑人：全球市场中的非洲当代艺术 |
| | Sylvester Okwunodu Ogbechie | Black Is the New Black: Contemporary African Art in the Global Marketplace |
| 1747 | 菲利普·弗尔梅伦 / 阿努巴·萨卡尔 | 艺术商品化：全球艺术市场中的印度绘画的流动 |
| | Filip Vermeulen / Anubha Sarkar | The Commodification of Art: Moving Indian Painting in the Global Market |
| 1751 | 塔利亚·贝尔梅霍 | 被放逐/被绑架的绘画：“二战”期间布宜诺斯艾利斯的艺术市场、收藏与流通 |
| | Talia Bermejo | Exiled Painting/Kidnapped Painting. Art Market, Collecting and Circulation of Works of Art During World War II in Buenos Aires |
| 1757 | 巴贝特·施尼茨莱茵 | 被劫掠的文物：古代近东文物的交易和对研究的影响 |
| | Babette Schnitzlein | Looted Antiquity: The Trade of Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and Its Impact on Research |
| 1762 | 李承铨 | 当代艺术中的消费社会、新自由主义：安迪·沃霍尔、达明·赫斯特与菲利克斯·冈萨雷斯-托雷斯 |
| | Seung-hyun Lee | Consumer Society and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Art: Andy Warhol, Damien Hirst, and Felix Gonzalez-Torres |
| 1768 | 玛利亚·伊莎贝尔·巴尔达萨雷 | 市场、国家和文化领导权：20世纪初法国对外艺术展览常设委员会的功能 |
| | Maria Isabel Baldasarre | Market, State and Cultural Hegemony: The Action of the Comité permanent des Exposition françaises des beaux-arts à l'étranger at the Beginning of the 20th Century |
| 1774 | 詹妮弗·瓦格里 | W. O. 奥德曼效应：一个人对美国早期人种学博物馆的影响 |
| | Jennifer Wagelie | The W. O. Oldman Effect: One Man's Influence on Early American Ethnographic Museums |

第 17 分会：展示 Session 17: Display

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| 1781 | 张 晨 | 第17分会综述 |
| | Zhang Chen | Introduction to Session 17 |
| 1783 | 伊万·加斯科尔 | 彼埃·蒙德里安的裂痕 |
| | Ivan Gaskell | Cracking Up with Piet Mondrian |
| 1789 | 周诗岩 | 姿态剧场，或重绘瓦尔堡的目的与方法 |
| | Zhou Shiyan | Phantasmology: From Dangerous Liaisons to Gesture Theater |
| 1795 | 尤 丽 | 石·纸·书：关于石刻的物质性、展示与感知的若干问题 |
| | Lis Jung Lu | Chiseling · Rubbing · Brushing: On the Making, Materiality, and Display of Stone Inscriptions |
| 1809 | 弗里德里克·舍费尔 | 作为来世的展示：通过表演式摄影重构和再现转瞬即逝的装置 |
| | Friederike Schaefer | The Display as Afterlife: On the Reconstruction and Representation of Ephemeral Installations Through Contact Sheets |
| 1819 | 张文江 | 观象与展示——中华文明的基础 |
| | Zhang Wenjiang | Sky Phenomena Contemplation and Exhibition: The Basic of Chinese Civilization |
| 1828 | 杰弗里·柯林斯 | 迷人的古代：展示缪斯 |
| | Jeffrey Collins | Engaging Antiquity: Putting the Muses on Display |
| 1836 | 高 初 | “观看”与“唤起”：战争时期的中国摄影 |
| | Gao Chu | “Display” and “Evoke”: Wartime Photography in China |
| 1864 | 埃琳娜·富马加利 | 17—18世纪佛罗伦萨皮蒂宫权力与艺术的展示 |
| | Elena Fumagalli | Power and Display of Art in Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 17th – 18th Centuries |
| 1871 | 连 冕 | “工”的动力学，一组名词——以“礼”之造物逻辑为线索兼议历代“卤簿” |

	Lian Mian	The Dynamics of Gong, a Set of Terms
1903	琳达·博雷安	威尼斯艺术收藏的展示（约1650—1850年）
	Linda Borean	The Display of Art Collections in Venice (ca. 1650–1850)
1908	道恩·奥德尔	中国艺术在早期美国的展示
	Dawn Odell	A Display of Chinese Art in Early America
1914	黄孙权 / 刘益红	“杀马特”中的现代性——关于城乡空间生产之社会展示
	Huang Sunquan / Liu Yihong	Smart to Modernity: A Social Display Within the Production of Urban-rural Space

第 18 分会：媒体与视觉 Session 18: Media and Visuality

1925	弗雷德里克·阿舍	第18分会综述
	Frederick Asher	Introduction to Session 18
1926	汪悦进	第18分会综述
	Eugene Wang	Introduction to Session 18
1927	黄冰	第18分会综述：新媒体技术的诞生是让知识本身更加可视化
1929	Bing Huang	Introduction to Session 18: Easy on Our Eyes, Easy on Our Brains: VR and the Future of Art History
1933	奥利弗·格劳	论信息社会的政治图像学
	Oliver Grau	On a Political Iconography of Information Societies
1941	伊莱恩·奥布莱恩	扎根与路线：当代土著艺术的崛起
	Elaine O'Brien	Rooted and Routed: The Worlding of Contemporary Indigenous Art
1949	裴珍妮	后全球视角下的视觉媒体
	Jennifer Purtle	Optical Media in Postglobal Perspective

- 1957 卡罗琳娜·A.琼斯 占领地球村：奥提西卡与全球化普遍主义的拒斥
Caroline A. Jones Occupying the Global Village: Hélio Oiticica and the Refusal of Globalized Universalism
- 1967 唐宏峰 “照相点石斋”——《点石斋画报》中的再媒介问题
Tang Hongfeng Remediation in *Dianshizhai* Pictorial
- 1987 吴雪杉 透过媒介：建构“万里长城”的现代形象
Wu Xueshan Through Media: Construction of Modern Image of the Great Wall
- 1996 史蒂芬·尼尔森 大卫·阿贾耶的大都会之眼
Steven Nelson David Adjaye's Cosmopolitan Eye
- 2002 罗清奇 费益安：逍遥的艺术家
Claire Roberts Ian Fairweather: Artist at Large
- 2006 爱丽特·祖海尔 公共领域的神风、亲密和争议：小泉梅罗的表演
Ayelet Zohar The Kamikaze, the Intimate, and the Controversial in the Public Sphere: Koizumi Meiro's Video Performances
- 2011 伊恩·博伊德·怀特 翻译的得与失
Iain Boyd Whyte The Gains and Losses of Translation

第 19 分会：审美与艺术史 Session 19: History of Beauty vs. History of Art

- 2021 克劳迪亚·切里·维亚 第19分会综述
Claudia Cieri Via Introduction to Session 19
- 2025 戴 丹 第19分会综述
Dai Dan Introduction to Session 19
- 2029 霍斯特·布雷德坎普 自然与艺术的共生：一种新样式主义方法
Horst Bredekamp Symbiosis of Nature and Art: A Neo-Manneristic Approach

- 2035 杨尼斯·哈齐尼科拉乌 演绎污迹：早期现代欧洲的另类图画实践
Yannis Hadjinicolaou *Macchie Acting: Alternative Pictorial Practices in Early Modern Europe*
- 2046 土山洋子 纪实风格摄影中美的效果与真实的世界
Yoko Tsuchiyama *The Beauty of Photography in the Documentary Expressions from 1930s to 1950s*
- 2052 马尔齐亚·法耶蒂 从波提切利到奥黛丽·赫本的不完美的故事
Marzia Faietti *The Hallux Valgus of the Nymph: Stories of Imperfect Beauty from Sandro Botticelli to Audrey Hepburn*
- 2061 卢兹·罗西奥·贝姆德斯·赫尔南德斯 美丽有趣的事：墨西哥审美葬礼视觉艺术批评研究
Luz del Rocío Bermúdez Hernández *That Beautiful Funny “Thing”: A Critical Survey of the Aesthetics of Funeral Visual Art in Mexico*
- 2068 法比奥·卡法尼亚 18世纪和19世纪之间的美与死亡
Fabio Cafagna *Death Becomes Her: Beauty and Death Between the 18th and 19th Century*
- 2074 卡梅尔·梅奥 在传统与现代之间“弥合差距”：罗杰·弗莱艺术理论中的“美与丑”
Carmen Di Meo *“Bridging the Gap” Between the Traditional and the Modern: Beauty and Ugliness in Roger Fry’s Theory of Art*
- 2080 姜永帅 标准还是趣味：中国绘画品评史上的神品与逸品
Jiang Yongshuai *From the Subjects to the Ink Forms: Discuss the Shift of “Yipin” on the Painting Taste*
- 2089 格哈德·沃尔夫 跨文化视角下的超越人体之美
Gerhard Wolf *Beyond the Human Body: (Pre)modern Concepts of Beauty in a Transcultural Perspective*
- 2093 马努维拉吉·珀努杜拉伊 通过观音和湿婆的图像看美的历史和竞技的问题
Manuvelraj Ponnudurai *The History of Beauty and the Contesting Claims Through the Images of Avalokitesvara and Shiva Nataraja*
- 2100 尤塔·图维森 日本当代艺术中的女性身体：村上隆的Kaikai Kiki

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Novecento Italiano and Italian Soft Power in South America in the Aftermath of World War II

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The issues to be presented in this paper derive from the research I have been developing on the modern art collection of the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP), since 2008.¹ I have been giving attention to a set of 71 Italian paintings of the interwar period, which was acquired between 1946 and 1947 for the creation of the first modern art museum to be founded in South America, the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art (MAM), now belonging to MAC USP collections. While studying this collection, our attention was brought to the presence and long-term relation between the South American artistic milieu and the values promoted by Fascist ideologist of Jewish ancestors and Italian art critic Margherita Sarfatti, and her Novecento Italiano group in the 1920s.² In addition to this, while in exile in the subcontinent in the 1940s, she acted as the major mediator of MAM's president, the Italian-Brazilian businessman Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho³, in the acquisition of these works in Italy.

We will demonstrate that this set of works was formed in a specific context, of the rehabilitation of modern Italian art in the international arena, after the fall of the Fascist regime in Italy. A series of exhibitions on modern Italian art travelling the various capitals of South America took place between 1946 and 1947, in which the notion of Novecento Italiano was used to promote the works on show. Contrarily, and at the same time, in the United States, a major exhibition of modern Italian art was organized at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA), but which instead searched to avoid choices of works under the notion of Novecento Italiano, giving more emphasis to the avant-garde Italian groups of the first decade of the 20th century.

I shall first discuss what was behind the term Novecento Italiano, and its liaisons with Sarfatti's writings in the 1920s and 1930s. Then, I shall analyze the exhibitions that took place in South America, to finally compare them to the one organized by MoMA in 1949. Such a reasoning will be the guidance to my final considerations.

In modern Italian art history, we can identify three very distinctive moments in the dissemination of Novecento Italiano, during the 1920s and the 1930s. The term had been first coined by Margherita Sarfatti to designate a group of artists that had retaken the fundamental values of Mediterranean classical tradition, while reinterpreting the works of some important Renaissance masters, mostly of the *Quattrocento*. The initial group of six artists who presented their works at Galleria Pesaro in 1923, and who would call themselves the Novecento group, was rapidly reconfigured.⁴ In the *I Mostra del Novecento Italiano* that took place at the Palazzo della Permanente in Milan in 1926, the term then incorporated the national origin of the artists in the group's name, which from then on consisted of some hundred artists of different backgrounds, but who, in Sarfatti's vision, shared the common grounds of a figurative language, of Mediterranean roots, all indebted to classical tradition in the arts.⁵ The issue of the relation of this new style and Fascist politics marked the second moment of the promotion of the group. The invitation for Mussolini to make the inaugural speech for the exhibition, written by Sarfatti and explicitly talking about an official art for the regime, was an attempt to transform the Novecento Italiano into the expression of the Italian society under Fascism, and the idea of a New Italy, with a modernity rooted in its own classical tradition.⁶ While taking the leadership of the group that had exhibited at Galleria Pesaro three years before, Sarfatti seemed to be launching herself as a political figure. 1926 was the year that her famous biography on Mussolini—her partner in politics and her lover—came out in Italian.⁷ *Dux*, as it was titled in Italian, was an immediate editorial success. Moreover, Sarfatti alone had won the role of the commissioner of the Italian delegation for the pavilion at the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris, in 1925. Finally, she organized a special room of the Novecento Italiano group for the 1926 Venice Biennale, where her prominence as a member of the jury and art critic of

prestige would be well-known.

Her intense campaign for the promotion of Novecento Italiano would later unfold in a series of exhibitions of the group abroad. She was to organize them in various European capitals between 1926 and 1930. Such exhibitions would reach South America, when Sarfatti first visited the subcontinent in August 1930. Coming as a representative of the Fascist regime, she organized an exhibition of the Novecento Italiano that toured Buenos Aires, Rosario and Montevideo.⁸ During her short visit to South America, she gave conferences on modern Italian art in Buenos Aires and Rosario, and seemed to be promoting her freshly published book *Storia della pittura moderna (History of Modern Painting)*, where she tried to interpret modern art under the paradigm of the opposites of synthesis and analysis.⁹ In such a scheme, Mediterranean, Italian art corresponded to the forces of an art of synthesis, embedded in classical tradition, and to peaks of great art produced in the Western world.¹⁰ The art of analysis, according to her, was typical of Northern European traditions, inclined to abstraction, and emerged in periods of crisis.

Her book seemed to have been a major hit, as even in Brazil, where she was to stay for only 15 days, it was often commented in the press, as proven by the large excerpts from it that could be read in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo newspapers.¹¹ Her contacts with the South American artistic milieu, both in Brazil and Argentina, seemed to have lasted until her exile period in the subcontinent, between 1939 and 1947, when she finally left her mark in the first museum of modern art to be created there.¹²

The 1930s would not be of success for her. After her trip to South America and the Novecento Italiano exhibition in the River Plate region, she came back to Italy under attack, and from 1931 on, would lose her prestige until her total ban due to the Racial Laws in 1938. She was to be replaced by new critics and cultural mediators, who actually made use of the notion of Novecento Italiano and a certain idea of classicism to promote modern Italian art.

In the context of the creation of the official national exhibition of the Fascist regime, the Quadriennale di Roma, as well as in the exhibitions organized by the regime abroad along the 1930s, the term Novecento Italiano circulated and was used to designate modern Italian art, but in a larger sense, which could even include the participation of the futurists and aerofuturists, for instance.¹³

In the 1930s, thus, the use of the term Novecento Italiano served the purposes of promoting modern Italian art in general, of various currents, while trying to present them in the lenses of their Latinity and Mediterranean traits. This strategy was also important to affirm Italy's national identity, both by refusing all

the "foreign traits" of the Paris School and reassuring Italy's cultural supremacy in the international context. Once Mussolini made his alliance with Hitler's Germany, the promotion of exhibitions of modern Italian art in European capitals switched into an internal project. As the Minister of National Education from 1939 on, Giuseppe Bottai (himself a collector of modern Italian art) would establish a policy of fostering the making of private collections of modern Italian art inside the country. This project reached its peak between 1941 and 1942, when a series of exhibitions held at the gallery of the artists national trade union (the Galleria d'Arte di Roma) were to present the private collections being formed in that context.¹⁴ The most illustrious of them was the collection of the Venetian editor and soon-to-be gallerist Carlo Cardazzo.¹⁵ When talking about such collections, the notion of Novecento Italiano continued to be employed, though it could be simply apprehended as a synonym of Italian art of the 20th century. However, the term seemed to guarantee the common roots of Italian artists as descendants of a Latin/Mediterranean culture, or as the Fascists would put it, of *italianità* (Italianness).

In such a context, Italian art history would be understood as having one sole continuous current, which would come from classical antiquity into the modern era. Surprisingly enough, the first museum of modern art founded in South America, the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art (MAM), formed its first collection of paintings guided by such a debate that took place in Italy in the interwar period. Not only in terms of what it can tell of the idea of Novecento Italiano, but also and most importantly, of the figures that helped to gather these artworks, and their renovated activity in the aftermath of World War II. The fact that it was to be Margherita Sarfatti to guide the president of the MAM in his choices for the museum's collection must be understood from the deeper and larger knowledge that the São Paulo artistic milieu had of Novecento Italiano, and their legitimate bonds and beliefs in such artistic values. Detached from its political implications, Novecento Italiano was the current by which the paulista new school of painting of the mid-1930s/beginning of 1940s would create its own language of modern painting. The so-called Grupo Santa Helena that was in the basis of the creation of the São Paulo MAM would give emphasis to a figurative language of realist modes, which they would read into the values of a classicizing language.¹⁶ This defines the first layer of the making of the museum's collection, and its connections with modern Italian art.

The second layer of the making of MAM collection reveals the continuation of certain Italian diplomatic strategies renewed, and often, reinvented cultural institutions. That the names of gallerists

Vittorio Barbaroux¹⁷ and Carlo Cardazzo would still appear in such a context is very symptomatic of these strategies. Both Barbaroux and Cardazzo were gallerists and collectors of the so-called *Novecento Italiano*, and both sold paintings to Matarazzo for the MAM collection.¹⁸

The notion of *Novecento Italiano* as a synonym of modern Italian painting was still being used in the immediate postwar years, in the promotion of modern Italian art in South America. Though since the early 1940s, there was already a reconnection with avant-garde practices and the Parisian artistic milieu in the emergency of new currents—like Gruppo Corrente and others, these were first presented in the subcontinent through the lenses of *Novecento Italiano*. Between 1946 and 1947—the very same moment when the collection of the São Paulo MAM was being formed—a series of exhibitions of modern Italian art toured the main capitals of South America. The first exhibition of those took place between Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires and actually searched to propose a renewed vision of modern Italian art, while effectively trying to break away from *Novecento Italiano*.¹⁹ When reviewed by Argentine art critic Jorge Romero Brest in its venue at Galería Peuser in Buenos Aires, the show is given a different tone, as Romero Brest questioned the absence of some artists linked to *Novecento Italiano*.²⁰

In 1947, two other exhibitions of modern Italian art in South America still gave emphasis to *Novecento Italiano*. The gallerist Vittorio Barbaroux presented a selection of his private collection at the Galería Müller, in Buenos Aires²¹; and art critic and gallerist Pietro Maria Bardi organized a show of modern Italian painting at the exhibition room of the Ministry of Education and Health, in Rio de Janeiro.²² In the case of Barbaroux's exhibition, the catalogue presentation text signed by Mario Bonini (owner of Galería Müller) would speak of a kind of painting that overcame futurism and worked with a metaphysical vocabulary based in the classical tradition of Italian art. While reviewing the exhibition, the famous Argentine art historian Julio Payró, despite his clear antagonism towards *Novecento Italiano* (for its political bonds), would highlight the fact that Barbaroux's collection was a perfect example of the art produced in Italy in the interwar period, marked by a reactionary and conservative modernism expressed by the notion of *Novecento Italiano*.²³

Bardi's exhibition in Rio at the Ministry of Education and Health, is quite explicit in seeking a dialogue between the paintings on show and the acquisitions being made for the São Paulo MAM, while also giving more emphasis on a modern Italian painting embedded in classical tradition. In his text for the small exhibition catalogue, Bardi would use

the term “contemporary neoclassicism” to designate the paintings on show. It is also very symptomatic that one of the most important Brazilian modern art critics, Mário Pedrosa, while reviewing Bardi's show, would also speak about the classicizing trends of modern Italian art. In Pedrosa's own words:

Fascism was a Great Wall not only around the best artists, but also around everything that the Italian genius bared of authentic during this long interregnum in which a clown ruled the country like a megalomaniac.

Now, luckily, it is the direct contact that is re-established between the old Latin she-wolf and us, Latin-American *bugres* who speak Latin.²⁴

South American artistic milieu, and particularly Brazil and the São Paulo circle of artists, would understand such exhibitions, by reading them into the notion of *Novecento Italiano*. In addition to this, Sarfatti's exile in South America resulted in the acquisitions to the São Paulo MAM. At the same time, she was launching a panorama on modern painting written in Spanish, which she herself understood as a revision and more finished version of her *Storia della pittura moderna* from 1930. Her book *Espejo de la pintura actual (Mirror of Contemporary Painting)*, published in Buenos Aires, in 1947, would not only reaffirm her ideas on modern painting of her previous book, but also searched to give support to the reading of the collection that the São Paulo MAM was forming.²⁵

If one considers still a bigger picture, of how Italy was to make its atonements after the end of the Fascist era in the international scenario, the American continent proves to be a battlefield of ideologies and political agendas. At the same time newly-born societies and para-diplomatic associations promoted the series of exhibitions touring South America in the aftermath of World War II, North Americans were to prepare a major exhibition reviewing Italian art of the 20th century. As from 1946, the MoMA Board of Trustees had given curators James Thrall Soby and Alfred Barr the duty to prepare a large exhibition on modern Italian art.²⁶ Some incidents postponed the first trip Soby and Barr were to make to Italy, but we finally see them reporting back to MoMA's president Nelson Rockefeller and MoMA's director, after their stay during the summer of 1948, when they had the chance to see both the first postwar Venice Biennale and Rome Quadriennale.²⁷ The delays in the trip emerged from the fact that MoMA decided that their own curators should be the ones to propose a selection of artists and works, and not let them in the hands of their Italian counterparts and institutions.²⁸ This, of course, resulted in a different perspective of reading

modern Italian art. Although we see some of the figures actively circulating in South America behind some of the loans for MoMA's exhibition, there is in fact an intended rejection of such conservative, classicizing modernism as expressed by Novecento Italiano. Instead, Barr and Soby were to give much more weight to historical futurism (from the early decades of the 20th century, not tinged with Fascist liaisons), in the figure of artist Umberto Boccioni, and historical metaphysical painting with Giorgio de Chirico, than to the involvement of such trends in the 1920s and 1930s. Novecento Italiano was mentioned as part of the panorama of the interwar decades, a period where it was to be the "principal school of the mid-1920s" and "deliberately reactionary," in the curators's own words.²⁹

Despite the different weights given to Novecento Italiano, and the incorporation of new allies in Italian territory—by the centralization of all contacts around the newly established collector Romeo Toninelli—MoMA's selection of works still had to pass through names attached to that notion. Although there was an attempt to lend directly from the artists, names like those of Cardazzo and Sarfatti still appeared, not to mention Benedetta Cappa Marinetti, who was to be an important lender and seller of futurist works for the exhibition, some of which to be incorporated into MoMA's collection.³⁰ Widow of the leader of the futurist movement, and a futurist artist herself, she was to contribute to the major historical works for the exhibition, while still arguing with the North American curators to show the futurists of the *Ventennio*—which they, of course, refused to do. On what concerns Sarfatti, despite her direct association with the Novecento Italiano, she was to lend a Luigi Russolo futurist painting of her own collection.³¹

On the backstage of the organization of MoMA's panorama of modern Italian art and the smaller exhibitions that took place in South America in the second half of the 1940s, there were more similarities than one would have thought. Despite their almost opposite ways of seeing modern Italian art—MoMA by highlighting futurism and metaphysical painting of the 1910s, the touring exhibitions in South America, by still promoting Novecento Italiano—they counted on the same infrastructure and kinds of associations, and sometimes the same figures. They all tried to put into an art system that would be fostered by private sponsors and associations, searching support of newly created para-diplomatic societies (as in the case of Bardi's initiatives in Brazil) and private collections.³² Although this might have been a way to escape any explicit nationalistic governmental propaganda, it tells a lot on the new American way of making business in the art world, something that the Italians since the Fascist era had been learning in their attempt to

modernize the country, and that South Americans had been taught in the debates that had given rise to the making of modern art institutions, like the São Paulo MAM.³³

The major difference between North and South is the way MoMA and North Americans negotiated with Italians. If in the case of South America there seems to have been no questioning on the choices being made by Italian art critics and collectors, the US mediators took into their hands to construe their own reading of what modern Italian art should be. This in fact was the major tension between the two North American curators and the Italian artistic milieu, whose representatives were at pains in accepting that the choice was to be made by the North Americans—sometimes questioned by the Italians on their expertise to do so.³⁴

However, in both cases, they had as a main aim the fostering of Italian art in the new art markets of the American continent, and resulted in important acquisitions on both sides. The making of the São Paulo MAM collection has to be seen in this perspective, where an entire set of Italian paintings was bought in a 10-month campaign in Italy, so as to foster such a market. In the case of MoMA and the North American art system, the exhibition *Twentieth Century Italian Art* not only resulted in adding important pieces to the museum's collection (Boccioni's bronzes of *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* and *Development of a Bottle in Space* being the highlights), but also helped to create a taste and a market for Italian art along the 1950s.³⁵

There are still some aspects to be considered in this operation of reemergence of modern Italian art in post-war American continent. In addition to holding what are the three larger communities of Italians outside Italy, cities like New York, São Paulo and Buenos Aires were to be, since the last half of the 19th century, the main goals of Italian and American immigration policies, which in the case of South America favored the growth on commerce and industry, helping to modernize these countries.³⁶ By the same time, and accordingly with the Monroe Doctrine³⁷, North American policies seemed to understand the importance of such communities both in the United States and in South America, where the presence of working class leaders educated in anarchist, socialist and communist theories might represent a threat to the liberal economy and market being built under the slogan "America for Americans." Secondly, it is interesting to see how North American representatives dealt with both Italian and South American counterparts. The stimulus into embracing private ways of supporting art and culture, of reading modern art into an autonomous sphere by emphasizing abstract practices, and the refusal of any national/

governmental structure not to stain such a discourse, is a perfect parallel of the liberal, free economic market promoted by North American policies in the aftermath of World War II, and which gave rise to the Cold War era.

Finally, what appeared to be a contradiction in the making of the São Paulo MAM collection—because it totally went off the trail into the discourse of avant-garde and abstraction—might be explained in this major framework, of North American soft power in the promotion of modern art as a value of the Western world. North American hegemony was to be felt both in South America and in Italy from then on. But North American soft power policies, so to speak, would adopt some slight differences in one and the other territory, where a hierarchy existed also between Italy (as the cradle of European culture and an equivalent of universal humanistic values that had to be preserved

at all costs) and South America. The latter was rising into the international arena, reconfigured into a modernized, independent territory, which would play an important role in the growing of new markets—the art being one key to this strategy. For a short moment, Italian representatives would have some freedom to promote modern Italian art re-enacting the strategy of linking it to the classical tradition. Once Brazilian elite, in the figure of the Matarazzo, decided to create a Biennial exhibition in the city, following the model of the Venice Biennale, this scenario seemed to have quickly changed.³⁸ The Bienal de São Paulo would count on the support of North American counterparts, but the emphasis from then on should be given to abstract language in the arts, something Brazilians would struggle with for a while—as did their Italian peers in the context of the first Venice Biennales to take place in the aftermath of World War II.

NOTES

- 1 See Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, *Classicismo moderno: Margherita Sarfatti e a pintura italiana no acervo do MAC USP* (São Paulo: Alameda Editorial, 2016), and Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, "Objecthood and Brazilian Modernist Narrative: The Making of the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art (MAM) and Its Primary Collection" in *33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art: The Challenge of the Object*, eds. Ulrich Grossmann and Petra Krutisch, vol. 1 (Nuremberg: Germanisches National Museum, 2013), 86–90. The first phase of the research project was presented with the exhibition *Classicismo, Realism, Avant-garde: Italian Painting in Between The Wars* at the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo, Brazil, in 2013. For the exhibition catalogue, see Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Classicismo, Realismo, Vanguarda: Pintura italiana do entreguerras* (São Paulo: MAC USP/PRCEU, 2013).
- 2 Since the early 1990s, some studies have been undertaken on Margherita Sarfatti and her engagement with Fascism. Three biographies have appeared, among others, and at least one historical study analyzing her political role in Fascist Italy. See, respectively, Phillip Cannistraro and Brian Sullivan, *Il Duce's Other Woman* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1993); Françoise Liffan, *L'Égerie du Duce* (Paris: Seuil, 2009); Rachele Ferrario, *Margherita Sarfatti. La regina dell'arte nell'Italia fascista* (Milan: Mondadori, 2015); and Simona Urso, *Margherita Sarfatti: dal mito del Dux al mito americano* (Venice: Marsilio, 2003).
- 3 Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (São Paulo, 1898–1977), better known for his nickname Ciccillo, was one of Brazil's most important businessmen of his generation. Born into a family of Italian immigrants that arrived by the mid-1880s in Brazil, and who built South America's biggest industrial empire in the first half of the 20th century, Ciccillo took his studies between Naples and Brussels, graduating as an engineer. Once he came back from his studies in Europe, he decided to separate from his family's conglomerate to create his own company, the Metalúrgica Matarazzo. In the mid-1940s, he was the most prominent figure of the second generation of his family, fostering various cultural institutions in São Paulo: the Museum of Modern Art (MAM), the São Paulo Biennial, the first movie company in the country (Vera Cruz Company), the Brazilian Comedy Theater, and the Brazilian National Film Archive.
- 4 For a thorough study of the Novecento Italiano Group, see Rossana Bossaglia, *Il Novecento Italiano* (Milan: Charta, 1995, 1st edition, 1976)—to this day, the most important reference on the interpretation of this phenomenon in Italian art.
- 5 See the catalogue of the exhibition *Novecento Italiano. Catalogo della I mostra d'arte* (Milan: Editoriale Umbra, 1926). The exhibition took place at the Palazzo della Permanente, in Milan, between February and March 1926.
- 6 For the republication of Mussolini's speech, see Elena Pontiggia, ed., *Il Novecento Italiano* (Milan: Abscondita, 2003), 66–68, first published at *Il Popolo d'Italia*, Milan, February 16, 1926. Although Sarfatti had written Mussolini's speech, he changed it at the very last minute, and instead tried to avoid talking of an official art of the regime. The debate that Sarfatti fostered after her disappointment with this change of ideas, can be felt in an interview she gave for the newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*, published on February 18, 1926.
- 7 See Margherita Sarfatti, *The Life of Mussolini* (London,

- 1925), first edition in Italian published in 1926, entitled *Dux*. For its writing, Sarfatti was the first of Mussolini's collaborators to have thorough access to his diaries and his personal archive. In addition to this, the biography was commissioned by the British publisher in the first place.
- 8 See the exhibition catalogue *Mostra del Novecento Italiano*, ed. Margherita Sarfatti (Buenos Aires: Asociación Amigos del Arte, 1930).
 - 9 See Margherita Sarfatti, *Storia della pittura moderna* (Rome: Cremonese, 1930), especially chapter 3.
 - 10 During the Fascist era, *latinità* (Latinity) was like a synonym of Mediterranean culture, and would, indeed, merge with the notion of Italian art and culture. For a comprehensive analysis of how Fascist Italy created the myth and the idea of a Mediterranean culture founded in the roots of Italian culture, see Claudia Lazzaro, "Forging a Visible Fascist Nation: Strategies for Fusing Past and Present," in *Donatello Among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*, eds. Claudia Lazzaro and Roger Crum (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 13–32.
 - 11 See, for instance, "La grande scrittrice e intenditrice d'arte, Margherita Sarfatti, è giunta ieri a Rio de Janeiro," *Fanfulla*, August 21, 1930.
 - 12 For a study on her exile period between 1939 and 1947, in Argentina, see Daniel Gutman, *El amor judío de Mussolini: Magherita Sarfatti del fascismo al exilio* (Buenos Aires: Lumiere, 2006). However, the author does not deal with her exchanges with Brazil, and does not take into consideration the relations she had with South America between her first visit to the River Plate region, in 1930, and her exile. This is something we are still trying to rebuild in our research. The first thorough chronology on her trips to South America was presented at the exhibition *Italiani sull'Oceano*, in the session "Margherita Sarfatti. Dossier Porteno," Museo delle Culture (MUDEC), Milan, March–July, 2016.
 - 13 See, in particular, the participation of the futurists in the II Quadriennale, in 1935. For a study on their role in what was to be considered the most important edition of the exhibition during the fascist era, see Elena Pontiggia and Carlo F. Carli, eds., *La grande Quadriennale 1935. La nuova arte italiana* (Milan: Electa, 2006).
 - 14 On Giuseppe Bottai's policy and the fostering of private collections, see Danka Giacon, "Cortina, 1941," *Rivista L'Uomo Nero: Materiali per una storia delle arti della modernità* 2, no. 3 (2005), 51–68.
 - 15 On the life and activities of Cardazzo as a collector and a gallerist, see the catalogue of the exhibition *Carlo Cardazzo: una nuova visione dell'arte*, ed. Lucca Massimo Barbero (Milan: Electa, 2008), and Antonella Fantoni, *Il gioco del paradiso* (Venice: Edizione del Cavallino, 2006).
 - 16 On the Santa Helena Group, see Walter Zanini, *Arte no Brasil nas décadas de 1930 e 1940: O Grupo Santa Helena* (São Paulo: Nobel/Edusp, 1991) and Tadeu Chiarelli, "O Novecento e a arte brasileira," *Revista de Italianística*, III, 3 (1995), 109–134.
 - 17 On the history of Barbaroux's gallery and collection, see the catalogue of the exhibition *Milano anni trenta, l'arte e la città*, eds. Elena Pontiggia and Nicoletta Colombo (Milan: Mazzotta, 2004), 60–63 and 323–325.
 - 18 Particularly Vittorio Barbaroux had been engaged in the promotion of the so-called Novecento Italiano in the exhibitions fostered by the Fascist regime in European capitals, along the 1930s. His name appears as a lender and seller of the exhibitions organized by the para-diplomatic Comité France-Italie, which would be involved in the so-called Sarmiento Donation to the Musée des Écoles Étrangères Contemporaines, installed at the Jeu de Paume since 1922, and which opened the Italian Contemporary Art Gallery in 1936 to present it. For a study on the activities of the Comité France-Italie and their patronage of modern Italian art in France, see Catherine Fraixe, "L'art au service de la propagande fasciste. Les dons d'oeuvres italiennes à la France (1932–1936)," in *Vers une Europe Latine: Acteurs et enjeux des échanges culturels entre la France et l'Italie fasciste*, eds. Catherine Fraixe, Lucia Piccioni and Christoph Poupault (Brussels: P. I. E., Peter Lang, INHA, 2014), 195–214.
 - 19 See Pietro Zuffi, ed., *Arte contemporaneo italiano* (Santiago de Chile: Talleres Zig-Zag, 1946).
 - 20 See Jorge Romero Brest, "De de Chirico y Carrà y la pintura italiana del Novecentos," *Historium*, VIII, 87 (1946), 487–494.
 - 21 See Mario Bonini, ed., *Artistas italianos de hoy* (Buenos Aires: Galería Müller, 1947).
 - 22 Pietro Maria Bardi, ed., *Exposição de pintura italiana moderna* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde, 1947).
 - 23 See Julio Payró, "Orientación de la pintura italiana contemporánea," *Sur* 157 (1947), 143–151.
 - 24 Mário Pedrosa, "Os italianos—sobretudo os jovens," *Correio da manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, May 17, 1947 (review of Bardi's exhibition). My emphasis and translation. In Brazilian historiography, Pedrosa is better known for his engagement with geometrical abstraction, particularly of the constructive kind, such as was the case of the Neo-concrete group in Rio de Janeiro in the second half of the 1950s, and to his leftist and anti-fascist positions. His appreciation of these Italian painters is quite exceptional here, and it tells much of the importance of them to Brazil. In this excerpt, he affirms that as Latin-Americans, Brazilians are "bugres" who speak Latin. Although he is making use of a very negative term ("bugre" was a term invented by the Portuguese colonizers to describe indigenous people, so as to define them as savage and ignorant), he still sustains—as many intellectuals in the Fascist era would, to make the propaganda of the regime within the immigrant communities of South American—that, culturally speaking, Brazilians are a people of Latin roots. This excerpt also shows how the Brazilian artistic milieu incorporated the values of Novecento Italiano, even when rejecting any

- attachment to Fascist cultural policies and practices.
- 25 Margarita G. de Sarfatti, *Especo de la pintura actual* (Buenos Aires: Argos, 1947). Her given name was translated into Spanish for the publication of the book, a very common procedure among publishing houses in the Spanish-speaking world. The abbreviation “G.” corresponds to her maiden name, Grassini, and the “de” is a misspelling of her full name.
 - 26 See *Twentieth Century Italian Art*, New York, June 28 to September 18, 1949.
 - 27 J. T. S. [James Thrall Soby], “Report on the Exhibition of 20th Century Italian Painting and Sculpture, for the Museum of Modern Art,” 7 pages, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, MoMA Exhibitions Collection, Folder 413.6. The final part of the report is dedicated to the “political implications of the exhibition,” and we see curators Soby and Barr showing their anxiety not to be politically involved: “Our show was not planned for political reasons. Our choice of works in Italy, though not yet final, was made solely on the basis of esthetic quality. [...] We made clear from the beginning that the political convictions of the artists would not be a factor in our judgment of their work. [...] We found on arrival in Italy that the majority of the living artists were Communists.”
 - 28 Soby and Barr arrived, indeed, in a very special context, in Italy, in which the presidential election was a defining moment on the choice of the party that would be victorious, given the growth of the Italian Communist Party. On a recent analysis of the role played by North-American foreign affairs policy in such an election, and the Italian artistic milieu, see Nancy Jachec, *Politics and Painting at the Venice Biennale, 1948–1964: Italy and the Idea of Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), especially chapter 2.
 - 29 James Thrall Soby and Alfred Barr, ed., *Twentieth Century Italian Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949), 27.
 - 30 See, in particular, Barr’s correspondence with Benedetta Cappa Marinetti for the acquisition of the two Boccioni bronzes of *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* and *Development of a Bottle in Space*, respectively. Benedetta Cappa Marinetti Papers, Box 8, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
 - 31 Soby and Barr, *Twentieth Century Italian Art*, 125 (“Lenders”).
 - 32 Bardi, for instance, who was to come to Brazil as a representative of the recently created para-diplomatic Association COREITAL (Comitato per le Relazioni Economiche Italia America Latina). On Bardi’s arrival and first relations with Brazil, see Viviana Pozzoli, “1946! Perché Pietro Maria Bardi decide di lasciare l’Italia e partire per il Brasile?” in *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os centros do modernismo latino-americano*, eds. Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, Paolo Rusconi et al., http://www.mac.usp.br/mac/conteudo/academico/publicacoes/anais/modernidade/pdfs/VIVIAN_ITA.pdf (accessed August 25, 2016).
 - 33 On the influence of North-American cultural policy in Italy, see Rafaela Bedarida, “Export/Import: The Promotion of Contemporary Italian Art in the United States, 1935–1969” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2016), especially chapter 2. And in the case of Brazil and the São Paulo MAM, see Annateresa Fabris, “A travessia da arte moderna,” in *História e(m) movimento. Atas do Seminário MAM 60 Anos*, eds. Luís Camilo Osório and Annateresa Fabris (São Paulo: MAM, 2008).
 - 34 See James Thrall Soby confidential memorandum to Monroe Wheeler, dated from February 9, 1949: “The basic objections in Italy to our Italian exhibition are: 1. The Summer date which they dislike and cannot be persuaded is a good season here. 2. The fact that Toninelli is the head of our Committee and as such the one responsible for the Italian end of the show. 3. The fact that the choice of pictures has been made by Alfred and me and not by Italian critics. [...]” (my emphasis). The Museum of Modern Art Archives, MoMA Exhibitions Collection, Folder 413.3.
 - 35 To such an extent that the same MoMA was to help organizing an exhibition of Italian art in North American collections, in Rome, over a decade later. See *Arte italiana del XX secolo dalle collezioni americane*, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna di Roma, July 16 to September 18, 1960. While comparing the works on loan from private collectors to the MoMA *Twentieth Century Italian Art* exhibition, in 1949, and the works that were on show for the 1960 exhibition, one can easily see that North American collections were fed by such loans, and major Italian artworks of the 20th century ended up in the United States.
 - 36 For a comparative study between Brazil and the United States, and their Italian communities, particularly concerning the dissemination of Fascism in the Americas, see João Fábio Bertonha, “Fascism and Italian Communities in Brazil and in the United States: A Comparative Approach,” *Italian Americana*, Providence, 19, 2, (2001), 146–157. Bertonha has long been dealing with comparative studies between North and South America, while considering diplomatic relations and Italian immigration. The author organized a thorough reference on diplomatic archives in an article titled “A diplomacia a serviço da história: os arquivos diplomáticos brasileiros, italianos, ingleses e americanos,” *História Social* 6 (1999), 149–155.
 - 37 On the Monroe Doctrine and its renewal in the making of hegemonic policies of the United States in Latin America, see the site “Office of the Historian” at the website of the US Department of State: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/roosevelt-and-monroe-doctrine> (accessed August 25, 2016).
 - 38 For a revision of the shift to abstraction by the establishment of the São Paulo Biennial, see Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, “The Quest for Abstract Art in Brazil: Revisiting the Primary Collection of the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art, 1946–1952” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Brazilian Studies Association, BRASA, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, March 31 to April 2, 2016).

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