

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

Permanent WRAP URL:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/163757>

Copyright and reuse:

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

Cinematic Imagery and the Weekly Press in Post-War Italy:

Production Sites, Processes and People, 1950-1965

Silvia M. Magistrali

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in Film and Television Studies

Department of Film and Television Studies

The University of Warwick

April 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	IV
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	V
DECLARATION	IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	X
ABSTRACT	XII
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ‘VISUALITY’ IN THE PERIODICAL PRESS	
Introduction	16
1.1 An International Overview	17
1.2 The United States and the Development of the Press Industry	21
1.2.1 <i>Visual Contaminations</i>	23
1.2.2 <i>Time, Life and Look: From the Sensationalistic to the Everyday</i>	26
1.3 The Periodical Press in the United Kingdom	29
1.3.1 <i>Toward an Expanded Communication</i>	30
1.3.2 <i>An Age of Curiosity</i>	32
1.4 The French Model	36
1.5 The Application to the Italian Case	42
Conclusion	44
CHAPTER 2: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE INDUSTRY IN POST-WAR ITALY	
Introduction	47
2.1 The Rise of Mondadori and Rizzoli, and the Case of <i>Epoca</i>	50
2.2 Angelo Rizzoli’s Post-War Journalism and the Rise of Soft News	65
2.3 Product Diversification and Celebrity Culture	72
2.4 An Industrial Magazine Culture	80
Conclusion	86
CHAPTER 3: THE PRESENCE OF CINEMA IN THE WEEKLY PRESS	
Introduction	90

3.1 The Flow of Cinema in the Illustrated Press: <i>Oggi</i> and <i>L'Europeo</i>	93
3.2 The Covers: Healthy Modernity and Modern <i>Malaise</i>	99
3.3 Novelisation: From Cineromances to the Director's Gaze	108
3.4 Famous Couples between Familiarisation and Provocation	122
Conclusion	131
CHAPTER 4: CINERIZ AND RIZZOLI: MARKETING AND PRESS STRATEGIES	
Introduction	134
4.1 The Cineriz Press Office in the Rizzoli System	138
4.2 The System of Images in Posters	149
4.3 Cineriz and Rizzoli Editore: Pressbooks, Magazine Advertising and Press	161
Reviews	
Conclusion	174
CHAPTER 5: THE ARCHIVE AT THE CORE OF ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINES	
Introduction	176
5.1 At the Origins of the Archive: The Publishing World and Image Management	179
5.2 The Archive as the Brain of the Rizzoli Company	185
5.3 Photographic Prints and Picture Selection	193
5.4 The Treatment of Films in the Files of the Archive	201
Conclusion	208
CONCLUSION	210
PRIMARY SOURCES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND FILMOGRAPHY	214

ABBREVIATIONS

ACZ	Archivio Cesare Zavattini
AFCdS	Archivio Fondazione Corriere della Sera
AFCN	Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale
AME	Archivio Storico AME e Il Saggiatore
BLC	Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini
CdRcs	Centro Documentazione Rcs Mediagroup
CSC	Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia
FAAM	Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori
FC	Fondo Cineriz
MAM	Miscellanea Alberto Mondadori
RS	Rassegna Stampa

A note about referencing

In view of the nature of the archival material that I have included in this thesis, some of my referencing is irregular. I studied press reviews that have been preserved at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinema, at Rizzoli's and Mondadori's Documentation Centres. Many articles lacked pieces of information, including page numbers. Where it was impossible for me to obtain this information, I have indicated the archival reference.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.1	Duilio Pallottelli, Oriana Fallaci with Federico Fellini and Michelangelo Antonioni, CdRcs. © L'Europeo RCS/Ph.Duilio Pallottelli.	13
1.2	Cineriz photographic documentation of <i>La dolce vita</i> poster campaign (1960). Courtesy of Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale.	15
2.1	Jules Grandjouan, drawing for the special issue 'Un peu de publicité', <i>Le Rire</i> , 16 August 1906, pp. 8-9; a newsstand in 1964.	18
2.2	<i>Life</i> , 19 June 1944, cover.	28
2.3	'How Picture Post is Produced', <i>Picture Post</i> , 24 December 1938, p. 44. © Photo by Kurt Hutton/Picture Post/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.	35
2.4	<i>Match</i> , 6 October 1938, cover.	41
3.1	Riccardo Ricas and Angelo Rizzoli, 1964-1966, gelatin silver print, Private collection of Paola Ricas.	50
3.2	Emilio Sommariva, Portrait of Angelo Rizzoli, Milan, 1932, carbon print, Biblioteca nazionale Braidense.	52
3.3	Emilio Sommariva, Portrait of Arnaldo Mondadori, Milan, 1932, gelatin silver bromide print, Biblioteca nazionale Braidense.	52
3.4	Covers of <i>Novella</i> : 10 January 1920; 15 July 1942; 16 September 1960.	55
3.5	'Miracolo a Milano', <i>Epoca</i> , 14 October 1950, pp. 39; 41. Photographs by Giacomo P. Pellini and Angelo Pennoni.	61
3.6	Covers of <i>Epoca</i> , 14 October 1950; <i>Oggi</i> , 28 September 1950, and <i>L'Europeo</i> , 11 March 1951.	64
3.7	Publifoto, Edilio Rusconi and Sophia Loren on the occasion of the actress's visit in Milan, 22 December 1954. Courtesy of Archivio Publifoto Intesa Sanpaolo.	71
3.8	Michele Serra and Giorgio Trevisani at the editorial offices of <i>L'Europeo</i> , 1954-1958, gelatin silver print, CdRcs.	76
3.9	Angelo Rizzoli 'toasting with his workers' the success of <i>Oggi</i> , which has for the third time exceeded one million copies sold in 1959, <i>Pagine nostre</i> , October 1970, p. 5.	82
3.10	The opening of the Rizzoli bookshop on Fifth Avenue in New York, in 1964. Among the others are visible Riccardo Ricas, Domenico Porzio, Oriana Fallaci,	83

	Walter Chiari and Luciano Bianciardi, gelatin silver print, Private collection of Paola Ricas.	
3.11	Riccardo Ricas demonstrates the structure of the new buildings Rizzoli in the early 1960s, gelatin silver print, Private collection of Paola Ricas.	84
3.12	Employees working in Rizzoli's specialised departments (monotypists), c. 1966-1967, CdRcs.	86
4.1	'Divorce: Pro and Against', <i>Oggi</i> , 13 November 1953, p. 12. The image is related to the film <i>Creature from the Black Lagoon</i> (Jack Arnold, 1954).	96
4.2	'Nausicaa calls Ulisse', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 12 July 1953, cover.	97
4.3	'Roberto and Ingrid in the Cave of the Sibyl', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 12 March 1953, pp. 34-35.	97
4.4	'Gina Lollobrigida Will Read the Future in the Lines of the Palm', <i>Oggi</i> , 16 August 1951, cover.	99
4.5	The containment of Martine Carol's Neckline on the cover of <i>Oggi</i> , 19 November 1953, cover.	101
4.6	'At Silvana Mangano's Home for the New Year ...', <i>Oggi</i> , 10 January 1952, cover.	102
4.7	'Two Weeks at Miami for Anna Maria Pierangeli', <i>Oggi</i> , 12 April 1956, cover.	102
4.8	'Myriam Red Cross Nurse', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 3 July 1955, cover.	106
4.9	'Gina Lollobrigida <i>Venere imperiale</i> ', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 16 April 1961, cover.	106
4.10	'May Britt', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 2 July 1961, cover.	106
4.11	'Liz Taylor Will Adopt an Italian Girl Named Maria', <i>Oggi</i> , 25 January 1962, cover.	107
4.12	'Gina no Longer Wants to Follow Her Husband's Advice', <i>Oggi</i> , 14 February 1963, cover.	107
4.13	'Guareschi Presents Don Camillo', <i>Oggi</i> , 13 March 1952, pp. 12-14.	114
4.14	'In His New Film <i>L'eclisse</i> , Antonioni Narrates the Drama of a Woman no Longer Capable of Loving', <i>Oggi</i> , 19 April 1962, pp. 62-63.	117
4.15	Michelangelo Antonioni, 'My Desert', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 16 August 1964, CdRcs.	122
4.16	'In a Month I Will Be Mrs Antonioni', <i>Oggi</i> , 30 January 1964, p. 19.	128
4.17	Evaristo Fusar, photograph for the article 'The Souls of the Red Desert', <i>L'Europeo</i> , [24 November 1963], CdRcs. © L'Europeo RCS/Ph. Evaristo Fusar.	129
4.18	'We All Have Giulietta's Spirits', <i>Annabella</i> , October 1965, CdRcs.	130
5.1	Gina Lollobrigida on Angelo Rizzoli's yacht, Il Sereno, CdRcs.	135
5.2	Vittorio De Sica (Ingegner Occhipinti) in <i>Vacanze a Ischia</i> (1957), CdRcs.	144

5.3	Postcard showing Rizzoli's hotel Regina Isabella at Lacco Ameno (Ischia), Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini.	144
5.4	Launch plan of <i>Vacanze a Ischia</i> , sketch with suggestions for the venue dressing, Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini.	145
5.5	Cinema decorated in Genova for the release of <i>Vacanze a Ischia</i> , gelatin silver print, Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini.	146
5.6	<i>Vacanze a Ischia</i> (1957). Poster by Averardo Ciriello. © Rizzoli Film/Webphoto.	149
5.7	Lobby cards of <i>Vacanze a Ischia</i> (1957) and <i>La dolce vita</i> (1960).	150
5.8	Decorated cinema for the release of <i>La dolce vita</i> (1960). Courtesy of Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale.	152
5.9	<i>La dolce vita</i> (1960). Poster by Sandro Simeoni. © Riama Film/Webphoto.	154
5.10	<i>La dolce vita</i> (1960). Poster by Giorgio Olivetti. © Riama Film/Webphoto.	154
5.11	<i>La dolce vita</i> (1960). Poster by Giorgio Olivetti. © Riama Film/Webphoto.	154
5.12	Cinema with posters of <i>La dolce vita</i> (1960). Courtesy of Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale.	156
5.13	Lobby card of <i>La dolce vita</i> (1960).	158
5.14	Lobby card of <i>La dolce vita</i> (1960).	158
5.15	<i>Venere imperiale</i> (1962). Italian advertising campaign. On the left: Poster by Giorgio Olivetti. © Rizzoli Film/Webphoto.	159
5.16	<i>Venere imperiale</i> (1962). French advertising campaign. Poster by Charles Rau.	159
5.17	Poster of <i>8 ½</i> (1963). [Poster by Gigi De Santis]. © Rizzoli Film/Webphoto.	160
5.18	Pressbook of <i>Femmine di lusso</i> (1960), cover, CdRcs.	161
5.19	Magazine ad of <i>La dolce vita</i> , <i>Oggi</i> , 21 January 1960, p. 30.	162
5.20	'The director Federico Fellini discussing some details about <i>La dolce vita</i> with the actor Marcello Mastroianni...', <i>Oggi</i> , 13 November 1958.	166
5.21	Brochure of <i>La dolce vita</i> (1960), artwork by Fabrizio Clerici, Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini.	169
5.22	'Gina Interprets Paolina with Such Enthusiasm ...', <i>Oggi</i> , 21 June 1962, cover.	172
6.1	Evaristo Fusar, Cesare Zavattini and Oriana Fallaci (detail of a contact print, photo shoot of Evaristo Fusar for L'Europeo, September 1963), 1963, gelatin silver print, CdRcs. © L'Europeo RCS/Ph. Evaristo Fusar.	177
6.2	Primo Carnera at the editorial office of <i>Il Secolo Illustrato</i> , gelatin silver print, CdRcs.	180

6.3	Vittorio De Sica and Giuditta Rissone at editorial office of <i>Il Milione</i> , 1939, gelatin silver print, Centro Documentazione Mondadori.	183
6.4	Rizzoli Documentation Centre in 1963-1964, CdRcs.	186
6.5	Rizzoli Documentation Centre in 1963-1964, CdRcs.	187
6.6	Rizzoli Documentation Centre, c. 1967, CdRcs.	190
6.7	Farabola, The editorial staff of <i>Oggi</i> , 1946-1955, CdRcs.	194
6.8	Farabola, Domenico Porzio at <i>Oggi</i> editorial office, c. 1961, CdRcs.	194
6.9	The entrance of Gina Lollobrigida's house, 1955, CdRcs.	196
6.10	Giancolombo, photograph selected for the article 'Cannes. Lollobrigida's Arrival for the Presentation of Pane, amore e fantasia...', <i>L'Europeo</i> , 4 April 1954. Courtesy of Archivio Giancolombo.	197
6.11	Monica Vitti at the University of Milan during the debate about <i>L'eclisse</i> . Roberto Leydi, <i>L'Europeo</i> , 22 April 1962, pp. 70-71. Photograph by Gianfranco Moroldo.	198
6.12	Rizzoli's advertising director Riccardo Ricas (at the centre) between <i>L'Europeo's</i> editor Giorgio Fattori (on the left) and the editor in chief Tommaso Giglio (on the right), 1960-1966, CdRcs.	200
6.13	Raf Vallone with two Milan football players in one of the prints selected for the photo essay of <i>Gli eroi della Domenica</i> , <i>Oggi</i> , 1 January 1953, CdRcs.	202
6.14	'The Retired Man and the Girl', photographic print selected for the back cover of <i>Oggi</i> , 25 May 1951, CdRcs.	204
6.15	' <i>La dolce vita</i> the Most Brilliant Film of Italian Cinema', <i>Oggi</i> , 11 February 1960, pp. 32-33.	206
6.16	Italpress (Mario Coppini), People queuing in front of a cinema for the premiere of <i>La dolce vita</i> , CdRcs.	208

DECLARATION

This thesis is submitted in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Film and Television Studies. I declare that the material contained within it is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by funding from the Wolfson Foundation Scholarship. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to those who made this scholarship and the receipt of it possible, allowing me to situate my studies in the context of a vibrant and stimulating international environment.

My deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Stephen Gundle, for his support, guidance, and for the time he has dedicated to this project. His brilliant insights have introduced me to new and extremely fascinating perspectives. I would also like to thank all the staff in the Department of Film and Television Studies at the University of Warwick. In particular, my gratitude goes to Rachel Moseley and to Karl Schoonover, for sharing and encouraging my interest in popular forms of visual storytelling, to Lynsey Willmore, Tracey McVey and Richard Perkins, for their continuous assistance and supportive presence.

The idea of this thesis emerged during my years at the RCS and Corriere della Sera archives: the people I met during the archival and curatorial projects, in collaboration with Fondazione del Corriere and Francesca Tramma, have made me understand how lively and fulfilling a work environment can be. I am grateful to Centro Documentazione and Cristina Bariani for her trust and precious suggestions. Sonia Orlandi, my deepest thanks to her for sharing with me her archival knowledge about Rizzoli's documentation centre. This thesis would not have been possible without her friendship and tenacious support, together with the inspiring presence and continuous encouragement of Giovanni Boserio, Giovanna Ginex and Antonella Pelizzari. In the context of Rizzoli, enriching conversations have also taken place with Penny Morris and Jessica Harris, whose friendship was crucial during these last years. I remember with great pleasure the dialogues with many employees (delivery men, journalists, porters, workers...) who showed me how it was to be part of a big publishing community.

I am extremely grateful to many Italian Institutions and people who supported me during this research. I am very appreciative for the assistance and suggestions of Debora De Montis, Mauro Frau and Laura Pompei (Biblioteca Chiarini); thanks also to Antonella Felicioni and Viridiana Rotondi (Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale). Among many other institutions, I am indebted to Annalisa Cavazzuti and Tiziano Chiesa (Fondazione Alberto e

Arnoldo Mondadori), Alberto Guareschi, Sabino Labia (Centro Documentazione Mondadori), Edoardo Perazzi, Maria Ritucci (Biblioteca Centrale 'Sormani'); my thanks to Arianna De Mattia (WebPhoto), Serena Berno (Intesa San Paolo), Maria Grazia Carlone (Milan State Archive), Evaristo Fusar, Catia Giacomini, Patrick Giaccone (Emeroteca del '900), Susanna Giancolombo, Laila Mantovani, Federica Moscolin (Civico Museo Revoltella), Marina Nicoli (Università Bocconi), Sonia Paitoni and Mariafrancesca Sereni (RCS), Quentin Rat, for helping me in finding the sources. My deepest gratitude to all the people who shared their documentation, memories, and time during interviews and archival research. Heartfelt thanks must go to the most nice and helpful collaborators I could find, Alberto Mantovani and Rosino Verri, for their example and generosity in dedicating so much time to my requests.

To the community of PhD students at Film and Television Studies, at the Library, at the Italian Studies department, for sharing their enthusiasm and energy. Tim Heenan, Paul McGowan, Paola Roccella and Leanne Weston, I am immensely grateful for their amazing friendship, they were always there anytime I needed help, advice, or support. Thanks to Rossana Capitano, Andrea Hajek and Sabrina Meneghini, for our lively and supportive conversations, and to Emma Morton and Ilaria Puliti. My deepest gratitude to my international family at the Wolfson exchange, and in particular to Zeina Al-Nabulsi, Davide Asaro, Doris Carmelo, Daniele Cassaghi, Naili Huda, Ahmet Kuscu, Manuela Marai, Gloria Moorman and Sofia Rios. The valuable efforts of the people enabling these encounters, such as Wilson Sharron, Penny Roberts and Vicky Putt, must also be acknowledged.

I would like to thank many friends for all the unconditional support in these years. In particular, my housemates, for their lively and enriching presence, and Elena Asero, Marco Calini, Sara Cardone, Francesca Coradeschi, Mariagrazia Carlone, Lucia Degliantoni, Sophie Di Tempora, Silvia and Alessandro Dringoli, Chiara Forloni, Roberto Garberi, Elena González Asensio, Barbara McGowan, Stefano Pinoli, Cristian Tosato, for being always there when needed.

There are no words to express my gratitude to my family (Artemio, Chiara, Laura, Maria and Pinuccia). Magazines are part of our 'Family Sayings', starting from Grandma Maria's iconic sentence 'I have read this in a magazine' ['l'ho legiù su una rivista'], and our devotion to these collections of press clippings and photographs was clearly the 'arche', the root and origin of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the ways in which the Italian illustrated press created and disseminated a visual cinematic knowledge in the period between 1950 and 1965. Through explorations of production sites and processes, and related editorial practices, it offers an in-depth analysis of the role played by major publishers like Arnoldo Mondadori and Angelo Rizzoli. The study focusses mainly on three weeklies that serve as case studies of the modern news magazine in the post-war period: *L'Europeo*, *Oggi* and *Epoca* (in the first years of its existence, 1950–1951). Rizzoli will also be considered in relation to its impact on film production.

After addressing the broad context of the international press (chapter 1), the thesis examines the creation and function of new editorial environments within the expanding publishing industry of the 1950s–1960s. Analysis of photographic prints and illustrated pages of magazines reveals the various forms of storytelling related to cinema that ran through the different spaces of illustrated magazine and which shaped editorial work (chapter 3 and 5). The study is complemented by examinations of specialised units within publishing houses, such as documentation centres and marketing offices (chapter 4 and 5), which had a decisive impact on the circulation of filmic imagery.

Drawing on the publishers' documentation centres, among other sources, this thesis delves into the complex institutional and inter-personal relationships that shaped the formation and perpetuation of a cinematic imaginary in the Italian press. Combining tradition and innovation, the magazines used cinema to extend the range of visual content that their readers were familiar with. By examining strategies for promoting directorial 'brands' that were considered to be consistent with journalistic values, the study highlights the fluid relations that obtained between journalism, advertising and visual documentation.

INTRODUCTION

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, the periodical press and cinema experienced an intense and prolific exchange. In a variety of ways, illustrated magazines expanded the range of possibilities for cinematic reception and contributed to the definition of various customised narratives of cinema.¹ Magazines played a key role in the creation of corporate canons,² giving a strong contribution to the definition of what would be considered collective visual imaginaries, and of what would disappear and thus be condemned to oblivion. In the context of a growing interest in the socio-cultural and economic aspects that determine a film, they offer insights into the circulation and promotion of filmic contents and also into the audience experience.³ Consequently, illustrated magazines have become a privileged source of investigation in film criticism, film marketing and advertising, and research into film stardom and fandom.

In Italy, the years between 1950 and 1965 are emblematic. The period was historically marked by intense industrialisation and urbanisation, growth in the birth rate and literacy levels, and significant increases in consumption. In the context of a general expansion of the media system, weekly illustrated magazines reached a peak in circulation, while an immense audience was consuming cinema 'as bread'.⁴ Contributing to defining new narratives alongside

¹ Simone Venturini, Pietro Bianchi, and Giulio Bursi, 'Preface / The Beyond-Measure (L'Oltre-misura)', in *Il canone cinematografico: XVII convegno internazionale di studi sul cinema*, ed. by Simone Venturini, Pietro Bianchi, and Giulio Bursi (Udine: Forum, 2011), pp. 15-16; Alice Autelitano and Valentina Re, 'Presentazione', in *Il racconto del film: la novellizzazione, dal catalogo al trailer: XII convegno internazionale di studi sul cinema* ed. by Alice Autelitano and Valentina Re (Udine: Forum Edizioni, 2006), pp. 17-23 (p. 19).

² While referring to the dictionary definition of 'works that are generally agreed to be good, important, and worth studying', here I consider a selection of films that were accepted and promoted within the context of the publishing houses taken into consideration. In chapter 3 it will be clarified what processes led to the formation and definition of this canon. 'Canon', in *Cambridge Dictionary*, <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/canon>> [accessed 1 August 2021]. On the concept of the film canon, see: Neil Harris, 'Now You See It, Now You Don't: The History of the Concept of Canon', in *Il canone cinematografico*, pp. 19-26.

³ Daniel Biltereyst and Lies Van de Vijver, 'Introduction: Movie Magazines, Digitization and New Cinema History', in *Mapping Movie Magazines: Digitization, Periodicals and Cinema History*, ed. by Daniel Biltereyst and Lies Van de Vijver (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 1-15 (pp. 2-3).

⁴ Sandro Bernardi, 'Gli anni del centrismo e del cinema popolare', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, 15 vols (Venezia: Marsilio edizioni di Bianco & Nero, 2001-2018), IX: 1954-1959, ed. by Sandro Bernardi (2004), pp. 3-28 (p. 15). According to the Istat data the cinema tickets sold per 1000 inhabitants exceeded 8,080

the news, cinema became an essential part of the 'story of the living' after the death and destruction caused by the Second World War.⁵ Its relevance was clear to magazine publishers, such as the Rizzoli and Mondadori companies. While the founder of the company bearing his name, Arnoldo Mondadori, had only a short experience in film production, Rizzoli engaged in it more systematically alongside his publishing activity.⁶ The case of Rizzoli is particularly relevant to this research because the expansion of the illustrated press and film production were crucially intertwined. In different ways, the periodical press financially supported and made possible the production and the distribution of a wide selection of films. Furthermore, the illustrated press represented a space where visual content could be formed, transferred to cinema and then re-visited and remembered.

In approaching the question of cinematic imagery in relation to the illustrated press, the aim of this thesis is to delve into the dynamics of intermediality.⁷ More precisely, it aims to understand how illustrated magazines shaped cinema reception and to explore the role that the periodical press occupied within the context of cinema promotion. In order to provide a closer examination of the relationship between magazines and cinema than has previously been offered, this thesis will focus on the agents involved and on the dynamics bearing on the creation, circulation and reuse of images in the periodical press. The object of investigation is defined within the framework of studies of the cinematographic para-text, which widely refer to Gérard Genette's definition of para-texts as elements that 'surround the text and extend it, precisely in order to introduce it [...] to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world,

in 1939 and 13,171 from 1949 and 15,008 in 1959. The fall to 10,290 tickets in 1969 confirms the lesser role of cinema in the mid-1960s, where the cinema was no longer the principal medium for Italians, having been surpassed by television. *Italia in cifre* (2011), 9 <<https://www.istat.it/it/files/2011/03/Italia-in-cifre.pdf>> [accessed 3 July 2020].

⁵ 'Il romanzo dei vivi', *Oggi*, 12 February 1946, cover.

⁶ On the activity of the production company Montedoro Film see: Milan, Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori (FAAM), Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore (AME), Sezione Arnoldo Mondadori, Montedoro Film, 1942-1943.

⁷ In this thesis I consider intermediality in the narrow sense of intermedial references, such as references to a film in a printed text and viceversa, but also in the sense of creating contents on an intermedial level. In particular, I look at the intermediation between the realm of cinema production and editorial practices in relation to different audiences. I refer to the interrelation of diverse formats and mass media in their historical dimension, suggesting, to cite Rajewsky, 'that any typology of intermedial practices must be historically grounded', in the analysis of 'individual instances in terms of their specificity, taking into account historically changing possibilities for the functionalization of intermedial practices.' Irina Rajewsky, 'Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality', *Intermedialités: histoire et théorie des arts, des lettres et des techniques*, 6 (2005), 43-64 (pp. 50-51). See also: Biltereyst and Van de Vijver, 'Introduction: Movie Magazines, Digitization and New Cinema History', p. 2.

its “reception” and consumption’.⁸ Reflecting on Genette’s theory, Robert Stam emphasises the use of the term ‘transtextuality’, which refers ‘not to the text in its singularity’, but ‘all that puts one text in relation, whether manifest or secret, with other texts’.⁹ This dimension is included in a ‘partially charted continent that Leonardo Quaresima and others have called “narrated cinema”’.¹⁰ While approaching the context of magazine production, the idea is not to consider magazines as just by-products, but, as stated in *Mapping Movie Magazines*, to consider periodicals ‘as significant sites of intermediality and remediation, or as crossing points between different media, formats and story types’.¹¹

The concept of narrated cinema in the periodicals of the post-war years can be related to crucial issues in the debate about the media and the figurative arts. In Italy, after the Second World War, the news magazines needed to regain credibility as well as authority by distancing themselves from the forms of persuasion they had enacted during the Fascist regime. The visual dimension of periodicals was intertwined with cinema and with the debate about Neorealism in several ways. A shared idea of the documentary epic, which was connected to the Italian tradition of the literary movement Verismo (Italian realism) and American social photography, marked the start of magazines such as *Oggi*, *L’Europeo* and *Epoca*. Indeed, it has been suggested that the failed commercial goals of the first version of *Epoca* (1950-1951) symbolised the detachment from Neorealism and the success of the narrative approach of *Life*’s photo stories.¹² This passage occurred at the start of the new decade and was bound up with

⁸ Gérard Genette and Janet E. Lewin, *Para-texts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Cambridge ebook. De Berti emphasises the need to expand the concept of para-text as the elements strictly connected to the text, such as titles, covers and illustrations, to ‘all the elements and products that anticipate, accompany and prolong the production and consumption of a cultural object’. Raffaele De Berti, *Dallo schermo alla carta: Romanzi, fotoromanzi, rotocalchi cinematografici: il film e i suoi paratesti* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 2000), p. 3.

⁹ Gérard Genette quoted in Robert Stam, ‘Introduction: The Theory and Practice of Adaptation’, in *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Adaptation*, ed. by Robert Stam and Alessandra Raengo (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 1-52 (p. 27).

¹⁰ Jan Baetens, *The Film Photonovel: A Cultural History of Forgotten Adaptations* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019), p. 10. Kindle Ebook; Baetens (Ibid.) also specifies: ‘Some examples of relevant genres are readers’ digests, novelizations, director’s interviews, film reviews, fan magazines, film novels in general, “making of” books or reports, scripts, celebrity biographies, and gossip sections’. See also: Leonardo Quaresima, ‘La voce dello spettatore’, *Bianco e nero: quaderni mensili del Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia*, 548 (2004), pp. 29–33.

¹¹ Biltereyst and Van de Vijver, ‘Introduction: Movie Magazines, Digitization and New Cinema History’, p. 2.

¹² According to Guido Gerosa, the first version of *Epoca* was not successful because this typology of investigative journalism was already present on the market, with *L’Europeo*, and because the Neorealist approach did not meet the expectations of *Epoca*’s readership in 1950. Guido Gerosa, ‘Il Fiore all’occhiello’, in *Epoca 1950–1969: L’Italia e gli Italiani nei primi 1000 numeri di un grande settimanale*, ed. by Angelo Ponta (Milan: Rizzoli, 2017), p. 14.

the optimistic version of a good journalism that was seen as modern, democratic and successful.

More broadly, the beginning of these magazines reflected a wider vision of the visual document as a tool of international education which could overcome linguistic and socio-cultural barriers. In a context like the Italian one, where cultural, regional and linguistic divisions were still very strong, these magazines became a site of negotiation between unity and variety, traditional and modern values.¹³ With their mix of news, entertainment and advertising, they later emblematised and interpreted the mythology and the contradictions of the so-called 'economic miracle'. Among the significant features that characterised these magazines, there was a focus on the educative role of high art and cultural knowledge that, according to recent studies, was more relevant in the Italian illustrated press than in other major international publications like *Life*.¹⁴ The success of Italian films in achieving international fame contributed to this mythology, by blurring the distinction between the making of cinema and the new glamorous locations of the reborn nation. The convergence between illustrated magazines, consumption and advertising has been widely acknowledged (See chapter 1). However, the connection between new approaches to cinema promotion and these magazines has received little attention. 'Auteur' cinema, associated with directors such as Michelangelo Antonioni, Federico Fellini and Luchino Visconti, flourished and, most significantly, reached wider audiences. As one critic noted, 'it had never previously happened that there should be such a coincidence between popular support and high quality'.¹⁵ Weeklies such as *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*, together with many lesser-known magazines, widely contributed to this broader consumption of cinema. The connections between different areas of production and specific editorial practices played a key role in this sense.

Paternalism, patronage, corporatism and authoritarianism are all terms that are frequently associated with the Italian publishers of the mid-twentieth century, the so-called 'editori protagonisti', or 'leading publishers'.¹⁶ Rivals Rizzoli and Mondadori set up their publishing

¹³ See, among others: Stephen Gundle, 'Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: *Vie Nuove e Famiglia Cristiana* dalla guerra fredda alla società dei consumi', in *Nemici per la pelle: Sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. by Pier Paolo D'Atorre (Milano: F. Angeli, 1991), pp. 235–68; Penelope Morris, 'Introduction', in *Women in Italy, 1945–1960: An Interdisciplinary Study*, ed. by Penelope Morris (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 1–20 (p. 11).

¹⁴ Barron, *Popular High Culture in Italian Media, 1950–1970*, p. 3.

¹⁵ Callisto Cosulich, 'Produzione e mercato nell'Italia che si modernizza', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, 15 vols (Marsilio: Edizioni di Bianco & Nero, 2001–2018), IX: 1954–1959, ed. by Sandro Bernardi (2004), pp. 477–94 (p. 478).

¹⁶ With regard to this definition, see chapter 1, p. 47.

houses in the 1920s, and within a few years both had assumed a key role in the modernisation of the Italian publishing. The entrepreneurial dimension of these men requires a brief examination of their biographical background.¹⁷ The two publishers were both of humble origins, had only a brief formal education and nurtured socialist sympathies, a detail that acquires some relevance in the light of their subsequent attitudes toward publishing and cinema. The start of their careers in the printing sector marked a break with the highbrow journalism traditionally associated with the main newspapers, the cultural prestige and the economic capital of Milan. Their approach and business acumen have been widely acknowledged, together with their ability to select skilful collaborators, from the creative spheres to the more technical tasks.¹⁸ Another significant feature of both publishers was their ability to develop forms of coexistence with different political systems, which enabled them to deal profitably with the Fascist regime and with post-war Christian Democratic governments. Finally, a crucial point that is often emphasised was their capacity to develop a balance between forms of stabilisation and entrepreneurial audacity.¹⁹ After affirming their place among the wealthiest entrepreneurs in Milan, Mondadori and Rizzoli were officially recognised on a national level. They were both appointed 'Knights of Labour' (Mondadori in 1925 and Rizzoli in

¹⁷ For a detailed biography and secondary literature on Angelo Rizzoli see: Daniele Pozzi, 'Rizzoli, Angelo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2017) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 2 July 2019]; Marco Scollo Lavizzari, 'Rizzoli, Angelo', in *Enciclopedia del cinema* (2004) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_\(Enciclopedia-del-Cinema\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_(Enciclopedia-del-Cinema))> [accessed 1 January 2017]. The following titles are of particular relevance for this thesis: Enzo Biagi, *Dinastie: gli Agnelli, i Rizzoli, i Ferruzzi-Gardini, i Lauro* (Milan: Mondadori 1988); Angelo Pillitteri and others, eds, *Angelo Rizzoli: 31 ottobre 1889-31 ottobre 1989* (Milan: RCS, [1989]); Alberto Mazzuca, *La erre verde: ascesa e declino dell'impero Rizzoli* (Milan: Longanesi, 1991); Roberto Stringa, 'Il padrone sono me. Angelo Rizzoli e il cinema 1934-1970' (unpublished thesis, Università Bocconi Milano, 1992); Marcella Forni, 'La formazione del gruppo Rizzoli dalle origini alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale' (doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2009); Nicola Carraro and Alberto Rizzoli, *Rizzoli: La vera storia di una grande famiglia italiana* (Milan: Mondadori, 2015). For a detailed biography and secondary literature on Arnoldo and Alberto Mondadori see: Maria Iolanda Palazzolo, 'Mondadori, Arnoldo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2011) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arnoldo-mondadori_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arnoldo-mondadori_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 1 January 2017]; Gian Carlo Ferretti, 'Mondadori, Alberto', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2011) <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberto-mondadori_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29> [accessed 1 January 2017]. Of particular relevance for this thesis: Enrico Decleva, *Arnoldo Mondadori* (Turin: UTET, 1993); Alberto Mondadori, *Lettere di una vita, 1922-1975*, ed. by Giancarlo Ferretti (Milan: Mondadori, 1996). Works related to the history of the Italian press include: Enrico Decleva, 'L'attività Editoriale', in *Storia di Milano*, 18 vols (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana-Fondazione Giovanni Treccani, [1953-1996]), XVIII: *Il Novecento* (1996), pp. 102-151; Nicola Tranfaglia and Albertina Vittoria, *Storia degli editori italiani dall'unità alla fine degli anni Sessanta* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2000); Alberto Cadioli and Giuliano Vigini, *Storia dell'editoria italiana dall'Unità ad oggi: Un profilo introduttivo* (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 2012). Kindle ebook.

¹⁸ Pozzi, 'Rizzoli, Angelo'; Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 43; 'Mondadori' <<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/mondadori/>> [accessed 1 August 2021].

¹⁹ David Forgacs and Stephen Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War* (Bloomington, US: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp. 99-103; 109; Cadioli and Vigini, *Storia dell'editoria italiana dall'Unità ad oggi*. Kindle ebook.

1936) and they received various titles, among which that of 'Commendator of the Order of the Crown of Italy', which Rizzoli received in 1931.²⁰ This last title, converted into the more familiar, dialectical version of Commendator, 'Cumenda', remained associated with Rizzoli throughout his life. Between 1950 and the mid-1960s, the number of employees in both publishing houses increased from between 250 and 300 to between 1,300 and 3,000. Rizzoli's system completely remapped one area in the northeast of Milan's suburbs (See chapter 3); in addition to the factory, the publisher built apartments, a kindergarten and a technical school preparing students for editorial jobs.

The strict system of relations characterising the publishing community in this period led to the definition of 'The Republic of Letters': a cultural network that did not remain extraneous to tortuous corporate alliances.²¹ In the particular case of Mondadori and Rizzoli, the presence of key individuals collaborating with both publishers stands as proof of the editorial continuity between competing areas.²² The most emblematic case is that of Cesare Zavattini, editorial director for both Rizzoli and Mondadori and a crucial figure in Italian cinema. The screenwriter of *Bicycle Thieves* (*Ladri di Biciclette*, Vittorio De Sica, 1948), who was active in the two publishing houses between the 1930s and early 1950s, profoundly marked cinema's visual impact in periodicals and exerted a strong influence on the publishers' respective heirs, Andrea Rizzoli and Alberto Mondadori, as they assumed important editorial roles. Although some attention has been paid to Zavattini's role, that of other figures remains unexplored. The lists of critics and journalists included in the Cineriz distribution company's documents offer insights into the relationships and the system of power of critics and photographers within the journalistic field of the time. By extending the investigation to less visible intermediaries and editorial practices, the aim is here to shed light on dynamics that had a significant impact in terms of filmic para-text.

This thesis draws on case studies of the news magazines *L'Europeo* and *Oggi* (1950-1965), and it also briefly considers *Epoca* (1950-1951) as a focal point of change in the illustrated press at the beginning of the 1950s. These magazines can be defined as second-grade para-texts because cinema was not at the centre of their interest, but they placed cinema in the wider

²⁰ The other honorary titles are quoted in: Daniele Pozzi, 'Rizzoli, Angelo'.

²¹ Luca Pareschi, 'La produzione editoriale in Italia: il processo di intermediazione nel campo letterario' (doctoral thesis, Università di Bologna, 2011), p. 32.

<http://amsdottorato.unibo.it/3694/1/pareschi_luca_tesi.pdf> [accessed 15 December 2020]; Luca Pareschi, *Controcampo letterario: strategie di intermediazione e accesso all'industria editoriale* (Napoli: Editoriale scientifica, 2016).

²² Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, p. 99.

landscape of their approach to news and culture.²³ The periodicals will be considered from various points of view, starting from a general approach to cinema para-text as a whole in order to understand the complex dynamics concerning the magazines' cultural approach. While this thesis will prioritise Rizzoli's news magazines, it will also consider the connections with his film production and distribution activities. The films taken into consideration emerge from the combined analysis of archival and oral sources. A noted feature of Rizzoli's film outputs was the parallel production of 'art films', sponsored with the aim of acquiring personal prestige, and more commercial movies conceived for a broader audience.²⁴ This separation does not reflect the conventional distinction between superficial entertainment products and artistic products, which sought to engage the viewer critically. According to the sources, Angelo Rizzoli selected and approved both poetic and more colloquial films, and the major productions were expected to find space in the publisher's news magazines (*Oggi* in particular), either in the form of advertising and critical reviews or via different forms of visual storytelling.²⁵ A sort of reserve was, instead, applied to films considered for specific targets, in particular for low-budget products conceived for commercial reasons that were treated with a certain prejudice, deprived of the Rizzoli brand and generally excluded from the news magazines. By concentrating on the production of news magazines, the thesis focusses on a number of films that formed a corporate canon, a core of films and authors that met the magazines' internal criteria, while others were only partly accepted by the staff or openly ostracised. My investigation of the editorial processes will shed light on the forms of resistance to, and integration of, these films, by analysing the categories and conventions that regulated the processes of image making.

This perspective informs the approach to the sources, starting from the critical mass of photographic materials preserved by the companies. While focussing on the photographic images that featured in these magazines, I take into consideration the different patterns that images create with texts, which are in turn bound up with the function and the values of the institutions where the periodicals are produced and published. The modalities of approaching images in relation to verbal language are a vexed issue in various disciplines. Here, I deliberately deploy Paul Frosh's definition of a 'somewhat eclectic conceptual armoury' derived from art history, cultural studies, film studies and photography theory, in order to place the cinematic

²³ Anna Gilardelli, 'Lollo vs. Marilyn, La rappresentazione del corpo femminile nel cinema e sulle riviste degli anni cinquanta', *Immagine: Note di Storia del Cinema*, 7 (2013), 73–96 (p. 77).

²⁴ Stringa, 'Il padrone sono me', p. 136.

²⁵ On Angelo Rizzoli's criteria for film selection see: *Ibid*, pp. 481-601.

para-text within a specific linguistic, social and production context.²⁶ The scrutiny – side by side – of stamp marks indicating provenance, captions, and the final photographic article will allow us to see the cinematic imagery move through the different stages of processing images, which offer various opportunities for exploring the use of images and interpreting their function in different periods. More than other archival objects, the photographs preserved in the archives considered can be seen as a reflection of the ‘messiness of human practice’,²⁷ which take into account a range of motives, allowing the coexistence of pluralism and ideological continuity.

A recent article by David M. Ryfe offers a critical overview of research based on the ‘practices’ approach to journalism in recent decades.²⁸ He underlines the relevance theorists like Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Bruno Latour have acquired, listing the large number of projects and publications that feature these theories.²⁹ The activity of cataloguing news practices has mainly been concerned with the identification of the routines, or the day-to-day activities: how and why these activities regularly recur and their evolution over time. In particular, as Ryfe points out, the identification of events and accidents that destabilise conventional practices offers a springboard for more thorough investigations. Other studies, such as that by Rodney Benson, compare Bourdieu's field theory to the new institutionalism approach of Timothy Cook and Bartholomew Sparrow, offering interesting insights into the formation of rules or ‘principles of action’ that tend to produce a certain degree of internal homogeneity within fields or institutions.³⁰

While these studies cannot be ignored, a systematic analysis drawing directly on these approaches is not possible. Despite the growing interest in press archives and photojournalism,³¹ our understanding of editorial practices in the Italian post-war context remains incomplete and fragmentary. The dearth of studies on production practices can partly

²⁶ Paul Frosh, *The Image Factory: Consumer Culture, Photography and the Visual Content Industry* (London and New York: Berg, 2003), p. 22.

²⁷ Susan Greenberg, *A Poetics of Editing* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 80.

²⁸ David M. Ryfe, ‘A Practice Approach to the Study of News Production’, *Journalism*, 19.2 (2018), 217–33.

²⁹ Jean Chalaby, ‘Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s–1920s’, *European Journal of Communication - EUR J COMMUN*, 11 (1996), 303–26; Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Susan Keith, ‘Horseshoes, Stylebooks, Wheels, Poles, and Dummies: Objects of Editing Power in 20th-Century Newsrooms’, *Journalism*, 16 (2014), 44–60; Monika Krause, ‘Reporting and the Transformations of the Journalistic Field: US News Media, 1890–2000’, *Media, Culture & Society*, 33.1 (2011), 89–104.

³⁰ Rodney Benson, ‘News Media as a “Journalistic Field”: What Bourdieu Adds to New Institutionalism, and Vice Versa’, *Political Communication*, 23.2 (2006), 187–202 (p. 188).

³¹ See, among others: Tatiana Agliani and Uliano Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo: storia del fotogiornalismo in Italia* (Turin: Einaudi, 2015); Irene Piazzoni and Raffaele De Berti, eds, *Il fotogiornalismo negli anni settanta: lotte, trasformazioni, conquiste* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2020).

be explained by the lack of professional trade histories and the loss of administrative records, which is still a huge obstacle in the study of the Rizzoli organisation in particular.

The research draws on a vast collection of archival material held, among other places, at Rizzoli's and Mondadori's Documentation Centres and historical archives, some of which is critically presented here for the first time. The sheer range of preserved materials in itself raises methodological questions (e.g. what should be examined, and why?), and in the following pages I will briefly explain my approach to the archive and how I selected material for analysis, and consider the specific challenges that informed the research.

I began by conducting a general investigation of the whole archival structure, seeking out common patterns and discrepancies in the main collections and in the system of connected institutions, such as journalists' personal archives. Next, I analysed and transcribed the catalogues, before identifying relevant samples of photographs and articles.³² All the available sources that relate to institutional history, such as photo shoots and administrative correspondence, were also taken into consideration. The Rizzoli documentation centre represented the main challenge: the administrative correspondence has been lost, an ongoing digitising project meant a huge number of negatives were inaccessible, and the photographic print archive contains millions of photographs many of which are not yet – or only partially – catalogued. The relevant prints section (for the period 1950-1968, covering around 4,300 films) required particular attention. Here I considered the most significant folders in quantitative terms, whereas the catalogues allowed a more structured approach to the authors and the photo shoots included in the film section. I identified approximately 400 pertinent film titles in the print section and around 250 in the film section (positives and negatives, including more materials from external sources, internal photographers and Cineriz). While considering the whole corpus of the titles selected for the identification of general patterns, I then further narrowed down the sample to a selection of approximately 70 case studies, according to a simple random sampling technique, proceeding with a deeper analysis of the folders and of the photo shoots. The analysis of the magazines *L'Europeo* and *Oggi* was based on approximately

³² As underlined by various studies the photographic catalogue constitutes a privileged source for historical research, a conceptual model documenting the dynamics of production and how these changed throughout time: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Gli Alinari* (Florence: Alinari, 2003); Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder, 'Introduction', in *Documenting the World*, ed. by Mitman and Wilder (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016). Kindle ebook; Costanza Caraffa, ed., *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011). See also Frosh, *The Image Factory*, p. 18.

115 issues.³³ These were selected via a Stratified Random Sampling technique which relevant literature has identified as the most effective.³⁴ The first years of *Epoca* (1950-1951) have also been carefully examined, while a broader investigation has been conducted in the historical collections of periodicals at Rizzoli's and Mondadori's Documentation Centres in order to identify the national and international magazines that were available to the internal staff in the considered period.

While working on the archival analysis, I have built a significant corpus of oral sources. The interviewees include professionals connected to Rizzoli and Mondadori who covered a broad range of roles, from printing press operators to photo reporters and editors. This corpus was limited – in terms of content and quantity – by the chronological distance that separates me from the period under analysis. Most of the people I interviewed started working in Rizzoli during their youth, in the years that coincide with the flourishing of the company in the 1960s. This clearly impacted on the rhetoric of the period, which appears to be remembered in terms of stability and the acquisition of personal status by all the addressed categories. Thanks to the growing literature about editorial jobs and, more broadly, factory work in the 1960s, I was also able to draw on reflections from trade magazines and books written by editors and critics. These sources proved an essential supplement to the information emerging from documents and fragments of correspondence, such as this:

Dear Domenico, thank you very much for the magazine clipping you sent me. The fact that *La dolce vita* is so successful makes me happy not only for myself, but also for those friends, who immediately showed me their solidarity with such warmth, and you dear Domenico were among the first.³⁵

The letter is signed by the director of *La dolce vita* (1960), Federico Fellini, who was writing to Domenico Porzio, the journalist responsible for *Oggi's* image selection. A friendly relationship between one of the most famous Italian directors and the person behind the popular magazine *Oggi's* imagery is something worth considering. This contact, which Fellini managed to establish in addition to many others (Figure 1.1), proved to be particularly fruitful in adjusting *La dolce vita's* para-text to a wide readership. The process clearly emerges in the selection of visual materials preserved in the archival folders, as well as through the number of

³³ The sample size was chosen to be representative of an overall population of 988 issues of the magazines *L'Europeo* and *Oggi* (19 years, 12 months, 4 issues a month). The sampling frame consists of the following printed issues over the time period 1950-1968: with a precision of 10%, 95%CI and a 50% expected prevalence the total number would be approximately of 114 issues/magazine.

³⁴ Rodrigo Uribe and Enrique Manzur, 'Research Note: Sample Size in Content Analysis of Advertising: The Case of Chilean Consumer Magazines', *International Journal of Advertising*, 31 (2012), 907-920.

³⁵ Federico Fellini, Letter to Domenico Porzio, 15 May 1961, FAAM, Fondo Domenico Porzio, cartella 3, fascicolo 23.

stamps applied on the reverse side of each artefact, which confirm the images' circulation. Insofar as they relate to a film produced by Rizzoli, these folders can be considered in the broader context of the archive, and they raise the issue of the system of power involved in processing images. Quantitative analyses highlighted the extent of the links between film production and publishing in the preponderance of materials relating to films produced, distributed or otherwise connected to Rizzoli's system of alliances. However, letters, notes and stamps have revealed more articulated and elusive processes that ultimately impacted on the survival of filmic imagery in the magazines.

Successful films produced by Rizzoli, such as the *Don Camillo* series (1952-1965) and *La dolce vita* (Figure 1.2), reflect the alchemic bond both the publishing and film spheres benefited from. If this connection appears undeniable, other dynamics have not yet been carefully examined. From the first production agreements to casting and promotional events, the ritual of the film was built week after week through press materials. If the increasing relevance of marketing structures contributed to the definition of the target, major Rizzoli films were aimed, at least until the early 1960s, at everyone. It was the illustrated press that played a significant part in linking the cinema industry to the magazines' readerships.³⁶ In examining the photo stories in these magazines, Maria Grazia Messina defines the approach to contemporary art as sensationalist and retroactive.³⁷ Drawing on the cases analysed, the concepts of normalisation and integration seem to better describe the approach of these periodicals to Rizzoli's film production. This process proved to be particularly effective in the case of authors who were able to scrutinise the press in order to understand recurrent patterns and themes, as the emblematic case of *La dolce vita* demonstrates.³⁸

In order to further investigate this issue, the analysis focusses on a series of para-texts which appear to be suspended between 'familiarisation' and displacement. To address the question, it is essential – in the first place – to enter the system of distinctions that defined the target of periodicals during the 1950s. Between the two decades, the 'prestige' magazine *L'Europeo* was

³⁶ Biltreyst and Van de Vijver, 'Introduction: Movie Magazines, Digitization and New Cinema History', p. 2; Jack Mezirow, *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991).

³⁷ Maria Grazia Messina, 'Storie dell'arte parallele: L'arte contemporanea attraverso i fotoservizi dal dopoguerra agli anni Cinquanta', in *Arte moltiplicata: L'immagine del '900 italiano nello specchio dei rotocalchi*, ed. by Barbara Cinelli, Flavio Fergonzi and Antonello Negri (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2013), p. 101.

³⁸ Andrea Minuz, 'Tecnica e magia. Fellini, il rito del set e il "modo di vedere italiano"', *Fata Morgana: quadrimestrale di cinema e visioni*, 17 (2012), 121–30; Andrea Minuz, '«Mariofanie». Religiosità popolare Cinquanta', in *Le Religioni e le Arti: Percorsi Interdisciplinari in Età Contemporanea*, ed. by Sergio Botta and Tessa Canella (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2015), pp. 31–48; Raffaele De Berti, 'Riflessi di Fellini Satyricon nella stampa periodica illustrata contemporanea', *Quaderni Di Acme*, 113 (2009), 252–99.

intended as the place of interrogation and exchange between 'auteur' photography and cinema. The presence of photographers on set resulted in the expansion of a cinematic imagery in the forms of reportage, events and photo essays. If *L'Europeo* was intended as the place where a repositioning and reconsidering of a film could occur in a different space and perspective, *Oggi* had the responsibility of communicating with wider audiences. A set photograph selected by Antonioni could be presented in *Oggi* and brought back to a more familiar dimension by editorial cuts. However, no severe manipulations or dramatic changes in the images occurred. The narratives running in the captions provided a formal justification allowing some forms of figurative displacement. Film critics generally drew attention to these innovations, perhaps focussing more on 'artistic extroversion' than on content. It was not always possible to find artistic value in the films Rizzoli produced to promote tourism on the island of Ischia, where the publisher had strong commercial interests. Much more effort was put into explaining and justifying the 'glamorous and the sordid' world of Fellini's *Via Veneto* to audiences.³⁹ In this sense, the filmic imagery expanded cinema's function of reconciling layers of social and aesthetic uncertainty in the national scenario. These subtle discrepancies might have stimulated forms of attraction for new categories of spectators, in periodicals intended for family audiences such as *Oggi*. For the main target readership of the magazine, the least comprehensible themes and stylistic choices were moderated in such a way as to make them fit better with the magazine's more solid or traditional values. Among others, the theme of hard work and professional dedication recurs in articles about Fellini, Antonioni, Gina Lollobrigida and Monica Vitti as well as lesser-known subjects and films. In this sense, the news periodicals entered the debate about leisure and labour partly following the course invoked by Alcide De Gasperi in an interview with Alberto Mondadori in 1950. In the prime minister's opinion, the weekly magazines should also be a space that encourages positive values, such as 'bourgeois promptness', an example to counter the 'low level of activity of the upper classes'.⁴⁰ This was a working dimension that somewhat softened the image of licentiousness that the Milanese publishing community associated with the Roman milieu. If these magazines gave visibility to the efforts of film directors who contributed to the prestige of Italian cinema, the immaterial labour of the spectator was contextually legitimised in terms of improving the chances of their upward cultural and social mobility.

³⁹ Sarah Patricia Hill, 'Karen Pinkus. The Montesi Scandal: The Death of Wilma Montesi and the Birth of the Papparazzi in Fellini's Rome', *Italica*, 82.2 (2005), 262–64.

⁴⁰ Transcript of the talk between Alcide De Gasperi and Alberto Mondadori, FAAM, AME, MAM, Epoca.

Many of the points that I have addressed in this thesis could be considered in relation to the growing relevance of television, introduced in 1954 and controlled by the state-run broadcaster Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI). The 'interdependence' between television and the print media, to cite Elena Degrada's words, becomes particularly evident in a magazine like *Oggi* during the 1960s, where television progressively took the place previously occupied by cinema, as one of the magazine's former editors, Paolo Occhipinti, observed.⁴¹ However, a parallel investigation of these media presents logistical and methodological difficulties that prevent me from discussing television in the context of this thesis, which draws on a specific range of selected archival repositories. Future work on the television sections in the documentation centres could contribute to our understanding of how television and cinematic imagery interacted within the various spaces of Rizzoli's and Mondadori's news magazines.⁴²



Figure 1.1 Duilio Pallottelli, Oriana Fallaci with Federico Fellini and Michelangelo Antonioni, CdRcs. © L'Europeo RCS/Ph. Duilio Pallottelli.

Chapter 1 opens with an historical overview of the period between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, which saw significant changes occurring in the periodical press. By exploring the trajectories of the press on an international level in four

⁴¹ Interview with Paolo Occhipinti, 27 April 2018.

⁴² Among recent works analysing the connections between television viewing and magazine reading in the examined period, see: Emma Barron, *Popular High Culture in Italian Media, 1950–1970: Mona Lisa Covergirl* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

industrialised countries, namely the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, I address different theoretical approaches in the field broadly defined as periodical studies that has seen significant developments in recent years. While taking into consideration the expansion of the press, the chapter engages with questions that are crucial also to cinematic imagery: the synergies between popular visual traditions and contemporary iconography, popularisation and strategies of storytelling, and the impact of marketing and advertising. These are among the factors that attracted the interest of the new Italian publishers, including Rizzoli and Mondadori.

Chapter 2 investigates the dynamics of these publishing houses, starting from the founders and the impact of their entrepreneurial careers in the field of periodical production. Taking into consideration the formation of three editorial offices, namely those of *Epoca*, *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*, the chapter investigates their editorial approaches, from the attempt to extend their readership on a democratic basis to the categorisation of different targets. Questions of educational appeal and cultural prestige permeate the creation of visual contents related to cinema, including the diverse function and interpretation of stardom. Within the context of the growing relevance of discourses about marketing at the end of the 1950s, Bourdieu's analysis of taste helps us to delve into some rules or principles of action impacting on the categorisation of the readers.

Chapter 3 examines Rizzoli's major news magazine *Oggi* and the higher-brow *L'Europeo*. I consider here the entire structure of the magazines, identifying recurrent narratives and visual patterns that contributed to define the iconography of cinema, from the covers to commented images and photo stories. Cinematic imagery acquired a relevant function in terms of rediscussing values in sections of the magazine that could be placed in the liminal spaces between art/culture and documentation. The synergies between soft news and cinematic narratives confirm the existence of strategies that were related, in different ways, to Rizzoli's production company. This also implied the promotion of specific directors, bringing us to the question of the legitimisation of filmic repertoires and the creation of in-house canons.

Chapter 4 addresses visual imagery in relation to advertising. While analysing the promotional campaigns for the films examined in the other chapters, I will here consider the intersections between the production and the publishing sphere, and the nature of the reciprocal influences. The targeting of audiences appears to be related more to the exploration of the press than to other marketing techniques. This raises questions about the system of

influences and prevailing values impacting on the circulation of promotional images outside the magazine.

Chapter 5 explores cinematic imagery and picture selection in the archival system. Having acquired the function of a central structure, the documentation centres were conceived as filters and intermediaries in the reuse of images. If the questions of power and institutional perspectives are implicit in the formation of centralised structures, the impact of cultural and journalistic values remain crucial to the organisation of internal practices. A broader perspective on the succession of film stills and personalities allows for the identification of figurative repertoires within the wider context of Rizzoli's magazines.



*Figure 1.2 Cineriz documentation of La dolce vita poster campaign (1960).
Courtesy of Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale.*

CHAPTER 1: THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'VISUALITY' IN THE PERIODICAL PRESS

Introduction

Within the extensive field of journalism and media studies, research about periodicals has seen significant developments in recent decades. There has been not only a remarkable increase of publications in different disciplines, but periodical studies are also taking shape as a defined area of research in the field of print culture. This change has been driven by technological transitions, alongside theoretical developments in media studies. In analysing the rise of periodical studies, Lauren Brake underlines the influence of 'cultural theory, French and Anglophone, circulating in English from the 1960s onwards, which permitted a diminution of disciplinary boundaries arising from structuralism and a Bakhtinian invigoration of popular culture'.¹ Sean Latham and Robert Scholes suggest that the role of cultural studies must also be acknowledged in overcoming the separation between research on large circulation magazines, favoured by journalism schools, and little magazines, mainly confined to literature and arts departments.² Other scholars, like Tom O'Malley, take a slightly different perspective, considering a variety of publications that contributed to widening the research on journalism in the previous decades.³ Michael Bentley underlines the role of structural analysis – from the 1940s – in stimulating new approaches and methodologies, which created the premises for the changes of the 1960s and 1970s.⁴

Despite the vastness of the field and the variety of approaches, some factors are widely recognised as turning points. The acceleration of empirical research through the 'work of bibliographers and cataloguers' in the 1950s and the growing relevance of digital archives in recent decades have contributed to widening the approaches to the history of journalism and periodical press.⁵ Recent investigations in the humanities appear to have highlighted the

¹ Lauren Brake, 'On Print Culture: The State We're In', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 6.1 (2001), 125-136 (p. 125).

² Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, 121.2 (2006), 517-531 (p. 519).

³ Tom O'Malley, 'History, Historians and the Writing of Print and Newspaper History in the UK c. 1945–1962', *Media History*, 18.3/4 (2012), 289–310.

⁴ Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 209.

⁵ O'Malley, 'History, Historians', p. 305.

function of periodicals as a crossroads between the arts and the 'social, political, and scientific issues of the time'.⁶ The influence of sociological and economic studies can be traced in the development of research regarding organisational structures, from the analysis of 'specialist newsgathering journalists', in Jeremy Tunstall's definition, to wider perspectives on the complexity of professional categories operating in media industries.⁷ Through the analysis of the production environment, deeper connections between cultural industries emerge, revealing significant historical junctures and intertwined dynamics, which confirm the need for interdisciplinary methodological approaches.

The aim of this chapter is to explore some of the changes occurring in the periodical press between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, a period that witnessed a reformulation of the purposes and modalities of the circulation of illustrated magazines. By first exploring the trajectories of the illustrated press in three industrialised countries, namely the United States, the United Kingdom, France, it seeks to convey the international context in which the major Italian publishing houses established themselves. This overview focuses on significant developments in the presentation and the visual impact of magazines. Most strikingly, it seeks to explore the trajectories of cinema and photography in the popular press against the background of the global circulation of images, a development that was made possible by new industrial and technological synergies. While addressing the question of cinema in the press, it also aims to analyse the influence of cinematographic narratives on the modalities of conceiving and presenting information on the printed page. This overview is considered as a premise for the development of the post-war periodicals that I will analyse in the following chapters. I will only briefly consider the Italian case, focussing on a select number of significant examples of the circulation of people and international magazines.

1.1 An International Overview

The period after 1880 is increasingly recognised as having been deeply transformative in the field of publishing. The number of newspapers, magazines and books increased dramatically, reaching a wide and diverse readership.⁸ By the 1880s, over 2,000 magazines circulated in

⁶ Latham and Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', p. 517.

⁷ Jeremy Tunstall, *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents: Their News Organizations, News Sources, and Competitor-Colleagues* (London: Constable, 1971), p. 1.

⁸ Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, 'Introduction', in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880–1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 1–12 (p. 1).

Britain (compared to 557 in 1866) and around 5,787 in France.⁹ The world of the press witnessed radical changes, with transformations occurring in the modalities of production and distribution. The readership and circulation of magazines continued to grow at the turn of the following century, while the development of connections and exchanges between the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean expanded remarkably. On the basis of the 'international circuitry of New York/London/Paris/Berlin/Vienna', smaller industrial cities like Milan were also trying to find new trajectories.¹⁰

In the publication *L'Europe des Revues*, Evaghélia Stead and H  l  ne Vedrine introduce 'La force et l'expansion de l'image' across the twentieth century using two images (Figure 2.1).¹¹ In the first picture, a cartoon by Jules Grandjouan published in 1906, a group of children are standing in front of a kiosk covered by illustrated magazines that confusedly surround a billboard. As the authors note, the described visual approach is associated with the vulgar implications expressed by the caption ('A matter of art. – In which we will have more nude women for two coins?'), which seemed to disappear in the second image, dated 1964; here a serious man is photographed while looking at magazines in front of a kiosk. If the typology of illustrations (lithography/photography) and buyers changes in these two examples, the similarity of the context is astonishing in the association between press, advertising and visual content.



Figure 2.1 Jules Grandjouan, 'Un peu de publicit  ', *Le Rire*, 16 August 1906, pp. 8-9; a newsstand in 1964.

⁹ Liz Nice, 'British magazines', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Christopher H. Sterling (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), p. 200; Christophe Charle, *Le si  cle de la presse, 1830–1939* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), p. 169.

¹⁰ Ardis and Collier, eds, *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880–1940*, p. 4.

¹¹ Evagh  lia Stead and H  l  ne V  drine, *L'Europe des revues (1880–1920): estampes, photographies, illustrations* (Paris: PUPS, 2008), p. 6.

This change in the ways of accessing the press in the twentieth century has been defined as a transformation of the readers into 'reader-spectators'.¹² In the urban context, characterised by speed and increasing dynamism, the way in which reality was captured and reproduced was rapidly changing. The association between cinema, photography and new printing techniques played a crucial role in expanding the magazines' readership and in giving rise to new approaches to media consumption that incorporated the speed and fragmentation of the new languages of the entertainment industry.

After the First World War, as Tim Holmes underlines, cross-national exchanges were multiplied and became easier, with media technologies being used for the global distribution of news and entertainment.¹³ The role acquired by photography in the press expanded as it helped forge collective narratives, for example in the areas of entertainment and sport, as well as conveying important current events. The magazine that is widely recognised as the symbol of a new form of journalism, namely the German *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*,¹⁴ was shaped by innovation in fields ranging from industrial design to cinematographic experimentation, which characterised the cultural context of the Weimar Republic during the 1920s. Political and economic conjunctures stimulated the circulation of professionals across different cultural and national contexts, facilitating experimentation and affirmation of language codes and narrative structures at an international level. Among the various magazines that institutionalised the transformation of the 'news to read' into the 'news to see', the American publication *Life* – launched by Time Inc. in 1936 – played a trendsetting role in terms of the consecration of photojournalism as the visual narrative of the press during the following decades.¹⁵

This transformation of the modalities of reading, leafing through the pages,¹⁶ occurred in coincidence with the 'quantitative (and qualitative) explosion' of photography and was

¹² Raffaele De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico. Rotocalchi tra giornalismo, cronaca e costume', in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Irene Piazzoni and Raffaele De Berti (Milano: Ed. Cisalpino, 2009), pp. 6-34 (p. 5).

¹³ Tim Holmes, 'Guest Editor's Introduction' in *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism*, ed. by Tim Holmes (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 47.

¹⁴ The *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* became one of the main models for the development of the modern illustrated magazine [rotocalco]. Thanks to the presence of the managing editor Kurt Korff (1911–1933) and the managing director Kurt Szafranski, the magazine acquired a particular relevance between the second half of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, for its innovative approach to the images and to the graphic layout. De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico', pp. 20-21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁶ Thierry Gervais, "'The Little Paper Cinema': The Transformation of Illustration in Belle Époque Periodicals", in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon (Eastleigh: John Libbey, 2012), pp. 147-163 (p. 154); De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico', p. 5.

favoured by the development of photo-engraving and rotogravure.¹⁷ Various technological innovations that allowed more freedom and dynamism in the articulation of the graphic layouts – a development that mirrored the experimentation in silent cinema – played a key role in this passage. As Michel Frizot suggests, the spread of the rotogravure increased the visibility of cinema in the periodical press in two distinct ways: through ‘the creation of specialized magazines and the articulation of photographic illustration on the cinematic model’.¹⁸ It is a widespread opinion among scholars that cinema and photography brought about a watershed in visual culture, which deeply affected the world of the press. The growing presence of pages filled with images that reported news and conveyed stories is evidence of the conversion of readers into spectators. These pages, in which the images were not reduced to mere illustrations that accompanied the articles and in which the figurative elements prevailed over the written text, reflected a different kind of dynamic, visual approach to reading.

What has been defined as the magazine era was marked by a first peak in the late 1920s, before a second huge alteration occurred after the Second World War. Frank Luther Mott has linked the growing concern with the concept of mass audience to the literary image of Frankenstein, which he evokes to describe the transformation of journalism in the mid-century period.¹⁹ During the 1950s and 1960s, the publishing industry was undergoing a rationalisation and differentiation of production processes, and the magazine press reached its highest levels of circulation.

Whether considered as stereotyped products used to attract an unaware public (in the ‘apocalyptic’ version) or as a means of education from the point of view of ‘integrated’ critics, to apply the distinction formulated by Umberto Eco (1964), periodical consumption was integrated in different social streams.²⁰ In 1963, the *Almanacco letterario Bompiani*, which was dedicated to the ‘Society of the Image’, described the relevance of visual content in the magazine press at the beginning of the 1960s as a mirror of a common mentality and the collective aspirations of the time.²¹ This mentality and these aspirations were shaped by a variety of foreign experiences that will be considered in the following sections, starting with the

¹⁷ Michel Frizot, ‘On Cinema Imaginary of Photography (1928–1930)’, in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Guido and Lugon, pp. 177–196 (p. 193).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹⁹ Massimo Olmi, *I giornali degli altri: Storia contemporanea del giornalismo inglese, francese, tedesco ed americano: dal primo dopoguerra ad oggi* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1990), p. 395.

²⁰ Umberto Eco, *Apocalittici e integrati: Comunicazioni di massa e teorie della cultura di massa* (Milan: Bompiani, 1964).

²¹ ‘Calendario dei fatti 1961–1962’, in *Almanacco letterario Bompiani 1963: La civiltà dell’immagine*, ed. by Sergio Morando (Milan: V. Bompiani & C, 1962), p. 294.

United States, which became influential well before becoming dominant after the Second World War.

1.2 The United States and the Development of the Press Industry

Among the vast number of studies devoted to the periodical press, the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* (2009) and the *Encyclopedia on American Journalism* (2007) are often considered the most ambitious reference works to have followed in the footsteps of the monumental *A History of American Magazine* by Mott.²² Despite inevitable inconsistencies in approaching such an extensive subject, these publications reflect the complexity and diversity of approaches to journalism, spanning from economics, news processes and media industry (labour unions) via visual culture (photojournalism) to more focussed subjects such as comics, fan and weekly news magazines.

Covering also guides to literature about media, the *Encyclopaedia of Journalism* includes reflections on models of categorisation, such as the 1956 publication of *Four Theories of the Press*,²³ which is ranked among the most influential approaches to American studies of international and comparative communication.²⁴ The tendency toward universal schemes of categorisation based on established factors, such as political control or mode of state organisation, influenced research into journalism during the 1950s, which was marked by the predominance of the Anglo-American approach. The convergence of events that occurred in the second part of the twentieth century, including geopolitical realignments and the emergence of new technologies crossing national boundaries, called into question the usefulness of continuing to apply consolidated categories, raising the possibility of replacing them with a range of more complex and diverse perspectives.

The full spectrum of circumstances that determined the massive development of the publishing press in the USA at the end of the nineteenth century remains difficult to describe in its entirety. Both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view, the publications dealing with this period have experienced difficulties concerning the definition and classification of the

²² Christopher Sterling, ed., *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009); Stephen Vaughn, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Journalism*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2007); Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American magazines, 1741–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967).

²³ Fredrick Seaton Siebert, Theodore Bernard Peterson and Wilbur Lang Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1956).

²⁴ Judy Polunbaum, 'Comparative Models of Journalism', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Christopher Sterling, pp. 339–342 (p. 339; p. 342).

assortment of materials. With regard to the magazine press, Mott offers an idea of the scale of circulation of publications, as he quotes one observer who stated in 1897: 'Magazines, magazines, magazines! The newsstands are already groaning under the heavy load, and there are still more coming'.²⁵ Due to the rapid appearance and disappearance of titles, even Mott encountered problems making precise estimates of the number of individual magazines. According to his analysis, more than 1,000 new magazines were published between 1885 and 1890, arriving at the number of 7,500 titles being circulated in 1905. What is also notable is the circulation of iconic periodicals such as *The Saturday Evening Post*, which reached peaks of half a million readers in 1903, and the success of the *Ladies Home Journal*, which obtained the record number of a million readers during the same year.

In addition to the difficulties in detecting the main factors that determine the quantity of publications, issues connected to the quality and modalities of the magazines' circulation in this period have also been raised. On this point, the debate regarding the problems of classification of little magazines in the USA is of particular interest. The uncategorisability of these magazines has been connected to what Ann Ardis has called the 'four great divides' that have structured modernist studies: the high/low cultural divide; the British/American contraposition; the opposition between 'literature' and popular press writing; and the divide between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²⁶ While explaining the problems related to the categorisation of North American modernist magazines, Andrew Thacker takes into consideration a range of possibilities, such as the model of the cultural field as theorised by Pierre Bourdieu.²⁷ Following the hypothesis of a periodical field, magazines could be categorised in terms of readership, contents, presence and quality of images, sales or circulation figures. Nevertheless, these categories are not easily applicable to the US context. In a certain sense, the American little magazines echoed the developing growth of the mass-market magazine, providing opportunities to advertisers. In this way, they distanced themselves from their British and French counterparts. By investigating the correspondence between editors and contributors, between bookshops and advertisers, we may detect the synergies between little magazines and the popular press: for example, Frank Crowninshield,

²⁵ Andrew Thacker, 'General Introduction: "Magazines, Magazines, Magazines!"', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009-13), II: *North America 1894-1960*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2012), pp. 1-28 (p. 21).

²⁶ Ann Ardis, 'Before the "Great Divide[s]": "Periodical Communities" and the Public Sphere, 1880-1922', Lecture given at the University of Delaware, April 2007; quoted in Kirsten MacLeod, 'The Fine Art of Cheap Print: Turn-of-the-Century American Little Magazines', in *Transatlantic Print Culture*, ed. by Ardis and Collier, pp. 182-198 (p. 183).

²⁷ Thacker, 'General Introduction', p. 16.

the editor of *Vanity Fair*, which was initially an elite magazine, had much experience with mass circulation papers. As David Earle argues, the field of pulp magazines fluctuated a great deal, with huge variations in style, readership and content: 'Modernism was available to the mass public in popular periodicals, perhaps not in such a concentrated way as in the little magazines, but so pervasively as to have, at the very last, a gravitational pull on modernism in general'.²⁸ Within the US scenario, the dominant feature from the turn of the century into the 1930s seems to have been that of a cross-fertilisation, that is, a network of connections between different categories and an ongoing dialogue between aesthetic and commercial approaches.

1.2.1 Visual Contaminations

The year 1897 is the object of an extensive analysis by Joseph Campbell, who employs a limited chronological approach to identify the main developments of the American newspaper industry in *The Year That Defined American Journalism*.²⁹ Campbell's work focusses on the competition between three alternative models of journalism that were competing for supremacy during this period: William R. Hearst's 'journalism that acts',³⁰ Lincoln Steffens's literary journalism; and the 'impartial' narrative of the *New York Times*,³¹ which would become the prevailing model of journalism in the twentieth century.³² In the same year, significant transitions occurred in visual content. The application of the half-tone process to high-speed newspaper printing created the conditions for the systematic use of photos in the periodical press, while Hearst's *New York Journal* saw the debut of 'The Katzenjammer Kids', the comic strip that reached the widest readership on an international scale.

The figurative aspect turned out to be a crucial factor in expanding American influence in European countries through various forms of dissemination, which were connected to the idea

²⁸ David M. Earle, 'Pulp Magazines and the Popular Press', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, II: *North America 1894–1960*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker (2013), pp. 197–216 (p. 198).

²⁹ W. Joseph Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigms* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³² The definition of Yellow Journalism was coined in mid-1890 to define a form of sensationalist journalism, which included the use of provocative illustrations, big and dark headlines, and the persistent promotion of exclusive news stories [features]. This format emerged from the competition (in terms of newspaper circulation) between Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. The term yellow referred to the cartoon character Yellow the Kid, created by Richard F. Outcault and first published in the *New York World*, and later also in the *New York Journal*.

of the 'Americanization of the World'.³³ The impact of so-called Yellow Journalism was deeply perceived in Europe in connection to advertising and visual supplements for children, despite 'recurrent moral panics over the popular print'.³⁴ Comics produced in the USA rapidly conquered the European market, as the example of the *Corriere dei Piccoli* – the new, illustrated supplement of the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* – demonstrates. In October 1906, Felice Ferrero – a correspondent for the *Corriere della Sera* – told the editor Luigi Albertini that he was sending 'beautiful papers for children and young people of all ages; from those who cannot yet read, up to those of thirteen to fourteen years old', many of which were arriving from the United States.³⁵

The concept of Americanisation is also seen as being connected to advertising, which – as Victoria De Grazia argues – played a crucial role in the development of the American mass-market magazines and their influence in Europe. A new style of advertisements, stimulated by massive industrial growth, bore witness to the encounter between the publishing press and the American consumer market. This style was 'carefully argued, and meticulously designed, sometimes featuring in the form of multicolour inserts, that were conspicuously displayed within the pages of mass circulation magazines of the interwar years, in particular the *Ladies Home Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Good Housekeeping*'.³⁶

Forms of narrative and figurative sequences not only filled up the advertising and comics pages; they also pervaded the way news was handled. Far ahead of their European counterparts, American magazines entirely composed of photographs began to appear in the 1890s. The photographic pages of *The Illustrated American* and *Collier's Weekly* used full-page graphic compositions to convey news related to politics and theatre as well as to urban life. Thanks to the increased accessibility to photography following the development of the gelatine-silver technique, not only photographic studios, such as Underwood & Underwood

³³ Laurel Brake, 'Journalism and Modernism, Continued: The Case of W.T. Stead', in *Transatlantic Print Culture*, ed. by Ardis and Collier, pp. 149-66 (p. 163).

³⁴ Christine Bold introduces her work about the *US Popular Print Culture* with a cover of *Puck* published in September 1881, 'Food of Our Youth', in which a child is represented whilst imbibing sensational stories, turning him into a 'pistol- and knife-wielding killer'. Christine Bold, 'Introduction', in *US Popular Print Culture, 1860-1920*, ed. by Christine Bold (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015), p. 3. Ebook.

³⁵ Felice Ferrero, 'Letter to Luigi Albertini', 1906, Milan, Archivio Fondazione Corriere della Sera (AFCdS), Sezione Carteggio, f. 447C.

³⁶ Victoria De Grazia, 'The Arts of Purchase: How U.S. Advertising Subverted the European Poster', in *Remaking History (DIA Art Foundation: Discussions in Contemporary Culture #4)*, ed. by Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani (Seattle: Bay Press edition, 1989), pp. 221-257 (p. 235).

(1881) and Keystone (1892), but also readers and anonymous photographers became providers of materials for publishers.³⁷

The encounter between photographs provided by external agencies and materials produced by readers had a significant effect on the popularity of fan magazines; emerging scientific theories about the role of imitation in human development may have played – as Diana W. Anselmo suggests – a crucial part in determining the increase of photographic content in these magazines around the 1910s.³⁸ Advertising entered the dialogue between celebrities and readers, facilitating a double narrative system, as can be seen in *Photoplay*, one of the most popular fan magazines, which reached about two million readers in 1922. In the issue published in October 1917, a varied system of illustrated content depicts celebrities by means of illustrated and studio portraits or through narrative photo sequences, while adverts invite readers to 'Take a Kodak with you' to record their own life experiences on camera.³⁹ In the 'photo interview' with Douglas Fairbanks, presented rhythmically through pictures and captions, the actor – after declaring his faith in the future of the motion picture industry – asks if the interview can be conducted in a dynamic way, because he 'can talk better in motion'.⁴⁰ With stardom becoming a key theme on the market, photography and the advancement of visual technology fed the development of the celebrity business. Photographic studios could rely on an increasing demand for visual materials, in particular in relation to celebrities, as was demonstrated by the work of Napoleon Sarony, who built his career 'photographing leading actors of the day'.⁴¹ Kimberly Meltzer quotes Joshua Gamson as he states that the growing role of photography employed in print media expanded the 'dissemination of the face', laying the ground for the 'publicizing of people'.⁴²

³⁷ Thierry Gervais and Gaëlle Morel, *La fabrique de l'information visuelle: photographies et magazines d'actualité* (Paris: Éditions Textuel, 2015), p. 33.

³⁸ Diana W. Anselmo, 'Made in Movieland: Imitation, Agency, and Girl Movie Fandom in the 1910s', *Camera Obscura*, 32.94 (2017), 128–65.

³⁹ 'Take a Kodak with You', *Photoplay Magazine*, October 1917, p. 103.

⁴⁰ Alfred Cohn, 'A Photo-Interview with Douglas Fairbanks', *Photoplay Magazine*, October 1917, p. 36.

⁴¹ Scott Fosdick, 'Entertainment Journalism', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Sterling, pp. 526-529 (p. 528).

⁴² Joshua Gamson, *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); quoted in Kimberly Meltzer, 'Celebrity and Fan Magazines', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Sterling, p. 266.

1.2.2 *Time, Life and Look: From the Sensationalistic to the Everyday*

The principles of narrativisation and the visual impact of celebrities' portraits also formed the core concept of the 'editorial philosophy' adopted by *Time*, the magazine that conquered the US market, attaining a circulation of more than 175,000 by 1927.⁴³ *Time* and *Life*, the main publications created by Henry Luce, have been analysed in extensive studies dedicated to their internal system of production.⁴⁴ The awareness of the importance of production practices emerges in key publications such as *The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise* (1968), written by the former editor and executive of *Time*, Robert T. Elson,⁴⁵ and in the volume *Photojournalism*, published by Time-Life Books in 1971.⁴⁶ Both represented a relevant step forward in the literature on the subject. Particularly interesting in this perspective is the comparison between 'the production-line method' of *Life* and the 'craft system' adopted by *Look*, in the definition of its editor George Leonard.⁴⁷

In Luce's view, the presentation of the news was meant to draw the readers into a story, reaching the public through a synthetic and effective narrative, exploiting the techniques of the comedy, the epic or the melodrama: a context in which people played a major role. Covers with hyper-realistic portraits of personalities were perceived as a fundamental tool to make readers 'see and hear and even smell these people'.⁴⁸ It was a pragmatic reason that led *Time's* editorial team to develop the feature of 'The Man of the Year' in 1927, namely the need to fill the cover at the end of the journalistic season (in December). Selecting the image of a 'man who has featured in the year's top news event[s]', the mythology of the weekly frame was expanded into a wider form of narrativity, which became part of the magazine's heritage as well as a demonstration of its place in national life.⁴⁹

The emphasis on 'imaginative celebrity portraiture' was also showcased by another – less popular but quite influential – magazine: *Vanity Fair*.⁵⁰ The publication, inspired by the British *Sketch* and *Tatler*, has been located between the '[a]vant-garde magazines and the market

⁴³ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, 'Time', *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2021) <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Time-American-magazine>> [accessed 2 July 2019].

⁴⁴ Briton Hadden and Robert Livingston Johnson co-founded *Time* in 1923 along with Henry Luce. Hadden was *Time's* first editor and strongly influenced its journalistic style.

⁴⁵ Robert T. Elson and Duncan Norton-Taylor, *The World of Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

⁴⁶ *Photojournalism* (New York: Time-life Books, 1971).

⁴⁷ George Leonard, *Walking on the Edge of the World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 17.

⁴⁸ Angeletti and Oliva, *Magazines that Make History*, p. 33.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

driven arena of the daily papers and mass-circulation weeklies'.⁵¹ The portraits of actors and other personalities that the chief photographer of *Vanity Fair*, Edward Steichen, took from 1923 onwards merged a profound knowledge of European avant-gardes with commercial photography.

This model was influenced by Luce's second wife, Clare Booth Brokaw, a former editor of *Vanity Fair* who probably contributed to the creation of *Life* in 1936. Another important factor was undoubtedly Luce's perception of the popular interest in stories told through cinema. Facilitated by technical improvements (the miniature photo camera Leica, the 5-millimeter film and more functional printers), magazines were able to display the news in similar ways to the movies, in sequence and within context.⁵² A complex system composed of different areas, headed by the editor and by researchers, was supposed to search the world for the best photos to publish.⁵³ The core of *Life's* production system was the photo department, where photo editors were in charge of deciding what pictures should be published on the basis of the selections prepared by researchers. This process should be placed in a context where – as Sheila Webb has emphasised – the writer's control over the production and selection of images through the creation of shooting scripts was essential: '[I]n integrating image and text, *Life* nurtured what Hicks called "a new kind of writer", one who was directly involved in the images from their conception to [their] presentation'.⁵⁴

By contemporaneously documenting the daily life of a country doctor (W. Eugene Smith, 1948) and by following the celebrities' routines, different facets of life were shown in order to attain a 'complete and reliable' record of a range of diverse events and spheres.⁵⁵ It is not my intention here to engage in a debate about the concept of record and documentary photography in the meaning that has been attributed to Luce and in the indications that were given to the staff. Webb, among others, aptly quoted the definition of the photo essay in terms

⁵¹ Faye Hammill and Karen Leick, 'Modernism and the Quality Magazines: *Vanity Fair* (1914–36); *American Mercury* (1924–81); *New Yorker* (1925–); *Esquire* (1933–)', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, II: North America 1894–1960*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker (2013), pp. 176–96

⁵² On *Life* and cinema see: Loudon Wainwright, *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of LIFE* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

⁵³ A relevant demonstration of the continuity with the European tradition was the presence of Kurt Korff, former editor of *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*.

⁵⁴ Sheila M. Webb, 'Creating *Life*: "America's Most Potent Editorial Force"', *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 18.2 (2016), 55–108 (p. 82).

⁵⁵ Angeletti and Oliva, *Magazines that Make History*, p. 125.

of a 'vision of the world easily consumed and digested', in relation to the working methods and to the socio-political backgrounds of both Luce and *Life's* editors.⁵⁶

Life was supposed to cover stories that ran 'from the sensationalistic to [the] everyday',⁵⁷ as demonstrated by the articles published in the first issue of 23 November 1936, which ranged from the US president's diary to the glamour of 'Life Goes to a Party'. The main article in this issue featured the photographer Margaret Bourke-White's depiction of the life of a family of workers in Montana at Fort Peck. Reaching an international readership, these pages became a milestone, and they were associated with the use of photo essays for sociological inquiries within the periodical press. This approach was developed within a narrative context: the influence of the 1920s tradition of photojournalism, symbolised by the presence among the

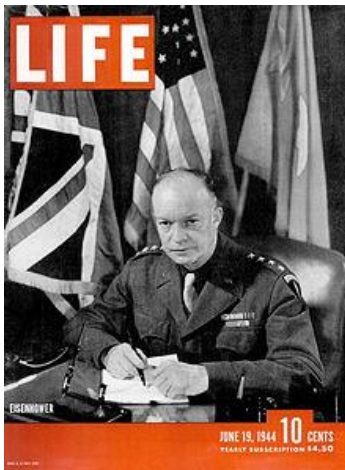


Figure 2.2 *Life*, 19 June 1944. (Figure 2.2).⁵⁸

magazine's staff of Alfred Eisenstaedt (former photographer of the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*) and of the documentary photographers of the Resettlement Administration (RA) and of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The fact that the latter worked for picture magazines such as *Life*, *Look* and *Fortune* had a significant impact on the European and the Italian press, in view of the different modalities through which these magazines could circulate or were familiar to the entourage of publishers like Mondadori between the end of the 1930s and the 1940s

In 1947, a former photographer of the FSA, Arthur Rothstein, became Technical Director of the Photography Department at *Look*, a general interest magazine founded in 1937 by the newspaper publisher Gardner Cowles. The internal *modus operandi*, defined by Leonard as a 'craft system', has often been compared to the more compartmentalised *Life*, where 'the production-line method' responded to the leading position of Luce.⁵⁹ If the organisational structure in specialised departments was similar to that of *Life*, according to Leo Rosten *Look's* editorial policy 'flowed from the ease, the diversity, and the rock-bottom democracy of those

⁵⁶ Dona Schwartz, 'To Tell the Truth: Codes of Objectivity in Photojournalism', *Communication*, 13 (1992), 95–109 (p. 108); quoted in Webb, 'Creating Life', p. 80.

⁵⁷ Miles Orvell, *Photography in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 104.

⁵⁸ Barbara Grespi, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', in *Stillness in Motion: Italy, Photography, and the Meanings of Modernity*, ed. by Giuliana Minghelli and Sarah Patricia Hill (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), pp. 196–199; De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico', p. 49.

⁵⁹ George Leonard, *Walking on the Edge of the World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 17.

who created each issue'.⁶⁰ The creative linkage between the publication of photo essays and cinema production was also favoured by Rothstein's interest in motion pictures.⁶¹

The convergence of documentary photography and cinematic effects in the narrative frame of the photo essay is one of the key elements impacting illustrated American magazines such as *Life* and *Look*, and periodical print culture in Europe. Barbara Grespi, among other scholars, has studied the relationships between cinema and photography in Italy between the 1930s and 1940s. She has devoted particular attention to the impact that FSA's documentary epic had on the Italian illustrated press and on post-war cinema production.⁶²

1.3 The Periodical Press in the United Kingdom

In the late nineteenth century, when technological progress and increasing literacy rates laid the foundations for the development of a mass population of media consumers, the magazine press was already a deeply rooted and established business in Britain.⁶³ The beginning of popular publications explicitly conceived for educational purposes is widely associated with the creation of *The Penny Magazine* in 1832, whereas the origins of periodicals aimed at a general audience can be traced back to the end of the seventeenth century, with the evolution of news-books into pamphlets during the English Civil War. According to Liz Nice, the symbolic importance of the British magazine press is highlighted by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, founded in 1731 and widely regarded as the first publication to use the term magazine (meaning storehouse) to denote a periodical miscellany of information and novels aimed at a general readership.⁶⁴ The abolition of the paper duties in 1861 played a crucial role in the transformation of the publishing industry. By the end of the 1870s, the number of magazine titles circulating in Britain was in the region of 930, more than doubling the number that had been reached ten years before (around 480). A relevant role in the expansion of magazine reading was played by a magazine published in 1881 by George Newnes, who is widely considered the founding father

⁶⁰ Philippe D. Mather, *Stanley Kubrick at Look Magazine Authorship and Genre in Photojournalism and Film* (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2013), p. 29.

⁶¹ Vincent LoBrutto, *Stanley Kubrick a Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999), p. 37.

⁶² Barbara Grespi, 'L'influenza della fotografia americana sul neorealismo cinematografico italiano', in *L'anello che non tiene. Journal of Modern Italian Literature*, 20-21 (2008), 87-117; Grespi, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', pp. 183-215; Grespi, 'Cinema fotografato: Film neorealisti e cultura fotografica del dopoguerra italiano', in *Fotografia e culture visuali del XXI secolo*, ed. by Enrico Menduni and Lorenzo Marmo (Rome: RomaTrE-Press, 2018), pp. 421-431. See also: Ennery Taramelli, *Viaggio nell'Italia del Neorealismo* (Turin: SEI, 1995).

⁶³ Nice, 'British Magazines', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Sterling, pp. 200-05 (p. 201).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-1.

of popular journalism. Demonstrating that information could be sold as entertainment, within three months the penny weekly *Tit-Bits* reached 90,000 copies per day, presenting a mix of competitions, prizes, jokes and news taken from a random selection of newspapers from around the world.⁶⁵

Martin Conboy argues that the main development in the 1880s was a change in the reading attitudes of the popular readership.⁶⁶ In line with the trend toward 'urbanization, technology and advertising' and an increased involvement in politics,⁶⁷ the general public - considered as a potential news and entertainment consumer - was oriented toward the daily press.⁶⁸ A key element was the success of the Sunday newspapers; by managing a skilful combination of radical rhetoric and elements of popular cultural continuity, such as carnivalesque and sensational narratives, these could integrate the periodical press into a long-established print tradition. As Conboy points out, the language adopted by the Sunday papers worked as an effective 'heteroglossic mixture', drawing on deeply rooted patterns such as the 'broadsheet, almanac and ballad',⁶⁹ popular theatre and melodrama, which played a fundamental role in providing forms of storytelling that appealed to the new audience of readers created by the development of the school system:⁷⁰

In less than a decade during the 1890s the British magazine industry was transformed from a relatively stable area of business enterprise, under the control and management of self-funded family-owned firms, to a modern, capital-intensive industry dominated by increasingly vertically integrated, publicly listed corporations.⁷¹

1.3.1 *Toward an Expanded Communication*

The Daily Mail was launched in May 1896 by Alfred Harmsworth, an entrepreneur who would make his mark on the British press over the following decades (acquiring, among others, *The Times* in 1908). Harmsworth pioneered a model of communication based on familiar patterns, which responded to the readers' interests and sensibilities, created by improved levels of

⁶⁵ Martin Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2002), p. 94.

⁶⁶ Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶⁸ With regard to the debate around the concept of 'public sphere' see: Mark Hampton, 'Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism and Its Historians', in *Transatlantic Print Culture*, ed. by Ardis and Collier, pp. 15–29.

⁶⁹ Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, p. 81.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁷¹ Howard Cox and Simon Mowatt, *Revolutions from Grub Street* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) p. 35.

schooling. According to Conboy, the use of illustrations connected to famous characters – either imperial heroes or villains accused in famous court cases, or people related to popular science and psychology – should be seen in the wider context of a ‘popular project’.⁷² Together with the introduction of visual materials, other elements, such as the use of headlines, interviews with celebrities or ordinary people, gossip, investigative reporting, puzzles and quizzes, contributed to improving the pages’ readability and appeal.⁷³ These features remained associated with the definition of New Journalism as termed by the critic Matthew Arnold in a report to Parliament in April 1887, in which he described this form of journalism as ‘full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is feather-brained’.⁷⁴

The idea that the development of the periodical press represented a decline from a golden age of journalism to the standardisation and commercial exploitation of the public remained common during the following century.⁷⁵ Queenie D. Leavis, a literary critic who was married to the influential commentator Frank R. Leavis, claimed that the papers of Harmsworth and of the other leading publishers – George Newnes and Arthur Pearson – created a cultural division that had not existed before.⁷⁶ While the perspective according to which New Journalism represented a rupture from a previous and more elevated model has now been rejected, the transformations that occurred in this period, such as the increase in circulation, multiplication of titles, and changes in styles and production systems, marked a radical development of the press. Considering the British press in the transatlantic context, Joel Wiener underlines how this New Journalism – using the British definition (the equivalent of Yellow Journalism in the United States) or the generic label of tabloid journalism – represented a historical shift from a pedagogical and elitist press to mass communication, changing the ‘reading habits and daily consciousness’ of ordinary people.⁷⁷

These transformations were matched by radical changes in industrial and organisational practices. The increasing complexity of the editorial approach required differentiating between employers, creative journalists, unskilled workers – in order to operate the industrial-scale rotary presses – and more specialised workers for the reproduction of images (using two main

⁷² Ibid., pp. 104–5.

⁷³ Brake, ‘Journalism and Modernism’, p. 152.

⁷⁴ Mathew Arnold, ‘Up to Easter’, in *W.T. Stead Resource Site* <<https://www.attackingthediabol.co.uk/related/easter.php>> [accessed 21 February 2021].

⁷⁵ Jean K. Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 66.

⁷⁶ Queenie Dorothy Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), pp. 182–183.

⁷⁷ Joel H. Wiener, *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (New York and London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 3.

techniques: gravure and lithography). In the demand for a uniform, coherent and personalised layout, new roles emerged amid the changing practices of the editorial process. The visual appeal of magazines started to be handled by sub-editors, who took charge of tailoring the contents so as to fit the slots available within the pictorial and advertising space.⁷⁸

1.3.2 An Age of Curiosity

In British media studies, the journey toward the mass-market and industrial press system has been widely associated with the separation between the commercial and the arts and literary press. However, as Brooker and Andrew Thacker have underlined, the division between modernist and mass-market publications is less sharp than has previously been suggested: a deeper fluidity in the intersection of different stimuli characterised this period.⁷⁹ Conboy defines the late nineteenth century in Britain as 'an age of curiosity',⁸⁰ where the editorial transformation of the press can be situated in relation to the optimistic pulsion that was generated by international technological revolutions. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the question of cultural progress was openly addressed in little magazines, in the attempt to bring together a broader range of media – such as drama, music and literature – and to change the 'way of looking at things' into a substantial 'unity of science and literature and art'.⁸¹ In 1902, *TPs' Weekly* claimed that 'we have entered upon the period of Democracy in Literature' aiming to bring informed knowledge of all literary topics to this new mass audience.⁸²

In the general press, curiosity, involvement and entertainment were reflected in different ways. *The Weekly Telegraph* of 6 November 1897 amused its readership with a 'picture puzzle prize competition' followed by pleasant little stories, where cinema, theatre and photography were mixed together.⁸³ A short article dedicated to the 'cinematographic reproduction' of a fight, a cartoon illustrating the popular habits of having photographic portraits taken, and an announcement for 'incandescent gas lightening' were interestingly mixed in the lower part of

⁷⁸ Donald Matheson, 'The Birth of News Discourse: Changes in News Language in British Newspapers, 1880–1930', *Media Culture & Society - MEDIA CULT SOC*, 22 (2000), 557-573 (p. 565).

⁷⁹ Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 'Introduction', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, I: *Britain and Ireland 1880-1955*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker (2009), pp. 145–51.

⁸⁰ Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, p. 101.

⁸¹ 'Envoy', *The Evergreen*, Winter (1896–7), p. 156.

⁸² *T.P.'s Weekly*, 21 November 1902, p. 146; quoted in Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 88.

⁸³ *The Weekly Telegraph*, 6 November 1897, p. 11

the page.⁸⁴ According to Wright, it was the impact of the popularity of the first cinemas and the introduction of the newsreel in 1910 that forced reluctant newspapers to overcome their prejudice against images 'as means for the illiterate' and to finally accept the use of photography.⁸⁵ The fascination with film actors was soon adopted as a key feature of the popular press, which gave increasing space to movie gossip columns, such as 'Cinema Notes' in the *Daily Express*.⁸⁶ A growing interest in fan magazines also developed, among which were *Moving Picture World* (1910), *The Pictures* (1911) and *The Picture Show* (1919).

The interactions between the cinematic experience and the magazine process greatly expanded, to such an extent that they impacted on both press production and an evolving readership. Before returning to the publishing press in 1899, Pearson invested in the British Mutoscope and Biograph Company, the leading British film company of the period, with the idea of providing illustrated journalism through motion pictures. Twenty years later, namely in 1921, *The Banbury Advertiser* dedicated a short article – published in the column 'Current Cinema Notes' – to 'An Animated Magazine in the Making'.⁸⁷ The article describes the difficulties of putting together 'Art, Science, Industry, Sport and Slow Motion Photography', explaining how 'five or six varying subjects [...] are compressed, grafted and cut until, like a daily newspaper, they present the essence of the story to be told'.⁸⁸ In the avant-garde cinema groups, as Bryher – the editor of *Close up* – describes, it also became fashionable 'to make films as it had been the custom in Paris to bring out two issues of a magazine. There were societies all over Europe, they corresponded with *Close up* and subscribed to it [...] these small pictures were training the directors and cameramen of the future as the "little reviews" had trained the writers'.⁸⁹

The use of illustrations in cinema magazines was important also in far less elitist contexts, such as *The Shadow Stage*; in October 1919, *The Leeds Mercury Monday* called it the liveliest publication on the bookshelves, making reference in capital letters to the 'exquisite four pages sepiagraveure' that were contained in each number.⁹⁰ Photography provided readers with a service that was previously covered by cheap prints and which strongly contributed to the

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Jeff Wright, 'The Myth in the Mirror', *British Journalism Review*, 14.3 (2003), 59-66 (p. 65).

⁸⁶ Dan Lloyd LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain Between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 47.

⁸⁷ 'An Animated Magazine in the Making', *The Banbury Advertiser*, 7 April 1921, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Bryher, *The Heart to Artemis: A Writer's Memoirs* (London: Collins, 1963), pp. 264-5.

⁹⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, Monday 20 October 1919, p. 4.

success of the *Daily Mirror*, which reached a circulation of about 800,000 issues before the First World War.⁹¹ The connection to the tradition of religious prints was clearly echoed in the text accompanying the front-page photograph of the late King Edward VII on 16 May 1910: 'This last aspect of the earthly tabernacle and soul of the great King, bound to all British hearts by so many ties of duty and affection, will be cherished as a sacred relic in many British homes'.⁹²

The popularisation of the illustrated press was made possible by efficient printing methods that only a restricted number of firms could sustain, maintaining the prices at a level 'low enough' to discourage new entrants to the industry.⁹³ The *Daily Mirror* and the magazines printed by the Amalgamated Press typified the newsprint empires, which were concerned with building and maintaining a mass circulation. This stranglehold increased with the further consolidation of the press empires, which were dominated, after 1922, by four men: Lords Beaverbrook, Rothermere, Camrose and Kemsley. By 1937, it has been estimated that they owned nearly one in every two national and local newspapers, as well as one in every three Sunday papers.⁹⁴ This sort of acquisitiveness was not uniform.⁹⁵ However, the most significant and enduring feature of the industry at this time was the fact that the publishing firms that dominated magazine production were also, for the most part, those that published Britain's leading popular newspapers.⁹⁶

In Conboy's view, the developments of the 1930s should be seen as a continuum of New Journalism in terms of the expansion of sales and readership of the popular press. Typography and layout were now considered as important as the newspaper's contents in building a popular rhetoric. Fundamental for the success of the *Daily Express* was the revolutionary layout Arthur Christiansen conceived in 1933, which included cleaner print, better spacing, more and bigger headlines and the use of cross-headings to break up the page into more accessible sections. This turning point is also what determined a decline in the periodical press. When the cartoonist Harry Guy Bartholomew became the editorial director of the *Daily Mirror* in 1933, the paper was experiencing another failure in circulation. Described as a 'tabloid genius', according to Williams

⁹¹ Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, p. 126.

⁹² 'Edward the Peacemaker at Peace: The Late King Photographed on His Death-Bed at Buckingham Palace', *Daily Mirror*, 16 May 1910, cover.

⁹³ Cox and Mowatt, *Revolutions from Grub Street*, p. 52.

⁹⁴ James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain*, 6th edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 40.

⁹⁵ Unlike the press barons, Lord Kemsley saw four newspapers close down (*Sunday Graphic*, *Empire News*, *Sunday Chronicle* and *Sunday Dispatch*), but he focussed his efforts on the prestigious and successful *Sunday Times*. Martin Conboy, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2011), p. 48.

⁹⁶ Cox and Mowatt, *Revolutions from Grub Street*, p. 71.

Bartholomew was able to understand the expectations of 'millions of working class people'.⁹⁷ He successfully adapted the American-style tabloid to the British context. An interesting example in this sense is the article titled 'Queen Mary Helps to Make Film History' of March 1939, with a huge headline dominating a half-page photograph and a lively caption providing commentary on the first time that a member of the Royal Family attended a film set (at the London Film Studios).⁹⁸

The demand for advanced techniques of image reproduction determined the increasing importance of the Sun Engraving Company, which emerged between the wars as the main printer of popular magazines in Britain. In the mid-1920s, cinema magazines such as *Passing Show* and fan papers such as *Film Pictorial* offered colour pages of a quality and at a price that had never before been achieved. By 1938, Sun Engraving had become the largest combined gravure and letterpress printing company in the world. During the same year, the company started printing a new illustrated magazine with a cover clearly inspired by the American publication *Life*, which reached 1.75 million copies in only a few weeks. Published by Edward Hulton, the *Picture Post* was created under the direction of Stefan Lorant, a Hungarian editor with a long career as a photographer, editor and filmmaker in Berlin and Vienna. Before moving



Figure 2.3 'How Picture Post is Produced', *Picture Post*, 24 December 1938, p. 44. © Photo by Kurt Hutton/Picture Post/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

to England in 1933, following Hitler's rise to power, he developed a sophisticated photographic culture by working for magazines such as *Film Kurier* and the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*. The narrative system he created with photographers such as Erich Salomon and Felix H. Man, with whom Lorant also collaborated at the *Picture Post*, was manifested in imaginative picture essays containing sequences of photographs. In the encounter between mass culture and experimental research in the visual arts, a shared narrative could effectively mediate innovative languages with melodrama through cinema and photojournalism.⁹⁹ In the portrait published in December 1938, Lorant's work is

⁹⁷ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958), p. 224.

⁹⁸ 'Queen Mary Helps to Make Film History', *Daily Mirror*, 25 March 1939, p. 17.

⁹⁹ Patrice Petro, *Joyless streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

clearly explained: 'He has to examine some thousands of pictures every week. His is the eye that picks out the picture to make large; the picture for the cover, the series that will run for ten pages; the one good picture in an otherwise useless set' (Figure 2.3).¹⁰⁰ Explicitly conceived to appeal 'to the common man, to the workers, to the intelligentsia', his concept of photography responded to a mission of 'mechanical objectivity' and authenticity which was proclaimed in the photographic publications from the origins.¹⁰¹

1.4 The French Model

Discourses about the role of photography within the French news press, as a tool to support the authenticity of information for a wide readership, date back to the 1840s.¹⁰² In his study of the French press, Eugène Hatin argues that the relevance of magazines is so widely recognised that there is no need to give further motivation for their historical interest: periodicals, defined as the 'incarnation of the modern spirit', are to be considered as reliable interpretations of their time.¹⁰³ In his view, their utility is comparable to Daguerre's invention of photography, which allowed for the capturing of material forms. The relevance of Hatin's words can be better understood if we consider that he was writing at the end of the 1850s, two decades after the presentation of the daguerreotype at the Academic Science Society, and that his book is considered a foundational work in the history of the periodical press in France. The awareness of the role of the press, and mainly the need to study its political and literary development, characterises what Dominique Kalifa and Alain Vaillant identify as the main feature of the first period of magazine publishing history in France.¹⁰⁴ This perspective is motivated also by the fact that most of the writers are journalists, interested in historical research mainly as a means to dignify their profession. Along with collecting data and producing inventories, these authors focus on the problems of legislation and the legitimacy of a free press in the attempt to justify the role of magazines – their power and morality – in modern society. In this context, as the authors argue, an essential but isolated work stands out, namely *Le Journal* by Georges Weill, in which the history of journalism is not only considered from a political perspective, but inscribed

¹⁰⁰ 'How Picture Post is Produced', *Picture Post*, 24 December 1938, pp. 44–52.

¹⁰¹ Michael Hallett, *Stefan Lorant: Godfather of Photojournalism* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2006), p. 70.

¹⁰² Thierry Gervais and Gaëlle Morel, *La fabrique de l'information visuelle: photographies et magazines d'actualité* (Paris: Éditions Textuel, 2015), p. 7.

¹⁰³ Eugène Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France: avec une introduction historique sur les origines du journal et la bibliographie générale des journaux depuis leur origine* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859), p. V.

¹⁰⁴ Dominique Kalifa and Alain Vaillant, 'Pour une histoire culturelle et littéraire de la presse française au XIX^e siècle', *Le Temps des médias*, 2.1 (2004), 197–214.

in the context of the economic, technical, social and intellectual transformations of modern Europe.¹⁰⁵

The impact of French culture on the European scene, from the early nineteenth century well into the 1930s, is so widely recognised that it has been defined – using Peter Brooker’s words in the introduction to *Modernist Magazines* – as a commonplace. Paris was ‘the capital of the Nineteenth Century’, to quote Walter Benjamin, and it proved to be a ‘powerful magnet’, a catalyst for innovative synergies on an international level.¹⁰⁶ Some events can be mentioned for their particular relevance: on a political level, the promulgation of the law on the press in 1881, which abolished many restrictions on the freedom of expression and which had an immediate resonance in all of Europe; from a formal point of view, as indicated by Michel Melot, the publication in 1880 of the impressionist magazine *Le Jour et La Nuit*, in which texts were completely abolished (apart from the painters’ signatures) in favour of images.¹⁰⁷ The magazine pioneered the hybridisation of forms and the mixing of genres that, through the avant-gardes, would reach wider audiences on an international level.¹⁰⁸ Through the massive expansion of images on the printed page, periodicals created a fragmentation of reading rhythms that was related to the reconsideration of the notion of time as developed through Impressionism, Bergson (1889), Einstein (1905) and Proust (1913).¹⁰⁹

In his analysis of the decades between 1880 and 1900, the historian Christophe Charle has identified two main features that characterised the periodical press.¹¹⁰ The first concerns the emergence of a social identity among the people operating within the journalistic field. An intense associative dynamic affected the higher ranks in the field (e.g. L’Association professionnelle des journalistes parisiens in 1884) but also less prominent categories, such as provincial journalists and editorial assistants.¹¹¹ Journalism began to be considered not only as a trampoline for political or institutional careers, but also as a real profession. The second main feature regards the diversification and specialisation of periodicals. The distinction between

¹⁰⁵ Georges Weill, *Le Journal. Origines, évolution et rôle de la presse périodique* (Paris: La Renaissance du livre, 1934).

¹⁰⁶ Peter Brooker, ‘Introduction’, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, III: *Europe 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Brooker and others, (2014), pp. 25–26.

¹⁰⁷ Michel Melot, ‘Introduction: L’Image et les périodiques en Europe entre deux siècles (1880–1920)’, in *L’Europe des revues*, ed. by Stead and Védérine, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Elisa Grilli, ‘Between Symbolism and Avant-Garde Poetics: *La Plume* (1889–1905); *L’Ermitage* (1890–1906); and *La Revue Blanche* (1889–1903)’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, III: *Europe 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Brooker and others (2014), pp. 75–100 (p. 89).

¹⁰⁹ See: Michel Melot, ‘Introduction: L’image et les périodiques en Europe entre deux siècles (1880–1920)’, in *L’Europe des revues*, ed. by Stead and Védérine, pp. 13–24.

¹¹⁰ Charle, *Le siècle de la presse*, p. 143.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 149–52.

generalist periodicals, aimed at a literate audience, and specialised magazines catering to an erudite readership started to become more clearly defined. The variety of considered subjects – from news to sport and entertainment – covered what Charle defined as all the cultural and social activities of a liberal and democratic society.¹¹²

Over time, however, the multiplication of titles resulted in less sharp boundaries between high and popular culture in relation to the use of visual contents. As noted by Jean-Pierre Bacot, the presence of illustrated supplements in the big newspapers (such as the *Petit Parisien* in 1889) turned out to be a significant development of the French press in the 1890s.¹¹³ The *Petit Journal*, founded in 1863, was the first newspaper to feature a coloured Sunday supplement, which reached a circulation of one million copies in 1900 and dominated the scene of the popular press. A generalist magazine such as the *Revue des Deux Mondes* introduced a more expensive and highly illustrated version, to appear alongside the normal edition. The use of images also became an essential feature of the women's press. Thanks to the improved literacy of lower middle and working classes, magazines needed to satisfy the pragmatic requests of the female readership, such as reproducing paper patterns, a simple but essential device that allowed them to imitate higher class fashion and attitudes.¹¹⁴

Street posters, kiosks and theatre signs reflecting the diversification of entertainment provided a direct indication of the increasing intermediality of urban life, as manifested in the mass extension of leisure activities. From the mid-eighteenth century, the *Revue de fin d'année*, a theatre show traditionally performed at the end of the year, started to be presented to the public also in the form of a small satirical magazine, a graphic mediation between the live scene and the printed text.¹¹⁵ Through the complementary use of words and images, the recreation of shadow plays and satirical sketches virtually transformed the magazine's pages themselves into a show. Other magazines, such as *Le chat noir* (named after Montmartre's main *cabaret artistique*), converted into paper the melting pot of the Parisian avant-garde, where popular entertainments and their modern reinterpretation were mixed through the use of puppets, cinema, theatre and literature.

The new means of capturing reality, cinema and photography slowly found a place in this media landscape. While the first photographic images appeared in *L'Illustration* in the mid-

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 155-167.

¹¹³ Jean-Pierre Bacot, 'Les numéros spéciaux de *L'Illustration* (1880-1930): objets hybrides, célèbres et méconnus', in *L'Europe des revues*, ed. by Stead and Védrine, pp. 25-39.

¹¹⁴ Charle, *Le siècle de la presse*, p. 189.

¹¹⁵ Piana Romain, 'Du périodique à la scène et retour: la revue de fin d'année illustrée', in *L'Europe des revues*, ed. by Stead and Védrine, p. 184.

nineteenth century, the presence of photography started to increase from the 1890s, with the development of the *similgravure* technique. Charles Grivel has observed how the timid and delayed debut of photography was not entirely due to technical problems.¹¹⁶ The corporate resistance of the associations of illustrators, engravers and pressmen represented a factor, too, along with resistance from the public. Around the turn of the century, photographic reproduction started to penetrate new spheres. In magazines such as *Le Panorama* (1895–1904), the photographic image invested not only tourist sites, landscapes and art pieces, but also portraits of famous personalities to be collected in albums together with personal memories. In 1904, the editor of *L'Illustration*, René Baschet, changed the magazine's editorial line by giving space to *faits divers* (human interest stories) and photographic images. This decision was connected to the idea that the readership could be seduced by a 'flux constant d'images'.¹¹⁷

As Thierry Gervais has highlighted, innovative combinations of text and photos were experimented with in sports magazines such as *La Vie au grand air* and *La Vie illustrée*, where readers were treated as spectators to be drawn in by rhythmic, dynamic and unusual layouts, resembling the effects of a sport show. If the general idea of modern journalism was to reproduce in the pages 'the montage [that] refers to the newsreels',¹¹⁸ Lumière's invention frequently appeared as a reference point in the *Belle Époque* magazines.¹¹⁹

Neither illustration nor photography could easily achieve a higher status. Grivel points out how the illustrated press seemed to pay the consequences of the rigid, explanatory and didactic use of illustrations in scientific cheap books and magazines that had been circulating ever since the mid-eighteenth century.¹²⁰ However, the demand for images increased during and after World War One. War fuelled new popular needs, such as the concern to preserve evidence or to collect 'souvenirs' of traumatic and revolutionary events, both of which reinforced the function of photographic images in the press as records of collective memories.¹²¹

Access to consumer goods and the relevance of advertisements in the press were relatively low compared to the United Kingdom and the United States, and in particular with regard to

¹¹⁶ Charles Grivel, 'La case-photo. Mise en scène illustrative et documentation dans le périodique de photographie entre deux siècles', in *L'Europe des revues*, ed. by Stead and Védrine, pp. 42–43.

¹¹⁷ Gervais, *La fabrique de l'information visuelle*, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹¹⁹ Vanessa Schwartz, 'Cinematic Spectatorship before the Apparatus: The Public Taste for Reality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris', in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, ed. by Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 297–319.

¹²⁰ Grivel, 'La case-photo', pp. 42–43.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

the use of reportages, with journalists and photographers often working in other countries. The French press was nonetheless drawn into a growing pattern of international exchange.

In Christian Delporte's opinion, the growing importance of reportage reflected changes in the way information was conveyed, in the context of a changing society where the lower classes, too, had more access to culture and entertainment.¹²² Charle offers a slightly different perspective, using the definition of 'voyeurisme des images' to refer to the policy of 'tout photo': an emotive, moving approach to the press that was shaped by the influence of American sensationalism.¹²³ However, he too locates these changes in relation to attempts by the illustrated press to carve out its place in the world of entertainment and media, particularly after the arrival of sound cinema.¹²⁴

The increasing presence of cinema was not only visible in the number of titles dedicated to the subject (between thirty and fifty), but also in its relevance as a context of sources of meaning. Comparing the composition of the magazines' lay-out to the *mise en scène*, in March 1937 Jean Selz wrote the following in *Presse-Publicité*:

The little paper cinema that is the magazine eventually made the *mise en scène* of its pages a living thing, and subsequently a thing that was spoken about, that is to say it gave, via the simple union of photographic and typographic events, sufficiently 'exposed' meanings so that the reader could enjoy the magazine like a spectator: without working for it.¹²⁵

As Gervais notes, Lucien Vogel also referred to cinema in the editorial he published in the first edition of *VU: illustré de la semaine*, in March 1928: '[A]nimé comme un beau film, *VU* sera attendu chaque semaine de tous ses lecteurs'.¹²⁶ The characteristics of *VU*, whose print run reached 500,000 copies, included the convergence of progressive content with a modernist graphic approach and high-quality visuals, which were also the result of the collaboration with exceptional photographers, such as Henri Cartier-Bresson and Man Ray. The magazine's attitude toward social and political criticism was facilitated by the graphic fragmentation of the page and the use of photomontage in order to bypass censorship.¹²⁷

¹²² Christine Delporte, '1901–1944: Un parfum d'âge d'or...', in *La Presse à la une: De la Gazette à Internet* <<http://expositions.bnf.fr/presse/arret/04-3.htm>> [accessed 1 March 2017].

¹²³ Charle, *Le siècle de la presse*, p. 265.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹²⁵ Jean Selz, 'Le cinéma et la mise en pages', *Presse-Publicité*, 28 March 1937, p. 8.

¹²⁶ Lucien Vogel, 'VU: remarques sur un nouveau journal illustré', *VU*, 21 March 1928, p. 11.

¹²⁷ Michel Frizot, 'Faire face, faire signe. La photographie, sa part d'histoire', in *Face à l'histoire. L'artiste moderne devant l'événement historique*, ed. by Jean-paul Ameline (Paris: Flammarion, 1997), pp. 49-57 (p. 54).

Photography also gained a privileged place in the daily newspaper *Paris-Soir*, the main international success of the 1930s, which reached a readership of two million people by the end of the decade. The publisher, Jean Prouvost, was a businessman with experience in the textile industry, which turned out to be fundamental in the search for innovative printing techniques.¹²⁸ In May 1931, readers were told of the new emphasis that would be placed on photographic images:

The image has become the queen of our times: we are no longer happy just to know, [but] we want to see. All the major magazines and newspapers tend to accompany the news by a photographic document, which does not only authenticate, but it gives the exact appearance.¹²⁹

A key figure in the magazine was Philippe Boegner, a previous editor of *VU* and – for some time – a collaborator of the German company Ullstein, the publisher of the *Berliner*



Figure 2.4 Match, 6 October 1938.

Illustrirte Zeitung. Boegner had edited another major publishing success, the magazine *Paris Match*. Although Henry Luce said that *Life* would not have existed without *VU*, as Freund points out,¹³⁰ Angeletti and Oliva consider *Paris Match* to be *Life's* best successor.¹³¹ The magazine's editorial programme was to bring together the best journalists of the time and a team of young and talented photographers. Starting as a new magazine in July 1938, it kept the title *Match* from the previous sport periodical, adding the subtitle *The Weekly of World News*. Featuring an unidentified girl on the cover (Figure 2.4), the issue of 6 October opened with the article 'September 1938, the most dramatic

month that the world has seen in twenty years', continuing with portraits of prominent personalities of the time and concluding with a special story 'about odd Hollywood professions, such as creating sound effects, making cobwebs and transporting plants'.¹³² Relunched as

¹²⁸ Claire Blandin, 'L'image au cœur de l'entreprise de presse de Jean Prouvost', in *Le photojournalisme des années 1930 à nos jours*, ed. by Joëlle Beurier and others (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014). Kindle ebook.

¹²⁹ Jean Prouvost, *Paris-Soir*, May 1931; quoted in Charle, *Le siècle de la presse (1830-1939)*, p. 264.

¹³⁰ Gisèle Freund (1974); quoted in Gilles Feyel, 'La presse magazine, un media à part entière', *Réseaux*, 105 (2001), 53–78.

¹³¹ Angeletti and Oliva, *Magazines that Make History*, p. 186.

¹³² 'Septembre 38, le mois le plus dramatique que le monde ait vécu depuis vingt ans' and 'Le plus étranges métiers de Hollywood', in *Match*, 6 October 1938.

Paris Match in 1949, the magazine's circulation rose by four times in a few years, moving from 425,000 copies in 1951 to 1.4 million in 1955.¹³³

In *Éléments pour une histoire comparatiste de la presse quotidienne en Europe*, Patrick Eveno compares the daily press in France with that of the UK and Germany in the post-war decades. Talking from an economic perspective, the author underlines the relevance of the politics of 'épurations de la presse' adopted in post-war Europe.¹³⁴ The French case was unusual in that it witnessed a decline, to which the Fédération Nationale de la Presse Française's ban on illustrated Sunday supplements undoubtedly contributed. Nevertheless, the post-war decades saw the emergence and affirmation of opinion magazines including *France Observateur*, founded in 1950, and *L'Express*, created by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Françoise Giroud in 1953. The latter adopted a news format based on the model of the American *Time*. In her essay in the colour edition of the magazine *Paris Match*, Claire Blandin noted the following, quoting Frizot: 'As when the illustrated weeklies were first published, the magazine is a "manual of contemporary history, immediately perceived"'.¹³⁵ By this time the photo-dominated illustrated magazines had learned how to convey events and personalities to readers who had been turned largely into spectators.

1.5 The Application to the Italian Case

By considering the peculiarities of the Italian illustrated press, and in particular the role of images in weekly periodicals, the question of the international mediatic convergences that I have analysed in the previous sections provides a useful background.¹³⁶ Undoubtedly, the example of more industrialised countries represented a key factor in the attempts at modernisation that occurred in Italy between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The intensification of professional exchanges and the search for new printing systems across Europe and the USA are supported by archival evidence drawn from

¹³³ Angeletti and Oliva, *Magazines that Make History*, p. 192.

¹³⁴ Patrick Eveno, 'Éléments pour une histoire comparatiste de la presse quotidienne en Europe', in *Société Pour l'histoire Des Médias* <<http://www.histoiredesmedias.com/Elements-pour-une-histoire.html>> [accessed 22 February 2021].

¹³⁵ Blandin, 'L'image au cœur de l'entreprise de presse de Jean Prouvost'. Ebook.

¹³⁶ The possibilities offered by new printing techniques in the development toward visual narrativity find its major expansion in the weekly and monthly press, whereas the daily press remains mainly confined to a different status, establishing a trend that turns out to be decisive in the further development of illustrated magazines, aimed at conquering the public through newspapers.

industry sources (e.g. Fondazione Corriere della Sera and Fondazione Mondadori) and also evident in the magazines themselves.¹³⁷

The first modern illustrated magazine, *Nuova Illustrazione Universale* (later *Illustrazione Italiana*), published in 1873 by Emilio and Guido Treves, was clearly inspired by the French publication *L'illustration* (1843), one of the first magazines to make use of photography in the editorial process.¹³⁸ It was Luigi Albertini who conducted a research trip so as to analyse the organisational structure of the English press, which entailed an experience at *The Times*, and who next put the Milanese newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, founded in 1876, on a firm industrial footing. While the *Corriere* was minimally illustrated,¹³⁹ the Sunday supplement *La Domenica del Corriere* (1899) was published using the rotative Hoe, the first machine of this type to have been imported in Italy from the United States, which allowed four-colour printing.¹⁴⁰ If the example of the Sunday magazines in the UK might have inspired the idea of illustrated supplements, the mediation of foreign correspondents of the *Corriere* influenced the creation of the weekly children's magazine *Corriere dei Piccoli* (1908), which was marked by a significant presence of international illustrations (French, English, American).¹⁴¹ Not surprisingly, the visual appeal of cinema featured as a technological wonder in the 'large synthetic compositions typical in 19th century periodicals' of *La Domenica del Corriere*, whereas the children's magazine adopted the narrative pattern of dynamic frames associated with American comics.¹⁴² In doing so, it paved the way for the different approach to reading that I have analysed in the other national contexts. Given the limited visual impact of the daily press, the accessibility developed

¹³⁷ For recent key studies on Italian periodicals see: Piazzoni, De Berti, eds, *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*. See in particular: Raffaele De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico', pp. 3-64; Guido Conti, 'Cesare Zavattini direttore editoriale. Le novità nei rotocalchi di Rizzoli e Mondadori', pp. 415-442; on Mondadori's magazine *Tempo*: Claudia Magnanini: "'Chi ha *Tempo* non aspetti *Life*". Un fotogiornale negli anni della guerra' (1939-1943), pp. 305-342; on Rizzoli's *Omnibus* and *Oggi* (1939-1942): Ivano Granata, 'L'*Omnibus* di Leo Longanesi', pp. 123-165; Irene Piazzoni, 'I periodici italiani negli anni del regime fascista', pp. 112-122. Recent publications on Rizzoli's magazines in the 1930s include: Maria Antonella Pelizzari: 'Make-Believe: Fashion and Cinelandia in Rizzoli's *Lei* (1933-38)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 20.1 (2015), 34-52; 'Facts and Fantasies: Photography and Camouflage in 1930s Italian Illustrated Media', *Modernism/Modernity*, 26.3 (2019), 563-594. On Italian illustrated magazines see also: 'Le Riviste', in *Arte moltiplicata*, ed. by Cinelli, Fergonzi and Negri, pp. 322-379.

¹³⁸ Gervais, *La fabrique de l'information visuelle*, pp. 20-27.

¹³⁹ On the *Corriere della Sera*'s illustrated magazines see: Giovanna Ginex, ed., *La Domenica del Corriere: Il Novecento illustrato* (Milan: Skira, 2007); Giovanna Ginex, ed., *Corriere dei Piccoli: storie, fumetto e illustrazione per ragazzi* (Milan: Skira, 2009).

¹⁴⁰ Ginex, 'L'arte dell'illustrazione nelle pagine de "La Domenica del Corriere" (1899-1989)', in *La Domenica del Corriere*, pp. 11-82 (p. 24).

¹⁴¹ Ginex, 'Il "Corriere dei Piccoli". Carte e disegni (1906-1970)', in *Corriere dei Piccoli*, ed. by Giovanna Ginex, pp. 73-83.

¹⁴² Olivier Lugon, 'Introduction. Cinema Flipped Through: Film in the Press and in Illustrated Books', in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Guido and Lugon, p. 139.

in other countries by New and Yellow journalism would mainly be exploited by weekly magazines, which won wide readerships and acquired a news role.

Despite the obstacles of censorship under the fascist regime, the circulation of international magazines in the 1930s had an impact on the popular press.¹⁴³ Whereas the coverage of Hollywood attractions contributed strongly to the popularity of Rizzoli's magazines, the fragmentation typical of the new graphic languages that recalled *VU*, among other international magazines, permitted the exploration of languages from avant-gardes and Futurism. These experimentations brought to the combination of images originated in different spheres - cinema, photography, sometimes implying different forms of metaphorical reading.

By the end of the 1930s, the influence of major American illustrated magazines, such as *Life* and *Look*, and of the FSA's inquiries was evident in the photo essays of *Tempo* (1939). The magazine's layouts were the culminating moment of the encounter between the national and international press in this period. Not only the visual impact, but also changes in the organisational structure of the magazine edited by Alberto Mondadori (1939–1943) reflected the impact of new influences deriving from its American counterparts. The industrial situation of the post-war period, when closer ties with the United States were forged in many spheres, consolidated the extensive influence of the foreign context on the illustrated press.

Conclusion

By investigating the main factors that characterise the diffuse visuality of the illustrated press between the end of the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century, this chapter has focussed on the development of three national dynamics that contributed to reinforce this trend. Specifically, it has sought to underline the convergence of mediatic histories and contexts of production within a wider international perspective. Particular attention has been paid to the ongoing debate about popular journalism, while I have also explored how cinema entered this rich ecosystem by expanding the content and presentation of news magazines and by broadening their readerships.

The reasons for considering the range of national cases, namely the United States, the United Kingdom and France, lie in the connections – whether cultural, industrial or political – that link the Italian context, in particular the activity of the publishers Mondadori and Rizzoli,

¹⁴³ Also according to the folder 'Giornali e periodici francesi venduti dalle agenzie di Milano', 31 July 1934, Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

to these countries. Due to their prominence in the scholarly literature dedicated to the periodical press, these countries represent fundamental reference points for the history of the Italian publishing industry.

The historical impact of American innovations on advertising, storytelling and personality reportage remains crucial to an understanding of European developments. Taking into consideration different approaches, from Campbell's 'Single-Year' study to interdisciplinary encyclopaedias, the decades at the turn of the twentieth century have been analysed in ways that show how, due to the cross-fertilisation of various stimuli and languages, methodologies of research were also diversified.¹⁴⁴ The convergence of many discourses, such as emergent scientific theories about identificatory practices, the increasing relevance of documentary photography and the influence of the European avant-gardes, all played a crucial role in the magazines' visual narrativity.

In close connection to its American counterpart, the dynamics of New Journalism in the UK have been analysed and considered in relation to the wider field of popular press culture. The British tradition of the periodical press and its influence on the rest of Europe (e.g. *The Illustrated London News*, was established in 1842, one year before the French *L'illustration*) provide a fertile background for the analysis of recurrent practices, in the emergence of the synergies between popular visual traditions and contemporary iconography and innovations in terms of technological reproducibility. While addressing the development of the press industries, my main analysis has drawn on Martin Conboy's work, which allows for a combination of approaches that, in the Italian academic system, have historically been divided into different disciplinary areas (such as Art history and Journalism).

Recent articles have discussed the delay in the cultural analysis of journalism in France, attributing it to possible influences of the traditional academic disciplines, and the limited development of studies on the figure of the journalist.¹⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, the French debate has moved into areas that are relevant to the Italian context. The historical perspective developed through Charle's articulated political, social and cultural approaches has been informed by insights from an art historical point of view, in the attempt to explain the French impact on the

¹⁴⁴ Campbell, *The Year That Defined American Journalism*.

¹⁴⁵ Nicolas Pélissier sees a relevant exception in the work of Denis Ruellan, on the representation of the profession of the cinema reporter. Nicolas Pélissier: 'Journalisme et études culturelles: de nouveaux positionnements de la recherche française?', *Questions de communication*, 17 (2010), 273–90; *Journalisme: avis de recherche. La production scientifique française dans son contexte international* (Bruxelles: Bruylant, 2008).

'century of the press'.¹⁴⁶ The connections between Italy and France in this period, made possible by the movement of intellectuals and artists, amplify the impact of cultural influences that are evident in the proliferation of figurative exchanges. For this reason, the perspective that Charle developed in relation to the history of the French press can also be applied, with certain adjustments, to Italy.

¹⁴⁶ Charle, *Le siècle de la presse*.

CHAPTER 2: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE INDUSTRY IN POST-WAR ITALY

Introduction

The aim of this second chapter is to explore the ways in which the Italian illustrated press developed as an industry with a sense of its place in a market of reader-spectators, who were also participants in a visual culture that included cinema, news reporting, advertising and other forms of mediated entertainment. The chapter examines the institutional practices of Rizzoli and Mondadori, focussing on the creation and management of editorial content.

Central to these practices were the companies' founders, whose personalities strongly influenced the publishing houses' internal structure and identity. Their growth from a small corporate business model to family dynasties occurred in Milan and should be seen within the framework of periodical publishing in post-war Italy. It is believed that Valentino Bompiani coined the expression 'protagonist publishers' to define those entrepreneurs who introduced a strong sense of personal leadership into their companies.¹ Starting from the publishers themselves, my analysis seeks to identify the personalities and the system of relationships that had an impact on the visual dimension of the magazines.

Social sciences and cultural studies have had a marked influence on the analyses of the complexity of editorial processes, progressively extending the range of professional figures and business practices under consideration. This had led to the definition of new figures who are useful in analysing the work dynamics in contexts where the role of editors often remained anonymous and unstructured. Research on editing originated with the work of David Manning White,² who applied the term gatekeepers to journalists.³ The concept of knowledge broker,

¹ According to Gian Carlo Ferretti, Bompiani's definition meant to underscore the publishers' cultural – and not just commercial – objectives. Ferretti, instead, interprets the definition as the capacity to leave an editorial-literary imprint on one's company for the purpose of building an audience of one's own: namely through the production of a 'good book', a product capable of resisting the tide of time regardless of its cultural value. This would be the case of publishers like Mondadori.

Gian Carlo Ferretti, *Gli "editori protagonisti"*, online video recording, YouTube, 18 April 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UqM_hlPJ3Vk> [accessed 1 July 2020].

² David Manning White, 'The "Gate Keeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News', *Journalism Quarterly*, 27.4 (1950), 383–90.

³ Kurt Lewin used the term in 1943 to describe communication channels. Kurt Lewin, 'Forces behind Food Habits and Methods of Change', *Bulletin of the National Research Council* (1943), 35–65.

which has been used to refer to those who bridge different communities,⁴ might be applied to personalities who were crucial in Rizzoli and Mondadori, but also between film and magazine production. Seminal studies such as Forgacs and Gundle's *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War* have highlighted the role of some figures (such as Cesare Zavattini) – working for both Rizzoli and Mondadori – in defining the publishing environments of these decades as 'the continuity of cultural strategy'.⁵ While trying to expand the analysis of the editorial dynamics by including other roles and offices, the aim of this chapter is to delve into the complexity of editing, which I will approach as 'an inherently multiparty process', following Susan Greenberg's definition.⁶ Personal experience, commercial interest, group culture and other power structures are some of the elements that are considered to have an impact on editing.⁷ While marking the need for an open approach to the social context and the individual operations involved in editing, Greenberg highlights the importance of 'a disciplined approach to relativism', a principle which informs my analysis.⁸

The possibility of identifying routines in relation to editing practices has been the subject of a large number of studies. In his influential text, *Journalists at Work*, Tunstall devoted some attention to the strict relationships between publishers and magazine editors, stressing the dynamics of non-routine work and uncertain hierarchies 'in sharp contrast with the pyramidal Weberian bureaucratic model'.⁹ In this context, sudden decisions could arise from the success of a photo shoot or a cover page, in line with the dynamics of media organisations, but also from unconventional procedures and unexpected logics. According to the sources, the relationship between Giorgio Fattori and Angelo Rizzoli deteriorated when the latter suggested publishing some pictures from the film *Africa addio* (Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1966) which Fattori considered not coherent with the editorial approach of *L'Europeo*.¹⁰ Following Fattori's dismissal, the new editor Tommaso Giglio was selected on the basis of a conversation between Rizzoli and one of 'his' foremen during one of the publisher's regular visits to the printing department.¹¹ The status itself of editors, journalists and photographers is not always

⁴ Andrew B. Hargadon, 'Firms as Knowledge Brokers: Lessons in Pursuing Continuous Innovation', *California Management Review*, 40.3 (1998), 209–27.

⁵ Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, p. 99.

⁶ Greenberg, *A Poetics of Editing*, p. 158.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁹ Jeremy Tunstall, *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents, Their News Organizations, News Sources, and Competitor-Colleagues* (London: Constable, 1971), p. 28.

¹⁰ When recalling the incident, Mazzuca stresses the fact that Fattori judged 'those photographs full of blood' not in line with the magazine. Their publication was eventually accepted, against Fattori's will, which caused a rupture in the relationship between Rizzoli and Fattori. Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 293.

¹¹ Enzo Magri, 'L'Europeo: un giglio all'occhiello del "Commenda"', *Tabloid* (2004) <<http://www.odg.mi.it/node/31349>> [accessed 1 April 2018].

recognised or defined, and roles are sometimes interchangeable. This approach leads us to reconsider the emphasis on editorial practices in terms of 'power relations between photographers and the others', editors, designers and clients,¹² which was particularly influential in the late 1970s.¹³ Works such as Sheila M. Webb's study of *Life* delve into the complexity of processes and editorial policies, as she extends her analysis to include the interplay between managing editors and the writing staff in relation to 'the narrative framing in photo essays of middle class and professional achievement'.¹⁴

Drawing on available sources, this chapter examines the dynamics at the heart of illustrated news magazines in the post-war period, and their progressive definition of targets in broader industrial contexts, which respond to the growing demand for cultural products. It will begin with an examination of Alberto Mondadori's attempt to create a vibrant group of collaborators at *Epoca*, before moving to consider the contexts of *L'Europeo* and *Oggi*, which were marked by charismatic systems of control by editors and journalists. The impact of international models was strong in all the considered cases, especially in relation to the idea that the Anglo-American examples could offer a way to detach from the elitist and complex writing style of Italian traditional journalism. However, editors interpreted the examples of magazines such as *Time* and *Life* in different ways, emphasising either the objectivity or the visual and emotional impact of the titles and layouts (See pp. 67; 73). The progressive differentiation between *L'Europeo* and *Oggi* was also determined by their integration into the same publishing house and by the need – made explicit by the advertising department – to define the magazines' identities in relation to different targets. This chapter will take the differences and similarities between these magazines into consideration. Emblematic in this sense is the question Alberto Mondadori posed when discussing *Epoca*'s editorial line: 'What position will the magazine hold in the various fields: from cinema to politics, from literature to art? This last question gives a general idea of the roles that were attributed to *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*.¹⁵ Recurrent issues emerge from the diversity of positions, such as the need to explore the place of magazines in the new democratic context. In this regard, we must mention the discussion between Alberto Mondadori and Alcide De Gasperi about the creation of *Epoca* and the president's admiration for a magazine with 'such high moral and Italian goals'.¹⁶

¹² Frosh, *The Image Factory*, p. 50.

¹³ Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978).

¹⁴ Sheila M. Webb, 'Creating Life', p. 55.

¹⁵ [Alberto Mondadori], 'Schema per la discussione con B', FAAM, AME, MAM, *Epoca*.

¹⁶ Transcript of the talk between Alcide De Gasperi and Alberto Mondadori, FAAM, AME, MAM, *Epoca*; Decleva, *Arnoldo Mondadori*, p. 403.

Clearly, also the issue of the legitimisation of the company within the journalistic and publishing field became crucial. Evidence shows that this was strictly related to other major promotional pressures, mainly connected to the expanding activities of Rizzoli in cinema and tourism. This is why the reactions of the editorial teams, the forms of resistance and the interrelation with promotional aspects will also be at the centre of this investigation.



Figure 3.1 Riccardo Ricca and Angelo Rizzoli, c. 1964-1966.

If the fluctuations of editorial routines are difficult to define in detail, it is nevertheless possible to inscribe significant dynamics in the work context I will analyse in this chapter. Within the editorial teams, whose structures varied in their rigidity, certain figures – including film directors – emerged as relevant in terms of the selection of images and the general cultural legitimacy of the magazines. These figures, relationships and processes also help to give a different perspective on Rizzoli's perception of cinema production in relation to his readerships, as I will show in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.1 The Rise of Mondadori and Rizzoli, and the Case of *Epoca*

The centrality of Milan – a key city in the national economy – is widely recognised in critical literature on the periodical press. Several factors contributed to its growing importance and progressive supremacy over other centres, such as Florence and Turin. The dramatic expansion of Rizzoli and Mondadori in the mid-century period was a factor in the development of the city, in its jumble of contradictions and opportunities.

The success of the illustrated press in other European countries and in the United States was a model for publishers like Sonzogno and *Corriere della Sera* who aimed at similar products to those circulating beyond the Alps but adapted to the Italian audiences. If the development of the periodical press was rooted in the city's Enlightenment tradition, the convergence of other factors favoured its industrial growth. Milan was in a convenient position for international trade, which increased following the opening of the Sempione tunnel in 1906. Archival documents provide evidence of the international journeys that journalists and collaborators undertook in order to discover innovations in press and printing technology.¹⁷ In 1925, Milan was where a 'journalistic and literary professionalism existed', according to the journalist and screenwriter Giuseppe Marotta,¹⁸ a future collaborator of Rizzoli and Mondadori who had emigrated from the south (Naples). This was an audience that, following the extension of universal suffrage in 1913 and the subsequent necessity to keep citizens informed about the expansion of political participation, represented a precious resource for substantial developments in news reading: in the second decade of the twentieth century, there were already several large-scale publishing establishments in Milan, including *Corriere della Sera*, Treves and Sonzogno, which together employed around two to three thousand workers.¹⁹

The attention to technical innovation was paralleled by professional courses and the growth of paper production factories. The rapid expansion of the printing press affected different social classes, impacting more widely on the urban environment. The scale of investment, together with the educational vocation of the press, justified an emphasis on the quality of editorial labour. In addition to university institutes, such as the Politecnico laboratory school, other entities began considering the art of typography as a professional path for less well-off classes. The sector was in line with the aims of humanitarian societies rooted in the urban tradition, such as La Società Umanitaria:

The idea of a production pedagogically aimed at the training in new spheres of knowledge is the aim of institutions (such as the Università Popolare) that are committed to disseminating socially useful readings to a recipient with 'a precise historical and social physiognomy: the worker'.²⁰

¹⁷ See, for example, the case of *La Domenica del Corriere* and the purchase of the Hoe rotary printing press. AFCdS, Fondo Verbali del consiglio d'amministrazione, vol. 2, 22 September 1923.

¹⁸ Giuseppe Marotta, *A Milano non fa freddo* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1987), p. 12. First published in 1949.

¹⁹ Enrico Decleva, 'L'attività Editoriale', in *Il Novecento, Storia di Milano*, 18 vols. (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana-Fondazione Giovanni Treccani, [1953-1996]), XVIII (1996), pp. 102-151 (p. 105).

²⁰ Alberto Cadioli and Giuliano Vigni, *Storia dell'editoria in Italia: Dall'Unità a oggi* (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 2012). Kindle ebook. On this aspect of the publishing industry in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Adriana Chemello, *La biblioteca del buon operaio. Romanzi e precetti per il popolo nell'Italia unita* (Milan: Unicopli, 2009), p. 189.

It was one of Milan's best-known welfare institutions – the Martinit orphanage – that gave Angelo Rizzoli the chance to finish school and start a professional career in the printing sector.²¹ In the same period, his future rival and peer Arnaldo Mondadori started working for a small printing company in the same region. These elements acquire a particular relevance in the biographies of the publishers, and in that of Rizzoli in particular: according to his collaborators, Rizzoli frequently referred to the orphanage and to his humble origins during interviews and conversations.²² Their careers and the importance that their respective companies acquired in the Milanese context form part of the rhetoric of Milan as the industrial capital of Italy. Such rhetoric was emphasised in the post-war period by interviews and photographs that highlighted their companies' expansion into different areas of the city.



Figure 3.2 Emilio Sommariva, *Portrait of Angelo Rizzoli, Milan, 1932.*



Figure 3.3 Emilio Sommariva, *Portrait of Arnaldo Mondadori, Milan, 1932.*

Rizzoli and Mondadori's publishing activity between the 1930s and the 1960s is often referred to as an example of successful businesses based on the founders' undisputed ability to grasp market demands by responding to the readers' needs with the most appropriate products (Figure 3.2; 3.3).²³ Within the publishing field, the companies remained strongly associated with the profit-oriented identity that characterised the beginnings of their typographical activity.

²¹ He started working in a goldsmith's workshop and then moved to the Marucelli typography workshop. Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, pp. 14-15.

²² See the memoirs of his collaborators published in *Angelo Rizzoli 1889-1970* (Milan: RCS Editori, 2000), pp. 58, 94; Vittorio Buttafava and others, eds, *Pagine Nostre: Angelo Rizzoli*, October 1970.

²³ Cadioli and Vigini, *Storia dell'editoria in Italia*. Ebook.

Posters, flyers, postcards and schoolbooks were among the publishers' first productions, which inscribed their activity in the context of widely distributed, illustrated printed products. Some projects can be considered relevant to their entrepreneurial expansion. In the case of Rizzoli, the partnership with Calogero Tumminelli – one of the owners of the Bestetti & Tumminelli publishing house, specialised in art publications – was crucial to his transition to the publishing world in 1927. Being well integrated in the Milanese environment, Tumminelli worked with different academic institutions such as Brera, the Polytechnic University and the Bocconi University. Thanks to his friendship with Tumminelli, Rizzoli obtains an advertising order for the great Rinascente warehouse and he can nominate himself for the publication of the first 35 volumes of the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1929-37), of which Tumminelli was the editorial director and which was commissioned by the Istituto Nazionale Fascista di Cultura.²⁴ In different ways, the increasing investments of the Fascist government in the cultural sector also impacted on the publishers' careers. Mondadori was able to take advantage of the conditions imposed by Fascism, commissioning some key books such as the biographies of Mussolini: *L'Uomo Nuovo* (1923), and Margherita Sarfatti's *Dux* (1926).²⁵ It also acquired a dominant position in the educational press. The modernity of their entrepreneurial approach also resided in their ability to focus on the readers' needs and on related commercial results, while finding forms of cohabitation with the political order.²⁶ The capacity to maintain relations with the various political forces, finding a balance between expansion and a sense of the market, government impositions and related censorship, was in fact crucial to their survival. These dynamics were made possible by the relative fragmentation of state interventions, despite the growing interference of the fascist state and in the less explicit forms of control of the subsequent Christian Democratic governments. The analysis of these dynamics has opened interesting perspectives on the articulation of the periodical press in the 1930s. Some of Rizzoli's (and Mondadori's) magazines that were 'fraught with potential complications' were capable of combining a formal adherence to the regime's values with forms of critical revision or distancing.²⁷

Periodicals marked a turning point for Rizzoli's company and paved the way for his activity in cinema. The acquisition of the illustrated magazines that accompanied the historic Milanese

²⁴ In 1929, Rizzoli was able to start building the company's site in via Carlo Erba thanks to an association that involved other members from Tumminelli's entourage: Senator Borletti (owner of Rinascente), Giovanni Treccani and Ettore Bocconi. See: Daniele Pozzi, 'Rizzoli, Angelo'.

²⁵ Antonio Beltramelli, *L'uomo nuovo* (Milan: Mondadori, 1923); Margherita G. Sarfatti, *Dux* (Verona: Mondadori, 1926).

²⁶ See: Tranfaglia and Vittoria, *Storia degli editori italiani*, p. 311; Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, p. 101.

²⁷ Pelizzari, 'Facts and Fantasies', p. 565.

newspaper *Il Secolo*,²⁸ which was previously managed by a publishing group of which Mondadori was a member, happened in 1927. Rizzoli made significant changes to the editorial line and the design of these periodicals, which were modernised on the basis of international innovations and geared to a more heterogeneous audience. The operation confirmed the publisher's entrepreneurial skills in terms of generating innovative products, inspired by a sense of the market that strengthened contact with readers. The act of overhauling the periodical *Novella*, in particular, is considered an emblematic event in the history of the Italian illustrated press (Figure 3.4).²⁹ By marking a distance from the figurative legacies of the previous century, for example in the use of close-ups and stage photographs, the magazine abandoned its literary ambitions for a more immediate journalistic approach. The emphasis on storytelling, cinema and the new graphic layout became a relevant factor in other Rizzoli's magazine, like the women's weekly *Lei* (1930), which was meant to reach an audience immersed in the 'tumultuous setting of modern life'.³⁰ The 'phantasmagoria of pictures and dynamic montages that resembled a beautiful film', reflecting a 'change in the public attitude towards life',³¹ was, in fact, visible in magazines such as the French *VU* and the German *BIT*.³² This modernist approach to graphics, namely the mixture of different verbo-visual languages, can be better understood from the presence of personalities from avant-garde movements who were projected into an international context.³³ Among these was Enrico Cavacchioli, the editor of *Novella*.

Cesare Zavattini's role as the editorial director of periodicals at Rizzoli (1930–1936) and Mondadori (1936–1939) is an example of the connections between the two publishers.³⁴ From the invented cinema gossip column 'Cronache da Hollywood' for the magazine *Cinema Illustrato*, published between 1930 and 1934,³⁵ to the subversive use of photography in the

²⁸ The illustrated magazines that accompanied the newspaper were *Il Secolo Illustrato*, *Il Secolo XX*, *La Donna*, and *Comoedia e Novella*.

²⁹ Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, pp. 99-102.

³⁰ [No title], *Lei*, 24 October 1933, p. 8.

³¹ Maria Antonella Pelizzari, 'Make-Believe: Fashion and Cinelandia in Rizzoli's *Lei* (1933–38)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 20.1 (2015), 34-52 (p. 40).

³² Kurt Korff, 'The Illustrated Magazine', *Fünfzig Jahre Ullstein (1877–1927)* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1927); quoted in Anton Kaes and others, eds, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), p. 646.

³³ Pelizzari's analysis of photographs published in the Rizzoli magazines (*Il Secolo Illustrato*, *Il Secolo XX*, *Lei*) reveals that they were drawn from agencies that were in touch with *VU*, in France. Pelizzari, 'Make-Believe', p. 51.

³⁴ Zavattini's transition to Mondadori in 1936 should be seen in the context of the publisher's opening up to periodicals and book production. In September 1939, Zavattini informed Arnaldo Mondadori that he was stepping down as an editorial director. However, he stayed on as the director of the weekly magazine *Ecco Settebello*, a magazine that replaced *Il Settebello* in 1939.

³⁵ Pretending to be a specialist reporter, Zavattini invented the *Cronache da Hollywood* column, for which he signed his contributions with various pseudonyms. Cesare Zavattini, *Io sono il diavolo - Ipocrita 1943*, ed. by Silvana Cirillo (Milan: Bompiani, 2013). Kindle ebook.

Almanacco Bompiani and in scripts for comic novels, his innovative activity for different publishers generally proved to be successful in terms of commercial impact. Collaborating with different publishers and editors, Zavattini could act as a knowledge broker and also as an intermediary between different communities and cultural areas.



Figure 3.4 Covers of *Novella*: 10 January 1920; 15 July 1942; 16 September 1960.

Mondadori's investments in the book sector and Rizzoli's activity as a film producer need to be placed in the context of the integration of corporate functions.³⁶ The idea was that, in Italy, due to 'a kind of provincial modesty', too little was done in terms of advertising.³⁷ The publisher noticed how 'photographs, indiscretions, previews and news about the activity of writers' were commonly used in France and abroad to promote books.³⁸ The role of magazines for advertising was that of acquiring more relevance through the growing impact of colour and the graphic impact of the new layouts. Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins' study of *National Geographic*, among others, stressed how advertisers counted on magazines to deliver a 'set of consumers who were likely to share aspirations, needs, and consumer habits. Many ads were directed at the "mass" market, that is, the middle class'.³⁹

Frequent international contacts, in particular with Time-Life Inc., represented an opportunity for Mondadori to deal with the management of its industrial and publishing structure in a more complex way. Scholarly literature often considers the 'artisanal' management of the editorial offices – which was 'based on the direct control of the master and

³⁶ The link between magazine sales and cinematographic imagery is also evident in Rizzoli's choice to diversify production through cinema, when he founded the film studio Novella Film, on which I will come back in subsequent chapters.

³⁷ Unsigned letter (probably from Valentino Bompiani), 22 October 1925, FAAM, AME, Arnoldo Mondadori, fasc. Beltramelli Antonio.

³⁸ Decleva, 'L'attività Editoriale', p. 111.

³⁹ Catherine Lutz and Jane Lou Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 17.

a very small number of collaborators' – as being in contradiction to the modernisation with which these periodicals are associated.⁴⁰ It was Alberto, the son of Arnaldo, who distanced himself from this approach. If the management of the magazine *Tempo* (1939–1943) heralded a revision of the editorial team, the organisation of the staff for *Epoca* is emblematic in the Italian context.

Considered to be both ahead of its time and a relic of a previous aesthetic and ethical view, according to Guido Gerosa,⁴¹ the magazine *Epoca* – in the years 1950–1951 – provides a useful context to investigate work dynamics in an industrial publishing environment. *Epoca* was one of the most successful Italian magazines of the twentieth century, reaching 500,000 copies in the mid-1950s. The first years, in particular, have been identified as a crucial passage from the instances of post-war political renewal to the newly emerging, popular consumer culture of the late 1950s. While under the direction of Alberto Mondadori,⁴² the magazine has been defined as a 'bridge between the culture of left-wing intellectuals and mass production'.⁴³ The attempt to bring the magazine closer to the sphere of progress or quality was rooted in the convergence of American liberalism, Italian leftist culture and the French school of photography.⁴⁴

By reflecting on the possible ways of joining the competition in the periodical market, Alberto first placed emphasis on the spectacular impact of new technologies.⁴⁵ The American magazine *Life* appeared as the most appealing model, together with other international examples: '[T]he slicing, trimming, flavouring, colouring and packaging of the news to make it more interesting and more saleable than it was in real life'.⁴⁶ The Marshall plan, officially called the ERP (European Recovery Program), offered Mondadori a chance to use 920,000 dollars to acquire modern printing machines,⁴⁷ as part of the economic assistance to help rebuild

⁴⁰ De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico', p. 55.

⁴¹ Gerosa, 'Il fiore all'occhiello', p. 14.

⁴² The group Alberto belonged to when he was young – which included Mario Monicelli and Alberto Lattuada – undoubtedly helped nurture his interest in the world of cinema. Between 1936 and 1937, Alberto did an apprenticeship in Rome and at Tirrenia, with film directors of different calibre like Gustav Machaty, Camillo Mastrocinque and Louis Trenker. There are various theses that consider the foundation of the film studio Montedoro Film an attempt by Arnaldo not just to satisfy Alberto's demands but also to expand the Mondadori empire to the detriment of Rizzoli (Montedoro is the nickname D'Annunzio gave Arnaldo). Decleva, *Arnaldo Mondadori*, p. 329.

⁴³ Giovanni Ragone, 'Editoria, letteratura e comunicazione', in *Letteratura italiana. Storia e geografia*, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1987-1989), III: *L'età contemporanea* (1989), ed. by Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), pp. 1047–167; quoted in Alessandra Bonetti, *Il settimanale 'Epoca' negli anni cinquanta: nascita e sviluppo di un rotocalco* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Milano, 1989), p. 42.

⁴⁴ Bonetti, *Il Settimanale 'Epoca' negli anni cinquanta*, p. 42.

⁴⁵ 'Rapporto preliminare sullo sfruttamento della rotativa GOSS in Milano', FAAM, AME, Miscellanea Alberto Mondadori (MAM), *Epoca*.

⁴⁶ William A. Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire* (New York: Scribner, 1972), p. 59.

⁴⁷ 'Per l'editoria', in *Notiziario Culturale*, 16 May 1950, p. 2; for details on the acquisition of the printing machine see: Decleva, *Arnaldo Mondadori*, pp. 398-399.

Western European economies after the end of the Second World War.⁴⁸ The machines allowed for a radical change in the approach to visual information: 'a similar machine that revolutionises the entire magazine market in Italy enables us to revolutionise even the concepts and principles that until today have presided over the editing of the so-called (illustrated) weekly magazines'.⁴⁹ The creation of the great magazine, which was seen as a point of convergence between economic and cultural values and between technical progress and improved working conditions, started thanks to US influence and a great deal of industrial pressure.

In-depth research and large investments led to the definition of the organisation's structure and to changes in the magazine's visual apparatus, clearly distancing it from the other Italian editorial experiences. From Alberto's perspective, the organisation involved employing an equal number of collaborators for both the textual and visual sections, with six editorial directors in the textual section and six in the figurative, including the directors of the photographic department of the artistic department and of the photographic archive. The possibility was also considered of creating a 'director of photographic services' who would fulfil the role of a managing editor, which included the definition, control and final discussion with the editor over the photo shoots, as happened 'at *Picture Post*, at *Life*, at *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, at *Schweizer Illustrierter Zeitung*'.⁵⁰ Amongst the other collaborators, he mentioned a 'director of artistic services', with the role of monitoring the graphic layout as well as the disposition and the final choice of photographs, and he underlined the importance of distinguishing between special photographers and journalists who produced photo texts. In addition, the team of permanent collaborators needed a coherent direction in order to have a clear and well-defined editorial line and to operate with a 'harmonious and united' approach.⁵¹ His investigation was particularly concerned with issues related to the proportion of text to image, to the captions, and he raises the following question: 'Should the captions of the photographs be explanatory, thus superimposing the "word" onto the "image", or should they integrate the image, letting each photograph be like a film frame of an image-based story?'⁵²

⁴⁸ According to Deleva, in 1948–1949 the acquisition of a new printing machine was considered functional to the creation of periodicals whose sales would have allowed more profit than books. See: Deleva, *Arnoldo Mondadori*, pp. 398-399; after the acquisition, the presence of the machines is said to be the main motivation for the periodical's format: 'the Cottrell rotary press [...] – for the simple reason that it is physically in Verona [...] – represents a serious and not easily solved industrial problem'. [Alberto Mondadori], 'Schema per la discussione con B'.

⁴⁹ 'Rapporto preliminare sullo sfruttamento della rotativa GOSS in Milano', FAAM, AME, MAM, Epoca.

⁵⁰ [Alberto Mondadori], 'Schema per la discussione con B'.

⁵¹ [Alberto Mondadori], 'Ufficio segreteria. Appunto per il presidente', 26 August 1949, FAAM, AME, MAM, Epoca.

⁵² [Alberto Mondadori], 'Schema per la discussione con B'.

The concern over the magazine's visual concept was matched by great attention to its ideological positioning. In his dialogue with Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi (1945–1953), Alberto agreed on the importance of educating the middle classes, for whom the magazine was conceived, especially as they represented a positive example of productivity for the masses, and a much more positive model than the 'laziness' of the upper classes.⁵³ Whilst Alberto disagreed with his chief collaborator – Cesare Zavattini – about the extent to which editorial production should adhere to leftist Italian politics, he clearly stated the need for an independent and educational approach.⁵⁴ This educational approach would emerge in the art columns, from literature to cinema, in the context of what has been defined as the 'left's focus on an egalitarian sharing of the elite cultural canon'.⁵⁵

Some preliminary investigations have considered the organisation of other successful periodicals, such as the new edition of *Tempo*.⁵⁶ The editor defined the magazine's layout on a weekly basis, together with the managing editor, who then proceeded with the distribution of tasks to the journalists, 'according to [their] different skills'.⁵⁷ The editor was in charge of the selection of illustrations; in his absence, decisions were made by the managing editor. There were no particular agreements with journalism or photographic agencies, but the publisher's mediation was necessary for the acquisition of important photo shoots (e.g. from Robert Capa), or for the commission of expensive reportages from photographers such as Lamberti Sorrentino or Federico Patellani. The hierarchical structure appears simplified, limited to a craft system based on the decisional power of some key figures. Although this significantly reduced the production costs, great investments were made in the acquisition of photographic materials, as Mondadori has noted.⁵⁸ The articulated work structure of *Life*, mentioned by Alberto and then promoted by Arnaldo,⁵⁹ included a careful orchestration of group journalism in which many professionals collaborated in order to define the magazine's content. According to Peter Pollack's description, visual and written content were 'planned and executed like

⁵³ Transcript of the talk between Alcide De Gasperi and Alberto Mondadori, FAAM, AME, MAM, Epoca.

⁵⁴ [Alberto Mondadori], 'Considerazioni e proposte circa la grande rivista. Concetto organizzativo', FAAM, AME, MAM, Epoca.

⁵⁵ Barron, *Popular High Culture in Italian Media, 1950–1970*, p. 32. See also Stephen Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture 1943–1991* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 92.

⁵⁶ In its new edition, published by Aldo Palazzi and directed by Arturo Tofanelli (1946–1968), who had been the editor in chief of the magazine's first version, directed by Alberto Mondadori (1939–1943).

⁵⁷ [Alberto Mondadori], 'Ufficio segreteria appunto per il presidente'.

⁵⁸ 'It seems, however, that Palazzi paid a very high price for a few major photo shoots: for example, Robert Capa's (great American photographer) photo shoot of Picasso on the beach was paid around 150,000 [lire]; the Malaparte episodes were paid 100,000 lire each, for a total of 1,000,000 [lire]'. Ibid.

⁵⁹ [Mondadori], 'Considerazioni e proposte circa la grande rivista; 'Schema per la discussione con B'.

military operations'.⁶⁰ To reach an agreement about the composition of the layout, for example, the presence of the editor, the assistant editor, the managing editors and the editorial director of the photographic section was required.

Alberto's idea was to produce a popular magazine that resembled *Life* and other international publications. The covers, which played with the contrast between the red logo and a black and white image, didn't hide the connection with *Life*, also in their use of a few lines to identify the subject of the image, thus marking a distance from other news magazines such as *L'Europeo* and *Oggi* (Figure 3.6). After discussing the major adjustments with Arnaldo Mondadori, Alberto carefully developed the editorial line with the help of Zavattini's counselling and supervision. During his collaboration with the publisher Bompiani in 1946 and 1947, Zavattini worked on the projects *Il Disonesto* and *Italia Domanda*, two magazines conceived as a means of promoting a critical dialogue between their readership and the spheres of culture.⁶¹ These magazines can be situated within Zavattini's wider ideological vision and cultural militancy. The representation of ordinary life, the understanding of the daily dimension of subordinate classes and the observation of 'minimal gesture' are captured in order to give human life its historical importance at every minute,⁶² to show the connections between universal and personal history.⁶³ The rhythm of images and text could be reinterpreted in the light of the attempt to expand the perception of 'minimal fragments of reality'.⁶⁴ The ideological approach that supported these procedures was clearly stated, together with the need to express an idea or to build a story that resembled some of *Life's* features. However, the search for variations and contaminations seemed to invert *Life's* dynamics, at least with regard to its hierarchical organisation. According to this view, the idea of collaborative work at Time-Life was intended as a very structured integration of different functions, which created the

⁶⁰ Peter Pollack, *The Picture History of Photography* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1969), p. 467; quoted in Webb, 'Creating Life', p. 83.

⁶¹ Michela Carpi, *Cesare Zavattini direttore editoriale* (Reggio Emilia: Aliberti Editore, 2003), p. 155; On the correspondence with Valentino Bompiani see Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Panizzi, Archivio Cesare Zavattini (ACZ), *Il Disonesto. Corrispondenza*, Za G 3/5.

⁶² See Gian Piero Brunetta on Zavattini's position with regard to the notion of the 'minimal gesture', also in relation to the dimension of labour and the refusal of 'the obvious, the creative alternative'. Gian Piero Brunetta, *Il cinema neorealista italiano: Storia economica, politica e culturale* (Rome: GLF editori Laterza, 2009). Kindle ebook.

⁶³ In his comment on the first issue of *Epoca*, Zavattini explains that the photo essay 'Liliana' remains confined to an idyllic scenario as it lacks a detailed depiction of the socio-economical context of the family and of the company, which would have amplified the 'human relevance of this story'. Cesare Zavattini, 'Osservazioni di Zavattini sul primo numero', ACZ, *Italia Domanda*, Za G 4/1.

⁶⁴ Brunetta, *il cinema neorealista italiano*. Kindle ebook.

'impression that the magazine spoke with one voice',⁶⁵ a characteristic that has been defined as a 'disturbing quality of certitude'.⁶⁶

From Zavattini's perspective, images were to be deployed as words, that is, with a less encyclopaedic and livelier approach, thus highlighting their documentary value: '[O]nly the integration of these two aspects can make the language of vision what it should be: a vital weapon of progress'.⁶⁷ Illustrations could be taken from different centuries and cultures, from a Futurist drawing to a Mexican print, provided that they were accessible to an 'average' reader.⁶⁸ The editorial staff's decisions were inspired by books such as *The Best Color Posters 1950* [n.d.] and *Language of Vision* (1944), by the design theorist György Kepes, which aimed at promoting innovative types of perspective and visual approaches. The concept of 'Italia Domanda' in *Epoca*, with collaborators addressing stimulating questions to people in the most diverse places and social settings, was intended – both from a visual and written point of view – as 'something varied and entertaining but mainly realistic in the sense of human participation'.⁶⁹ This approach should be considered within the broader picture of Zavattini's post-war reformist and moral creed. If the artistic act implies the exploration of ways of thinking independently from authority, part of the intellectual's duties was to stimulate innovative connections between culture and society. Cinema, and its impact as a mass medium, was meant to play a central role in this sense.

Zavattini indicated that the emphasis placed on the staff's creative involvement – an effort which responded to his wider preoccupation with the worker's alienation – was essential for the success of *Epoca*. Editors and collaborators had to feel part of 'an association not only of brains, but of souls', an ensemble of men representing intelligence and culture and, more specifically, a form of culture based on a constructive dialogue with the readership.⁷⁰ This group of collaborators was far from bourgeois salons, from elitist and fascist culture, and included friends and intellectuals from Zavattini's and Mondadori's entourage, like the philosopher Remo Cantoni, the poet Alfonso Gatto, and the poet and art critic Raffaele Carrieri.⁷¹ The

⁶⁵ Webb, 'Creating Life', p. 72.

⁶⁶ John R. Whiting and George R. Clark, 'The Picture Magazines', *Harper's Magazine*, July 1943, p. 168.

⁶⁷ György Kepes, Sigfried Giedion and Samuel Ichiyé Hayakawa, *Language of Vision* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944), p. 68.

⁶⁸ Cesare Zavattini, 'Osservazioni di massima sul primo numero', ACZ, Italia Domanda, Za G 4/1.

⁶⁹ Cesare Zavattini, 'Piccolo "breviario" di Italia Domanda' di Cesare Zavattini per Aldo Pasetti e la redazione del settimanale "Epoca, ACZ, Italia Domanda; Cesare Zavattini, 'Non è vero!', *Epoca*, 14 October 1950.

⁷⁰ Cesare Zavattini, 'Piccolo "breviario" di Italia Domanda'.

⁷¹ Of the initial group from Bompiani's project (Ennio Flaiano and Mino Maccari) he then suggested personalities such as [Alberto] Savinio, Vitaliano Brancati, Vincenzo Talarico, Giuseppe Marotta and

symbolic capital of this association of people was a clear statement of the progressive and critical approach that enriched the magazine's ideological outlook.

The debate over the magazine's structure also reveals the cultural and aesthetic background that characterised the interactions between cinema and the illustrated press in the mid-twentieth century. The first issue of *Epoca* could be considered as an extension of Zavattini's reflections on cinema. The idea of photo essays focussed on ordinary life and social issues narrated with an approachable and appealing storytelling style was crucial to the formula of other magazines. Stefan Lorant's statement regarding the first version of *Picture Post* is interesting in this sense:

Picture Post firmly believes in the ordinary man and woman; thinks they had no fair share in picture journalism; believes their faces are more striking, their lives and doings more full of interest than those of the people whose faces and activities cram the ordinary picture papers. This goes for dictators and débutantes [sic] equally.⁷²



Figure 3.5 Alfredo Panicucci, 'Miracolo a Milano', Epoca, 14 October 1950, pp. 39, 41.

Although it might be noted that *Epoca* dedicated little space to critical debates such as that about Neorealism, it expanded the attention to Italian cinema in various ways. The first film presented was strictly connected to Zavattini, namely *Miracolo a Milano* (Vittorio De Sica, 1951), in an article written by Aldo Palazzeschi and illustrated by photographs of Angelo Pennoni and

Indro Montanelli. Remo Cantoni was a student of Antonio Banfi, who was elected senator in the lists of the Italian Communist Party in 1948. In Milan, Alfonso Gatto was part of the subversive Corrente group and of Zavattini's group of friends. Bonetti, *Il settimanale 'Epoca' negli anni Cinquanta*; Michela Carpi, *Cesare Zavattini direttore editoriale*; ACZ, Italia Domanda. Corrispondenza, Za G 4/2.

⁷² Hallett, *Stefan Lorant*, p. 74.

Giacomo Pozzi Bellini (Figure 3.5).⁷³ The narration of cinema, which continued in the following issues with *Luci del Varietà* (Federico Fellini, Alberto Lattuada, 1950) and *Francesco, giullare di Dio* (Roberto Rossellini, 1950), was based on a reduced selection of images commenting on the films, the production and the personalities involved, but rarely on the plot's visual narration.⁷⁴ Other reflections about cinema found space in generic sections, such as *Italia Domanda*,⁷⁵ with directors such as Mario Soldati and Michelangelo Antonioni being selected among those in charge of replying to the readers' requests. Alberto Lattuada, whose film *Luci del Varietà* was presented in the second issue of *Epoca*, had previously worked as a photojournalist for Mondadori's *Tempo*, at a time when the cultural environment gave evidence of what has been defined as 'a neo-realistic sensibility'.⁷⁶ According to Sorrentino, Lattuada assimilated the two media by saying that '[i]t is like in cinema, photographs correspond to images, captions to the spoken language, the article to the soundtrack'.⁷⁷ The main photographer of *Tempo*, Federico Patellani, asked in his article 'Il giornalista nuova formula' the following question: 'If the viewer liked to hear the voice of the announcer explain a given event or a certain topic in a film, why couldn't magazines be made with the same criteria, full of photographic features commented on by captions and articles?'⁷⁸ Another major figure of *Tempo*, Alberto Munari, explained that the main idea when creating photo texts for *Epoca* was to accomplish something very close to films.⁷⁹

Alberto Mondadori also considered the question of Hollywood and how to approach gossip columns,⁸⁰ as he had previously investigated the relationship between cinema and society, that is, 'between cinema and the need for entertainment that it is required to satisfy', for the project of a new encyclopaedia.⁸¹ This might explain why he contemplated the possibility of including

⁷³ The article included Zavattini's and De Sica's comments. Aldo Palazzeschi, 'Miracolo a Milano', *Epoca*, 14 October 1950, pp. 39–43.

⁷⁴ Aldo Palazzeschi, 'Francesco, giullare di Dio', *Epoca*, 18 November 1950, pp. 51–55; Domenico Meccoli, 'Un regista per i poveri guitti', *Epoca*, 21 October 1950, pp. 73–78.

⁷⁵ 'È arte il cinema?', letter of Giovanni Luzzatti; reply by Mario Soldati, *Epoca*, 11 November 1950, p. 6; 'Attori e canarini', letter of Giuliana Guapa, reply by Michelangelo Antonioni, *Epoca*, 18 November 1950, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Barbara Grespi, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', p. 196.

⁷⁷ Lamberti Sorrentino, 'La passione del mestiere', *Tempo Illustrato*, July 1984, p. 65.

⁷⁸ Federico Patellani, 'Il giornalista nuova formula', in *Fotografia. Prima rassegna dell'attività fotografica in Italia*, ed. by Ermanno F. Scopinich (Milan: Gruppo Editoriale Domus, 1943)

http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/docs/percorsi/Il_giornalista_nuova_formula.pdf [accessed 1 July 2018].

⁷⁹ Bonetti, *Il settimanale 'Epoca' negli anni Cinquanta*, pp. 80–82.

⁸⁰ 'For example, Alberto wondered if Rita Hayworth and Ali Khan's wedding was to be considered in the first issue: 'Wedding of RITA and ALI, are we addressing it? And how? Especially since all weekly magazines will likely cover it extensively?' [Alberto Mondadori], 'Schema per la discussione con B'.

⁸¹ In particular, Alberto was part of the project for a new encyclopaedia and for its related institute, which should have dealt with art and culture, mainly investigating the relationship between culture and the

Louella Parsons' Hollywood gossip column in *Epoca*, as attested by a letter from the editorial director Robert Knittel in June 1949, who protested against this idea: '[D]o you really want to pollute your beautiful new magazine with Louella's gibberish?' He suggested considering other Hollywood gossip, because 'all Hollywood gossips are bad, but there are better ones'.⁸² Zavattini's idea was, instead, to find unexpected humoristic and dramatic episodes in order to introduce celebrities, as in the case of Ingrid Bergman, for whom Zavattini suggested an unpublished colour picture.⁸³ For popular personalities, such as the variety star Wanda Osiris, he proposed to use what he defined a 'psychoanalytic way' to suggest their characteristics through photos that referred to them indirectly.⁸⁴ In relation to *Italia Domanda*, the idea was to send personalities such as Vittorio de Sica to respond to questions from children, and Anna Magnani to reply to women in brothels, explaining that these actors were chosen to engage with these specific contexts because of their recent films.

Even if the Hollywood actors from *Quo Vadis* (Mervyn LeRoy, 1951) – Deborah Kerr and Robert Taylor – appeared on the cover of the fifth issue (11 November 1950, Figure 3.6), the selected photograph (by Paul M. Pietzsch) was consistent with the 'sense of human participation' that characterised the previous covers. The need for a radical turn would, instead, be expressed in Arnaldo's report of July 1951, which accused the magazine of having disappointed readers, as its sales had dropped to 180,000 copies after the success of the first issue (300,000 copies).⁸⁵ Arnaldo's intervention was based on an analysis of sales and expenses, which showed an increase in the deficit between February and April from 12 to 14 million lire.⁸⁶ Given the huge economic commitment, Arnaldo's view was that the magazine was not varied enough, with 'too long, monotonous and sad' articles and a confusing graphic layout.⁸⁷ Among the elements considered, Arnaldo presented certain changes – such as clarity and morality – as necessary elements for the magazine to succeed. Some compromises also needed to be made so as to meet the readers' prevailing taste and interests.⁸⁸ While defining himself 'probably' as a man 'of good taste', he remarked that 'we must write in a simple, clear way, without the

social fabric, 'between the cinema and the needs it is called upon to satisfy'. Decleva, *Arnoldo Mondadori*, p. 380.

⁸² Robert Knittel, Letter to Alberto Mondadori, 22 June 1949, FAAM, AME, MAM, *Epoca*.

⁸³ According to Zavattini, Italian magazines hadn't yet published any colour pictures of Ingrid Bergman. Cesare Zavattini, 'Continuazione della relazione di Z. ai n. 1 e 2 di *Epoca*', ACZ, *Italia Domanda* Za G 4/1.

⁸⁴ His suggestion was to publish portraits made in an unexpected and humoristic, dramatic way in order to introduce difficult authors – such as the poet Giuseppe Ungaretti – to a wider readership. Archivio Cesare Zavattini, Za G 4/1; 4/2; 4/3.

⁸⁵ [Arnoldo Mondadori], Report signed by 'Il Presidente', 2 July 1951, FAAM, AME, MAM, *Epoca*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

slightest illusion concerning the intelligence and the culture of the readers'.⁸⁹ *Epoca's* readers would not appreciate the important photographic services published in *Life*, nor the artistic full-page pictures that reduced the magazine's total space and variety; they would, instead, appreciate the marvellous quality that had been made possible by the new printing machine. The editorial staff and collaborators, who were often too young, little-known and inexperienced, were accused of using a language that was too complex and sometimes 'soft'.⁹⁰ While leaving aside *Epoca's* missionary intent, which was instead attributed to *Life*, Mondadori underlined the potential of varied and colourful content to attract consumers. The negative economic results led to a revision of the role and interests of the magazine's middle-class audience.



Figure 3.6 Covers of *Epoca*, 11 November 1950; *Oggi*, 28 September 1950, and *L'Europeo*, 11 March 1951.

If *Epoca's* illustrated supplements and approach to photography had a strong impact on Italian photojournalism,⁹¹ the most important decision of the then unknown managing editor Enzo Biagi (1956–1960) was to challenge the work procedures by changing the cover chosen by Arnoldo's co-director Renzo Segala (1952–1955) for the issue published on 26 September 1954. The black and white photograph of the jazz musician and politician's son Piero Piccioni – which Biagi published on the cover – contradicted the implicit rule of the popular press of the time, but it responded to the canons of a journalistic scoop: there were widespread rumours regarding the implication of politics, high society and showbiz in the mysterious death of an ordinary young woman. For decades, the name of this woman, Wilma Montesi, would evoke the existence of a seedy underside of wealth and power. The decision of Biagi – a former reporter and cinema critic (*Resto del Carlino*) – to put Piccioni, the chief suspect in the case, on

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Agliani and Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, p. 207.

the cover brought about a sales hike of eighty to ninety thousand copies. The impact of these changes should be considered in the context of an editorial environment that remained connected with collaborators who worked for Rizzoli and Mondadori in different periods. Among others, two of Biagi's collaborators would soon revolutionise the periodical *L'Europeo*, while Biagi himself assumed the role of general editor of Rizzoli periodicals in 1967.⁹²

2.2 Angelo Rizzoli's Post-War Journalism and the Rise of Soft News

Rizzoli's managerial skills are frequently connected to his skilful selection of editors and collaborators, be they unknown or established, who played a crucial role in the Italian press between the 1930s and the 1960s. The role of figures such as Ugo Ojetti, Leo Longanesi, Cesare Zavattini and Enzo Biagi was pivotal in crossing the boundaries between the elitist and the popular press and in the formation of cultural tastes. In an interview published in 1970, Rizzoli explained that the success of his magazines was 80 per cent dependent on the editors and 20 per cent on the publisher. Without revealing his crucial role in the selection of the editors, Rizzoli shed light on a key element of his concept of business organisational structure. The fear of 'bureaucratisation', as defined by Rizzoli,⁹³ favoured the persistence of personalised forms of power where editors and managing editors were instrumental in establishing or modifying the dominant 'rules' of editorial practice.⁹⁴

Together with his ability to identify collaborators, Rizzoli often made efforts to improve their working conditions alternating between authoritarianism and benevolence.⁹⁵ This was facilitated by the company's stable economic situation, which remained, under his direction, independent from external finances. For example, at the beginning of the 1950s, Rizzoli financed the construction of a housing complex located at a short distance from the company's site in Piazza Carlo Erba, and the profits from rents were invested in a retirement policy for

⁹² Both Giorgio Fattori and Tommaso Giglio collaborated with *Epoca*.

⁹³ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 191.

⁹⁴ In this regard, it is interesting to read Luciano Bianciardi's criticism of Feltrinelli's new organisation in the mid Fifties: 'I explained to him [...] that we intend to raise employees' awareness, and in our case that of the secretary specifically, of what is in the interest of the manager, which is then in the interest of the company, which in turn is in the interest of productivity and production, which, finally, is also in the interest of the nation, that is, of "everyone"'. Luciano Bianciardi, *L'integrazione: Un ritratto scettico e pungente di 'giovane letterato disintegrato'* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 2014). Kindle ebook. First published in 1960.

⁹⁵ 'Paternalistic leadership (PL) is defined as strong authority that is accompanied by concern and consideration (Westwood and Chan, 1992) [...] Indeed, Farh and Cheng (2000) classified PL behaviours into three dimensions: authoritarianism, benevolence and morality'. Simon C.H. Chan, 'Paternalistic Leadership and Employee Voice: Does Information Sharing Matter?', *Human Relations*, 67(6) (2014), 667-693.

employees.⁹⁶ In 1954, an Institute for professional training was created, favouring the updating and systematisation of professional knowledge for positions that were often transmitted to members of the same family. In the opinion of the employees Marisa Casiraghi and Mario Riva, in the 1930s the passage from other working environments to Rizzoli represented a significant improvement as this meant moving from previous, precarious living conditions to a stable environment. Marisa Casiraghi thus recounts the experience of her father, who worked as a foreman in the typographic department: 'My father burned his leg a bit, he burnt himself and went on sick leave, while another employee, Mariani, died. In compensation, the company hired his daughter'.⁹⁷

Within the celebratory literature that emphasises Rizzoli's benevolent approach, contradictory aspects of his autocratic management of power also emerge.⁹⁸ For example, the collection of short stories *A Milano non fa freddo*, published by Giuseppe Marotta in 1949, describes the story of Gianna, a young employee who commits suicide after having been fired for stealing a magazine.⁹⁹ Marotta showed the discrepancy between the dreamlike life described in romantic magazines and the dictatorial system of production, which forced women to live a poor and frustrating life. Another Marotta short story, 'The Portrait of G.T.', about a former journalist and writer who has fallen into poverty and become an alcoholic, includes the description of a publisher who helps the protagonist in order to have 'his poor man' and a charitable act to 'talk about after dinner'.¹⁰⁰ The implication was that the publisher's charity was unpredictable and mainly motivated by a promotional intent. According to Marotta, 'the charity of the publisher was as sudden as robberies, at the point that magazines had to deal with these in the news section'.¹⁰¹

The wider context of Rizzoli's media organisation also had an impact on editorial practices. Promotional and marketing strategies were at the basis of an expansion in different areas of the media, but film production undoubtedly had the biggest impact on editorial images in the period between the 1930s and the 1960s. This is not only because several journalists cultivated a parallel career in both fields, but also because cinema seems to be one of the most relevant issues in their relationship with the publisher. Oral sources and archival documents confirm that

⁹⁶ According to Mazzuca, the rent was kept low with the transfer to via Civitavecchia. Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 221.

⁹⁷ Marcella Forni, 'La formazione del gruppo Rizzoli dalle origini alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale' (doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Milan, 2009), FAAM.

⁹⁸ The publisher's presence was far from being limited to the directorial level, but also invested production levels, such as typographers and workers.

⁹⁹ The tale was inspired by a real event, namely the suicide of a Rizzoli employee after being fired.

¹⁰⁰ Marotta, *A Milano non fa freddo*, p. 164.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

cinematic imagery was often used to refer to the publisher's interferences in the editorial process. If the promotional and commercial struggle seems to follow Jürgen Habermas's portrayal of the press as lacking defences against the market and the 'mass-welfare state', more complex interactions contributed to the definition of the system of production values.¹⁰² The analysis of inner dynamics, forms of resistance and institutional conformity must be understood in relation to significant changes within the editorial offices of *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*.

Oggi first appeared on newsstands in July 1945. Contacted by Rizzoli, the journalist Indro Montanelli – a collaborator of *Omnibus* and *Corriere della Sera* – turned down the offer to edit the magazine, instead suggesting Edilio Rusconi, a young writer with a degree from the Catholic University in Milan [Università Cattolica]. 'We started', Rusconi noted, 'with many muddled ideas. There was no formula, just a variety of topics. I tried to discover what the formula was and what my peers were like'.¹⁰³ Rusconi could only rely on a secretary and a copy editor, whom he shared with another magazine. Like Stefan Lorant at *Picture Post*, he claimed full responsibility for the magazine, including its content, editorial structure and work organisation. Among the few ideas at the origin of *Oggi's* structure, one was to imitate Anglo-American journalism, and the other was to use a clear and approachable writing style,¹⁰⁴ in contrast to the traditional Italian approach to news. With the intent of revolutionising Italian journalism, Rusconi's approach included a preliminary phase spent 'dismounting and remounting *Life* and *Time*' in order to understand their inner mechanism.¹⁰⁵ The composition of *Oggi* was based on the principle of the one-metre-long article [articolo da un metro], as del Buono argued: '[I]t should have taken the space of one page, including not too large a picture. For that reason, we – working as managing editors – used to have a tailor's measuring tape around our neck and we measured everything in centimetres'.¹⁰⁶ The experience of the magazine as a manufactured product, the obsession with sentence lengths and the number of characters was a recurrent theme in the literature of the time, which demonstrates how journalistic work and editorial routine frequently merged.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu, 'Introduction: Field Theory as a Work in Progress', in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, ed. by Benson and Neveu (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity, 2005), 1-25 (p. 9).

¹⁰³ The peers [il mio prossimo] was also indicated by Rusconi as 'la gente' and 'il pubblico': the editor was trying to understand the themes and the language that the people were expecting at the time, Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁴ Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 57

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Oreste Del Buono, 'Da quarant'anni è sempre Oggi', *L'Europeo*, 17 August 1985, p. 91.

¹⁰⁷ See also the description of the work method of 'il dottor Fernsape' (alias Guido Aristarco, *Cinema Nuovo's* editor) in Luciano Bianciardi, *La vita agra* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 2013). Kindle ebook.

Rizzoli's idea was to call it the new *Omnibus*, reusing the name of the news and political magazine created by Leo Longanesi (1937–1939).¹⁰⁸ This pioneering magazine, which recalled the French periodical *Marianne. Grand hebdomadaire littéraire illustré*, distinguished itself by its innovative use of illustrative tools, exploiting cinematic imagery to great effect.¹⁰⁹ However, Rusconi's magazine adopted the name of another one of Rizzoli's periodicals, *Oggi* (1939–1942), directed by Arrigo Benedetti and Marco Pannunzio, which was also known for its broad use of images accompanied by captions in a reportage-like style. In its first version (1945–46), Rusconi's magazine revived the visual appeal and wit of Longanesi's *Omnibus*, publishing photographs by Claudio Emmer, Bruno Stefani, Cartier Bresson and David Seimur. *Oggi* published acknowledged authors, such as Alberto Moravia and Eugenio Montale, and took a literary approach that was defined by Giampaolo Pansa as 'moralising, almost pro-socialist'.¹¹⁰ The cultural prestige of the magazine attracted young journalists such as Domenico Porzio and Oreste Del Buono, who preferred it to its competitor *L'Europeo*, published by Mazzocchi, because 'Rusconi seemed more respectful toward the value of ideas, literature and culture in general'.¹¹¹ According to Del Buono, *Oggi* avoided placing emphasis on the news 'as it was too vulgar'.¹¹²

As in the case of *Life*, the magazine started from a thorough investigation of its average reader, in the construction of a dialogic process that would be at the basis of its format.¹¹³ While trying to understand the needs of his audience and to maximise circulation, Rusconi invested time in reading letters and developing forms of communication with readers, which allowed him to explore narratives, images and personalities that were suitable for the magazine.¹¹⁴ In responding to some complaints about the use of international photographs instead of the work of Italian photographers, Rusconi replied that he would have been pleased to receive a selection of images from readers for publication. In other issues he asked the latter to send in newspaper cuttings with curious news items or odd events, to be published in small spaces ['finestrelle'],

¹⁰⁸ *Omnibus* is considered a crucial step in the history of the Italian illustrated press. See: De Berti Raffaele, 'Il nuovo periodico', pp. 41–42.

¹⁰⁹ These were Longanesi's words according to Mazzuca: 'People go to the movies. Let's give them actress legs and loads of images along with well-written texts: there's a new kind of magazine for you', Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 79.

¹¹⁰ Giampaolo Pansa, 'Edilio il nostalgico che ha voglia di *Corriere*', *La Repubblica*, 20 September 1984, p. 7.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91–92.

¹¹² Oreste Del Buono, 'Da quarant'anni è sempre *Oggi*', p. 91.

¹¹³ Webb, 'Creating Life', p. 59.

¹¹⁴ Linda Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare: "Oggi" e "il direttore con le bretelle viola"', in «*Come un don Chisciotte*»: *Edilio Rusconi tra letteratura, editoria e rotocalchi*, ed. by Velania La Mendola (Milan: EDUCatt, 2016), 60. Ebook.

together with other news items on the same page,¹¹⁵ or to suggest relevant people the readers would like to learn more about: '[A] person who found himself in the limelight, who had received great attention and approval, who has influenced the course of events'.¹¹⁶ In its approach to the news, *Oggi* was responding to the expectations of its audience, trying to detect what would define its informational, psychological or socio-cultural needs at a time of major political changes.¹¹⁷

A significant increase in the sales occurred in November 1947, thanks to a feature article dedicated to Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip's wedding, which inaugurated the magazine's new format.¹¹⁸ Commenting on the relevance of this issue, the feature's author, Enzo Biagi, explained that it was the event itself, rather than his journalistic ability and that of the great visual narrator of the time, Federico Patellani, that had made the issue a success.¹¹⁹ Rusconi finally found the formula he was looking for, which affected the future shape of *Oggi*, with its fixed patterns and narratives that would be considered familiar by the readership. Inverting the consolidated rules of the Italian approach to journalism, he asked his journalists to first focus on facts and then add details, as if 'they were writing for their wives'.¹²⁰ Articles should be accurate, well-written, paying attention to the use of adjectives and associated with images that had to have an impact on the reader's psychology and imagination: images that 'must affect the psyche and the emotions of the reader, with short and "visual" titles'.¹²¹ These words partly recall the approach of *Life's* editor, John Shaw, who wanted the writer to 'write the story my way – the blood and bravery of the place, the loneliness and heroism – tears, emotions, pull out all the stops, vox humana, etc'.¹²² This 'vox humana' might also respond to a Catholic approach that favoured the magazine's growing circulation,

¹¹⁵ Edilio Rusconi, 'Lettere al direttore', *Oggi*, 7 January 1947, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Edilio Rusconi, 'Lettere al direttore', *Oggi*, 22 December 1949, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Vincent F. Filak, 'Uses and Gratifications of Magazines', in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*, ed. by David Abrahamson, Marcia Prior-Miller and Bill Emmott (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 259-270 (p. 263).

¹¹⁸ *Oggi*, 30 November 1947: Federico Patellani, 'Big Ben scandiva il minuto', p. 9; Enzo Biagi, 'Amano insieme il ballo e l'umorismo', pp. 10-11; Enzo Biagi, 'Margaret bussò: altezza è ora', p. 16; 'Servizio fotografico speciale sul matrimonio di Elisabetta d'Inghilterra', pp. 12-15.

¹¹⁹ 'Rinacque con l'Italia', *Oggi 1945-1985: Quarant'anni di storia raccontati dalle copertine di Oggi*, 14 August 1985, p. 3; quoted in Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 59.

¹²⁰ '*Oggi* is aimed at the middle class, not a particularly educated one, and – despite its focus on a female audience – it is meant to be a magazine for the whole family, "to offer a variety of services, to offer readable information, to clad itself with modernity". In only a few years, Rusconi discovers how to send the public to the newsagent and make it cry: the desire for information is only "the journalists' illusion and the politicians' pretension", while readers also want emotional involvement'. Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 63.

¹²¹ Riccardo Bonacina, 'La piccola Italia di Edilio il grande', *Il Sabato*, 16 February 1985, p. 16.

¹²² Webb, 'Creating *Life*', p. 75.

according to Alberto Mazzuca.¹²³ The magazine was also favoured, to some extent, by the contractual agreement that Rizzoli stipulated with Rusconi, establishing that the editor would earn a percentage of every magazine sold beyond 100,000 copies.¹²⁴ The legitimisation of the magazine's young editor Edilio Rusconi depended on the circulation and economic success achieved by the periodical and somewhat contributed to define the product's character.¹²⁵ As pointed out by Oreste del Buono, '[t]he salary was small, not to say low, but included a clause granting an amount per copy sold [which was] established as a percentage in excess of a certain amount'.¹²⁶

The articles and the page layouts had to be clear and easy for everybody to understand, as Rusconi clarified: 'Our columns must combine cultural reliability with entertaining writing skills'.¹²⁷ Considerable attention was devoted to captions that had to be detailed and well-written. With regard to cultural events and theatre reviews, provincial readers were considered the target audience, '[w]ho must be interested and entertained even without having seen the shows, which serve as a pretext, and which should always be a pretext because we arrive 12–15 days after the newspapers have spoken'.¹²⁸ Attention was directed at the Italian royal family, giving the readers a follow-up to the topics that had occupied the main pages of the illustrated press before the 1946 referendum, which marked the beginning of the Republic. Other scoops were connected to politics and social issues, such as that about the bandit Salvatore Giuliano by Ivo Meldolesi, maintaining a focus on the daily lives of the interviewed people, privileging intimate locations such as private homes, hotel rooms or offices.¹²⁹ The flow, to use Daniel Boorstin's term, was located in the reconciliation between information and entertainment, moderate socio-cultural ambitions and identification with an established value system.¹³⁰ The photo agencies responded to the gradual redefinition of the journalistic approach, in *Oggi* as in the competing magazines (See chapter 5; Figure 3.7), increasing their attention to soft news and spectacle. The photo agencies' network rapidly expanded in terms of the number of offices

¹²³ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 131.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹²⁵ The first version of the magazine *Oggi*, published with the subtitle 'Settimanale di attualità e letteratura', was created under the direction of Arrigo Benedetti and Marco Pannunzio (1939–1942) and followed the model of Leo Longanesi's magazine *Omnibus*, suppressed by the Fascist government.

¹²⁶ The salary indicated by Rusconi (some hundred thousand lire) seems to be lower than that of the journalists working for *L'Europeo*.

¹²⁷ Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 66.

¹²⁸ Edilio Rusconi, letter to Giovanni Mosca, 16 May 1946; quoted in Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 66.

¹²⁹ The scoop, obtained thanks to Ivo Meldolesi and with the help of Italo D'Ambrosio and Jacopo Rizza, was published exclusively in *Oggi*, in three episodes: from issue 52 of 22 December 1949 to issue 1 of 5 January 1950.

¹³⁰ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012). Kindle ebook. First published in 1962.

and collaborators, especially in the area of Milan, where the main national agencies operated: Farabola, Publifoto, Giancolombo, Giornalfoto. According to Uliano Lucas, this expansion did not correspond to a modernisation of the organisational system, which tended to bow to the dictates of the customer's editorial approach.¹³¹

The group of journalists that formed *Oggi's* editorial office (1950–1953) – Domenico Porzio, Angelo Solmi, Vittorio Buttafava, Teodoro Celli, Lucillo Antonioli, Anita Pensotti and Alfredo Ferruzza – was commonly described as a very talented ensemble of young professionals. The weekly routine was organised around two meetings, with the journalists standing around the table of the editor, who was extremely responsive in correcting, directing and monitoring the journalists' work (See chapter 5). Rusconi's authoritative role was also asserted through different forms of monitoring, like daily meetings but also small notes prepared in the evening, which were 'marked by his energetic writing, through which he transmitted ideas, plans for investigations, [...] the list of our faults, our stupidity, our misdeeds'.¹³² According to the sources, the editorial staff accepted the figure of the good dictator and seemed to respect his journalistic authority, which they felt created a positive environment in the workplace.¹³³ His strong presence was tangible also in the correspondence of the chief editor, Domenico Porzio, who acquired an important role in the selection of the cinema-related imagery. While asking Porzio to collaborate with him on the script of the film *L'oro di Napoli* (Vittorio De Sica, 1954), Marotta referred to Porzio in the hope that 'Rusconi would do something more' to help him promote the films of which he was the screenwriter.¹³⁴



Figure 3.7 *Publifoto, Edilio Rusconi and Sophia Loren, 1954. Courtesy of Archivio Publifoto Intesa Sanpaolo.*

¹³¹ Agliani and Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, pp. 209-14.

¹³² Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 63.

¹³³ Oreste Del Buono and Massimo Fini; quoted in Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 66.

¹³⁴ Giuseppe Marotta, Letter to Domenico Porzio, 10 May 1952, FAAM, Fondo Domenico Porzio, f. 1952.

However, a certain form of underground resistance was expressed against random requests from the publisher. The letter of protest written by Porzio, who accused Rizzoli of having complained about his scarce attention to the company's own authors while choosing the titles for his literary column, is interesting in this sense.¹³⁵ However, according to Rusconi, Rizzoli did not interfere with his editorial decisions, which sometimes went against his business interests, nor did he pressure the magazine to follow any political line. *Oggi's* commercial success increased Rizzoli's trust in Rusconi, to the point that he tried to involve him in the assessment of *L'Europeo's* potential, the magazine that Rizzoli acquired in 1953.¹³⁶

2.3 Product Diversification and Celebrity Culture

The passage of *L'Europeo* from Mazzuca to Rizzoli was often described as a betrayal of the magazine's original intentions, given also the journalistic turnover that this change heralded.¹³⁷ Rizzoli's interest in the acquisition of the magazine, as an integration of his editorial portfolio, and the changes in the editorial board it brought along, is part of a wider project of broadening his journalistic range, to the extent that it came to include objectives that were fairly diverse in terms of political and cultural interests. Different factors affected the magazine's transition, among which were the perception of foreign influences (from the American Time-Life Inc. to the French *Paris-Match*), but also the connections with Mondadori's *Epoca* and the impact of new collaborators, like Tommaso Giglio and Giorgio Trevisani. Whereas the initial approach seems to be conformist, the magazine's role progressively became oppositional and in some respects alternative to *Oggi*. The examined sources underline the influence of the editorial staff, the prestige of some journalists and the diversification of the discourse about glamour and cinema.

Rizzoli acquired *L'Europeo* during a period of stagnation for the magazine, which caused a rift between the publisher Gianni Mazzocchi and the editor Arrigo Benedetti, who was accused of showing excessive independence. Benedetti's debut as an editor had affinities with Rusconi's. He started from his experience at *Omnibus* and from the example of Longanesi, trying to emulate his 'far from rhetorical' approach to reality.¹³⁸ Together with Rusconi,

¹³⁵ According to Giorgio Bocca, Rizzoli did not read his magazines but rather referred to comments made by others. Giorgio Bocca, *È la stampa, bellezza! La mia avventura nel giornalismo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2014). Kindle ebook.

¹³⁶ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 103.

¹³⁷ See: Elena Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio: L'Europeo di Arrigo Benedetti (1945-1954)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011), p. 26; Enrico Mannucci, *I giornali non sono scarpe: Tommaso Besozzi una vita da prima pagina* (Milan: Baldini & Castoldi, 1995), pp. 255-56; Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 173.

¹³⁸ Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio*, p. 16.

Benedetti found his main model in the Anglo-American press.¹³⁹ His idea of this approach was that of a dry, objective and impersonal style, based on words capable of provoking feelings and images, which could mark the magazine's distance from the intellectuals' style.¹⁴⁰ While developing personal relationships with his staff, Benedetti's management style was based on his charismatic approach, which rested on his transformational leadership as well as on the maintenance of high ethical standards, geared to the 'moral uplifting of followers'.¹⁴¹

Photographers were also required to maintain the high standard he expected from his journalists. As in the case of the *Picture Post* (Stefan Lorant), the magazine's layout and visual impact were conceived by the editor in first instance. This necessitated a direct relationship with photographers, the approach to whom is described as having been patronising and authoritative, if not authoritarian.¹⁴² The need to respect Benedetti's perspective was made clear to photographers such as Federico Garolla, who was told that 'you don't have to think, you just have to shoot'.¹⁴³ Gianfranco Moroldo, one of the longest serving photographers of *L'Europeo*, reported that Benedetti trusted his work, although he still tended to suggest the main lines of the story.¹⁴⁴ The selection of images reflected the lesson inherited from Longanesi, whose metaphoric and revelatory visual language favoured irony in the representation of glamour and celebrities. This use of soft news was not considered to be in conflict with the journalistic principles of the magazine. Benedetti affirmed that this was an intentional emphasis, due to the fact that 'war was over, that the hypocritical austerity of totalitarian regimes had no reason to exist'.¹⁴⁵

The representation of glamour created discrepancies in *L'Europeo* as it transitioned from Mazzocchi to the new publisher Rizzoli; it highlighted the two publishers' different ideas about the magazine's target audience. According to the Benedetti, both publishers considered

¹³⁹ Mannucci, *I giornali non sono scarpe*, p. 123.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122–4.

¹⁴¹ Bernard M. Bass, 'Does the Transactional-Transformational Leadership Paradigm Transcend Organizational and National Boundaries?', *American Psychologist*, 52.2 (1997), 130-139 (p. 131).

¹⁴² Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴³ Mannucci, *I giornali non sono scarpe*, p. 121.

¹⁴⁴ This is an example of a dialogue between Moroldo and Benedetti: "Moroldo, you should take a horizontal photograph communicating that in this institute, where there are young men who need to be reformed, there is a great emptiness, but at the same time a sense of serenity that I would like to [see] appear in the face of a boy who is coming towards you. As for the rest, I leave it up to you". He [Benedetti] gave you the idea of what pictures to take, he would suggest some images, some concepts'. Agliani and Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, p. 366.

¹⁴⁵ 'In reality it would be difficult to politically frame *L'Europeo* if the sides were reduced to two. In those years, the "non-religious" area to which the director refers still plays with the possibility of creating a third political force. Benedetti, a liberal and democratic, gives space to journalists from different backgrounds. He targets the upper middle class and addresses men and women.' Mannucci, *I giornali non sono scarpe*, p. 147.

L'Europeo a prestige magazine, though with a different definition of the readership. While for Mazzocchi the readership was 'that 10% of Italians that wasn't illiterate',¹⁴⁶ Rizzoli was reported to say that a magazine that was 'expensive like *L'Europeo* and intelligent like *L'Europeo* had to please the wealthy classes'.¹⁴⁷ These reflections are also linked to fluctuations in sales and the difficulties in identifying a readership that was considered as crucial in the promotion of Rizzoli's cinema production.

Although the transition from Mazzocchi to Rizzoli brought about no change in the organisational structure, the different working environment and the move from a small editorial context to an industrial building affected the magazine's internal behaviour. In Benedetti's opinion 'the publishing house created even among the more intelligent editors a sort of resignation to a slapdash attitude ['rassegnazione alla faciloneria']'.¹⁴⁸ Whereas Benedetti criticised the staff's alignment with the 'bad taste' of the new environment, *L'Europeo* journalist Giorgio Bocca contested the approach that the 'radical elite' of Benedetti and the director of *Il Mondo* – Marco Pannunzio – represented within the system of the periodical press.¹⁴⁹ The contrast between *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* was accentuated by a different approach to work procedures. Whereas *Oggi* was more respectful of work routines and deadlines, *L'Europeo*'s staff appeared disorderly and eccentric – 'a court of miracles', according to Giorgio Bocca.¹⁵⁰

Political differences were thought to be the main reason for the distance between *L'Europeo*, *Oggi* and the satirical weekly *Candido* (1945-1961). The magazine, which was co-founded by Giaci Mondaini, Giovanni Mosca and Giovannino Guareschi, occupied a significant role in the Italian satirical press, continuing the tradition of *Bertoldo* (1936–1943) and boasting a collaboration with journalists such as Leo Longanesi and Indro Montanelli. Guareschi, who directed the magazine until 1957, gave it a strong political direction by supporting anti-

¹⁴⁶ In a 1947 letter exchange with Mazzocchi, Arnaldo Mondadori discussed the issue of the press's popularity among the public; Mazzocchi claimed to be interested in 10% of the Italians, not 90% of illiterates. Benedetti shared this opinion, as becomes clear from his correspondence with Arnaldo Mondadori in 1949 regarding publicity ads. It nevertheless remained implicit that he wanted to expand the magazine's readership: 'Dear Arnaldo, I was pleased to read your letter because I also count on our mutual collaboration. Congratulations on the American purchases ... For your ads, I would suggest maybe cutting a few lines and using larger typefaces. Ninety per cent of Italians are illiterate or read with difficulty. A larger typeface facilitates reading for both semi-literate and elderly people who no longer have the eyesight of their youth. Would you like to tell me, confidentially, what these wonderful machines you have ordered are?' Arnaldo Mondadori, Letter to [Gianni] Mazzocchi, 1947; [Arrigo] Benedetti, Letter to Arnaldo Mondadori, 1949, FAAM, AME, Arnaldo Mondadori, fasc. Editoriale Domus.

¹⁴⁷ Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁹ Bocca, *È la stampa, bellezza!* Ebook.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

communist and monarchist parties. According to Rizzoli, the three magazines' different political approaches – progressive for *L'Europeo*, more conservative for *Oggi* and monarchist for *Candido* – were due to the editors' personal choices and were separate from the publisher's own decisional power.¹⁵¹ However, as stated by the company's advertising materials in relation to the need to diversify the target audiences, the rift between *L'Europeo*, on one side, and *Oggi*, on the other, seemed the result of a progressive definition of the positions occupied within the field, in relation to class categorisation and journalistic prestige.¹⁵²

In May 1954, due also to divergences with Rizzoli on the magazine's editorial line, Benedetti was fired from the direction of *L'Europeo*.¹⁵³ The transition from Benedetti to Michele Serra, who had been managing editor of *Il Popolo d'Italia*, the Fascist Party magazine edited by Arnaldo Mussolini, marked a profound division within the magazine's pre-existing staff.¹⁵⁴ According to several sources, the staff resented Serra's subordination to Rizzoli's impositions and the magazine's adaptation to a more commercial perspective. Bocca interpreted the relationship between the new editor and the magazine's renewed identity as follows: 'He was a Sicilian man, a little robotic, a mix of disarming intelligence and banality. He told me without irony or malice: "I do not know yet if I can hire you. It depends on Rizzoli, the publisher. If he decides to produce a popular magazine, I will call you, if he wants an élite product, I won't. Luckily Rizzoli didn't like the cultural"'.¹⁵⁵ When Rizzoli encouraged the publication of articles and pictures about his favourite actresses, the magazine's journalistic identity radically changed.¹⁵⁶ This new stance clearly had an impact on the coverage of cinema, as we will see further ahead, resulting in an obsequious approach toward films produced by Rizzoli, such as *Vacanze a Ischia* (Mario Camerini, 1957).¹⁵⁷

At the same time, during Serra's period as editor new leading figures emerged. When the magazine was later edited by Michele Fattori and Tommaso Giglio, the shared values and the dynamics of the editorial team were again emphasised, since collaborators had similar cultural backgrounds and engaged in a variety of interactions. Bocca defined the Neapolitans Giglio and Giuseppe Trevisani, two habitués of Brera's cultural district, as tyrannical yet brilliant and cultured.¹⁵⁸ Oral sources ascribe the magazine's graphic layout between 1954 and 1958 to

¹⁵¹ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 171.

¹⁵² See in particular: Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

¹⁵³ Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵⁴ Part of the editorial staff will follow Benedetti in the new project of the news magazine *L'Espresso*.

¹⁵⁵ Bocca, *È la stampa, bellezza!* Ebook.

¹⁵⁶ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 177.

¹⁵⁷ Maria Quaglia, 'Si gira *Vacanze ad Ischia*', *L'Europeo*, 11 August 1957, pp. 40-43.

¹⁵⁸ Bocca, *È la stampa, bellezza!* Ebook.

Trevisani, an 'improvised' graphic designer, who was in tune with the main visual changes of the post-war progressive press (Figure 3.8).¹⁵⁹ Trevisani's experience working with Elio Vittorini at *Politecnico* was a crucial aspect of his formative years. Despite its short duration, *Politecnico* (1945–1947) was a key magazine in post-war Italy. By combining a progressive left-wing approach with graphic design and visual imagery, the magazine's graphic layout evoked an association between highbrow contents and popular mass media images, spanning from cinema via comics to 'high art':¹⁶⁰ 'Its use of a textual-visual discourse that could be and was in fact perceived by many as popular, but that was also encapsulated in a layout inspired by the best graphic design production of early-century avant-gardes, served the purpose of bringing "true art" to the people'.¹⁶¹ Discussing Vittorini's approach to photography, Trevisani involuntarily showed the ambiguity of this concept of image selection: '[N]o image was ever left as it was, but was constrained, cut, interpreted, chosen, forced, reinvented on the page [...] photography really had become for us, in those years, a kind of lexicon, that is, communication and language, objective connections and information, in short, word'.¹⁶² Nevertheless, it was Tommaso Giglio who had the most durable impact on the magazine's visual setup, acting as its managing editor between 1959 and 1966 and then as its editor between 1966 and 1976. After spending his formative years in Naples, in the group of the future film director Francesco Rosi and the journalists Raffaele La Capria and Ugo Stille, in Milan Giglio collaborated with *Politecnico*, *L'Unità* and *Epoca*, where he created – with Enzo Biagi – the series of illustrated supplements that are considered some among the magazine's most striking innovations.



Figure 3.8 Michele Serra and Giorgio Trevisani, 1954-1958, CdRcs.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Anna Baldini, 'Working with Images and Texts: Elio Vittorini's *Il Politecnico*', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 21.1 (2016), 50-64 (p. 50).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 58-59.

¹⁶² Agliani and Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, p. 366. This approach can be connected to Longanesi's conception of the *objet trouvé*, of photography as narration, as contents and revelation. According to Agliani and Lucas, this literary approach to photography was in conflict with the full expression of photography as an autonomous language.

In the Brera district, Trevisani and Giglio mingled with the artistic milieu where a new visual culture was taking shape. The encounter between figures like Alfonso Gatto, Elio Vittorini, Enzo Bettiza and Guido Aristarco, and members of a younger generation of artists and photographers, such as Ugo Mulas, Mario Dondero and Alfa Castaldi, stimulated discussions on the heritage of Neorealism in relation to international magazines and to the experiments of the 'journalistic photodocumentaries' [fotodocumentari giornalistici] published in *Cinema Nuovo*. The magazine Aristarco had founded was, in fact, aimed at forging a new culture and a new understanding of life, referring to Zavattini and Antonio Gramsci as tutelary deities, and promoting the interplay between cinema and literature. It was in *Cinema Nuovo* that Giglio and Del Buono took a stance in the debate of 1961 about the need to renew the terms consolidated in cinema criticism after 1945 in order to understand the new situation of post-1960 cinema.¹⁶³ The circulation of journalists, such as the film critic Tullio Kezich who – after his collaboration with *Cinema Nuovo* – worked for *Settimo Giorno* and *Settimana Incom*, also favoured the encounter between different poles of the Milanese publishing world.

Within the Brera group, the writer Luciano Bianciardi – whose cult books *L'integrazione* (1960) and *La vita agra* (1962) – became the counter-narrative of this cultural scenario, played an important role.¹⁶⁴ According to some of Rizzoli's collaborators, including Evaristo Fusar and Fuzzi Rizieri, *La vita agra* was the Milanese counterpart of the Roman *La dolce vita*, a context that was seen as distant and detached from the world of the Lombard capital.¹⁶⁵ A member of the editorial team of *Cinema Nuovo* and of the emerging left-wing publisher Feltrinelli, Bianciardi shed light on the gap between the precarious living conditions of this intellectual circle and Milan's changing editorial environment. By revealing the difference between Aristarco's obsession with the craftsmanship of editorial practice and the influence of new organisational arrangements at Feltrinelli, he delved into the contradictions of the emerging approaches to cultural industries:

Yes, but only a negative America, an America the other way round. In America you can find this phenomenon, multiplied by a thousand, but there, at least the tension, the fatigue, are rewarded by certain real advantages, if anything, by the feeling of being part of an enormous power. Modern American civilisation is like a great coin-operated, tragic machine that swallows you, but at least something comes out of it. Here, however, you do not have America, but Americanism, if anything, a copy that takes only the negative aspects of the model.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Oreste Del Buono and Tommaso Giglio, 'Dalla "revisione" alla "verifica critica"', *Cinema Nuovo*, July-August 1961 (repr. in Guido Aristarco, *Sciolti dal giuramento. Il dibattito critico-ideologico sul cinema negli anni '50* (Bari: Dedalo, 1981), pp. 339–49).

¹⁶⁴ Bianciardi, *L'integrazione* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1960); Luciano Bianciardi, *La Vita Agra* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1962).

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Fuzzi Rizieri, 9 April 2020; interview with Evaristo Fusar, 16 December 2017.

¹⁶⁶ Luciano Bianciardi, *L'integrazione* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 2014). Kindle ebook.

Bianciardi, who described his close relations with the photographers Mario Dondero and Ugo Mulas in *La vita agra*, advanced a critique that was embraced by a generation of young professionals – from journalists (Carlo Bavagnoli) via failed lawyers (Mario Dondero) to door-to-door salesmen (Umberto Guidotti, Giordano Bonora), who were part of the Milanese photographic milieu – and that was partly integrated by the publishing industry. The change of status for these professionals, who were involved in the handling of visual information, was underlined by the increased income that photographers like Fusar could benefit from thanks to their role in the illustrated press.

The editorship of Giorgio Fattori (1959–1966), together with the presence of Tommaso Giglio as editor in chief, created the conditions for a more permanent role for photographers within the editorial staff: 'It is one of those rare moments in the history of Italian photojournalism when the intelligence and photographic taste of an editor turns a magazine cover into an opportunity for its photographers to grow and elaborate a new photographic language'.¹⁶⁷ Among the group of collaborators were Ottavio Cisvalenti, Gillo Faedi, Federico Garolla, Duilio Pallottelli, Sandro Vespasiani, Gianfranco Moroldo and Evaristo Fusar, the last two being hired between 1958 and 1960.¹⁶⁸

Before moving to Rizzoli, Fattori had worked as a managing editor for *Italia Domanda* at *Epoca* (1953–1956) and was associated with a 'secular, enlightened' approach, which was probably more in line with the values of the rest of the editorial staff.¹⁶⁹ His friendship and collaboration with Enzo Biagi during his period at *Epoca* also suggests continuity between the two editorial worlds of Rizzoli and Mondadori, which may have been a factor in the decision to appoint photographers as part of the permanent staff. Central to this formula was the teamwork between a photographer and a journalist, leading to collaborative forms of visual and textual production. The new relevance photographers acquired was evident in the appearance of their signatures and the diversification of their visual styles, an innovation that I

¹⁶⁷ Agliani and Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, p. 363.

¹⁶⁸ Since photographers did not yet have a professional status in the journalistic sector, they were employed as workers of the first category. Their salaries nevertheless reached good levels according to Evaristo Fusar. When he started in 1960, Fusar earned 120,000 lire in addition to monthly rewards. Starting with the role of a copyeditor [redattrice] in 1954, Oriana Fallaci's salary ranged from 100,000 lire to 364,650 lire in 1962 per month, date in which other incomes (150,000 and 100,000 per month) and the journalists' national contract are mentioned. In 1964, the gross annual income of a (specialised) monotypist at Rizzoli was 1,588,381 lire (132,000 lire per month). Correspondence between Rizzoli Editore and Oriana Fallaci, from 16 December 1954 to 20 November 1962, AFCdS, Fondo Oriana Fallaci. Interview with Fuzzi Rizzieri; Interview with Evaristo Fusar.

¹⁶⁹ [Anon.], 'Chi va piano', *Panorama*, 25 July 1983, Milan, Centro Documentazione Rcs Mediagroup (CdRcs), Giorgio Fattori.

will discuss more in detail in the fifth chapter.¹⁷⁰ If Giglio had more impact on the image selection, Fattori was also involved in the production of the visual layout, giving suggestions on the general approach and on the aesthetic value of a photo shoot.¹⁷¹ This process was, nevertheless, far from the type of instructions given at *Life*, where writers and researchers prepared shooting scripts. Fusar denied using any form of coercion in the preparation of the reportage, except when it came to the choice of the film, which was strongly related to Cineriz's productions and to Rizzoli's agreements with other producers.¹⁷² The photo shoots were his responsibility also in terms of the conceptual approach. In the end, according to Fusar, the final results were determined by the fact that Rizzoli's collaborators were allowed to be on set only during the first three days of shooting and within the limits imposed by actors, directors and producers.

Fundamental in this sense was the creation of a photographic centre, which had the task of curating the technical issues connected to film development and printing. The person in charge of *L'Europeo*, Pino Dizione (a professional who had worked for the ANSA agency and for Studio Toscani), combined a well-rounded professional experience with an artistic approach. His initial idea was to accompany photographers during reportages, using teletext to send pictures through, but it was then decided that he should stay behind at Rizzoli. From the choice of paper to the films, Dizione engaged in an interactive exchange with the photographers, but he also intervened in the printing process, heightening contrasts, suggesting compositional arrangements and colour tones in collaboration with the editorial staff.¹⁷³ An inner system of evaluation, based on the informal judgement of the layout editor Gnocchi, also entailed assessing technical issues, such as the impact on the page (e.g. the use of white, the focus of the image) and the lighting.¹⁷⁴

While *L'Europeo* tended to entrust its own staff with the creation of photographic materials, *Oggi* relied more and more on external agencies:

¹⁷⁰ The acknowledgement of photographers ['tele-cine-foto operatori'] as journalists in Italy was formalised in Art. 34 DPR 115/1965.

¹⁷¹ Giorgio Fattori, Letter to Oriana Fallaci, 22 October 1965, Milan, Archivio Eredi Fallaci.

¹⁷² 'Cinema was included in the cultural section [of which Fusar was in charge], so for *L'Europeo* I did the main films, that is, *Deserto rosso*, *Il gattopardo*, *Giulietta degli spiriti*, *Signore e signori*... [In Milan] I went to the movies, there were three movie theatres, the Susa and Plinius... we used to distract the usher in order to get in [but] I knew nothing about cinema, I worked backstage [...] it was all very nice because it was all improvisation. Thanks to Angelo Rizzoli I had the exclusive rights for the first three days of shooting of the big films, but I did not get the best scenes, nothing happened. When I did *Il gattopardo* there were no dances, so I did the family; *Giulietta degli spiriti* with Gianni Roghi'. Interview with Evaristo Fusar.

¹⁷³ Interview with Evaristo Fusar.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

The photo agencies were fundamental: one would assess if it was an exceptional feature, a routine feature, what space to give it, if there was enough material to represent a person or fact, or whether other elements were needed and, on the base of this, the journalist was often sent to document the photo shoot. This happened quite frequently. Every morning there were agencies offering material from Milan or from the North, but more frequently the photo shoots arrived at the central station in the morning and there was a squabble, then we got to the point that representatives of the agencies were sitting in the lobby at six o'clock in the morning because that meant that they would be the first to see the editor. Then there were the agencies that considered it important to have two distributors, one arrived at six at Rizzoli and the colleague arrived at six at Mondadori with different photo shoots.¹⁷⁵

2.4 An Industrial Magazine Culture

Compared to other European magazines of the same level, at the beginning of the 1960s *Oggi* had a non-existent organisational structure, as future editor Andrea Occhipinti noted.¹⁷⁶ The editorial staff was composed of 17 special correspondents and a managing director who was in charge of the magazine's practical organisation.¹⁷⁷ The graphic office had an elementary organisation, with one person in charge of the graphic layout, who was supported by two employees; these were generally former linotypists who had become part of the editorial team after their departments had closed. During the meetings, the editorial staff would check – the day after closing the magazine's previous issue – how many articles were in an advanced state of preparation and suggest new proposals on the basis of events that had happened during the weekend. The presence of two managing editors, namely Angelo Solmi and Domenico Porzio, the former in charge of the text whereas the latter dealt with the images,¹⁷⁸ created a divisive environment within the editorial office, which tended to stabilise around the power system of its journalists. Emilio Radius, a former journalist of *L'Europeo* and editor of *Oggi* from 1956 to 1962, described the difficulties of managing the editorial staff after the end of Rusconi's charismatic direction, but also the impact of what had become routine work: 'I had never lived such a prefabricated life'.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Paolo Occhipinti.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ '*Oggi's* editorial staff consisted of 17 correspondents and a copy-editor. There was the editor, two managing editors, and there was no regular editorial staff apart from poor Fabrizio Scaglia who was in charge of writing all the captions. All the others were nominated as correspondents because they had shown they spent most of their time writing services.' Interview with Paolo Occhipinti.

¹⁷⁸ The reference is essentially to the selection and organisation of the images, because the layout remained unchanged: 'The organisation of photography was simple in our magazines. There was a graphic office headed by one or two employees who were almost always ex-linotypists. After some departments were closed down, those who were in photography were moved up to the editorial offices. Then the journalists' union pushed for all the ex-typographers to be classed as journalists. The organisation of the graphic staff was almost non-existent'. Interview with Paolo Occhipinti.

¹⁷⁹ Radius, *Cinquant'anni di Giornalismo*, p. 267.

Due to the presence of prestigious journalists, such as the musicologist Teodoro Celli and the Vatican expert [Alfredo] Ferruzza, the magazine was considered a reference point for external institutions with regard to the communication with the royal family and the church. The entourage of Domenico Porzio, who oversaw the magazine's visual part, included influential writers like Dino Buzzati, Elio Vittorini and Ignazio Silone, as well as leading film directors and actors like Federico Fellini and Sophia Loren. Porzio's familiarity with cinema is confirmed by photographs showing him with Sophia Loren and Luchino Visconti, and with Tony Curtis on the set of *Rat Race* in 1960 (Robert Mulligan).¹⁸⁰ Despite personal talents and interests, the other reason behind the thriving professional exchanges between the different branches of production at *Oggi* was Rizzoli's overall environment. While it is true that Marotta tried to involve Porzio in the screenwriting of *L'oro di Napoli*, it was Rizzoli's extended entourage that favoured encounters between different branches of its activity. In the picture taken on the occasion of the opening of the Rizzoli bookshop on Fifth Avenue in New York, in 1964, Porzio stands next to the writers Oriana Fallaci and Luciano Bianciardi, the writers and film writers Alberto Bevilacqua and Giuseppe Berto, and the actor Walter Chiari (Figure 3.10).¹⁸¹ The process through which the publisher's foundational ideology was conveyed in the editorial structure was linked to external events as much as to organisational routines. According to Bocca, gossip and stories about the publisher's involvement in *La dolce vita* in Rome represented a source of distraction for the staff, which had the effect of reducing the tensions between the editorial offices.¹⁸² To give one example, films were presented during events and lunches at Rizzoli's homes in Canzo and in his projection space in Milan. Thus, on the occasion of the release of *La dolce vita*, the publisher organised a tour of his publishing house for the main actors of the film. While visiting the printing department, Rizzoli tried to hug the Swedish diva Anita Ekberg, although this was rather awkward as the actress was much taller than him. The failed clinch was mocked in dialect by a worker who had attended the same orphanage as Rizzoli, by way of reminding him of his origins and of their distance from this glamorous lifestyle.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ FAAM, Fondo Domenico Porzio, Materiali fotografici, busta 7, fasc. 32.

¹⁸¹ Milan, Paola Ricas Private Archive; AME, Fondo Domenico Porzio, Materiali fotografici, busta 7, fasc. 32.

¹⁸² Bocca, *E' la stampa, bellezza!*

¹⁸³ Interview with Fuzzi Rizieri, 9 April 2020.



Figure 3.9 Angelo Rizzoli toasting with his workers the success of *Oggi*, 1959.

In his attempt to mix the representation of celebrities and soft news in *Oggi* with his Catholic and leftist values, Radius thought he was responding to the expectations of the publisher, who was known to be an admirer of the Socialist Minister Pietro Nenni, as well as of the country's new political direction, which had brought the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) to the brink of power.¹⁸⁴ This approach was not always compatible with the commercial role that *Oggi* had acquired within the institutional context (Figure 3.9). In terms of daily routines, its way of conducting reportages and celebrity interviews appeared perfunctory.¹⁸⁵ According to Occhipinti, it was Biagi who suggested that the (reluctant) journalists should approach the repetitive reportages of celebrities from a sociological perspective.¹⁸⁶ They were called 'posate' as people were portrayed in their private environment, for example in different rooms of the home, and they insisted on details such as clothing, furniture and paintings, in accordance with the key features of bourgeois portraiture. In this case it was difficult to maintain the various levels of authenticity and ordinariness,¹⁸⁷ speaking to the concerns and expectations of women, including the preoccupation with respectability and social mobility (See chapter 3).¹⁸⁸ To some degree, *L'Europeo* challenged the representation of the domestic routines that contributed to

¹⁸⁴ This also happened in view of a new political course, with the 'turn to the left' that the 1963 elections had set off, and of the formation of a government coalition consisting of the Christian Democracy, social democrats, republicans and – for the first time – the Italian Socialist Party. Rizzoli's admiration for Pietro Nenni also emerged during the minister's visit to the new buildings: 'Rizzoli is proud and so he should be. Fifty years ago he was a small printer, now he runs a huge business'. Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 221.

¹⁸⁵ According to Occhipinti, under Vittorio Buttafava's direction a proper system for the representation of celebrities was inaugurated: 'Clearly there were no alternatives, I again put the star on the cover, though rarely with the aim of glorifying his life. As if to say: "This gentleman has the same problems that you have, reader". It is Buttafava's formula: even the rich cry.' Interview with Paolo Occhipinti.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Andrea M. McDonnell, *Reading Celebrity Gossip Magazines* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ See: Karen Sternheimer, *Celebrity Culture and the American Dream: Stardom and Mobility* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

the definition of a low middle-class gaze, in line with the various forms of cultural, symbolic and economic capital of *Oggi's* readership.

Oriana Fallaci was allowed to respond to Gina Lollobrigida's complaints in an interview for *L'Europeo*, saying that her role as a journalist was to 'demystify the myths'.¹⁸⁹ This response was related to previous interviews:

I hate writing articles on stars [...] In 80 per cent of cases they have nothing to say, and the little that they have to say, they say badly: with mistakes in grammar and syntax. I leave every interview with a star afflicted by a raw discomfort, every article on a star makes me sick with guilt: that of having invented a character that does not exist by giving them a personality that does not exist, thoughts that do not exist, feelings that do not exist, an appeal that does not exist.¹⁹⁰



Figure 3.10 The opening of the Rizzoli bookshop on Fifth Avenue in New York, in 1964.

The success of Fallaci's interviews with celebrities, based 'on the ability to ask hard questions',¹⁹¹ allowed her to detach from the world of gossip and glamour, to which female journalists were usually confined. This approach was also related to a 'moral radicalism' that was in line with *L'Europeo's* journalistic background: in particular with the demystifying approach of journalist Camilla Cederna to soft news and with the positions stated by Giglio in his publication about Marilyn Monroe (1956).¹⁹² Entering the theoretical debate of the period about stardom and the cultural industries, Giglio highlighted the connection between Fordism and the production of beauty: 'Once reduced to a purely physical entity, the diva can be reproduced in series'.¹⁹³ A few years later, while giving indications about the photo shoots to be

¹⁸⁹ Oriana Fallaci, 'Ma cos'è questa Lollo', *L'Europeo*, 23 December 1962, p. 29.

¹⁹⁰ Oriana Fallaci, Typed draft 'Lollobrigida', Archivio Eredi Fallaci.

¹⁹¹ Some of them were also published by Rizzoli in: Oriana Fallaci, *I sette peccati di Hollywood* (Milan: Longanesi, 1958).

¹⁹² Tommaso Giglio, *Marilyn Monroe* (Parma: Guanda, 1956).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

conducted by Pallottelli and Fallaci in the US, the editor Fattori suggested a calibrated selection of the topics, '[a]lso because the world of Hollywood is a bit on the decline as a subject.'¹⁹⁴

Additionally, thanks to the impact of her articles on the magazine's circulation, Fallaci could test her provocative interview method on personalities who were part of Rizzoli's entourage, such as Federico Fellini. As demonstrated by the monograph Solmi published in 1962, in which he defined the director's relevance as something to be related not only to cinema but also to the development 'of collective ideas on an ethical and social level', personalities such as Fellini became part of the shared cultural capital of the publishing system.¹⁹⁵



Figure 3.11 Riccardo Ricas demonstrates the structure of the new buildings Rizzoli in the early 60s.

It was Riccardo Ricas (Figure 3.1; 3.11), the director of the marketing office, who – in 1959 – started moving the company from the historical buildings in via Carlo Erba in Milan (216) to the new quarters in via Civitavecchia, a huge area in the countryside northeast of Milan.¹⁹⁶ The project covered 18,000 square metres and included the administrative and editorial offices, the production units and two spaces of 10,000 square metres, which hosted the employees' homes and the sport facilities.¹⁹⁷ The architecture of the industrial apparatus emphasised the contiguity of creative and non-creative workers and highlighted the connections between the different branches of production. Despite this, Radius noted how the company had become more similar to a car or a pharmaceutical factory. Nothing remained of the original family-run,

¹⁹⁴ [Giorgio Fattori], Letter to Oriana Fallaci, 27 July 1965, Archivio Eredi Fallaci.

¹⁹⁵ Angelo Solmi, *Storia di Federico Fellini* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1962), p. 13.

¹⁹⁶ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 216.

¹⁹⁷ The architect Piero Portaluppi, in collaboration with Gaspare Pestalozza, was in charge of the 'Edificio direzionale Rizzoli' project. See: <<http://www.portaluppi.org/opere/edificio-direzionale-rizzoli/>> [accessed 1 July 2019].

patriarchal management, beyond the personal charismatic presence of Angelo Rizzoli. Working as *Oggi's* editor, Radius explained that the economic pressure to obtain results increased through his awareness that the livelihood of one thousand families depended on the magazine's success.¹⁹⁸ A symbol of this passage was Andrea Rizzoli's creation of managerial positions, in spite of his father's concerns about the company's bureaucratisation. One of the first managers to be appointed was a woman, Franca Matricardi, whom Rizzoli called the 'fake engineer' because of her degree in civil engineering, a professional path she abandoned in order to work in the publishing industry.¹⁹⁹ Thanks to a solid professional background in Domus, the first publishing house of *L'Europeo*, she became an administrative manager, also assuming a key role also in the commercial assessments of image selection.

The creation of a marketing office should be placed in the context of the company's general renewal between the end of the 1950s and the middle of the 1960s (Figure 3.12). On the one hand, this transformation responded to Rizzoli's attempt to avoid relying on external structures; on the other, it was part of a wider process of Americanisation of editorial practices that had also involved the other great Milanese publishers. Arnaldo Mondadori himself sent his directors the booklet of the Time-Life organisational system, asking for feedback on a possible adaptation of this model to his publishing house. The letters of response stressed the differences between the Italian and the American situation and the related application problems; in doing so they expressed a form of underground resistance that also emerged in the Rizzoli editorial offices.²⁰⁰ In the context of this commercial pressure, a survey the marketing department carried out in the early 1960s highlighted 'some fundamental features of the reader, such as: social class, degree and type of education, possession of certain household goods, purchasing possibilities'.²⁰¹ This survey reflected the magazines' diversification: *L'Europeo* was the magazine for 'those who can read', for 'the readership that counts' and for 'unscrupulous, modern, never conformist readers', whereas *Oggi* was 'the magazine of the Italian family, an indispensable and honest opinion guide'.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Emilio Radius, *Cinquant'anni di giornalismo* (Milan: G. Miano Editore, 1969), p. 268.

¹⁹⁹ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 191.

²⁰⁰ Stephen D. Reese and Jane Ballinger, 'The Roots of a Sociology of News: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the Newsroom', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78.4 (2001), 641–58.

²⁰¹ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*, Printing draft document, CdRcs.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

A crucial role in this sense was attributed to a centralised archive, whose creation was aimed at underlining the interdependency between different editorial contexts and the wider industrial complex. As confirmed by archival folders (photographs/clippings) and by a comparison with Mondadori's archive, forms of legitimation of Rizzoli's expanded business – in particular in the field of film production – were embedded in different ways in the circulation of images and contents within the magazines. Through its system of classification, the archive reveals the different functions that are attributed to editorial products and the attempt to adapt visual languages accordingly.



Figure 3.12 Employees working in Rizzoli's specialised departments (monotypists), 1966-1967, CdRcs.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the genesis and development of the editorial processes behind the news magazines that Rizzoli and Mondadori published in the mid-twentieth century. By examining passages that emerged as particularly relevant for the analysis of these contexts, such as the creation of the magazines and major changes in their management in the second half of the 1950s, I have offered a broader perspective on the shared values that inform the visual layouts. Placing these periodicals in the context of the growing importance of the visual in advertising, education and journalism has shed light on the tensions between cultural and commercial capital. A key convergence of different backgrounds also emerged in the selection of the collaborators, who came from varied social and cultural contexts, such as the avant-garde movement, newspapers (both prestigious and minor ones), photo studios and new professional schools.

The post-war editorial scenarios in the cases of Rizzoli and Mazzocchi, with editors being in charge of the entire layout, seem to confirm Alberto Mondadori's critique that there was a prevalent lack of professionalism with regard to visual content in the Italian publishing world. However, the study of successful international models, the drive to expand the readership and the related industrial pressure necessitated – for some magazines – a revision of traditional editorial practices and processes. Zavattini's collaboration with Mondadori is an interesting example of the way innovative revisions of organisational structures played out in practice. The attempt to extend the editorial staff's symbolic capital to a democratic basis, favouring a dialogue between the readers and an enlightened 'high' culture, proved to be commercially impracticable. Nevertheless, the focus on the illustrations' print quality and the attempt to recognise the role of professional figures such as illustrators and photographers had a broader impact on the field. This impact is particularly relevant in relation to the artisanal procedures attributed to Rizzoli's editorial staff.

This resistance to innovation may be ascribed to the publisher's concept of control management. Undoubtedly, the definition of visual content remained crucially important within Rizzoli's company, due also to the publisher's personal interests and professional background. During the 1950s, amid the well-established paternalistic power system that dominated in the publishing house and the increasing importance of centralised structures, some attempts at renewal can be identified. For example, one of the recurrent themes emerging from participant interviews is the opposition between the bohemian, creative context of *L'Europeo* and the more rigid organisation of *Oggi*.

These positions seem to reflect the assumption – codified in the early 1960s by marketing materials – that distinguished *L'Europeo's* journalism 'that counts' from the conservative and informative appeal of *Oggi*.²⁰³ To put it in Adornian terms,²⁰⁴ staff memoirs and interviews in different ways reflected the juxtaposition between the standardisation and commercial gratification of the latter and the journalistic appeal of the former. As a result, most of the people I interviewed, regardless of their position, stated that they would not have read *Oggi* outside their work environment.

The success of *Oggi* in the early 1950s certainly rested on a systematic use of images, whose selection tended to be inscribed in sequential stages of production. This success, as we have seen, was linked to *Oggi's* appeal for a wide lower-middle-class family audience - in particular a

²⁰³ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*.

²⁰⁴ Giacomo Manzoli, *Da Ercole a Fantozzi: Cinema popolare e società italiana dal boom economico alla neotelevisione (1958-1976)* (Roma: Carocci editore, 2012), p. 28.

female, Catholic audience, as far as the visual elements were concerned. While journalists were defensive of their roles and the legitimacy they had acquired and reluctant to carry out routine work, the daily practice of image selection and captioning for the magazine's inner content started to be delegated to an editor and new recruits. The attention to the visual was, instead, manifested at *L'Europeo* through the inclusion of graphic designers (or similar contemporary figures) and photographers, who were encouraged to work with journalists as a team. People like Tommaso Giglio and Giuseppe Trevisani, whose work characterised a long period of *L'Europeo's* graphic layout (1954–1976), were part of a wider network of relationships that brought together previous progressive experiences and the flurry of Milan's cultural undercurrents. The opposition between saleable images and creative photo shoots appears to be inscribed in the implicit 'rules' or 'principles of action' that informed the company's reorganisation in the early 1960s.²⁰⁵ The attempt to apply the logic of bureaucratised organisation to these oppositional contexts, thus standardising the images' trajectories and the creation of journalistic knowledge, became explicit in the creation of centralised offices, as implied by the advertising materials. Viewed from a Bourdieu-style perspective, this marked the desire to wield symbolic power over the field, thus accumulating both economic and cultural (in the sense of journalistic prestige) forms of – commercial and journalistic – capital.

The focus on journalistic educational appeal seems to be an important element of both magazines. As we have seen, such a focus relates to a combination of factors, including the promotional, the political and the moral. Emilio Radius (editor in chief of *L'Europeo* and editor of *Oggi*), among others, was convinced that an educational, socialist approach would fulfil Angelo Rizzoli's expectations. With different implications, this educational appeal particularly emerges in relation to cinema and in the different cultural columns (i.e., books, art and theatre). Several factors justify the importance of cinema within the company in addition to Rizzoli's activity as a producer. The transitions from journalistic to cinematographic careers were part of consolidated patterns, promoting various forms of collaboration and exchanges of favours. Thus, the screenwriter of *L'Oro di Napoli*, Giuseppe Marotta, and that of *La dolce vita*, Ennio Flaiano, collaborated with *L'Europeo*, whereas the editorial management of *Oggi* was marked by the figures of Domenico Porzio and Angelo Solmi, both connected – via professional and/or family ties – to the cinematographic sphere. In both magazines, albeit in different ways, cooperation with film directors was made explicit through interviews, articles and events. It is not surprising that the focus on the dynamics of creative labour, such as those related to the fields of cinema and photography, became part of the magazine's narrative. Staff memories,

²⁰⁵ Benson, 'News Media as a "Journalistic Field"', p. 188.

publications and documents reveal how correspondence and encounters with some auteurs, such as Fellini, recur with particular frequency. Equally common were counter-narratives related to the mechanisms of resistance to the publisher's pressures with regard to particular actresses and films. In part, these narratives – emerging from creative and below the line workers – were concerned with the laziness of the Roman cinematic environment of cinema and the demystification of the capital's glamour.

CHAPTER 3: THE PRESENCE OF CINEMA IN THE WEEKLY PRESS

Introduction

After investigating key processes in Rizzoli and Mondadori, in this chapter I will focus on the magazines themselves, on the illustrations and related texts that convey the discourse on cinema. The 'desire for cinema, stars, stories, images' that had permeated the widely disseminated press since the 1930s became an integral part of the news magazines after the war.¹ An analysis of Rizzoli's news magazines of this period highlights the articulate nature of the interaction of cinema with the press,² as demonstrated in particular by the different ways in which cinema shaped the trajectories of the news magazines. This chapter investigates this scenario on the basis of the editorial processes and the system of relationships previously outlined.

Having explored the industrial and editorial context, in the present chapter I will look at the ways in which cinematic imagery was presented in magazine articles, connecting canonical spaces like covers or cinema columns to less explored ones, for example hybrid forms of photo stories and soft news. This inclusive perspective is informed by recent research and extends its scope to magazines and to their promotional and informational functions. More broadly speaking, recent studies have reconsidered the role of the news magazine in post-war Italy by exploring the complex of themes, values, stereotypes and symbolic plans of everyday life, which mark the continuous interaction between public opinion and common sense.³ Scholars like Lucia Cardone and Elena Mosconi have explored film novelisation through the diverse forms of transmigration of filmic imagery, from posters via postcards to press-books.⁴ New

¹ Giuliana Muscio, 'Tutto fa cinema: la stampa popolare del secondo dopoguerra', in *Dietro lo schermo: Ragionamenti sui modi di produzione cinematografica in Italia*, ed. by Vito Zaggarro (Venice: Marsilio, 1988), pp. 105-133 (p. 106).

² Although I will focus my analysis on *L'Europeo* and *Oggi*, I have randomly considered other Rizzoli periodicals as well, such as *Novella* and *Annabella*, in relation to specific issues or depending on the available materials that are preserved in the archival folders.

³ On the concepts of public opinion and common sense in relation to magazines, see: Gilardelli, 'Lollo vs. Marilyn', 73-96.

⁴ See, among others: Lucia Cardone, 'La fortuna di essere donna. Percorsi sentimentali nei cineromanzi', in *Gianni Amelio presenta: lo schermo di carta: Storia e storie dei cineromanzi*, ed. by Gianni Amelio and Emiliano Morreale (Turin and Milan: Il Castoro, 2007), pp. 169-89; Elena Mosconi, 'Segnali d'autore nel press-book cinematografico', in *Il racconto del film*, pp. 337-46.

studies have refined previous interpretative models by showing the relevance for media culture and feminism of popular and neglected genres such as the cineromance.⁵

In particular, the concept of novelisation as a 'transposition, and even an adaptation, of the film's content into the target medium, respecting the latter (the aforementioned target medium) and its principles' provides a useful perspective for our investigation.⁶ The increasing interest in the wider socio-cultural practices that determined a film's circulation has helped liberate these 'minor' genres following a long period of neglect. Although scholarship has often ignored them, minor spaces dedicated to soft news – such as images accompanied by commentaries – represent a point of convergence between news and leisure writing. Recent research has contributed to extend the focus to non-subject-specific magazines and unexplored areas of film criticism. For example, the SIR project 'Italian Film Criticism In Post-War Cultural And Popular Periodicals (1945-1955)' looked at the 'expanded form of Italian critical thinking', including forgotten cinema columns in the system of film criticism.⁷ As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, this approach also affected the interpretation of cinematic imagery, which has been conditioned by the role of influential journalists and promotional dynamics. It allows for more consideration to be granted to figures like Oriana Fallaci, as well as more attention to be paid to the dynamics that developed between film production and film criticism.

This chapter situates its magazine case studies in a broad context that includes forms of storytelling articulated over time, whose meaning emerges from the reiteration and activation of memorisation processes.⁸ Through flashes and snapshots, through 'glimpses into the world of the rich and famous', but also through socially concerned dramas, the periodical press constructed a pseudo-reality that can also be read in connection with other columns and critical contributions.⁹ The aim of this chapter is, then, to investigate the broader spectrum of filmic imagery, analysing the forms of contamination that may have contributed to the synergy between cinema and its audience in the period under consideration. By identifying recurrent

⁵ Jan Baetens, *The Film Photonovel: A Cultural History of Forgotten Adaptations* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019). Kindle ebook; Paola Bonifazio, *The Photoromance: A Feminist Reading of Popular Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2020).

⁶ André Gaudreault and Philippe Marion, 'Dal filmico al letterario: I testi dei cataloghi della cinematografia-attrazione', in *Il racconto del film*, ed. by Autelitano and Re, pp. 25-35 (p. 26).

⁷ Michele Guerra and Sara Martin, 'Culture del film. Il cinema e il pensiero critico italiano', in *Atti critici in luoghi pubblici: Scrivere di cinema, TV e media dal dopoguerra al web*, ed. by Michele Guerra and Sara Martin (Parma: Diabasis, 2019), pp. 13-20 (p. 19).

⁸ Chenu Alain, 'Des sentiers de la gloire aux boulevards de la célébrité: Sociologie des couvertures de *Paris Match*, 1949–2005', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 49.1 (2008), 3–52.

⁹ Sarah Patricia Hill, 'Photographic Excess: "Scandalous" Photography in Film and Literature after the Boom', in *Stillness in Motion*, ed. by Minghelli and Hill, pp. 217-243 (p. 217).

narrative patterns, the analysis exposes the system of relations between editorial practices, magazines and cinema.

In this sense, the magazines published by Rizzoli represent a crucial area of investigation due to the convergence between the company's publishing arm and its film production, and to the impact of its cultural production in both areas. The growing attention to the 'community' dimension of production and readership has led to a renewed interest in magazines as the result of a 'multivocal (multiple voices) and polysemic (multiple meanings)' dialogue.¹⁰ Rizzoli's magazines were a place of interaction between journalistic activities, the interests of the publisher-producer and the personalities linked to the latter, such as directors and screenwriters. Cinematic imagery played a crucial role within this complex network of relations. The chapter focusses on Rizzoli's main news magazines, *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*, and on the cultural context of the 1950s and 1960s, while also taking into consideration other periodicals published by Rizzoli and its competitors.

The analysis considers a wide selection of illustrated pages, ranging from cinema columns via articles related to directors and films to soft news and photo stories. The corpus of the texts has been selected on the basis of its representativeness for the publishing environment here examined, with particular attention being paid to the communication strategies that accompanied the promotion of films. The main corpus consists of about hundred and twenty issues of *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*. The various archival folders conserved by Rizzoli and the Mondadori Documentation Centres allow for a wider perspective on the materials that were used and consulted by the editorial staff.

Textual analysis has confirmed the relevance of cinema – and of some authors in particular – within the corporate shared values of the Rizzoli company. However, the synergy between cinema and the magazines underwent significant variations between the 1950s and the 1960s. In order to analyse the contamination between soft news and film criticism, photo story and reportage (or *cronaca*), it is crucial to define a corpus of films and authors that simultaneously appeared across the whole range of Rizzoli periodicals. In the period of greatest synergy with cinema, the two weeklies pursued complementary strategies. While *Oggi* further developed its function in making his wider readership familiar with the films presented, *L'Europeo* granted

¹⁰ Carolyn Kitch, 'Theory and Methods of Analysis: Modes for Understanding Magazines', in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research*, pp. 9-21 (p. 12). Kitch puts this analysis into connection with the ideas of the literary theorist Mikhail M. Bakhtin. See in particular: Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. By M. M. Bakhtin, ed by. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

space to various authorial perspectives in articles written or edited by film directors and screenwriters.¹¹ Both the structured approach of *Oggi* toward the educational appeal of 'high art' and the more explorative approach of *L'Europeo* with regard to visual languages reflected an inclusive attitude toward cinema as an object of culture.

Drawing on these approaches, this chapter analyses some narratives and visual patterns that contributed to the enhancement of the experience of cinema through the print media. The first part focusses on the identification of the spaces dedicated to filmic imagery in connection with other news narratives, by exploring the semantic implications of these interactions. The analysis of the covers delves into the growing relevance of stardom in the 1950s and the passage from multi-theme to mono-theme covers. This change, which can be detected in a wide range of illustrated magazines, signalled the partial disappearance from the covers of documentary photography, which had permeated the visual imagery of the post-war Reconstruction.¹² The second part addresses different forms of storytelling through on set photographs, which can be considered relevant for both magazines. If the photo story represented the most evident retelling of movie narratives in *Oggi* in the 1950s, *L'Europeo* in the early 1960s offered an alternative space for reflecting on film stills and their transmigration to the printed page. Due to its popular appeal and the consistent presence of photo stories, *Oggi* will be the main object of investigation. The third part of the chapter explores how events related to soft news were intertwined with the broader context of cinematic imagery, making more explicit the processes through which some narratives spilled over into different sections of the magazine. The main case studies consist of the couples comprised of Federico Fellini and Giulietta Masina, and Michelangelo Antonioni and Monica Vitti, whose respective private lives entered the system of Rizzoli magazines and were part of the press campaigns for their films. These recurrent patterns lead us to consider the complex amalgam of narratives that contributed to the promotion of specific authors and films.

3.1 The Flow of Cinema in the Illustrated Press: *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*

In 1945, the front pages of *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* stood as testimony to a desire to renew illustrated journalism in Italy. The extensive use of reportage photography became the emblem of a 'visual and symbolic transparency', aimed at marking the distance from the forms of

¹¹ See for example p. 111

¹² Grespi, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', p. 185.

imagery associated to the fascist propaganda.¹³ The ecumenical ambition of the post-war illustrated magazines was reflected in visual layouts that were designed to satisfy the audiences' expanding demand for information in the new democratic conjuncture. A few years later, the model of the news magazine shifted to reflect different criteria, in a process that would lead to a distinction between products aimed at a medium-low audience, and others intended for a more acculturated readership.¹⁴ In *L'Europeo*, the impact of photo reportage, combined with a newspaper format and incisive headlines, bore the irreverent and anti-provincial imprint of the editor Arrigo Benedetti, who drew on different international models. *Oggi* tried to combine the tradition of the nineteenth-century weekly magazines with the visual impact of the American *Look* and *Life* in the one-image cover. While the DOXA survey of 1956 included these weeklies in the news magazines section, distinguishing them from 'popular periodicals',¹⁵ recent literature has placed both in the category of 'popular periodicals', with the exception of some periods in the case of *L'Europeo*.¹⁶ *Oggi's* status as a news magazine declined over time while *L'Europeo's* prestige did not emerge unscathed from the Rizzoli takeover, which coincided with a significant change in direction and in the editorial staff. *Oggi* was later described as 'a radically conformist product, an official organ of petty-bourgeois "pharisee" hypocrisy, bearing the image of a little Italy wrapped around its distant king and close pope, made up of lovers who are in love but showing respect, happy wives, plump children, cakes with candles, old-fashioned bottom drawers and wedding ceremonies'.¹⁷ Targeting a different readership, *L'Europeo* appeared as a product for a middle class that was 'at the peak of political and moral radicalism', where the lives of prominent cultural figures was narrated with 'the detached seriousness' with which one would tell stories about a 'childhood friend who had become a bit stupid and a bit spoiled'.¹⁸

On the basis of sales figures, *Oggi* recognised the importance of going back to the 'romanzo dei vivi': 'collective fury and dramas recede over time, and individual passions and dramas once

¹³ Stuart Hall, 'The Social Eye of Picture Post', *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 2 (1972), 71–120 (p. 89).

¹⁴ Maria Grazia Messina, 'Storie dell'arte parallele', in *Arte moltiplicata*, ed. by Cinelli, Fergonzi and Negri, pp. 101-16 (p. 101).

¹⁵ In this section I adopt the terminology that was applied in the DOXA survey, which is explained in the appendice: here, the term 'popular' refers to the Italian meaning, that is, cheaper periodicals, with colour images 'on the first and last pages, illustrating sensational stories'. Pierpaolo Luzzatto Fegiz, *Il volto sconosciuto dell'Italia: dieci anni di sondaggi Doxa* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1956).

¹⁶ Gabriele D'Autilia, *Storia della fotografia in Italia: Dal 1839 a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012), p. 275; Agliani and Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, p. 363.

¹⁷ Nello Ajello, 'Il settimanale di attualità', in *Storia della stampa italiana*, ed. by Valerio Castronovo and Nicola Tranfaglia, 7 vols (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1976-2002), VI: *La stampa italiana del neocapitalismo*, ed. by Paolo Murialdi (1976), pp. 173-249 (p. 200).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

more command attention'.¹⁹ In this 'novel of the living',²⁰ the cinematic para-text, the personalities and the production dynamics of cinema were integral elements of the news narratives in both magazines. The incorporation of criticism and entertainment in the spaces dedicated to culture offered places of mediation for new categories of readers: those reader-spectators who were less interested in hard news of the type offered by newspapers.²¹ The encounter of cinematic imagery and news became visible in the combination of entertainment and criticism, reportage and promotional photography, which marked the journalistic output of the early 1950s. In this sense, the term familiarisation, taken to evoke a return to everyday life 'with difficulty and with an open-minded approach', represents a useful interpretative category that allows us to situate the figurative impact of the mass market press in relation to rose-tinted Neorealism in cinema.²²

The analysis is first concerned with identifying when and why cinematic information strategies tended to be used, focussing on recurrent themes within the selected corpus of images. In the early 1950s, the two magazines were around forty pages long, but the length of *L'Europeo* had increased to 100 pages by 1968, while *Oggi* was 138 pages long in the same year.²³ The number of pages related to cinema in each issue and considered for the purpose of my analysis varies from six to ten for both magazines, with a significant increase during the summer in view of the major film festivals, given that the spaces dedicated to cinema in these periods were significantly greater. In addition to the film criticism column, *Oggi* featured photo stories, images with commentaries relating to film personalities, and advertising. *L'Europeo* shows significant variations in the pages dealing with cinema: from one or two articles of film criticism to isolated commented images and photo reportages. In terms of space, the importance progressively given to Rizzoli's film production confirms the inclusion of these magazines in the publisher's wider entrepreneurial activity.

The period that I have analysed shows some remarkable convergences. Although in visual terms *Oggi* was characterised by a more significant interference of the cinematographic sphere, the system of references and visual contamination played a significant role in both magazines. A distinctive feature that these periodicals share is the attempt to engage in a dialogue with what is defined – in an insert on the history of cinema *L'Europeo* published in 1952 – as 'the

¹⁹ 'Il romanzo dei vivi', *Oggi*, 12 February 1946, cover.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Raffaele De Berti, 'Il nuovo periodico. Rotocalchi tra giornalismo, cronaca e costume', in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco*, ed. by Piazzoni and De Berti, pp. 3-64 (p. 5).

²² Gilardelli, 'Lollo vs. Marilyn', p. 78

²³ The different destination became clear from the prices: in 1968 *L'Europeo* cost 150 lire against 120 lire for *Oggi*.

immense audience that cinema has acquired in half a century of life and especially in the last, dramatic, twenty years'.²⁴ The context of the magazine, if read in the complexity of its transversal narratives, helps us to understand possible recurrences and discrepancies and brings out potential interpretative keys. While the semantic implications vary in degrees of explicitness, in the early 1950s visual metaphors and figures of speech recur in both magazines. Their presence reveals the intention to establish a dialogue with a reader who is expected to have 'the skills and the savvy required to understand them'.²⁵

Celebrity news – the presence of which was in many ways considered controversial – perfectly complemented this dialogue. In 'Novels and Farces Beyond the Screens', the critic Giuseppe Marotta justified the fact that he had not talked about a film in his column because 'the background' prevailed over cinema itself.²⁶ Referring to the wedding of Grace Kelly and Prince Rainier of Monaco, which 'opened the cinematic conquest of the thrones', he suggested substituting the name 'Ranieri' with the term 'State': 'The State met Grace while filming *To Catch a Thief*'.²⁷ How Marotta addresses this encounter between cinema and royalty (a particularly appealing soft news topic) reveals some key features of *L'Europeo's* journalistic language, which are visible also in the choices of cover.



Figure 4.1 'Divorce: Pro and Against', Oggi, 13 November 1953, p. 12.

From *Oggi's* pedagogical slant to the demystifying approach of *L'Europeo*, the editors were aware that cinematic imagery was a fertile terrain for negotiating values. If, at the beginning of the 1950s, cinema represented an 'important element within international tension', the interest in films as cultural objects was at its peak between the two decades, a phenomenon that was related to the rise of 'auteur' cinema and the expansion of Rizzoli's film production.²⁸ From the mid-1950s onwards, the space *Oggi* dedicated to cinema decreased at the same time as that of *L'Europeo* increased, in line with the growing importance of film criticism in newspapers (in particular the photographic inserts of *Il Giorno*). *Oggi's* change of approach is not surprising, considering the growing impact of other widespread forms of entertainment (namely television). A reflection on the commonalities –

²⁴ Arrigo Benedetti and others (eds.), *Storia del cinema* (Milan: L'Europeo-Editoriale Domus, 1952), p. 9.
²⁵ McDonnell, *Reading Celebrity Gossip Magazines*, p. 121.
²⁶ Giuseppe Marotta, 'Romanzi e farse aldilà degli schermi', *L'Europeo*, 22 January 1956, p. 50.
²⁷ Ibid., p. 51.
²⁸ Angelo Solmi, 'Russia e Inghilterra giudicate da Hollywood', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951, p. 37.

rather than the differences – in the forms of representation and promotion adopted by the magazines in relation to their respective targets allows us to generate crucial insights into the coverage of cinema.

In 1952, the summer insert of *L'Europeo* reaffirmed the importance of cinema, which was identified with the rebirth of Italy ('Italy is Reborn with Cinema').²⁹ The insert took the form of a photo story with images presumably provided by production companies and preserved in the archive. The dialogue with cinema, on a broader level, combined an appealing visual layout with a documentary approach and a 'cosmopolitan spirit [...] derived from the desire to affirm that "war was over"'.³⁰ The journalistic approach pursued by the editor Arrigo Benedetti informed the visual narratives and determined the image selection. In Benedetti's opinion, the fragmentation of perspectives and the quest for instantaneity was linked to the search for 'documents', or 'facts', transferred to a visual level via the juxtaposition of images with divergent points of view.³¹ Together with an attempt to challenge the uniqueness of the gaze, there was a shift from so-called documentary aridity towards 'show' in news narratives.³² Witnessing and investigating the euphoria for stardom was one of the magazine's aims. Although this open approach to soft news presented some similarities with Zavattini's and Mondadori's ideas for *Epoca*, *L'Europeo* adopted a different stance on the readership and the visual imagery (See chapter 2).



Figure 4.2 'Nausicaa calls Ulisse', *L'Europeo*, 12 July 1953.



Figure 4.3 'Roberto and Ingrid in the cave of the Sibyl', *L'Europeo*, 12 March 1953.

²⁹ Arrigo Benedetti and others (eds.), *Storia del cinema*.

³⁰ These were Benedetti's observations on *L'Europeo*'s approach, according to Mannucci. Mannucci, *I giornali non sono scarpe*, p. 124.

³¹ Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio*, pp. 14–17.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4.

In terms of layout, the use of high-impact headlines and the visual dynamism recalled Anglo-American magazines and visual insights from periodicals such as Leo Longanesi's *Omnibus* and the first version of *Oggi* in the 1930 and 1940s. Among the most significant examples, the article 'Forbidden films' by Gian Gaspare Napolitano focussed on the 'Eisensteinian emphasis' of the frame with the shattered glasses (Sergej Michajlovič Ėjzenštejn, *Battleship Potëmkin*, 1925) so as to undermine stereotypes related to the issue of film censorship.³³ The selection of images for the experimental cine-magazine *L'amore in città* (Cesare Zavattini, 1953) explores liminal spaces between reportage and spectacle, visually expanding the magazine's position while introducing Zavattini's 'conception of the new direction of Neorealism'.³⁴ In the pages dedicated to *Viaggio in Italia* (Roberto Rossellini, 1954), 'Robert and Ingrid in the Sibyl's cave', the emphasis is on the gaze of the main actress, Ingrid Bergman.³⁵ By facing the camera, she acts as a link between the creative space where Rossellini is caught in action, on the phone, and the interpretative role of the reader (Figure 4.3). While addressing the singularities of Rossellini's method, the article focusses on plot, and especially on the theme of marital crisis. The readership would probably have connected the topic to the debate on divorce (Figure 4.1), a recurrent theme in the periodical press at the time that was frequently discussed in *L'Europeo* (to quote one example: 'The sons of divorce').³⁶ The title of the film – *Ulisse* (Mario Camerini, 1954) – is graphically less important than the headline '130 to Kirk Douglas, 100 to Mangano'.³⁷ The presentation of the film focusses first on the production costs, in relation to the symbolic significance of the 'most expensive film shot in Italy with entirely Italian capital'.³⁸ Beyond the still images selected for this article (featuring Silvana Mangano and Rossana Podestà on the set), the pictures of Mangano and Podestà in subsequent issues – Mangano in maternal pose, with her daughters, and a close-up of Rossana Podestà caught in a dramatic expression bespeak a more effective promotional strategy (Figure 4.2).³⁹ The main headline, 'The Quirinale and the Crisis', which invoked the Italian political situation, appears to be ironically illustrated by Podestà's close-up. These pages give a different dimension to cinema when compared with the debate in the criticism section, with Alberto Moravia and Gian Gaspare Napolitano, among

³³ Gian Gaspare Napolitano, 'I film proibiti', *L'Europeo*, 29 March 1952, pp. 26–29; Roland Barthes and Stephen Heath, *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), p. 58.

³⁴ Renzo Trionfera, 'Zavattini regista', *L'Europeo*, 21 June 1953, p. 33.

³⁵ Renzo Trionfera, 'Roberto e Ingrid nell'antro della Sibilla', *L'Europeo*, 12 March 1953, pp. 34–35.

³⁶ 'I figli del divorzio', 12 August 1951, p. 30.

³⁷ Renzo Trionfera, 'I milioni di *Ulisse*: 130 a Kirk Douglas 100 alla Mangano', *L'Europeo*, 4 June 1953, pp. 34–35.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ 'Mamma Silvana', *L'Europeo*, 5 July 1953, back cover; 'Il Quirinale e la crisi', *L'Europeo*, 12 July 1953, cover.

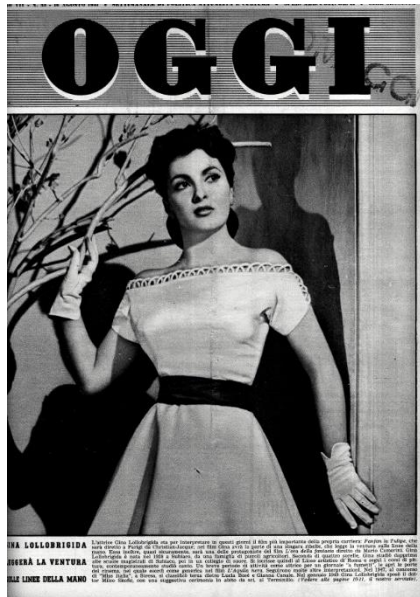


Figure 4.4 'Gina Lollobrigida will read the future in the lines of the palm', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951.

others, addressing key issues such as the crisis of Neorealism and the impact of censorship.⁴⁰

The mix of different approaches can be traced in the visual layout, which plays with the liminal space between sociological investigation and shades of glamour. The high-angle shot of Gina Lollobrigida while being 'surprised' on her way to the polls, or caught fixing her hair on the cover of *Les Belles de nuit* (René Clair, 1952), was a far cry from the actress's crystalised poses in *Oggi* (Figure 4.4).⁴¹ *Oggi* showed some similarities in its use of soft news, often connected to Hollywood, which functioned as a counterpart to reportage. However, the layout adopted a more static grid with few variations in the textual and visual approach. This remarkably uniform layout, which

implied little creative investment, confirmed how little the sales were affected by graphic monotony. Instead, ceaseless repetition of these fixed formulas represented a well-defined, reassuring approach that enabled diverse types of stories to be articulated within the same format.

3.2 The Covers: Healthy Modernity and Modern Malaise

The growing presence of celebrities on the covers of news weeklies was part of a wider international phenomenon, with subtle but consistent variations between the two magazines.⁴² Considering the sequence of the covers, which reveal their inter-dependence in the processes of signification, cinema remained a central topic in the period under consideration.⁴³ An examination of the peri-text of the covers aimed at presenting, classifying and commercially promoting the magazine indicates an increasing standardisation of postures and clothing.⁴⁴ Image selection and editorial interventions confirm the adoption in *Oggi* of an approach that sought to simultaneously mythicise and normalise its subjects, according to an editorial line

⁴⁰ On the magazine and its criticism of Neorealism, see: Gelsomini, *L'Italia allo specchio*, pp. 182–8.

⁴¹ 'La bella di notte', *L'Europeo*, 17 May 1952, cover; 'Gina Lollobrigida leggerà la ventura sulle linee della mano', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951, cover.

⁴² This change already made itself felt at the end of the 1940s in *Oggi*. For *L'Europeo* this transition is more evident when it shifts to colour in 1956.

⁴³ Chenu, 'Des sentiers de la gloire', p. 18.

⁴⁴ Baetens, *The Film Photonovel*, p. 43.

that scholars have emphasised.⁴⁵ While the photo reportage was relegated to the back covers or to the inner pages (with the exception of extreme events), image selection privileged portraits of celebrities – often of actresses who were contractually bound to Rizzoli Film – and members of the royal family.⁴⁶ Detailed captions directed the readers' interpretation of these personalities in terms of political, religious and social belonging, quite explicitly addressing their function as socially appropriate guides of national and cultural identity. The covers of *L'Europeo* tried to preserve a more dynamic layout; now owned by Rizzoli, it endeavoured to maintain a reportage-style approach while yielding to the visual domain of stars. The pre-eminence of the full-page image did not exclude the presentation of current events, which survived in the headlines, following the 'multi-theme, one image' definition (i.e. one dominant image and headlines of several articles).⁴⁷ Having a lower impact in terms of sales, the written text could maintain a certain level of heterogeneity. In this respect, *L'Europeo* was informed by the international model exemplified by magazines such as *Paris-Match* and *Life*, capturing the synthesis of 'religion with art, entertainment and scientific information' that was emblematised by *Time*.⁴⁸

Without dwelling excessively on the debate over stardom in *Oggi*, it is worth considering the rationale behind the selection of star portraits. After investigating the interests of readers and analysing sales figures, Rusconi decided to take advantage of the availability of filmic imagery to attract a readership that – in terms of visual narratives – he identified, above all, as female.⁴⁹ His conclusions reflected wider and more structured investigations, such as those conducted in the US by the Advertising Research Foundation and published in the Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading. The studies published in 1947 explored the ways in which picture-pages attracted readers and delved into the favourite themes of female audiences, which included weddings and engagements, children and babies.⁵⁰ The turn toward celebrities emerged with

⁴⁵ See among others Arturo Carlo Quintavalle and others (eds.), *La Bella Addormentata: morfologia e struttura del settimanale italiano* (Parma: Università di Parma Ist. di Storia dell'Arte, 1972).

⁴⁶ In the connection to current affairs, iconic visual elements take shape that borrow some effects of poster design. The new elements of meaning may be related to, opposed to or completely detached from one another, and they recall the film title or the name of the relative actress that is being conveyed in different contexts.

⁴⁷ Sammie Johnson and Patricia Prijatel, *The Magazine from Cover to Cover* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 284–7.

⁴⁸ David Scott and Daniel Stout, 'Religion on TIME: Personal Spiritual Quests and Religious Institutions on the Cover of a Popular News Magazine', *Journal of Magazine Media*, 8 (2006), 1-17 (p. 11).

⁴⁹ Luisa Cicognetti and Lorenza Servetti, instead, mention a survey published in *Oggi*, in which women did not answer the question about their favourite female stars. They interpret this as a scant interest in celebrities among the female readers of *Oggi*. Bonifazio, *The Photoromance*, p. 71.

⁵⁰ Bert W. Woodburn, 'Reader Interest in Newspaper Pictures', *Journalism Quarterly*, 24.3 (1947), 197–201; quoted in Webb, 'Creating Life', p. 63.

particular emphasis in portraits that featured on the magazine's covers. The predominance of neutral backgrounds could be read as a sign of what Bourdieu has defined as a more general 'spontaneous desire for frontality [...] linked to the most deep-rooted cultural values'.⁵¹ It is interesting to analyse the case of the provocative Martine Carol, after her role as Lucrezia Borgia in the eponymous film produced by Rizzoli (Christian-Jaque, 1953). The actress, who was portrayed on the cover of the company magazine *Cine-Illustrato* in one of the film's provocative costumes, appeared in *Oggi* with a censored, high-necked version of the 'sumptuous and magnificent' dresses 'deemed suitable for a princess of the Italian Risorgimento'(Figure 4.5).⁵² Following Cardone's description of the use of captions in cineromances, we could say that 'the narrator's voice – which seems to be confused with that of the spectator, or at least with that of his super-ego – harnesses the image, containing and regulating its excessive features and orienting its reading'.⁵³ It thus justifies the containment of eros and its framing in terms of history and elegance. The extent of 'hedonism, aesthetic appeal and eroticism' that the poster pictorially suggested (also in the Italian version) was wisely contained in *Oggi* by turning the attention to the leitmotiv of high art and beauty.⁵⁴ The importance of this operation of containment via adjusting the necklines – a change that is visible in the archival prints – is emphasised in a letter dated 9 July 1955, in which Father Agostino Gemelli (appointed dean for life of the Catholic University of Milan in 1953) invited Rusconi to be 'more cautious' in the use of photos in *Oggi*, a magazine that 'enters into family homes'.⁵⁵



Figure 4.5 The containment of Martine Carol's neckline on the cover of *Oggi*, 19 November 1953.

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Social Definition of Photography', in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, ed. by Luc Boltanski, Pierre Bourdieu and others trans. by Shaun Whiteside (Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 73-98 (p. 82).

⁵² 'Per Lucrezia Borgia La Bionda Martine Carol è dimagrita di tre chili', *Oggi*, 19 November 1953, cover; 'Lucrezia Borgia', *Cine-Illustrato*, 15 February 1955, cover.

⁵³ Cardone, 'La fortuna di essere donna', p. 180.

⁵⁴ Chenu, 'Des sentiers de la gloire', p. 8; Stephen Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (London and New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 150.

⁵⁵ Poncetta, 'L'invenzione del rotocalco popolare', 61.

While this was the prevailing line, the sequence of covers reveals less predictable editorial patterns, including more dynamic images of womanhood, references to events and to several environments, which implied different levels of literacy. Image selection favoured an 'accessible and familiar set of identifications',⁵⁶ namely with well-defined typologies evidencing the newly acquired prestige: that of the glamour of Silvana Mangano's parties (Figure 4.6), but also of the new faces of cinema, often connected to beauty contests, as well as of more versatile figures who combined cinema with other professional roles ('Vivi Gioi, Actress Painter Architect').⁵⁷



Figure 4.6 'At Silvana Mangano's home for the new year ...', *Oggi*, 10 January 1952.



Figure 4.7 'Two weeks at Miami for Anna Maria Pierangeli', *Oggi*, 12 April 1956.

With regard to Mangano, Bonifazio highlights that 'economic independence and physical beauty, dosed with self policing practices of moral conduct, make Silvana an appealing model of the modern woman that fits the consumer culture of potential consumers of the magazine'.⁵⁸ These narratives might include signs of female refashioning and class mobility, as could be seen in certain professional areas during the 1950s, 'based more than anything on a greater visibility of female workers, especially those in the new, feminine professions – such as television presenters, air hostesses, beauticians, interior designers, tourist guides and interpreters – that captured the imagination of so many young women'.⁵⁹ If, according to *Oggi*, Gina Lollobrigida's greatest ambition was to buy an apartment where she could 'live in peace with her husband', the biographical photo story and commentary highlights the conjuncture of favourable

⁵⁶ Gundle, *Bellissima*, p. 154.

⁵⁷ 'Cercavano una miss e scopersero un'attrice: Liliana Bonfatti', *Oggi*, 31 July 1952, cover; 'Vivi Gioi: attrice, pittrice, sarta e architetto', *Oggi*, 14 November 1951, back cover; 'In casa di Silvana Mangano riuniti per l'anno nuovo i nostri divi del cinema', *Oggi*, 10 January 1952, cover.

⁵⁸ Bonifazio, *The Photoromance*, p. 77.

⁵⁹ Penelope Morris, 'Introduction', in *Women in Italy, 1945–1960*, pp. 1–20 (p. 11).

opportunities that the actress was able to exploit thanks to her 'artistic skills'.⁶⁰ While exploring some signs of modernity, the magazine sought to maintain a delicate balance between interest in Hollywood stars, the ruling Christian Democrat party and its contacts within the Catholic Church. In other cases, Rusconi's influence was more explicit, in particular with regard to what *Oggi* frequently addressed as the 'nightmare' of the Soviet model. The cover of 11 April 1956, which shows Anna Maria Pierangeli with her son, defined as the 'child of the miracle', insists on the dimension of international glamour connected with the profession of actress, travelling from Los Angeles to Miami, from the US to London (Figure 4.7).⁶¹ The headdresses of Pierangeli and her child might imply a visual reference to the title 'How Communists Control Brains',⁶² offering an ironical reading through implied complicity with the reader.

The analysis of the covers also shows anomalies that do not seem justifiable in editorial and commercial terms. These visual narratives can, in fact, reveal other mechanisms, traces of less predictable corporate processes. Rizzoli's magazines have been referred to as part of the inner mechanisms of film advertising and promotion.⁶³ However, the traceability and preponderance of images linked to Rizzoli's film production leaves room for subtle inconsistencies, which reveal elements of tension and discrepancies on the editorial level. A contemporary debate in *Cinema Nuovo* highlighted some contradictions in the increasing presence of stars on the covers, who seemed to be selected more on the basis of their provocative beauty than their artistic skills.⁶⁴ The professional qualities of the actresses also become a point of contention in Rizzoli's magazines, and not only in terms of their commercial impact. In a letter regarding the promotion of his film *Il padrone sono me* (1955), Franco Brusati turned to Rizzoli to solve a question that appeared incomprehensible to him:

The article is very professional and I have absolutely nothing to complain about. But it is illustrated with a photo of Myriam Bru, in which Myriam is pulling a face, her features swollen and distorted by a poor reproduction. Since a similar thing happened some time ago in *L'Europeo*, I wonder why this kind of 'photographic defamation' of [Myriam] Bru continues, and in your magazines.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ 'Gina Lollobrigida dalla ciociaria allo schermo', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951, pp. 10-11.

⁶¹ 'Due settimane a Miami per Anna Maria Pierangeli', *Oggi*, 12 April 1956, cover.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Francesca Cantore and Andrea Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta: Uno studio delle strategie di comunicazione della Cineriz', *Cinema e storia: rivista annuale di studi interdisciplinari*, VII (2018), 47-66.

⁶⁴ Elisa Mandelli and Valentina Re, 'Le donne in copertina "vanno": Cinema nuovo e le attrici italiane (1952-1958)', in *Vaghe stelle. Attrici del/nel cinema italiano*, ed. by Lucia Cardone and others (= *Arabeschi*, 10 (2017)), pp. 401-6.

⁶⁵ Franco Brusati, 'Letter to Angelo Rizzoli', 20 August 1955, Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia (CSC), Biblioteca 'Luigi Chiarini', fondo Cineriz (FC), *Il padrone sono me*.

One of the appearances of Bru in *L'Europeo* was 'Myriam Crocerossina' (3 July 1955), a cover in which the actress is portrayed in a bathrobe during a break in shooting (Figure 4.8).⁶⁶ In stark contrast to prevailing conventions, the pose and the clothing reveal the tensions in a cover that had to conform to the – implicit or direct – dictates of the publisher, with whom the actress was romantically involved. The article published in the same issue identified the 'stars with curlers' as part of 'a wider industrial-artistic and moral phenomenon' that could be analysed 'from an industrial-artistic and from a moral and social point of view'.⁶⁷ *L'Europeo* emphasised the detachment, also in visual terms, from the celebrity news covered in other magazines (including *Oggi*) in the attempt to maintain a distinct journalistic status: '[T]he fashionable actresses, who have become very rich, are now influenced by the trend of the ancient'.⁶⁸ These statements inevitably ridicule the 'posate' (i.e. reportages of actresses posing in this or that manner) that became a constant pattern in *Oggi*, in its reports on the new residences of Italy's rising middle class.

Indeed, the new social scene of Italian actresses, in particular the photo shoots dedicated to the homes of Sophia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida, became a regular feature of *Oggi*. The exploration of decoration and clothing – the visible signs of the newly acquired status – was also extended to include nonprofessional actors who incarnated a more participatory dimension of cinema. In this sense, the press campaign that accompanied the shoot of *La dolce vita* is particularly telling, as it reveals the drive to create a participatory dimension, which was incentivised in the first place by the 'inventor of rituals', the director Fellini (See chapter 4).⁶⁹ These narratives introduced the critical discourse of the cinema column – which was generally managed by Angelo Solmi – to a wider audience: an editorial line that reinforced *Oggi's* promotion of cinema as a cultural object, which was pursued under the editorship of Emilio Radius, a journalist with years of experience as editor in chief at *L'Europeo* (See chapter 2). For example, the article dedicated to Marilyn Monroe in 1959 – 'protagonist of a typical "female myth" of our time' – marks *Oggi's* distinct approach to celebrity news.⁷⁰ In response to what he defined as 'pressing requests from readers', Solmi recommended Luigi Chiarini's 'Arte e tecnica del film' to the readers, a 'clear volume' that explains 'the aesthetic principles of cinematography'.⁷¹ A series of articles dedicated to the investigation of 'comedies and dramas of feminine beauty', that is, a gallery of celebrities sharing their secrets with the readers, can be

⁶⁶ 'Myriam crocerossina', *L'Europeo*, 3 July 1955, cover.

⁶⁷ Camilla Cederna, 'Le stelle coi bigodini', *L'Europeo*, 5 July 1953, p. 9.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Minuz, 'Tecnica e magia', p. 122.

⁷⁰ 'La bionda Marilyn Monroe con A qualcuno piace caldo ha vinto una nuova battaglia', *Oggi*, 6 October 1959, cover; Angelo Solmi, 'La più intelligente oca del mondo', *Oggi*, 6 October 1959, pp. 10–15.

⁷¹ Angelo Solmi, 'Un libro che aiuta a capire perchè un film è bello o è brutto', *Oggi*, 12 July 1962, p. 70.

seen in the same vein:⁷² while meeting the interests of the audience, the figurative approach marked an openness to different styles of reading. The celebrities' faces were broken down into collages, which purported to decipher and catalogue their appeal, as in the case of Emma Danieli,⁷³ or they were portrayed in subtle tonal ranges of black and white, as in the case of Elsa Martinelli ('Elsa Martinelli or the Charm of Sophistication').⁷⁴ Recalling collages of avant-garde inspiration, or Renaissance portraits, these articles endeavoured to slightly expand *Oggi's* representational conventions. In this respect, its approach was not completely at odds with some attempts made by *L'Europeo* in the same period.⁷⁵

The close-up of May Britt, published on the cover of *L'Europeo* in July 1961, emphasises the actress's facial features and the shades of her make-up, in contrast with the implicit conventions of depiction that prevailed in the weekly popular press (Figure 4.10).⁷⁶ The gaze toward the camera evokes a sense of intimacy and psychological identification with the reader, who is implicitly invited to reflect on the image's commercial impact.⁷⁷ The transition toward a conceptual approach is made clear by the reuse of the colours in the headlines, which mark the connection with abstract art or design. The subtle variation of consolidated patterns aims at giving a glimpse of 'the horror lurking behind the idyll', as confirmed by the caption 'Gli idoli maledetti' ('Damned Idols', which referred to Ezra Goodman's book *The Fifty-Year Decline and Fall of Hollywood*).⁷⁸ The heterogeneous, visual knowledge of an editorial team that engaged with new currents of popular culture is reflected in a layout that seeks to conjugate aesthetic and sociological concerns. The stable collaboration of photographers and the creation of new structures, such as the photographic laboratory, represented a crucial improvement in this sense. By exploring the variations of photographic effects (e.g. the use of enlargements, repetitions, black and white contrasts), the layouts make explicit subjective points of view and amplify the coexistence of different narratives. Conceived in broader terms as a magazine that tried to 'capture the stylistic features that make up the originality of the artworks', to cite Bourdieu, *L'Europeo* could operate in more subtle terms also in relation to national icons, such

⁷² Silvio Bertoldi, 'Commedie e drammi della bellezza femminile: Emma Danieli, il telesorriso della sera', *Oggi*, 20 August 1959, pp. 26–30.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Silvio Bertoldi, 'Commedie e drammi della bellezza femminile: Elsa Martinelli l'ideale delle donne magre', *Oggi*, 18 June 1959, pp. 22–28.

⁷⁵ See, among others, the series of the 'Roman Beauty from the Past' interpreted by Gina Lollobrigida and published in *Epoca*, 1960. Gundle, *Bellissima*, p. 150.

⁷⁶ 'Gli idoli maledetti', *L'Europeo*, 2 July 1961, cover.

⁷⁷ Gunther R. Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), p. 58.

⁷⁸ Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 308; Ezra Goodman, *The Fifty-Year Decline and Fall of Hollywood* (New York: Macfadden Book, 1962).

as Gina Lollobrigida.⁷⁹ The cover presenting *Venere imperiale* (Jean Delannoy, 1962) highlights the contrast with the 'sweet, familiar, domestic' feminine appeal that characterised the actress's beginnings, revealing an unusual 'dash of vampirism' (Figure 4.9).⁸⁰ As we will see in the next chapter, this approach stands out in the context of the promotional and advertising campaign of this big-budget Rizzoli production.



Figure 4.8 'Myriam Red Cross Nurse', L'Europeo, 3 July 1955.



Figure 4.9 'Gina Lollobrigida Venere imperiale', L'Europeo, 16 April 1961.



Figure 4.10 'May Britt', L'Europeo, 2 July 1961.

The projection of cinema in the microcosm of *Oggi* is effectively captured in a cover of January 1962. The main headline, 'Italy moves toward peaceful progress', introduces a close-up of Liz Taylor as *Cleopatra* (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1963).⁸¹ Exemplifying the encounter between Hollywood and economic prosperity, the magazine covered some elements of the Italian shoot of the colossal film, from details of the celebrities' personal lives to technical and production issues. The inclusion of Ischia – the island Rizzoli promoted as a tourist destination (See chapter 4) – among the film's locations constituted an additional interesting element of its promotion. However, the most fascinating aspect relates to the caption, which states that Taylor was trying to adopt an Italian girl named Maria. The actress's Marian iconography – most notably, her downward gaze – embodied the reconciliation of different levels of national historical memory and the selective assimilation of American models (Figure 4.11).⁸² Although here the metaphorical value appears naturalised, the interpretation of the cover implies a form of

⁷⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinzione: Critica sociale del gusto* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001), p. 47.

⁸⁰ 'Gina Lollobrigida Venere Imperiale', *L'Europeo*, 16 April 1961, cover; Edgar Morin and Richard Howard, *The Stars* (Minneapolis; Bristol: University of Minnesota Press; University Presses Marketing, 2005).

⁸¹ 'Liz Taylor adotterà una bimba italiana che si chiama Maria', *Oggi*, 25 January 1962, cover.

⁸² The importance of the Marian cult in post-war Italy must be stressed here: 'Mystery, prophecy, Messianism reinvigorated a highly active and militant Mary figure, who during a continuous pilgrimage reaches her lost and frightened children, easy prey to the consumerist flattery of the American miracle and of [...] the communist dream.' Emma Fattorini, *Italia devota: Religiosità e culti tra Otto e Novecento* (Rome: Carocci, 2012), p. 77.

multifaceted dialogue with readers, which can be seen as a subtle point of conjunction with *L'Europeo*. These slight similarities were bound to disappear shortly, due to the growing role of centralised structures and the change in *Oggi's* editorial board, Emilio Radius being succeeded by Lamberto Sechi (June 1962). This separation was institutionalised by the marketing office and should be seen in the context of what Gianni Canova describes in terms of a 'changed system of relations between cinema and the society that consumes it'.⁸³ The brilliant tones of the covers symbolised the convergence of a 'spiritual consumerism', with conflicting elements emerging from the new impulses of economic prosperity.⁸⁴ Emblematic in this sense is the cover of February 1963, featuring Gina Lollobrigida happily posing with her son. The double headline read: 'After Ten Years Gina no Longer Wants to Follow Her Husband's Advice'; and, in big letters, 'A Great Miracle of Sant'Antonio di Padova Revealed after Eighteen Years' (Figure 4.12).⁸⁵ The elegant cover of *Oggi* with Silvana Mangano in the film *Io, io, io e gli altri* (Alessandro Blasetti, 1966) appeared to be a nostalgic invocation of a glamour that had been lost in the hyper-realism of four-colour printing.



Figure 4.11 'Liz Taylor Will Adopt an Italian Girl Named Maria', *Oggi*, 25 January 1962.



Figure 4.12 'Gina no Longer Wants to Follow Her Husband's Advice', *Oggi*, 14 February 1963.

⁸³ Gianni Canova, 'La perdita della trasparenza: Cinema e società nell'Italia della seconda metà degli anni '60', in *Storia del cinema italiano, XI: 1965-1969*, ed. by Gianni Canova (2003), pp. 3-29 (p. 4).

⁸⁴ Andrea Minuz, "'Mariofanie". Religiosità popolare e riti dello spettacolo nel cinema di Fellini degli Anni Cinquanta', in *Le religioni e le arti*, ed. by Botta and Canella, pp. 31-48 (p. 35).

⁸⁵ 'Dopo dieci anni Gina non vuole più seguire i consigli del marito', *Oggi*, 14 February 1963, cover.

3.3 Novelisation: From Cineromances to the Director's Gaze

'Every era has its heroes: ours has comic book heroes'. This comment at the end of Michelangelo Antonioni's documentary *L'amorosa menzogna* (1949) emphasises the crucial role photoromances played in the production and circulation of illustrated magazines in the post-war years.⁸⁶ The phenomenon of the photoromance is considered worthy of investigation primarily because – as the narrating voice of the film states – sales reached around two million copies, or five million 'humble' readers. Other than showing the shabby environments in which photo sets were improvised, the documentary focusses on newsstands, which are interpreted as a place of mediation and conversion of this 'cheap entertainment, a kind of pocket cinema and also a sentimental advisor'.⁸⁷ It is precisely a newsstand that reveals the thin line of demarcation between the covers of some news magazines – including *Oggi* – in the final scenes. Over ten years later, the covers of other weeklies appeared in Gualtiero Jacopetti's newsreel *Ieri Oggi Domani* (1963), though in a changed urban context. The front cover of *L'Europeo*, casually exhibited by Marcello Mastroianni, just back from Cannes, introduces a different context of usage: the glamorous launches of Federico Fellini's films in the early 1960s. In spite of a completely different approach and atmosphere, the narrating voices in both the documentary and the newsreel ironically address the dream dimension of *Incanto* (Enchantment) and 'the obscure symbolisms' of Fellini's *8 1/2* (1963). While the readers cited in *L'amorosa menzogna* are puzzled by the mysteries of 'Judas's kiss', the spectators interviewed in *Ieri Oggi Domani*, after having seen *8 1/2*, seem unanimous when they declare that they easily understood the film of the 'great director' Fellini. The comprehension of an object of cultural distinction – 'the hallmark of an educated middle class' – is exemplified by the relevance given to directors,⁸⁸ knowledge of whom was a sign of class belonging according to a survey Bourdieu conducted in those same years (from 1963 until 1968 and published in 1979).⁸⁹ It is likely that among the spectators Jacopetti interviewed there were no readers of *Sogno* or *Cine-Illustrato*; their replies indicate

⁸⁶ I have opted for the term photoromance in reference to forms of storytelling that use photographs with speech captions in balloons, which were generally conceived for a female readership and had a romantic connotation. In Italy, this format is connected to the magazine *Grand Hotel*, created in 1946 by Alceo e Domenico Del Duca, which published love stories in the format of comics, since the images were originally drawings (hence the use of the definition 'comic books'). The magazine's commercial success inaugurated a period of intense publishing activities. The label 'fotoromanzo' can generally be traced back to *Bolero Film* (1947, Mondadori), which published photoromances that are attributed to Cesare Zavattini. Other magazines that appeared in this period include *Sogno* (1947, Rizzoli) that announced the new genre via a paraphrasing self-definition: 'settimanale di romanzi d'amore a fotogrammi', literally, 'weekly magazine of romance novels. See Jan Baetens, *Pour le roman-photo* (Bruxelles: Les Impressions nouvelles, 2011), pp. 7-8; Baetens, *The Film Photonovel*, p. 163; Bonifazio, *The Photoromance*, pp. 3-4.

⁸⁷ *L'amorosa menzogna* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1949).

⁸⁸ Emiliano Morreale, *Cinema d'autore degli anni sessanta* (Milan: Il castoro, 2011), p. 14.

⁸⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinzione*.

that they belonged to the new kind of audience that emerged from processes of modernisation and urbanisation – the audience for 'auteur' cinema.⁹⁰ However, we cannot exclude the fact that the stories being articulated through cineromance, photo essays and experimental visual layouts created a subtle connection between these different categories of spectatorship. Various Rizzoli magazines explored forms of storytelling, involving different figures such as screenwriters, directors, journalists and editors. While considering the variables of film photo essays in news magazines, attention will be paid to films that were familiar to the publisher's readership (*Don Camillo*) and contents that were undoubtedly more difficult to handle for magazines like *Oggi*, which were intended for a wide readership (*L'eclisse*).

To better understand these texts, we need to study the reasons behind the photo essay's prominent presence of photo stories in the Rizzoli magazines. The function of photographic documentaries is rooted in a journalistic approach 'that deeply pervaded post-war Italian film production'.⁹¹ Without entering into the debate about the definition of the photo essay,⁹² I will give a few examples from a broad range of journalistic articles containing sequences of photographs that are generally commented on through text in captions.⁹³ In particular, I would like to quote William J. T. Mitchell's definition of photo essays as 'a literal conjunction of photography and text- usually united by documentary purpose, often political, journalistic, sometimes scientific'.⁹⁴ This approach was grounded in certain experiences of previous decades, including the American example: 'Rhetorically, photo-essays assume a spectrum of positions, from the social and political pleadings of [Jacob] Riis's landmark work through the sociological portraits of August Sander and the meditative celebration of local life in the essays of W. Eugene Smith'.⁹⁵ Within the Italian context, the forms of the photo essay were grounded

⁹⁰ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', p. 48.

⁹¹ Laurent Guido, 'Introduction: Between Deadly Trace and Memorial Scansion: The Frozen Image in Film', in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Guido and Lugon, pp. 225–43 (p. 226).

⁹² See among others: Wilson Hicks, "Life lays out a picture story," in *Words and Pictures. An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Harper and Bros, 1952), 63-79; Daniel H. Magilow, 'Introduction', 'The Illustrated Press and the Photo Essay' in *The Photography of Crisis. The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (Penn State Press, 2012), 1-15; 34-62.

⁹³ With regard to the presence of the text see Eugene Smith's position in William J. T. Mitchell, 'The Photographic Essay: Four Case Studies', in *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 285-86.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁹⁵ Timothy Corrigan, "'The Forgotten Image between Two Shots": Photos, Photograms, and the Essayistic', in *Still Moving: Between Cinema and Photograph*, ed. by Karen Beckman and Jean Ma (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 41-61 (p. 47). It is worth making a brief reference to the importance of these photographers: the Danish-American Jacob Riis (1849–1914), for his pioneering use of photographic images as instruments for social change in the United States; August Sander (1876–1964) in relation to forms of documentation of German society during the two World Wars; the American W. Eugene Smith (1918-78), the author of iconic photo essays for *Life* like the series Country Doctor (1948).

in a dialogue between the international model and the ongoing conversation in Italian magazines.⁹⁶ A significant example is that of Elio Vittorini who claimed to be influenced by cinema and film editing while working on the layouts of books such as *Americana* (1943) and of the magazine *Il Politecnico* (See chapter 2).⁹⁷ In the 1950s, Vittorini's interventions in *Cinema Nuovo* emphasised the role of photographic narratives as tools to increase the text's communicative impact without affecting its 'poetic and theoretical rigor', in respect of 'a cinematographic criterion, neither photographic, nor cartoon-like [...]'.⁹⁸ If some traces of Vittorini's lesson remained in *L'Europeo*, due also to the presence of his ex-collaborators Trevisani and Giglio, the integration of popular forms of visual storytelling was crucial for *Oggi*. This magazine was undoubtedly aware of the role of photoromances as a pioneering form of storytelling across platforms, which integrated the tradition of the 'nineteenth-century popular novel, the iconography of popular Catholicism, romantic literature, opera and the *sceneggiata* (including film)'.⁹⁹ In fact, despite being considered a naive genre for uneducated people, the impact of this form of visual storytelling in the late 1950s was grasped and copied both by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and by the Catholic illustrated magazine *Famiglia Cristiana*, which created their own photoromances.

The use of film stills in photo essays can be seen as 'a form of in-depth exploitation of film merchandise'.¹⁰⁰ This use acquires a particular relevance when production and publishing are intertwined, as in the case of Dino De Laurentiis and Rizzoli.¹⁰¹ From the first stages of production to the film premieres, the photo essays and the photoromances that were included as prescribed by film contracts became part of film promotions, acting in conjunction with magazine ads and photo-books (See chapter 4). Cineromances, which often implied the use of film reels at the end of their circulation in cinemas, occupied the pages of 'minor' periodicals such as *Cine-Illustrato*, within a system aimed at controlling the entire cycle of cinematic

⁹⁶ Grespi, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', pp. 183–215.

⁹⁷ See for example the illustrated 'Storia del cinema': 'Marcia nunziale, luna di miele', *Il Politecnico*, 2 February 1946, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Elio Vittorini, 'La foto strizza l'occhio alla pagina', *Cinema nuovo*, 15 April 1954 (repr. in Elio Vittorini, *Letteratura arte società. Articoli e interventi 1938-1965*, ed. by Raffaella Rodondi (Turin: Einaudi, 2008), pp. 701-708).

⁹⁹ Emiliano Morreale, *Così piangevano: Il cinema melò nell'Italia degli anni cinquanta* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 2012), p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Emiliano Morreale, 'Il sipario strappato: Introduzione ai cineromanzi', in *Gianni Amelio presenta: lo schermo di carta*, ed. by Amelio and Morreale, pp. 26–57 (p. 48).

¹⁰¹ On the relation between film production and publishing see: Lorenzo Pellizzari, 'Le nuove forme tra critica e ideologia', in *Storia Del Cinema Italiano, X: 1960-1964*, ed. by Giorgio De Vincenti (2003), pp. 551-567 (pp. 560-562). The Lanterna Magica publications *Cineromanzo gigante* and *Cineromanzo per tutti* were financed by the producer Dino De Laurentiis, who created a series specifically for his own films. Baetens, *Film Photo Novel*, p. 19; Emiliano Morreale, 'Il sipario strappato', in *Gianni Amelio presenta*, ed. by Amelio and Morreale, pp. 25-57 (pp. 40-41, 46, 52).

imagery. The still photographs could circulate across the range of Rizzoli magazines, recalling nineteenth-century illustrations, the exploration of the 'new expressive means' and occasional 'intrepid conceptions' of visual languages propagated by advertising materials.¹⁰² The case of *Oggi* is particularly interesting for its use of film stills in photo stories that introduced recent films or revisited films 'from the past'.¹⁰³ These articles were included in the 'photographic documentary' section, which might explain the fact that, while presenting the plot, these pages also aimed at giving some form of critical background and contextual information. For this reason, and in line with the original definition of the magazine, I have opted to use the neologism photo essay instead of cineromance.¹⁰⁴

The anticipation or promotion of a film in Rizzoli's magazines ranged from Guareschi's presentation 'of the film based on his book' in *Oggi*, to the sharing of the secrets of *8 1/2* and the images of 'my *Desert*' [*Red Desert*] – a story 'in which Michelangelo Antonioni talks about his new film' – in *L'Europeo*.¹⁰⁵ In fact, the double pages, aimed at presenting the plot while also introducing the film's directors, actors and production team, were able to anticipate or stand in for the film's critical review. Particularly noteworthy is the case of *Umberto D.*, whose photo story was published on 17 January 1952, ahead of the film's distribution as well as Solmi's critical review.¹⁰⁶ The presentation of *Buongiorno elefante*, by contrast, followed shortly after the film's release.¹⁰⁷ In a letter dated October 1955, L. Rao from Cineriz's press office informed the actor Albino Cocco that a 'paginone' [a photo essay] of *Il padrone sono me* had been published in *Oggi* as part of the promotional campaign.¹⁰⁸ Over the decade, the format of the photo essay in promotional campaigns explored different forms, from a general introduction to the film via the presentation of some scenes to the selection of the actors (*La dolce vita*).¹⁰⁹ The directors themselves stressed the importance of checking the use of visual content in Rizzoli's magazines:

¹⁰² 'Una nuova tappa nel cinema', CSC, FC, L'anno scorso a Marienbad.

¹⁰³ See for example 'Carnet di ballo', *Oggi*, 1 May 1952, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁴ As Baetens emphasises, *Life* also presented movies with images in sequence, like the adaptation of *Great Expectations* (David Lean, 1946) in 1947. Jan Baetens, *Pour le roman-photo*, [p. 18].

¹⁰⁵ Federico Fellini, 'Guardiamolo con Fellini', *L'Europeo*, 6 January 1963, pp. 26-39; Michelangelo Antonioni, 'Il mio Deserto', *L'Europeo*, 16 August 1964, pp. 42-54.

¹⁰⁶ Angelo Solmi, 'Umberto D. di De Sica, film senza compromessi', *Oggi*, 14 February 1952, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ 'Umberto D. il più recente film di Vittorio De Sica', *Oggi*, 17 January 1952, pp. 20-21; 'Un pachiderma per le vie di Roma nel film *Buongiorno Elefante*', *Oggi*, 6 March 1952, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰⁸ L. Rao, Letter to Albino Cocco, 6 October 1955, CSC, FC, *Il padrone sono me*.

¹⁰⁹ Among the various forms of the photo story dedicated to cinema there is a kind of anthology of classic 'films of the past'; on one side, it places itself within the educational line of picture stories published in various contexts; on the other side, it responds to the editorial need to fill up dead spaces during the less interesting periods with images available in the archive.

For example, today we are shooting a scene that seems successful and interesting to us: I would like to be able to immediately give the related photographs to the press, to have a friendly newspaper that publishes them as it should, with the right captions, without malice.¹¹⁰

In the period under consideration, at least until the early 1960s, *Oggi* gave considerable prominence to film photo essays, which should be read within the wider context of its educative and informative approach to visual storytelling.¹¹¹ As I have anticipated, these articles were included in the magazine's 'photographic documentaries' section, which followed journalistic inquiries. This approach is visible also in the bias that emerges from the titles, such as 'Pinky the Unsolved American Problem of Racial Prejudice', and '4 in a Jeep, the Film That Angered Stalin'.¹¹² The double page dedicated to *Umberto D.* is preceded by the article 'How to Explain Life's Mystery to Children'; the latter clearly recalls the central frame of the film photo essay, which is focussed on the unexpected pregnancy of the young maid, Maria (See chapter 5). The similar approaches to film storytelling also help reduce the distance between different films produced by Rizzoli. One example is the presentation of three films in different ways related to Neorealism and, in particular, to the figures of Zavattini and Guareschi: *Umberto D.* (Vittorio De Sica, 1952), *Buongiorno Elefante* (Gianni Franciolini, 1952) and *Don Camillo* (Julien Duvivier, 1952). The emphasis on the social context, namely contemporary urban and provincial Italy, links these photo essays to the intertwined discourses about visual documents in cinema and illustrated magazines in the post-World War II years. While the image of a protest march that opens the film was omitted from the photo essay of *Umberto D.*, the first caption clearly states that the main character is a poor retired man who has to get by on the few thousand lire that the state grants him. After a title that places emphasis on curiosity ('A Pachyderm in the Streets of Rome'), the photo story of *Buongiorno elefante* starts by saying that the protagonist is 'a candid man because he thinks that Parliament will approve the pay raise for elementary teachers' he needs in order to support his family.¹¹³

In other cases, *Oggi* places the accent on stars and directors, such as 'The Best René Clair' in *Le Belle di notte* (Clair, 1952) and Martine Carol – praised for her historical splendour – in *Lucrezia*

¹¹⁰ Michelangelo Antonioni, Letter to Angelo [Rizzoli], 14 October 1963, CSC, FC, Deserto rosso.

¹¹¹ 'For the corpus analysed here, scholars stress the need to separate American from Italian forms of melodrama: the former sharply focusses on individual psychological dramas of the nuclear family, while the latter insists on the social dimension of the narrative'. Baetens, *The Film Photonovel*, p. 20. With regard to the melodramatic aspects of cineromance see also Morreale, *Così piangevano*; Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

¹¹² 'In *Pinky* l'insoluto problema americano dei pregiudizi di razza', *Oggi*, 2 February 1950, pp. 20-21; 'Quattro in una jeep, il film che ha fatto arrabbiare Stalin', *Oggi*, 22 November 1951, pp. 12-13.

¹¹³ 'Un pachiderma per le vie di Roma nel film *Buongiorno elefante*'.

Borgia.¹¹⁴ Promoted in the *Oggi* issue of 19 November 1953, the film appeared in *Cine-Illustrato* in May 1955, in a photo-novel version.¹¹⁵ While the absence of dialogue in speech bubbles clearly marks the distance that separates *Cine-Illustrato* from *Oggi*, the moralising approach is not at odds with the categorisation of recurrent themes in cineromances. In the contraposition of archetypal values, some issues emerge with particular relevance, such as social integration/decadence and loneliness, rural/urban contexts and conservation/modernity.¹¹⁶ This aspect is crucial when considering the issue of modernisation in relation to cinema and, in particular, the question raised by Gianluca Della Maggiore and Tommaso Subini: '[H]ow was cinema integrated into the Catholic Church's traditional use of images?'¹¹⁷ The coexistence of nostalgia with the attempt to control – and include – new, heterodox elements reveals the intention to reach a 'reasonable compromise between the need for change and conservation'.¹¹⁸ It is probably the format of the photo essay that most effectively embodies the key points of this compromise in controlled layouts, trying to organise and reframe 'the accelerated image' as an expression of modernity.¹¹⁹ These forms of compromise emerge from the editorial interventions, for example in the captions written for photo stories that were usually published in *Oggi* without mentioning the authors (copy editors, journalists and photographers).¹²⁰ One exception to this rule, in *Oggi*, is a photo essay of *Don Camillo*, for which Guareschi himself seems to have participated in the text and image selection.

One of the main editorial and cinematographic successes of the post-war period, *Don Camillo* (Duvivier, 1952), was released as a Rizzoli–Amato production after a hard-fought creative battle. The film was adapted from the novel of the same title (1948) that Guareschi had initially published in the weekly *Mondo Piccolo* column of the satirical magazine *Candido*.¹²¹ The disputes between parish priest Don Camillo and Communist mayor Peppone, set in a town in

¹¹⁴ 'Il migliore René Clair nelle *Belle di notte*', *Oggi*, 4 December 1952, pp. 16–17; 'Martine Carol nella più sfarzosa *Lucrezia Borgia* dello schermo', *Oggi*, 19 November 1953, pp. 24–27.

¹¹⁵ 'La Rizzoli Film presenta *Lucrezia Borgia*', *Cine-Illustrato*, 15 February 1955, pp. 1–41.

¹¹⁶ Marie-Charlotte Calafat, 'Une vision pédagogique et politique', in *Roman-photo*, ed. by Marie-Charlotte Calafat and Frédérique Deschamps (Paris: Textuel Editions, 2017), pp. 133–39 (p. 133).

¹¹⁷ Gianluca Della Maggiore and Tommaso Subini, 'Introduction', in *Catholicism and Cinema: Modernization and Modernity*, ed. by Gianluca Della Maggiore and Tommaso Subini (Sesto San Giovanni: Mimesis international, 2018), pp. 7–19 (p. 13).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹¹⁹ David Company, *Photography and Cinema* (London: Reaktion, 2008), p. 36.

¹²⁰ See chapter 2 and in particular 2.2, 2.4 and footnote 177. This is how Paolo Occhipinti described the work organisation at *Oggi* in relation to this matter: "Excuse me but is this what you call a periodical with photographs and captions...? Who writes the captions then?" – [The journalists:] "We can't do them because we are reporters. The poor [copy editor Fabrizio] Scaglia with tons of layouts [to work at]". Interview with Paolo Occhipinti.

¹²¹ The reticence of literary critics was countered by the readers' instant acknowledgement, from the first story to the publication of the entire volume, which had raised the interest of various production companies (e.g. Pegaso, Odeon, Iacet).

northern Italy, met with great commercial success: 300,000 copies were sold in the very first months of the novel's publication. Nevertheless, the author's declared anti-communism as well as the emphasis on satirical tones – which appeared excessive in the depiction of both sides – complicated the film adaptation. Set against the background of the Cold War, the political implications of the rivalry between the Christian Democrat and the Communist parties meant various Italian directors refused to take on this task. This eventually led to it falling to a French director: Julien Duvivier. The pages of the photo essay in *Oggi*, which preceded the film's release, come across as a form of mediation between the published story and the filmic text, in an intermedial continuity evoked also in the film posters.¹²² The photo essay occupies three pages and 15 panels, thus taking up more space than what was usually granted to films being presented on a double page (Figure 4.13). The graphically rigid structure, typical of *Oggi*'s accessible graphic design, responded to the rules of 'elegance and simplicity' that have been defined as one of the features of the cineromance.¹²³



Figure 4.13 'Guareschi Presents Don Camillo', *Oggi*, 13 March 1952, pp. 12-14.

The panels' regular sequence is marked by the numbering of the frames, thus respecting the mode and pace of reading a story through images in *Oggi*. The first, non-numbered panel shows an important variation compared to other films presented in the magazine. It clarifies the intentions of the novel's author, of whom 'the director found certain aspects interesting'; he

¹²² 'Guareschi presenta *Don Camillo*, il film ricavato dal suo libro', *Oggi*, 13 March 1952, pp. 12–14.

¹²³ Baetens, *The Film Photonovel*, p. 61.

subsequently 'made a film out of them'.¹²⁴ The title itself draws attention to Guareschi, and in doing so gives up the usual editorial mimicry, favouring instead a narrativised account that makes the author's role explicit. This decision was not without consequences. Solmi's critical review article recalled the circumstances that marked the film's first production phase, hinting at a conflictual and much debated production (as also emerges from correspondence), during which Guareschi went so far as to confess 'that he had been treated as an idiot' for a film that had 'betrayed the spirit of the book and my political idea'.¹²⁵

Nonetheless, from the start the visual narrative deviates from the polemical force and the modalities Guareschi had played with in *Candido*, adapting itself to *Oggi*'s pedagogical line. The space used for the protagonists' close-ups is limited to opening and closing panels, whereas top-down or wide-angle shots of the town and its rituals dominate the rest, creating a reversed telescope effect. The double page composition emphasises the combined view of the fragments of a town that presents itself as an exemplary microcosm: a 'painting of political national life and, in a broader sense, existence at large'.¹²⁶ It is, then, legitimate to include photographic material that is close – in some frames – to educational illustrations: the frame depicting the 'love story with a happy ending' occurs in the context of a clarification of the functions, of which the reader is informed.¹²⁷

The choice of placing a panel at the centre of the frame – between the two protagonists – that shows 'the people from below', who in Guareschi's definition 'act like people from below', can be explained as an ironic reference to Neorealism.¹²⁸ The examination of everyday life in the Po valley cannot be dissociated from other studies, in particular those by his former colleague and mentor Cesare Zavattini, which only a few years later would have resulted in the publication of *Un Paese* (1955).¹²⁹ Regardless of the different approaches, the provincial microcosm Guareschi and Zavattini described acted as a symbolic place for the exploration of national reality, which could be inserted in a wider range of reflections on 'landscape, history and storytelling' that was present in the magazine.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ 'Guareschi presenta *Don Camillo*', p. 12.

¹²⁵ Giovannino Guareschi, Letter to Mimmo [Gian Gerolamo] Carraro, 30 May 1952, Roncole Verdi (PR), Archivio Guareschi.

¹²⁶ Gian Piero Brunetta, *Il cinema neorealista italiano: Da Roma città aperta a I soliti ignoti* (Rome–Bari: Laterza, 2014). Google ebook.

¹²⁷ 'Guareschi presenta *Don Camillo*', p. 13.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Cesare Zavattini, *Un Paese* (Turin: Einaudi, 1955).

¹³⁰ Minghelli refers to the 'ongoing reflection on landscape, history and storytelling' in connection to Zavattini's project *Un paese*, in collaboration with the photographer Paul Strand. Giuliana Minghelli,

On the one hand, Guareschi modified the narrative in order to adapt *Don Camillo* to the magazine's pedagogical line; on the other hand, he expanded his thoughts about the film to practices of narrativising contemporary events. Traces of social battles and collective participation are thus evoked in the religious processions and political disputes that alternate with views of the town's principal places. This association with the contemporary reflected the way Italian cities had been depicted in magazines published in the preceding 20 years, and before that in the photographic campaigns of the late nineteenth century, in the reconstructions of the medieval city studded with identifying symbols, like the 'house of human as of divine justice'.¹³¹ It is no coincidence that images depicting religious places or symbols tend to dominate, in spite of the wide range of set photographs that were taken and which are stored in archives. There is, then, an attempt to impose an alternative narrative line better suited to the magazine. It was a matter of establishing a clear standpoint on a film that – according to the author – was so evidently based on the fair treatment of the two protagonists that it was accused of conveying 'subtle Communist propaganda'.¹³² The correspondence between Guareschi, Rizzoli and Giuseppe Amato about the first *Don Camillo* films reveals the long and fraught development of Don Camillo's character, which Rizzoli feared would be reduced to the 'figure of a silly beast', less intelligent than the 'more humane' Peppone.¹³³ In fact, the parish priest was accused of being a simple soul, too similar to the peasant protagonists of the countryside, who were all too ready to settle disputes with their fists. In Guareschi's opinion, the issue involved reshaping the overall meaning of his work by removing certain scenes, including that of an aggression against the priest, which would have rendered 'the real political atmosphere that marked Emilia at the end of the war' and explained the character's reactions.¹³⁴ One of the scenes that raised most doubts was that in which the priest took revenge on the mayor, following a confession.¹³⁵ Described as a 'mean farce, a proper caricature

Landscape and Memory in Post-Fascist Italian Film: Cinema Year Zero (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 178-179.

¹³¹ Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Gli Alinari* (Florence: Alinari, 2003), p. 65.

¹³² Giovannino Guareschi, 'Osservazioni sul trattamento di Duvivier', 29 July 1952, Archivio Guareschi.

¹³³ Angelo Rizzoli, Letter to Nino [Giovannino] Guareschi, 12 July 1951, Archivio Guareschi.

¹³⁴ Giovannino Guareschi, Letter to Giuseppe Amato, 9 December 1951, Archivio Guareschi.

¹³⁵ The correspondence seems to confirm that Guareschi initially managed to see a version of *Don Camillo* that was slightly different from the one being distributed. Giovannino Guareschi, Letter to Mimmo [Gian Gerolamo] Carraro, 30 May 1952, Archivio Guareschi; Egidio Bandini, in a comparison between the Italian and the French versions, observes how fifteen scenes turn out to be different, and that the French version was ultimately much more in line with the original text. Laurent Garreau, 'La Francia di Don Camillo', in *Le burrascose avventure di Giovannino Guareschi nel mondo del cinema*, ed. by Egidio Bandini, Guido Conti, and Giorgio Casamatti (Parma: MUP, 2008), pp. 152–67. The film was eventually included in the list of films 'of religious nature' by the Consulta Ecclesiastica of Centro Cattolico Cinematografico (C.C.C.) (1955).

of the sacred priesthood', the scene does not appear in the film's English-language version.¹³⁶ Although the images do not make it explicit, Guareschi's text clarified that *Don Camillo* could 'decide to settle the argument' with Peppone 'with a kick': for even if 'the hands of a priest are made for blessing [...] the feet are not'.¹³⁷ By making some of the author's stances explicit, including the definition of the city communists as 'The City Comrades', 'coarse and obtuse as they are',¹³⁸ Guareschi's choices confirm the possibility of a certain autonomy when it came to the film's production, with regard to the discussions and polemics that characterised the whole process. Guareschi's authorial and demythologising approach gives the photo essay a degree of narrative autonomy, also in relation to the photoromance system.¹³⁹ This becomes evident in the panel that makes reference to the 'love issues' of a young couple who belong to opposed political groups.¹⁴⁰ Guareschi's approach dismantled the stereotype of the pink literature without dwelling on romance, especially with regard to the female character (Gina Filotti). According to Abbot Morlion, the latter should have represented that version of healthy modernity that was supported by various ecclesiastical forces, as she was a 'practicing Catholic with intelligent and modern ideas that were alien to clerical prejudice'.¹⁴¹



Figure 4.14 'In His New Film *L'eclisse*, Antonioni Narrates the Drama of a Woman no Longer Capable of Loving', *Oggi*, 19 April 1962, pp. 62-63.

¹³⁶ 'Revisione Cinematografica Preventiva. Appunto', 4 August 1951, Archivio Guareschi. A handwritten note clarifies: 'I consulted Rizzoli in Venice about the confession scene'.

¹³⁷ 'Guareschi presenta "Don Camillo"', p. 12.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹³⁹ Think, for example, of Guareschi's satirical 'photo-comics' featuring Stalin: 'The marshal's daughter. From Lambrate to the Kremlin: love, espionage, history and geography, UPIM and URSS'. Giorgio Casamatti, 'I film disegnati di Giovannino', in *Le burrascose avventure di Giovannino Guareschi nel mondo del cinema*, pp. 34-53 (pp. 41-48).

¹⁴⁰ 'Guareschi presenta "Don Camillo"', p. 13.

¹⁴¹ Felix Morlion, 'Note per una eventuale elaborazione di un soggetto cinematografico tratto dal volume "Don Camillo" di G. Guareschi', 1950, Archivio Guareschi.

Ten years later, a completely different graphic design was used for another Rizzoli production, *L'eclisse*, presented in the *Oggi* issue of 19 April 1962 (Figure 4.14). Once again, the double page was published in conjunction with the film's release, anticipating Solmi's critical review by a week. The fact that the producers suggested the film be presented in the magazine, probably even imposing its presentation upon the editors, is confirmed in a rare letter to Cineriz, written by Angelo Rizzoli's son Andrea. It made explicit reference to *Oggi* and to the possibility of drawing the readers' attention to 'Monica Vitti and Antonioni's film', which was soon to be released and which the Cannes Festival 'will undoubtedly include in the competition'.¹⁴² Although the title of the photo story uses the director's authorial voice to introduce the film, it instantly turns to the melodramatic aspect that is partially drawn from the promotional catchphrases [frasi di lancio],¹⁴³ even if these are focussed on the female character: 'In his new film *L'eclisse*, Antonioni Narrates the Drama of a Woman no Longer Capable of Loving'.¹⁴⁴ After all, the director's ability to maintain traces of drama, romance and popular storytelling was widely known in the mainstream press. In line with the narrative strategies of the cineromance, the captioning in *Oggi*'s pages mostly takes to extremes and simplifies the conflicts: Vittoria realises that the decision to end her relationship with her boyfriend 'will weigh on her shoulders like a verdict' and bring her 'painful solitude'.¹⁴⁵ The implications of this decision, which neither family nor 'long-time friendships' can explain, are made explicit on the next page, in the 'neither easy nor transparent' relation Vittoria establishes with a 'ruthless young man' who only loves 'money, easy women and fast cars'.¹⁴⁶ The sequence is aimed at reducing the narrative displacement of the plot and of the two sentimental situations, which were far from the consolidated format of the photo essay as a chronological succession of symbolic and informative events.

Of the large number of Cineriz's production stills that are stored in the *Oggi* archive and which were used for short articles published throughout 1961, only six were selected for the double page. The editorial hand is evident from the reduction of, and cuts in, set photographs, while the differences between handwritten notes on the back of the prints and the upper captions as printed by the magazine are particularly interesting. By placing the protagonist

¹⁴² Gigi De Santis, 'Letter to Andrea Rizzoli' (Rome, 3 April 1962), CSC, FC, Il padrone sono me.

¹⁴³ 'Antonioni deals with the passivity of man and woman with regard to current problems, the instability of emotions, the inability to love'; 'A drama involving three characters, in the heart of the ancient capital'. CSC, FC, *L'eclisse*; quoted in Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', pp. 54-55.

¹⁴⁴ 'Antonioni narra nel suo nuovo film *L'eclisse* il dramma di una donna che non sa più amare', *Oggi*, 19 April 1962, pp. 62-63.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

back in the centre of the double page, the magazine sought to adjust the images according to an anthropocentric perspective. With regard to the readjustment of the space in the frame, I would like to recall what Stephen Heath has noted in relation to the cinema of 'classical continuity', namely the reassertion of 'a reassuringly stable but fictitious subject-position for the spectator'.¹⁴⁷ It is through the counterposition between the end of a marriage and allusions to love affairs that the captions' pedagogical-moralising purpose is emphasised, in contrast to the more blunt language of the handwritten editorial notes.¹⁴⁸ A similar position will later be clarified in Solmi's film criticism: the main character of *L'eclisse* is not to be condemned but should receive empathy for her place among the 'defeated'.¹⁴⁹ Solmi's critique focusses on the last sequence, which he describes as a 'hazardous experiment' (and 'perhaps also [a] questionable [one]'), where Antonioni 'has summarised the motivations and themes of the work in systematic and symbolical images, which reflect the protagonist's mood' – an experiment that 'only the director's seasoned competence could bring to completion'.¹⁵⁰ The photo story's last panel is exemplary in this regard; revealing only the protagonist's shadow, it fails to fulfil the imperative of Antonioni's compositional clarity. The abstract space of EUR, the modern Roman district where Vittoria lives, is here reduced to only a few elements that fail to evoke any symbol of belonging, if not that of a problematic relationship between the characters and their environment. The protagonist's reduction to a shadow, that is, the loss of her identity and of the centrality of space, becomes a visual metaphor for her detachment from the social context and from a defined system of values. Nevertheless, we must question the real impact of this attempt to remove ambiguity and of the strategies adopted to connect Antonioni's cinematic language to clear meanings of the type to which *Oggi's* readership was accustomed.

From a graphic perspective, the double page appears inconclusive and caught between the search for control and the impossibility of categorisation. The editorial cuts aimed at reducing and controlling the elements fail to soften the perception of a body that remains displaced. This, to some degree, recalls the idea of the positioning of the body in the space as 'displaced, unfixed from a secure relationship with place', as Forgacs points out in relation to Antonioni and other auteurs of contemporary cinema.¹⁵¹ Given the ambiguous facial expressions and gestures, and the dialectic between controlling and losing oneself,¹⁵² the opacity of the performance does

¹⁴⁷ Stephen Heath, *Questions of Cinema* (London: Macmillan, 1981), p. 45.

¹⁴⁸ In one of the prints, for example, a handwritten note reads 'Piero screws Vitti' below the label of the contemporary publication: 'Piero flirts with Vittoria', silver gelatin print, 1962, CdRcs, *L'eclisse*.

¹⁴⁹ Angelo Solmi, 'La discussa Eclisse di Antonioni', *Oggi*, 26 April 1962, p. 64.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ David Forgacs, 'Antonioni: Space, Place, Sexuality', in *Spaces in European Cinema*, ed. by Myrto Konstantarakos (Exeter Portland: Intellect Books, 2000), pp. 101-111 (p. 110).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

not seem entirely ascribable to 'a symbolic-often aggrandized and thus highly 'readable'-pose', as suggested by the captions.¹⁵³ Even if the eroticising approach of the Cineriz posters remains limited, the fourth table has an inevitable 'gendered and sexed' dimension, the context and meaning of which are not clearly defined. In the blow-ups, the 'unexpected body' recalls an ambivalent dimension, a glamour that is difficult to contextualise in the magazine's narrative system.¹⁵⁴ Unlike other 'photographic documentaries' that were published in *Oggi*, this photo essay does not lead to the polarisation of 'archetypical [...] figures of eros' – to cite Lorenzo Cuccu – or to a focus on melodramatic elements.¹⁵⁵ Vittoria remains 'uncertain about her own feelings', thus reflecting a changed context of female reception of which the director himself is an attentive observer.¹⁵⁶ The inclusion of 'suspended' images counts among those elements that contemporary readers might have considered a typical feature of the 'auteur' cinema, which could be equated with the effort to popularise abstract art.¹⁵⁷ The sequence of images keeps track of the shifting rhythm and interruptions in the story, and the attempt to restore a denarrativised plot creates a certain disjuncture between images and captions: a sort of editorial misalignment. In its own way, the press campaign contributes to broaden the possibilities for reflection on the image's plurality and the ambiguity of the director, who was a keen observer of, and expert in, journalistic practices.

When presented to a changed audience, the film's promotion seems to incorporate some of the contradictions that mark the projection of a myth of well-being that was symbolised by growing advertising space. The need arises to lead the text back to more concrete categories, in which the exploration of new dimensions of work prevails, from the cynicism of the stock exchange to the details of the director's routine (See chapter 4). The magazines' explanatory function with regard to obscure and not easily decipherable contexts and personalities becomes crucial: 'A small industry is devoted to informing readers of such authorial marks'.¹⁵⁸ In the Rizzoli context, this function is fulfilled by authorial interventions. Oral sources and written documents testify to an act of controlling the selection of images, which becomes concrete in the director's handwritten lists of images that were accepted or rejected for distribution to the press.¹⁵⁹ If in *Don Camillo* the adherence to fixed coordinates in the

¹⁵³ Baetens, *The Film Photonovel*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁴ Lucia Cardone, 'Monica Vitti: un corpo imprevisto'.

¹⁵⁵ Cuccu, Lorenzo, 'Presentazione', in Lucia Cardone, *Con lo schermo nel cuore: Grand Hôtel e il Cinema (1946–1956)* (Pisa: ETS, 2004), pp. 9–12.

¹⁵⁶ Tra le altre pubblicazioni: Emilio Radius, *La rivoluzione della donna* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1967).

¹⁵⁷ Pierre Sorlin, 'Antonioni in the Light of the Canon, Yes but... Which Canon?', in *Il canone cinematografico*, ed. by Bianchi, Bursi and Venturini, pp. 201–206 (p. 202).

¹⁵⁸ David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 155.

¹⁵⁹ CSC, FC, *Deserto rosso*.

ritualisation of minimal events is made explicit through the narrator's voice, the dichotomy between text and image in *L'eclisse* reveals a modern malaise that is also reflected in other articles. The moment the magazine's editors change, with Emilio Radius being replaced by Lamberto Secchi, the presentation of *Deserto rosso* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1964) in *Oggi* becomes linked to the dresses Monica Vitti wore at the Venice Festival. What disappears from the magazine is not only the challenge of narrating films that were seen as the expression of the individual's contemporary incommunicability and alienation, but also the very narration of the film in itself.

Given Antonioni's request to 'personally direct' the press campaign of the Rizzoli magazines, we may assume that *L'Europeo* was the 'friendly magazine' at the centre of the campaign for *Deserto rosso*.¹⁶⁰ In the coloured pages, for which the director 'selected and commented on the film's most interesting frames', Antonioni explains 'what cinema must demand from colour' (Figure 4.15).¹⁶¹ This standpoint seems in line with the director's statement regarding the decision to 'arouse the audience's curiosity' on this topic as well.¹⁶² The chromatic features are more perceptible due to the effect of the untrimmed images and the absence of contours, in a suspended space from which excerpts of texts and descriptions emerge. The succession of images is aimed at neither following nor dismantling a sequence in which on-stage and off-stage photographs alternate, in which storyline and production details interchange, in a juxtaposition that reveals two converging levels, as clarified also by the text: '[T]here was a strange mixture of human figures, and the individual reality seemed to coincide with the film's artifice'.¹⁶³ In the fragments of the 'post-modern' landscape, the closing scene also emerges 'by chance' in the 'absurd calmness' that visualises a materiality imbued with contemporary artistic resonances.¹⁶⁴ While it could certainly be useful to consider the editorials published in *L'Europeo* in the wider debate about Antonioni's frames, in the context of his editorial collaborations, the next section will rather examine another aspect of the press campaign: the distribution – with or without the press office's control – of 'an anecdote, now here now there directed at all the categories of readers that the magazines address'.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Michelangelo Antonioni, 'Letter to Angelo [Rizzoli]'.

¹⁶¹ Michelangelo Antonioni, 'Il mio Deserto', *L'Europeo*, 16 August 1964, pp. 42–54.

¹⁶² Antonioni, 'Letter to Angelo [Rizzoli]'.

¹⁶³ Antonioni, 'Il mio Deserto'.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Antonioni, 'Letter to Angelo [Rizzoli]'.



Figure 4.15 'Michelangelo Antonioni, 'My Desert', L'Europeo, 16 August 1964, CdRcs.

3.4 Famous Couples between Familiarisation and Provocation

The boundary between news and entertainment appears to be particularly subtle in some aspects of the coverage, where the semiotic mixture of the mythological world of cinema, criticism of social customs and the cult of the director gains most prominence. The interaction of soft news with film narrative offers a further perspective on the dissemination of arthouse cinema, with the insertion of new viewing modalities in consolidated narrative themes and, especially, of certain auteurs of cinema that were integrated in Rizzoli's system of legitimacy. The importance of promoting films in celebrity news involves the entire range of Rizzoli periodicals, in forms of mediation that combine – in Jane Shattuc's words – in 'this high-cultural concept of authorship with popular culture's interest in emotion and genre'.¹⁶⁶

The official presentation of *L'eclisse* via a photo story – simultaneously with the film's release in movie theatres – was part of a much wider strategy of promotion carried forward by *Oggi*. A series of news items, anticipations and anecdotes followed the production stages. These were based on a system that was less refined than that of Hollywood but deeply rooted in a network of interpersonal relations, friendships and contacts, and press offices. Showing the actress Monica Vitti as she 'plays with the wind', during the first presentations in November 1961, evoked – among the readers of *Oggi* – the traits of that healthy modernity the photo story's character had challenged, appearing devoid of any emotional expressiveness.¹⁶⁷ In fact, the caption explained that the actress managed, 'even in the simplest gestures', to 'add a hint of

¹⁶⁶ Jane Shattuc, *Television, Tabloids and Tears: Fassbinder and Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ 'Monica e il vento', *Oggi*, 5 November 1961, CSC, FC, RS, *L'eclisse*.

the sense of humour that she usually hides behind the mysterious mask of the bored and dissatisfied modern girl'.¹⁶⁸ If we look at the wider range of Rizzoli periodicals, the star was more clearly portrayed in the photoromance magazine *Luna Park*, which affirmed that the actress had 'remained a well-balanced middle-class girl' who enjoyed 'living that way (without excessive luxury)', whereas 'the stable relationship with Antonioni' was serious and not one that should 'give rise to gossip'.¹⁶⁹ The actress who had embodied 'the Eclipse of emotions' and who was about to become 'the estranged character par excellence of Italian cinema' in *Deserto rosso* was thus anchored to reference points that were more familiar and understandable for readers, in terms of their norms of moral and social behaviour.¹⁷⁰ The stable relationship referred to her love affair with director Michelangelo Antonioni, who at the time was still married to his first wife, Letizia Balboni. Cohabitation ran counter to the ideals of *Oggi*, a periodical that maintained close connections with representatives of the Vatican. Very different was the case of the couple formed by Federico Fellini and Giulietta Masina, who were about to celebrate 20 years of marriage. The pages of *Oggi* had been studded with the story of their union ever since the mid-1950s, with interviews and awards immortalising their successful professional and marital collaboration.¹⁷¹ Masina's depiction as a 'diva with a degree', 'one of our best, most intelligent and most cultured actresses' emerged as the fitting expression of those 'middle-class values' that were associated with the current affairs magazine for families.¹⁷² While different in nature, the two cases of cohabitation 'alongside the creative genius' were evidently regarded as significant, judging from their frequent appearance and popularity in the Rizzoli periodicals.¹⁷³

On 20 October 1963, the weekly *L'Espresso* published a short article entitled 'When Fellini keeps quiet Antonioni gets worried',¹⁷⁴ about the directors' new projects.¹⁷⁵ The article was ironic about the competition between the two directors, whose films were among those Rizzoli was producing in the mid-1960s, as it aspired to become a model par excellence of the arthouse

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Guido Tolda, 'Una canzone per Monica', *Luna Park*, 15 February 1962, CSC, FC, RS, L'eclisse.

¹⁷⁰ Simona Busni, 'Di rose e sottane: divagrazia (involontaria) di un'alienata con riserva', *Divagrazie. Ovvero delle attrici che scrivono*, ed. by Lucia Cardone, Anna Masecchia and Maria Rizzarelli (= *Arabeschi*, 14, (2019)), pp. 25-28 (p. 25).

¹⁷¹ See for example 'I Nastri d'argento', *Oggi*, 20 February 1958, p. 50.

¹⁷² Luigi Cavicchioli, 'Storia del loro amore - Per merito di "Pallina" smise di essere vitellone', *Oggi*, 29 July 1954, p. 28.

¹⁷³ The image of a devoted wife was a media favourite in the case of Masina: Andrea Minuz and Marcus Perryman, *Political Fellini: Journey to the End of Italy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), p. 116.

¹⁷⁴ 'Quando Fellini tace Antonioni si preoccupa', *L'Espresso*, 20 October 1963, CSC, FC, RS, Deserto Rosso.

¹⁷⁵ *L'Espresso*, which was directed by Eugenio Scalfari from 1963 to 1968, was founded in 1955 by Scalfari Arrigo Benedetti (after having left *L'Europeo*) and supported by the progressive industrialist Adriano Olivetti.

film. Between 1963 and 1965, Rizzoli produced three of their films, namely *8 1/2*, *Deserto rosso* and *Giulietta degli spiriti*. Viewed from a distribution perspective, the three films contained elements of convergence. By approaching the theme of eros in relation to the practices of highbrow couples, the films raised questions that were not always compatible with promotion across different types of editorial product. If, on the one hand, the examination of the habits of 'middle-class decency' and 'the characteristic game of elegant cultures' indirectly touched upon current affairs,¹⁷⁶ on the other hand, the controversial approach to emotional bonds on the threshold of a social crisis – in other words, of a disease of sentiments that became the symbol of a general social malaise – was difficult to reconcile with other advertising practices. In comparison to other famous cases of the same years, like those of Gina Lollobrigida and Milko Skofic, these couples could be considered less categorisable, as they were located in a dimension of *otherness* that in different ways affected the periodicals' strategies of narrativising the film. This dimension might also have been seen as the 'trademark of a cultured and traditionalist, yet moderately progressive, middle class, which through its adherence negotiates or challenges its class belonging'.¹⁷⁷ The modalities of news communication inserted themselves in the alternation between certain conventional elements, such as Fellini's villa in Fregene, and the intrusion of less usual practices – from the intellectual dimension to the psychoanalytic and esoteric references.

The two cases could be said to reflect a new social rituality, viewed as compatible with the various interests of a new target audience, 'which makes public opinion' in the case of *L'Europeo*, or which required a 'direction of opinion' focussed on culture (*Oggi*).¹⁷⁸ If we cannot deny that the press materials put an emphasis on the elitist dimension of the 'auteur' film, the press coverage reveals a more or less conscious – on behalf of the authors – adherence to the sphere of soft news.¹⁷⁹ Potential storylines linked to marital infidelity and malicious abandonment, which would have provided material that could have been disseminated more easily, remained within the limits of allusive or sympathetic reflections on marriage. This ambiguous threshold was more widely adopted in the system of norms and values that was linked to the negotiation of something new that could be traced back to greater economic well-being: a 'newness' that would have been interpreted as a means of opening up to less

¹⁷⁶ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', p. 49.

¹⁷⁷ Vincenzo Buccheri, *Lo Stile Cinematografico* (Rome: Carocci, 2010), p. 55.

¹⁷⁸ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*.

¹⁷⁹ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', p. 49.

conventional views of the feminine and, more generally, as a filter for new modes of cinematographic vision.¹⁸⁰

On 14 February 1963, *Oggi* introduced Fellini's *8 ½* as the most eagerly awaited film of the year.¹⁸¹ Angelo Solmi's article opened with a confession by the director, who had been accused of using the mystery surrounding the storyline for publicity purposes: 'a cunning idea if you hadn't explained the true genesis of *8 ½* to me'.¹⁸² It was Fellini himself who – in the course of the interview – talked at length about the crisis that had become the driving force of the film's narrative, focussed as it was on the figure of a director struggling with a creative block. If it is true that the mystery around the plot had served as the film's *fil rouge* ever since the first production phases, potential self-references dominated the articles that documented its release. Asked by Solmi about the autobiographical aspects, Fellini admitted that '[t]he film is such an indecent and shameless confession that any attempt to forget this personal part will be in vain'.¹⁸³ Yet, this confession was counterbalanced by a warning directed at the audience, especially at those who went 'to see the film only to seek aspects of my life in it' – an attitude that hinted at a lack of imagination, according to the director.¹⁸⁴ The emphasis on autobiographical aspects, including the negation of their relevance, drew on the previous knowledge of a readership (that of *Oggi*) that had absorbed Fellini's biographical dimension as a 'familiar narrative convention'.¹⁸⁵ Accompanied by reassuring photographs of the director at work, the article published in *Oggi* favoured images that were professional and at once harmless, thus drawing on the film's 'nearly comical' implications, as highlighted in the subtitle.¹⁸⁶ A recurrent theme in the press reviews was that of Fellini as a Renaissance artist, of the workshop connected to his working method, in line with the productive and artistic rebirth of Italy.¹⁸⁷ At the same time, the separation of reality and fiction, and of narrative time, allowed

¹⁸⁰ Mary Lorraine DiSalvo, 'Redirecting Neorealism: Italian Auteur-Actress Collaborations of the 1950s and 1960s' (doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2014), pp. 5-7. On the figures of Giulietta Masina and Monica Vitti, in relation to Federico Fellini and Michelangelo Antonioni respectively, see in particular the chapters: 'Masina's Performance of Spectatorship in Fellini's Films' (pp. 117-162) and 'Resistant Subjectivity: Antonioni's Appropriation of Vitti's "Modernity"' (pp. 163-210).

¹⁸¹ Angelo Solmi, 'Fellini rivela i retroscena del film più atteso dell'anno', *Oggi*, 14 February 1963, pp. 48 - 51.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Shattuc, *Television, Tabloids and Tears*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁶ 'Può sembrare un'opera difficile mentre è una storia quasi comica'. Federico Fellini quoted in Angelo Solmi, 'Fellini rivela i retroscena del film più atteso dell'anno', p. 48.

¹⁸⁷ Minuz and Perryman, *Political Fellini*, p. 50; Barbara Corsi and Marina Nicoli, 'Fellini and His Producers: Strange Bedfellows', in *A Companion to Federico Fellini*, ed. by Frank Burke, Marguerite R. Waller and Marita Gubareva (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2020), pp. 177-189 (p. 181).

Solmi to justify the most difficult parts of *8 ½* as the representation of dreams and imagination of an artist in crisis.

An important review was written by Tullio Kezich for the *Settimana Incom*, another periodical from the Rizzoli universe. The review helps to understand the film's subsequent press coverage:

The film therefore offers two interpretations: one reserved to a fairly close circle of friends and sympathisers, capable of understanding many references, of playfully discovering the key to the story [truth and lies are two sides of the same coin...]. The second interpretation is that which interests the main audience, and it is obviously the more recommendable one. We believe that the film works perfectly even for those who are not part of a specific world.¹⁸⁸

In the transition from *Oggi* to *Settimana Incom*, the terms of reference to the self-referential aspects slightly shifted, now becoming elements that distinguished Fellini and were recognised as a sign of singularity by a part of the audience. New interpretations that animated the film's press campaign took shape and were aptly spread by two journalists who were also friends and supporters of Fellini. A term was thus introduced that would recur frequently in later stages of the press review, and which was undoubtedly more accessible than that of the 'Fellinian ego' – 'in Jungian terms' – that Kezich and others would subsequently use.¹⁸⁹ Solmi magnifies the term 'confession' by describing a 'restless and distressed conscience', using a moderate dose of Catholic terminology.¹⁹⁰ The religious aspect, which had proved fundamental in the debate – between the director's supporters and opponents – over *La dolce vita*, in *8 ½* remained attractive for the official executives of the 'Catholic avant-garde'. Giuseppe Marotta used more explicit terms in *L'Europeo*, in the article 'A moving journey into man's universe': '[S]hould I try a short defence (...) of the artist who is unfaithful to his woman?'¹⁹¹ Oriana Fallaci was granted more autonomy (See chapter 2). She claimed that she 'did not understand much of the film', simultaneously overturning the defence offered in *Oggi*: '[I]f there is a man who gives a damn about his fellow human beings and who has no evangelical spirits then this is he'.¹⁹²

Fallaci's condemnation remained a theoretical one, suspended in a climate of general complicity among a press that – as Kezich recalls – surprisingly revealed itself to be 'consistently respectful and even a little complicit with the maestro'.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, if we look beyond the

¹⁸⁸ Tullio Kezich, 'Fellini si è confessato con molte bugie', *Settimana Incom*, 24 February 1963, CSC, FC, RS, 8 1/2.

¹⁸⁹ Kezich, *Federico Fellini: His Life and Work*, p. 235.

¹⁹⁰ Angelo Solmi, 'Mi chiamo Fellini: prendetemi come sono', *Oggi*, 28 February 1963, CSC, FC, RS, 8 1/2.

¹⁹¹ Giuseppe Marotta, "'Fellini Otto e Mezzo" è uno struggente viaggio nell'uomo', *L'Europeo*, 17 February 1963, pp. 70-71.

¹⁹² Oriana Fallaci, 'Il peccatore insoddisfatto', *L'Europeo*, 17 February 1963, p. 18.

¹⁹³ Tullio Kezich, *Federico Fellini: His Life and Work* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), p. 163.

group of Rizzoli periodicals, the Fellinian confession became more explicit. In March 1963, *Bolero film* published an interview with Giulietta Masina, called "'Eight and a Half' Was a Proof of Love for Her', which explicitly cited a possible disagreement with her husband: '[S]o, forgive our insistence, are you sure of your husband's fidelity?' The actress confirmed her complete trust, distancing herself from the reactions of Luisa – the director's wife in *8 1/2* – who demanded 'a space for her own subjectivity' in the awareness of the existence of 'another' truth.¹⁹⁴ We could argue here that the 'close circle' of experts that Kezich cites had expanded, or at least that a larger number of readers tended to grasp the allusions the press made about the Oscar being awarded to *8 1/2*. The images of the director standing next to his fictional counterpart's lover, Sandra Milo/Carla, with Masina behind them, lead us to question the kind of answers that arose from the press. The viewpoints extend into a game of mirrors, from the projection of the 'betrayal' in the film [for Giulietta], in the movie theatres and in subsequent journalistic comments. The theme that the advertising materials distributed during the press campaign drew on involved the audience in a 'confessional' process aimed at providing evidence of a social habit: 'This film is about you [...] you will see yourself reflected in the protagonist as if you were looking in a mirror'.¹⁹⁵ This approach resurfaced in Gian Luigi Rondi's article, which was published in various periodicals as part of the promotional campaign: 'His private universe, which fortunately coincides with the private universe of the average Italian, is on full display'.¹⁹⁶

It was Antonioni who stressed – in 'The Souls of the Red Desert' – that although he did not feel himself to be on the same level as Fellini when it came to the 'force of participation' ('he talks with everyone, he sticks his nose everywhere'), he was nevertheless 'very curious and attentive'.¹⁹⁷ In a letter to Angelo Rizzoli, Antonioni requested that such attention be reserved for the press campaign of *Deserto Rosso*, 'two words that must enter people's ears and mind'.¹⁹⁸ In November 1963, the film's title appeared in the Rizzoli periodicals in relation to the search for a nonprofessional actor willing to interpret Giuliana's husband. From the very first lines, the announcement was formulated in terms of a search for 'a husband for Monica', taking for granted the overlap between actress and movie character.¹⁹⁹ The previous week, competing

¹⁹⁴ Franco Moccagatta, 'Per lei "Otto e mezzo" è una prova d'amore', *Bolero Film* 24 March 1963, CSC, FC, RS, 8 1/2.

¹⁹⁵ CSC, FC, 8 1/2, Materiale grafico Monografia 1963.

¹⁹⁶ Gian Luigi Rondi, 'Fellini alla ricerca del tempo perduto scopre che la vita è degna di essere vissuta', *L'Europeo*, 3 March 1963, p. 52. Article taken from *Tempo* (15 February 1963), published also in *L'Europeo* on 24 February 1963 and in *Oggi* on 28 February 1963, CSC, FC, RS, 8 1/2.

¹⁹⁷ Nerio Minuzzo, 'Le anime del Deserto rosso', *L'Europeo*, [24 November 1963], p. 47, CSC, FC, RS, Deserto rosso.

¹⁹⁸ Michelangelo Antonioni, 'Letter to Angelo [Rizzoli]'.

¹⁹⁹ See the sequence of press cuttings (November 1963) in CSC, FC, RS, Deserto rosso.



Figure 4.16 'In a Month I Will Be Mrs Antonioni',
Oggi, 30 January 1964, p. 19.

magazines had already published the news of Antonioni's upcoming marriage to Vitti, following the annulment of the director's preceding marriage. The film's press campaign opened with this overlapping of the two facts, drawing on one of the two key points of the repertoire of soft news, in which 'the "official" private life' was presented in relation to rites of passage: 'births, engagements, weddings, divorce, and death'.²⁰⁰

This piece of news presented interesting and different elements, especially in the forms of interaction between the up-to-the-minute theme of alienation and recurrent elements of romance and glamour. Fallaci constructed her interview with the 'girl that represents the modern girl' – namely

Monica Vitti – by poking fun at the term alienation, which was associated with 'vegetable soup and ambition' for the rhyme ['alienazione', 'minestrone', 'ambizione'] and with intellectualistic quirks that were popular among critics.²⁰¹ By contrast with the overall elegance of the image that *Gente* and *Gioia* selected, *Oggi* depicted the actress and the director while they were reading, in a humble setting that was free from any hint of glamour (Figure 4.16).²⁰² We are dealing with an unusual image in the context of *Oggi* as was the comment in the caption that described the wedding as a pure formality, without any possible change of social status. The article's content nevertheless reflected the magazine's typical themes.²⁰³ Once it was clear that *Deserto rosso* was about 'aridity of feelings' [aridità dei sentimenti], in the relationship with your fellow human being, aridity in the most ancient values, in the faith in existence', the article clarified that Antonioni – having obtained the marital annulment – had only to wait for 'a free morning, any day off in order to legalise his union with Monica'.²⁰⁴ The article entitled 'The Souls of the Red Desert', published in *L'Europeo*, showed a greater uniformity of text and images, and contained a photograph by Evaristo Fusar that was destined to be reused on various occasions.

²⁰⁰ Hilde Van den Bulck, Steve Paulussen and Annabeth Bels, 'Celebrity News as Hybrid Journalism: An Assessment of Celebrity Coverage in Flemish Newspapers and Magazines', *Journalism*, 18:1 (2017), 44-63 (p. 48).

²⁰¹ Oriana Fallaci, 'Su per la scala a chiocciola', *L'Europeo*, 6 August 1961, pp. 22-26.

²⁰² Alberto Libonati, 'Finalmente posso sposare Michele', *Gente*, 7 November 1963, pp. 19-20; 'Mia moglie monica Vitti', *Gioia*, 14 November 1963, pp. 56-58, CSC, FC, RS, Deserto rosso.

²⁰³ Anita Pensotti, 'Tra un mese sarò la signora Antonioni', *Oggi*, 30 January 1964, pp. 18-21.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

In the offstage image, the couple is caught by surprise as the director looks into the mirror, where a part of Vitti's face is reflected (Figure 4.17).²⁰⁵ The dynamics of the couple's exchange of gazes confirmed that 'something is happening to someone' in yet another offstage image, an 'other' place where the boundaries between 'permitted femininity' and first-time perspectives are put into question.²⁰⁶ Calling to mind a famous cliché in female portraiture, namely the mysterious reflection of the woman's face in the mirror, the scene could have been linked to the debate in *L'Europeo* on female stars and stardom and to Forgacs's description: '[F]rozen into a series of almost still shots, the beautiful woman momentarily leaves the cinematic narrative and re-enters the para-text of cinema: the fashion photograph, the illustrated magazine article about the film star'.²⁰⁷



Figure 4.17 Evaristo Fusar, photograph for the article 'The Souls of the Red Desert', *L'Europeo*, 16 August 1964, CdRcs.
© L'Europeo RCS/Ph. Evaristo Fusar

If the press campaign of *Deserto rosso* included Vitti's claim of a personal autonomy from her director 'benefactor', the (filmic) infidelity and unaccomplished marriage occurred in the context of the illustrated press and using the placid tones of a necessary transition, without falling back on dramatic external elements.²⁰⁸ Only a few months later, the periodicals again started using the concept of 'marital drama' in *Giulietta degli spiriti*, a film that 'exceeded' the narrow boundaries of the 'usual story about petty bourgeois adultery'.²⁰⁹ Although no explicit terminology was used, within the wider journalistic circuit a shift in vocabulary in gossip news

²⁰⁵ Minuzzo, 'Le anime del Deserto rosso'.

²⁰⁶ Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, p. 60; Cardone, 'Monica Vitti: un corpo impreveduto', p. 456.

²⁰⁷ David Forgacs, 'Face, Body, Voice, Movement: Antonioni and Actors', in *Antonioni: Centenary Essays*, ed. by Laura Rascaroli and John David Rhodes (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 98-112 (p. 173).

²⁰⁸ Luigi Costantini, 'Basta con Pigmalione! Non mi ha inventata nessuno', *La Settimana Incom Illustrata*, 7 June 1964, pp. 42-47, CSC, FC, RS, *Deserto rosso*.

²⁰⁹ 'Tra maghi e fantasmi, Fellini ci narra a colori il dramma coniugale di Giulietta', *Oggi*, 44, 1965, pp. 50-54.

occurred: 'Fellini's Three Times'; 'His Wife Inspired Him for the Film About Witches'; 'For Her Unfaithful Husband, Giulietta Invokes Evil Spirits.'²¹⁰



Figure 4.18 'We All Have Giulietta's Spirits', *Annabella*, October 1965, CdRcs.

The press coverage linked to the film's promotion was more moderate in the Rizzoli periodicals. While Gianni Roghi's piece in *L'Europeo* – 'Fellini of the Spirits' – narrated the director's celebrity cult in images, the terms of the Masina–Fellini cohabitation were the main focus of *Oggi* and of the women's magazines. Lietta Tornabuoni's article, titled 'We All Have Giulietta's Spirits',²¹¹ turned the perception of the character's vulnerability into a wider phenomenon, making it the sign of a social habit that was systematically integrated and legally validated (Figure 4.18).²¹² In the article, Masina herself recalled the reactions of friends who had had a sneak preview of the film; 'emotionally' speaking, the film evoked 'violent reactions' as the women cried, the men were divided while others 'tried to recognise real-life characters'.²¹³ Here the overlaps between actress and movie character were more explicit in the elements that

²¹⁰ CSC, FC, RS, Giulietta degli spiriti. Alberto Mantovani, the future director of the Centro Documentazione Rizzoli, recalled this moment as follows: 'Federico Fellini and Sandra Milo had already collaborated in "8 1/2". A few years later, with *Giulietta degli spiriti*, their relationship almost entirely entered the public domain. The film (personally, when I saw it I thought that Fellini's fortune had started to decline) is an explicit metaphor of the director's love life. Mario Pisu-Fellini, the unfaithful husband; Giulietta Masina-Giulietta, the deceived wife; Sandra Milo-Susy, the kept woman.' Interview with Alberto Mantovani, 5 July 2019.

²¹¹ Lietta Tornabuoni, 'Abbiamo tutte gli spiriti di Giulietta', *Annabella*, October 1965, pp. 39–41; p. 44.

²¹² It was not until 1968 that the Constitutional Court established the 'moral and legal equality between spouses' (Art. 29), judging illegitimate two commas of Art. 559 of the penal code that favoured men over women in case of infidelity.

²¹³ Lietta Tornabuoni, 'Abbiamo tutte gli spiriti di Giulietta', p. 44.

reached various parts of the audience, from the use of Giulietta's name via the reconstruction of the couple's house in Fregene to the autobiographical incident of the private detective Masina hired to confirm the husband's infidelity.²¹⁴ A character Masina said she understood, in the cited articles, but from which she would subsequently distance herself, as Kezich underlined: the wife in *Giulietta degli spiriti* was 'too remissive, too repressed', she neither shared her reactions nor identified with her.²¹⁵ If, at the level of periodical circulation, the extension of this vulnerability responded to the 'psychological or socio-cultural needs' of the readers, at the same time the ambiguous facts evoked an interest in this vulnerability.²¹⁶

The concept of 'ambiguous truthfulness' – a typical feature of tabloids – required a response from the reader in the face of suggestive iconographic associations: '[T]he magazines' willingness to expose their own ambiguous inner workings invites readers to question the accuracy of the text'.²¹⁷ Within this system of cross references, an analysis of the Rizzoli press – in the sense of its mediation with the various production stages – offers itself as a privileged terrain of investigation. Given this mediation between various levels of journalistic communication, it is legitimate to wonder about the periodicals' function in what might be defined as 'a trick, perhaps even a sadistic one but the kind that directors use to get strong results'.²¹⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the presence of cinema in news magazines, focussing on the ways in which filmic imagery was integrated in the weekly press between 1950 and 1965. In the examination of the corpus of magazines, my analysis has taken into consideration the manner in which cinema was present through photography in other various spaces of the weekly press. Starting from the concept of para-text as a place of anticipation and prolongation of the primary (filmic) text, this discussion has sought to expand the understanding of the connections between filmic imagery and socio-cultural practices in the context of film production. The analysis has confirmed the preponderant role of cinema in the magazines studied, be it in the

²¹⁴ Kezich, *Federico Fellini: His Life and Work*, p. 163.

²¹⁵ Victoria Surluga, 'Masina and Mastroianni: Reconfiguring C. G. Jung's Animus and Anima', in *A Companion to Federico Fellini*, ed. by Burke, Waller, and Gubareva, p. 197.

²¹⁶ Vincent F. Filak, 'Uses and Gratifications of Magazines', in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*, ed. by David Abrahamson, Marcia Prior-Miller, and Bill Emmott, Routledge Handbooks (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 259–70 (p. 261).

²¹⁷ McDonnell, *Reading Celebrity Gossip Magazines*, p. 122.

²¹⁸ John C. Stubbs, *Federico Fellini as Auteur: Seven Aspects of His Films* (Carbondale: SIU Press, 2015), p. 163.

form of film criticism, visual storytelling – whose narratives might include the storyline or the film shooting – and production, or in the form of soft news. The weeklies served as fertile ground for the exploration of possible iconographies, offering a space where new rituals that impacted on cinema and its cultural legitimacy could be introduced.

Within studies on the filmic para-text, some interpretative categories have emerged as particularly relevant to the present chapter. The concept of 'novelisation', for example, intended as the transposition and adaptation of the text to other forms of storytelling, together with the attempt to make cinematic narratives familiar to the readers was one of the main features of Rizzoli's editorial strategies. From the start, the weekly press followed the major productions, making these present in the temporality of the news through regular updates. This chapter has explored the impact of more or less explicit interventions on the part of filmmakers. Antonioni's request that Angelo Rizzoli grant him access to his publishing 'kingdom' in order to run ['dirigere personalmente'] the press campaign of *Deserto rosso* – from the choice of images to the writing of the captions – seems the most explicit proof of a complex system of editorial interaction.²¹⁹

The growing presence of movie stars on the covers of the periodical press was widely debated among contemporary critics. A focus on the interests of the emerging middle class, as a counterpart to the covers that were dedicated to royal families, progressively substituted social issues. It is not surprising that these changes were strongly affected by sales and production, as documents and oral sources have confirmed. What is more interesting is that, until the early 1960s, in both *L'Europeo* and *Oggi* editorial attempts were made to create forms of more complex – sometimes metaphorical – languages making use of cinematic imagery. In *Oggi*, cinema gained relevance by entering the 'reasonable compromise between the need for change and conservation', covering themes such as Americanisation, divorce, production and – crucially for the magazine – new dimensions of femininity. The reassuring approach of *Oggi*, made visible through the repetition of essential graphic elements, characterised *L'Europeo* only for a short period. Its target group allowed for the exploration of more complex rhetorical strategies within the limits imposed by sales figures. This approach was rooted in the magazine's tradition of developing an entertaining critique of the 'society of spectacle' and its new rituals, from the consumption of images to the contradiction of new forms of careerism. It was especially under Fattori's direction that the covers came to reflect – in either subtle or more explicit ways – the magazine's critical approach to the excesses of the celebrity cult.

²¹⁹ Michelangelo Antonioni, 'Letter to Angelo [Rizzoli]'.

The covers of *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* revealed forms of compromise between adaptation to, and rejection of, the superimposition of celebrities that were more often than not connected to Rizzoli's film production. Similar patterns can be found in the inner pages, especially in the spaces that were indirectly conceived for promotional purposes, such as film photo essays. While acting as a strategic summary for those who could not go to the movies, these editorial products were also intended as forms of anticipation and as a cultural mediation meant to influence the readers' understanding of the film. In the attempt to bring the magazine's extended audience closer to cinema, *Oggi's* photo stories translated cultural references, educational issues, and technical and production details into narrative forms of storytelling. Within a basic graphic grid, drama and pink literature, Neorealist references and the 'symbolic images' of the new cinema all merged.

Over the course of the decade, *Oggi's* photo essays ranged from the familiar microcosm of *Don Camillo's* civis to the suspended shots, peripheral urban spaces and the elusive figures of *L'eclisse*. In the anthology of the modern 'malaise' that was connected to films such as *La dolce vita* and *L'eclisse*, *Oggi* experimented with concrete ways of adhering to a 'healthy' modernity while embracing more accessible narratives in soft news. The narratives of elusive private lives dissolved in the narratives of *Oggi*, while *L'Europeo* could more openly afford to explore the new forms of relationships. Thus, the Vitti – Antonioni wedding – which had accompanied the coverage of *Deserto rosso* – disappeared without leaving any visible trace, while Antonioni silently yet significantly vanished from *Oggi's* pages. The directors played an ambiguous game, condemning modern culture in their films while flirting with it in the magazines and accepting their own integration into celebrity culture. However, such contradictions were part and parcel of the way that the world of cinema became an integral feature of the popular press.

CHAPTER 4: CINERIZ AND RIZZOLI: MARKETING AND PRESS STRATEGIES

Introduction

Cinema became a part of Rizzoli's business activities in the 1930s as a consequence of its potential role in expanding magazine advertising. Novella Film, the production company Rizzoli created in 1934, made this connection immediately explicit: the company first appeared in the movie theatres with the film *La signora di tutti* (Max Ophüls, 1934), drawn from a novel by Salvator Gotta which was published with the same title in Rizzoli's magazine *Novella*. In the post-World War Two period, in collaboration with the producer Giuseppe Amato following the creation of the Dear Film company, Rizzoli intensified his role in film production. Between 1950 and 1955 his company produced forty films,¹ among which the first of the popular *Don Camillo* series, inspired by the publishing success of Giovanni Guareschi's *Mondo Piccolo* (See chapter 3).

The encounter with cinema resulted in the publisher increasing the sphere of his activities from the industrial centre of Milan to the institutional and film capital of Rome. The company's two centres of Milan and Rome, which in terms of administration remained separate, operated within a media system in which commercial interests and areas of competence intersected with one another. This chapter focusses mainly on the company's production offices in Rome and, especially, on the departments in charge of promoting films that were distributed and produced by Rizzoli. If, in previous chapters, evidence emerged of the relationships between the personalities engaged in the two spheres of press and cinema, this chapter aims – as far as sources allow – to understand the nature of the reciprocal influences within the network of relationships that was established. This analysis also sets out to explore the broader scheme of the circulation of images, situating the magazines' film imagery within a more complex framework of iconographic relationships and identifying lines of development within them.

The connection between publishing and film promotion, as Raffaele de Berti emphasises, can be traced back to the first decades of the century, with relevant examples in the activity of Hollywood press offices.² This connection has been mostly investigated in relation to the advertising that accompanied the release of films in cinemas, and less to the earlier stages of

¹ Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 156.

² Raffaele De Berti, 'Riflessi di Fellini Satyricon nella stampa periodica illustrata contemporanea', *Quaderni di Acme*, 113 (2009), 253–99 (p. 253).

the promotional process. Rizzoli represents a relevant example in this sense, but it was not an isolated case. Goffredo Lombardo and Dino De Laurentiis were among the producers who were most interested in the magazine press, given that they financed or created fully-fledged magazines or house organs.³ Significant results were achieved in the late 1950s and early 1960s, within the context of growing attention to marketing and advertising. As Lorenzo Pellizzari recalls, this convergence helped spread a 'not entirely well-deserved euphoria' about Italian film production, causing inevitable hostility in the sphere of film criticism.⁴ The protest of the Communist film critic Tommaso Chiaretti is telling:

There are other, less blatant, forms of corruption: [...] There is the invitation to a pleasant trip to visit the distant film crew. There is the end-of-year gift, or going a level down, the invitation to dinner, the free ticket, the gold medallion with the effigy of the diva. Imponderable heights of refinement are reached: for the "premiere" of the film *La ragazza con la valigia* [Zurlini, 1961], some critics had a leather suitcase delivered to their home (and maybe we could assume that the girl was sent as well to the most famous critics).⁵



Figure 5.1 Gina Lollobrigida on Angelo Rizzoli's yacht, *Il Sereno*, CdRcs.

At Rizzoli the system of connections, acquaintances and kinship was deep-seated in the company environment. While official presentation events could not do without the journalists' reports, agreements that included the presence of journalists and press photographers during shooting became an integral part of the advertising communication system. This practice, along with Cineriz sending newsletters and photographs, was part of the film promotion campaign, in unison with better-known advertising formats, such as posters and magazine ads. These relationships developed over time and should be analysed over the long range of a film's

production. This was a system that could not do without the intersection of various factors, including differences between the centres of Milan and Rome, primarily in terms of company organisation. Going into the specifics of these dynamics involves examining the organisation of administrative relationships, as well as considering other forms of communication excluded from the official documentation. These include, in first instance, the issues concerning the

³ Lorenzo Pellizzari, 'Le nuove forme tra critica e ideologia', in *Storia del cinema italiano, X: 1960-1964*, ed. by Giorgio De Vincenti (2003), pp. 551-567 (pp. 560-1).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 561

⁵ Tommaso Chiaretti, 'I vizi del critico', *Film selezione*, July-August 1963, pp. 47-48.

spaces and the modalities of advertising in the magazines, which appeared in the launch plans as a recurrent step in the promotion process.

Given the scant attention researchers have conventionally paid to advertising promotion in cinema, the acquisition of the Cineriz and Rizzoli film fonds by the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia (Rome) opens new perspectives for exploring categories of genre and audience through promotional practices.⁶ The archive of Cineriz stores 467 folders relating to 412 films, containing publicity material that was distributed by the press office: the folders consist of documents for the press, graphic material and instructions for commercial businesses and events linked to the films' promotion.⁷ The recent study by Francesca Cantore and Andrea Minuz, investigating 'social codes and rituals of the culture of taste', focusses on the 'spread of the "arthouse film" and its new spectator' in the realm of cinema in the early 1960s as a 'moment of culture' and as a dimension of belonging to 'highbrow' consumption practices.⁸ Andreas Ehrenreich's research investigates the terms of use and perception of the *giallo* (crime genre) film in the 1970s, in the context of a revision of the function of a genre considered as marginalised in third-run cinemas.⁹ The issue of film categorisation and distribution in cinemas cannot be disconnected from the iconographic selection made for posters and magazines. In this context, a crucial question emerges for the purposes of research, specifically the prevailing ideas about the public of reader-spectators within the two systems of Cineriz and Rizzoli Press. The dynamics affecting many of these examples entailed variations of a single product advertised for a broad public [marketing aimed at 'everyone'] though keeping in mind references to products for specific target audiences, such as *L'anno scorso a Marienbad* (*L'Année dernière à Marienbad*, Alain Resnais, 1961) and *Femmine di lusso* (Giorgio Bianchi, 1960).¹⁰ This

⁶ Stephen Gundle, "'We Have Everything to Learn from the Americans": Film Promotion, Product Placement and Consumer Culture in Italy, 1945-1965', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, 40.1 (2020), 55–83.

⁷ According to the online catalogue, 228 folders containing material for some 200 films are related to the period 1956–1965. 'Cineriz' In Produttori, Case di produzione, Case di distribuzione – Fondi archivistici e bibliografici – Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini, <<https://www.fondazioneesc.it/fondi-archivistici-e-bibliografici/produttori-case-di-produzione-case-di-distribuzione-fondi-archivistici-e-bibliografici-biblioteca-luigi-chiarini/>> [accessed 1 July 2019].

⁸ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', pp. 48-49.

⁹ Andreas Ehrenreich, 'Not Niche at All: The Giallo Distribution and Marketing of the Genre', *Bianco & Nero*, 587.1 (2017), 113-126.

¹⁰ With regard to the analysed archival files, the press documents that refer to *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* are characterised by a specific definition of the target audience, described in terms of an audience capable of understanding 'the evolution of cinematographic taste' and 'the boldness of the concepts' of new cinema. By contrast, the pressbook of *Femmine di lusso* places emphasis on the shades of eros, emotion and sport, not to mention on affluence. In the CdRcs's file, the only film stills that seem to have been published (according to the stamps on the back) contain the stamps of the magazines *Novella* and *Sorrisi e Canzoni*. 'Una nuova tappa nel cinema', CSC, FC, *L'anno scorso a Marienbad*; Pressbook, CdRcs, *Femmine di Lusso*.

marketing approach mostly concerned the magazines considered and should be analysed on the basis of the international materials circulating in Cineriz through its intensive distribution. The problems of studying these advertising materials aimed at a broad audience have been noted by Karl Schoonover, among others, regarding promoting Neorealist cinema in the United States. The replication of diverse marketing versions of a single product seems to support the idea of a standardisation of consumption, endorsing a 'generic ambiguity' and 'encouraging a spectatorial experience in which multiple modes of engagement might coexist without contradiction'.¹¹

The reference to the ambiguity of contradictory communication has particular significance in our study of the content of major campaigns, first and foremost the emblematic campaign for *La dolce vita*. In the Italian political scenario of the 1950s, this mixture of conflicting messages could not but have ideological implications. Within a heated debate about the film, especially the harsh judgment expressed by the Catholic Centre of Cinematography, it is clear that the strenuous defence of the film's morality in a traditionally Catholic, widely-distributed weekly like *Oggi* took on certain significance.¹² The 'singular modernity' of the products promoted by Rizzoli should be considered in the broader context of their circulation, taking into consideration poster distribution in first-, second- and third-run cinemas.¹³ That, however, is not the focus of this chapter.

In order to investigate the promotional practices at Cineriz, in terms of relations with the journalistic world, I have approached the archival source taking into consideration samples of the major categories of films connected to the name of the producer. A corpus of ten titles forms the central focus of my investigation:¹⁴ this has included several folders, spanning from the administrative correspondence to the photographic materials and the press reviews

¹¹ Karl Schoonover, *Brutal Vision: The Neorealist Body in Postwar Italian Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), p. 72.

¹² 'La dolce vita,' *Segnalazioni cinematografiche*, 13 (1960), p. 120. It was decided that the film should be excluded from the circulation in parish movie theatres, which represented a considerable percentage of the total number of national cinemas.

¹³ Andrea Minuz and Marcus Perryman, *Political Fellini*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁴ My selection of films also depends on the available archival materials: *8 1/2* (Federico Fellini, 1963), *Boccaccio 70* (Vittorio De Sica, Federico Fellini, Mario Monicelli and Luchino Visconti, 1962), *Deserto rosso* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1964), *Don Camillo, monsignore ma non troppo* (Carmine Gallone, 1961), *Giulietta degli spiriti* (Federico Fellini, 1964), *La dolce vita* (Federico Fellini, 1960), *Il padrone sono me* (Franco Brusati, 1955), *L'anno scorso a Marienbad* (Alain Resnais, 1961), *Vacanze a Ischia* (Mario Camerini, 1957), *Venere Imperiale* (Jean Delannoy, 1962).

collected by the advertising office. A broader perspective has concerned the investigation of press books and graphic advertising materials of films distributed by Cineriz.

Within the records analysed, the files relating to *La dolce vita* stand out in quantitative terms. The completeness and exhaustiveness of the archival materials bring the film to the centre of this investigation, together with other examples considered relevant to the producer's perspective and to the comparison with the magazines. The *fil rouge* of *La dolce vita* allows us to go into detail about the organisation of the press and advertising office from the point of view of the major personalities involved and the organisation of promotional campaigns, from launch plans to contracts with actors and related issues. Posters, being the main expenditure in Cineriz's cost estimates [preventivi di spesa], are investigated in the second part of the chapter. While taking into consideration some relevant cases, the aim of the section is to explore aspects connected to the activity of the press office and the wider sphere of Rizzoli's publishing. The perspective of the magazines is analysed in the third part, which examines in depth the terms of the relationship with Cineriz, both in contractual terms and in the various forms of connection the records and oral sources have revealed.

4.1 The Cineriz Press Office in the Rizzoli System

Rizzoli's companies can be seen to reflect the influence of international models and, in particular, film marketing practices developed in the United States. Considering the range of Rizzoli's business activities, it is fair to assume – in Arthur Felton's words – a tendency toward a 'corporate state of mind that insists on the integration and coordination of all the marketing functions which, in turn, are merged with all other corporate functions, for the basic purpose of producing maximum long range corporate profits'.¹⁵ Marketing surveys at the time seem to confirm continuity in the use of the 'medium of mass entertainment', highlighting how 'frequent cinema visitors were also heavy readers of magazines and regular listeners to the radio'.¹⁶ The possibility of advertising films through magazines was a key reason for Rizzoli's investment in cinema (See chapter 2). However, this background should be considered within the limits of the artisanal planning that distinguished the national approach from overseas models. It was, in the first place, the network system and the professional experience of figures active in both the press and cinema that impacted on the circulation of content and prompted reciprocal exchanges. In addition to their promotional function, magazines turned out to be

¹⁵ Arthur P. Felton, 'Making the Marketing Concept Work', *Harvard Business Review*, 37.4 (1959), 55.

¹⁶ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, 'Audience Research in the Movie Field', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 254 (1947), 164.

fertile ground for identifying and testing the 'horizon of expectations' of the readers during various stages of film production.¹⁷ The convergence of 'plots, places, characters, stylistic solutions', which emerged as particularly effective in the mediatic context of the 1950s, materialised in the correspondence and administrative records of Rizzoli's companies.

For Rizzoli, the transition between the two decades implied parallel investments in the modernisation of the organisational structures of his companies. The production of *La dolce vita* coincided with significant changes on both sides of production, as demonstrated by testimonials (See chapter 5). On the one hand, in 1959 the company invested in the creation of an internal marketing department for the publishing sector. In Rizzoli's vision, this office – which grew to 50 employees – should have retrieved the large expenses previously paid to the advertising company of Rai (Radiotelevisione italiana): SIPRA Spa. The department aimed at promoting a corporate system 'based on the utmost mutual respect' to facilitate 'a cordial dialogue from every internal relationship and [...] capable, due to its internal strength, of immediately tending to the best, in the common interest'.¹⁸ In particular, the Advertising Studies division focussed on 'market research and statistics', which was intended to highlight the relevant characteristics of the different categories of readers, including social class and cultural level.¹⁹ In the cinema sector, the Cineriz distribution company featured a new advertising department by the end of the decade, which was considered to be one of the most advanced structures of this kind in Italy.²⁰

Founded in 1956, Cineriz made up an integral part of the Rizzoli Film production company, for which it handled rentals and distribution. While rapidly climbing the national ranking, Cineriz established a solid administrative organisation, run by Rizzoli's staff, including the general director Eraldo Leone, the administrative director Angelosante D'Andrea and the commercial director Carlo Casati. The company boasted a central management with about forty employees and a rental department with thirteen branches in the major cities in each region, which were in charge of the distribution and programming of the current list of films [film di listino]. Every week, the branches relayed rental sales figures [dati di fatturato di noleggio] to headquarters, and this data flowed into the processing of the accounting situation and the exploitation reports [situazione contabile e nei rendiconti di sfruttamento] of each

¹⁷ Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), p. 11.

¹⁸ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*.

¹⁹ Ruggero Eugeni, 'Sviluppo, trasformazione e rielaborazione dei generi', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, IX: 1954-1959, ed. by Sandro Bernardi (2004), p. 78.

²⁰ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', 47.

film.²¹ Not only did this data come back to Cineriz, but so did feedback on press reviews, advertising ideas and viewer reactions to the material displayed in cinemas. The scope of the advertising office is documented by the size of the archival collection and in the variety of films for which Cineriz curated the launch campaign. The films Cineriz dealt with were produced by Riama, Rizzoli Film, international companies in co-production with Rizzoli, but also minor companies, such as Serena Film, which was created for commercial productions with the aim of keeping it at arm's length from the publisher's name.²²

The use of Angelo Rizzoli's initials, or his surname, emerges as a crucial element of the publisher's relationship with cinema. The administrative director Angelosante D'Andrea remembers that 'when he was a publisher, and he was a great publisher who was not interested in cinema, he was often confused with Rizzoli the orthopaedist from Bologna'.²³ It was cinema that gave visibility and prestige to his surname, also 'thanks to [his] participation in the Venice and Cannes festivals', because cinema is 'a bit of a catwalk, a world made up of advertising'.²⁴ Rizzoli's name was quite often mentioned in administrative correspondence, sometimes in matters that could be defined as minor. According to D'Andrea and others, the complex administrative structure of Cineriz was always under the strict control of Rizzoli. Collaborators were consulted for the films to be distributed, 'but with Rizzoli there was not that much to be decided, he had to agree too, he had to like the films': they had to be convincing for him either from the point of view of prestige or commercial potential.²⁵ In an interview published in *Oggi* in 1956, Rizzoli complained about the economic difficulties associated with film production, 'which costs a lot and cashes in little'.²⁶ The following year, with *Vacanze a Ischia*, his companies were at the top of the list of box office revenues [incassi]. Three years later another phase began for Cineriz, when *La dolce vita* reached the desired convergence between economic and cultural capital.²⁷

²¹ Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, pp. 239-240.

²² The long activities of Rizzoli in cinema production and distribution included the constitution of various companies. For the detailed list see: *Il padrone sono me*, pp. 369-376.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 518

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 515

²⁵ The question posed to Angelosante D'Andrea concerns the choice of the film to be distributed. Many sources agree on Rizzoli's approach to the selection process in the areas of both production and distribution. Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 511.

²⁶ Angelo Rizzoli, 'Una lettera sulla crisi del cinema', *Oggi*, 21 June 1956, pp. 3-4.

The Don Camillo series remains one of the principal successes of Rizzoli in film production. The first film (Duvivier, 1952) had obtained a box office revenue of 1.471.510.044 in 1951. Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 398.

²⁷ According to Stringa, the box office revenues of *Vacanze a Ischia* (1957) amounted to 736, 413, 592. *La dolce vita* (1960), instead, amounted to 2,220,716,403 lire. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

In 1956, a national survey, rare for its time, was published, which aimed to explore the 'unknown face of Italy'.²⁸ The survey investigated the cultural habits of Italians, or rather, of the samples of citizens interviewed across the ten-year post-war period. The section dedicated to cinema took into consideration a series of factors that influenced cinema-goers' decisions. These factors included what were considered to be the most effective sources of information: '[I]t is important to note for promotional purposes that almost 4/5 of cinema-goers read one or more weeklies and other magazines'.²⁹ This was, as previously highlighted, a characteristic of the 'upper and upper middle' classes in urban areas, while the 'lower' classes paid more attention to posters and billboards, identified as the second-ranked propaganda tool.³⁰ Within these categories, the survey focussed on the reasons that impacted the choice, which included liking the main characters, interest in the title, the fact that the film was shown at a nearby cinema etc. Likewise, those who have decided to watch a film after reading the description in the newspapers or in the weekly magazines may have taken this decision having been attracted by the plot, the main characters, the director's name or a favourable review.

Decisions made on the basis of film reviews and directors are indicated as a prerogative of 'upper' classes,³¹ with a categorisation similar to that indicated by Pierre Bourdieu in 1979.³² The investments in the press and street publicity within the launch plans of Cineriz, over the time period considered, are therefore not surprising: '[T]he posters of films at the time were decisive'.³³ However, records tell of great efforts, of which less evidence remains, toward a new means of propaganda. In the long wake of the influx of overseas advertising techniques, 'instead of the dominant medium of promotion', posters gradually became 'merely one aspect, and by no means the most important, in a complex system of media and communications'.³⁴

As archival records show, the management of the advertising office ran intensive promotional campaigns, with rather stable procedures over the period considered. Activities relating to the press coexisted with the exploration of other media, such as radio and television promotion, as well as initiatives in schools, stadiums and gyms. As De Micheli observed, the means available for marketing surveys at the time were very limited. However, what De Micheli

²⁸ Luzzatto Fegiz, *Il volto sconosciuto dell'Italia*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 988.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 994.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 993.

³² See chapter 3, p. 108. Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinzione*.

³³ Osvaldo De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita: Il grande cinema da Fellini a Troisi e Benigni* (Roma: Edizioni Sabinae, 2013), p. 71.

³⁴ Stephen Gundle, 'Sogni e ambizioni: la persuasione visiva in Italia tra il fin de siècle e la nascita della società dei consumi', *Manifesti: pubblicità e vita italiana 1895-1945*, ed. by Anna Villari, pp. 86-125 (p. 89).

indicated as his 'navigation by sight' method could rely on the intense activity of the company.³⁵ In the mid-1960s, Cineriz was managing up to 30 films a month, from 'first and second run, to parish cinemas'.³⁶ The director of the advertising office from the mid-1950s on was Luigi De Santis, whose education and professional training is not fully known. When Angelo Rizzoli met him in 1953 at the Venice Festival, he admired De Santis's strong reactions whilst working on the advertising of a film; without further investigation, he requested to have him working at Cineriz.³⁷ The early career of the second director De Micheli can be seen as emblematic of the professional convergence between the journalistic and cinematographic environments. Coming from a modest background, De Micheli started as a trainee at *Corriere dello Sport* in 1956; this journalistic background would later prove to be a springboard into cinema thanks to a fortuitous opportunity, which led him to become an editor for the producer Carlo Ponti the following year. The shooting of *La dolce vita*, in which he took part as an assistant of the production manager Clemente Fracassi,³⁸ marked the beginning of his collaboration with Cineriz. Although the records attest to the intense administrative activity managed by De Santis until the mid-1960s, his contribution as a graphic designer requires further study. By contrast, De Micheli is said to have had a crucial role in the creation of catchphrases [frasi di lancio], another vital element in the circulation of para-textual materials. De Micheli himself highlighted the nature of his approach to advertising campaigns: '[T]he film must be a "pre-text" in the literal sense of the term, that is, a text that is at the basis of our work in creating something new and effective, with the sole aim of arousing curiosity in the public and encouraging them to go to the cinema to see exactly that film'.³⁹

The years of the full economic boom marked the move of Cineriz from Viale Castrense, where the offices of the photoromance magazine *Sogno* were located, to a luxurious site in Via Veneto.⁴⁰ In 1957, Rizzoli asked the director Mario Camerini for 'a simple story, without priests, without scandals that would not be disturbed by censorship and that the public would like': the

³⁵ According to De Micheli: '[a]t the time, we did not have the marketing tools that are used today, there was no market research'. De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 70.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³⁷ This is how De Santis remembers the meeting with Rizzoli: 'I met the "Commenda" at three in the morning in the square in front of the casino of the Lido of Venice, during my quarrel with his business partner of the DEAR film, Roberto Haggiag, while with twenty workers and technicians we were preparing a "Moulin Rouge" ad for Houston's film. The publisher heard me yelling and he told the DEAR film's general manager: "When I return to Rome, I want to find the Roman who shouts in our advertising office". It was August 1953'. Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 521.

³⁸ Osvaldo de Micheli appears to have worked as a production secretary before becoming director of the marketing office in 1962.

³⁹ De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 128.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

result was *Vacanze a Ischia*.⁴¹ Yet, in the following years he invested a considerable amount of money in *La dolce vita*, a film with the opposite content that proved to be impervious to forms of control. What Vittorio Spinazzola would define as the 'auteur super spectacle' reached the top of the box office thanks to the convergence of prestige, scandals and controversies.⁴² De Micheli himself pointed out that the polemical tones of *Osservatore Romano* – the daily newspaper of the Holy See, which renamed the film 'dirty life' [La sconcia vita] – and the imposition of the ban on under-eighteens were crucial factors in the promotional campaign.⁴³ As the catchphrases [frasi di lancio] emphasised, *Vacanze a Ischia* and *La dolce vita* stood as examples of two different facets of the rapid national transformation, which led Italy from 'a fascist dictatorship and backward economy into a dynamic centre of style and beauty' where 'the capital, and the country's most beautiful coastal resorts, develop into elite playgrounds'.⁴⁴ Despite the differences in outcome and content, the press campaigns of the two films had some features in common. Among these it is worth mentioning the stress on a tangible elsewhere, the choral dimension of the occupation of spaces that conveyed – in the name of art – natural beauty and the new leisure, charm and contradictions of the Italian social fabric.

Vacanze a Ischia, a film Angelo Rizzoli strongly desired, was part of the commercial exploitation of the island, which had become a place of investment for the publisher, in terms of tourism and hotel facilities.⁴⁵ The island and the film were part of the 'desirable leisure' dimension that Rizzoli was promoting through advertisements in his magazines. As confirmed by the first press releases, *Vacanze a Ischia* was meant to be an 'expression of the most typical Italian "pink Neorealism", that was so well received by the public because while having fun, it preserves that substratum of human, poetic and humorous reality'.⁴⁶ This declaration of intent, which was expressed in the various settings and social classes outlined in the film, was echoed by the press: *Il Corriere di Trieste* reported that 'the magician of light comedy' had returned to work in an article entitled 'Camerini and his pink realism return in *Vacanze a Ischia*'.⁴⁷

⁴¹ [No title], *Cinema Nuovo*, 1 April 1957, p. 238; quoted in Stringa, 'Il padrone sono me', p. 249.

⁴² Vittorio Spinazzola, *Cinema e pubblico: lo spettacolo filmico in Italia 1945- 1965* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1985).

⁴³ De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 24.

⁴⁴ Stephen Gundle, *Glamour: A History* (Oxford: University Press, 2009), p. 225.

⁴⁵ According to Mazzuca, over a period of 15 years Rizzoli invested nearly 3 billion Italian lire in Ischia, starting with 50 million lire for thermal baths, hotels and a hospital. The press and cinema were involved in order to introduce the island to the world of glamour tourism. These investments eventually had a more social than commercial value, given that they resulted in enormous economic losses. Mazzuca, *L'erre verde*, p. 157, pp. 181-184, 194-201.

⁴⁶ Ufficio stampa e pubblicità, 'Notiziario', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁴⁷ Piero Zanotto, 'Camerini e il suo realismo rosa ritornano in *Vacanze a Ischia*', *Il Corriere di Trieste*, 24 July 1957, CSC, FC, RS *Vacanze a Ischia*.



Figure 5.2 Vittorio De Sica (*Ingegnere Occhipinti*) in *Vacanze a Ischia*, CdRcs.



Figure 5.3 Postcard showing Rizzoli's hotel Regina Isabella at Lacco Ameno (Ischia), BLC.

Promotion began with the publication of illustrated news about the film, which focused on the co-stars, photo stories and biographical notes about the activities of the main characters during the first weeks of shooting on Ischia. The episodic structure offered cues for promotional articles in the form of sketch-like scenes, often narrated in a photo-essay version, with exclusive licences for Rizzoli's magazines. Among the messages conveyed, the image of a 'very sophisticated Ischia' prevailed, enhanced by the photo reportages on 'blue bloods in bikinis' and the international elites, which aimed at recreating the 'association of star and place' of other glamorous destinations.⁴⁸ In the context of the press campaign, the records show other and more pressing promotional issues, connected to the actresses who starred in the film, like the French Myriam Bru and the Romanian Nadia Gray.⁴⁹ Gray's lawyers turned to Angelo Rizzoli complaining about the lack of consideration *L'Europeo* had demonstrated toward her; adducing timing issues, the magazine had failed to include 'a complete set of photos and texts', as agreed.⁵⁰ The dispute with Nadia Gray involved legal mediation while Myriam Bru mentioned Rizzoli to express her discontent about photographic and other advertising materials.⁵¹ Writing on the back of a glossy postcard that featured the architecture of a Rizzoli hotel (Figure 5.3), Bru complained about the lack of appeal of the photographs Cineriz had received, specifying that she preferred the photographer Pierluigi [Praturlon].⁵² Angelo Rizzoli's intervention is also apparent regarding the approval of other advertising materials, as is documented in the list of

⁴⁸ Adele Cambria, 'Sangue blu in bikini', *Il Giorno*, 31 July 1957, CSC, FC, RS, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁴⁹ On the relationship between Myriam Bru and Rizzoli, and the impact of this relationship on the publisher's magazines, see chapter 3, pp.116-117.

⁵⁰ Achille Marini, letter to Angelo Rizzoli, 20 January 1958, CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁵¹ Nadia [Gray], letter to [Gigi De Santis?], Paris 28 February 1958; Miriam [Bru], Letter to Gigi [De Santis], 1 August [1958], CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁵² Myriam [Bru], letter to Gigi [De Santis].

selected images and in a letter for a television column ('This our cinema').⁵³ The film, which saw the coming together of publishing, cinematographic and touristic aims, also involved personalities favoured by Rizzoli, such as Vittorio De Sica and Bru.⁵⁴ In the poster's foreground, the two groups of actresses and actors with De Sica at the centre give the impression of a 'feast for the eyes', which would have contrasted, according to the film's catchphrases [frasi di lancio], with the harsh atmosphere of cities during winter.⁵⁵ The promotion of the film focussed on the light tones of 'sea, sun, love and humour', insisting – in the run-up to release – on the tones of light humour and glamour, with limited allusions to eros.⁵⁶

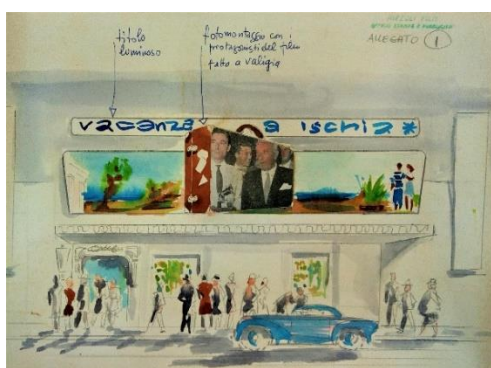


Figure 5.4 Launch plan of *Vacanze a Ischia*, sketch with suggestions for the venue dressing, BLC.

The poster campaign began in the main Italian cities 15 days prior to the release of *Vacanze a Ischia* and was accompanied by various side events, together with the usual press advertising. The wide-ranging promotion included loudspeaker announcements in stadiums, radio advertising and projects for television programmes.⁵⁷ As was customary for the main first-run cinemas, particular attention was paid to the decoration [allestimenti

cinematografici] of the venues which, like department stores, were aimed at seducing 'consumers with colours, atmosphere, and sensations of abundance' (Figure 5.5).⁵⁸ Since the film implied a 'major production commitment', 'eye-catching decorations' were adorned both inside and outside the theatres.⁵⁹ The case of Genoa is particularly interesting, due to the preservation of administrative and iconographic records. The Cineriz manager on site sent De Santis a proposal for the staging, ensuring that the site would be 'decorated in an exceptional way, certainly superior to that done for all the other films'.⁶⁰ The correspondence does not reveal, however, if the spectacular decorations matched the indications provided in a draft attached to the launch plan, which was marked by a very different idea of elegance (Figure 5.4,

⁵³ List of images with handwritten comment 'Comm. Rizzoli 26 – 10 -57', October 1957; A. Valignani, Letter to Cineriz with handwritten comment 'De Santis prego farsi dare istruzioni dal Commen. Rizzoli per come fare la presentazione', 11 December 1957, CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁵⁴ These three actors boasted of an intense collaboration with Rizzoli: Myriam Bru and Vittorio De Sica acted in ten movies, Nadia Gray in nine.

⁵⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinzione*, p. 39.

⁵⁶ 'Frase di lancio *Vacanze a Ischia*', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*. More evident references to 'eros' appear in the advertising materials in the Spanish language.

⁵⁷ 'Piano di lancio per l'uscita del film *Vacanze a Ischia*', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁵⁸ Gundle, 'Sogni e ambizioni', p. 95.

⁵⁹ 'Piano di lancio per l'uscita del film *Vacanze a Ischia*'.

⁶⁰ Agenzia di Genova, Letter to Direzione Generale, 14 December 1957, CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

5.5).⁶¹ In addition to the usual press presentations in Rome and Milan, other kinds of society events were also considered, including dance evenings in the glamorous tourist destinations of Cortina d'Ampezzo and Saint Vincent. These events were accompanied by further initiatives, such as a prize draw for premium stays in Ischia for the following summer, to remain within the boundaries of Rizzoli's business activity. The fantasy of these exclusive venues turned out to be associated with other popular dreams, such as the New Year lottery. In fact, the promotional initiatives included advertising on national lottery postcards, which Cineriz defined as 'very serious and under the control of the competent ministerial direction'.⁶² The contradictions of this campaign, which combined the lottery with premium holidays in Ischia, were revealed in the article 'The Wall of Illusions', which is preserved in the press review folders: '[T]he same illusions softened and sublimated in the invitation of a poster that on account of a strange confusion by the billposter, after having promised the one hundred million lottery prize, insinuated the chimera of a holiday in Ischia'.⁶³



Figure 5.5 Cinema decorated in Genova for the release of *Vacanze a Ischia* (1957), BLC.

As highlighted by Tullio Kezich, the initial script of *La dolce vita* also included Ischia in two scenes: a picnic on the beach with a tragic death and the encounter of Marcello with one of his lovers (the writer Dolores, a character to be played by Luise Rainer who was later cut).⁶⁴ In the

⁶¹ 'Piano di lancio per l'uscita del film *Vacanze a Ischia*', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*. My assumption is that the draft 'Rizzoli Film. Allegato 1' is the one mentioned in the launch plan and can be attributed to Gigi De Santis.

⁶² 'Pubblicità sulle cartoline-concorso lotteria di Capodanno R.A.I. - T.V.', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁶³ 'La parete delle illusioni', *Gazzetta di Parma*, 27 February 1958, CSC, FC, RS *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁶⁴ Tullio Kezich, *Noi che abbiamo fatto La dolce vita* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2009), pp. 112-113.

end, Ischia did not feature in the film, which focussed on another one of Angelo Rizzoli's favourite leisure venues, Rome, and on his main source of income, magazine publishing. The controversial connection to magazines was repaid with a huge response from the press. In the beginning this raised some concerns, according to Kezich, as there were fears that such attention at an early stage could raise 'exaggerated and maybe counterproductive' expectations with regard to the film.⁶⁵ Instead, as De Micheli wrote, the enormous reaction of the press became an integral part of the film advertising together with Fellini's authorial appeal. From the early stages of production, a collective response accompanied the film which, according to the catchphrases, was a 'dramatic', 'shocking' and 'grandiose' fresco of the current time.⁶⁶ The film was presented as a reflection on a crucial moment in history, when the condemnation and celebration of new lifestyles were dramatically intertwined.⁶⁷ Insistence on the tones of eros was crucial and unfolded on different levels. The promotional campaign made extensive use of the icon of Anita Ekberg, conveyed in different forms, from a silhouette of a few centimetres in the press advertising to the enlargement of three metres on the occasion of the release of the film. The shape that came to represent 'the non plus ultra of alluring femininity' became an emblem, with strong advertising pressure, 'of what Morin called "erotisme diffus"'.⁶⁸ It is undeniable that the film's narrative and figurative complexity, as stated by Minuz and Cantore, became a fundamental component of the press campaign;⁶⁹ the signs of 'consumption, leisure and mobility' circulated in various advertising formats,⁷⁰ setting the scene for and soliciting the response of a wide audience.

In terms of the budget, the estimated costs of the promotion of the 'grandiose' fresco amounted to twenty-one or twenty-two million lire.⁷¹ It was undoubtedly the billposting that involved the major cost on a national level, with an initial estimate of around eighteen million. The costs estimated for the 'decorations' and venue dressing – around one million lire – represented a substantial figure if compared to the two million lire for the press, a cost item deleted in the handwritten draft and absent in the typewritten document.⁷² The amount of one million lire was also prospected for events: Cineriz planned an unprecedented national release

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 54.

⁶⁶ CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Cast. - 1959-1960.

⁶⁷ Robert E. Kapsis, *Hitchcock: The Making of a Reputation* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 3.

⁶⁸ E. Morin, *L'Esprit du temps*, Paris 1976, p. 138, quoted in 'Sogni e ambizioni', p. 124.

⁶⁹ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore'.

⁷⁰ Hill, 'Photographic Excess', p. 218.

⁷¹ Cost estimates were found in some files: for example, the estimate for *Boccaccio 70*, dated 10th of February 1962 was around 20 million lire. CSC, FC, *Boccaccio 70*.

⁷² 'Preventivo spesa affissione lancio nazionale', 1959-1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Piano lancio nazionale (PLN).

for the film, with dates that could not be brought forward or postponed 'for any cause and for any reason', due to the complexity of the organisation.⁷³ Prestigious sites, such as the Teatro della Scala in Milan and 'a historic Roman palace', were indicated as suitable for the film premiere, while radio and television broadcasts were also considered.⁷⁴ Additional expenses were linked to unusual requests. Records refer to the interference of Ekberg's agents, who requested that the actress be 'accompanied personally by Federico to both gala evenings in Rome and Milan [3 and 5 February 1960], or to one by Marcello Mastroianni and to the other by Federico'.⁷⁵ Their demands included 'a luxury car with driver', the 'most luxurious accommodation available', various assistants, also adding that the 'inevitable issue of expenses' had to be considered.⁷⁶

The records relating to *La dolce vita*'s premieres reveal the amount of work required to manage these complex events, from Ekberg's assistants to the invitations to politicians and members of the national militia. Promotional strategies were delivered on several levels, aimed at reaching the main players in the journalistic world and exponents of the high society, without forgetting the wider audience. A paragraph that appeared in the draft of the national launch plan under the heading 'gala evenings' is interesting in this sense: the intended audience of the premiere, namely the 'Italian and foreign press' and the 'selected group of people', were replaced by the more generic 'people who, after all, create the social strata represented by Fellini in his great cinematographic fresco'.⁷⁷ In what appears to be the final draft, these distinctions were omitted while the charity aspect of the 'exceptional gala evenings' (the proceeds were to be donated to good causes) as well as the relevance of 'the support of the press and radio-television' was emphasised.⁷⁸ De Santis underlined that the film had become an 'adjective' in the journalistic field and recurred in 'common conversations' in newspapers, weeklies and magazines.⁷⁹ This was perhaps one of the reasons why Ekberg's silhouette appeared to be removed from the draft of the invitation to the film's Roman premiere.⁸⁰ The contradiction relative to the signs and simulacra recurring in the campaign for *La dolce vita* went beyond the predictions of the launch plans. The press would have followed its own path in favouring images, such as the nocturnal dip in the Fontana di Trevi, which Cineriz's management had considered – against De Micheli's opinion – not suitable to represent the

⁷³ Direzione Generale, 'Circolare n. 834', 24 November 1958, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁷⁴ Draft of 'Lanciamiento nazionale a carico del produttore per il film', CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁷⁵ Hank Kaufman, Letter to Clemente Fracassi, 27 January 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Draft of 'Lanciamiento nazionale a carico del produttore per il film', CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁷⁸ 'Lanciamiento nazionale a carico del produttore per il film', CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ 'Cineriz presenta *La dolce vita*', CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

national *dolce vita* (sweet life). To explore the matter of the producer's point of view here, the next sections will focus on poster advertising and the press.

4.2 The System of Images in Posters

In the poster for *Vacanze a Ischia*, the figure of Vittorio De Sica as he holds the weekly magazine *L'Europeo* stands out among the two groups of young actors (Figure 5.6). The letters of the magazine's title occupy a negligible amount of space, but they were probably easily identified by film audiences of the time. It is no coincidence that *L'Europeo* was associated with De Sica, 'regarded by critics as the prototype Italian actor' and, specifically in the plot of the film, as an exponent of the rich industrial bourgeoisie.⁸¹ De Sica was an emblem of the merging of comedy and art cinema, and he perfectly interpreted the keen, irreverent gaze and the social status that Rizzoli wanted to associate with the magazine (Figure 5.2). The national iconography of sunshine, flowers and light backgrounds on the threshold of the Italian economic boom would completely disappear in the nocturnal atmosphere of the *La dolce vita* posters. Press materials declared that the film evoked the sphere of the 'post-World War human comedy' in the 'somewhat wild pace of continuous partying, pursuing interests and success'.⁸² The connection with *L'Europeo* was not limited to the appearance of its masthead in the trailer and in the film, where it was associated with the cool, calm and noble image of Steiner's unsuspecting widow. It was the name of Federico Fellini, the title and images of the film – displayed on the posters at first-run cinemas – that would appear regularly in the magazine's pages. The engineer and the artist, in the variables of the famous director, actor and actress, inspired the storylines of poster design up to the point that they intertwined with the film's promotion in the magazines.



Figure 5.6 *Vacanze a Ischia* (1957).
Poster by Averardo Ciriello
© Rizzoli Film/Webphoto.

The posters that accompanied the films circulating in cinemas show elements of convergence that are not limited to the appearance of the covers of *L'Europeo*, announcing the names of personalities. The selection of graphic materials for the *La dolce vita* advertising campaign engages in the semantics of the visual stimuli of the cityscape, rediscovered in the contradictory

⁸¹ Stephen Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream Factory: Film Stardom in Fascist Italy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), p. 149.

⁸² Brochure 'La dolce vita: Fellini', 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Pressbook.

glamour of the film. The lobby card featuring Anita Ekberg and Marcello Mastroianni against the background of the Trevi Fountain does not seem far from the touristic views made popular by picture postcards, to which the vistas of Ischia in the film's advertising clearly refer (Figure 5.7). The film that 'everyone wants to see' does not exclude, in the various forms of posters, billboards and so on, the sharing of characters 'coming from every social class' that fill the poster for *Vacanze ad Ischia*.⁸³ The wide-ranging poster system helps to classify the projections of the advertising campaign in exploring the horizon of the audience. The synergy between billboards, posters and periodicals helps to reinsert the film into the broader system of 'inherently connected' media and 'the process of social change associated with consumer capitalism'.⁸⁴



Figure 5.7 Lobby cards of *Vacanze a Ischia* (1957) and *La dolce vita* (1960).

The dialogue with 'low' practices inherent in the genesis of the film is evident in the iconographic materials. In the desire to combine escapism and commitment, the advertising campaign involved the creation of distinct posters according to the audience, using the complexity and ambivalence of the cinematic imagery as leverage. The circulation of materials for *La dolce vita* lends itself quite effectively to an examination of the way press offices sought to reach broad 'industrial reception categories'.⁸⁵ The extent of this operation, aimed at directing multiple audiences toward a single product, would recur in the posters of other Cineriz films. Attempts at mediation can indeed be seen in high profile advertising campaigns such as *L'eclisse* and others following a decidedly popular line for a film such as *Venere imperiale*. Taking into consideration the examples of *La dolce vita* and *Venere imperiale*, here we wish to trace

⁸³ Ufficio stampa e pubblicità, 'Notiziario', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

⁸⁴ Natalie Fullwood, 'Popular Italian Cinema, the Media, and the Economic Miracle: Rethinking *Commedia all'Italiana*', *Modern Italy*, 18.1 (2013), 19–39 (p. 23).

⁸⁵ Schoonover, *Brutal Vision*, p. 71.

some lines of conjuncture between the imagery of posters, the popular press and cinema as a 'highbrow' practice of luxury showcases in the first half of the 1960s.

The long lists given in the administrative documentation bear witness to the number of images circulating nationally and internationally. The sending of the iconographic materials for *La dolce vita* could, for example, include: '2 luxury guides, 48 photos, 1 twenty-four-sheet billboard, 1 photographic guide, 1 lobby card, 1 poster, 1 two-sheet poster, 1 eight-sheet fluorescent billboard, 1 four-sheet billboard'.⁸⁶ In addition to the more well-known formats of posters, playbills and the pressbook, the list includes newspaper and magazine ads and lobby cards, a preview of scenes of the film, the plot and the characters, a sort of trailer in a printed format that was displayed in street advertising spaces and inside the cinema. There are further distinctions within the aforementioned types based on the destination, which differed for magazine ads, pressbooks and posters. A wide range of materials was considered for the film, which generally varied according to the display spaces and the type of cinema (first-, second- or third-run). The different types of posters could also be affixed in the same display space, according to the choices made by cinema owners. In the variables that went from spectacular displays to minimal graphics, generally the posters gave rise to variations in content not unlike those connected with imagery in periodicals, with the emphasis given each time to the name of the director, the actors and the selection of the scenes.

'The film that everyone is waiting for', that 'everyone wants to see': the emphasis in the launch slogans for *La dolce vita* attests to the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the release of this film.⁸⁷ When discussing the selecting of some images, De Santis went so far as to define the film a 'masterpiece' already during production, which was marked by a 'light and intense' atmosphere that finds confirmation in the wide variety of imagery.⁸⁸ De Micheli describes Fellini as not being involved in advertising, but extremely skilled in involving the entire work team during the production of the film, giving rise to a group feeling among artists and workers who would be categorised as 'those of *La dolce vita*'.⁸⁹ Fellini's ability to involve the staff is confirmed by many sources, as also his strategic approach in managing the contacts with journalists, some of whom appeared in the film (e.g. John Francis Lane, Francesco Luzi Maité Morand, Henry Thody).⁹⁰ The convergence between the involvement of the press and

⁸⁶ CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁸⁷ Frasi di lancio, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Cast.

⁸⁸ Gigi De Santis, Letter to Lieselotte Schröder, 3 December [1959], CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Estero.

⁸⁹ According to De Micheli Fellini 'did not care, he considered it advertising, something that did not interest his work'. De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 25.

⁹⁰ Kezich, *Noi che abbiamo fatto La dolce vita*, pp. 59-62.

participation in the processing phases helped to define the context of the advertising campaign.⁹¹ This encounter finds expression in some images that were effective in the long term and – as Costa pointed out – eventually become fixed in the collective imagination.⁹² The ‘choral’, ‘entertaining’, ‘dramatic’ aspect that was emphasised in the launch slogans and in the iconographic materials seems to find an echo in Gilles Deleuze’s interpretation of Fellini’s imagery:⁹³ ‘[T]hat a particular image is clearly subjective, mental, a recollection or fantasy – but it is not organised into a spectacle without becoming objective, without going behind the scenes, into the reality of the spectacle, of those who make it, who live from it, who are absorbed in it’.⁹⁴



Figure 5.8 Decorated cinema for the release of *La dolce vita* (1960). Courtesy of Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale.

The posters are part of the mythology of an urban landscape dear to Fellini, in (silent) dialogue with the film’s actors also in some frames of *La dolce vita*: see for example the posters for *L’Unione delle donne Italiane* and Hollywood’s *Ultima notte a Warlock* (Dmytryk, 1959)

⁹¹ This was implicit in the production of the film: ‘[T]he film is circular: the newspapers are the main source of *La dolce vita* representing and interpreting the sweet life. In turn, the film transforms that life into rhetoric, in other words it is a commentary on the sweet life and the main source of stories for the newspapers.’ Minuz, *Political Fellini*, p. 67.

⁹² Antonio Costa, *Federico Fellini: La dolce vita* (Torino: Lindau, 2020).

⁹³ Frasi di lancio, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Cast.

⁹⁴ Gilles Deleuze, *Cinéma 2. The Time-Image* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 8.

standing before which are the pimps on motorcycles and prostitutes questioned by the rich, but bored Anouk Aimée/Maddalena. The role played by the silhouette of Anita Ekberg – which was reproduced in various poses and formats – would be emphasised by Fellini himself in an episode of *Boccaccio 70*, before becoming the topic of academic study.⁹⁵ The central function she acquired in the press campaign cannot be separated from the actress's considerable media coverage in the years before as well as during filming. Reproduced in various formats, Ekberg's silhouette became an emblem of the successful combination of international glamour and the national economic boom, in the projection of the pagan eroticism that the new cosmopolitan and *viveur* image of the capital of Christianity offered. Flyers such as those printed in 'Varazze', distributed at their own expense by the local cinemas, show an interesting attempt to reconcile some of the press campaign's key motifs in a harmonious association of contrasting elements: Anita's silhouette in the centre, flanked by the name of the 'two-time Oscar-winning director' and by the presentation of the film, defined in terms of a 'choral, entertaining, dramatic but above all admonishing description' of contemporary life.⁹⁶

Ekberg's blowups circulated not only as a doubling of her portraits in the 'figured' posters of *La dolce vita*, but also paired with text-only posters, of which some sketches (presumably made by De Santis) still exist.⁹⁷ The launch slogan, 'the two-time Oscar-winning director forces the most famous street in the world to undress', which was associated with the signature or name of Fellini and the title of the film, could be placed above the entrance to the cinemas, giving a different type of interpretation to posters and portraits of the actress (Figure 5.8). Ekberg lawyers however contested the treatment of the actress's name which was supposed to be 'the most visually favoured in all film advertisements' according to oral agreements with Cineriz.⁹⁸ It was De Santis who tried to clarify the problematic points of Ekberg's contract, 'which demands that her name occupies 75 per cent of the title', combining national regulations with the importance acquired by the film and its director: 'Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Lerner must remember that in Italy we also have rules, and that we always separate the size of the title from the percentage of the actors' names on the posters, because, as in our case, ever since Fellini started shooting the film, the title *LA DOLCE VITA* has virtually become a common expression'.⁹⁹ This prominence to Ekberg's name would have reduced the relevance of the names of the film and the director, which, as De Santis wrote to Magli, 'for us and for you, have

⁹⁵ Gundle, 'Dreams and Ambitions', pp. 86-87.

⁹⁶ CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Varie.

⁹⁷ CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

⁹⁸ Hank Kaufman, Letter to Riama Film (Clemente Fracassi), 7 January 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Cast.

⁹⁹ Gigi De Santis, Letter to Franco Magli, 9 October 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Cast.

much more importance of all the cast of the actors put together'.¹⁰⁰ The process that saw the acquisition of brand-name director status for Fellini, who thus guaranteed 'quality, value and dependability', became evident as the film's promotional campaign progressed.¹⁰¹



Figure 5.9 Poster by Sandro Simeoni. © Riama Film/Webphoto.



Figure 5.10 Poster by Giorgio Olivetti.
© Riama Film/Webphoto.



Figure 5.11 Poster by Giorgio Olivetti. © Riama Film/Webphoto.

'For this reason, at first glance the poster must give a clear idea of the genre to which it belongs, so that the predisposed cinema-goer immediately knows what it is': the article by Walter Lombardi that is preserved in *La dolce vita's* launch plans was intended as a summary of the state of cinema poster design in Italy.¹⁰² The article records the signs of a transition that would result in posters created by De Santis in the following years (*Boccaccio 70, 8½*), offering a picture of the working methods that were prevalent in poster design studios.¹⁰³ From Lombardi's perspective, the poster artist works 'according to particular intentions', which, among other things, includes 'not being too influenced by the film' because it is 'the advertising

¹⁰⁰ Gigi De Santis, Letter to Franco Magli, 24 October 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Cast.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Corsi, Marina Nicoli, and Alfonso Venturini, 'Fellini the Founder? The Fellini Brand in Film Production', *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 9.1 (2021), 133-148 (p. 134).

¹⁰² Walter Lombardi, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Brochure.

¹⁰³ De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 40.

expert who must know how to appeal to different categories of people'.¹⁰⁴ The indication of the genre – here specifically the 'western', 'science fiction', 'romantic comedies' and 'passionate dramas' – can be seen as a mediator between the printed materials of *La dolce vita* and the outcome of the poster design.¹⁰⁵ Of the various posters that apparently coexisted during the launching of the film, three repeatedly appeared in cinemas, which were often posted at the same time during the first launch phase.¹⁰⁶ The two best-known posters, by Giorgio Olivetti (Figure 5.11) and Alessandro Simeoni (Figure 5.9), offer an exemplification of the desire to combine an American-type, figurative impact with elements of national prestige, such as the name of Fellini and locations with a 'Roman' character. The choice – made by the Cineriz sales office – to favour the scene set at the Baths of Caracalla in the Olivetti poster (Figure 5.11) must also be interpreted in this sense, although the reference to the location is hard to trace. The allusion to the 'most famous street in the world', namely Via Veneto, which appears in Simeoni's poster (Figure 5.9), is barely made on a visual level; rather, it is reinforced by the texts.¹⁰⁷ Simeoni drew on the tradition of American mural painting, which had become known in Italy through magazines, while at the same recalling the dimension of the fresco as the leitmotif of the film's advertising campaign. The poster, with Fellini's name written in large letters, was aimed at combining popular graphics with stylistic features of the film, such as the 'clarity and flatness' of long shots with reduced depth.¹⁰⁸ Here the tones focussed on the revival of the aesthetics of 'movement and depthlessness, its combination of despair and buoyancy, the complexity of its relation to the real and the mediated'.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, a theme was evoked (Via Veneto), that had (and would have) wide interest in the press, in the conjuncture of glamour and crime news, stasis, nostalgia and an impetus for the future.

If the result of a reflection on the perspective of *La dolce vita's* director is evident in this approach, another poster made the attempt to establish a link with other audience categories explicit, as contemplated in the dialogue between the poster designer and the production. Olivetti's second poster (Figure 5.10; 5.12) portrayed Ekberg and Mastroianni surrounded by other female figures. In the exemplification of stereotypical poses, in terms of romance,

¹⁰⁴ Walter Lombardi, CSC.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ There is no mention here of posters put along the roads. To assess the importance attached to these just consider that the documents speak of a 'fight for obtaining good positions for the "24 fogli" posters' which were put up for two months. CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, PLN.

¹⁰⁷ Fellini said the following of *La dolce vita*: 'It should be shown all at once in one gigantic shot, with the characters in the fresco moving, undressing, attacking each other ferociously, dancing, drinking as if they were waiting for something. What are they waiting for? Who knows?' Minuz, *Political Fellini*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁸ Here, too, there is a clear connection with American-style poster design, with a style that went beyond mere figurative similarities with overseas actors.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Dyer, *La dolce vita* (London: BFI, 2020), p. 31.

passion, drama and mystery, the illustrative tone returned to figurative elements closer to the popular practices initially connected with suburban cinemas. Thus, on the one hand, the posters continued with the attractiveness of the 'sexual licence among the rich and respectable', to quote Richard Dyer, and of different viewing perspectives;¹¹⁰ on the other hand, they followed the usual narrative structures, setting the film back on the track of wide circulation, low-cost publishing. As pointed out earlier, this process fell within well-established practices, but it found a special resonance in *La dolce vita*. This happened not only by virtue of the 'media power of Angelo Rizzoli', but also by virtue of the advertising efforts of Cineriz which were said to be incomparable to that of other films.¹¹¹



Figure 5.12 Cinema with posters of *La dolce vita* (1960). Courtesy of Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale.

Lombardi's article also notes how the new tendency privileged "'real-life" posters: namely, with actors and actresses no longer drawn but photographed, in various poses'.¹¹² The ideas that were proposed for 'curious and unknown tricks' aimed at compensating for the actors' imperfections, mixing 'legs' and 'low necklines', do not seem to be among the graphic problems

¹¹⁰ Dyer, *La dolce vita*, p. 27.

¹¹¹ Corsi, Nicoli, and Venturini, 'Fellini the Founder?', p. 136.

¹¹² Walter Lombardi, press cut, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Brochure.

of publicity for *La dolce vita*.¹¹³ Significant in this sense was the poster that opened the sequence of the lobby cards in the posting spaces. The photomontage of faces and stills in the two versions creates a kaleidoscope effect through which the images seem to come together without any hierarchy or narrative order. Although the striking expressions may seem stereotypical, the mixing of planes and perspectives and the effect of randomness means that 'stars and ordinary people come increasingly to resemble one another', reflecting 'the heady mixture of the glamorous and the sordid'.¹¹⁴ Hence, it is not surprising that the car with women's legs and heels peeking out – a recurring image in the magazine ads – is put next to the false miracle girl. As we shall see, these are images that will be used in the periodical press to achieve a more defined target identification.

The diversification of the visual materials seems to serve the purpose of activating that 'bait for the memory' that is able to combine an archaic figurativeness with new rituals.¹¹⁵ The application of the four-colour process to the stills of a black and white film was a well-established practice, which was coherent with the spectacular forms inherent in traditional cinema advertising,¹¹⁶ and it was in line with the covers and advertising of weekly magazines as well as postcards, advertising cards and ex-votos. In *La dolce vita*'s lobby card dedicated to the Steiner family's suicide-murder (Figure 5.13), one of the most controversial episodes in the eyes of Rizzoli,¹¹⁷ the image of Steiner embracing his son in the foreground is placed as a backdrop that opens on to the hall's vanishing point. Here the attenuation of the tragic dimension, due to the pleasant graphic structure and colour selection, acquires relevance in comparison with the dramatic still published in *Oggi* in a photo essay (See chapter 5). In the lobby card of the party sequence in the Fregene beach house, the changing of perspectives and proportions and the loss of points of reference, which were deeply rooted in the popular press, become more evident (Figure 5.14). The grouping together of the figures accentuates how it 'refuses decorum and harmony, challenges received wisdom about what is proper'.¹¹⁸ In particular, it overturns the canons of the high society houses that were familiar to weekly magazine readers, by virtue of the countless reports published in *Oggi* and other illustrated magazines. One may suggest a

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Sarah Patricia Hill, 'Review of The Montesi Scandal: The Death of Wilma Montesi and the Birth of the Paparazzi in Fellini's Rome, by Karen Pinkus', *Italica*, 82.2 (2005), 263 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/27669011>> [accessed 01 March 2020].

¹¹⁵ Gian Piero Brunetta, 'Accendere i sogni: I colori del piccolo incendiario fiorentino', in *Il cinema nei manifesti di Silvano Campeggi Nano 1945-1969*, ed. by Gian Piero Brunetta and others (Firenze: Giunti Opus Libri, 1988), pp. 16-21 (p. 17).

¹¹⁶ For an in-depth analysis of the use of colours in posters see: Stephen Gundle and Clino Trini Castelli, *The Glamour System* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

¹¹⁷ Rizzoli attributed the responsibility for this episode to Ennio Flaiano.

¹¹⁸ Richard Dyer, *Pastiche* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 18.

continuity with works that drew on these reportages, such as the collage Richard Hamilton presented at the famous 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition, which offered 'a sort of funfair vision of the future where sensual perception was stimulated and confused and images culled from a range of sources formed an iconography for the modern world'.¹¹⁹ The fine line between accessibility and incomprehensibility of these graphic materials combined 'irony and pastiche', reflecting a 'deployment of new vehicles of visual seduction by adapting old codes to contemporary conditions'.¹²⁰



Figure 5.13 Lobby card of La dolce vita (1960).



Figure 5.14 Lobby card of La dolce vita (1960).

As can be seen from the posters, part of the emphasis was placed on *La dolce vita's* (and therefore Fellini's) ability to 'lay bare' the mysteries of 'our age', offering unprecedented perspectives on the behaviour of the elites in recent news (Figure 5.8). The advertising stressed the excesses of high society even for films of completely different prospects, such as *Venere imperiale*, released in 1962 after lengthy negotiations between Rizzoli and the lead actress, Gina Lollobrigida. In recalling the exploits of Pauline Bonaparte, the advertising materials focused – as we will see later – on the erotic aspects, and in particular on the 'pagan, unbridled, openly voluptuous' side that was inherent in 'her way of life'.¹²¹ The melodramatic tones and the Napoleonic setting gave rise to sensationalist disputes mainly concerned with low necklines and shots of the actress's body. While co-star Stephen Boyle had accused the film of using sex to the point of becoming a 'crippled art' devoid of 'any sense of morals' and completely unsuitable for American audiences, some images were considered too daring even for

¹¹⁹ "'Just What Was It That Made Yesterday's Homes so Different, so Appealing? (Upgrade)", Richard Hamilton, 2004, in *Tate, Art & Artists* <<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hamilton-just-what-was-it-that-made-yesterdays-homes-so-different-so-appealing-upgrade-p20271>> [accessed 13 January 2021].

¹²⁰ Gundle and Trini Castelli, *The Glamour System*, p. 83.

¹²¹ 'Il cast artistico e tecnico', *CSC, FC, Venere imperiale*.

audiences in Milan.¹²² The photograph in the selection of the lobby cards in which 'Lollobrigida appears naked from behind in Canova's studio' was in fact removed in Genoa and other cities and towns following the seizure of the image in Milan.¹²³



Figure 5.15 Venere imperiale (1962). Italian advertising campaign. On the left: Poster by Giorgio Olivetti. © Rizzoli Film/Webphoto.



Figure 5.16 Venere imperiale (1962). French advertising campaign. Poster by Charles Rau.

Overall, the Italian poster campaign of *Venere imperiale* showed some caution in exploiting the lead actress's décolleté (Figure 5.15; 5.16). In evoking the 'heroism of France in the Second Empire', the iconographic campaign was able to combine the style of popular illustration with the 'purity' of neoclassical references (Figure 5.15).¹²⁴ The justification of the spectacle in terms of art and period accuracy was one of the motifs that the press kit did not hesitate to emphasise, underlining the production's efforts to recover original furnishings and art from the period.¹²⁵ There was very likely a thread of continuity between the details of the posters and the countless articles in the weekly magazines dedicated to the actress's sumptuous villa in the Via Appia Antica. The focus on luxury extended beyond the confines of high society, arriving with 'spectacular decorations' at cinemas, 'perfume shops and hairdressers'.¹²⁶ The detailed description of the decorations in the shops, namely the 'large paintings with white and gold engraved frames and backgrounds with a burgundy red velvet passe-partout' were in line with

¹²² 'Stephen Boyd lamenta: "Solo Sesso"'. Pentito di aver interpretato *Venere imperiale*, 23 October [1962], CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*.

¹²³ Agenzia di Genova, Letter to Direzione Generale, 24 December 1962, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*.

¹²⁴ On the use of white, also in relation to a moral and aesthetic superiority, see also: Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

¹²⁵ According to Stringa the box office revenues totalled 749,876,000 lire. The box office revenues of *Vacanze a Ischia* and *La dolce vita*, instead, amounted to 736,413,592 and to 2,220,716,403 lire. Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, pp. 398-99.

¹²⁶ Gigi De Santis, 'Lanciamiento nazionale a carico del produttore', CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*.

the signs of 'monarchical and aristocratic distinction' that corresponded directly with the cover of *Oggi* (Figure 5.22).¹²⁷ Such references could not be separated from the celebration or scorn of worldly salons - 'French Louis XV and XVI furniture, large modern sofas, small needlepoint sofas' - in the periodicals, as we shall see.¹²⁸ Nor could they be separated from other publications, including the novel *The Red and the Black* by Stendhal (1830), which appeared in various contemporary editions during the 1950s (including in the economical Rizzoli BUR book series); in fact, the contrast between red and black was emphasised by the poster and the graphics of the insert in some Rizzoli periodicals.

The matter of colours appears to be mentioned in handwritten notes, which also show some sketches for the poster of *Venere imperiale*. It does not seem possible to accurately reconstruct De Santis's contributions toward a definition of the graphic materials for *La dolce vita* and *Venere imperiale*, but some letters from 1962 mentioned that the Cineriz advertising office dealt with 'sketches for the billboards, posters, montages for lobby cards, the advertising column'.¹²⁹ De Micheli's comparison between De Santis's graphic compositions and 'Mondrian's paintings and the ideas of the Divisionists, who greatly influenced art in the 1960s' helps to contextualise the graphic layout of the Cineriz lobby cards in the early 1960s.¹³⁰ A more complex graphic language, generally the prerogative of printed materials, was gradually extended to 'auteur' poster design.

The detachment from the illustrated compositions of the poster artists could be typified by the photomontage made for *8½* (Fellini, 1963), the genesis of which was revealed only recently. The latticework of the spaceship launch platform offers an abstract structure to which the images of the main actors are fixed (Figure 5.17). By toning down the eroticism that was so vividly associated with the figure of the auteur in the advertising materials for *Boccaccio 70* (Vittorio De Sica, Federico Fellini, Mario Monicelli and Luchino Visconti, 1962), the poster was inserted in the broader context of experimentation with new figurative strategies. In terms of the explorations of visual language, it was possible to consider a diversification of the communication strategy aimed at



Figure 5.17 Poster of *8½* (1963).
© Rizzoli Film/Webphoto.

¹²⁷ Fernando Ribaudó, Letter to Cineriz, 27 November 1962, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*; Gundle and Trini Castelli, *The Glamour System*, p. 83.

¹²⁸ Camilla Cederna, *Nostra Italia del miracolo* (Milano: Longanesi, 1980), p. 16. The section considered is dated 1957.

¹²⁹ Piano lancio nazionale, CSC, FC, *Boccaccio 70*.

¹³⁰ De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 41.

target audiences. The graphic concept had been attributed to an unknown Czechoslovak poster designer in order to obtain the approval of Fellini, who – according to De Micheli – was particularly sensitive to such matters.¹³¹ However, it was in reality created by De Santis, who had the idea of combining the evocative power in the nineteenth-century references of the ‘flowered number’ with the futuristic projections of metal latticework. In the mixture of thematic references, the poster offered a useful perspective on the imagery of *8 ½*, in relation to which it is worth mentioning Deleuze’s concept of the ‘Time-image’, ‘that is, [...] an image which is different from itself, which is virtual to itself, which is infused with past/future’,¹³² the degree of accessibility of the *8 ½* poster showed a considerable distance (or ‘distinction’) from the posters for *La dolce vita*.¹³³ The publicity terms of *8 ½* were presented in the press as being aimed at an audience that was presumed to have ‘grown up’ with the idea of cinema as a ‘new way of looking at reality’.¹³⁴ In the management of materials for the press, the fluctuation between educational tones and the exploration of new ‘psychological’ and ‘socio-cultural needs’ is even more evident, in which the agents of the Rizzoli system – from the publisher to the circle of authors and the editorial and advertising structures – were involved to differing degrees.¹³⁵

4.3 Cineriz and Rizzoli Editore: Pressbooks, Magazine Advertising and Press Reviews



Figure 5.18 Pressbook of *Femmine di lusso* (1960), CdRcs.

The guests on Commendator Lementi’s yacht in the film *Femmine di lusso* (Giorgio Bianchi, 1960) keep up to date with current events during the crossing that takes them from Ischia to Taormina by browsing through the pages of the weekly *Oggi* (Figure 5.18). The group comprises male and female professionals from different backgrounds, including a journalist and an opera singer, while a photographer and a model were invited onboard

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

¹³² Christopher Vitale, ‘Guide to Reading Deleuze’s Cinema II: The Time-Image, Part I: Towards a Direct Imaging of Time to Crystal-Images’, in *Networkologies*, 2011 <<https://networkologies.wordpress.com/2011/04/29/tips-for-reading-deleuzes-cinema-ii-the-time-image-towards-a-direct-imaging-of-time/>> [accessed 14 January 2021].

¹³³ The box office revenues of *8 ½* totalled 749.099.000 lire. Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 399.

¹³⁴ ‘Una nuova tappa nel cinema’, CSC, FC, L’anno scorso a Marienbad; Mariagrazia Fanchi, ‘Le trasformazioni del consumo cinematografico’, in *Storia del cinema italiano, X: 1960-1964*, ed. by Giorgio De Vincenti (2003), pp. 344-57 (p. 348).

¹³⁵ Filak, ‘Uses and Gratifications of Magazines’.

to shoot a commercial. In what Rizzoli conceived of as a B movie (the Serena Film production brand is proof of this),¹³⁶ the eroticism and economic well-being implicit in the title are placed alongside ideas of cultural relevance. Opera, sports and cinema are valuable elements of a new social mobility and help facilitate the 'sense of participation in a community of taste'.¹³⁷ Among other films, the butler mentions *La dolce vita*, in particular, without this appearing excessively in contrast with the 'social optimism' or the 'bourgeois and worldly taste' of *Femmine di Lusso*.¹³⁸ The watching and the quoting of the film seem to 'fulfil a function', serving as a cross reference – knowledge that is useful for the interaction between characters from different social backgrounds.¹³⁹



Figure 5.19 Magazine ad for *La dolce vita*, Oggi, 21 January 1960, p. 30.

This function, or rather, the various functions associated with the film emerge from the set of press materials produced by Cineriz for *La dolce vita*. It is a relationship that expanded over time, from the selection of magazine ads to pressbooks, namely 'a variety of texts ranging from simple handwritten notes to elegant paperbacks, from flyers to richly illustrated brochures'.¹⁴⁰ The examination of these materials falls within the analysis of 'the producer's perspective', 'which takes into account the factors of success of the film product and of similar products it is inspired by, the world in which these were communicated, and the social discourses to which they have

given rise: in other words, it is an already mediated point of view that offers itself to be newly mediated again'.¹⁴¹ This mediation was closely tied to the circulation of printed materials. Pressbooks and magazine ads were in fact prepared in parallel with the cataloguing of the press review in periodicals. The whole of the materials collected and studied by the advertising office,

¹³⁶ Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 562.

¹³⁷ Gundle, "We Have Everything to Learn from the Americans", p. 57.

¹³⁸ Bourdieu, *La distinzione*, p. 304.

¹³⁹ It is also worth mentioning the parodic version of the film produced by MB and Rire (Rizzoli) *Toto, Peppino e ...la dolce vita* (Sergio Corbucci, 1961), which also allowed the reuse of *La dolce vita's* expensive set.

¹⁴⁰ Elena Mosconi, 'Le frange del film: invito all'analisi del Press-book', in *Press-book*, Quaderni della Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini (Roma: Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, 2004), pp. 11-21 (p. 11).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

which in turn served as the main source of information and images for the press, offers important evidence in this sense. The Rizzoli publications, in particular, benefited from an exclusive relationship with the Cineriz advertising office, a relationship that could be viewed – as we shall see – not only as an exchange, but also as an imposition.

This synergy cannot be attributed to a structured planning of the two dimensions of Rizzoli. The vertical organisation that was hypothesised in the introduction stumbled upon a field – that of publishing – whose dynamics could only be partially standardised by marketing strategies. If there was an epistolary correspondence between the two advertising offices in Rome and in Milan, this seemed to point toward a progressive delineation of the areas of competence. The splitting of roles, which was stipulated in the launch plans, did not exclude forms of mediation and exchange, which can be seen from the correspondence and the evidence. At the extreme ends of this relationship are the opinions of the critic Angelo Solmi and of Nicola Carraro, respectively the son-in-law and grandson of Angelo Rizzoli.¹⁴² Rizzoli's paternalistic stamp was especially evident in his relations with cinema, in Solmi's opinion: '[I]t was the editors of periodicals who offered to do so [use the magazines for promotional purposes], they knew that he would be pleased'.¹⁴³ The circle of personalities, film directors, journalists and editors extended into the network of relations that connected the Milanese and Roman offices. The points of contact of this network emerged in the kaleidoscope of articles and ads that accompanied the production of a film. At the opposite end of the spectrum is Carraro's opinion, regarding the last decade of Angelo Rizzoli's management and the different organisational structure of the two offices:

Rome was considered a place where money was lost and was not made to yield profits in a certain manner. We did not like to see this group of bunglers, of court jesters around the *Commenda*. He was so aware of it that he did not want any interference within this world [...] He had an absolute power in Rome that he no longer had in Milan. In Rome, the decisions were his alone.¹⁴⁴

'The commitments with individual actors for advertising lend themselves – in my opinion – to at least a couple of interpretations'.¹⁴⁵ Thus De Santis began the discussion with Franco Magli, the director of Cineriz, with regard to problems connected to the promotion of *Vacanze a Ischia*. Among other issues, he mentioned an article dedicated to Nadia Gray that *L'Europeo* had not published due to unspecified press issues.¹⁴⁶ The publication of advertisements was

¹⁴² The son of Giangerolamo Mimmo' Carraro (who worked at Rizzoli from 1942 to 1974) and of Pinuccia Rizzoli; Nicolo Carraro joined the firm in the October of 1962 when he was 19 years old and was assigned to the rotary printing department; he later became the assistant of the Editorial Director Enzo Biagi.

¹⁴³ Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 584.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

¹⁴⁵ Gigi De Santis, 'Compilazione cast Vacanze a Ischia', 2 November 1957, CSC, FC, Vacanze a Ischia.

¹⁴⁶ Gigi De Santis, Letter to Achille Marini, 23 January 1958, CSC, FC, Vacanze a Ischia.

covered by launch plans that provided for 'photo series and illustrative notes on the film, with biographical notes about the actors' and also 'full-page advertisements' for the Rizzoli weeklies.¹⁴⁷ This point would be changed in the plans for the films that came afterwards; promotion in the Rizzoli weeklies was placed under a separate item in which the more generic term 'advertisements of maximum importance' was used, specifying in the contracts with the cast that the promotion would take place as part of the 'advertising directly controlled by us'.¹⁴⁸ In some cases, the format was also specified, as in the case of *Venere imperiale* and *Boccaccio 70*: '[T]wo-column ads'.¹⁴⁹ If the files for *La dolce vita* sketch an outline of a procedure, under the management of De Santis, the broader whole of the documentation shows traces of the sphere of influence of the publisher and of the directors included in the Rizzoli canon.

The terms of the directly controlled advertising referred to the launch in the weeks before and during the showing of the film, but Cineriz's contacts with the press had been initiated in the earliest stages of *La dolce vita*'s production. It was De Santis who, on the basis of previous experiences, requested the presence of a photographer and an 'element that follows [the film] hour by hour'.¹⁵⁰ The press manager was supposedly instructed to send weekly 'photo news' and a foreign press bulletin to the Rizzoli Press Service.¹⁵¹ The presence of an in-house photographer – in this case Pierluigi Praturlon – allowed the advertising office to follow the production of images as it progressed, adapting it to the requests of the press:

Dear Pierluigi, I'm relying on my typewriter [Olivetti] once again to inform you that you need to cover your Leica lens so that it stops photographing [...]. So please use this – journalistically perfect – machine only for personal photo jobs. The stills and the other on-set photographs ['si gira'] that you will have to do for me must be in focus, spotless, firm and printed well. I'm telling you this because I've received some criticism on the material from abroad.¹⁵²

The pressure of editorial demands went along with the film's growing success, with magazines such as *Oggi* reporting on the shooting of the film, turning it into a source of wonder'.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ 'Piano di lancio per l'uscita del film *Vacanze a Ischia*', CSC, FC, *Vacanze a Ischia*.

¹⁴⁸ See among others 'Stralcio delle clausole pubblicitarie degli interpreti del film', CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*.

¹⁴⁹ 'Lanciamiento nazionale a carico del produttore', 10 February 1962, CSC, FC, *Boccaccio 70*.

¹⁵⁰ 'Throughout the film we must adopt an element that follows it hour by hour. This should obviously be someone who speaks different languages, who knows how to write for magazines, drafting a press bulletin on a weekly basis to be sent abroad via the Rizzoli Press Service; every week, the latter will also receive the latest news about the film itself'. Gigi De Santis, 'Promemoria per Magli', 20 February 1959 CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, *Corrispondenza varia e giudizi scrittori*.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Gigi De Santis, Letter to Pierluigi Praturlon, 4 June 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*.

¹⁵³ Dyer, *La dolce vita*, p. 54.

The copious correspondence connected with the images attests to the expectations and intense reactions of the press, in a vast documentation that differs in quantity and completeness from the remaining body of films analysed. Here Cineriz found itself satisfying the pressing and growing demand, rather than soliciting the circulation of images. Specific requests arrived from periodicals, including international magazines, for example related to images of the 'noblesse' in the scene at Bassano di Sutri castle.¹⁵⁴ *Herren Journal* asked for – together with full details on the film – images of the director, 'for example the difficulties Fellini encountered when he was about to start shooting'.¹⁵⁵ The authorial brand established itself increasingly with the film's success, as the Swedish critic Stig Björkman's letter for the magazine *Chaplin* demonstrates: he requested images of the director and of each episode.¹⁵⁶ There was an even more detailed description for a television broadcast by Südwestrundfunk dedicated to Federico Fellini, which showed the 'director Fellini while he worked (namely: the atmosphere in the filming studio; the director giving orders and directing the making of his film; rehearsals with actors and actresses; characteristic attitudes)'.¹⁵⁷ In some cases, the tone of the administrative correspondence reveals an unprecedented participation of insiders; one significant example is the request of the editor of the magazine *Il Divorzio*, which intensified the tone of the physical description of Ekberg dancing 'with her right leg naked'.¹⁵⁸

Sets of 60 to 70 images circulated among various publications with specific requests and discussions that reveal indications of marketing strategies:

I have seen what great publicity efforts have been made for the movie. Yet, I would like you to study, especially with Fellini, a way to hold back the publication of certain stills. You are saying that the surprise element is part of a movie's success – or of the intensity of this success. If the images circulating in the press become too many, the audience may end up reacting mildly to the climaxes of *La dolce vita*, as if they had "already seen" them. If it was up to me I would no longer include Christ the Labourer, the whole [fountain scene] with Anita, the attempted suicide, the dead Steiner and the last monster.¹⁵⁹

The most significant dispatches regard the Rizzoli magazines, for which there was no lack of editorial solicitation, especially in the early stages of shooting. This becomes evident from a

¹⁵⁴ Gigi De Santis, Letter to Consortium des Artes Publicitaires, 6 June 1959; L. Schroeder, Letter to Gigi De Santis, 28 November 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Estero.

¹⁵⁵ L. Schroeder, Letter to Gigi De Santis.

¹⁵⁶ Stig Björkman, Letter to Cineriz, 7 June 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Estero.

¹⁵⁷ Rudolf Gallus, Letter to Gigi De Santis, 20 May 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Estero.

¹⁵⁸ Angelo D'Alessio, Letter to Cineriz, 23 May 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Corrispondenza varia e giudizi scrittori.

¹⁵⁹ Lo Duca, Letter to Gigi De Santis, 2 March 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Francia.

letter De Santis sent to Solmi, which expressed the request underlying the sending of the images in explicit terms:

I am sending you exclusive photos of the first production stage of Fellini's film. The editor is aware of this initiative and would be keen on seeing a picture of the Mastroianni–Ekberg couple on the cover. I'm also attaching the film's artistic and technical cast, and a description of what Fellini aims to convey with this screenplay.¹⁶⁰

At the end of March 1959, the back cover of *Oggi* – which was dedicated to the beginning of the shooting of *La dolce vita* – confirmed the publication of one of the photographs that had been sent.¹⁶¹ In the opinion of Giovanna Bertelli, the image reveals the photographer's poor understanding of the 'spirit of the film'.¹⁶² However, the image fits within one of the paths followed by periodicals and posters (see the second Olivetti poster), within a pattern of ambiguity that was common to the communications continued by the press office. A communication system orchestrated by the director emerges from a range of interviews and articles published in the Rizzoli periodicals:¹⁶³

In addition to standing behind the camera, Fellini also drove the complex publicity machine, playing a game of hide and seek with the newspapers, in which he partly revealed and partly concealed the direct sources of the film [...] rather than simply denouncing a way of life, the inauthenticity is rendered though a formidable play of mirrors between reality, events reported in the news and fiction.¹⁶⁴



Figure 5.20 'The director Federico Fellini discussing some details about *La dolce vita* with the actor Marcello Mastroianni...', *Oggi*, 13 November 1958.

¹⁶⁰ Ufficio pubblicità Cineriz, Letter to Angelo Solmi, 17 March 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Rapporti con la stampa.

¹⁶¹ 'Anita Ekberg e Mastroianni hanno incominciato a vivere *La dolce vita* di Fellini', *Oggi*, 26 March 1959, back cover.

¹⁶² Giovanna Bertelli, *Divi e Paparazzi: la dolce vita Di Fellini* (Recco: Le mani, 2009).

¹⁶³ 'The impact of the audience is ultimately quite modest compared to the inputs of other more active members of the film art world such as directors, marketing executives and even film journalists who cooperate to bring such films and their categorizations into existence' Robert E. Kapsis, *Hitchcock: The Making of a Reputation* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 6.

¹⁶⁴ Minuz and Perryman, *Political Fellini*, p. 66.

The press review catalogued by the advertising office clearly outlines the terms of a promotional campaign that was created week by week, from the choice of actors to the reconstruction of the Via Veneto and the scenes chosen for dissemination (Figure 5.20). While *L'Europeo* showed the first negotiations between Fellini and Amato, *Oggi* focussed on the aspects considered most appropriate for its readers, such as the selection of the teenager who would play the 'face of hope' in the film, namely the young actress Valeria Ciangottini.¹⁶⁵ Ciangottini offered an essential foothold for bringing the content of the film back to *Oggi's* habitual narrative dimension. In March 1959, the film had become 'the most entertaining show of the Roman spring', and *L'Europeo* said that going to see Fellini was the latest fashion.¹⁶⁶ *Annabella* and *Novella* could go back to dealing with Ekberg's love life and linger over the 'cocktail parties' connected with the film. The images of the striptease at the villa in Fregene were associated with images of the Fellini-Masina couple, with the director being questioned about those who accused him of 'throwing away his wife and a billion lire'.¹⁶⁷ Among the many topics published, the common thread could be traced back to 'The Hard Work of a Film Director',¹⁶⁸ or rather to the director who was able to get an entire street to act, to 'Teach How to Love and Hate', and whose day lasted 12 working hours.¹⁶⁹ This image of artistic industriousness undoubtedly contrasted with the 'frivolous condition' of *La dolce vita* as it was portrayed in the brochure, although it was attenuated in the pressbook. The film 'that everyone wants to see', according to the launch slogans, was presented by Fellini in June 1959 as 'the most spectacular, the "biggest", the one that will have the greatest impact on the most varied audiences' among his films.¹⁷⁰ As part of the controversy following the release of *La dolce vita*, Fellini said in *Oggi* that he had made the film 'with a frank Christian tone' and that this is how it should have appeared 'to those who look at it without an hysterical, hypocritical approach [senza isterismi, senza sdegni ipocriti], with an unclouded eye'.¹⁷¹ This matter, which referred to a vast critical debate with clashes among Catholic critics, could not fail to take on importance in the world of *Oggi*, which entered this dispute following a well-defined line. The magazine moved forward in this vein by showing, in a photo story, 'the Protagonist of the Rugantino

¹⁶⁵ 'Roma. Peppino Amato insieme a Federico Fellini [...], *L'Europeo*, 23 November 1958; 'Fellini cerca un volto', *Oggi*, 8 October 1958, pp. [50]-51, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁶⁶ Nerio Minuzzo, 'La città quasi nuda', *L'Europeo*, 19 April 1959, pp. 24-29.

¹⁶⁷ Nerio Minuzzo, 'Interurbana con Mosca', *L'Europeo*, 23 August 1959, pp. 38-42.

¹⁶⁸ *Sogno* addresses the issue in this way: 'how many times looking at the posters we forget the name of the director'. M. S., 'Le fatiche di un regista', *Sogno*, 10 September 1959, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita; Federico Fellini, 'Ho insegnato ad amare e ad odiare', *Settimana Incom*, 19 September 1959, pp. 26-29.

¹⁶⁹ Anita Pensotti, 'Via Veneto reciterà per Fellini', *Oggi*, 13 November 1958, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁷⁰ Luigi Cavicchioli, 'Ricostruita tale e quale la Via Veneto della dolce vita', *Oggi*, 18 June 1959, [pp. 31-34], CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁷¹ Alfredo Ferruzza, 'La grande polemica sul film di Fellini', *Oggi*, 25 February 1960, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

Scandal on the Way to Christian Repentance'.¹⁷² At the same time, it was acceptable for Fellini to describe Ekberg as 'a friendly big animal [animalone]', 'a highly disciplined circus horse', willing to do anything in order to be included in an 'auteur' film.¹⁷³ By exploring the different perspectives on *La dolce vita* in the press review, which in turn can be traced back to an 'already familiar' media imagery, the parameters for the selection of images used for the magazine ads come to light.

With regard to the Rizzoli periodicals, the launch plan stipulated that the 'glossy photos' – the transparencies sent to the magazines for advertising – would appear in the weeklies 'before and during the showing of the film'. The one-column ad that had the silhouettes of Sylvia/Ekberg and Marcello/Mastroianni alternating with that of Fellini offered two main perspectives: that of *La dolce vita* as a 'grand, spectacular fresco' and as a 'dramatic and shocking document on contemporary life' (Figure 5.19).¹⁷⁴ The subsequent magazine ads explored these lines on an iconographic level, with Sylvia as the protagonist of the *Novella* ads, and Marcello with his father and the 'false miracle' selected for *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*. On 24 January 1960, *La dolce vita* was defined 'the film everyone is waiting for'; a week later it was touted as the 'film the whole world wants to see', after 'everyone has been talking about it' and 'many have written about it'.¹⁷⁵ Together with Fellini's silhouette, a common feature of the magazine ads is the image of the photographers, a *fil rouge* through which 'the activity of the media covering the event is incorporated into the presentation'.¹⁷⁶ The different targets are visible in terms of content, in a substantial uniformity in the graphics that is in line with part of the poster campaign.

The structure of the pressbooks reveals a clearer pecking order in the production and promotion system, as mentioned previously in relation to the use of the Rizzoli brand. The *Femmine di lusso* pressbook made it clear that the film would make 'our secret dreams' come true, here made explicit in the form of 'a billionaire cruise on a royal yacht with luxurious females' (Figure 5.18).¹⁷⁷ The term *di lusso* [luxurious] was also used in the brochure for *La dolce vita* (Figure 5.21), in the meaning of art brochures, leveraging on "'cultivated" rather than the "commercial" impulses in national culture to elaborate a distinctive identity'.¹⁷⁸ It would be

¹⁷² 'La protagonista dello scandalo del Rugantino sulla via del pentimento cristiano', *Oggi*, 3 March 1960, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁷³ Nerio Minuzzo, *La città quasi nuda*, p. 24, *L'Europeo*, 19 April 1959; Luigi Cavicchioli, 'Ricostruita tale e quale la Via Veneto della dolce vita', *Oggi*, 18 June 1959, [pp. 31-34], CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁷⁴ *Novella*, 10 January 1960; *Novella* and *Oggi*, 21 January 1960, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁷⁵ *L'Europeo*, 24 January 1960; *Oggi*, 28 January 1960; *Candido*, 31 January 1960; *Novella*, 31 January 1960 and 7 February 1960, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

¹⁷⁶ Dyer, *La dolce vita*, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Pressbook, CdRcs, *Femmine di Lusso*.

¹⁷⁸ CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Brochure; Gundle, "'We Have Everything to Learn from the Americans'", p. 62.

difficult to contextualise the figurative line of the brochure – which was separated from the rest of the campaign – without making reference to the contribution of the painter Fabrizio Clerici, Fellini’s friend and collaborator. Giving visual form to the ‘grand, dramatic fresco’ extolled by the launch slogans, Clerici’s illustrations accentuated the semantic emptying of the figures and forms set in a space without perspective depth. The theme of ruin, in the mix of classical and baroque references, was placed next to ‘the cinematic utterance that relies on the power of the semiotique to convey primal anxiety and desire’.¹⁷⁹ Hence, if the congruence with the presentation text was unexceptionable on a figurative level, from an advertising point of view the choice seemed extremely difficult, even in the references to a fashionable painter such as Giorgio De Chirico. The luxury brochure supported the attention to the film as the ‘work of a creative individuality, the director’, as is confirmed by the correspondence.¹⁸⁰

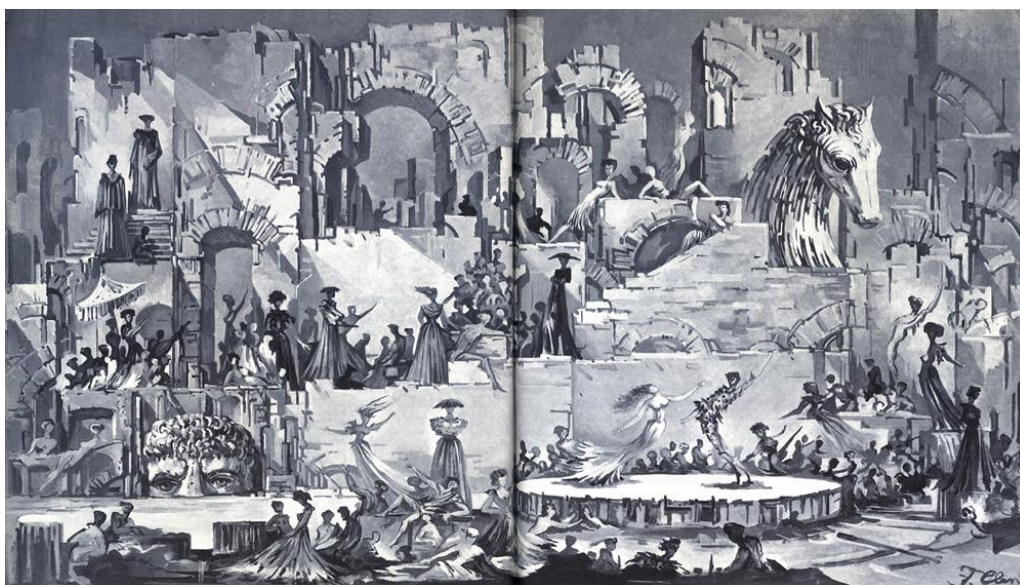


Figure 5.21 Brochure of *La dolce vita* (1960), artwork by Fabrizio Clerici, BLC.

In the letter in which De Santis provided Angelo Rizzoli with the latest corrections for the ‘LA DOLCE VITA brochure printed, so wonderfully, at his plant’, Fellini’s name is mentioned three times. As De Santis pointed out, the director had approved the texts regarding the presentation, the characters and actors, the biography and filmography of Fellini and the official cast.¹⁸¹ There were few corrections to be made, including the elimination of the name ‘FELLINI’ at the bottom of the explanatory note to the film, which now appeared as an

¹⁷⁹ Hava Aldouby, *Federico Fellini: Painting in Film, Painting on Film* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

¹⁸⁰ Morreale, *Cinema d’autore degli anni Sessanta*, p. 26.

¹⁸¹ Luigi De Santis, Letter to Angelo Rizzoli, 24 December 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Corrispondenza varia e giudizi scrittori.

impersonal critical comment.¹⁸² However, a correction was requested regarding Steiner's suicide, a problematic scene also for the producers, which Rizzoli had tried in various ways to have removed from the film.¹⁸³ Rather than minimising the event, the correction was aimed at clarifying the dynamics of the scene with a 'cruelly objective' tone (from 'Steiner killed himself with gas along with all his children' to 'Steiner committed suicide also killing his children'), focussing on one aspect – the killing of children – that was openly opposed by the producer.¹⁸⁴ The film's pressbook uses a more delicate tone, explaining Steiner's decision to take his children 'with him in death' as a consequence of his fear of life, and not as the 'mysterious slaughter of the family' referred to in the brochure.¹⁸⁵ The scene would appear in *Oggi's* photo story, though by tracing 'the most tragic weight of the environment encircling Marcello' back to the 'tragic emptiness of his existence'.¹⁸⁶ By exploiting the prestige of the name, the Cineriz and Rizzoli campaigns made a comparable use of the right to the authorial brand to 'reveal to their audiences the truth of the period in which they were living'.¹⁸⁷ Other kinds of mysteries and contradictions were cited in the pressbook of *Venere imperiale*, the woman who 'evoked the greatest number of conflicting emotions'.¹⁸⁸ She was interpreted by a world famous actress, Gina Lollobrigida, who had earned the title of diva thanks to a popularity that spanned 'from South Africa to Australia'.¹⁸⁹

'We owed you so much': thus Riccardo Ricas, the head of advertising for Rizzoli, concluded the list of notices for *Venere imperiale*, regularising the 'talks between your distinguished Mr. De Santis and our engineer Treccani'.¹⁹⁰ The agreements regarded seven Rizzoli periodicals, each of which was scheduled to have one or two ads coinciding with the release of the film (December 1961/January 1962); the agreement was for a total of 12 two- and three-column ads, as well as full-page ads. The document was signed by the Rizzoli advertising office, in the person of the office's director, Riccardo Ricas. The archival documentation does not make it clear whether sales deriving from the Cineriz ads were expected, but it was certainly in Ricas's interest to maintain good relations with the management, in the context of the advantageous

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ These are Solmi's words with regard to the episode: 'They wanted to cut the suicide [episode]. [Rizzoli] said "Can you believe that one?". 'They went cutting at night?' 'Yes they made a big fuss imposing themselves as the producers, as if they were lord and master, then Fellini incited the magazines, he threatened...Then when the film came out they didn't say: "We didn't agree to this"'. Stringa, *Il padrone sono me*, p. 487.

¹⁸⁴ 'Brochure', CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Pressbook.

¹⁸⁵ Pressbook, CdRcs, *La dolce vita*.

¹⁸⁶ '*La dolce vita*, Il film più geniale del cinema italiano', *Oggi*, 11 February 1960, pp. 32–35.

¹⁸⁷ Spinazzola, *Cinema e Pubblico*, p. 238.

¹⁸⁸ Jean Delannoy, 'Perché', in *Il cast artistico e tecnico*, p. 10, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*, Pressbook.

¹⁸⁹ 'Da Gina a Paolina', in *Il cast artistico e tecnico*, p. 27, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*, Pressbook.

¹⁹⁰ Riccardo Ricas, Letter to Cineriz, 27 December 1962, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*.

contract signed with Rizzoli.¹⁹¹ Without going into the complex issue of the production and promotion of *Venere imperiale*, it is interesting here to note the significant presence of the advertising materials planned for the film's release. Not so much for the one- or two-column ads, in the variations of the Lollobrigida silhouette, but rather for the full-page ads, the articles and the covers that follow the film's production stages. Rizzoli's secretary Annamaria Jona noted how 'lots of advertising; many, many pages, many posters' appeared in the Rizzoli periodicals, but that it was 'real advertising'.¹⁹² Indeed, in her opinion, Rizzoli was not made for 'these things', namely, indirect advertising through photographic reports and articles.¹⁹³ Apart from the formal agreements, the dialogue between Cineriz and Rizzoli seems to extend beyond the boundaries of advertisements to include cover pages and the photo story in *Oggi*. In the case of *Venere imperiale*, this is attested by some handwritten notes on a Cineriz envelope, possibly notes from a telephone conversation or a meeting: 'Novella - cover immediately' and 'Oggi - Double-page spread [paginone] /Cover already done with [no.] 48'.¹⁹⁴ By contrast, only very sporadic traces remain of the dialogue with Rizzoli journalists, included in the glamour circuit of the premieres and events.

It is difficult to reconcile the texts for the pressbook of *Venere imperiale* with the scale of the investments and the 'universal vocation' of the 'most colossal film of the season'.¹⁹⁵ The description of Paolina Bonaparte as a woman 'beautiful to the point of making a short-sighted man turn around in the middle of the night', dedicated to sensual pleasures, to 'an easy, rich life, which amazes her for an instant, but soon conquers her completely', appears understandable in the hypothesis of specific targets, such as some popular women's magazines.¹⁹⁶ In this sense, the synopsis of the magazine *Terra e vita* takes a slightly different position, as this quote demonstrates: '[D]e Canouville returns to the scene: the two are in Paris and Napoleon sends the officer to Spain to put an end to the scandal, but he returns to reach his beloved'.¹⁹⁷ It is also worth mentioning a review published in *Corriere della Sera* and preserved at Rizzoli's archive.¹⁹⁸ While noting the magnificence of the decors and of the main

¹⁹¹ The advertising profits increased by 30/40 per cent every year, and Ricas was initially paid according to the profits made, in addition to receiving a fixed salary. Mazzuca, *La erre verde*, p. 225.

¹⁹² Stringa, 'Il padrone sono me', p. 543.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*.

¹⁹⁵ Other than cardboard cut-outs in bars and shops, the promotion of the film also included loudspeaker announcements in stadiums.

¹⁹⁶ The contents of the pressbook appear to be cited in press cuttings held in the RCS archives, such as 'Le turbinose avventure della sorella di Napoleone', CdRcs, *Venere imperiale*.

¹⁹⁷ N.M.L., 'Venere imperiale', *Terra e Vita*, 24 January 1963, CdRcs, *Venere imperiale*. It was a technical magazine created in the 1960's and published by Rizzoli in its first years of existence.

¹⁹⁸ G[uliano] Gr[amigna], 'Venere imperiale. La strada a spirale', *Corriere della Sera*, 23 December 1962, CdRcs, *Venere imperiale*.

actress, the article mentions some ironic hints of the screenwriters and the 'modern nuances in the story of this woman',¹⁹⁹ which in effect presented points of contact with that of the new social climbers and socialites depicted by Oriana Fallaci and Camilla Cederna.

The materials presenting Gina Lollobrigida in *Venere imperiale* appear as more in line with the weekly magazine's narratives, which reported on the contractual issues, negotiations and disputes of the actress with Angelo Rizzoli: 'A big party on Rizzoli's yacht has officially



Figure 5.22 'Gina interprets Paolina with such enthusiasm ...', Oggi, 21 June 1962, cover.

confirmed the reconciliation between the film producer and Gina'.²⁰⁰ The glamour of Lollobrigida outclassed the romantic approach of the pressbook, replacing the making of the film in the context of the activities of the actress, who was immortalised in various photo shoots as an entrepreneur of herself. The parties in Cannes, the attention to the 'lavish costumes and splendid jewels' and the museum furnishings of the neoclassical era were all part of the extensive publicity granted to the actress's clothes and residences.²⁰¹ While defining Lollobrigida as a 'sacred monster' who survived the 'end of stardom',²⁰² the pressbook insisted on her dedication to work, her professionalism and punctuality:²⁰³ 'Gina interprets "Pauline" with so

much enthusiasm and zeal that she is at risk of losing weight' (Figure 5.22).²⁰⁴ This approach was contested by Gina herself during an interview with Fallaci, in which she lamented the fact that she was praised only for the efforts she put into her work, and not for her acting skills. The *L'Europeo* journalist, who had written that she wished to 'give [no] more publicity to this lady',²⁰⁵ declared herself intrigued by the 'Lollo' phenomenon when she interviewed her at the time of the release of *Venere imperiale*: 'With this story of good mother, good wife, good woman you

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ 'Finale a Cannes', *Novella*, 25 May 1961, CSC, FC, RS *Venere imperiale*.

²⁰¹ 'Gina e il produttore Rizzoli a Cannes', *Bella*, 28 May 1961, p. 13; 'La battaglia delle feste a Cannes', *Settimana Incom*, 21 May 1961, CSC, FC, RS *Venere imperiale*.

²⁰² 'Da Gina a Paolina', in *Il cast artistico e tecnico*, p. 31, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*, Pressbook.

²⁰³ 'Gina, diva antidiva', in *Il cast artistico e tecnico*, p. 19, CSC, FC, *Venere imperiale*, Pressbook.

²⁰⁴ 'Gina interpreta Paolina con tanto entusiasmo e zelo che rischia di dimagrire', *Oggi*, 21 June 1962, cover.

²⁰⁵ Oriana Fallaci, 'Lollobrigida', Archivio Edoardo Perazzi.

know better than me: you have become a kind of national symbol. The homeland, the Church, the flag'.²⁰⁶

Positions such as those of Fallaci, who was allowed to be ironic about Fellini, were part of Rizzoli's press coverage, and responded to what was seen as the 'unscrupulous' readership of *L'Europeo* (See chapter 2).²⁰⁷ This was an audience that, in the second half of the decade, was identified as the privileged interlocutor of film promotion, to judge by the large number of articles and ads appearing in the magazine. In the years taken into consideration, however, 'auteur' film imagery was appearing across the wide range of Rizzoli periodicals, following a strategic decision that was endorsed by the publisher himself. This could also happen with explicit interventions by Rizzoli, like in the *8 1/2* campaign, where an article written for an external magazine (*Il Tempo*, 15 February 1963) appeared as an advertising page in 'his' magazines.²⁰⁸ The author, Gian Luigi Rondi, explained the singular appearance of the article by referring to Angelo Rizzoli's words in these terms:

I, of that film, have hardly understood a thing, but reading what you wrote, I found some explanation. So I gave instructions to all my magazines to publish your critique with great prominence. Poets are fine, but you also need someone to explain them and since you explained them to me, the audience will now understand them too [...] At least a little more.²⁰⁹

Interestingly, the detailed article also included some information about *8 1/2*' characters and, among them, about 'The industrialist Guido Alberti, an active and colourful film producer, clearly copied from a well-known model', namely Rizzoli himself.²¹⁰ Much more synthetic were the promotional materials for the film preserved at Cineriz. These embraced Fellini's approach in presenting Guido as deeply 'human' in being afflicted by the 'crisis of every man'.²¹¹ The ads avoided using images while opting for a black and white text that stated: 'This film is about you, your life, your family, your work, your doubts, your dreams'.²¹² The poster and advertising materials openly included the unconscious among the range of the needs and expectations of cinema-goers.

²⁰⁶ Oriana Fallaci, 'Ma che cos'è questa Lollo?', *L'Europeo*, 23 December 1962, p. 35.

²⁰⁷ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*.

²⁰⁸ Gian Luigi Rondi, 'Brunello, Federico ed io', in *8 1/2 raccontato dagli Archivi Rizzoli* (Roma: Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, 2008), pp. 5-6 (p. 6).

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ 'Fellini believed he had made a film about the "crisis of every man" and the importance of learning to accept the chaotic flow of existence ...not that he imagined it was a popular film, surely not, but nothing could have been further from his intentions than the meta art, or the open ended opus theorized by Umberto Eco at the time'. Minuz, *Political Fellini*, p. 25.

²¹² CSC, FC, *8 1/2*.

Conclusion

Advertising and marketing vocabulary pervaded, under the US influence, the lexicon of Italian cultural production between the 1950s and the 1960s. The spread of advertising practices also regarded the Rizzoli promotional materials that emphasised the extension of the family brand from the press by means of the investment in market research and survey. Cineriz was proudly included in this scenario, with more than 80 films produced and 350 distributed, culminating with the 'clamorous affirmation' of *La dolce vita*.²¹³ However, it would be inappropriate to define the two poles of the press and cinema as part of an integrated system in terms of administrative functions. Certainly, forms of interaction related to film advertising in magazines were considered and included in the launch plans. Requests from directors and actresses looking for promotional articles attest to a certain degree of expectation about a coherent and positive response from Rizzoli's magazines, *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* in particular. Whereas the active participation of the editorial staff, through the presence of journalists and photographers on set, was encouraged, the launch plans tended toward a definition of the spaces in which Cineriz advertising materials were due to be published. In practice, the connections between the two systems remained flexible and were influenced by different and sometimes unpredictable factors. This flexibility increased with personalities who were legitimised by their cultural or commercial prestige to enter the narrative systems of the weekly press. These 'brands' accessing the publishing system could benefit from a promotion that was developed across the range of magazines, entering the political and religious system of consent connected to Rizzoli's broadest readership. Or, to use the new lexicon of the Research Office in the Press advertising department, they would enter the system of readers who were organically organised on the basis of 'social class, level and type of culture, possess of consumer goods, buying power'.²¹⁴

The method of 'navigation by sight' – as defined by Cineriz director De Micheli – reflects the attempt of an empirical exploration of consumer needs.²¹⁵ If no market analysis or marketing studies appear to have been conducted, Cineriz could benefit from continuous feedback from local agents and foreign collaborators while carefully monitoring the periodical press. Recent studies have stressed the connections between 'auteur' cinema, luxury and exclusive events in Cineriz's strategies at the beginning of the 1960s.²¹⁶ This chapter has investigated the different approaches that were adopted in the attempt to reach a fluid and extended spectatorship in

²¹³ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, p. 70.

²¹⁶ Cantore and Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', pp. 47-66.

the crucial passage between the two decades. This attempt was particularly evident in the similarities between the promotion of *Vacanze a Ischia* and *La dolce vita*, where the distribution of free gifts and postcards coexisted with luxury brochures and exclusive events.²¹⁷ The attention to first-run cinema and to eye-catching decorations did not exclude attempts to reinforce the advertising of *La dolce vita* in second-run cinemas. According to the Genoa agency, the high cost of the film and the scarce interest in advertising could explain the 'wall of incomprehension' of these exhibitors [circuiti].²¹⁸ Likewise, the promotion of *Venere Imperiale* also followed a double track: from the spectacular decorations in movie theatres and shops via the perfume shops and hairdressers to the more cultured tone of the advertising for the press (among which *L'Europeo*), in which the original sculpture of Canova was represented graphically using a red and black contrast.

The analysis of the poster campaigns offers an overview of the 'multiple and conflicted identifications' that Rizzoli's companies were pursuing on the basis of similar strategies.²¹⁹ *Oggi* regularly updated its readership on the searches for nonprofessional actors for Fellini's and Antonioni's films together with the casting of international stars and periodical reports on the shooting. Not surprisingly, *Femmine di lusso* included the immaterial labour of reading *Oggi* and watching *La dolce vita* among the means that were functional to social interaction. These products were in fact crucial to the company's commercial and cultural reputation. This prestige allowed the Cineriz advertising office to extend the auteur's 'evolution of taste' and 'audacity of conceptions' to the promotional materials.²²⁰ With a declining role for once indispensable poster artists, in line with what De Micheli defined as 'innovation in all its forms', the poster campaigns conformed to the spread of 'cultivated' spectatorship.²²¹ This is demonstrated by the sophisticated graphics adopted for Fellini's *8 ½*, a film that Angelo Rizzoli still hoped would be understood by a wide audience thanks to the extensive and prolific support of his magazines.

²¹⁷ See for example: Gigi De Santis, 'Micromacchinette fotografiche film LA DOLCE VITA', 19 October 1959, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Varie.

²¹⁸ Giorgio Rocchi, Letter to Gigi De Santis, 'Reclame a rinforzo "Dolce Vita"', 2 April 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Varie.

²¹⁹ Schoonover, *Brutal Vision*, p. 77.

²²⁰ 'Una nuova tappa nel cinema', CSC, FC, L'anno scorso a Marienbad.

²²¹ De Micheli, *La mia dolce vita*, pp. 40-41.

CHAPTER 5: THE ARCHIVE AT THE CORE OF ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINES

Introduction

This chapter focusses on the photographic archive and on the circulation of images within publishing houses, in order to approach the question of cinematic imagery from the perspective of its materialisation in the form of prints and transparencies. Recent projects on editorial archives such as *Archivio La Notte* and *Daily Herald* have resulted in a proliferation of scholarship addressing the organisation of archival press photographs as a new object of inquiry.¹ The archival approach has helped to bring the institutional context into focus, as well as the cultural and technological conditions in which images were made.

In the post-war years, major publishing houses developed systems of recording and processing visual material derived from industrial practices and mechanised reproduction. In the period of maximum expansion of the rotogravure, the photographic collections acquired increasing importance for major international publishers, whose investment in the archive as a propulsive centre for the management of corporate information highlights the crucial role of documentation centres in the organisation and preservation of the corporate heritage. At Rizzoli and Mondadori, as at many other contemporary publishers, an excessive quantity of preserved materials became an obstacle to the imposition of a systematic archival structure. An analysis of conservation spaces thus reveals the utopia of 'the documentary impulse', associated with the possibilities of cinema and photographic reproduction.² Standardised drawers generated a homogenising scenario where thousands of folders were organised with an encyclopaedic approach. This chapter aims to investigate the visual archive as the overflowing brain of publishing houses, focussing on Rizzoli and on the circulation of photographic materials related to cinema, which will act as my case study.

The case of Rizzoli is emblematic, due to the importance acquired by the publisher within the Italian media system and by the space attributed to the archives inside his companies. The amount of visual materials, their creation and reuse can be seen as evidence of their

¹ Collezione Archivio fotografico "La Notte" <<https://www.apice.unimi.it/collezioni/archivio-fotografico-la-notte>> [accessed 1 July 2020]; Jane McArthur (University of Edinburgh and Imperial War Museum) and Rebecca Smith (PHRC and National Science and Media Museum), 'Image, Caption and the Red Pencil: Two material readings of archival press photographs', lecture given at the Photographic History Research Centre, De Montfort University, Leicester, 18 June 2018.

² Mitman and Wilder, 'Introduction', in *Documenting the World*. Ebook.

institutional relevance. While considering the broader concept of provenance in archival studies, the creator history – or the story of the person or organisation that created, accumulated, and used the records over time – acquires a crucial relevance in the interpretation of archival materials.³ In the context of periodical studies, the editorial archive has only recently been approached from an organisational point of view.⁴ The relatively marginal position of the archival discipline entails the risk of a lack of interdisciplinarity when addressing such matters.⁵

Recent developments in archival theory have led to an emphasis being placed on the concept of the ecosystem in relation to images, as well as to the various material factors bearing on their circulation.⁶ In retracing the parallel and multiple biographies of the photographic object, the image 'should be understood as belonging to a continuing process of production, exchange, usage and meaning', if analysed within the context of the 'material turn' in anthropology, as Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart have explained.⁷ Following the postmodernist and post-structuralist interrogation of archival truth, the functions of the archive and its records have been challenged as part of a constantly shifting process of



Figure 6.1 Cesare Zavattini and Oriana Fallaci (detail of a contact print, photo shoot of Evaristo Fusar for L'Europeo, September 1963), CdRcs. © L'Europeo RCS/Ph. Evaristo Fusar

recontextualisation. This is particularly evident in the number of reprints, whose history and meaning are defined by the material traces of reuse and editorial cuts. Within the circulation of prints, the uses of images are understood in the interconnections between different institutions and in the actions of actors over time.

The preservation of the photographic archive, as the fulcrum of Rizzoli's history, lies at the origin of institutional renewal

³ Michael Jones, 'Collections in the Expanded Field: Relationality and the Provenance of Artefacts and Archives', *Heritage*, 2.1 (2019), 884–97.

⁴ Laura Millar, 'The Death of the Fonds and the Resurrection of Provenance: Archival Context in Space and Time', *Archivaria*, 53 (2002), 1–15 (pp. 12–13).

⁵ Bridget Whearty, 'Invisible in "The Archive": Librarians, Archivists, and The Caswell Test', *English, General Literature, and Rhetoric Faculty Scholarship*, 4 (2018) <https://orb.binghamton.edu/english_fac/4> [accessed 1 December 2020].

⁶ Stylianou-Lambert, Theopisti, 'Photographic Ecosystems and Archives', *Photographies*, 12 (2019), 375–394.

⁷ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 'Introduction: Photographs as Objects', in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. by Edwards and Hart (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1–15 (p. 4).

after the Second World War. As it documents a wide-ranging immersion in visual culture, the huge quantity of archived materials prompts questions as to the publishers' methodological approach and interpretation. In the decades under consideration, both the major editorial offices and the archive were active participants in, and creators of different collections, as is demonstrated by marks and traces on the backs of photographs indicating how they were organised and used. A focus on Rizzoli's cinema section and its relevance reveals the impact of his parallel activity in cinema production on the archive, which I interpret here as a reflection of the company and of its practices. Placing the documents related to cinema in the wider context of Rizzoli's activities underscores the dynamics underlying the circulation of images and the construction of the central archive, especially its non-neutrality within editorial processes. Matthias Wittmann emphasises the complexity of the film archive as a place of refraction of collective glances, of a 're-membering gaze' that cannot be separated from a continuous reassembly, by distorting the collected elements over time.⁸ If a record is 'always in a process of becoming', as Sue McKemmish has argued, some recurring patterns occur within the cinema section during the period considered.⁹ Studying the acquisition of, and access to, visual materials helps us understand the intellectual organisation of the archive in the period analysed and, in particular, offers answers to the following questions: which materials were effectively circulating in the editorial offices? How can we interpret the stamps and inscriptions that offer some evidence of hidden intermediaries and the labour process of image selection? Did they impact on the creation of a certain kind of filmic knowledge? How did the constitution of a central archive affect the circulation of filmic images or, to quote Sekula, to act as a means 'to legitimate and normalise existing power relationships'?¹⁰ How does the organisation of the archive change the meanings and reuse of filmic records? Starting from the visible traces on the archival prints, I will consider these questions in the broader context of the creation and circulation of the filmic imagery, by analysing the prints' trajectories from the photographic agencies and the Rizzoli production company to the editorial offices and to centralised archives.

After discussing documentation centres and editorial archives in a broader historical context, this chapter focusses on the organisation of the space and the cataloguing system at Rizzoli as an example of the conceptual dimension attributed to the archive from 1950 to 1965.

⁸ Matthias Wittmann, 'Inside the Memory: Re-Membering the Archive with Bergson, Freud and Peirce', in *L'archivio: FilmForum 2011: XVIII Convegno internazionale di studi sul cinema*, ed. by Alessandro Bordina, Sonia Campanini, and Andrea Mariani (Udine: Forum Edizioni, 2012), pp. 19–27 (p. 17).

⁹ Sue McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', *Archival Science*, 1.4 (2001), 333–59 (p. 335).

¹⁰ Allan Sekula, 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in *The Photography Reader*, ed. by Liz Wells (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 443–52 (p. 443).

As a centre of collection, ordering and preservation, the archive takes on a pivotal editorial role as it is in charge of the management of internal paths for selecting and delivering content. Hence, the second section of the chapter examines the contexts of cultural production, especially the dynamics between different individual creative areas and the negotiation between external control and autonomy. Finally, the last section considers the archival unit and the film files in order to specifically probe the circulation of prints and the processes of consolidation or disappearance of the image.

5.1 At the Origins of the Archive: The Publishing World and Image Management

The self-conscious modernity of the illustrated press went hand in hand with heritage and preservation. A presentation leaflet from the Time-Life's editorial archive gives an exhaustive overview of the transformation taking place: 'In 1929 the archive was carried by a delivery man with a vehicle. In 1946 it took a whole week to move the entire archive to a larger location, with a team of porters working night and day'.¹¹ While the material effect of technological reproducibility was becoming visible in these deposits, in the field of archival studies the application of universal categories based on fixed systems of classification that derived from the eighteenth-century approach was openly called into question. It is worth taking a look at the development of the archival discipline, which will help to contextualise the role of corporate archives. The International Congress of Archivists and Librarians held in Bruxelles in 1910 recognised the historical method as the only scientifically acceptable approach to the organisation of documentation, shifting the focus from universal categories to the activities and functions of the corporate body. The documentation that had been preserved was interpreted as a reflection of the institution and historically understandable only within its dynamics of production. While addressing the topic of the private archives, in the absence of norms for these archives, the debate mainly concerned the public sector. Despite the lack of information on the management of documentation at private publishers like Rizzoli, the available sources show a growing awareness of the need to organise archival materials. The investment in the archives found legitimacy in the need to reuse information on an industrial level, a function that can be found in the systematisation of archival procedures in relevant international models like Time-Life:

¹¹ 'Opuscolo ORGANIZZAZIONE "TIME INC."', [1962], AME, Sezione Arnoldo Mondadori, il Saggiatore carteggio 1934-1976. The brochure specifies that 'Time's consultation offices, more commonly referred to as an "archive"', contain 400,000 files with all kinds of information, 35,000 volumes and 400 magazine collections.

The work of the archives, however, would be extremely difficult if the archive were left to grow uncontrolled. To keep it efficient, it is necessary to constantly liberate it from the superfluous. For example, if 700 names are added to biographical records every year, an equal number of records, the subject of which is no longer topical or of interest, is eliminated/deleted.¹²

A common background, or 'unifying sense of purpose',¹³ can be found in the major publishing archives and, crucially, in the organisation of visual materials. The reality of the expanding publishing system, which was marked by tensions between cultural ambitions and commercial needs, fully entered the contradictions of what has been described – to cite Mitman and Wilder – as the utopian belief 'in the capacity of photography and film to visually capture the world'.¹⁴



Figure 6.2 Primo Carnera at the editorial office of *Il Secolo Illustrato*, CdRcs.

The search for a symbolic reading and for a possible metaphorical association of images permeates significant segments of illustrated periodicals throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and also the production of Rizzoli and Mondadori. This dimension finds many points of contact with filmic imagery, which also occupies an important space in the context of the archive. It is therefore necessary to question the functions of the archive, in relation to its organisation and internal accessibility, but also in relation to the survival of this visual heritage in the transition to the post-war period: is there a tradition within which filmic imagery in Rizzoli has to be

¹² 'Opuscolo ORGANIZZAZIONE "TIME INC."'

¹³ Mitman and Wilder, 'Introduction', in *Documenting the World*. Ebook.

¹⁴ Ibid.

contextualised? Is there any interaction between the formation of these publishers' archives, filmic knowledge and systems of image cataloguing and selection? Is there a context that helps us to identify and decode parallel practices adopted in editorial archives, state archives and emerging cultural institutions, such as film libraries?

The oldest prints found at Rizzoli and Mondadori show that a system of organisation of the images was in place from the 1920s onwards. The existence of this system of classification emerges from the inscriptions on the back of the photographic prints, which act as evidence of the provenance and of the 'documentality' of the object.¹⁵ Alphabetically organised by subject and by name, photographs were seen as crucial in connecting different editorial activities. Despite the lack of documents relating to the archival situation at Rizzoli in the 1920s and 1930s, the sources seem to agree on the presence of archival files inside the editorial offices. One of the rare images depicting a corporate space shows the interior of the editorial office of the magazine *Il Secolo Illustrato* in the early 1930s (Figure 6.2). The photograph, taken on the occasion of the visit of the boxing champion Primo Carnera, highlights the function of the office in the mediation between stars and their readership. In the oblique gaze of the employees, the focus of the action is directed toward the photographic print on which Carnera is signing an autograph. The characters, instead of focussing on corporate tasks, act as witnesses to the process underway, or testify to the authenticity and originality of the photographic document. This is demonstrated by the casual manner of the delivery boy, whose uniform advertises the company's magazines, and the gaze of the clerk who – despite being in a secondary position – seems to play a role in the action. The space reveals an excess of objects – including a box in the foreground containing plates or archival inventory cards, stamps and magazines – and photographic prints lying everywhere. The prints on the wall, covers or back cover of a different format of *Il Secolo*, mainly display images with portraits of actresses or stage photographs, including a cover entitled 'A murder in Hollywood' which is immediately visible. No archival files are visible, but the photographic prints, the stamps and the archive box suggest that the newly-validated document is intended for conservation, albeit in a poorly structured context. The prints relating to the periodical, bearing the stamp of *Il Secolo Illustrato* on the back, demonstrate that an archival organisation had been in place since the 1920s, together with the concept of a centralised archive, as evidenced by the stamp 'Rizzoli & C. Archive'. The prints prove that the archive was divided into sections, as with the stamps indicating the series ('Il

¹⁵ Tiziana Serena, 'The Words of the Photo Archive', in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, 2011, pp. 57–71 (pp. 57–59).

Secolo Illustrato'), the sub-series ('Teatro Stabile') and the location ('Casellario 4').¹⁶ However, this classification system seems to have disappeared in the following years. Editorial comments, including captions, graphic indications and publication data, frequently appear in cinematographic prints during the 1930s, but archival indications become more sporadic, reduced to an underlining of the film's title or the characters represented and stamps with entry dates.

The ritualisation of the signature within the editorial office leads to a reflection on the creation of the records. At the same time, the authentication of the document changes its value within a network of multiple originals. Whereas the signature on the front certifies the value of a collective icon for contemporary users, the signs on the back of other prints contribute to broaden the layers of contextual metadata on these documents. The archival indications suggest a certain level of authorship in the selection process, which involves editorial directors, as confirmed by the initials of the directors Cesare Zavattini and Mario Buzzichini.¹⁷ The notes on the prints reveal a dynamic context, with diversified actions taking place in a continuous process of recontextualisation. In the case of Rizzoli, as we will see later, the circulation and reuse of photographic prints connected to cinema has to be seen as lying at the core of the founder's business activity. Zavattini's signature marks the connection between different institutions and opens up a wider reflection on the relationship between picture research and filmic imagery.

Collaborators such as Zavattini, acting as knowledge brokers between different publishers and film production, undoubtedly influenced the approach to archival images. A photograph in the Mondadori archives shows the editorial office of *Il Milione* (1939) depicting what, at first sight, appears to be a working environment rather different from the previous one (Figure 6.3).¹⁸ The image focusses on the austere atmosphere of the editorial office, in which a male figure is portrayed in the act of dictating a letter to a woman sitting on the side. The act of drafting a document is placed in a context reflecting the widespread iconography of a managerial office in the 1930s. The presence of stamps on the reverse of the photograph provides evidence not only for the reuse of the print on an editorial level, but also for the archival passages, from envelope 66 of the cinema section to envelope 3004 in the reorganisation of the archive. These passages reveal a significant increase in size of the folder in which the document

¹⁶ The stamps mentioned here are reported on the backs of photographic prints that are preserved in the file CdRcs, Marta Abba.

¹⁷ On Zavattini's editorial activity at Rizzoli see Pelizzari, 'Facts and Fantasies'.

¹⁸ 'Teatro in redazione', *Il Milione*, 16 March 1939. The magazine *Le Grandi Firme*, whose relaunch plan was orchestrated by Zavattini in 1937, was renamed *Il Milione* in October 1938.

is contained, a change that does not match the first reading of the image. A second reading reveals the presence of two personalities belonging to the world of the spectacle, Giuditta Rissone and her husband Vittorio De Sica, who met Zavattini that same year. The inscriptions on the back of the document confirm this, while highlighting some changes, such as the quantitative expansion of the cinema section and the re-assignment of the print from 'cinema' to 'personality', hence in a wider and more accessible section. These passages, without which De Sica's print would probably not have emerged, 'retrospectively affect' earlier meanings of the image, whose function and reuse is connected to the acquired status of the actor/director.¹⁹

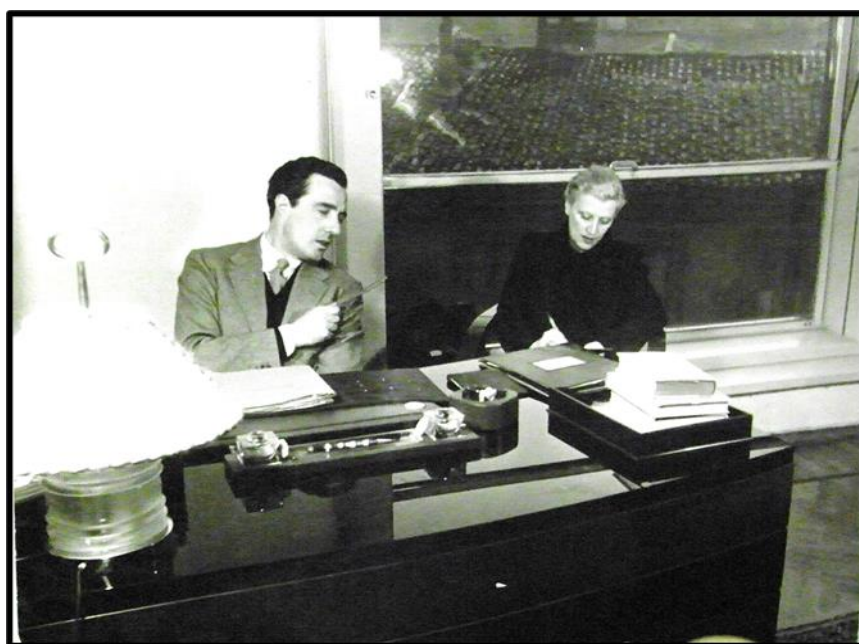


Figure 6.3 Vittorio De Sica and Giuditta Rissone at editorial office of *Il Milione*, 1939, Centro Documentazione Mondadori, Vittorio De Sica.

The understanding of editorial processes goes beyond institutional boundaries, up to the point that it comes to include other aspects of relations between the press and cinematic imagery. It is not possible to attribute the creation of the previous picture to Zavattini, even though the dates and the headings are compatible with his passage from Rizzoli to Mondadori. It is certain, however, that these contacts are part of a prolific and diverse system of exchange. The circulation of images between the various publishers, whether by institutional or informal means, is supported by archival documents. In a letter to Alberto Mondadori, the journalist Carlo Bernari admitted that a colleague had helped him 'steal' an image' from another publisher's archive.²⁰ In the same letter, he praised a film review written by the critic Gianni

¹⁹ Eric Katelaar, 'Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives', *Archival Science*, 1.2 (2001), 131–41 (p. 138).

²⁰ Carlo Bernari, Letter to Alberto Mondadori, 2 August 1940, FAAM, AME.

Puccini, underlining the quality of the texts as well as the selection of 'first-rate photographs'.²¹ Other links emerge when we consider the activity of key figures such as the director Alberto Lattuada, a friend and collaborator of Alberto Mondadori, in particular in the illustrated periodical *Tempo* (1930–1943). The common passion for cinema flowed into various projects such as the creation of a collection of films and prints, thanks to Lattuada, Luigi Comencini and the collector Mario Ferrari, as well as the Cineteca di Milano. Through the Cineteca, the question of the archive was connected to the international scenario, thanks to contacts with foreign institutions and, in particular, with the Cinémathèque Française, which gave access to materials the Ministero della Cultura Popolare of the fascist regime had previously forbidden.

A wider perspective on the photographic archive, as well as the loss of internal documentation, further complicates the analysis of the collections in the publishing sphere. The photographic holdings that survived the bombings and the Second World War were considered worthy of preservation, even if related to suppressed magazines. Between the poles of the functional reuse of the archive, as explained in the Time-Life brochure, and the artistic-educational purposes of the film libraries in formation, the archives of Rizzoli and Mondadori pose various interpretative questions. In Rizzoli, the photographic section related to cinema goes from 20 files to 250 in the mid-1930s and 140 at the beginning of the 1940s. Even if we consider the materials added in the following decades, the film section relating to the 1920–1930 was originally rich. The sedimentation of prints is presented in the form of mountains of photographs 'to be moved with pitchforks',²² making one realise the potential of the photographic archive as a miniature of visual chaos rather than as the reflection of scientific rigour and structure.²³

The existence of these archives, which were inevitably connected to logistical and managerial issues, stands as the material legacy of an intense publishing period, the documentality of which can be seen in the mixture of unique prints and a surplus of reproductions. It is therefore necessary to question the impact of these materials, which were considered – as Gell has argued – 'as social actors', that is, important for their social impact, as they 'construct and influence the field of social action in ways that would not have occurred if they did not exist, or, in the case of photographs, if they did not exist in this or that specific

²¹ Ibid.

²² Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

²³ Tiziana Serena, 'Il posto della fotografia (e dei calzini) nel villaggio della memoria iconica totale. Uno sguardo sulle raccolte fotografiche oggi', *Archivi Fotografici Italiani On-Line* (2007) <<http://www.mufoco.org/10/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/serena.pdf>> [accessed 1 April 2019].

format'.²⁴ The presence of the archives is felt at an institutional-organisational level and cannot be separated from the function of cinema in the country after the war. In an article published in *Cinema*, the director of the Cineteca, Walter Alberti, argued for the importance of the archive in relation to the 'need to go back and redefine itself', through the preservation and 'diffusion of cinematographic culture': 'just think that today it is already difficult to find photographs of Greta Garbo in some of her performances (silent period) or of Mary Pickford or of Rodolfo Valentino, and yet not many years have passed since their films featured on Broadway'.²⁵

5.2 The Archive as the Brain of the Rizzoli Company

In an article published in the early 1950s, Charles Harvard Gibbs Smith boasted about the results obtained with the reorganisation of the Hulton Library, the photo library of the weekly *Picture Post* (1938–1957, See chapter 1).²⁶ The library that collected 'every picturable subject on earth' had been rearranged not only for internal consultation purposes but with the intention of transforming it into a larger institution that could respond to external requests: the archive 'which is not controlled by the paper in question', 'serves all papers equally' and 'was always intended to open subsequently for the general use of the British press and publishers'.²⁷ By assigning this task to a collaborator of the Victoria and Albert Museum, where he had also been responsible for the photographic collections, the importance of reorganising an editorial archive was implicitly acknowledged. Gibbs Smith identified the main purpose of the Hulton Library in its 'far-reaching potentialities for visual education', together with the other editorial functions.²⁸ Despite the different approach, during the 1950s Rizzoli and Mondadori started huge reorganisation operations, moving from a situation where matters were handled by sporadic employees to organised offices with 20 to 30 employees in the following decade.²⁹

The access to and organisation of archives was perceived as crucial to the management of visual heritage in the early 1950s. As I have explained in chapter 2, Cesare Zavattini, as the main consultant of the illustrated magazine *Epoca* (1950), recommended unencyclopaedic approaches to picture selection; he suggested looking for revelatory elements that might allow readers to 'understand or to see something which otherwise they wouldn't have seen'.³⁰ These

²⁴ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), cited in Edwards and Hart, 'Introduction: Photographs as Objects', in *Photographs Objects Histories*, ed. by Edwards and Hart, pp. 1-15 (p. 4).

²⁵ Walter Alberti, 'Cinquant'anni di cinema francese', *Cinema*, 15 April 1954, p. 206.

²⁶ Charles H. Gibbs-Smith, 'The Hulton Picture Post Library', *Journal of Documentation*, 6.1 (1950), 12–24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁹ [Alberto Mondadori], 'Ufficio segreteria appunto per il presidente'.

³⁰ Cesare Zavattini, 'Osservazioni di massima sul primo numero'.

suggestions can be seen in the background of international experimental cataloguing of projects and subsequent access to and use of visual materials (e.g. the Ford Foundation of a Visual Arts Research Center).³¹ The relevance of the photographic collections had already been underlined by the director of the magazine, Alberto Mondadori, who questioned the location of the archive and whether it should fall under the head of the photography editorial department. He also considered the necessity to have a head of the photographic archive, thus acknowledging the key role of the existing collections together with the materials sent by photo-reporters and journalists.³² The expansion of the archive between 1950 and 1951 was exemplified by the growing number of employees: 'a safety margin remains with the completion of the work of the photographic archive, whose staff was regarded as being in charge [of the magazine] for the entire project'.³³ However, the cost of the archive was low, due to the fact that the salaries of the employees corresponded to half if not a third of that of the journalists; they were lower than the salaries of graphic designers and pagers, and they were in fact more comparable to the salaries of the secretaries. The parallel between secretaries and archivists was accentuated by the frequent use of the title 'Miss' [Signorina] for the employees, in the documents related to the archive ('the lady of the archive').³⁴ This distinction left the main role in the hands of the group of collaborators who formed the 'association of souls' that Zavattini had envisioned (See chapter 2).³⁵ While justifying its function as being to serve the magazines, the archive was oriented beyond the needs of *Epoca* to serve the entire company.



Figure 6.4 Rizzoli Documentation Centre in 1963-1964, CdRcs.

This is the assumption on which the reorganisation of the Rizzoli archives in the mid-1950s was based. The reasons for the rearrangement are adduced to the significant increase in circulation of the weekly magazine *Oggi* and to alleged cases of theft of archival materials. Despite the abundance of materials related to cinema, the person appointed as responsible for the archive was a journalist interested in botany, one Giorgio Voghi, probably considered as not essential to the editorial staff. It may be presumed that Voghi's expertise was among the factors that led to this

³¹ Diana Kamin, 'Mid-Century Visions, Programmed Affinities: The Enduring Challenges of Image Classification', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 16.3 (2017), 310–36.

³² [Alberto Mondadori], 'Schema per la discussione con B'; 'Rapporto preliminare sullo sfruttamento della rotativa GOSS in Milano'; 'Epoca note sui collaboratori e sugli inviati', AME, MAM, Epoca.

³³ 'Epoca note sui collaboratori e sugli inviati'.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Cesare Zavattini, 'Piccolo "breviario" di Italia Domanda'.

decision, which put faith in the progress of science and 'the cult of observation' that was at the basis of the new archival order.³⁶ According to Verri, this arrangement was adopted with the intention of giving the collections an archival structure, independently of journalistic pressures. A group of approximately five people was put in place to follow the initial operations, the results of which became visible with the relocation of the publishing house to Via Civitavecchia.



Figure 6.5 Rizzoli Documentation Centre in 1963-1964, CdRcs.

The first location of the archive in the new building was the 'stanzone' (large room), revealing the change in attitudes toward the use and status of visual records at the beginning of the 1960s (Figure 6.4; 6.5).³⁷ The room where all the activity of the archive took place contained around forty filing cabinets and desks for employees. The pictures documenting the official inauguration in the presence of authorities and journalists testify to the development of

the office that was now functioning as a crucial space for a wide corporate audience (Figure 6.5). In the arrangement of space as an expression of archival standardisation we can see the conception of a place that had to meet certain journalistic needs.³⁸ The documentary impulse that lies behind the encyclopaedic vocation of these archives was linked to the approach to photographs, which were conceived and used as records. To refer to Lugon's distinction of 'Photographic documentation' and the aesthetic of the document, here its journalistic value, 'its use for informative ends within a means of mass communication' was made clear.³⁹ In the projection of a 'systematicity and neutrality', the space of the new archives was meant to elude forms of mediation, offering an intuitive and direct approach to journalistic consultation. Going back to Walker Evans' reflections in relation to his collaboration with the Farm Security Administration, the process recalls the concept of the 'pure record, which is in part defined by

³⁶ Mitman and Wilder, 'Introduction', in *Documenting the World*. Ebook.

³⁷ Interview with Rosino Verri, 4 April 2017. The stamps on the back of the prints shows that the definition 'Centro Documentazione' is attested at the beginning of the 60s while in the 50s appears the stamp 'Archivio Fotografico Generale' together with the stamps of the archives of *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*.

³⁸ Stefanie Klamm, 'Reverse—Cardboard—Print: The Materiality of the Photographic Archive and Its Function', in *Documenting the World*, ed. by Mitman and Wilder. Ebook.

³⁹ Olivier Lugon, *Le style documentaire: d'August Sander à Walker Evans: 1920-1945* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 2011); quoted in Grespi, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', p. 185.

ambiguity and uncertainty about future use, and cleanses the potential of any politically motivated rhetoric sneaking into his images'.⁴⁰

The change in the status of the archive was exemplified by new employees arriving from other publishers. Franca Matricardi was an engineer with solid editorial experience first at *Domus*, then at Mondadori, who played a crucial role in the recruitment of Rosino Verri in 1963, previously director of the photographic office of *Il Giornio*.⁴¹ Defined as 'the brain of the company' in the 1960s, the archive was conceived as the driving force behind the circulation of information.⁴² As stated in the printed draft, in the huge quadrilateral of the new Rizzoli buildings, 'the flow of the various processes takes place without intersections and returns'.⁴³ The description reveals a different approach to the debate about organisational models, which had previously been neglected by Angelo Rizzoli. In an image from the second half of the 1960s, the structure of the office – now located in the attic – appears revolutionised (Figure 6.6). The archive, now called documentation centre, was physically positioned in order to take advantage of various sources of natural light illuminating the processing area, while the bookcases that were connected to the ceiling metaphorically offered support for the roof. Not only did the documents and volumes acquire a central importance, but the amount of work also reflected a different understanding of the role of archivists. While maintaining the image of the employees working in highly institutionalised communities, the focus was on the collaborative dimension, trying to blend creative interactions with serialised processes.

The organisation of the documentation centre in the mid-1960s was strongly determined by Verri, Voghi's assistant, although he was effectively in charge. Intended mainly as a collaborative workplace, Verri defined the archive as a family. The centrality of the family in the system of values was not only a symbolic construction but also a consolidated recruitment practice in the Rizzoli working environment.⁴⁴ The presence of members of the same family was encouraged in a context in which, starting from the family of the publisher, patriarchal power and paternalistic relationships were intertwined. This system implied, together with a pleasant

⁴⁰ Walker Evans, *Journal, 1935*, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, Walker Evans Archive, Miscellaneous Notes 1920s–1930s, 1994.250.4, Folder 12; quoted in Diana Kamin, 'Mid-Century Visions', p. 326.

⁴¹ Verri had entered journalism thanks to the journalist Gianni Brera, going from a job in the technical office of a provincial town to the *Sport Giallo* magazine and then to *Il Giornio*, a newspaper financed by ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi). *Il Giornio* marked a turning point in Italian photojournalism and represented a renewal of the approach to news that was of great interest to Rizzoli. This experience represented for Verri the opportunity to approach photography and make it its own area of expertise, while at the same time cultivating an interest in cinema. Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

⁴² According to Rosino Verri, the archive was considered by the publisher as the brain of his company and therefore situated at the top of the new building. Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

⁴³ *Monografia Rizzoli Gruppo*.

⁴⁴ Loredana Sciolla, 'Familismo', *Il Mulino*, 4/01 (2001), 653–59.

working environment, the maintenance of stable roles and static dynamics, which would be modified in the following years.⁴⁵ In the early 1960s, the archive was structured around a core of six or seven operators, reaching 20 employees at the end of the decade. Although referring to the 1970s, Alberto Mantovani's description gives an idea of the transition from the first group of collaborators to a wider environment where the mobility of labour was encouraged.⁴⁶ The resources were generally selected within the company and more rarely acquired from the outside:

In the first case, those who had applied to work for the C.D. had to pass an exam that included knowledge of general culture and news, ability to synthesize, think logically and, according to Rosino, have 'a pinch of imagination'. In the second case, the candidates were selected by the Personnel Director and then the shortlisted ones were evaluated by the senior archivist. Not exceptionally, category B1 or A employees were transferred from downsized or suppressed offices: In these cases the Personnel Director made the final decision.⁴⁷

The challenge of offering authentic documentation, in terms of their journalistic function, is at the very core of the documentation centre. The search for the 'objectivity of a news item', as stated by a 1963 law on journalism professions,⁴⁸ recurs in Verri's description also for image research: 'photomontage is blasphemy'.⁴⁹ The collaborative interaction between archivists and journalists, and in particular between the editors and the journalists, is indicated as a key factor of magazine editing. As emphasized by Verri, the materials from the archive, such as clippings, press reviews and iconographic items, were crucial to the preparation of articles and interviews. Employees with different cultural backgrounds were involved in different tasks, following a system that was meant to be dynamic. This is the description Alberto Mantovani used with regard to the organisation of the archive under Verri and Voghi's direction:

A secretary; two employees with 'reduced working capacity' and three other employees were engaged in the cataloguing of periodicals (they worked all day to bring a very brief summary of the articles of the periodicals on typed cards, classifying them); half of the remaining employees were in charge of 'preparation' (category B2 employees), the other half mainly of 'research' (imp. cat. B1).⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Interview with Alberto Mantovani and Rosino Verri, 4 April 2017.

⁴⁶ Interview with Alberto Mantovani, 22 January 2019.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Ordinamento della professione di giornalista*, 3 February 1963, n. 69.

⁴⁹ Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

⁵⁰ Interview with Alberto Mantovani, 22 January 2019. Mantovani describes the archive's conditions at on his arrival his arrival in the early 1970s, but the organisation under Voghi and Verri's direction was established in the previous decades.



Figure 6.6 Rizzoli Documentation Centre, c. 1967, CdRcs.

More precisely, the structure of the work involved a preparatory phase, with a first level of operators who identified articles and photographs and sorted them by letter and by topic; a second group was involved in the cataloguing of the materials prepared by the first one. The materials came in part from editorial offices, in part from periodicals and newspapers. The need to compare various magazines in order to obtain 'the objectivity of the news' was materialised in the subscription to Italian as well as foreign magazines, including *Life*, *Time* and *Paris-Match*. This operating model also existed in Mondadori and became of fundamental importance for the management of journalistic tasks and for the selection of images, ideally resulting from a fruitful interaction between different offices. The role of the archive also included duties of different types, such as the training of new journalists or – according to Verri's definition – the responsibility of 'acting as a nurse for journalists'.⁵¹

The arrangement of the cinema section has to be seen in the context of this organisation. There was no structure such like the one indicated by the *Time-Life* leaflets, according to which the organisation of the staff was based on 'a deep knowledge of what the archive can offer', nor was there any qualified personnel as requested by the Hulton library.⁵² Verri's intention was to make employees of different cultural backgrounds capable of following the entire process. However, there were forms of specialisation, such as the case of cinema, that were entrusted to employees interested in the topic, even if it was a subject of general interest.⁵³ The division into films and personalities was in line with the previous structure, as is confirmed by the stamps applied to the reverse of single items, and it responded to the way in which materials were received from agencies and external collaborators, from internal photographers or from film production companies. While reducing the selection process to the minimum, a distinction was

⁵¹ Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

⁵² Opuscolo 'Organizzazione "TIME INC."', [1962], AME.

⁵³ Interview with Alberto Mantovani and Rosino Verri, 4 April 2017.

made between prints considered useful to the film section and others destined to the 'personalities' section; this was also to avoid redundancy of information in the same file. Materials related to cinema encountered a significant increase in the period considered. The titles included in the cinema section (1950–1968) reached 4,200 units, out of a total of approximately 15,600 envelopes. The size of each file, which ranged from a few prints to two hundred images, varied in relation to editorial uses and to the quantity of materials received. The preservation of a whole range of materials received during editorial processes offers interesting insights into the dynamics of selection and into continuities and variations within the process.

The classification system, in line with the encyclopaedic vocation of the archive, can be seen as a reflection of the magazine's structure. Despite this being the prevailing approach in publishing companies of the time, some distinctions may be found. In the second half of the 1930s, the archive of the publisher of the Fascist Party's daily *Il Popolo d'Italia* considered the distinction between the cinemas of Italy and Germany and those of other countries essential in order to clearly establish the parameters of 'acceptability'.⁵⁴ At Mondadori, instead, the documentation centre underlined the separation between pre and post Second World War cinema production by creating a new section called 'contemporary cinema'. At Rizzoli, the cataloguing of film prints continued without change in this period, and nothing significantly destructive took place during the cataloguing phase. The organisation by title of film in alphabetical order and the lack of selection gives the impression that films were treated in the same way as they would be treated by a librarian. While drawing attention to the role of transmitting information, of provoking new understandings, Verri emphasised the investigative value of the records.

This apparent neutrality of the cataloguing system reveals some patterns that offer an insight into the circulation of materials within the publishing house. The files holding the largest quantities of records reveal a uniformity between film files not only of varied critical and editorial importance, but also of different commercial impact. In 1952, the number of objects contained in the *Gli eroi della domenica* file (Mario Camerini, 1952) did not diverge from the records preserved in *Luci della ribalta* by Charlie Chaplin (1952) and in *Umberto D.* by Vittorio De Sica (1952). A similar number of prints are associated with *Le amiche* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1955) and *Gli amori di Manon Lescaut* (Mario Costa, 1955). The envelope of *Il padrone sono me* is a full-bodied one, and it consistently exceeds *Vacanze a Ischia*, which was a great commercial

⁵⁴ The photographic archive of *Il Popolo d'Italia* is preserved at the State Archives in Milan. Currently the collection is not accessible to the public.

success.⁵⁵ Within these cases, there may have been different types of use, linked to a newspaper or spread over a range of periodicals, but there is a line of continuity in the documentation that distinguishes the envelopes related to film production from the films distributed by Rizzoli. Scarcely visible even to the collaborators of the archive, the *fil rouge* that leads back to the various business activities of Rizzoli, in the film production company, distribution, and in the management of tourist places, emerges in the form of an excess of archival materials. The archive reflects the imprint of an institution that extended beyond the publishing sphere to embrace Rizzoli's entire business. This could be interpreted as a material manifestation of the founder's paternalism or of the prevailing commercial and advertising force behind the circulation of images.

The archive eventually achieved a size that Verri defines as 'non-transferable' or saleable to other institutions.⁵⁶ The only materials for which destruction was planned were those considered irreproducible due to their low quality. The archive's decision was to preserve the widest possible range of materials to respond to the dynamics of editorial use, by anticipating the requests of the magazines. The contemporary debate about selection in film archives, concerning the issues of historical and cultural relevance of the films to be preserved, was not an issue at Rizzoli. The files appear to be homogeneous, lacking in further distinctions or sub-partitions, apart from a quantitative point of view. A second level of standardisation concerns the prints inside the envelopes. Syntactic repetitions, recurring motifs and shots emerge, which generally find correspondence in their different uses and in the magazines they are intended for. Some common features in different envelopes reveal the dynamics of selection established in the period under consideration.

A different type of standardisation emerges in the film section, which marks a passage in the management of the photographic archive and of the cinema section. The presence of photographers as permanent staff members implied, for the company, the acquisition of image rights, even if this is not clearly stated in the contracts. The photo shoots, together with the contact sheets (Figure 6.1), were sent to the archive and then catalogued per magazine, black and white or colour, in chronological order. The thematic organisation that characterised the print section was less relevant in the flow of photo shoots in sequence. The section came to include millions of photographic negatives and transparencies, catalogued in sequence in the diachronic order that follows – in Sekula's words – 'a chronology of production and

⁵⁵ Unless indicated otherwise, the files related to photographic prints and films discussed in this chapter are preserved at the Centro Documentazione Rcs Mediagroup (CdRcs) in Milan.

⁵⁶ Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

acquisition'.⁵⁷ The films not selected for coverage in the press are catalogued sequentially after the selected images, but still preserved.

The cinema section is indicated in its own right only in the inventory phase, or in the catalogues, while the photographic materials are preserved in a continuous sequence, which tends to blend the different spheres of journalistic production, thus abolishing distinctions between news and fiction. Here, evidence of the narrative and journalistic poles of *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* prevails (in the two different sections of materials on film), to which a 'Miscellaneous' section is added for the 'minor' periodicals and some more specific sections. The size of the archive bears witness to the parallel stories of the various magazines, within which any distinction between news, characters and entertainment is lacking. The repertoire of images, distinguished here by captions and indexes, facilitates a diachronic reading of the visual layout of the periodical, in a repetition of shots that demonstrates the pre-eminence of the documentary aspect at the centre of the archive. The result can be described – using Edwards's words – as 'a historical topography manifested through [...] current events of historical interest'.⁵⁸ The cinema section is inserted in this repertoire and is chronologically catalogued with the rest of the documents, with more than 200 photo shoots relating to the period 1958–1968. The first catalogued photo shoots, which feature the 'Strike of the extras of Ben Hur', and an investigation entitled 'Behind the lights of Cinecittà', leave room for bulging envelopes dedicated to *La dolce vita*, and the awards and festivals related to the presentation of the film.⁵⁹ As Mantovani observed, it is in fact *La dolce vita* that marks a turning point in the photographic archive and generates – in the company context – the perception of cinema as a relevant component of Rizzoli's editorial output.⁶⁰

5.3 Photographic Prints and Picture Selection

'It is not an unusual spectacle in the managing editor's office for fifteen people to stand staring at a single photograph', writes Wilson Hicks, picture editor of *Life* ([1937]–1952)⁶¹. Structured as they were, the working procedures at *Time-Life* could not avoid the difficulties of

⁵⁷ Sekula, 'Reading an Archive', in *The Photography Reader*, ed. by Wells, p. 446.

⁵⁸ Edwards Elizabeth, 'Photography and the Material Performance of the Past', *History and Theory*, 48.4 (2009), 130–50 (p. 131).

⁵⁹ The first two news reports are catalogued as follows: Duilio Pallottelli, 'Strike of the extras of Ben Hur', 1958 (published in *L'Europeo* 40, 1958); Duilio Pallottelli, 'Behind the lights of Cinecittà' (for Oriana Fallaci's inquiry published in *L'Europeo* 41–48, 1958). Pallottelli is also the author of the major photo reportages for *L'Europeo* related to *La dolce vita* (1959–1960).

⁶⁰ Interview with Alberto Mantovani and Rosino Verri, 4 April 2017.

⁶¹ Wilson Hicks, 'What Is Photojournalism?', in *Photographic Communication*, ed. by R. Smith Schuneman (New York: Hastings House, 1972), pp. 19–56.

managing the selection process of visual contents aimed at an extremely wide-ranging readership. The dynamics of the editing process at *Life* involved various professional figures, including editors, employees conducting photographic research and management assistants. This process ordinarily also included the central archives in the task of retrieving information, as well as in revision and control activities. Image selection at Rizzoli remained focussed on certain key figures, such as directors and editors in chief, whose work was connected in a different way to agencies, in-house or outside photographers, and the archives. There were more complex dynamics, however, that can be traced through the 1950s via the archival records. The aim is therefore to follow the establishment of some recurring practices, to identify a 'prior conception of regularity' and the insertion of certain steps, such as changes in editorial management and the growing presence of the central archives.⁶²



Figure 6.7 *Farabola*, The editorial staff of *Oggi*, 1946-1955, CdRcs.



Figure 6.8 *Farabola*, Domenico Porzio at *Oggi* Editorial offices, c. 1961, CdRcs.

In an early 1950s image of the editorial office of *Oggi*, editor in chief Porzio, who was in charge of photo selection as well as a literary critic, presents the selected prints to Rusconi under the supervision of Solmi, head of the text department and film critic (Figure 6.7). While combining different duties, the two editors in chief had clearly distinct roles in managing the image part and the text part of the magazine, marking a moment of transition away from the figure of the single editor in chief established in various publishing houses of the time. The expansion of the editorial office over the course of the decade at *Oggi* was accompanied by the rationalisation of some functions, as can be seen from the emphasis on organisational aspects in picture editing (Figure 6.8). Upon his arrival in 1958, the future editor Paolo Occhipinti worked as an apprentice in the *Oggi* editorial office with the task of assisting Porzio in the selection of images, meeting with the representatives of the agencies. He was the one who

⁶² Anthony Storr, 'Psychoanalysis and Creativity', in *Freud and the Humanities*, ed. by Peregrine Horden (London: Duckworth, 1985), pp. 38-57 (p. 54); quoted in Greenberg, *A Poetics of Editing*, p. 56.

observed how at *Oggi* and *Novella* the selection was increasingly linked to photographic materials viewed in the morning:

Thus, the photo agencies were fundamental, whether it was a special report, a routine report, what space to give it if it could be enough to represent a certain fact, personage, or if other things were needed and on that basis a reporter was often sent to document the photo shoot, something that happened quite frequently.⁶³

The decidedly more bohemian approach of the editorial staff at *L'Europeo* can be seen from photographs showing Giuseppe Trevisani, graphic designer and reporter for *L'Europeo* in the second half of the 1950s, while he leafs through photographic prints, alone or assisted by the director Michele Serra (See chapter 2, Figure 3.8). *L'Europeo's* attention to the exploration of visual language was inextricably tied to collaborators such as Trevisani and Alberto Ongaro, who were linked in various ways to the graphic innovation of publishing at the time. While Rizzoli generally represented a privileged setting as regards the promptness of payments and the prestige of journalists, *L'Europeo* confirmed that it had maintained (or regained) a form of journalistic prestige. According to the description of the representative Pino Granata, '[t]he editorial staff at *L'Europeo* was my favourite, and it couldn't have been otherwise. In the first room on the right, which was the most important for me, was Alberto Ongaro, who was the editor in charge of looking over the reports, and he was a kind, delightful person, loved and respected by all of us'.⁶⁴ The process involved forms of editorial interaction, although this was not codified, as Granata emphasises regarding the role of another journalist in the same room, Gianluigi Melega, who 'heard what we proposed to Ongaro and contributed by saying what we needed to know'.⁶⁵

In this sense, the agencies tended to anticipate the expectations of the editors on the basis of a deeply rooted knowledge of the publishing panorama that was essential to their survival in the Italian market. This process of anticipation became visible and further established with the unification of the archives. As Greenberg writes, '[t]he editor is choosing actions most likely to enhance survival; not just for the human organisms carrying out the editing, or being edited, but also the survival of the publisher, and the text itself'.⁶⁶ In this specific case, the survival of the publisher intersected with that of the producer, in a system that obviously extended to the

⁶³ Interview with Paolo Occhipinti, 27 April 2018.

⁶⁴ Pino Granata, 'Quando Andavamo in via Civitavecchia', 2017
<<https://www.uominiebusiness.it/default.aspx?c=647&a=25801&tag=Quando-andavamo-in-via-Civitavecchia>.> [accessed 18 February 2018].

During his long and prolific career, Alberto Ongaro collaborated with the Italian comic author Hugo Pratt. In the period under consideration, their collaboration is remembered for the comic stories they wrote for the magazine *Il Corriere dei Piccoli*.

⁶⁵ Granata, 'Quando andavamo in via Civitavecchia'.

⁶⁶ Greenberg, *A Poetics of Editing*, p. 62.

texts and to the related agencies. Personalities such as Gina Lollobrigida and Monica Vitti took on particular importance for periodicals, as they satisfied the prerequisites of saleability both for publishing and for the film company. One need only mention the reports on Lollobrigida travelling to Lacco Ameno, Ischia (Figure 5.1), the island Rizzoli had relaunched, and the significant presence of images dedicated to Monica Vitti's clothing style that were connected to the promotion of the films in which she acted.

In the case of Lollobrigida, the professional relationship with Rizzoli – which was not always straightforward – was materialised in her participation in seven films. The importance for periodicals can be seen in the 45 to 50 files in the archives, amounting to a total of 615 images (1950–1968), in addition to the various shoots conducted by in-house photographers.⁶⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapters, the star effectively embodied that healthy modernity that saw the coming together of traditional values and presumptions of progress, humble origins



Figure 6.9 The entrance of Gina Lollobrigida's house, 1955, CdRcs.

and international prestige. The prints reveal the emergence of recurring motifs after the second half of the 1950s, many of which are brought to light by Réka Buckley: glamour, dedication to work and devotion to the family, acquired economic status, good manners and the vivacity of her 'Italian temperament'.⁶⁸ In magazines such as *Oggi*, *Annabella* and *Novella*, the growing importance of glamour coexists with pictures of customs and episodes of light entertainment, which appeared in different percentages in the various publications. The line of optimism expressed by agencies such as Farabola responded to the dictates of an edifying narrative that was especially dear to *Oggi*. Along with international travels, the reportage of the actress's new home on the Via Appia Antica takes up considerable space in the archival materials. A report by Italy's News Photo, published in 1955, responds to the journalistic style that was taking shape in *Oggi*, in the exploration and categorisation of the new models generated by an increasing social mobility: 'This is the entrance to Gina's house seen from the inside: they tell me that if

⁶⁷ The files, which are organised per year, film set and a few other categories (e.g. close-ups, relevant trips) refer to the entire range of Rizzoli periodicals and acquired periodicals.

⁶⁸ Réka C. V. Buckley, 'National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, 20.4 (2000), 527–47; Frank Burke and Réka Buckley, 'Italian Female Stars and Their Fans in the 1950s and 1960s', in *A Companion to Italian Cinema* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), pp. 158–78.

you need to, you can edit out that guy at the back who came there by mistake' (Figure 6.9).⁶⁹ This type of narrative was also compatible with an advertising dimension of crucial importance for magazines, which lay at the intersection of glamour and consumption.



Figure 6.10 Giancolombo, Cannes Festival, the arrival of Gina Lollobrigida, 1954. Courtesy of Archivio Giancolombo.

A much more multifaceted range of portraits emerged in Publifoto's news stories in the early 1950s. The prints offer a portrait of a personality included in the news, photographed during the dispute with Michelangelo Antonioni regarding the film *Signora senza camellie* (1953), or surprised in the act of going to the polls.⁷⁰ The style of journalistic photography preserved the two periodicals' post-war desire for communication without emphasis, challenging the forms of a stardom that reset the distance between readers and the stars. Thus, a print from 1955 showed Lollobrigida surrounded by the stares of the people waiting in line and the gallery of her portraits hanging on the wall during an exhibition dedicated to her.⁷¹ Another print focused on the adoring gaze of an elderly woman upon Gina's unexpected arrival in Cannes, which had aroused 'excitement to the point of lynching' (Figure 6.10).⁷² By including a figure that was

⁶⁹ Italy's News Photos, 'Questo è l'ingresso della casa della Lollo', *Oggi*, 51, December 1955, p. 17, CdRcs, Gina Lollobrigida.

⁷⁰ Publifoto, 'Roma. 20 ottobre 1952. La nota attrice del cinema, Gina Lollobrigida...', *Oggi*, 'Roma. 7/6/1953. Elezioni politiche 1953', *L'Europeo*, CdRcs, Gina Lollobrigida.

⁷¹ Giancolombo, [Galleria Montenapoleone], circa 1955, *Annabella*, CdRcs, Gina Lollobrigida.

⁷² Camilla Cederna, 'Stelline a Cannes', *L'Europeo*, 4 April 1954, p. 13; Giancolombo, 'VII Festival del Cinema di Cannes. L'arrivo di Gina Lollobrigida, 1954', CdRcs, Gina Lollobrigida.

slightly out of focus, according to an unusual practice within the canons of editorial selection, the terms of the reflection on the 'psychological salience' of glamour in relation to the context were underlined.⁷³



Figure 6.11 Monica Vitti at the University of Milan during the debate about L'Eclisse, L'Europeo, 2 April 1962, pp. 70–71. (1962). Photograph by Gianfranco Moroldo.

These last prints bear the stamp of another important Milanese agency, created by Gian Battista Colombo.⁷⁴ Gian Colombo himself highlighted how the difference in the agency's style was tied to the possibility of a more defined journalistic approach: '[W]e were the only ones who held an early morning meeting to decide what to photograph during the day, and I directed my photographers, I often explained to them what kind of images I wanted and how I wanted a shoot to be done'.⁷⁵ The agency's organisation was inspired by French models, and in particular by the periodical *Paris Match*, for which Colombo was a correspondent: 'in one week hundreds of reports were done, they even had a room with a loft and they spread the reports out on the ground and brought in the authors to the loft one by one, to decide together what to publish'.⁷⁶

One of the main photographers of *L'Europeo*, Gianfranco Moroldo, worked for Giancolombo, before becoming a permanent staff member together with other independent photographers such as Evaristo Fusar and Duilio Pallottelli. By the end of the 1950s, the regular

⁷³ Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, p. 58

⁷⁴ Gian Battista Colombo was the cousin of the director Luciano Emmer, who had collaborated in part with the agency.

⁷⁵ Agliani e Lucas, Interview with Gian Colombo, 5 January 2001; quoted in Agliani e Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo*, p. 226.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

presence of photographers was indicative of their close relationship with the journalist in the organisation of the report, based on mutual contacts and agreements with the film company. Press proofs show multiple selection marks, attributable to various members of the editorial staff. The records agree in attributing a first stage of the selection to the photographer, who chose which images to print before discussing them with the editorial director and editor in chief.⁷⁷ The group of photographers took part in editorial meetings on Monday mornings: 'It was the editorial director, above all, who established the story along with the reporter or with the editor in chief. Having established this, he often called us in with the journalists'.⁷⁸ The collaborative relationship with the journalists led to a selection that profoundly influenced the form of the story, the description of the personalities, developing an implicit form of script. A report by Moroldo for the film *L'eclisse* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1962) documents a 'discussion at the department of philosophy' on the film, presented as the first film in Italy to offer an occasion for university debate (Figure 6.11).⁷⁹ In documenting the event, the report focusses on tonal contrast to give shape and visibility to the 'very topical problem' of incommunicability around which the debate is centred.⁸⁰ The only woman in the front rows of the university classroom, Monica Vitti is investigated as an enigmatic personality, a recurring expression in the stories dedicated to the actress and to the director in those same years.⁸¹ While *L'Europeo* put Monica Vitti at the centre of a new relationship with cinema and with women, the captions of the photos appearing in other periodicals emphasised the details about her clothing and her ability to dress elegantly even without wearing expensively tailored outfits. Moreover, the actress was not indifferent to the circulation of her image in periodicals, as can be seen from a description by Evaristo Fusar regarding the photo shoots he carried out:

I [Fusar] hardly ever showed her anything, even though he [Antonioni] sent a driver from Ravenna to the editorial office, saying that [Monica Vitti] wanted to see the proofs. I answered: 'Tell him it's not the way we do things'. However, he came back several times, and one time I showed them to him. The two were arguing: [Vitti] 'you know, I'm not Lollobrigida, but ...' and [Antonioni] 'You see, Fusar photographed with love'.⁸²

The photographers at *L'Europeo* showed awareness of a role that was recognised in journalistic terms: 'They hired a photographer who talked about nothing but tagliatelle, and after a while they sent him to the archives'.⁸³ The privileged position of *L'Europeo* (Figure 6.12)

⁷⁷ Interview with Evaristo Fusar, 16 December 2017.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Roberto Leydi, 'Uomini scimmie e cose', *L'Europeo*, 22 April 1962, pp. 70–75.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 71

⁸¹ Oriana Fallaci, 'Su per La Scala a Chiocciola', *L'Europeo*, 6 August 1961, pp. 21–26.

⁸² Interview with Evaristo Fusar.

⁸³ Ibid.

was evident from the implicit prestige of being able to keep a separate archive, for a far longer time than the other magazines, and from the relationship with the documentation centre: 'It also sometimes happens that there are few photographs of a certain event, such as a marriage, the birth of a child. We divided things up. When [the magazine's staff] said "Send me everything," we [Verri] replied, "No, there are others to serve, too". *L'Europeo* came first [and] it was the most important magazine for us... I would go down there, but I didn't show many photographs, I said "choose what you need because I have to give the rest to others. First use the "pulp" and then the rest"'.⁸⁴



Figure 6.12 Riccardo Ricas (at the centre) between Giorgio Fattori (on the left) and Tommaso Giglio (on the right), 1960-1966, CdRcs.

The contact with the archives was generally managed by a chief editor or by the reporter covering the story, who was assisted by the archivists in his research. In Verri's view, there was a method for selecting information based on the different publications: 'The topics ... *Novella* has always had light topics, gossip, stories, celebrities, shows; *Oggi* did a bit on politics but not much [...] The style, however, was strictly family-oriented: royals, actors, personalities, audiences and even politicians, but always with a family tone'.⁸⁵ Verri's testimony regarding the women's magazine *Novella* is also significant: 'It had a cast of editors including Maria Venturi, my very dear friend, who would ask "Find me some stuff, I have two pages to fill," and we would do it, it was a diversion'.⁸⁶ The application of market categories identified in research of the

⁸⁴ Interview with Rosino Verri, 8 November 2016.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

early 1960s followed in the groove of what can be established in the conception of a specific class, in the objectification of a certain uniformity.⁸⁷

As part of a cataloguing system that arranges the archival materials within 'a system of pure equivalence' – to cite Ernst van Alphen's words –,⁸⁸ the practice of reusing images includes the mediation of the archive. While an 'affinity' with cinema was considered important for the employees during the cataloguing process, this was not required for editorial research: 'Journalists of any magazine, or secretaries for them, phoned the Documentation Centre and asked for the material they needed. The procedures for dealing with requests were essentially the same'.⁸⁹ Therefore, the selection of articles, [photographic] prints and negatives fitted into the daily flow of requests, in an attempt at normalisation that left spaces of autonomy for the employees in charge. In the following decades, the flow of materials occurred on a large scale: 'The searches carried out annually by the CD [Documentation Centre], not all positively, ranged from about 36,000 to 44,000. In 55/60% of the cases they concerned requests for information. The remaining 45/40% were related to iconographic material'.⁹⁰

5.4 The Treatment of Films in the Files of the Archive

In view of the two to three hundred films catalogued per year in the period considered, the film section (photographic prints) offers a concrete overview of the prints circulating per title. I will here consider the archival file (i.e. a collection of printed documents linked to a single film) in terms of a record or, to cite Geoffrey Yeo, the 'persistent representation of activities, created by participants or observers of those activities'.⁹¹ The authenticity of the records analysed – that is, their documentary value – is contextual and linked to the use and function of the single film or the single image. By stressing the approach in a 'postmodern vein' that archivists such as Brien Brothman have adopted,⁹² the selected images present themselves as proof of an accomplished action, which may help to define the record's function within Rizzoli. The editorial annotations imply the presence of a living experience, of rules that allow for various

⁸⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Introduction', in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, ed. by Boltanski, Bourdieu and others, pp. 1–10 (p. 6).

⁸⁸ Ernst Van Alphen, *Staging the Archive: Art and Photography in the Age of New Media* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015).

⁸⁹ Interview with Alberto Mantovani, 22 January 2019.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Geoffrey Yeo, 'Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations', *The American Archivist*, 70.2 (2007), 315–43 (p. 334).

⁹² Brien Brothman, 'Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse', *Archival Science*, 2.3/4 (2002), 311–42.

interpretations, and they reflect different forms of layering of memories.⁹³ The archival file reveals the prints' provenance and their reuse over time, confirming their legitimation on an editorial level. Evidence of copying and reprinting lead us to wonder about the potential impact of the dynamics that helped determine the modalities of concealment and reuse, including the editorial and archival practices examined. The selection of the prints gives an idea of the limits within which narratives could take place, that is, the definition of their measurability, revealing at the same time consolidated patterns and variations in the type of clippings and cuts. For example, the selection of film reviews in the folders, either taken from Rizzoli's or external magazines, gives an idea of the consideration of the particular film on an institutional level together with signs of reuse of the photographic prints. The files analysed in this section have been selected because they are representative of the history of the archive. With the quantitative sampling that highlights the impact of the institutional perspective, the documentation is linked predominantly to films produced or distributed by Rizzoli.



Figure 6.13 Raf Vallone with two Milan football players in one of the prints selected for Oggi's photo essay of Gli eroi della domenica (1952), CdRcs.

The viewpoint I have presented in previous chapters, according to which Rizzoli's films endorsed by key editors gained ground as opposed to films that were destined to fill up secondary spaces, is echoed in the archival folders. The majority of the files generally include photographic prints that originated in different contexts, as flat as possible, which may pertain to the wide range of periodicals. One example is the frequency of narrative sequences that are relevant for a wide range of magazines, such as fragments of romance (taken to include love, betrayal, jealousy), which might concern different films like *Puccini* (Carmine Gallone, 1953) and

⁹³ Ruggero Eugeni, *Semiotica dei media: Le forme dell'esperienza* (Carocci, 2010).

Le amiche. If we want to summarise the elements that indicate continuity, we could mention the combination in certain records of what Pierre Sorlin defined 'the 1960s canon', which 'recognised two types of sequences, narrative or descriptive, the former developing the story, the latter suspending to create a state of uncertainty or add an aesthetical touch to the film'.⁹⁴ The iconographic repertoires that emerge from the files might also be seen in relation to the dichotomy 'between the familiar and the inaccessible', which has been restored by audience memories gathered for the research project on Cinema-going in 1950s Rome.⁹⁵ This last section will focus on the terms of familiarisation that – in different ways – marked the debate in *Oggi* on film production during the 1950s.

The attempt to incentivise the readers' interactions with cinema can be deduced from files like *Gli eroi della domenica* (Mario Camerini, 1952), a film that combined the popularity of sporting events with the romantic comedy in order to appeal to a broad audience.⁹⁶ The mass of images engage with concepts of realism, involving a real stadium, professional players and an actor such as Raf Vallone, who was also a former footballer. The film could be publicised in sports dailies, the reading of which was shown in a number of scenes, while Vallone and his wife Elena Varzi – who also had a role in the film – appeared on the front page of weekly magazines. It is therefore hardly surprising – albeit rather uncommon for the film section – to find clippings taken from the magazine *Calcio Illustrato*.⁹⁷ Contrary to the film, the clippings contain no trace of the choral dimension of the crowds of supporters. In the photographs chosen for *Oggi*'s photo story, specifically the way the framing has been cut, our attention is drawn to the protagonist's moral integrity, who – after some hesitation – reaffirmed his reputation as the star 'who stood for justice and for good' (Figure 6.13).⁹⁸ The selected prints reflect the clarity of the representation of passions, as well as their capacity to stress the intensity of the drama and to summarise the narration. In the photo story, the elements that are perceived as belonging to a 'realistic' and 'popular aesthetics' are reconsidered from a pedagogical perspective that

⁹⁴ Pierre Sorlin, 'Antonioni in the Light of the Canon, Yes but... Which Canon?', in *Il canone cinematografico*, ed. by Bianchi, Bursi and Venturini, pp. 201–6 (p. 202).

⁹⁵ Daniela Treveri Gennari, "'If You Have Seen It, You Cannot Forget!': Film Consumption and Memories of Cinema-Going in 1950s Rome', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 35.1 (2015), 53–74 (p. 62).

⁹⁶ Produced by Rizzoli Film and distributed by Cineriz. The narratives in the film concerned a football match between a provincial team and 'il Milan', the team Andrea Rizzoli would become the president of in 1954.

⁹⁷ Agenzia Palmas, 'Raf Vallone in una scena del film [...]', *Il Calcio Illustrato*, 19 June 1952, CdRcs, *Gli eroi della domenica*.

⁹⁸ 'Raf Vallone calciatore celebre nel film *Gli eroi della domenica*', *Oggi*, 1 January 1953, CdRcs, *Gli eroi della domenica*; Stephen Gundle, *Fame amid the Ruins: Italian Film Stardom in the Age of Neorealism* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2020), p. 282.

exploits the use of the still photographs.⁹⁹ The image chosen for Del Buono's presentation article, which highlighted the director's efforts and virtuosity in creating a popular film, recalls another prevalent theme in the selection: the director is shown 'wearing a straw hat' in a stadium that must have been familiar to the readers,¹⁰⁰ thus evoking the characteristics of his 'friendly humanity'.¹⁰¹



Figure 6.14 'The Retired Man and the Girl', print selected for the back cover of *Oggi*, 25 May 1951, CdRcs.

If the image of a Fernandel–Don Camillo struggling with a plate of spaghetti reflected the film's pacifying aim, this emphasis on everyday life could also be applied to less obvious films.¹⁰² *Oggi* announced that the shoot of *Umberto D.* had begun with a story that depicted the protagonists, after they 'had finally been discovered by De Sica', in a family-type pose (Figure 6.14).¹⁰³ The presence in the file on the film of Solmi's review as well as other articles, including a rare paper clipping from the Italian Communist Party's official newspaper *L'Unità*, shows that the film had a certain institutional importance.¹⁰⁴ *Oggi's* critic Solmi did not hesitate to describe the protagonist as a 'blunt' person, while Rizzoli himself had defined him as a 'disagreeable old man',¹⁰⁵ in relation to a 'film that exemplifies the

cultural aspect of the seventh art, and which the audience can therefore not ignore'.¹⁰⁶ For the purpose of creating a potential familiarity, the sequence of 'the awakening in the miserable kitchen' (of the little maid Maria's awakening) occupies a primary position in *Oggi's* photo essay, which was in line with the film's positive critical reception in the contemporary press.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the caption softens certain aspects, like the doubts about the identity of the

⁹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Cult of Unity and Cultivated Differences', in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, ed. by Boltanski, Bourdieu and others, pp. 14-72 (pp. 59, 62).

¹⁰⁰ Oreste Del Buono, 'Il regista Camerini dirige un incontro di calcio', *Oggi*, 19 June 1952, p. 38.

¹⁰¹ This definition appeared in: Angelo Solmi, 'La cordiale umanità di Don Camillo', *Oggi*, 27 March 1952, p. 37.

¹⁰² 'Presentato a Parigi Don Camillo rinnova il suo enorme successo', *Oggi*, 9 July 1953, back cover.

¹⁰³ 'Il pensionato e la ragazza', *Oggi*, 25 May 1951, back cover.

¹⁰⁴ 'Chiedetelo a Vanoni che cosa pensa di Umberto D.', *L'Unità*, 4 March 1952, CdRcs, Umberto D.

¹⁰⁵ These are Rizzoli's comments, according to Leo Benvenuti: 'Look, Vittorio [De Sica], that man is nasty. Look, Vittorio, this is a nasty old man'. Stringa, *Il Padrone sono me*, p. 136. Despite the esteem De Sica enjoyed, having already won two Oscars, the film caused the production a number of problems linked to its limited commercial success and to [...] the position expressed by the undersecretary of the State Giulio Andreotti [Sottosegretario di Stato alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri con delega agli Spettacoli].

¹⁰⁶ Angelo Solmi, 'Umberto D. di De Sica, film senza compromessi', *Oggi*, 14 February 1952, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

father of Maria's unborn child, thereby highlighting the girl's passivity.¹⁰⁸ The cropping of the images reveals an attempt to reduce the 'realistic' and 'hallucinatory' role of the urban spaces,¹⁰⁹ and to increase the relevance of details, like the dog, the nun and the child (Daniela), which were familiar to *Oggi's* readership. While maintaining a poetic and reassuring approach, the prints selected for the film's last scene in the draft of the Dear film pressbook do not seem to have been cropped. The presence in the publisher's archival folders of these archival materials, which are related to the production company's advertising, raises doubts about the integrated functions of *Oggi's* photo essays and the film's official pressbooks.¹¹⁰

More popular films like *Pane, amore e fantasia* (Luigi Comencini, 1953) testify to the connection between the magazines and the rose-tinting of Neorealism. In the folder of *I Sogni nel cassetto*, the 1957 film by Renato Castellani, the editorial approaches of the various periodicals examined (i.e. *Oggi*, *L'Europeo*, *Novella* and *Annabella*) seem to mix effortlessly in the large number of clippings included in the folder (about seventy).¹¹¹ The image Cineriz chose for the lobby card (echoed in one of the posters), which drew attention to the problems of the two protagonists as they struggle with university exams and an unexpected pregnancy, was reused in the film's presentation in *Oggi* and *Annabella*. This decision was meant to cast light on elements of social distress and latent dramatic implications in the film, which Solmi described to the readers of *Oggi* as 'a fragile love story'.¹¹² The protagonist's anti-bourgeois impulse could be toned down in the lively and humane typeface of *Oggi's* captions, whereas a light romantic tone and drama coexisted without any significant differences in the various magazines. With a similar iconographic repertoire, the paper clipping of Stelio Martini's article in *Cinema Nuovo* casts a doubt on the 'internal necessity of history', an 'authentic structure' that would motivate the last choices of the plot.¹¹³ In fact, in July 1956, there were still two possible endings to the film that were being considered: an optimistic one – 'applauded by the production team' – and a dramatic one, which was marked by the female protagonist's death in labour (favoured by the director).¹¹⁴ The clippings related to the two endings – namely the family portrait in *Annabella* and that of the male protagonist (now a widower) in *Oggi*, which was published the following year – appear as two possible solutions that are not necessarily

¹⁰⁸ 'Umberto D. il più recente film di Vittorio De Sica', *Oggi*, 17 January 1952, pp. 20–21.

¹⁰⁹ Stefania Parigi, *Fisiologia dell'immagine: Il pensiero di Cesare Zavattini* (Torino: Lindau, 2008), p. 241.

¹¹⁰ CdRcs, Umberto D. These prints may have been sent to *Corriere della Sera* and acquired by Rizzoli in a subsequent moment.

¹¹¹ Stelio Martini, 'I sogni nel cassetto', *Cinema Nuovo*, 25 July 1956, pp. 46–49, CdRcs, I sogni nel cassetto.

¹¹² Angelo Solmi, 'Una delicata storia d'amore fra i banchi universitari di Pavia', *Oggi*, 7 June 1956, p. 17.

¹¹³ Martini, 'I sogni nel cassetto', p. 47.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

contradictory in the archival file.¹¹⁵ Likewise, the stamp of *Oggi* that has been applied to some materials confirms the management of the clippings by magazine archives and their subsequent integration into the General Photographic Archive.



Figure 6.15 'La dolce vita the most brilliant film of Italian cinema', *Oggi*, 11 February 1960, pp. 32–33.

The vast selection of prints on *La dolce vita* that are preserved in the archive covers the film's entire time span, albeit with a very different level of detail. 'The surprise element' mentioned in Lo Duca's letter (See chapter 4) does not seem to be the key point of Cineriz's strategy,¹¹⁶ even if some episodes are barely represented, like the transportation of the statue of Christ in the prologue. The press campaign followed the development of the film's production, including *Oggi's* reports on the casting, which associated the director's prestige with the accessibility of new faces and background actors.¹¹⁷ Among others, the photo shoots of Duilio Pallottelli for *L'Europeo* documented 'the explosion of pantheistic vitalism',¹¹⁸ which was evident in the shooting of the scenes relating to Anita Ekberg.¹¹⁹ The reconstruction at Cinecittà of the Via Veneto offered an occasion to show Angelo Rizzoli sitting at one of the fake bar tables with Fellini.¹²⁰ Finally, the prints for *Oggi's* film photo essay had the task of dismantling – once the

¹¹⁵ 'Enrico Pagani, Lilla Brignone', *Archivio di Oggi*, 41, 1957; 'Enrico Pagani, Lea Massari, 1955', CdRcs, I sogni nel cassetto.

¹¹⁶ Lo Duca, Letter to Gigi De Santis, 2 March 1960, CSC, FC, *La dolce vita*, Francia.

¹¹⁷ 'Fellini cerca un volto', *Oggi*, 8 October 1958, pp. 50–51, CSC, FC, RS, *La Dolce Vita*; Pensotti, 'Via Veneto reciterà per Fellini'.

¹¹⁸ Kezich, *Noi che abbiamo fatto la dolce vita*, p. 57.

¹¹⁹ Minuzzo, 'La Città Quasi Nuda'.

¹²⁰ Luigi Cavicchioli, 'Ricostruita tale e quale la via veneto della dolce vita', *Oggi*, 18 June 1959, pp. [31–33], CSC, FC, RS, *La dolce vita*.

film was released – the element of surprise by explaining the film’s most daring aspects to the readers. As the captions clarify, Ekberg ‘did not hesitate to repeat certain sensational episodes that actually enlivened her Roman visits’, whereas Nadia Gray ‘interprets a scene that happened for real in the “Rugantino” restaurant’ (Figure 6.15).¹²¹ There was no need to specify that the scene in question depicted Aiche Nanà’s striptease in November 1958, which was widely discussed in the press. The photos and press cuttings that inspired Fellini are only a small part of that broad coverage by the periodical press that is conveyed by the centralised archive. The link between events that are documented in the news section and the coverage of their reappearance in the film offers concrete evidence of the overlooked aspects that were implicit to the cinema-goer’s experience.

In this regard, what is also important to note is the coverage accorded to the film’s release in cinemas, which was largely absent from the other files analysed. I am not just referring to images of the audience at the film’s premieres. One might wonder if there was any humour in the picture of a ‘police officer trying to keep photographers away with an umbrella’ at the end of a debate about the film.¹²² The photographer who documented one of the premieres ironically emphasised the counter-position between the crowd queuing up and the posters behind them. There is an impression of proximity with the people smiling at the photographer, seemingly proud to be represented on this specific occasion. The sense of expectation and desire is amplified by the window displays at the back; like a magical box, they show – one after another – Fellini’s name, Ekberg’s curves and Mastroianni’s face (Figure 6.16).¹²³

The synergy between the film and the archive is perhaps most effectively demonstrated by the large number of prints relating to the iconic bathing scene of ‘Anita in the fountain’. The archive allows us to consider the event from which the scene originated (the *archè*), namely Ekberg’s real-life, improvised dip in the Trevi fountain in the summer of 1958. It is, however, the coverage of the shoot that certifies its historical relevance. The large number of prints that are characterised by relevant or more subtle variations in frames function as an indexical reassurance that demonstrates the event’s experiential dimension. The case of *La dolce vita*, then, presents itself as a perfect example of the Rizzoli approach to cinema and, more

¹²¹ ‘*La dolce vita*, Il film più geniale del cinema italiano’.

¹²² Fotovedo, ‘Un brigadiere di polizia tenta di allontanare i fotografi con l’ombrello’, 2 December 1960, CdRcs, *La dolce vita*.

¹²³ ItalPress Milano (Mario Coppini), ‘Prima ‘*Dolce Vita*’, *Oggi*, CdRcs, *La dolce vita*.

generally, of the synergy between the film and the editorial archive – and perhaps also as an example of the ‘film as nothing but a spatial archive for points in time’.¹²⁴



Figure 6.16 Italpress (Mario Coppini), People queuing in front of a cinema for the premiere of La dolce vita, CdRcs.

Conclusion

The encounter between cinema and the press in the middle decades of the twentieth century finds its material manifestation in the documentation centres of major publishing houses like Rizzoli and Mondadori. The most obvious purpose of these centres was to serve the needs of the company, by supporting journalistic investigations and meeting the increasing need for visual materials. Preserved for internal reuse in the magazines and for their commercial values, these collections remained as a crucial repertoire of the companies' past activities and future projections. The 'excess' of the preserved materials gives a tangible sense of the 'documentary impulse': the belief in cinema, photography and the archive as a crucial means of creating and organising a historical and institutional memory.¹²⁵

The potential of picture research was addressed by personalities such as Cesare Zavattini, in his roles as editorial director at Rizzoli and Mondadori. While suggesting a less encyclopaedic approach for *Epoca*, his attempt was to promote innovative forms of image selection in line with new approaches to visual knowledge, which were discussed on an international level. The reorganisation of the magazines' archives in central structures during the 1950s might have implied the creation of a more intuitive, user-directed space. In the newly organised centres, all

¹²⁴ Wittmann, 'Inside the Memory: Re-Membering the Archive with Bergson, Freud and Peirce', in *L'archivio*, ed. by Bordina, Campanini, and Mariani, pp. 19–27 (p. 22).

¹²⁵ Mitman and Wilder, 'Introduction', in *Documenting the World*. Ebook.

films appeared as equally collectable in an alphabetical order that did not seem to imply any kind of hierarchy regarding the prints received by magazines. While taking into consideration the cinematic imagery in Rizzoli, the institutional form of the archive clearly emerges in the number of files that testify to the entrepreneur's role in film production and distribution. This last chapter has addressed this matter while questioning the existence of potential conventions behind the selection processes and the definition of visual narratives in the magazines.

It may sound obvious that relations of visual equivalence, similar iconographic approaches, emerge between pictures, in relation to their provenance and function (the different magazines).¹²⁶ Perhaps the most predictable pattern concerns the association of stereotyped images of romance and glamour with women's magazines, while aesthetic and socially concerned themes appear to be predominant in *L'Europeo*. When taking into consideration the number of images per magazine, *Oggi* confirms its pivotal function in the way it received and published the materials coming from Rizzoli Film production. Here the high number of images was related to the articles and photo essays that sometimes functioned as magazine versions of the film press-books. The editorial practices analysed in this and in the previous chapters also allows for a better understanding of recurring narratives within the prints related to different magazines. Among other things, the persuasive themes of humanism or human benevolence pervading the magazine's narratives in the early 1950s informed the use of photos that presented a film's cast and directors. In cases of controversial narratives, the accentuation of these human portraits counterbalanced the captions of the film stills depicting bleak aspects of the Italian modernisation process. The stylistic choices adopted by set photographers such as Pierluigi Praturlon and Tazio Secchiaroli in order to record Fellini's set appeared to be crucial, with images suited to a large selection of magazines, from *Sogno* to *Oggi* and *L'Europeo*.

The contribution of in-house photographers to the expansion of the perspectives on events connected to *La dolce vita* is also materialised in the replication of prints. In the archival section that contains photo shoots produced by these photographers, the distinction between *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* was determined by pragmatic organisational issues. Less visible were other hierarchical factors. According to the sources, it was in fact the staff of *L'Europeo* who had first choice when it came to selecting archival materials, while they also sought – over a long period – to maintain the privilege of having a separate, exclusive collection of photographic materials.

¹²⁶ The provenance ranges from the materials sent by photographic agencies and production companies to those produced by in-house photographers.

CONCLUSION

While talking about one of his best-known films, Federico Fellini asserted that *La dolce vita*'s imagery 'was nourished by the life proposed in the glossy magazines [...], *L'Europeo*, *Oggi*; [...] that way of photographing parties, that excessively refined layout. The weeklies represented the unsettling mirror of a society forever celebrating itself, representing itself, giving itself awards'.¹ A similar prejudice against news magazines, that could be termed 'apocalyptic' following Umberto Eco's definition, can be found in numerous critical studies that focussed on the limitations, censorship and distortions effected by the most widespread peritexts on the most innovative aspects of the new cinematic imagery.² It is interesting, however, to observe how the two periodicals mentioned by Fellini, *Oggi* in particular, were not only vehicles for promoting, but also a source of funding, for some of the director's most famous films. Fellini himself had been an active contributor to this propaganda, thanks to cleverly orchestrated relations with the press that typically started during the early stages of a film's production.

The thesis has documented the role of significant news periodicals in what can be called an operation of extensive, far-reaching cinematographic propaganda in the period between 1950 and 1965. These cinema promotion strategies have been addressed through the analysis of production sites and a wide range of documentation unearthed in various archives. In this perspective, the case of Rizzoli, with its dual identity as a publishing house and a film production company, represented a fertile ground for investigation. The periodicals that have been analysed allowed the combining of cultural, educational and commercial purposes to emerge in relation to the cinema, in the hybrid territory of the weekly news. In this sense, the research falls within the perspective of studies that highlight the role played by periodicals in the post-war period in defining a renewed national identity, which aimed at reconciling the impact of consumer society with the dictates of Italian high culture, Catholic values and the progressist approach of a certain journalistic milieu.

This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge in four ways. First, it offers new insights into the close links between cinema and the illustrated press and consequently to the

¹ Federico Fellini, *Intervista sul cinema*, ed. by Giovanni Grazzini, (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2004 [1983]), p. 110.

² Eco, *Apocalittici e Integrati*.

understanding of the formation and diffusion of a cinematic imagery in post-war Italy. Second, it does not, like many studies of magazines, focus purely on the printed article; rather it brings editorial processes and actors into the picture and examines their roles. Third, it highlights the important and hitherto unstudied role of publishers' documentation centres in collecting, cataloguing, preserving and facilitating the re-presentation of the imagery of cinema that was so important to the magazines over the period of this study and after. Fourth, by means of the methodological innovations identified above, the thesis enriches our understanding of the place of cinema in the Italian media system.

The building of a large customer base for Italian cinema in the early 1950s was joined by the educational and cultural inclinations of the news press. Throughout the decade, these periodicals played an active role in defining a film anthology, created for what was seen as the emerging middle class, a privileged target in terms of the new ethos of consumption. An essential example of this is the case of the early years of *Epoca*, which in its earliest form could be considered as a manifestation in the publishing world of Cesare Zavattini's theoretical reflections, more specifically of his attempt to extend the assumptions of cinematic neorealism. In this case it was not only the circle of directors, such as Michelangelo Antonioni, Vittorio De Sica and Mario Soldati, that was called upon to interact with readers, but the publishing framework and the entire magazine that made *Epoca* a fertile field of interaction between the film industry and the press.

Though different in scope, the occurrence of cinematic imagery in *Oggi* and *L'Europeo* is linked to the educational function of two periodicals, conceived within Rizzoli's operations as points of reference for the two poles – conservative and progressive – of the middle class. If, on the one hand, the privileged role of the imagery linked to films produced or distributed by Rizzoli is confirmed by the analysis of the documents, on the other hand the ways in which the materials circulated relate to forms of acceptance or resistance in regard to the expectations of the publisher/producer. The commercial appeal of the faces and personalities chosen for magazine covers, a factor directly related to the circulation and survival of the magazine, can be put forward among the causes of resistance to the publisher's demands. However, it is the assumption of the quality of the film or its compatibility with the journalistic needs of the news magazines that generated the most interesting areas for negotiation. The parallel action of the weeklies, which in the biggest Rizzoli productions extended to the entire range of his periodicals, shows strategies for expanding the 'customer base' of authorial brands that could penetrate the axis of the negotiations between the publisher and the editorial environment. It was a joint operation that until the early 1960s aimed in various ways at unifying a wide

audience around the 'auteur' film, 'super colosso d'autore' to quote Vittorio Spinazzola definition.³ An operation that, around the mid-1960s, started to fade in *Oggi's* visual apparatus, leaving space for the growing presence of personalities and themes that were featured also on television.

If the imagery of the main productions connected with the publisher had to be present in the repertoire of the different periodicals, the ways in which the images circulated varied significantly. The gallery of promotional texts regards a significant quantity of iconographic materials divided into the different forms of covers, images with comments and photo essays. The various levels of legitimation of a film can indeed be understood through the analysis of the type of columns, the frequency of references and mentions, and the number of periodicals involved. It is the game of contradictions, the mismatching of text and image, that offers the points of greatest interest in this sense and reveals the presence of different actors in the editorial process.

Is there an implicit regulatory plan for this presumed type of reader? Some key figures, such as Angelo Solmi, the film critic and managing editor of *Oggi*, appealed to the theorist Luigi Chiarini to offer readers appropriate tools for evaluation. The galleries of images and photo stories defined as 'real works of art' led to the identification of a corpus of films that were recognizable above all as 'the work of a creative individuality'.⁴ In adapting the difficult tones of the 'auteur' story to a predominantly Catholic readership, the imagery drawn from De Sica's, Antonioni's and Fellini's films functioned as a visual repertoire to paint frescoes of the darker sides of contemporary life. Here the role of captions in orienting the act of spectatorial narration was established, in a manner that has been emphasized by critical literature. In this sense, they followed the tradition of investigative journalism and adopted the moralistic tone taken by periodicals after the war, balancing the growing emphasis on the aspirational gallery of the stars' fabulous homes and the appeal of American-style advertising. The repertoires of the 'auteur' perspective also found ample space in the pages of *L'Europeo*, albeit included in the unmasking approach that largely characterized the magazine's editorial line. The grainy shots and the accentuation of the dark and light contrast in the photo reportage on the set contributed to broadening the range of possibilities in approaching filmic imagery, alongside the plurality of voices that could accompany the interventions of directors, screenwriters and critics.

³ Spinazzola, *Cinema e pubblico*.

⁴ Emiliano Morreale, *Cinema d'autore degli anni Sessanta*, p. 26.

It is undoubtedly the synergy between the publishing context and film production that generated the most interesting promotional scenarios. The plans of the Cineriz advertising office in the late 1950s confirmed the exclusive rights granted to Rizzoli periodicals for press materials. In establishing a routine that saw the formation of intricate relations between press and production, the presence of photographers and journalists on the set materialized in the magazines with reports that were published on a regular basis. From the initial casting stages, in which the press often played an active role, the periodicals followed the double track of the glamour event and of collective participation extended to new urban scenarios. The endorsement of the nighttime 'rituals' connected with the filming of *La dolce vita* confirms this, but the synergy arising from more or less formal relations between film production and the press also attests to the exploration of attraction strategies conceived for the wide range of readers. Among other approaches, in Antonioni's vision the spectacular dimension of colour applied to scenes of Ferrara was intended to stimulate the interest and curiosity of audiences for *Deserto rosso*. The array of attractive motifs could appeal to new pagan rituals (*La dolce vita*), the fascination for the exotic (*L'eclisse*), and the dreamlike and unconscious dimension of mystery (*8½*), as well as the more predictable leitmotif of eros. While these motifs were recurrent in a wide selection of contemporary periodicals, in the domain of Rizzoli the work of containing the grounds for scandal and censorship was more evident, which in the vision of *Oggi* could not compromise the results of the new Italian cinema. The magazine with the widest circulation therefore had the job of stemming the exceeding of limits between gossip and the exploration of the new standards of moral conduct, which directors like Fellini were able to articulate with great effectiveness. *L'Europeo*, due to the prestige it had acquired in the circulation of images, was by contrast freer to play on a relationship of complicity with the expert reader, a reader who became the recipient and privileged observer of cinematic imagery in the second half of the decade.

PRIMARY SOURCES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND FILMOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

a) Archives

Apice (Archivi della Parola, dell'Immagine e della Comunicazione Editoriale) (Milan, Università degli Studi)

Archivio Cesare Zavattini (Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Panizzi)

Archivio di Stato di Milano (Milan)

Archivio Eredi Fallaci (Milan)

Archivio Giancolombo (Milan)

Archivio Guareschi (Roncole Verdi, Parma)

Archivio Storico Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori (Milan)

Archivio Storico Fondazione Corriere della Sera (Milan)

Archivio Storico Intesa Sanpaolo (Milan)

Centro Documentazione Mondadori (Milan, Gruppo Mondadori)

Centro Documentazione Rcs Mediagroup (Milan, Rcs Mediagroup)

Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia (Rome, Archivio Fotografico della Cineteca Nazionale and Biblioteca 'Luigi Chiarini')

b) Published Memoirs and Testimonies

'Chi va piano', *Panorama*, 25 July 1983, CdRcs, Giorgio Fattori.

'How Picture Post is Produced', *Picture Post*, 24 December 1938, 44-52.

Arnold, Mathew, 'Up to Easter', W.T. Stead Resource Site
<<https://www.attackingthediabol.co.uk/related/easter.php>> [accessed 21 February 2021].

Bertoldi, Silvio, 'Sono un uomo fortunato', *Oggi*, 6 October 1970, pp. 21-23.

Bertoldi, Silvio, 'Tutte le sfide dell'ex Martinitt', *Corriere della Sera*, 31 October 1989, p. 5.

- Biagi, Enzo, 'Rizzoli, commenda aspro e sentimentale', *Corriere della Sera*, 31 October 1989, p. 5.
- Bianciardi, Luciano, *La vita agra* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2013). Kindle ebook.
- Bianciardi, Luciano, *L'integrazione: Un ritratto scettico e pungente di 'giovane letterato disintegrato'* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 2014). Kindle ebook.
- Bocca, Giorgio, *È la stampa, bellezza! La mia avventura nel giornalismo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2014). Kindle ebook.
- Bonacina, Riccardo, 'La piccola Italia di Edilio il Grande', *Il Sabato*, 16 February 1985, p. 16.
- Bryher, *The Heart to Artemis: A Writer's Memoirs* (London: Collins, 1963), pp. 264–5.
- Buttafava, Vittorio, and others, eds, *Pagine Nostre: Angelo Rizzoli*, October 1970.
- Carraro, Nicola, and Alberto Rizzoli, *Rizzoli: La vera storia di una grande famiglia italiana* (Milan: Mondadori, 2015).
- Cederna, Camilla, *Nostra Italia del miracolo* (Milano: Longanesi, 1980).
- Chiaretti, Tommaso, 'I vizi del critico', *Film selezione*, July-August 1963, pp. 47-48.
- De Micheli, Osvaldo, *La mia dolce vita: Il grande cinema da Fellini a Troisi e Benigni* (Roma: Edizioni Sabinae, 2013).
- Del Buono, Oreste, 'Da quarant'anni è sempre Oggi', *L'Europeo*, 17 August 1985, p. 91.
- Della Monica, Francesca, "Attraverso i tuoi occhi": *Gianfranco Moroldo racconta se stesso* (Viddalba: Sedizioni Diego Dejacco, 2013).
- Fallaci, Oriana, *I sette peccati di Hollywood* (Milan: Longanesi, 1958).
- Fallaci, Oriana, *Gli antipatici* (Milan: BUR, 2014). Kindle ebook. First published in 1963.
- Fallaci, Oriana, *L'Italia della dolce vita* (Milan: BUR, 2009). Kindle ebook.
- Gerosa, Guido, 'Il fiore all'occhiello', in *Epoca 1950–1969: L'Italia e gli Italiani nei primi 1000 numeri di un grande settimanale*, ed. by Angelo Ponta (Milan: Rizzoli, 2017), p. 14.
- Giglio, Tommaso, *Marilyn Monroe* (Parma: Guanda, 1956).
- Granata, Pino, 'Quando andavamo in via Civitavecchia', 2017
<<https://www.uominielbusiness.it/default.aspx?c=647&a=25801&tag=Quando-andavamo-in-via-Civitavecchia>> [accessed 18 February 2018].
- Hicks, Wilson, 'What Is Photojournalism?', in *Photographic Communication*, ed. by R. Smith Schuneman (New York: Hastings House, 1972), pp. 19–56.
- Kezich, Tullio, 'Fellini: "Un misto di Bonaventura, zio Paperone e Papà Natale"', *Corriere della Sera*, 31 ott. 1989, p. 5.
- Kezich, Tullio, *Federico Fellini: His Life and Work* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007).
- Kezich, Tullio, *Noi che abbiamo fatto La dolce vita* (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 2009).
- Magri, Enzo, 'Europeo: Un Giglio all'occhiello del "commenda"', *Tabloid* (2004)
<<http://www.odg.mi.it/node/31349>> [accessed 1 April 2018].

- Marotta, Giuseppe, *A Milano non fa freddo* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1987). First published in 1949.
- Milo, Sandra, *Caro Federico* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1982).
- Mondadori, Alberto, *Lettere di una vita, 1922-1975*, ed. by Giancarlo Ferretti (Milan: Mondadori, 1996).
- Montanelli, Indro, 'Angelo Rizzoli', *Corriere della Sera*, 25 September 1970, p. 3.
- Mosca, Giovanni, 'L'uomo d'oro e il suo sogno', *Il Corriere d'Informazione*, 25 September 1970, p. 3.
- Pansa, Giampaolo, 'Edilio il nostalgico che ha voglia di *Corriere*', *La Repubblica*, 20 September 1984, p. 7.
- Patellani, Federico, 'Il giornalista nuova formula', in *Fotografia: prima rassegna dell'attività fotografica in Italia*, ed. by Ermanno F. Scopinich (Milan: Gruppo Editoriale Domus, 1943)
http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/docs/percorsi/Il_giornalista_nuova_formula.pdf [accessed 1 July 2018].
- Pillitteri, Angelo, and others, eds, *Angelo Rizzoli: 31 ottobre 1889-31 ottobre 1989* (Milan: RCS, [1989]).
- Photojournalism* (Time-life Books: New York, 1971).
- Prada, Paolo, 'Carosello: parla il papà', *Pubblicità domani*, 21 January 1977, pp. 14-15.
- Radius, Emilio, *La rivoluzione della donna* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1967).
- Radius, Emilio, *Cinquant'anni di giornalismo* (Milan: G. Miano Editore, 1969).
- Rizzoli, Angelo, 'Lettera dell'Editore', *Oggi*, 8 July 1954, p. 4.
- Rizzoli, Angelo, 'Una lettera sulla crisi del cinema', *Oggi*, 25, 1956, pp. 3-4.
- Rondi, Gian Luigi, 'Brunello, Federico ed io', in *8 1/2 raccontato dagli Archivi Rizzoli* (Roma: Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, 2008), pp. 5-6.
- Solmi, Angelo, *Storia di Federico Fellini* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1962).
- Sorrentino, Lamberti, 'La passione del mestiere', *Tempo illustrato*, July 1984, p. 65.
- Vitti, Monica, *Sette sottane* (Milan: Sperling & Kupfer, 1993).
- Vittorini, Elio, 'La foto strizza l'occhio alla pagina', *Cinema nuovo*, 15 April 1954 (repr. in Elio Vittorini, *Letteratura arte società. Articoli e interventi 1938-1965*, ed. by Raffaella Rodondi (Turin: Einaudi, 2008), pp. 701-708).
- Wainwright, Loudon, *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of LIFE* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

c) Press Sources Analysed in the Thesis

- 'An Animated Magazine in the Making', *The Banbury Advertiser*, 7 April 1921, p. 3.
- 'Anita Ekberg e Mastroianni hanno incominciato a vivere *La dolce vita* di Fellini', 26 March 1959, *Oggi*, back cover.

- 'Antonioni narra nel suo nuovo film *L'eclisse* il dramma di una donna che non sa più amare', *Oggi*, 19 April 1962, pp. 62–63.
- 'Attori e canarini', letter of Giuliana Guapa, reply by Michelangelo Antonioni, *Epoca*, 18 November 1950, p. 4.
- 'Cercavano una miss e scopersero un'attrice: Liliana Bonfatti', *Oggi*, 31 July 1952, cover.
- 'Divorzio: pro e contro', *Oggi*, 13 November 1953, p. 12.
- 'Dopo dieci anni Gina non vuole più seguire i consigli del marito', *Oggi*, 14 February 1963, cover.
- 'Due settimane a Miami per Anna Maria Pierangeli', *Oggi*, 12 April 1956, cover.
- 'È arte il cinema?', letter of Giovanni Luzzatti; reply by Mario Soldati, *Epoca*, 11 November 1950, p. 6.
- 'Finale a Cannes', *Novella*, 25 May 1961, CSC, FC, RS Venere imperiale.
- 'Gina e il produttore Rizzoli a Cannes', *Bella*, 28 May 1961, p. 13.
- 'Gina interpreta Paolina con tanto entusiasmo e zelo che rischia di dimagrire', *Oggi*, 21 June 1962, cover.
- 'Gina Lollobrigida dalla ciociaria allo schermo', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951, pp. 10-11.
- 'Gina Lollobrigida leggerà la ventura sulle linee della mano', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951, cover.
- 'Gli idoli maledetti', *L'Europeo*, 2 July 1961, cover.
- 'Guareschi presenta *Don Camillo*, il film ricavato dal suo libro', *Oggi*, 13 March 1952, pp. 12–14.
- 'I figli del divorzio', 12 August 1951, p. 30.
- 'I nastri d'argento', *Oggi*, 20 February 1958.
- 'Il migliore René Clair nelle *Belle di notte*', *Oggi*, 4 December 1952, pp. 16–17.
- 'Il pensionato e la ragazza', *Oggi*, 25 May 1951, back cover.
- 'Il Quirinale e la crisi', *L'Europeo*, 12 July 1953, cover.
- 'Il romanzo dei vivi', *Oggi*, 12 February 1946, cover.
- 'In *Pinky* l'insoluto problema americano dei pregiudizi di razza', *Oggi*, 2 February 1950, pp. 20-21.
- 'In casa di Silvana Mangano riuniti per l'anno nuovo', *Oggi*, 10 January 1952, cover.
- 'La battaglia delle feste a Cannes', *Settimana Incom*, 21 May 1961, CSC, FC, RS Venere imperiale.
- 'La bella di notte', *L'Europeo*, 17 May 1952, cover.
- 'La bionda Marilyn Monroe con *A qualcuno piace caldo* ha vinto una nuova battaglia', *Oggi*, 6 October 1959, cover.
- '*La dolce vita*, il film più geniale del cinema italiano', *Oggi*, 11 February 1960, pp. 32–35.
- 'La protagonista dello scandalo del Rugantino sulla via del pentimento cristiano', *Oggi*, 3 March 1960, CSC, FC, RS, *La dolce vita*.

'La Rizzoli Film presenta Lucrezia Borgia', *Cine-Illustrato*, 15 February 1955, pp. 1–41.

'Le fatiche di un regista', *Sogno*, 10 September 1959, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

'Lucrezia Borgia', *Cine-Illustrato*, 15 February 1955, cover.

'Lyz Taylor adotterà una bimba italiana che si chiama Maria', *Oggi*, 25 January 1962, cover.

'Mamma Silvana', *L'Europeo*, 5 July 1953, back cover.

'Martine Carol nella più sfarzosa *Lucrezia Borgia* dello schermo', *Oggi*, 19 November 1953, pp. 24–27.

'Mia moglie Monica Vitti', *Gioia*, 14 November 1963, pp. 56–58, CSC, FC, RS, Deserto Rosso.

'Monica e il vento', *Oggi*, 5 November 1961, CSC, FC, RS, L'eclisse.

'Per Lucrezia Borgia la bionda Martine Carol è dimagrita di tre chili', *Oggi*, 19 November 1953, cover.

'Per l'editoria', *Notiziario Culturale*, 16 May 1950, p. 2.

'Myriam crocerossina', *L'Europeo*, 3 July 1955, cover.

'Quando Fellini tace Antonioni si preoccupa', *L'Espresso*, 20 October 1963, CSC, FC, RS, Deserto Rosso.

'*Quattro in una jeep*, il film che ha fatto arrabbiare Stalin', *Oggi*, 22 November 1951, pp. 12–13.

'Queen Mary Helps to Make Film History', *Daily Mirror*, 25 March 1939, p. 17.

'Raf Vallone calciatore celebre nel film *Gli eroi della domenica*', *Oggi*, 1 January 1953, CdRcs.

'Roma. Peppino Amato insieme a Federico Fellini [...]', *L'Europeo*, 23 November 1958.

'Fellini cerca un volto', *Oggi*, 8 October 1958, pp. [50]-51, CSC, FC, RS La dolce vita.

'Septembre 38, le mois le plus dramatique que le monde ait vécu depuis vingt ans', *Match*, 6 October 1938.

'Le plus étranges métiers de Hollywood', *Match*, 6 October 1938.

'Servizio fotografico speciale sul matrimonio di Elisabetta d'Inghilterra', *Oggi*, 30 November 1947, pp. 12–15.

'Take a Kodak with You', *Photoplay Magazine*, October 1917, p. 103.

'Tra maghi e fantasmi, Fellini ci narra a colori il dramma coniugale di Giulietta', *Oggi*, 44, 4 November 1965, pp. 50–54.

'*Umberto D.* Il più recente film di Vittorio De Sica', *Oggi*, 17 January 1952, pp. 20–21.

'Un pachiderma per le vie di Roma nel film *Buongiorno elefante*', *Oggi*, 6 March 1952, pp. 12-13.

'Un peu de publicité', *Le Rire*, 4 August 1906, pp. 8-9.

'Vivi Gioi: attrice, pittrice, sarta e architetto', *Oggi*, 14 November 1951, back cover.

Alberti, Walter, 'Cinquant'anni di cinema francese', *Cinema*, 15 April 1954, p. 206.

Antonioni, Michelangelo, 'Il mio Deserto', *L'Europeo*, 16 August 1964, pp. 42–54.

- Benedetti, Arrigo and others (eds.), *Storia del Cinema* (Milan: L'Europeo-Editoriale Domus, 1952).
- Bertoldi, Silvio, 'Commedie e drammi della bellezza femminile: Elsa Martinelli l'ideale delle donne magre', *Oggi*, 18 June 1959, pp. 22–28.
- Bertoldi, Silvio, 'Commedie e drammi della bellezza femminile: Emma Danieli, il telesorriso della sera', *Oggi*, 20 August 1959, pp. 26–30.
- Biagi, Enzo, 'Amano insieme il ballo e l'umorismo', *Oggi*, 30 November 1947, pp. 10–11.
- Cambria, Adele, 'Sangue blu in bikini', *Il Giorno*, 31 July 1957, CSC, FC, RS, Vacanze a Ischia.
- Cavicchioli, Luigi, 'Storia del loro amore - Per merito di "Pallina" smise di essere vitellone', *Oggi*, 29 July 1954, pp. 26–28.
- Cavicchioli, Luigi, 'Ricostruita tale e quale la via Veneto della dolce vita', *Oggi*, 18 June 1959, [pp. 31–34], CSC, FC, RS, La dolce vita.
- Cederna, Camilla, 'Le stelle coi bigodini', *L'Europeo*, 5 July 1953, pp. 9–11.
- Cederna, Camilla, 'Entusiasmo fino al linciaggio al settimo festival di Cannes: La Lollobrigida coperta di lividi', *L'Europeo*, 4 April 1954, pp. 23–25.
- Cohn, Alfred, 'A Photo-Interview with Douglas Fairbanks', *Photoplay Magazine*, October 1917, 36–39.
- Costantini, Luigi, 'Basta con Pigmalione! Non mi ha inventata nessuno', *La Settimana Incom Illustrata*, 7 June 1964, pp. 42–47, CSC, FC, RS, Deserto Rosso.
- Del Buono, Oreste and Tommaso Giglio, 'Dalla "revisione" alla "verifica critica"', *Cinema Nuovo*, July–August 1961 (repr. in Guido Aristarco, *Sciolti dal giuramento: Il dibattito critico-ideologico sul cinema negli anni '50* (Bari: Dedalo, 1981), pp. 339–49).
- Meccoli, Domenico, 'Un regista per i poveri guitti', *Epoca*, 21 October 1950, pp. 73–78.
- Fallaci, Oriana, 'Su per la scala a chiocciola', *L'Europeo*, 6 August 1961, pp. 22–26.
- Fallaci, Oriana, 'Ma che cos'è questa Lollo?', *L'Europeo*, 23 December 1962, pp. 29–35.
- Fallaci, Oriana, 'Il peccatore insoddisfatto', *L'Europeo*, 17 February 1963, pp. 16–21.
- Fellini, Federico, 'Ho insegnato ad amare e ad odiare', *Settimana Incom*, 19 September 1959, pp. 26–29.
- Fellini, Federico, 'Guardiamolo con Fellini', *L'Europeo*, 6 January 1963, pp. 26–39.
- Ferruzza, Alfredo, 'La grande polemica sul film di Fellini', *Oggi*, 25 February 1960, CSC, FC, RS, La dolce vita.
- Gr[amigna], [Giuliano], 'Venere imperiale. La strada a spirale', *Corriere della Sera*, 23 December 1962, CdRcs, Venere imperiale.
- Kezich, Tullio, 'Fellini si è confessato con molte bugie', *Settimana Incom*, 24 February 1963, CSC, FC, RS, 8 1/2.
- Leydi, Roberto, 'Uomini scimmie e cose', *L'Europeo*, 22 April 1962, pp. 70–75.
- Libonati, Alberto, 'Finalmente posso sposare Michele', *Gente*, 7 November 1963, pp. 19–20.
- Lietta Tornabuoni, 'Abbiamo tutte gli spiriti di Giulietta', *Annabella*, October 1965, pp. 39–41.

- M. S., 'Le fatiche di un regista', *Sogno*, 10 September 1959.
- Marotta, Giuseppe, "'Fellini Otto e Mezzo' è uno struggente viaggio nell'uomo', *L'Europeo*, 17 February 1963, pp. 70-71.
- Marotta, Giuseppe, 'Romanzi e farse aldilà degli schermi', *L'Europeo*, 22 January 1956, p. 50.
- Martini, Stelio, 'I sogni nel cassetto', *Cinema Nuovo*, 25 July 1956, pp. 46-49, CdRcs, I sogni nel cassetto.
- Minuzzo, Nerio, 'La città quasi nuda', *L'Europeo*, 19 April 1959, pp. 24-29.
- Minuzzo, Nerio, 'Interurbana con Mosca', *L'Europeo*, 23 August 1959, pp. 38-42.
- Minuzzo, Nerio, 'Le anime del *Deserto rosso*', *L'Europeo*, [24 November 1963], pp. 44-51, CSC, FC, RS, *Deserto Rosso*.
- N.M.L., 'Venere imperiale', *Terra e Vita*, 24 January 1963, CdRcs, Venere imperiale.
- Napolitano, Gian Gaspare, 'Il film proibiti', *L'Europeo*, 29 March 1952, pp. 26-29.
- Palazzeschi, Aldo, 'Miracolo a Milano', *Epoca*, 14 October 1950, pp. 39-43.
- Palazzeschi, Aldo, 'Francesco, giullare di Dio', *Epoca*, 18 November 1950, pp. 51-55.
- Patellani, Federico, 'Big Ben scandiva il minuto', *Oggi*, 30 November 1947, p. 9.
- Pensotti, Anita, 'Tra un mese sarò la signora Antonioni', *Oggi*, 30 January 1964, pp. 18-21.
- Pensotti, Anita, 'Via Veneto reciterà per Fellini', *Oggi*, 13 November 1958, CSC, FC, RS *La dolce vita*.
- Quaglia, Maria, 'Si gira *Vacanze ad Ischia*', *L'Europeo*, 11 August 1957, pp. 40-43.
- Rondi, Gian Luigi, 'Fellini alla ricerca del tempo perduto scopre che la vita è degna di essere vissuta', *L'Europeo*, 3 March 1963, p. 52.
- Rusconi, Edilio, 'Lettere al direttore', *Oggi*, 7 January 1947, p. 2.
- Rusconi, Edilio, 'Lettere al direttore', *Oggi*, 22 December 1949, p. 2.
- Selz, Jean, 'Le cinéma et la mise en pages', *Presse-Publicité*, 28 March 1937, p. 8.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'Russia e Inghilterra giudicate da Hollywood', *Oggi*, 16 August 1951, p. 37.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'Umberto D. di De Sica, film senza compromessi', *Oggi*, 14 February 1952, p. 35.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'La cordiale umanità di Don Camillo', *Oggi*, 27 March 1952, p. 37.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'La più intelligente oca del mondo', *Oggi*, 6 October 1959, pp. 10-15.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'La discussa Eclisse di Antonioni', *Oggi*, 26 April 1962, p. 64.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'Un libro che aiuta a capire perchè un film è bello o è brutto', *Oggi*, 12 July 1962, p. 70.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'Fellini rivela i retroscena del film più atteso dell'anno', *Oggi*, 14 February 1963, pp. 48 - 51.
- Solmi, Angelo, 'Mi chiamo Fellini: prendetemi come sono', *Oggi*, 28 February 1963, CSC, FC, RS, 8 1/2.

- Sorel, 'L'An 1888', *La Caricature*, 22 December 1888, p. 404.
- Tolda, Guido, 'Una canzone per Monica', *Luna Park*, 15 February 1962, CSC, FC, RS, L'eclisse.
- Trionfera, Renzo, 'Roberto e Ingrid nell'antro della Sibilla', *L'Europeo*, 12 March 1953, pp. 34–35.
- Trionfera, Renzo, 'I milioni di *Ulisse*: 130 a Kirk Douglas 100 alla Mangano', *L'Europeo*, 4 June 1953, pp. 34–35.
- Trionfera, Renzo, 'Zavattini Regista', *L'Europeo*, 21 June 1953, pp. 32–33.
- Vogel, Lucien, 'VU: remarques sur un nouveau journal illustré', *VU*, 21 March 1928, p. 11.
- Whiting, John R. and George R. Clark, 'The Picture Magazines', *Harper's Magazine*, July 1943, p. 168.
- Zanotto, Piero, 'Camerini e il suo realismo rosa ritornano in Vacanze a Ischia', *Il Corriere di Trieste*, 24 July 1957, CSC, FC, RS Vacanze a Ischia.
- Zavattini, Cesare, 'Non è vero!', *Epoca*, 14 October 1950, p. 3.

d) Interviews

- Interview with Rosino Verri (former editor at the photographic department of *Il Giorno*; archivist, director at the Documentation Centre, Rizzoli Editore; copywriter at RAI), 8 November 2016, 4 April 2017.
- Interview with Giancarlo Penna (former director of the Magazine Manufacturing plant, Rizzoli Editore), 15 November 2017.
- Interview with Evaristo Fusar (former photographer at *L'Europeo*, Rizzoli Editore), 16 December 2017.
- Interview with Salvatore Giannella (former journalist at *L'Europeo*, Rizzoli Editore), 17 January 2018.
- Interview with Sabino Labia (responsible for the Documentation Centre, A. Mondadori Editore), 27 March 2018.
- Interview with Paolo Occhipinti (former picture researcher and editor of *Oggi*, Rizzoli Editore), 27 April 2018.
- Interview with Alberto Mantovani (former archivist, assistant director and director of the Documentation Centre, Rizzoli Editore) 22 January 2019; 5 July 2019.
- Interview with Paola Ricas (daughter of Rizzoli's advertising director Riccardo Ricas, former editor at *Bella*, *Novella*, Rizzoli Editore), 5 April 2019.
- Interview with Fuzzi Rizieri (former monotype operator, Rizzoli Editore), 9 April 2020.
- Interview with Novello Albertini (former employee at Press Service office, Rizzoli Editore), 4 July 2020.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 'Just What Was It That Made Yesterday's Homes so Different, so Appealing? (Upgrade), Richard Hamilton, 2004', in Tate, Art & Artists <<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hamilton-just-what-was-it-that-made-yesterdays-homes-so-different-so-appealing-upgrade-p20271>> [accessed 13 January 2021].
- Abrahamson, David, Marcia Prior-Miller and Bill Emmott, eds, *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form* (New York: Routledge, 2018).
- Agliani, Tatiana, and Uliano Lucas, *La realtà e lo sguardo: storia del fotogiornalismo in Italia* (Turin: Einaudi, 2015).
- Ajello, Nello, 'Il settimanale di attualità', in *Storia della stampa italiana*, ed. by Valerio Castronovo and Nicola Tranfaglia, 7 vols (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1976-2002), VI: *La stampa italiana del neocapitalismo*, ed. by Paolo Murialdi (1976), pp. 173-249.
- Aldouby, Hava, *Federico Fellini: Painting in Film, Painting on Film* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2013).
- Amelio, Gianni, and Emiliano Morreale, eds, *Gianni Amelio presenta: lo schermo di carta. Storia e storie dei cineromanzi* (Turin and Milan: Il Castoro, 2007).
- Angeletti, Norberto, and Albert Oliva, *Magazines That Make History: Their Origins, Development, and Influence* (Barcelona: Sol 90, 2004).
- Angelo Rizzoli 1889-1970* (Milan: RCS Editori, 2000).
- Anselmo, Diana W., 'Made in Movieland: Imitation, Agency, and Girl Movie Fandom in the 1910s', *Camera Obscura*, 32.94 (2017), 128-65.
- Ardis, Ann, and Patrick Collier, eds, *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Ardis, Ann, and Patrick Collier, 'Introduction', in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed. by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, pp. 1-12.
- Arvidsson, Adam, *Marketing Modernity: Italian Advertising from Fascism to Postmodernity* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Asor Rosa, Alberto, ed., *Letteratura italiana. Storia e geografia*, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1987-1989), III: *L'età contemporanea* (1989).
- Autelitano, Alice, and Valentina Re, eds, *Il racconto del film: La novellizzazione, dal catalogo al trailer: XII convegno internazionale di studi sul cinema = Narrating the film: novelization, from the catalogue to the trailer: XII International Film Studies Conference* (Udine: Forum, 2006).
- Autelitano, Alice, and Valentina Re, 'Presentazione', in *Il racconto del film*, ed. by Alice Autelitano and Valentina Re, pp. 17-23.
- Bacot, Jean-Pierre, 'Les numéros spéciaux de *L'illustration* (1880-1930): objets hybrides, célèbres et méconnus', in *L'Europe des revues (1880-1920)*, ed. by Evanghélia Stead and Hélène Védrine, pp. 25-39.
- Baetens, Jan, *Pour le roman-photo* (Bruxelles: Les Impressions nouvelles, 2011).

- Baetens, Jan, 'The Photo-Novel: Stereotype as Surprise', *History of Photography*, 37:2 (2013), 137-152.
- Baetens, Jan, *The Film Photonovel: A Cultural History of Forgotten Adaptations* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019). Kindle ebook.
- Baldini, Anna, 'Working with Images and Texts: Elio Vittorini's *Il Politecnico*', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 21.1 (2016), 50-64.
- Bandini, Egidio, Giorgio Casamatti and Guido Conti, eds, *Le burrascose avventure di Giovannino Guareschi nel mondo del cinema* (Parma: MUP, 2008).
- Barron, Emma, *Popular High Culture in Italian Media, 1950–1970: Mona Lisa Covergirl* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- Barthes, Roland, and Stephen Heath, *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977).
- Bass, Bernard M., 'Does the Transactional-Transformational Leadership Paradigm Transcend Organizational and National Boundaries?', *American Psychologist*, 52.2 (1997), 130-139.
- Beckman, Karen, and Jean Ma, eds, in *Still Moving: Between Cinema and Photograph* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).
- Benson, Rodney, and Erik Neveu, eds, *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity, 2005).
- Benson, Rodney, and Erik Neveu, 'Introduction: Field Theory as a Work in Progress', in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, ed. by Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu, pp. 1-25.
- Benson, Rodney, 'News Media as a "Journalistic Field": What Bourdieu Adds to New Institutionalism, and Vice Versa', *Political Communication*, 23.2 (2006), 187–202.
- Bentley, Michael, *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Bernardi, Sandro, 'Gli anni del centrismo e del cinema popolare', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, IX: 1954-1959, ed. by Sandro Bernardi (2004), pp. 3-28 (p. 15).
- Bertelli, Giovanna, *Divi e Paparazzi: La dolce vita di Fellini* (Recco: Le mani, 2009).
- Beurier, Joëlle, and others, eds, *Le photojournalisme des années 1930 à nos jours* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014). Kindle ebook.
- Biagi, Enzo, *Dinastie: gli Agnelli, i Rizzoli, i Ferruzzi-Gardini, i Lauro* (Milan: Mondadori 1988).
- Bianchi, Pietro, Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, eds, *Il canone cinematografico = The Film Canon* (Udine: Forum, 2011).
- Bianchi, Pietro, Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, 'Preface / The Beyond-Measure (L'Oltre-misura)', in *Il canone cinematografico*, ed. by Pietro Bianchi, Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, pp. 15-16.
- Biltreyst, Daniel, and Lies Van de Vijver, 'Introduction: Movie Magazines, Digitization and New Cinema History', *Mapping Movie Magazines: Digitization, Periodicals and Cinema History*, ed. by Daniel Biltreyst and Lies Van de Vijver, pp. 1-15.
- Biltreyst, Daniel, and Lies Van de Vijver, eds, *Mapping Movie Magazines: Digitization, Periodicals and Cinema History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

- Blandin, Claire, 'L'image au cœur de l'entreprise de presse de Jean Prouvost, in *Le photojournalisme des années 1930 à nos jours*, ed. by Joëlle Beurier and others. Kindle ebook.
- Blaschke, Estelle, 'Photography and the Commodification of Images. From the Bettmann Archive to Corbis (1924-2010)' (doctoral thesis, EHESS, 2011) <<https://issuu.com/lhivic/docs/blaschke>> [accessed 1 July 2017].
- Bold, Christine, 'Introduction', in *US Popular Print Culture, 1860-1920*, ed. by Christine Bold (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015).
- Boltanski, Luc, Pierre Bourdieu, and others, eds, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. by Shaun Whiteside (Stanford University Press, 1996). First published in 1965.
- Bonetti, Alessandra, *Il settimanale 'Epoca' negli anni cinquanta: nascita e sviluppo di un rotocalco* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Milano, 1989).
- Bonifazio, Paola, *The Photoromance: A Feminist Reading of Popular Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2020).
- Boorstin, Daniel J., *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012). Kindle ebook.
- Bordina, Alessandro, Sonia Campanini, and Andrea Mariani, eds, *L'archivio: FilmForum 2011: XVIII convegno internazionale di studi sul cinema = The archive: XVIII International Film Studies Conference* (Udine: Forum, 2012).
- Bordwell, David, 'The Art Cinema as a Mode of Film Practice', in *Film Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Leo Braudy e Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 716-20.
- Bordwell, David, *Poetics of Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
- Botta, Sergio, and Tessa Canella, eds, *Le religioni e le arti: Percorsi interdisciplinari in età contemporanea* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2015).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 'The Cult of Unity and Cultivated Differences', in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, ed. by Luc Boltanski, Pierre Bourdieu and others, pp. 14-72.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 'Introduction', in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, ed. by Luc Boltanski, Pierre Bourdieu and others, pp. 1-10.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 'The Social Definition of Photography', in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, ed. by Luc Boltanski, Pierre Bourdieu and others, pp. 73-98.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *La distinzione: Critica sociale del gusto* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001). First published in 1979.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- Brake, Laurel, 'Journalism and Modernism, Continued: The Case of W.T. Stead', in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940*, ed. by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, pp. 149-66.
- Brake, Laurel, 'On Print Culture: The State We're In', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 6.1 (2001), 125-36.
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, 'Time', *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2021) <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Time-American-magazine>> [accessed 2 July 2019].

- Brooker, Peter, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, III: Europe 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Peter Brooker and others (2014), pp. 25–26.
- Brooker, Peter, and others, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009-14).
- Brooker, Peter, and Andrew Thacker, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, I: Britain and Ireland 1880-1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2009), pp. 145–51.
- Brooks, Peter, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).
- Brothman, Brien, 'Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse', *Archival Science*, 2.3/4 (2002), 311–42.
- Brunetta, Gian Piero, 'Accendere i sogni: I colori del piccolo incendiario fiorentino', in *Il cinema nei manifesti di Silvano Campeggi Nano 1945-1969*, ed. by Gian Piero Brunetta and others (Firenze: Giunti Opus Libri, 1988), pp. 16-21.
- Brunetta, Gian Piero, *Il cinema neorealista italiano: Storia economica, politica e culturale* (Rome: GLF editori Laterza, 2009). Kindle ebook.
- Brunetta, Gian Piero, *Il cinema neorealista italiano: Da "Roma città aperta" a "I soliti ignoti"* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2014). Ebook.
- Buccheri, Vincenzo, *Lo stile cinematografico* (Rome: Carocci, 2010).
- Buckley, Réka, 'National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, 20.4 (2000), 527–47.
- Buckley, Réka, and Frank Burke, 'Italian Female Stars and Their Fans in the 1950s and 1960s', in *A Companion to Italian Cinema*, ed. by Frank Burke, pp. 158–78.
- Burke, Frank, ed., *A Companion to Italian Cinema* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2017).
- Burke, Frank, Marguerite R. Waller and Marita Gubareva, eds, *A Companion to Federico Fellini* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2020).
- Burns, Jennifer, *Fragments of Impegno: Interpretations of Commitment in Contemporary Italian Narrative, 1980-2000* (Leeds: Northern Universities Press, 2001).
- Cadioli, Alberto, and Giuliano Vigni, *Storia dell'editoria italiana dall'Unità ad oggi: Un profilo introduttivo* (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 2012). Kindle ebook.
- Caesar, Micael, and Marina Spunta, eds, *Orality and Literacy in Modern Italian Culture* (London: Legenda, 2006).
- Calafat, Marie-Charlotte, 'Une vision pédagogique et politique', in *Roman-photo*, ed. by Marie-Charlotte Calafat and Frédérique Deschamps (Paris: Textuel Editions, 2017), pp. 133-39.
- Caldiron, Orio, and others, eds, *Storia del cinema italiano*, 15 vols (Venezia: Marsilio edizioni di Bianco & Nero, 2001-2018).
- Caldwell, John Thornton, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

- Camilli, Michela, 'Lo scoop sul bandito Giuliano di Ivo Meldolesi: negativi, immagini fotomeccaniche e didascalie nei rotocalchi', *Studi di Memofonte: Arte e fotografia nell'epoca del rotocalco: Temi e metodi di una nuova tipologia di fonti per la storia visiva della contemporaneità*, 11 (2013), 47-66.
- Company, David, *Photography and Cinema* (London: Reaktion, 2008).
- Campbell, W. Joseph, *The Year That Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigms* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- Canova, Gianni, 'La perdita della trasparenza: Cinema e società nell'Italia della seconda metà degli anni '60', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, XI: 1965-1969, ed. by Gianni Canova (2003), pp. 3-29.
- Cantore, Francesca, and Andrea Minuz, 'Il pubblico del film d'autore nell'Italia degli anni sessanta: uno studio delle strategie di comunicazione della Cineriz', *Cinema e storia: rivista annuale di studi interdisciplinari*, VII (2018), 47-66.
- Caraffa, Costanza, ed., *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011).
- Cardone, Lucia, 'Il consumo paracinematografico', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, IX: 1954-1959, ed. by Sandro Bernardi (2004) pp. 352-361.
- Cardone, Lucia, 'Il "discorso amoroso" dallo schermo alla carta: la rappresentazione delle passioni nei cineromanzi degli anni Cinquanta', in *Il racconto del film*, ed. by Alice Autelitano and Valentina Re, pp. 241-150.
- Cardone, Lucia, 'La fortuna di essere donna: percorsi sentimentali nei cineromanzi', in *Gianni Amelio presenta: lo schermo di carta: storia e storie dei cineromanzi*, ed. by Gianni Amelio and Emiliano Morreale, pp. 169-89.
- Cardone, Lucia, *Con lo schermo nel cuore: Grand Hôtel e il cinema (1946-1956)* (Pisa: ETS, 2004).
- Cardone, Lucia, 'Monica Vitti: un corpo imprevisto', in *Vaghe stelle*, ed. by Lucia Cardone and others, pp. 456-59.
- Cardone, Lucia, and others, eds, *Vaghe stelle. Attrici del/nel cinema italiano (= Arabeschi*, 10 (2017)).
- Carpi, Michela, *Cesare Zavattini direttore editoriale* (Reggio Emilia: Aliberti Editore, 2003).
- Caruso, Martina, *Italian Humanist Photography from Fascism to the Cold War* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).
- Casamatti, Giorgio, 'I film disegnati di Giovannino', in *Le burrascose avventure di Giovannino Guareschi nel mondo del cinema*, pp. 34-53.
- Castronovo, Valerio, and Nicola Tranfaglia, eds, *Storia della stampa italiana*, 7 vols (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1976-2002).
- Chalaby, Jean K., 'Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s', *European Journal of Communication*, 11 (1996), 303-26.
- Chalaby, Jean K., *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998).
- Chan, Simon C. H., 'Paternalistic leadership and employee voice: Does information sharing matter?', *Human Relations*, 67(6) (2014), 667-693.

- Charle, Christophe, *Le Siècle de La Presse (1830-1939)* (Paris: Seuil, 2004).
- Charney, Leo, and Vanessa Schwartz, eds, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
- Chemello, Adriana, *La biblioteca del buon operaio: Romanzi e precetti per il popolo nell'Italia unita* (Milan: Unicopli, 2009).
- Chenu, Alain 'Des sentiers de la gloire aux boulevards de la célébrité: Sociologie des couvertures de Paris Match, 1949–2005', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 49.1 (2008), 3–52.
- Cinelli, Barbara, Flavio Fergonzi, Maria Grazia Messina and Antonello Negri, eds, *Arte moltiplicata: L'immagine del '900 italiano nello specchio dei rotocalchi* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2013).
- Conboy, Martin, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2002).
- Conboy, Martin, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2011).
- Conti, Guido, 'Cesare Zavattini direttore editoriale. Le novità nei rotocalchi di Rizzoli e Mondadori', in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti and Irene Piazzoni, pp. 415-442.
- Corrigan, Timothy, "'The Forgotten Image between Two Shots": Photos, Photograms, and the Essayistic', in *Still Moving: Between Cinema and Photograph*, ed. by Karen Beckman and Jean Ma, pp. 41-61.
- Corsi, Barbara, and Marina Nicoli, 'Fellini and His Producers: Strange Bedfellows', in *A Companion to Federico Fellini*, ed. by Frank Burke, Marguerite R. Waller and Marita Gubareva, pp. 177-189.
- Corsi, Barbara, and Marina Nicoli, and Alfonso Venturini, 'Fellini the Founder? The Fellini Brand in Film Production', *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 9.1 (2021), 133-48.
- Costa, Antonio, *Federico Fellini: La dolce vita* (Torino: Lindau, 2020).
- Cosulich, Callisto, 'Produzione e mercato nell'Italia che si modernizza', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, XI: 1965-1969, ed. by Gianni Canova (2003), pp. 477–94.
- Cottino-Jones, Marga, *Women, Desire, and Power in Italian Cinema* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Cox, Howard, and Simon Mowatt, *Revolutions from Grub Street: A History of Magazine Publishing in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Cuccu, Lorenzo, 'Presentazione', in Lucia Cardone, *Con lo schermo nel cuore: Grand Hôtel e il cinema (1946–1956)* (Pisa: ETS, 2004), pp. 9–12.
- Curran, James, and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003).
- D'Attorre, Pier Paolo, ed., *Nemici per la pelle: Sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea* (Milano: F. Angeli, 1991).
- D'Autilia, Gabriele, *Storia della fotografia in Italia: Dal 1839 a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012).
- De Berti, Raffaele, *Dallo schermo alla carta: Romanzi, fotoromanzi, rotocalchi cinematografici: il film e i suoi paratesti* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2000).

- De Berti, Raffaele, ed., *La novellizzazione in Italia: Cartoline, fumetto, romanzo, rotocalco, radio, televisione (=Bianco e Nero, 548 (2004))*.
- De Berti, Raffaele, 'Il nuovo periodico. Rotocalchi tra giornalismo, cronaca e costume', in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti and Irene Piazzoni, pp. 3-64.
- De Berti, Raffaele, 'Riflessi di Fellini Satyricon nella stampa periodica illustrata contemporanea', *Quaderni di Acme*, 113 (2009), 252-99.
- De Berti, Raffaele, and Irene Piazzoni, eds, *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra* (Milano: Ed. Cisalpino, 2009).
- De Berti, Raffaele, and Irene Piazzoni, eds, *Il fotogiornalismo negli anni settanta: Lotte, trasformazioni, conquiste*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2020).
- De Grazia, Victoria, 'The Arts of Purchase: How U.S. Advertising Subverted the European Poster', *Remaking History*, ed. by Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani, pp. 221-257.
- Decleva, Enrico, *Arnoldo Mondadori* (Turin: UTET, 1993).
- Decleva, Enrico, 'L'attività Editoriale', in *Storia di Milano*, 18 vols (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana-Fondazione Giovanni Treccani, [1953-1996]), XVIII: *Il Novecento*, (1996), pp. 102-151.
- Decleva, Enrico, *Ulrico Hoepli, 1847-1935: editore e libraio* (Milan: Hoepli Editore, 2001).
- Deleuze, Gilles, *Cinéma 2. The Time-Image* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
- Della Maggiore, Gianluca and Tomaso Subini, *Catholicism and Cinema: Modernization and Modernity* (Sesto San Giovanni: Mimesis international, 2018).
- Della Maggiore, Gianluca and Tomaso Subini, 'Introduction', in *Catholicism and Cinema*, ed. by Gianluca Della Maggiore and Tommaso Subini, pp. 7-19.
- Di Chiara, Francesco, *Sessualità e marketing cinematografico italiano: Industria, culture visuali, spazio urbano (1948-1978)* (Catanzaro. Rubettino Editore, 2021).
- DiSalvo, Mary Lorraine, 'Redirecting Neorealism: Italian Auteur-Actress Collaborations of the 1950s and 1960s' (doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2014).
- Doane, Mary Ann, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002).
- Dyer, Richard, *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation* (London: Routledge, 1993).
- Dyer, Richard, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Dyer, Richard, *Pastiche* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Dyer, Richard, *La dolce vita* (London: BFI, 2020).
- Earle, David M., 'Pulp Magazines and the Popular Press', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, II: North America 1894-1960*, ed by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2013), pp. 197-216.
- Eco, Umberto, *Apocalittici e integrati: comunicazioni di massa e teorie della cultura di massa* (Milan: Bompiani, 1964).

- Elizabeth, Edwards, 'Photography and the Material Performance of the Past', *History and Theory*, 48.4 (2009), 130–50.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, and Janice Hart, eds, *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Edwards, Elizabeth, and Janice Hart, 'Introduction: Photographs as Objects', in *Photographs Objects Histories*, ed. by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, pp. 1-15.
- Ehrenreich, Andreas, 'Not Niche at All: The Giallo Distribution and Marketing of the Genre', *Bianco & Nero*, 587.1 (2017), 113-126.
- Elson, Robert T. and Duncan Norton-Taylor, *The World of Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).
- Eugeni, Ruggero, 'Sviluppo, trasformazione e rielaborazione dei generi', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, IX: 1954-1959, ed. by Sandro Bernardi (2004), pp. 77–97.
- Eugeni, Ruggero, *Semiotica dei media: Le forme dell'esperienza* (Carocci, 2010).
- Eveno, Patrick, 'Éléments pour une histoire comparatiste de la presse quotidienne en europe - société pour l'histoire des médias', *Société pour l'histoire des médias* <<http://www.histoiredesmedias.com/Elements-pour-une-histoire.html>> [accessed 22 February 2021].
- Fanchi, Mariagrazia, 'Le trasformazioni del consumo cinematografico', in *Storia del cinema italiano*, X: 1960-1964, ed. by Giorgio De Vincenti (2003), pp. 344-57.
- Fattorini, Emma, *Italia devota: Religiosità e culti tra Otto e Novecento* (Rome: Carocci, 2012).
- Ferretti, Gian Carlo, 'Mondadori, Alberto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2011) <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberto-mondadori_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29> [accessed 1 January 2017].
- Ferretti, Gian Carlo, *Gli "editori protagonisti"*, online video recording, YouTube, 18 April 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UqM_hlPj3Vk> [accessed 1 July 2020].
- Filak, Vincent F., 'Uses and Gratifications of Magazines', in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research*, ed. by David Abrahamson, Marcia Prior-Miller and Bill Emmott, pp. 259-270.
- Foot, John, *Milan Since the Miracle: City, Culture, and Identity* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2001).
- Forni, Marcella, 'La formazione del gruppo Rizzoli dalle origini alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale' (doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Milan, 2009).
- Forni, Marcella, 'Imprenditorialità e gestione: La formazione del Gruppo Rizzoli dalle origini alla seconda guerra mondiale', *Società e Storia*, 133 (2011), 449-484.
- Fosdick, Scott, 'Entertainment Journalism', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Christopher Sterling, pp. 526-529.
- Franceschini, Chiara, and Mazzucco, Katia, eds, *Classifying Content: Photographic Collections and Theories of Thematic Ordering (=Visual Resources. An International Journal of Documentation, 30|2 (2014))*.
- Frizot, Michel, 'On Cinema Imaginary of Photography (1928–1930)', in *Between Still and Moving Image*, ed. by Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon, pp. 177-196.

- Forgacs, David, 'Antonioni: Space, Place, Sexuality', in *Spaces in European Cinema*, ed. by Myrto Konstantarakos (Exeter Portland: Intellect Books, 2000), pp. 101-111.
- Forgacs, David, 'An Oral Renarration of a Photoromance, 1960, in *Orality and Literacy in Modern Italian Culture*, ed. by Micael Caesar and Marina Spunta, pp. 68-76.
- Forgacs, David, 'Face, Body, Voice, Movement: Antonioni and Actors', in *Antonioni: Centenary Essays*, ed. by Laura Rascaroli and John David Rhodes, pp. 167-182.
- Forgacs, David, 'Photography and the Denarrativization of Cinematic Practice in Italy, 1935-1955, in *Between Still and Moving Image*, ed. by Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon, pp.245-260.
- Forgacs, David, Sarah Lutton and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, eds, *Roberto Rossellini: Magician of the Real* (London: BFi, 2000).
- Forgacs, David, and Stephen Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War* (Bloomington, US: Indiana University Press, 2007). Ebook.
- Frosh, Paul, *The Image Factory: Consumer Culture, Photography and the Visual Content Industry* (London and New York: Berg, 2003).
- Fullwood, Natalie, 'Popular Italian Cinema, the Media, and the Economic Miracle: Rethinking commedia all'italiana', *Modern Italy*, 18.1 (2013), 19-39.
- Gamson, Joshua, *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- Garreau, Laurent, 'La Francia di Don Camillo', in *Le burrascose avventure di Giovannino Guareschi nel mondo del cinema*, ed. by Egidio Bandini, Giorgio Casamatti and Guido Conti, pp. 152-67.
- Gaudreault, André and Philippe Marion, 'Dal filmico al letterario: I testi dei cataloghi della cinematografia-attrazione', in *Il racconto del film*, ed. by Alice Autelitano and Valentina Re, pp. 25-35.
- Gell, Alfred, *Art and Agency* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Gelsomini, Elena, *L'Italia allo specchio: L'Europeo di Arrigo Benedetti (1945-1954)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011).
- Genette, Gérard and Janet E. Lewin, *Para-texts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Cambridge ebook.
- Gervais, Thierry, "'The Little Paper Cinema": The Transformation of Illustration in Belle Époque Periodicals', in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon, pp. 147-163.
- Gervais, Thierry and Gaëlle Morel, *La fabrique de l'information visuelle: Photographies et magazines d'actualité* (Paris: Éditions Textuel, 2015).
- Giacomini, Catia, "'Epoca": prospettive, illusioni, condizionamenti agli esordi di un rotocalco fotografico', (unpublished thesis, Università degli Studi di Firenze, 2011).
- Gilardelli, Anna, 'Lollo vs. Marilyn, La rappresentazione del corpo femminile nel cinema e sulle riviste degli anni cinquanta', *Immagine: Note di Storia del Cinema*, 7 (2013), 73-96.
- Ginex, Giovanna, ed., *La Domenica del Corriere: Il Novecento illustrato* (Milan: Skira, 2007).

- Ginex, Giovanna, 'L'arte dell'illustrazione nelle pagine de "La Domenica del Corriere" (1899-1989)', in *La Domenica del Corriere*, ed. by Giovanna Ginex, pp. 11-82.
- Ginex, Giovanna, ed., *Corriere dei Piccoli: Storie, fumetto e illustrazione per ragazzi* (Milan: Skira, 2009).
- Ginex, Giovanna, 'Il "Corriere dei Piccoli". Carte e disegni (1906-1970)', in *Corriere dei Piccoli*, ed. by Giovanna Ginex, pp. 73-100.
- Gordon, Robert S. C., 'Reporter, Soldier, Detective, Spy: Watching *The Passenger*', in *Antonioni: Centenary Essays*, ed. by Laura Rascaroli and John D. Rhodes, pp. 98-112.
- Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, trans. by William Boelhower, ed. by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985).
- Granata, Ivano, 'L'Omnibus di Leo Longanesi', in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti and Irene Piazzoni, pp. 123-165.
- Grazzini, Giovanni, *Federico Fellini: Intervista sul cinema* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2004).
- Greenberg, Susan, *A Poetics of Editing* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- Gremigni, Elena, *Pubblico e popolarità: Il ruolo del cinema nella società italiana, 1956-1967* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2009).
- Grespi, Barbara, 'L'influenza della fotografia americana sul neorealismo cinematografico italiano', in *L'anello che non tiene. Journal of Modern Italian Literature*, 20-21 (2008), 87-117.
- Grespi, Barbara, 'Italian Neo-Realism between Cinema and Photography', in *Stillness in Motion*, ed. by Giuliana Minghelli and Sarah Patricia Hill, pp. 183-215.
- Grespi, Barbara, 'Cinema fotografato: Film neorealisti e cultura fotografica del dopoguerra italiano', in *Fotografia e culture visuali del XXI secolo*, ed. by Enrico Menduni and Lorenzo Marmo (Rome: RomaTrE-Press, 2018), pp. 421-431.
- Grilli, Elisa, 'Between Symbolism and Avant-Garde Poetics: La Plume (1889-1905); L'Ermitage (1890-1906); and La Revue Blanche (1889-1903)', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, III: *Europe 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Peter Brooker and others (2014), pp. 75-100.
- Grivel, Charles, 'La case-photo: mise en scène illustrative et documentation dans le périodique de photographie entre deux siècles', in *L'Europe des revues (1880-1920)*, ed. by Evanhélia Stead and Hélène Védrine, pp. 41-66.
- Guerra, Michele, and Sara Martin, eds, *Atti critici in luoghi pubblici: Scrivere di cinema, TV e media dal dopoguerra al web* (Parma: Diabasis, 2019).
- Guerra, Michele, and Sara Martin, 'Culture del film. Il cinema e il pensiero critico italiano', in *Atti critici in luoghi pubblici*, ed. by Michele Guerra and Sara Martin, pp. 13-20.
- Guido, Laurent, and Olivier Lugon, eds, *Between Still and Moving Images* (New Barnet: John Libbey Publishing, 2012).
- Guido, Laurent, 'Introduction: Between Deadly Trace and Memorial Scansion: The Frozen Image in Film', in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon, pp. 225-43.
- Gundle, Stephen, 'Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: Vie Nuove e Famiglia Cristiana dalla guerra fredda alla società dei consumi', in *Nemici per la pelle*, ed. by Pier Paolo D'Attorre, pp. 235-68.

- Gundle, Stephen, 'Saint Ingrid at the Stake: Stardom and Scandal in the Bergman–Rossellini Collaboration', in *Roberto Rossellini*, ed. by David Forgacs, Sarah Lutton and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, pp. 64–79.
- Gundle, Stephen, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture 1943–1991* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).
- Gundle, Stephen, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (London and New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Gundle, Stephen, 'Sogni e ambizioni: la persuasione visiva in Italia tra il fin de siècle e la nascita della società dei consumi', *Manifesti: pubblicità e vita italiana 1895-1945*, ed. by Anna Villari, pp.86-125.
- Gundle, Stephen, *Glamour: A History* (Oxford: University Press, 2009).
- Gundle, Stephen, *Mussolini's Dream Factory: Film Stardom in Fascist Italy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).
- Gundle, Stephen, "'We Have Everything to Learn from the Americans": Film Promotion, Product Placement and Consumer Culture in Italy, 1945-1965', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, 40.1 (2020), 55–83.
- Gundle, Stephen, *Italian Film Stardom in the Age of Neorealism* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2020).
- Gundle, Stephen, and Clino Trini Castelli, *The Glamour System* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- Hall, Stuart, 'The Social Eye of Picture Post', *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 2 (1972), 71–120.
- Hallett, Michael, *Stefan Lorant: Godfather of Photojournalism* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2006).
- Hammill, Faye, and Karen Leick, 'Modernism and the Quality Magazines: Vanity Fair (1914–36); American Mercury (1924–81); New Yorker (1925–); Esquire (1933–)', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, II: North America 1894-1960*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2013), pp. 176–96.
- Hampton, Mark, 'Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism and Its Historians', in *Transatlantic Print Culture*, ed. by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, pp. 15–29.
- Hansen, Miriam, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- Hargadon, Andrew B., 'Firms as Knowledge Brokers: Lessons in Pursuing Continuous Innovation', *California Management Review*, 40.3 (1998), 209–27.
- Harris, Jessica Lynne, 'Exporting Mrs. Consumer: The American Woman in Italian Culture, 1945-1975' (doctoral thesis, University of California, 2016).
- Harris, Nail, 'Now you see it, now you don't: The history of the concept of Canon', in *Il canone cinematografico*, ed. by Pietro Bianchi, Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, pp. 19-26.
- Hatin, Eugène, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France: avec une introduction historique sur les origines du journal et la bibliographie générale des journaux depuis leur origine* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859).
- Heath, Stephen, *Questions of Cinema* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

- Hesmondhalgh, David, *The Cultural Industries* (London: SAGE, 2002).
- Hill, Sarah Patricia, 'Review of The Montesi Scandal: The Death of Wilma Montesi and the Birth of the Papparazzi in Fellini's Rome, by Karen Pinkus', *Italica*, 82.2 (2005), 262–64
<<https://doi.org/10.2307/27669011>> [accessed 01 March 2020].
- Hill, Sarah Patricia, 'Photographic Excess: "Scandalous" Photography in Film and Literature after the Boom', in *Stillness in Motion*, ed. by Giuliana Minghelli and Sarah Patricia Hill, pp. 217–243.
- Hollows, Joanne, and Rachel Moseley, eds, *Feminism in Popular Culture* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006).
- Holmes, Tim, ed., *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- Horde, Peregrine, ed., *Freud and the Humanities* (London: Duckworth, 1985).
- Italia in cifre* (2011), <<https://www.istat.it/it/files/2011/03/Italia-in-cifre.pdf>> [accessed 3 July 2020].
- Jones, Michael, 'Collections in the Expanded Field: Relationality and the Provenance of Artefacts and Archives', *Heritage*, 2.1 (2019), 884–97.
- Kaes, Anton, and others, eds, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020).
- Kalifa, Dominique and Alain Vaillant, 'Pour une histoire culturelle et littéraire de la presse française au XIX^e siècle', *Le Temps des médias*, 2.1 (2004), 197–214.
- Kamin, Diana, 'Mid-Century Visions, Programmed Affinities: The Enduring Challenges of Image Classification', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 16.3 (2017), 310–36.
- Kaplan, Richard L., *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Kapsis, Robert E., *Hitchcock: The Making of a Reputation* (University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Katelaar, Eric, 'Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives', *Archival Science*, 1.2 (2001), 131–41.
- Keith, Susan, 'Horseshoes, Stylebooks, Wheels, Poles, and Dummies: Objects of Editing Power in 20th-Century Newsrooms', *Journalism*, 16 (2014), 44–60.
- Kepes, György, Sigfried Giedion and Samuel Ichiyē Hayakawa, *Language of Vision* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944).
- Kerrigan, Fenola, *Film Marketing* (Amsterdam; Boston; London: Elsevier/Butterworth-Heinemann, 2010).
- Kitch, Carolyn, 'Theory and Methods of Analysis: Modes for Understanding Magazines', in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research*, ed. by David Abrahamson, Marcia Prior-Miller and Bill Emmott, pp. 9–21.
- Klamm, Stefanie, 'Reverse—Cardboard—Print: The Materiality of the Photographic Archive and Its Function', in *Documenting the World*, ed. by Gregg Mitman and Kelly Wilder. Kindle ebook.
- Konstantarakos, Myrto, ed., *Spaces in European Cinema* (Exeter Portland: Intellect Books, 2000).

- Krause, Monika, 'Reporting and the Transformations of the Journalistic Field: US News Media, 1890-2000', *Media, Culture & Society*, 33.1 (2011), 89-104.
- Krauss, Rosalind, 'A Note on Photography and the Simulacral', *October*, XXXI (1984), 49-68.
- Kress, Gunther R., and Theo Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).
- Kruger, Barbara, and Phil Mariani, eds, *Remaking History: Discussions in Contemporary Culture #4* (Seattle: Bay Press edition, 1989).
- La Mendola, Velania, ed., «Come un don Chisciotte»: *Edilio Rusconi tra letteratura, editoria e rotocalchi* (Milan: EDUCatt, 2016).
- Latham, Sean, and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, 121.2 (2006), 517-31.
- Leavis, Queenie Dorothy, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932).
- LeMahieu, Dan Lloyd, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain Between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Leonard, George, *Walking on the Edge of the World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988).
- Lewin, Kurt, 'Forces behind Food Habits and Methods of Change', *Bulletin of the National Research Council* (1943), 35-65.
- LoBrutto, Vincent, *Stanley Kubrick a Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999).
- Lugon, Olivier, 'Introduction: Cinema Flipped Through: Film in the Press and in Illustrated Books', in *Between Still and Moving Images*, ed. by Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon, pp. 137-46.
- Lugon, Olivier, *Le style documentaire: D'August Sander à Walker Evans: 1920-1945* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 2011).
- Lull, James, and Stephen Hinerman, eds, *Media Scandals: Morality and Desire in the Popular Culture Marketplace* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1997).
- Lutz, Catherine A., and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- Luzzatto Fegiz, Pierpaolo, *Il volto sconosciuto dell'Italia: Dieci anni di sondaggi Doxa* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1956).
- MacLeod, Kirsten, 'The Fine Art of Cheap Print: Turn-of-the-Century American Little Magazines', in *Transatlantic Print Culture*, ed. by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, pp. 182-198.
- Magistà, Aurelio, *Dolce vita gossip: star, amori, mondanità e kolossal negli anni d'oro di Cinecittà* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2007).
- Magnanini, Claudia, "'Chi ha Tempo non aspetti Life. Un fotogiornale negli anni della guerra' (1939-1943), in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti and Irene Piazzoni, pp. 305-342.
- Malatesta, Katia, ed., *Sul set: fotoromanzi, genere e moda nell'archivio di Federico Vender* (Trento: Provincia autonoma di Trento, Soprintendenza per i beni culturali, 2017).

- Mandelli, Elisa, and Valentina Re, 'Le donne in copertina "vanno": Cinema nuovo e le attrici italiane (1952–1958)', in *Vaghe stelle*, ed. by Lucia Cardone and others, pp. 401–6.
- Manning White, David, 'The "Gate Keeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News', *Journalism Quarterly*, 27.4 (1950), 383–90.
- Mannucci, Enrico, *I giornali non sono scarpe: Tommaso Besozzi una vita da prima pagina* (Milan: Baldini & Castoldi, 1995).
- Manzoli, Giacomo, *Da Ercole a Fantozzi: Cinema popolare e società italiana dal boom economico alla neotelevisione (1958-1976)* (Roma: Carocci editore, 2012).
- Mather, Philippe, *Stanley Kubrick at Look Magazine: Authorship and Genre in Photojournalism and Film* (Bristol, UK; Chicago: Intellect, 2013).
- Matheson, Donald, 'The Birth of News Discourse: Changes in News Language in British Newspapers, 1880-1930', *Media Culture & Society*, 22 (2000), 557–73.
- Mazzuca, Alberto, *La erre verde: Ascesa e declino dell'impero Rizzoli* (Milan: Longanesi, 1991).
- McDonnell, Andrea M., *Reading Celebrity Gossip Magazines* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014).
- McKemmish, Sue, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', *Archival Science*, 1.4 (2001), 333–59.
- Melot, Michel, 'Introduction: L'Image et les périodiques en Europe entre deux siècles (1880–1920)', in *L'Europe des revues (1880-1920)*, ed. by Evanghélia Stead and Hélène Védrine, pp. 13–19.
- Meltzer, Kimberly, 'Celebrity and Fan Magazines', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, by Christopher Sterling <<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412972048.n66>>
- Mezirow, Jack, *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991).
- Messina, Maria Grazia, 'Storie dell'arte parallele: l'arte contemporanea attraverso i fotoservizi dal dopoguerra agli anni Cinquanta', in *Arte moltiplicata: L'immagine del '900 italiano nello specchio dei rotocalchi*, ed. by Barbara Cinelli, Flavio Fergonzi and Antonello Negri (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2013), pp. 101-116.
- Milan, Mariella, *Milioni a colori: Rotocalchi e arti visive in Italia, 1960-1964* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2015).
- Millar, Laura, 'The Death of the Fonds and the Resurrection of Provenance: Archival Context in Space and Time', *Archivaria*, 53 (2002), 1–15.
- Minghelli, Giuliana, and Sarah Patricia Hill, eds, *Stillness in Motion: Italy, Photography, and the Meanings of Modernity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
- Minuz, Andrea, and Marcus Perryman, *Political Fellini: Journey to the End of Italy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015).
- Minuz, Andrea, "'Mariofanie". Religiosità popolare e riti dello spettacolo nel cinema di Fellini degli Anni Cinquanta', in *Le religioni e le arti*, ed. by Sergio Botta and Tessa Canella, pp. 31-48.
- Minuz, Andrea, 'Tecnica e magia. Fellini, il rito del set e il "modo di vedere italiano"', *Fata Morgana: quadrimestrale di cinema e visioni*, 17 (2012), 121–30.

- Mitman, Greg, and Kelley Wilder, 'Introduction', in *Documenting the World*, ed. by Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder. Kindle ebook.
- Mitman, Greg, and Kelley Wilder, eds, *Documenting the World* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016). Kindle ebook.
- Monetti, Domenico, and Giuseppe Ricci, *La dolce vita raccontata dagli Archivi Rizzoli* (Roma: Centro sperimentale di cinematografia, 2010).
- Morando, Sergio, ed., *Almanacco letterario Bompiani 1963: La civiltà dell'immagine* (Milan: Bompiani, 1962).
- Morello, Paolo, *La fotografia in Italia 1945 – 1975* (Roma: Contrasto DUE, 2010).
- Morin, Edgar, *The Stars*, trans. by Richard Howard (Bristol: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
- Morreale, Emiliano, 'Il sipario strappato: Introduzione ai cineromanzi', in *Gianni Amelio presenta: lo schermo di carta: storia e storie dei cineromanzi*, ed. by Gianni Amelio and Emiliano Morreale, pp. 26–57.
- Morreale, Emiliano, *Cinema d'autore degli anni Sessanta* (Milano: Il Castoro, 2011).
- Morreale, Emiliano, *Così piangevano: Il cinema melò nell'Italia degli anni cinquanta* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 2012).
- Morris, Penelope, 'Introduction', in *Women in Italy, 1945–1960*, ed. by Penelope Morris, pp. 1-20.
- Morris, Penelope, ed., *Women in Italy, 1945-1960: An Interdisciplinary Study* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- Mosconi, Elena, 'Le frange del film: Invito all'analisi del Press-book', in *Press-book, Quaderni della Biblioteca Luigi Chiarini* (Roma: Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, 2004), pp. 11-21.
- Mosconi, Elena, 'Segnali d'autore nel press-book cinematografico', in *Il racconto del film*, ed. by Alice Autelitano and Valentina Re, pp. 337–46.
- Moseley, Rachel, *Growing Up with Audrey Hepburn* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- Muscio, Giuliana, 'Tutto fa cinema: La stampa popolare del secondo dopoguerra', in *Dietro lo schermo*, ed. by Vito Zagarrìo, pp. 105-133.
- Nardelli, Matilde, *Antonioni and the Aesthetics of Impurity: Remaking the Image in the 1960s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).
- Nice, Liz, 'British Magazines', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, by Christopher Sterling, pp. 200-05.
- O'Malley, Tom, 'History, Historians and the Writing of Print and Newspaper History in the UK c. 1945–1962', *Media History*, 18.3/4 (2012), 289–310.
- Olmi, Massimo, *I giornali degli altri: Storia contemporanea del giornalismo inglese, francese, tedesco ed americano: dal primo dopoguerra ad oggi* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1990).
- Orvell, Miles, *Photography in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Palazzolo, Maria Iolanda, 'Mondadori, Arnoldo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2011) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arnoldo-mondadori_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arnoldo-mondadori_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 1 January 2017].

- Pareschi, Luca, 'La produzione editoriale in Italia: il processo di intermediazione nel campo letterario' (doctoral thesis, Università di Bologna, 2011), p. 32.
<http://amsdottorato.unibo.it/3694/1/pareschi_luca_tesi.pdf> [accessed 15 December 2020].
- Pareschi, Luca, *Controcampo letterario: Strategie di intermediazione e accesso all'industria editoriale* (Napoli: Editoriale scientifica, 2016).
- Parigi, Stefania, *Fisiologia dell'immagine: Il pensiero di Cesare Zavattini* (Torino: Lindau, 2008).
- Pasternak, Gil, ed., *The Handbook of Photography Studies* (London and New York, 2020).
- Pelizzari, Maria Antonella, *Percorsi della fotografia in Italia* (Milan: Contrasto, 2011).
- Pelizzari, Maria Antonella, 'Make-Believe: Fashion and Cinelandia in Rizzoli's *Lei* (1933–38)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 20.1 (2015), 34-52.
- Pelizzari, Maria Antonella, 'Facts and Fantasies: Photography and Camouflage in 1930s Italian Illustrated Media', *Modernism/Modernity*, 26.3 (2019), 563-594.
- Pelizzari, Lorenzo, 'Le nuove forme tra critica e ideologia', in *Storia del cinema*, X: 1960-1964, ed. by Giorgio De Vincenti (2003), pp. 551-567.
- Peterson, Theodore Bernard, Fredrick Seaton Siebert, and Wilbur Lang Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do* (Urbana: Univ. of Ill., 1956).
- Petro, Patrice, *Joyless streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- Piazzoni, Irene, 'I periodici italiani negli anni del regime fascista', in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti and Irene Piazzoni, pp. 112-122.
- Pollack, Peter, *The Picture History of Photography: From the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1969).
- Polumbaum, Judy, 'Comparative Models of Journalism', in *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, ed. by Christopher H. Sterling, pp. 339-342.
- Poncetta, Linda, 'L'invenzione Del Rotocalco Popolare: "Oggi" e "il Direttore Con Le Bretelle Viola"', in «*Come un don Chisciotte*»: *Edilio Rusconi tra letteratura, editoria e rotocalchi*, ed. by Velania La Mendola (Milan: EDUCatt, 2016), 53-96.
- Ponta, Angelo, ed., *Epoca 1950–1969: L'Italia e gli Italiani nei primi 1000 numeri di un grande settimanale* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2017).
- Pozzi, Daniele, 'Rizzoli, Angelo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2017)
<[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 2 July 2019].
- Quaresima, Leonardo, 'La voce dello spettatore', in *La novellizzazione in Italia*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti, pp. 29–33.
- Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo, *Gli Alinari* (Florence: Alinari, 2003).
- Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo, and others, eds, *La Bella addormentata: Morfologia e struttura del settimanale italiano* (Parma: Università di Parma, Ist. di Storia dell'Arte, 1972).

- Raengo, Alessandra, and Robert Stam, eds, *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Adaptation* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005).
- Ragone, Giovanni, 'Editoria, letteratura e comunicazione', in *Letteratura italiana. Storia e geografia*, III: *L'età contemporanea* (1989), ed. by Asor Rosa, pp. 1047–167.
- Rascaroli, Laura, and John David Rhodes, *Antonioni: Centenary Essays* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Raymond, Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958).
- Reese, Stephen D., and Jane Ballinger, 'The Roots of a Sociology of News: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the Newsroom', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78.4 (2001), 641–58.
- Robertino Ghiringhelli, ed., *Città e pensiero politico italiano dal Risorgimento alla Repubblica* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2007).
- Romain, Piana, 'Du périodique à la scène et retour: la revue de fin d'année illustrée', in *L'Europe des revues (1880-1920)*, ed. by Evanghélia Stead and Hélène Védrine, pp. 183–206.
- Rosenblum, Barbara, *Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978).
- Ryfe, David M., 'A Practice Approach to the Study of News Production', *Journalism*, 19.2 (2018), 217–33.
- Sammye, Johnson, and Patricia Prijatel, *The Magazine from Cover to Cover* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 284–7.
- Sciolla, Loredana, 'Famalismo', *Il Mulino*, 4/01 (2001), 653–59.
- Schoonover, Karl, 'The Comfort of Carnage: Realism and America's World Understanding' in *Convergence Media History*, ed. by Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake (New York; London: Routledge Press, 2009). Kindle ebook.
- Schoonover, Karl, *Brutal Vision: The Neorealist Body in Postwar Italian Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
- Schwartz, Dona, 'To Tell the Truth: Codes of Objectivity in Photojournalism', *Communication*, 13 (1992), 95–109.
- Schwartz, Vanessa, 'Cinematic Spectatorship before the Apparatus: The Public Taste for Reality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris', in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, ed. by Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, pp. 297–319.
- Scollo Lavizzari, Marco, 'Rizzoli, Angelo', in *Enciclopedia del cinema* (2004) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_\(Enciclopedia-del-Cinema\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rizzoli_(Enciclopedia-del-Cinema))> [accessed 1 January 2017].
- Scott, David, and Daniel Stout, 'Religion on TIME: Personal Spiritual Quests and Religious Institutions on the Cover of a Popular News Magazine', *Journal of Magazine Media*, 8 (2006), 1-17.
- Sears, Elizabeth, 'American Iconography: Assessing FSA Photographs, 1945', *Visual Resources*, 30: 3 (2014) 239-254.

- Sekula, Allan, 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in *The Photography Reader*, ed. by Liz Wells, pp. 443–52.
- Serena, Tiziana, 'il posto della fotografia (e dei calzini) nel villaggio della memoria iconica totale. Uno sguardo sulle raccolte fotografiche oggi', *Archivi Fotografici Italiani On-Line* (2007) <<http://www.mufoco.org/10/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/serena.pdf>> [accessed 1 April 2019].
- Serena, Tiziana, 'The Words of the Photo Archive', in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. by Costanza Caraffa, pp. 57–71.
- Shattuc, Jane, *Television, Tabloids and Tears: Fassbinder and Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
- Sorlin, Pierre, 'Antonioni in the Light of the Canon, Yes but... Which Canon?', in *Il canone cinematografico*, ed. by Pietro Bianchi, Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, pp. 201–6.
- Spinazzola, Vittorio, *Cinema e pubblico: Lo spettacolo filmico in Italia 1945-1965* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1985).
- Stam, Robert, and Alessandra Raengo, eds, *Literature and Film* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).
- Stam, Robert, 'Introduction: The Theory and Practice of Adaptation', in *Literature and Film*, ed. by Robert Stam and Alessandra Raengo, pp. 1–52.
- Stead, Evanghélia, and Hélène Védrine, eds, *L'Europe des revues (1880-1920)*, ed. by Evanghélia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, 2008).
- Sterling, Christopher, ed., *Encyclopedia of Journalism* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2009).
- Sternheimer, Karen, *Celebrity Culture and the American Dream: Stardom and Mobility* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).
- Storr, Anthony, 'Psychoanalysis and Creativity', in *Freud and the Humanities*, ed. by Peregrine Horden, pp. 38–57.
- Stringa, Roberto, 'Il padrone sono me. Angelo Rizzoli e il cinema 1934-1970' (unpublished thesis, Università Bocconi Milano, 1992).
- Stubbs, John C., *Federico Fellini as Auteur: Seven Aspects of His Films* (Carbondale: SIU Press, 2015).
- Stylianou-Lambert, Theopisti, 'Photographic Ecosystems and Archives', *Photographies*, 12 (2019), 375–394.
- Surluga, Victoria, 'Masina and Mastroianni: Reconfiguring C. G. Jung's Animus and Anima', in *A Companion to Federico Fellini*, ed. by Frank Burke, Marguerite Waller and Marita Gubareva, pp. 191–204.
- Swanberg, William A., *Luce and His Empire* (New York: Scribner, 1972).
- Taramelli, Ennery, *Viaggio nell'Italia del Neorealismo* (Turin: SEI, 1995).
- Thacker, Andrew, 'General Introduction: "Magazines, Magazines, Magazines!"', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, II: North America 1894–1960*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2013), pp. 1–28.

- Tranfaglia, Nicola, and Albertina Vittoria, *Storia degli editori italiani: Dall'Unità alla fine degli anni sessanta* (Roma; Bari: Laterza, 2000).
- Treveri Gennari, Daniela, "'If You Have Seen It, You Cannot Forget!': Film Consumption and Memories of Cinema-Going in 1950s Rome', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 35.1 (2015), 53–74.
- Tunstall, Jeremy, *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents, Their News Organizations, News Sources, and Competitor-Colleagues* (London: Constable, 1971).
- Uribe, Rodrigo, and Enrique Manzur, 'Research Note: Sample Size in Content Analysis of Advertising: The Case of Chilean Consumer Magazines', *International Journal of Advertising*, 31 (2012), 907–920.
- Van Alphen, Ernst, *Staging the Archive: Art and Photography in the Age of New Media* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015).
- Van den Bulck, Hilde, Steve Paulussen and Annabeth Bels, 'Celebrity News as Hybrid Journalism: An Assessment of Celebrity Coverage in Flemish Newspapers and Magazines', *Journalism*, 18:1 (2017), 44–63.
- Villari, Anna, ed., *Manifesti: Pubblicità e vita italiana 1895-1945* (Milan: Allianz/Silvana editoriale, 2009).
- Vitale, Christopher, 'Guide to Reading Deleuze's Cinema II: The Time-Image, Part I: Towards a Direct Imaging of Time to Crystal-Images', in *Networkologies*, 2011
<<https://networkologies.wordpress.com/2011/04/29/tips-for-reading-deleuzes-cinema-ii-the-time-image-towards-a-direct-imaging-of-time/>> [accessed 14 January 2021].
- Webb, Sheila M., 'Creating Life: "America's Most Potent Editorial Force"', *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 18.2 (2016), 55–108.
- Wells, Liz, ed., *The Photography Reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Whearty, Bridgrt, 'Invisible in "The Archive": Librarians, Archivists, and The Caswell Test', *English, General Literature, and Rhetoric Faculty Scholarship* (2018)
<https://orb.binghamton.edu/english_fac/4> [accessed 1 December 2020].
- Wiener, Joel H., *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (New York; London: Greenwood Press, 1988).
- Wittmann, Matthias, 'Inside the Memory: Re-Membering the Archive with Bergson, Freud and Peirce', in *L'archivio*, ed. by Alessandro Bordina, Sonia Campanini, and Andrea Mariani, pp. 19–27.
- Wright, Jeff, 'The Myth in the Mirror', *British Journalism Review*, 14.3 (2003), 59–66.
- Yeo, Geoffrey, 'Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations', *The American Archivist*, 70.2 (2007), 315–43.
- Zagarrio, Vito, ed., *Dietro lo schermo: Ragionamenti sui modi di produzione cinematografica in Italia* (Venice: Marsilio, 1988).

FILMOGRAPHY

8½ (Federico Fellini, 1963)

Africa addio (Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1966)

Battleship Potëmkin (Sergej Michajlovič Ėjzenštejn, 1925)

Boccaccio 70 (Vittorio De Sica, Federico Fellini, Mario Monicelli and Luchino Visconti, 1962)

Buongiorno, elefante! (Gianni Franciolini, 1952)

Cleopatra (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1963)

Creature from the Black Lagoon (Jack Arnold, 1954)

Deserto rosso (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1964)

Don Camillo (Julien Duvivier, 1952)

Femmine di lusso (Giorgio Bianchi, 1960)

Francesco, giullare di Dio (Roberto Rossellini, 1950)

Giulietta degli spiriti (Federico Fellini, 1965)

Gli amori di Manon Lescaut / Les Amours de Manon Lescaut (Mario Costa, 1955)

Gli eroi della domenica (Mario Camerini, 1952)

I sogni nel cassetto (Renato Castellani, 1957)

Ieri Oggi Domani (Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1959-66)

Il Gattopardo (Luchino Visconti, 1963)

Il padrone sono me (Franco Brusati, 1955)

Io, io, io e gli altri (Alessandro Blasetti, 1966)

L'amorosa menzogna (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1949)

L'anno scorso a Marienbad / L'Année dernière à Marienbad (Alain Resnais, 1961)

L'eclisse (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1962)

L'oro di Napoli (Vittorio De Sica, 1954)

La dolce vita (Federico Fellini, 1960)

La ragazza con la valigia (Zurlini, 1961)

La signora di tutti (Max Ophüls, 1934)

Le amiche (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1955)

Le belle della notte/Les Belles de nuit (René Clair, 1952)

Luci del varietà (Federico Fellini, Alberto Lattuada, 1950)

Luci della ribalta / Limelight (Charlie Chaplin, 1952)

Lucrezia Borgia / Lucrèce Borgia (Christian-Jaque, 1953)

Miracolo a Milano (Vittorio De Sica, 1951)

Pane, amore e fantasia (Luigi Comencini, 1953)

Puccini (Carmine Gallone, 1953)

Quo Vadis (Mervyn LeRoy, 1951)

Rat Race (Robert Mulligan, 1960)

Signora senza camelia (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1953)

Signore e Signori (Pietro Germi, 1966)

Totò, Peppino e... la dolce vita (Sergio Corbucci, 1961)

Ulisse (Mario Camerini, 1954)

Umberto D. (Vittorio De Sica, 1952)

Vacanze a Ischia (Mario Camerini, 1957)

Venere imperiale / Vénus impériale (Jean Delannoy, 1962)

Viaggio in Italia (Roberto Rossellini, 1954)

Warlock (Edward Dmytryk, 1959)