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The editors dedicate this volume to family members who experienced fascist persecutions:
Piroska, Imre (Amerigo), Erzsi and Laci Katz and the Calabi and Ancona families
Pia, Guido, Anna, Gabriele, and David Bedarida; Lea and Gastone Orefice

"אם יש את נפשך לדעת"
חיים נחמן ביאליק

8

Novecento *Brasiliano*: Margherita Sarfatti, Ciccillo Matarazzo, and the Italian Collection of MAC USP

Ana Gonçalves Magalhães

Introduction

This essay will discuss a collection of seventy-one modern Italian paintings that were purchased in Italy between 1946 and 1947 for the founding, in 1948, of the first museum dedicated to modern art in Brazil, the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art (MAM), now belonging to the collections of the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). Despite the presence of works by internationally renowned Italian avant-garde artists such as Amedeo Modigliani, Giorgio de Chirico, Giorgio Morandi, Gino Severini, and Carlo Carrà, these paintings were connected to the context of Italian fascist cultural policies of the 1930s and the visual aesthetics of Novecento Italiano. This led to their being forgotten, and upon arrival at the University they were all but destined to reside in MAC USP storage rooms.

The long silence around these works might be due to the fact that art critic and fascist ideologue Margherita Grassini Sarfatti (1880–1961) played a central role in mediating their acquisition while determining the way in which Brazilian art historians talked about them, associating them with the definition of Novecento Italiano that she helped to spread.[1] According to her, this was an art of synthesis practiced by painters that revered the tradition of Italian Renaissance art.[2] Sarfatti's first visit to Brazil and Argentina in 1930, as the commissioner of an exhibition of Novecento Italiano and a representative of the Fascist regime, stimulated knowledge of it among South American art critics. The term was renewed in the aftermath of the Second World War—without much controversy about its links to fascist Italy—when a series of exhibitions of Italian modern art toured the capitals of South America. These exhibitions were coterminous with Sarfatti's last years of exile in Argentina, during which she helped the São Paulo industrialist of Italian descent Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho buy the collection of Italian paintings for the creation of MAM.[3]

Although these works were partly shown on two previous occasions at MAC USP, there was no real understanding of them as a collection that corresponded to a coherent narrative of modern painting in Italy in the interwar period under the

label Novecento Italiano. It was not until the 2013 MAC USP exhibition *Classicismo, realismo, vanguarda: pintura italiana no entreguerras* (Classicism, realism, avant-garde: Italian painting between the wars) that they were presented as a comprehensive set—one purchased to provide MAM with the core of its collections—and their link with fascist cultural policies was first openly discussed.[4]

The exhibition toured to Brasília in 2018 at the Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil (CCBB), where it was sponsored by the Italian embassy during the transition of the Brazilian federal government to today's cabinet. By then, the term *fascism* was in the headlines of the Brazilian media, and the atmosphere of autonomy for scholars to tackle the many contradictions of this group of artworks had faded away. This essay will examine the present author's experience as organizer of an exhibition that "curated fascism" in 2013 and the challenges of curating fascism today, while also trying to look at these paintings from the viewpoint of the present moment.

Previous Exhibitions of Italian Modern Painting at the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo

It has always been clear to Brazilian art historians that MAC USP inherited a significant number of Italian artworks from MAM while also continuing to collect Italian artists due to the many cultural exchanges between Brazil and Italy. The second catalog of the museum's collection, written and edited in 1988 by Brazilian art historian and MAC USP's director Aracy Amaral, dedicates a special section to modern Italian artworks. It is the first to bring up the provenance and history of the Matarazzo purchases in the mid-1940s.[5] However, Amaral did not tackle the fascist network that was behind the seventy-one paintings under discussion. Like other Brazilian peers, she admitted that the Italian artworks in the collection conveyed a conservative modernism of the interwar period that, in Italy, was represented by Sarfatti's idea of Novecento Italiano.

In addition to this, there were two exhibitions at MAC USP in the late 1970s and early 1980s in which these works appeared, albeit detached from the fascist background though still labeled as Novecento Italiano. The first was organized in 1977 by the museum's first director and curator, Walter Zanini, and the second by Amaral in 1985. Zanini's exhibition, *Homenagem a Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho* (Homage to Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho), was shown two months after Matarazzo's death. Zanini selected thirty-six paintings from the set, privileging the big names: Modigliani, de Chirico, Carrà, Morandi, Severini, Tosi, Sironi, and Campigli.[6] They were shown with other Italian works in MAC USP's collection that had been purchased by Matarazzo in the 1950s, along with works by Brazilian and French artists also bought by Matarazzo in the same period. In the exhibition's brochure, Zanini emphasized Matarazzo as a collector and pointed to the first pieces of information about their acquisition without mentioning their connections to fascism.

Amaral's exhibition of 1985, sponsored by the Istituto Italiano di Cultura/Instituto Cultural Ítalo Brasileiro in São Paulo, invited Brazilian art historian Annateresa Fabris to write on the various Italian artistic groups and movements represented at MAC USP,

which was introduced by a short text by Lisbeth Rebollo Gonçalves on the history of the museum's collections.[7] Of the seventy-one paintings that I am addressing here, sixty-four were exhibited together with twelve other Italian works acquired through the Bienal de São Paulo award system in the 1950s or donated by the artists themselves.

Fabris's essay was key for Brazilian audiences to learn about Italian art of the twentieth century, although she did not question the narrative that had been constructed in the late 1930s and beginning of the 1940s when private collections of Italian modern art were formed in Italy to foster modern art in the peninsula. At the same time, she analyzed Novecento Italiano as the "official representative of Italian art" in the 1920s and 1930s, stating that:

> "Novecento" does not have a precise aesthetic program, only vague affirmations of "return to normality and constructive order," but there are elements shared by its most celebrated artists, summed up by Margherita Sarfatti in the categories of "precision of gesture, decision in color, firmness in form, aspiration to concrete, to simplicity and to the definitive."[8]

The timing of *Artistas italianos na coleção do MAC* between January and March of 1985 coincided with a period of great national turmoil following the loss of Brazil's first civilian president elected by the congress after the end of the military dictatorship.[9]

Classicism, Realism, Avant-Garde: Italian Painting between the Wars (2013)—The Matarazzo Collection and its Connections to Fascist Italy

Classicismo, realismo, vanguarda: pintura italiana no entreguerras occurred in a special moment in Brazilian history. A year before its opening, Brazil's first woman president, Dilma Rousseff, created the Comissão Nacional da Verdade (CNV, National Committee of the Truth), whose aim was to investigate violations of human rights committed in Brazil between 1946 and 1988.[10] This led to the opening of the archives of the period of Brazilian military dictatorship (1964–1985). The exhibition thus occurred in an atmosphere of great expectations on the consolidation of Brazilian democracy. Such a context of atonement and revaluation of the country's past was parallel to a growing investigation of the origins of Brazilian cultural institutions and their links to the idea of modernity. In this sense, the research undertaken around the history of the São Paulo MAM was key for us to shed light on Sarfatti and other figures involved in the making of its collections. The paintings purchased for Matarazzo reveal an intricate social network of agents in São Paulo, Milan, and Rome who formed a modernizing, illustrious elite in both countries, attempting to survive above any political compromise with fascism in the aftermath of the Second World War.

In 2013 Sarfatti's legacy was key for understanding the connections between the Matarazzo collection and fascism. Sarfatti was the main mediator of the acquisition campaign, but she was not the only art critic whom Matarazzo consulted. Italian

journalist, gallerist, and art critic Pietro Maria Bardi (1900–1999), who had also visited Brazil in 1933 and came back in 1946, contributed to some choices in the collection.[11] Bardi was the first contact Matarazzo made in Italy to start the acquisitions and was responsible for the first purchase: Modigliani's *Self-Portrait* (Figure 8.1).[12]

The fact that most of the works were purchased in Milanese galleries close to Sarfatti's Novecento Italiano helped the collection to be interpreted in the framework of her ideas of modern art. For example, Achille Funi's *L'indovina* (The fortune-teller), 1924 (Figure 8.2) was painted when he was involved with the rediscovery of primitive artists of his native Ferrara and bears parallels with the *Figura* (Figure), 1922 that once

Figure 8.1 Amedeo Modigliani, *Autoritratto* (Self-portrait), 1919, oil on canvas, 100 × 64.5 cm. Gift of Yolanda Penteado & Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). Photo: MAC USP—Nelson Kon.

Figure 8.2 Achille Funi, *L'Indovina* (The Fortune-teller), 1924, oil on wood, 45.7 × 45.8 cm. Gift of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). Photo: MAC USP—Romulo Fialdini.

belonged to Sarfatti.[13] *L'indovina*, purchased at Galleria Il Milione in 1946, was the lens through which the collection was interpreted because of its direct connections to Sarfatti's taste and the dissemination of her notion of Novecento Italiano in South America.

Brazilian critics reaffirmed the association of Italian modern art with Italy's classicizing traditions at the presentation of MAM's paintings that ran parallel to a series of other exhibitions that toured the region in the aftermath of the Second World War (1946–1951). This was the case with *Exposição de Pintura Italiana Moderna*, organized by Bardi at the Ministry of Education and Health in Rio de Janeiro in May 1947.[14] A review by Brazilian art critic Mário Pedrosa reminded his readers of the connections between Funi and the Italian Renaissance:

> Achiles [*sic*] Funi was born in Ferrara, and grew through the study and improvement of the classics of his own motherland, starting with Cosme Tura, the head of the Ferrara school in the quattrocento. … Funi imbibed this absorbing stylistic concern that makes him both a modern and a renaissance artist.[15]

Better known for his engagement with abstract art, Pedrosa exceptionally acknowledged Funi and other artists in Bardi's show, detaching them from connections with fascism.[16] His attention to these trends echoes the São Paulo group of painters who were at the forefront of the creation of MAM together with Matarazzo: The Grupo Santa Helena, formed by immigrants and artists associated with the working-class neighborhoods of São Paulo. Supported by São Paulo art critics and protagonists of the Semana de Arte Moderna de 1922, Mário de Andrade and Sérgio Milliet, the Grupo Santa Helena focused on landscapes and still lifes, and were key to the idea of a São Paulo painting school of classicizing modes.[17] Their ideas resonate with Arturo Tosi's *Ponte di Zoagli* (Zoagli Bridge), 1937 (Figure 8.3), also purchased by Matarazzo and first presented in São Paulo at the Italian delegation pavilion in a 1937 exhibition celebrating fifty years of immigration in the state of São Paulo.[18] Tosi's work was taken as a reference for the São Paulo painters for its "Cézannist" style, appreciated by Sarfatti and linked

Figure 8.3 Arturo Tosi, *Ponte di Zoagli* (Zoagli Bridge), 1937, oil on canvas, 70 × 90 cm. Gift of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). Photo: MAC USP—Romulo Fialdini.

to his works in European touring exhibitions of Italian modern art in the 1930s that highlighted his "Italianness."[19] Despite its contradictions, both Tosi's *Cézannisme* and Italianness were at the core of Sarfatti's argument that his work was key to her notion of Novecento Italiano.

If Novecento Italiano was received in Brazil in the same context as Sarfatti's exhibitions in Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Montevideo, where the promotion of her book *Storia della pittura moderna* (1930) was openly discussed in the Brazilian press, its local interpretation was most impacted by other exhibitions organized by the Italian government abroad in the 1930s and 40s, where the connections between the Renaissance and modernity were made to justify the prominence of Italian art. This is the case for at least two exhibitions that were known to Brazilian circles. The first was the 1935 inauguration of the Galerie d'Art Italien Contemporain at the Jeu de Paume that ran parallel to an exhibition of Italian Renaissance art and which resulted in the so-called Sarmiento Donation to French public collections.[20] The second exhibition took place at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, less than one year after the city's World's Fair presented modern Italian art and architecture to a global audience. In 1939 Italians showed their most celebrated modern artists, while in 1940 the most precious Renaissance artworks were displayed in MoMA's galleries.[21] Events like these helped enhance an idea of continuity between tradition and modernity in Italy, which was also conveyed in the exhibitions of Italian modern art that toured South America in the late 1940s.[22]

These exhibitions recall the support that the Italian Fascist government had previously provided for private collections of modern Italian art in the second half of the 1930s, which resulted in the creation of a public award accompanied by the presentation of some of the works at the Galleria di Roma in the early 1940s, and in which the collections of Carlo Cardazzo and Rino Valdameri were shown to the Roman public.[23] In the first purchases Bardi made for Matarazzo, for instance, there are seven paintings from Cardazzo's collection, including at least three shown in two exhibitions that received great appreciation from Italian art critics in the 1930s and early 1940s.[24]

In the Matarazzo purchases, works that once belonged to Cardazzo and Valdameri appear among other names that had formed collections of Italian modern art in the 1930s, such as those of gallerist and collector Vittorio Barbaroux and collector Alberto della Ragione. The formation of such collections in the 1930s consolidated a postwar narrative of modern Italian art embedded in classical tradition.[25]

In this context, it is worth comparing Matarazzo's purchases with della Ragione's collection. Della Ragione, like Matarazzo, was a businessman, with a background as an engineer.[26] His collection was shown for the first time in the famous exhibition of private collections at Cortina d'Ampezzo in 1941. He also sponsored the Gruppo Corrente di Vita Giovanile and supported the creation of the Galleria della Spiga e Corrente, through which he played an important role in fostering young artists who were at the core of Corrente since 1939. These were artists Renato Birolli, Aligi Sassu, and Bruno Cassinari, with the participation of Renato Guttuso in the early 1940s. They were interested in reconnecting with the international avant-garde groups (especially in France) and were engaged in antifascist activities in Italy. A still life by Guttuso now

in São Paulo—alongside Modigliani's self-portrait, a still life by Ardengo Soffici, and a painting by Scipione—connects the Matarazzo purchases with the collection of della Ragione. Guttuso's *Natura morta con lume* (Still life with lantern, 1940, Figure 8.4) was purchased by Matarazzo at Galleria della Spiga in 1946. It was painted while Guttuso was under the protection of della Ragione in Genoa to avoid being arrested by the police for his antifascist activities. Guttuso had started painting still lifes in his Roman studio as early as 1938, and they are connected to his studies for his *Crocifissione* (Crucifixion, 1941, now at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome), a large composition with a still life in the lower front, for which Guttuso was awarded the

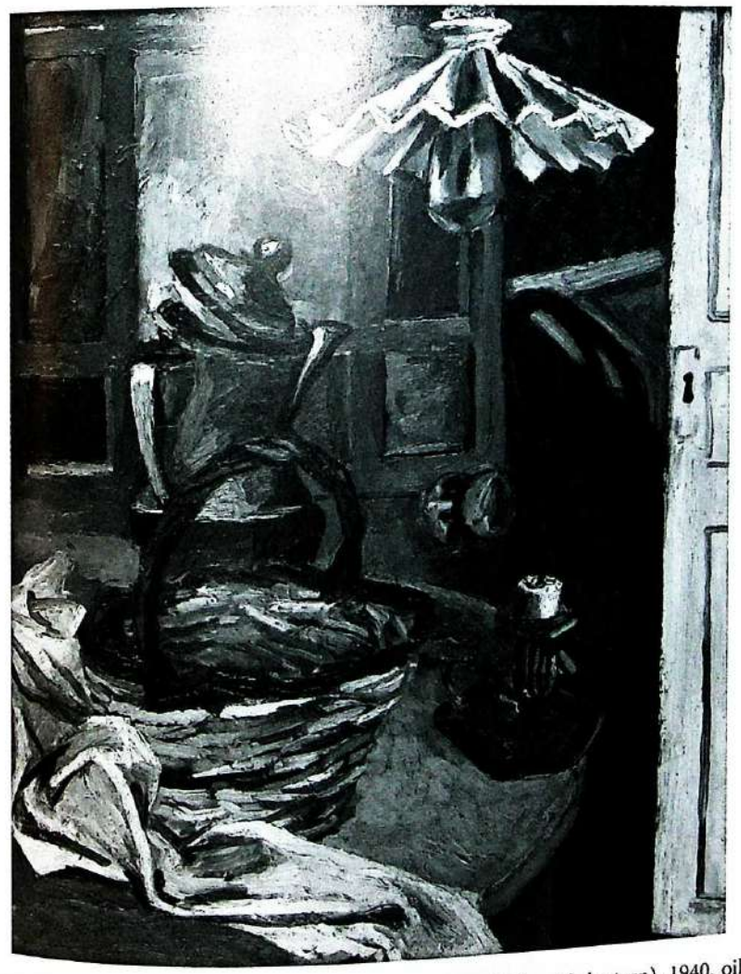

Figure 8.4 Renato Guttuso, *Natura morta con lume* (Still life with lantern), 1940, oil on wood, 60.7 × 48.5 cm. Gift of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). Photo: MAC USP—Romulo Fialdini.

Premio Bergamo in 1942.[27] Its contorted forms and complex composition were already present in his experimentation with smaller still life paintings and reappeared in the series of illustrations that he made for the album *Gott mit uns* (God with us) in 1945.[28]

The other painting from della Ragione's collection that should be considered here is Scipione's *Oceano indiano* (Indian Ocean, 1930, Figure 8.5). It is through correspondence between della Ragione and the director of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome, Palma Bucarelli, while she was organizing a retrospective of the artist in 1954, that the collector confirmed the painting once belonged to him.[29] Scipione had painted it to take part in the *Prima mostra dell'animale nell'arte* at the Roman zoo in 1930.[30] The exhibition was an initiative of the director of the Roman zoo as an attempt—within the framework of the requalification of the institution—to raise funds for its renovation and as the first of a series of art exhibitions inside the park to promote Italy as a colonizing empire.[31] It presented a large group of artworks

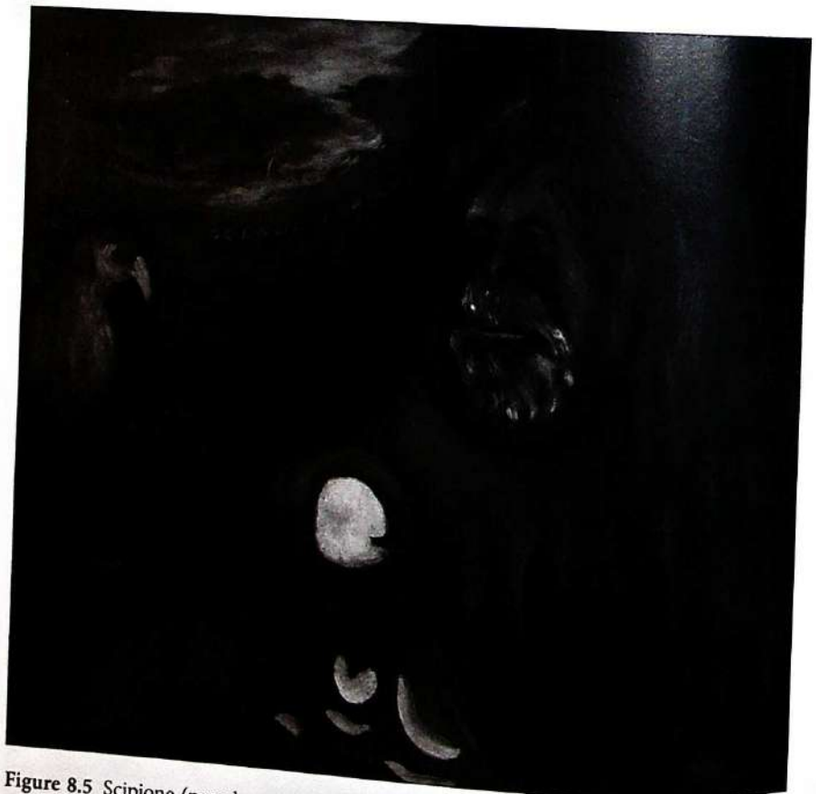

Figure 8.5 Scipione (pseudonym for Gino Bonichi), *Oceano indiano/I sognatori* (Indian Ocean/The Dreamers), 1930, oil on wood, 54.2 × 59.7 cm. Gift of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). Photo: MAC USP—Romulo Fialdini.

dating from ancient Rome in the tradition of the so-called "animalist" artists while also creating an award for young Italian artists, who were competing for a year of stipend in the Roman zoo. The many images of the works published in the exhibition catalog are mostly of realist-like paintings and sculptures. Scipione's painting stands out for its surrealist approach and expressionistic qualities, starting from its original title, *I sognatori* (The Dreamers). The title "*Oceano indiano*," adopted when it came to Brazil, was written in the background as the caption of an imaginary island or peninsula. On the right side of the composition is a melancholic orangutan. On the left is a parrot against a red sky. The painting is a kind of allegory, and the figure of the orangutan is anthropomorphized, bearing a gray beard. Whether it plays with the self-portrait of the artist is open to interpretation. In any case, the painting is somewhat caricatural and seems to be making open comments on Italy's colonial ambitions: the Indian Ocean bathed Erithraia, the Italian colony in Africa, which would later have its territory augmented by the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. These elements gain an ironic quality when one thinks of Scipione's title.

Through works like Guttuso's and Scipione's, the Matarazzo purchases for MAM go far beyond Sarfatti's Novecento Italiano, and some of which were definitely anti-Novecento. This is especially true for the artists of the so-called Scuola di Via Cavour, rebranded and amplified as Scuola Romana di Pittura during the 1930s. In this sense, Bardi's eye may have come in handy. In the case of Scipione, Bardi's role as the director of the Galleria d'Arte di Roma allowed him to arrange the artist's first exhibition in an institutional context, together with his partner Mario Mafai, in 1931. Their names would reappear together in the framework of the activities of Galleria La Cometa (1935–39) in Rome; sponsored by Countess Anna Laetitia Pecci-Blunt, and with artist Corrado Cagli as its main idealizer, the gallery promoted new trends in Roman circles and played an important role in fostering modern art in the Italian capital.[32]

Curating Fascism Today

When *Classicismo, realismo, vanguarda* toured to Brasília in November 2018, the political climate had shifted again and the country saw the transition to a civilian presidency of clear fascist modes with blatant references to totalitarian regimes of the 1930s in Germany and Italy, while also pulling the strings of populist policies—just like Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas's *Estado Novo* did in those days of the emergence of modern art institutions in the country.[33]

The show, held in Brazil's capital, had to deal with the discomfort of the situation. To overcome it, the educational program proposed a series of activities in which issues of depictions of the body, landscape, and portraiture in the paintings provided a way to talk about gender, self-expression, and subjectivity. Scipione's *Oceano indiano (I sognatori)*, for instance, gained yet another meaning as we engaged the audience to relate it to other paintings in the collection through its surrealist and expressionist aspects. The way we have now proposed to read it might not have been possible if it were not for the many conversations undertaken with the educational coordinators.

It is clear to us now that the reading of the output of these artists through classicizing trends helped reinforce their conservatism and would make their connection to fascism last forever. The fact that they formed a collection of *paintings* is also key for their perception as conservative. In addition to this, they are mostly small-format paintings that privileged the genres of landscape and still life, which tend to stress their understanding as components of a private collection—conceived for a domestic space, not for museum walls. This might be why Guttuso, Scipione, Rafael, Sassu, and Birolli were easily assimilated into Novecento Italiano. To shed more light on their contribution to the narrative of the visual arts in the twentieth century, it is thus vital to reconstruct their complexity.

Notes

1 There are numerous biographies dedicated to Sarfatti, the most resourceful of which are Philip Cannistraro and Brian Sullivan, *Il Duce's Other Woman* (New York: William Morrow, 1993); and Simona d'Urso, *Margherita Sarfatti: dal mito del Dux al mito americano* (Venice: Marsilio, 2003).

2 See Margherita Sarfatti, *Storia della pittura moderna* (Rome: Cremonese, 1930).

3 Francisco "Ciccillo" Matarazzo Sobrinho (1898–1977) was born into a family of Italian immigrants from the province of Salerno who made their fortune in Brazil. Ciccillo spearheaded modernizing initiatives in São Paulo in the late 1940s and 1950s, sponsoring the foundation of MAM, the Bienal de São Paulo, and the National Film Archive, among other cultural institutions in the city.

4 See Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, *Classicismo, realismo, vanguarda: pintura italiana no entreguerras*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: MAC USP/Pró-Reitoria de Cultura e Extensão, 2013; 2nd edn., 2018).

5 Aracy Amaral, ed., *Perfil de um acervo* (São Paulo: Techint, 1988).

6 Walter Zanini, ed., *Homenagem a Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: MAC USP, 1977).

7 Aracy Amaral, ed., *Artistas italianos na coleção do MAC*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: MAC USP, 1985).

8 Annateresa Fabris, "A arte italiana no acervo do MAC," in Amaral, ed., *Artistas italianos*, 12, which quotes Sarfatti from Rossana Bossaglia, *Novecento Italiano* (Milan: Mondadori, 1979), 23.

9 President Tancredo Neves died before he was to be inaugurated. He had been projected by the Brazilian media as a defender of democracy due to his appearances during the popular manifestations of the free elections campaign that took to the streets of the country in early 1984, which were later defeated in congress. This process marked the transition of the country to democracy, which, despite its fragility, gave birth in 1988 to the most advanced constitution the country had ever had.

10 See "Relatório da Comissão Nacional da Verdade," Comissão Nacional da Verdade, December 10, 2014, http://cnv.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/ (accessed April 26, 2022).

11 Bardi made his career as an art critic and gallerist during the fascist era. He was nominated the first director of the Galleria d'Arte di Roma (the gallery of the fascist artists' trade union) in 1931. In 1946 he emigrated to Brazil and became the first director of the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (São Paulo Museum of Art, MASP), founded in 1947. See Paolo Rusconi, "'Un'idea del Brasile': Pietro Maria Bardi's second life," *MODOS: Revista de História da Arte* 4, no. 1 (2020): 241–53, https://www.doi.org/10.24978/mod.v4i1.4537 (accessed April 26, 2022).

12 Modigliani was not favored by Sarfatti. For a study on Modigliani's provenance, see Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, Marcia de Almeida Rizzutto, Dalva Lúcia Araújo de Faria, and Pedro Herzilio Ottoni Viviani de Campos, "Tracing the Material History of MAC USP's *Self-Portrait* by Amedeo Modigliani," *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material* 27 (2019): 1–37, https://www.revistas.usp.br/anaismp/article/view/150331 (accessed May 15, 2022).

13 See *Arte moderna italiana: a cura di Funi* [essay by Margherita Sarfatti] (Milan: Hoepli Editori, 1925). On Funi's *La Regina* compared with *Figura*, see Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, "Achille Funi nella collezione del MAC USP," in *L'Uomo Nero: Materiali per una storia delle arti della modernità*, ed. Antonello Negri (Milan: CUEM, 2011), 349–58.

14 See Pietro Maria Bardi, ed., *Exposição de Pintura Italiana Moderna*, exh. cat. (Rio de Janeiro: Studio d'Arte Palma, May 1947).

15 Mário Pedrosa, "Funi, ou o estilo através das épocas," *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro), May 30, 1947. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

16 Pedrosa (1900–1981) was a Trotskyist and political activist who played a central role in antifascist movements in Brazil in the late 1930s, which resulted in his exile in the United States during the Second World War. See Otília Fiori Arantes, *Mário Pedrosa: Itinerário crítico* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2004).

17 The Semana de Arte Moderna de 1922 (The Week of Modern Art of 1922) was taken as the milestone of modern art in Brazilian art historiography, while Mário de Andrade (1893–1945) and Sérgio Milliet (1898–1966) are two of the most important modern art critics for this narrative. On the Grupo Santa Helena, see Walter Zanini, *Arte no Brasil nas décadas de 1930–40: O Grupo Santa Helena* (São Paulo: Nobel/Edusp, 1991). For a reevaluation of these painters and their connections to Italy and the São Paulo industrial elite, see Patrícia Martins Santos Freitas, "O Grupo Santa Helena e o universo industrial paulista (1930–1970)" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2011). Parallel to Matarazzo's purchases in Italy, he also acquired works by the Grupo Santa Helena artists for MAM.

18 For a study of works by Tosi in the MAC USP collections, see Dúnia Roquetti Saroute, "Política e Arte: Arturo Tosi na Coleção do Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo" (master's thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Graduate Program of Aesthetics and Art History, MAC USP, São Paulo, 2015). See also *Esposizione commemorativa del cinquantenario dell'immigrazione ufficiale São Paulo del Brasile. Mostra d'arte del padiglione Italia*, exh. cat. (São Paulo, 1937).

19 This is the case in the exhibition catalog of *22 artistes italiens modernes* (Paris: Bernheim & Cie, 1932), to which French art critic Waldemar George wrote the foreword, saying that the Italian artists were "the enemy brothers of the painters of the North, their art proves, once and for all, that Romanness or Italianness are synonyms of universality." My translation from the French.

20 For a study of this exhibition and the Sarmiento donation, see Emily Braun, "Leonardo's Smile," in *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in Visual Culture in Fascist Italy*, ed. Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 173–87; and 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*, ed. Catherine Fraixe, Lucia Piccioni, and Christophe Poupault (Paris/Brussels: INHA / P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2014), 195–224.

21 *Italian Masters Lent by the Royal Italian Government*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January–March 1940, of which installation images are available at https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2978?locale=pt (accessed Apr. 26, 2022). See Raffaele Bedarida, "Export/Import: The Promotion of Contemporary Italian Art in the United States, 1935–1969" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2016). The exhibition originated in San Francisco along with the modern artworks shown at the New York World's Fair in 1939.

22 This is the case of Bardi's initiatives upon his arrival in Brazil. In November 1946 he first organized the exhibition *Exposição de Pintura Italiana Antiga* (Exhibition of Italian Old Painting). See Pietro Maria Bardi, ed., *Exposição de Pintura Italiana Antiga*, exh. cat. (Rio de Janeiro: Studio di Arte Palma, November 1946).

23 The Italian government's promotion of these private collections was made official after the *Mostra delle Collezioni d'Arte Contemporanea* at Cortina d'Ampezzo through a program of awards created by Giuseppe Bottai, himself a collector of modern Italian art and Minister of National Education. See Danka Giacon, "Cortina, 1941," *L'Uomo Nero: Materiali per una storia delle arti della modernità* 3, no. 2 (September 2005): 51–68. See also *XLIII Mostra della Galleria di Roma con opere della raccolta di Carlo Cardazzo, Venezia*, text by Giuseppe Marchiori, exh. cat. (April 1941); and *LI–LII Mostra della Galleria di Roma con opere della collezione dell'avv. R. Valdameri*, text by Massimo Bontempelli, exh. cat. (June/July 1942). Venetian publisher Carlo Cardazzo (1908–63) became a dealer and collector of great prestige in the late 1930s and was renowned internationally in the 1950s, as he befriended US collector and dealer Peggy Guggenheim. See Luca Massimo Barbero, ed., *Carlo Cardazzo: una nuova visione dell'arte*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 2008). Rino Valdameri (1889–1943) was a lawyer who built his collection of modern Italian art in Milan in the 1930s. See Caterina Caputo, "Shaping an Identity for Italian Contemporary Art during the Interwar Period: Rino Valdameri's Collection," *Italian Modern Art* 4 (July 2020), https://www.italianmodernart.org/journal/articles/shaping-an-identity-for-italian-contemporary-art-during-the-interwar-period-rino-valdameris-collection/ (accessed April 26, 2022).

24 The first was at the *Mostra delle Collezioni d'Arte Contemporanea at Cortina d'Ampezzo*, and then at the Galleria di Roma in the same year.

25 See, for instance, Davide Lacagnina's analysis of the perception of these collections through reviews in *Emporium* (one of the most important journals of its kind in the first half of the twentieth century in Italy). Davide Lacagnina, "Arte moderna italiana: collezionismo e storiografia fra le pagine di 'Emporium' (1938–43)," in *Emporium: Parole e figure tra il 1895 e il 1964*, ed. G. Bacci and M. Fileti Mazza (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2014), 455–80.

26 Chiara Toti, *Alberto della Ragione. Collezionista e mecenate del Novecento* (Florence: Olschki, 2017).

27 See Enrico Crispolti, ed., *Catalogo Ragionato Generale dei dipinti di Renato Guttuso*, 3 vols. (Milan: Mondadori, 1983). For the relationship between Guttuso and della Ragione, see Luciano Caprile, ed., *Guttuso a Genova nel nome della Ragione*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1985). The Premio Bergamo was created by Giuseppe Bottai in 1939 as a more liberal counterpart to the Premio Cremona, which was conceived by extremist right-wing Roberto Farinacci in that same year with the explicit aim of celebrating the "deeds" and "conquests" of the Fascist regime.

28 Renato Guttuso, *Guttuso: Gott mit uns* (Rome: La Margherita Libreria Editrice, 1945).

29 See letter of Alberto della Ragione to Palma Bucarelli, February 9, 1954, Archivio della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome: "From the various paintings by Scipione that belonged to me, but not for some time, I can say what follows: ... 'Mappamondo con uccello esotico' ... ," next to which there is *Montevideo* in handwriting. My translation from Italian. An article dedicated to unknown Scipione's works, published by Giuseppe Marchiori is the source to suggest that della Ragione's *Mappamondo con uccello esotico* was at a museum in Montevideo, Uruguay, and that it was actually *Oceano indiano*; see Giuseppe Marchiori, "Presentazione di alcuni inediti di Scipione," *Emporium* (November 1948): 226–32. *Oceano indiano* is reproduced as figure 10, titled *L'orango* by Marchiori. That the painting was understood as being at a museum in Montevideo might be linked to Sarfatti's mediation for the Matarazzo purchases, as the Uruguayan capital was her summer home.

30 See the *Catalogo illustrato Prima Mostra dell'animale nell'arte*, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Giardino Zoologico di Roma (March–April 1930), plate no. 12.

31 See Giorgio Rossetti, *Dal giardino zoologico al bioparco: Storia e architettura dello zoo di Roma* (Viterbo: BetaGamma Editrice, 1998).

32 Lucia Cavazzi, ed., *Una collezionista e mecenate romana.: Anna Laetitia Pecci-Blunt*, exh. cat. (Rome: Museo di Roma, 1991); and Maria Catalano, Federica Pirani, and Assunta Porciani, eds., *Libero de Libero e gli artisti della Cometa* (Rome: Galleria d'Arte Moderna di Roma Capitale, 2014). Sarfatti would attend the exhibitions of Galleria La Cometa, though not necessarily supporting its artists. Her connection to the gallery might have come through Corrado Cagli, who was a guest at her villa in Como in the summer of 1936, where he painted landscapes and still lifes. *Paesaggio* (1936) is probably one of them, purchased by Matarazzo and in the collections of MAC USP today.

33 As this essay was being written, President Jair Bolsonaro's links to fascism have become very concrete, as he received the leader of the ultra right-wing German party, Beatrix von Storch, the granddaughter of Hitler's Finance Minister.