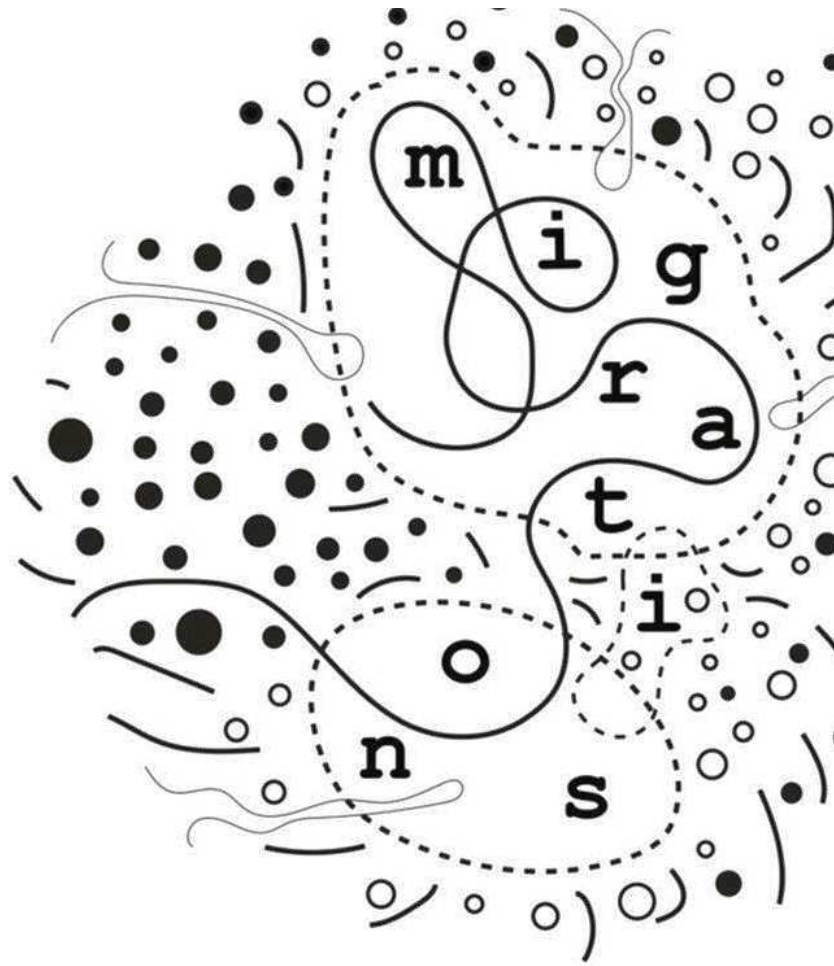




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35th World Congress





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Colour Reproductions for Modern Art. Venturi and the Print Exhibitions in Post-war Italy

Viviana Pozzoli
University of Milan

ABSTRACT

In the spring of 1946, the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome opened the exhibition “Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna”, a display made by colour reproductions of modern paintings supported by the Ministry of Education and conceived by the museum direction under the guide of the art historian Lionello Venturi, who came back after the exile years during Fascism spent between France and the United States, where he published his crucial researches on Cézanne and the history of Impressionism.

On the background of the Postwar cultural climate, the initiative reflected a reference horizon that included it within a wide network of coeval events aimed at experimenting similar strategies of art narratives, thus consecrating the international arise of an exhibition paradigm, alongside the diffusion of Malraux's concept of “musée imaginaire”.

Focusing on the investigation of Venturi's operation from such unprecedented historiographical perspective, this paper aims to explore the migration of new models of dissemination through images in a crucial moment for the international historicization of modern art. The growing calls for bringing people closer to art languages – successfully evoked in the slogan “art for everyone” – contributed to redesign the status of photo-reproduction, its forms and consumption practices. A revolution made possible through the material and symbolic features of colour.

KEYWORDS

Art reproduction; Colour; Modern art; Travelling print exhibition; Lionello Venturi.

Context and protagonists

In 1946 the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome (GNAM) opened a colour print exhibition titled “Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna”, one of the first projects dedicated to the spread of European modern artistic culture in the Postwar Italy¹. The climate was that of the Reconstruction, a background still marked by the suffering of the war and the occupation years but facing the future and crossed by great intellectual fervor, by the reopening of institutions, diplomatic relations and places of culture, including public and private art venues².

The GNAM, the most important public museum dedicated to modern art in Italy, had reopened in December 1944 after dramatic years dedicated to an intense activity of defense and rescue of the works of art³. The reopening was accompanied by the decision to update the museum set-up and functions, the activity of the gallery according to modern criteria, with the desire to overcome the backwardness of the Italian artistic situation⁴. Its director Palma Bucarelli led the process by creating an eminent network of interlocutors. Among these, the most influential was Lionello Venturi, who took on the role of a mentor.

The art historian had returned to Italy from political exile in 1945 and resumed the teaching of art history by moving to the chair at the University of Rome⁵. Bucarelli promptly contacted him a few weeks after his arrival. A letter of March 1945, in which she asks for advice and support in the complex work of reorganizing the museum, gave rise to a long and fruitful collaboration that would have led, among the first and most experimental projects, to the print exhibition of modern painting⁶.

Venturi was indeed received with deference and great participation by the Italian cultural circles. The intellectual authority of the scholar went hand in hand with the moral one of the man who rejected Fascism. The art historian engaged in an intense dissemination activity, among the most progressive and incisive manifestations of the European culture of the time, thus contributing to the rebirth of the country. Through interviews, conferences, newspaper articles he devoted himself to the diffusion of topics such as the education to modern art, the role of artistic institutions and the

social function of museums, in line with a vision mindful of pragmatism and Deweyane pedagogical theories on the democratic vocation of art achieved during his stay in the United States⁷. These issues were welcomed by Bucarelli, who was inspired to imagine the GNAM to become a living institution, a place of openness and education to modern art values. For them, in the name of an advanced museology conception, knowing how to shift the attention from the work of art to the man, the public was intended to be the great protagonist. A public not only of aficionados or insiders, nor mainly of students from art schools and academies – who nevertheless Bucarelli personally worked to involve⁸–, but the mass audience facing to the new democratic society: it was such enlarged public, above all, that the 1946 exhibition addressed. Evidence of this is the strong media battage orchestrated through press, of which the countless newspaper and magazine clippings kept in the GNAM’s archives are traces⁹.

The exhibition

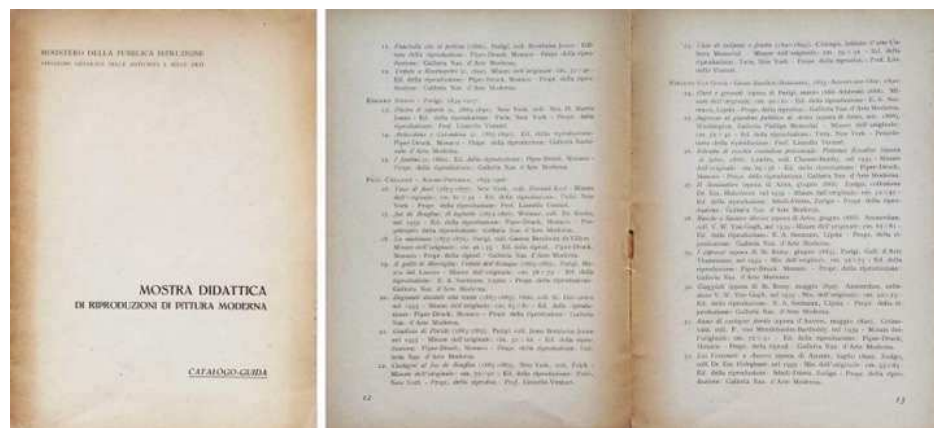


Fig. 1. “Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna”, exhibition catalogue

The “Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna” inaugurated on April 9, 1946. It was set up in the central hall of the GNAM and remained open about a month, every day from 10:00 to 18:00, with free admission¹⁰. It brought together 81 large-format colour reproductions of masterpieces by modern masters, from Manet to Picasso, and 5 original works loaned by

Lionello Venturi¹², from whose collection also came part of the printed images.

At the exhibition closing, on May 8, the art historian held a lecture titled *The origins of contemporary painting*. Quoting his words, it investigated not so much the sources, which “are lost over the centuries”, but the historical origins of contemporary painting by isolating two crucial moments defined as revolutions: the crisis of impressionism (from 1880 to 1890) and the avant-garde (from 1905 to 1914). The conference was a great public success and a version of it was published in newspapers in the following weeks¹².

The art reproductions on display, all of them in colour and in large format, were presented as follows: about half in facsimile were framed and set up on the walls, the others were arranged in special display cases, depending on the importance, the quality and the dimensions of the printed materials¹³. Reproductions were accompanied by captions, short biographical notes of the artists and, in some cases, also by commentaries on single works, as for those of Vincent van Gogh which were depicted by excerpts from his letters¹⁴.

Fig. 2. Frames from “Roma: alla Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna i capolavori della pittura straniera”, Notiziario Nuova LUCE / NL011, 1946, courtesy Archivio



LUCE

The exhibition was organized in economy of means. The living costs for the GNAM were only 27.000 lire, that is to say less than 10.000 dollars, if we rely on current monetary revaluation tables¹⁵. This can be deduced from the documents preserved up to now, which unfortunately are few, and it is

not only true about administrative and organisational materials or correspondence, since the visual documentation is practically absent.

A significant exception is represented by a short video taken from a newsreel of the time that have been traced in the archives of the Istituto LUCE¹⁶. The frames give us an idea of the environment, the set-up solutions, the relationship between the reproduced artworks and the visitors. Regrettably, the key element of the project is missing. It is colour, a feature on which instead the reviews widely insisted by speaking of “admirable”, “perfect reproductions” made with “special graphic processes” by the best foreign companies¹⁷.

In parallel, by crossing press and archival informations with the catalogue-guide¹⁸, it is possible to get a more precise idea of the exhibition contents, choices and occurrences. As already mentioned, part of the reproductions were loaned by Venturi: it was essentially one-third of the framed facsimile, while the other two-thirds came directly from the GNAM’s collections¹⁹. Their publishers were international: the German Piper and the American Twin were the most frequent, followed by the Swiss Stehli and the Parisians Braun and Quatre Chemins²⁰. The reviews agreed that the American prints – all from Venturi’s own archive – appear clearly superior, technically enviable²¹.

About the artworks, most of them were in the hands of private collectors or dealers from Europe and the United States, whereas a smaller percentage belonged to public collections, especially American museums, MoMA in the lead²². The artists represented were 20 for 81 reproductions. The most reproduced were Matisse with 13 paintings, Picasso with 10, Bonnard and Van Gogh with 9 each and finally Cézanne with 8. The other names were, in order of catalogue, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Sisley, Renoir, Degas, Gauguin, Seurat, Dufy, Derain, Braque, Rouault, Chagall, Mondrian, Miro²³.



Fig. 3. One of the reproductions on display: Edgar Degas, *Jockeys*, Piper-Druck no. 39, courtesy GNAM

The exhibition presented a synthesis of modern art tendencies respondent to the in the course of canonization scheme Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Avant-garde. If the Impressionists counted on about 15 reproductions dedicated and the Post-Impressionists, starting from Cézanne, about 20, the leading role was entrusted by the exponents of the Avant-garde, including the artists of the École de Paris, with more than half of the occurrences. But going beyond these arbitrary definitions, it should be considered the dating of the artworks for decades, which is a really interesting matter. In fact, despite the massive preponderance of artists from the Avant-garde ranks, it wasn't the first and second decades of 20th century to rule it, but the '40s, or rather the present, represented by almost half of the total reproductions. The other decade to have a weight was the '80s, that of

the crisis of Impressionism, with a quarter of the pieces, while the years from 1900 to 1930 showed irrelevant numbers²⁴.

Matisse paintings, for instance, like *Odalisque. Harmonie bleu*, 1937 or the seated women of the early '40s, were almost entirely recent²⁵ and so those of Picasso, who was exclusively represented by female portraits and still lifes of the biennium 1941-42: 10 reproductions of pieces from parisian leading galleries of the war years, Jeanne Boucher and Louise Leiris, that were particularly attentive to the world of art publishing and print images²⁶.

From a historical point of view, there was not a rigorous proposal behind the choices. The reproductions on display didn't provide an exhaustive picture of the developments of modern painting. The gaps appeared numerous and so the asymmetries, with a sort of polarization around the great starting premises – the pioneers of modernity – and some very recent events.

After all, the selection of the works probably depended, alongside Venturi's choices, on contingent reasons dictated by the not guaranteed adequate availability of printed reproductions. At the same time, it is correct to suppose that the organizers' intentions were not aimed at completeness, or to give an exhaustive and rigorous panorama of modern art, but rather to make public familiarize with its expressions.

The reviews highlighted this aspect by welcoming the exhibition²⁷. There was no lack of criticism by the most conservative observers, who expressed a skepticism largely related to the opportunity of using photomechanical reproductions instead of originals, with resulting accusations of demagoguery and populism²⁸, but except for these voices the consensus was practically unanimous. The exhibition aroused great interest and was hailed as a success, so much to be repeated, after the closure, in other Italian cities.



Fig. 4. The exhibition's travelling edition in Cagliari, 1948, installation view, courtesy Archivio Bioiconografico GNAM

The “Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna” thus became a travelling exhibition circulating throughout Italy to symbolically restitch the country after the wounds of the war. The show touched the big cities but also and especially the smaller centers, with pedagogical dedication, by giving shape to a non-stop tour of 3 years accompanied by many events: guided tours, conferences, debates, concerts²⁹. And the audience didn't fail to answer in large numbers. Documentary reports prove a large attendance: in a peripheral city like Cagliari, for instance, there were more than 14.000 visitors and 2.000 catalogues sold in only 3 weeks of opening³⁰.

The success of the initiative led the GNAM to organize a permanent educational structure producing travelling vocation projects. The turning point took place in 1949, with the starting of an avant-garde activity that would become a school for decades to come³¹.

In 1950 the UNESCO magazine *Museum* published a contribution titled “Circulating and educational exhibitions in Italian museums” by Giulio Carlo Argan, where the art historian – whose interest for such topics would in parallel find a synthesis in the translation of Herbert Read’s *Education through art* for the Italian public³² – presented the most recent experiences and made a first assessment³³.

Networks and models

That of 1946 represented a pioneering experience being the first travelling print exhibition in Italy. The press did not fail to note this unprecedented aspect when speaking of a “new genre” exhibition³⁴. It was in fact an unknown concept, introduced for the first time by Lionello Venturi himself few months earlier in an article of September 1945 where he cited the example of the traveling exhibitions held in the United States, which – he argued – “were helping to solve the problematic relationship between public and modern artists”³⁵.

After all, among the possible models of the Italian project, the American one certainly had a weight. Suffice it to recall the experience of the New York Museum of Modern Art, with its extraordinary influence on the construction of an international narrative of modern art. Since the early 1930s, MoMA had started designing print exhibitions and inaugurated a special department dedicated to circulating shows that made of them a leading sector by launching a long and successful series of projects³⁶, starting from “A brief survey of modern painting” (1934), strictly in colour³⁷.

MoMA was also publisher of art reproductions made with advanced photomechanical processes and put on sale³⁸. It wasn’t something unusual for the time, but a widespread practice shared by the major international museums, especially in France, birthplace not only of the so-called pioneers of modern art but also of a glorious print publishing tradition related to the reproduction of works of art with a strong role of the institutions. In 1940, on the occasion of the Triennale International Exhibition in Milan, in Italy, for its national section France chose to present a display of modern art

masterpieces colour prints released in facsimile format by the Chalcography of the Louvre³⁹.

Similar experiences led the progressive spread of such exhibition trend into the Postwar years. To give just an example, in 1947 the Museu de Arte de São Paulo inaugurated with a print exhibition. It was the first of a series of educational projects – having different subjects and graphics – conceived under the guide of the museum director, Pietro Maria Bardi, who had arrived to Brazil from Italy in the October of the previous year, a few months after the opening of the Venturi exhibition, which he certainly had occasion to visit⁴⁰.

Aggregator of these practices was a key player of the Postwar cultural's dynamics, UNESCO, that since the early years of its foundation worked on the creation of an archive of colour photomechanical prints of world's chefs-d'oeuvre⁴¹ – sort of ideal museum – to promote, in turn, shows of reproductions such as the famous “From Impressionism till today”, held in Paris in 1949⁴². A few years later, in 1953, UNESCO would publish the *Manual of travelling exhibitions* for the use by all artistic institutions of the world⁴³, thus definitively institutionalizing this exhibition paradigm of increasing popularity recognized as a powerful tool of cultural dissemination, education and soft power propaganda⁴⁴.

The centrality of colour

These events can be read as an expression of the growing interest for reproduced images and facsimile. UNESCO counted on an acquired understanding of the value of art reproduction in relation to the expansion of visual culture, its potential of diffusion in the game of migration among the media. And it openly identified the centrality of colour in the process: “we are returning to a civilization full of colour”, was one of the slogans of its project⁴⁵.

For the latter, since 1947 the organisation set up a special committee of experts, the so called “Colour Commission”, which included, among others, Jean Cassou, director of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, René d'Harnoncourt, director of the MoMA, and Lionello Venturi⁴⁶. In 1952 the

Italian art historian signed the introduction to the second edition of the *Catalogue of colour reproductions of painting* dedicated to modern art by highlighting not only the continuous technical improvements of photomechanical colour reproduction – the quality of the images available on the market, their fidelity to the originals – but the value of colour, that was presented as “the only way to entirely return the artwork”⁴⁷.

The introduction of colour photographic film in the second half of the '30s had in fact made possible for the first time direct shooting in color (or rather without the mediation of filters, as was previously the case, for instance, of the trichromatic process), thus obtaining at last natural intensity and chromatic resolutions⁴⁸. In addition, it offered many advantages, particularly the absence of grain allowing high enlargements without losing detail, even during the photomechanical translation of the images. The quality, the fidelity ensured by colour film promised to give an unprecedented answer to the crucial issue of the reproduction of works of art, which until then to the imbalances and saturation of the three-colour process had preferred the reassuring black and white strictness tending, by definition, to enhance plastic and linear values. This subverted the problem of color by presenting it as a great modern possibility, a form of realism. The progressive achievements in the application to different printing processes did the rest by experimenting unprecedented ways of representing art able to modify the very identity of reproduction through the materiality of the images, and consequently perception and consumption practices.

The communicative potential of colour played a crucial role in popularization, in bringing the public – a more and more wide public – closer to art. And art, through reproduction, gained a new place in society. The images reproduced were preparing to become an important consumption object in the rising cultural industry of mass society, in parallel to the increasing expansion of the art publishing sector, its products and market. In this regard, it should be emphasized that there was a sort of natural mutual identification between colour and the modern languages, as also noticed in the debate⁴⁹. Briefly, modern art was the uncontested protagonist of this process, in the name of a common modernist utopia. And it remains to be

asked how much, and how, colour influenced the development of a canon of modern art in a period considered a pivotal historiographical laboratory.

Returning to the “Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna”, it could be interesting to mention a review focusing on the importance of photomechanical processes’ technical issues in relation to the perceptual aspects of printed images and, finally, to the relationship between reproductions and public. The author, Gino Visentini, wrote: “in front of some facsimiles of Cézanne, I must say, I experienced the same optical and tactile sensations that the thickness and the texture of the painting had raised me many years ago at the Louvre. In front of the reproductions of Van Gogh, one can count the dense and minute brushstrokes and feel where the material is greasy or glazed and inflated by solvent and where it is dry. [...] In front of the three Degas one feels the velvet and soft powder of the pastel under the fingertips. Of those three reproductions I also own one, and I assure you that sometimes I wonder if there really is a difference with the original”⁵⁰. It’s a crucial point in understanding the event, since it considers the topic of reproduction fruition, its value as an experience.

It would suffice to think of the Italy of 1946, the still present rubble of bombings, their greyness emblem of the wounds of war and 20 years of Fascist dictatorship. Let’s imagine the significance of an exhibition of color reproductions of the great works of the European modernity for a wide audience, for everyone, also as an element of civil participation in a country undergoing reconstruction⁵¹. After the ruins, the light, the colours, the pleasure of painting: the joie de vivre of the Impressionists – with the suggestions recalling the coeval French cinema, such as that of Jean Renoir, son of the painter – and besides the formal experimentations of the contemporary masters. A huge symbolic charge, which disrupted perception refounding modernity in chromatic memory, defining its figurative sources looking at the painting of the second half of the 19th century and not at the ancients, as in the past. The one conveyed by reproductions wanted to be a collective imagination metaphor of freedom, of belonging to a common European culture.

As mentioned, the reviews confirmed the euphoria of the public, its participation, and spoke of a popular initiative. No different, however, were the intellectual expectations evoked in contemporary artists by the confrontation with the visual documents of the great modern painting. Years later, the young Piero Dorazio will remember: “In 1946 Lionello Venturi came back to Italy and set up at the Galleria d’Arte Moderna an exhibition of colour reproductions of the most representative works of the century, from the Impressionists to Chagall. It was the elixir for modern art in Italy because it was visited and discussed by all artists, from Palermo to Milan, and presented works and plastic problems of which no one had ever known the existence”⁵².

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Lionello Venturi's Archive, Sapienza University, Rome

Museum of Modern Art's Administrative Records and Papers Archive, New York

Palma Bucarelli's Archive, Central State Archive, Rome

Endnotes

1. The exhibition is widely cited in art historical literature. Among the most pertinent studies are those dedicated to museology and the educational activity of GNAM, which, however, have never addressed a critic reconstruction of the event. See, in particular, Laura Fanti, "La didattica alla GNAM negli anni di Palma Bucarelli," *Nuova museologia* 15 (November 2006): 16-20; Rita Camerlingo, "Non ho mai lavorato per gli artisti o per i critici, ma solo per il pubblico: Storia della didattica in Galleria (1945-1975)," in *Palma Bucarelli. Il museo come avanguardia*, ed. Mariastella Margozzi (Milan: Electa: 2009), 64-71; Stefano Marson, "Su alcuni musei d'arte moderna in Italia aperti e rinnovati," in Maria Cecilia Mazzi, *Musei anni '50: spazio, forma, funzione* (Florence: Edifir, 2009), 157-79.
2. On the Roman art scene see the coeval chronicles: Marcello Venturoli, *Interviste di frodo* (Rome: Sandron, 1945); Libero De Libero, *Roma 1935* (Rome: Edizioni della Cometa, 1981); Palma Bucarelli, *Cronache indipendenti. Arte a Roma fra 1945 e 1946*, ed. Luigi Cantatore (Rome: De Luca, 2010).
3. The related documentation is held in the GNAM's Historical Archive (GNAM-HA), Depositi temporanei fuori sede per cause belliche, Ricoveri, Protezione antiaerea 1932-1952. See also Palma Bucarelli, "Opere d'arte alla macchia," *Mercurio*, December 1944, 148-151.
4. See Margozzi, *Palma Bucarelli*.
5. See Laura Iamurri, "Lionello Venturi in esilio," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 67 (1999): 59-68; Stefano Valeri, "Lionello Venturi antifascista 'pericoloso' durante l'esilio (1931- 1945)," *Storia dell'arte* 101 (2002): 15-27.
6. Palma Bucarelli to Lionello Venturi, March 1, 1945, published in Bucarelli, *Cronache indipendenti*, 9. On their partnership see also Ercole Maselli to Palma Bucarelli, May 9, 1946, Central State Archive, Rome, Palma Bucarelli's Archive, folder 7.
7. See, for instance, Lionello Venturi, "Il museo-scuola," *La Nuova Europa*, September 9, 1945, 7.
8. See GNAM-HA, folder 1, file 7 "Attività didattica. Mostre 1946".

9. The press review gathered about 129 articles. See GNAM's Bio-Iconographic Archive (GNAM-BIA), "Attività didattica", folder 51.
10. As indicated in the Press release, GNAM-HA, folder 1, file 7 "Attività didattica. Mostre 1946".
11. The original pieces were a watercolor by Cézanne, one by the northamerican artist John Marin, a painting by Chagall (*Abraham*, 1931) and two by Rouault (*Bust of a woman* and *Sea of Galilee*, 1939).
12. See Lionello Venturi, "Le origini della pittura contemporanea," *L'Indipendente*, May 21, 1946,
13. The quotation above is taken from the article. In this paper, all the translations from Italian are by the author.
13. The list of the pieces on display report the subdivision and related set-up instructions. See GNAM-HA, folder 1, file 7 "Attività didattica. Mostre 1946".
14. See Palma Bucarelli, "Le manifestazioni didattiche nella Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna," *Bollettino d'arte* 2 (April-June 1952): 185-189.
15. See GNAM-HA, folder 1, file 7 "Attività didattica. Mostre 1946", Palma Bucarelli to the Ministry of Education, April 10, 1946.
16. "Roma: alla Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna i capolavori della pittura straniera", from *Notiziario Nuova LUCE / NLo11*, 1946, Istituto LUCE's Historical Archive, Rome.
17. See, in particular, Fortunato Bellonzi, "Mostra di riproduzioni artistiche alla Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna," *Domenica*, April 14, 1946; Guglielmo Peirce, "Mostra didattica di arte moderna," *L'Unità*, April 14, 1946; Gino Visentini, "Alla Galleria d'Arte Moderna: pitture francesi riprodotte," *Fiera Letteraria*, April 25, 1945.
18. See the list of the pieces on display in GNAM-HA, folder 1, file 7 "Attività didattica. Mostre 1946". It corresponds with the one in the catalogue-guide, *Mostra didattica di riproduzioni di pittura moderna: catalogo-guida* (Rome: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1948), that was published years later, on the occasion of the exhibition travelling edition, with an introduction by Corrado Maltese.
19. A small group of reproductions from GNAM's collections on display during the exhibition has been found in the museum storages: Alfred Sisley, *Les bords du Loing à Moret* (inventory no. 4288); Vincent van Gogh, *Portrait of an old farmer* (inventory no. 4289); André Derain, *Landscape* (inventory no. 4290); Edgar Degas, *Jockeys* (inventory no. 4296).
20. Alongside Seemann (Leipzig) and Graphic Society (New York). See *Mostra didattica*.
21. See, for instance, Bellonzi, "Mostra di riproduzioni"; N.O., "Fotografie di quadri moderni," *Espresso*, April 23, 1946.
22. See *Mostra didattica*.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. With the exception of *The blue window*, 1913, from MoMA's collections.
26. Except for *Seated woman*, 1941 and *Woman with a hat*, 1942, from the painter's collection, and the 1941 destroyed *Still life*. On Jeanne Boucher and Louise Leiris galleries during the war years see *L'art en guerre. France 1938-1947* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2012): 161-82, 353, 408-9.
27. See the press review in GNAM-BIA, "Attività didattica", folder 51.
28. For a summary, see Bucarelli's answers published in *Fiera letteraria*, May 2, 1946 and the later testimony Bucarelli, "Le manifestazioni didattiche".
29. L'Aquila, July 1946; Naples, August-September 1946; Bari, October 1946; Cosenza, November 1946; Reggio Calabria, December 1946; Catania, February 1947; Palermo, April 1947; Messina, July 1947; Cagliari, January 1948; Sassari, February 1948; Genoa, April 1948; Turin, May-June 1948; Milan, July 1948; Mantua, November 1948; Verona, December 1948-January 1949. For the related documentation see GNAM-HA, folder 1, file 7 "Attività didattica. Mostre 1946"; for press review and public program materials see GNAM-BIA, "Attività didattica", folder 51. After the first tournée, a second one was undertaken towards smaller cities from 1950. The few documents on the subject do not allow a reconstruction.

30. See GNAM-BIA, "Attività didattica", folder 51, "Relazione sulle edizioni di Cagliari e Sassari della Mostra didattica di pittura francese moderna".
31. See Bucarelli's testimony: Bucarelli, "Le manifestazioni didattiche" and Palma Bucarelli, "Funzione didattica del museo d'arte moderna," in *Il museo come esperienza sociale*, ed. Pietro Romanelli (Rome: De Luca, 1972): 85-90.
32. Herbert Read, *Educare con l'arte*, trans. Giulio Carlo Argan (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1954).
33. Giulio Carlo Argan, "Expositions itinérantes et éducatives dans les musées d'Italie," *Museum* 4, no. 3 (1950): 3.
34. Ercole Maselli, "Una mostra (utilissima) di nuovo genere," *Avanti!*, May 5, 1946.
35. Venturi, "Il museo-scuola".
36. See "Circulating exhibitions," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 7, no. 5 (September 1940): 2-14.
37. Alfred H. Barr, ed., *A brief survey of modern painting* (New York: MoMA, 1934).
38. See "Museum color reproductions on view" in the press release no. 45306-10 "New Technique of Multiple Circulating Exhibitions on Display at the Museum of Modern Art", March 6, 1935, New York, MoMA's Administrative Records and Papers Archive.
39. See *VII Triennale di Milano. Guida* (Milan: SAME, 1941).
40. In the same years, exhibitions of art reproductions were staged by the Art Section of the Biblioteca Municipal de São Paulo too. See Helouise Costa, "Educating About the Modern: Between the Library and the Museum," in *MAM 70: 1948-2018* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 2018): 257-63.
41. See "Art treasures to be put within reach of all," *UNESCO Courier* 1, no. 8 (September 1948): 6. The first archive's catalogue was published in 1949. See *Catalogue of colour reproductions of paintings from 1860 to 1949* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949).
42. See the catalogue *UNESCO Travelling Print Exhibition: From Impressionism Till Today* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949), with an introduction by René Huyghe. See also the article "Colour reproduction: UNESCO's first travelling exhibition," *UNESCO Courier* 2, no. 7 (August 1949): 12.
43. Elodie Courter Osborn, *Manual of travelling exhibitions* (UNESCO, 1953).
44. On the project and the UNESCO visual policies see Rachel E. Perry, "Immutable Mobiles: UNESCO's Archives of Colour Reproductions," *The Art Bulletin* 99, no. 2 (August 2017): 166-85.
45. See Jean Leymarie, "Introduction," in *Catalogue of colour reproductions of paintings from 1860 to 1955* (Paris: UNESCO, 1955): 12-16.
46. Venturi's activity for UNESCO is documented in his archive at Sapienza University in Rome. For the writings see folder 152, dossier 16; for the correspondence, folder 296, dossier 11; for other documents, like reports, folder 294, dossier 13.
47. See Lionello Venturi, "Introduction," in *Catalogue of colour reproductions of paintings from 1860 to 1952* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952): 11-14.
48. For an overview on the colour reproduction processes see the standard contribution by Antony Hamber, "Communicating colour: advances in reprographic technology 1840-1967," *Visual Resources* 15, no. 3 (1990): 355-370.
49. See, for instance, the interesting article by Jean Leymarie, "Masterpieces you can now buy," *UNESCO Courier* 8, no. 7 (1955): 21-26.
50. Visentini, "Alla Galleria".
51. In the same years, a parallel rethoric was used for the promotion of contemporary Italian art abroad. See Raffaele Bedarida, "Operation Renaissance: Italian Art at MoMA 1940-1949," *Oxford Journal* 35, no. 2 (June 2012): 147-69.
52. Piero Dorazio, *La fantasia dell'arte nella vita moderna* (Rome: Polveroni e Quinti, 1955), 142-43.