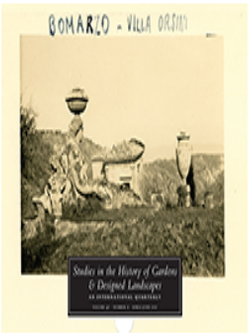

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'Impressions so alien': the afterlives of the Sacro Bosco at Bomarzo

THALIA ALLINGTON-WOOD

The history of a garden is a narrative constructed on the basis of factual evidence, but also shaped by shifting ideological pressures and historical circumstances over the *long durée* of its existence. The study of the reception or afterlife of a particular garden allows us to see how it changed over time, was reformulated by its visitors, and how these changes have influenced its subsequent interpretations.[1] Despite this widely shared understanding, the afterlife of the Sacro Bosco at Bomarzo has received little critical attention, though its complex historiography was inseparably tied to political and social shifts in twentieth-century Italy.

The traditional histories of the Sacro Bosco suggest that in the early seventeenth century this garden had fallen into disrepair and obscurity until it was suddenly 'rediscovered' after World War II. In less than a decade, between the late 1940s and mid-1950s, Bomarzo became the subject of an unprecedented amount of public and scholarly attention, being caught on camera and featured on screen, publicized in newspapers and discussed in academic journals. From 1955 onwards, it also prominently entered the art historical discourse.

This article scrutinizes and corrects this picture by taking a fresh look both at the early twentieth-century reception and historiography of the Sacro Bosco and various writings and media devoted to it in post-war Italy. In doing so, it reveals the origins and production of dominant scholarly narratives that continue to influence our understanding of Bomarzo, their relationship with political pressures and ideological agendas of the time, and their long-lasting effects on the garden's image in both popular culture and specialist literature. The point of departure for this analysis is the concept of the *giardino all'italiana* fostered by Mussolini's fascist regime, from which I move to the discussion of contrasting interpretative frameworks – Surrealist art, Neorealist cinema and the notion of Mannerism as an 'anti-classical' style – mobilized in post-war Italy to explain this intriguing site. In addition, this article draws on previously unpublished evidence – such as personal photographs, films and various writings – that shed new light on such debated questions as the extent to which the Sacro Bosco was known to early twentieth-century visitors and its place in the history of Italian gardens and sculpture.

By bringing together these divergent approaches, media and contexts that informed the afterlife of Bomarzo, this article's aim is to launch a critical re-evaluation of the early historiography of this site. This task, as the following analysis shows, only becomes feasible if we acknowledge various, often poorly known, ways in which the post-war 'rediscovery' of the Sacro Bosco was intimately tied to the social and political history of twentieth-century Italy.[2]

The 'rediscovery' of Bomarzo

Historical accounts of Bomarzo are fragmentary. After its owner, Vicino Orsini, died in 1585, his descendants fell into severe financial difficulties. To clear their debts, in 1645, the Orsini sold the estate for 185 *scudi* to Ippolito Lante Montefeltro della Rovere, in whose family it remained until 1836, when it was sold to the Borghese.[3] Ippolito's initial intention to invest in Bomarzo is evident from the building work that he started on the Orsini

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former residence in the town in 1654.[4] This work, however, was never completed; and only a year later Ippolito rented in perpetuity from Pope Alexander VII Giovan Francesco Gambara's former villa at nearby Bagnaia. With the Lante moving to their celebrated new residence, where they would remain for the next few centuries, Bomarzo was left to fall into disrepair.

In 1846, ten years after the Borghese purchased the Bomarzo estate, Luigi Vittori published a book on the Etruscan history of the area, in which a description of the Sacro Bosco appears as a short interlude. His words 'you can admire a garden with many colossal sculptures' constitute one of the first references to the site after 1600.[5] Vittori gets the historical information wrong by naming Vicino's father Giancorrado Orsini as the garden's creator. But it is clear from his description that he saw the statues and admired their colossal size and iconography, given his references to the *Fighting Giants*, the *Dragon*, and the *Elephant* among the site's other features.[6] Nonetheless, lost among pages dwelling on ancient civilizations, his remarks went largely unnoticed by scholars of Italian art and gardens.

The same is true of subsequent publications that mention Bomarzo. Gustavo Strafforello, repeating Vittori's error, noted the existence of a 'garden with colossal statues and a beautiful little temple erected by Duke Corrado Orsini to the memory of his wife Giulia Farnese' in his monumental *La patria: geografia dell'Italia* (1894).[7] Over a decade later, the archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani also mentioned the site, when he made a fleeting reference to the 'eccentric' *bosco* of 'Messer Vicino' in his *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna* published in 1909.[8] Giulio Silvestrelli, in *Città, castelli e terre della regione romana* (1914), while noting how the Bomarzo estate changed hands over the centuries, referred to 'numerous gigantic statues of mythological deities, monsters and animals, carved in large random blocks scattered here and there on the ground' in the vicinity the town.[9] These publications suggest that, contrary to what is often stated in scholarly literature, the Sacro Bosco was known well enough prior to the 1940s, but make it clear that it was not considered a site of particular artistic or garden interest.

To be considered on its own terms – that is, in the context of other Italian villas and gardens – the Sacro Bosco had to wait for foreign, mostly Anglophone, travellers. It was US landscape architect Rose Standish Nichols who situated Bomarzo in the history of Italian gardens, affording two whole pages to it in *Italian Pleasure Gardens* (1928).[10] Likewise, Georges Loukomski (1884–1952), a Russian artist living in Paris and London, provided in the 1930s the first known renderings of the garden since the drawings by Bartholomeus Breenbergh, a Dutch painter who had been resident in Rome between 1619 and 1630.[11] One of Loukomski's drawings (ca. 1935–38) shows the *Siren* depicted in black pastel, with the Monte Casoli ridge spread across the background dotted with tall coniferous trees (Figure 1). Probably drawn from memory, Loukomski shows an impossible view, grouping disparate elements of the garden that in reality cannot be seen together.

Some years later, when the Sacro Bosco was going through the period of its post-war 'rediscovery' – during which a steadily growing number of newspaper articles, media and scholarship promoted it to a broad public – Italian

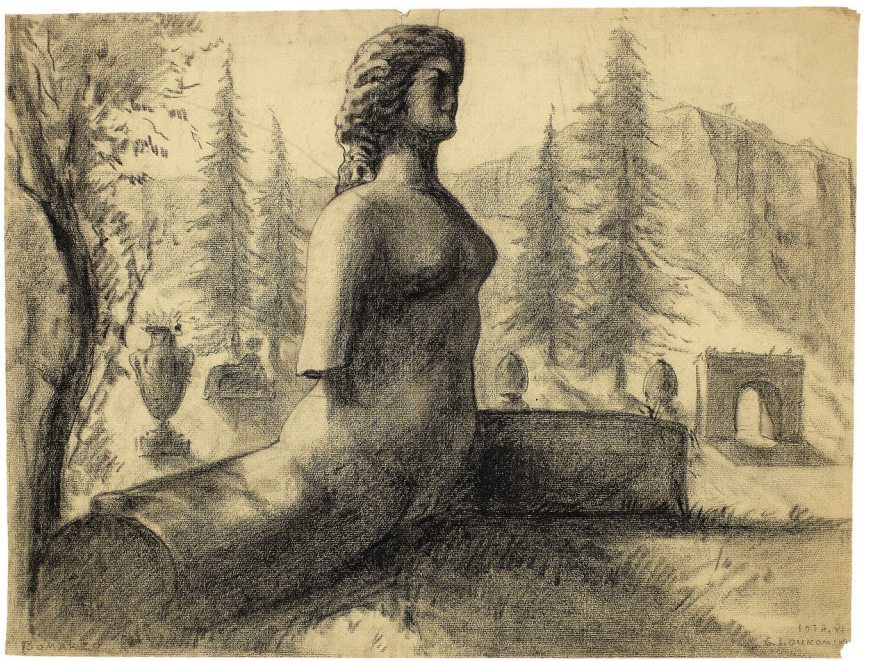

FIGURE 1. *George K. Loukomski, Bomarzo, c. 1935–38. Pastel on coloured paper, 63 × 48 cm, part of the series 'Les Statues et les Fontaines de Soriano nel Cimino, de Bomarzo et de la Villa Farnese a Caprarola'. Photo: Bonhams. Courtesy of the family of the artist.*

art critics were quick to note this discrepancy between the foreign and domestic knowledge of the site. Mario Praz, an Italian art critic and professor of English literature, was one of the first writers to promote Bomarzo to the Italian audience. In an article for the Roman daily newspaper *Il Tempo* (17 November 1949), he wrote that when he had asked a local 'if there happened to be many visitors' to the site, the answer was: '[There are] Americans and Canadians every day'.[12] Unlike these tourists, Praz admitted that he 'did not suspect the existence of Bomarzo any more than the vast majority of my countrymen until the day I spoke to a Russian painter', referring to Andrei Beloborodoff or Beloborodov, an architect and artist from St. Petersburg who moved to Rome in 1934.[13]

Guido Piovene, a journalist who had been involved in the anti-fascist movement in Italy, expressed a similar sentiment in the newspaper *La Stampa* in 1953. 'If one talks about Bomarzo today', he wrote, 'one often has this answer: I heard of it from an English lady who was enthusiastic about it'.[14] Yet, he continued, 'at home, as I have already said, it does not seem to have entered among our official values (*valori ufficiali*) yet'.[15] Piovene's use of the expression *valori ufficiali* is significant. The first half of the twentieth century saw such 'official values' associated with the *giardino all'italiana* ('Italian garden'), the concept that became dominant in public and academic contexts and could not easily accommodate Bomarzo. New evidence presented in this article shows that, rather than being unfamiliar to the proponents of the *valori ufficiali* of Italian artistic history, the Sacro Bosco was much more widely known prior to its post-war 'rediscovery' than has been acknowledged previously. In fact, a case can be made for what I would describe as the 'active exclusion' of Vicino's creation from the politically motivated canon of Italian garden history.

The giardino all'italiana

Recent scholarly literature has established that a key agenda of Mussolini's government in the 1920s and 1930s was to create a unified Italian identity via a shared cultural heritage, and that part of this nationalizing mission involved postulating the 'Italian garden' as a distinct style.[16] Appropriated from Anglo-American authors such as Edith Wharton and Vernon Lee, who had visited Italy and sought an aesthetic opposite to the 'successive pictures of flower-loveliness' fashionable in the cottage-style gardens of Britain, this concept – which became known as the *giardino all'italiana* – referred to an architecturally defined space, classically inspired and geometrically ordered, reduced to evergreen plants, water and stonework.[17]

Two major proponents of this garden narrative were the Italian scholar Luigi Dami and the art critic and journalist Ugo Ojetti, both associated with the fascist regime. Dami published *Il giardino italiano* in 1924, the first major Italian book on the subject, in which he argued that the Italian garden was epitomized by what he understood as the style that emerged in the Cinquecento. 'The word Italian in this book', Dami stated, 'is used as referring to a style and not a geographical space … [it is constituted by] various forms, which have taken definite shape in Florence and Rome, from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century'.[18] In this manner, the earlier idea of a distinct Italian garden type – originating at the end of the eighteenth century primarily as a horticultural concept and referring to shared habitat, botanical resources and weather conditions – was redefined according to artistic goals and a classically orientated interpretation of the Renaissance.[19] The opinions of Wharton and Lee were absorbed into this narrative, which, informed by fascist ideology, became the basis for the *valori ufficiali* of the 'national' garden style that ironed out Italy's regional differences. In Dami's words, this 'Italian garden' culminated in a formal and symbolically stable space that was the 'outcome of a keen mind and of a deliberate will', where 'everything is definite, divided [and] well-balanced'.[20] In the Italian garden, Dami stressed, there was no room for sentimentality, even 'the sky is cut into zones' by green architecture.[21]

Closely aligned with Dami's line of thought, Ugo Ojetti was one of the signatories of the *Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti* in 1925, a document that formally defined the cultural aspirations of Italian fascism. In 1931, he headed the organizational committee for the *Mostra del giardino italiano* in Florence: a colossal, widely publicized and government-funded exhibition held in the Palazzo Vecchio, which presented the idea of the national garden to a broad and diverse audience. In the opening essay of the exhibition's catalogue, Ojetti described this garden style in terms that paid heed to Dami's earlier publication. The Italian garden, Ojetti stated, is strictly 'symmetrical and architectonic', notable for its 'restrained beauty and regulated variety in nature

made tame and obedient and laid out in precise designs'.[22] Echoing Dami's reference to a 'keen mind', Ojetti asserted that the Italian garden is a 'garden of intelligence' that expresses 'the constant, orderly and visible dominion of man over nature'.[23]

It has generally been assumed that, since the Sacro Bosco was largely unknown to scholarship prior to the mid-twentieth century, it was also unfamiliar to Italian scholars such as Dami and Ojetti. This, however, was not the case. Although Dami made no reference to Bomarzo in the text of his publication, turning the pages of the densely packed appendix to his book one finds an unexpected photograph of the garden's Tempietto (Figure 2). Previously overlooked, the inclusion of this image has deep implications for understanding the Sacro Bosco's afterlife. If Dami knew of the site, so, presumably, did Ojetti. Dami's publication was a key text for the 1931 exhibition; in fact, a copy of it was available for consultation by visitors in Room 24.[24]

Since Dami's text made no further references to the Sacro Bosco, the photograph of the Tempietto in the appendix remains unexplained. Likewise, it is not clear how Dami came to know about Bomarzo, though it seems unlikely that he would have overlooked previous accounts of this area, such as those by Vittori, Strafforello and Lanciani. Nor do we know who photographed this building for the publication. There are conspicuously no images of Bomarzo in the archive of the Alinari firm, established in 1852, which became the preeminent commercial photography company in Italy. This omission runs contrary to the fact that the Alinari had invested substantial resources into producing vast photographic collections of Italian art, including those of sculpture and national heritage sites. They captured, for example, the Villa Lante in Bagnaia from as early as 1890 and the Papacqua Fountain in nearby Soriano nel Cimino from about 1900–10.[25]

The Tempietto, however, is the Sacro Bosco's most classical feature: a peripteral temple, it has a tetrastyle portico with a vaulted ceiling and a dome to the rear. More than any other structure at Bomarzo, it accords with the notion of the *giardino all'italiana* and, unlike the garden's sculptures, complies with Dami's stylistic argument. Such *tempietti* were mentioned briefly in his discussion of the principles of 'Italian' garden design, being positioned alongside fountains and other architectural features as an appropriate way to mark the end of a vista.[26] The photograph's caption, moreover, attributes the Tempietto at Bomarzo to Vignola, suggesting that Dami

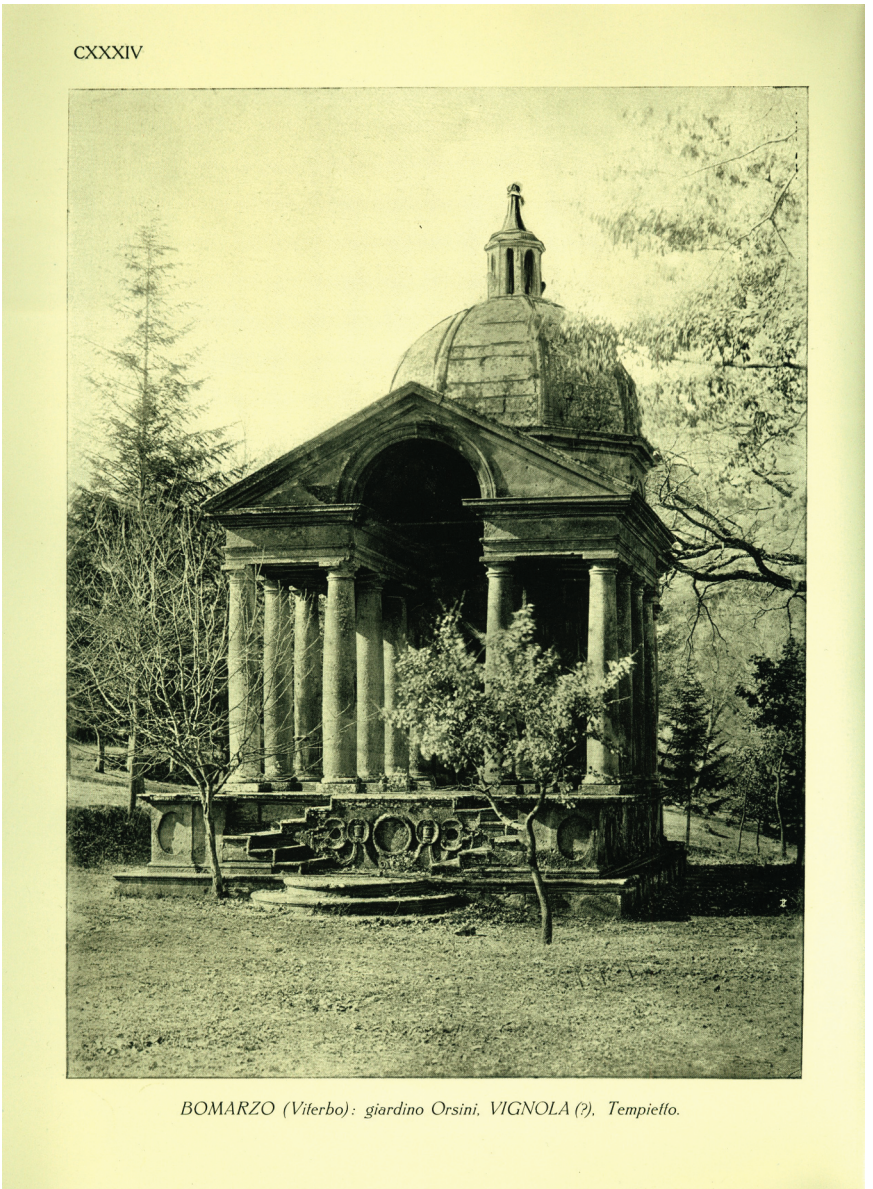

FIGURE 2. *Figure CXXXIV from Luigi Dami, Il giardino italiano (Milan: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1924).*

thought this building was possibly designed by the famous architect associated with the celebrated Villa Lante at Bagnaia and the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, a good enough reason to include this structure in the appendix. In his book, Dami notes that around 1550 Vignola was a popular choice of architect for villas and gardens in and around Rome.[27] Garden structures or follies analogous to the Tempietto were also among a few features that Ojetti thought justified in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century 'Romantic' gardens, which he pitted as the antithesis to the 'Italian' style.[28] The reason, Ojetti explained, was because these 'little round or octagonal classical temples' expressed 'regret for the forgotten architecture' of the Italian *giardino*.[29]

Significantly, in the image caption accompanying the photograph of the Tempietto, Dami makes a reference to what he calls the *giardino Orsini*, revealing his knowledge of the structure's larger setting, which, however, he does not discuss in his publication. Indeed, the physical proximity of the garden's sculptures to the Tempietto means that they could not have been missed by a visitor to Bomarzo. It would seem, therefore, that while this classical structure with Vignola as its presumed architect was deemed appropriate for a publication that sought to define the 'Italian' style of garden design, the rest of the Sacro Bosco – with its rough volcanic stone, Etruscan references and unusually monstrous subject matter – was not.

The aim of the *Mostra del giardino italiano*, like Dami's book, was to distil the canon of sites and works representing the singular national garden tradition that aligned with Italian fascist ideology. As Ojetti stated in the catalogue's introduction, ' … this exhibition is intended to restore to its place of honour an art not only *peculiarly ours*, but one, which after having conquered the world, seems overshadowed by other fashions or *hidden under foreign names*'.[30] The exhibition's politically motivated emphasis on 'national' characteristics meant downplaying or erasing the regional differences found across Italian garden history and excluding 'non-representative' sites, despite the fact that it featured as many as almost 4000 objects displayed in fifty-three rooms. In the catalogue, Ojetti wrote of how 'the sheer quantity of documents, paintings, drawings, prints, views, plans and models meant that in the end we had to choose and abandon many'.[31] On the one hand, these acts of exclusion asserted the weight of evidence behind the display, but, on the other, Ojetti's admission reveals the practice of selection and, significantly, omission on which the exhibition was based.

To compile the research for the exhibition, regional committees were established to produce detailed inventories of gardens for each of the country's regions.[32] Archival documents brought to light by Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto make it clear that these groups were instructed to prioritize sites that fitted the 'national' style, regardless of the wealth of other garden traditions of Italy.[33] To Francesco Fichera, a disgruntled member of the Sicilian committee, this meant that the heterogeneous character of the island's gardens was rejected, with some of the key sites ignored. 'How will Sicily participate in the garden exhibition', he asked, 'where the norm will be architectonic Italian gardens? … Were this not the definition, three-quarters of Sicily could be represented'.[34] Fichera's objections make it clear that Ojetti, the exhibition's organizers and, often reluctantly, the regional committees, passed over and omitted gardens that displayed stylistic approaches different from the one that they were supposed to promote. By including gardens such as the Sacro Bosco that displayed regional characteristics (such as the use of local volcanic stone), idiosyncrasies and potentially subversive aesthetics, they would have deviated from this principle, calling into question the coherence of the exhibition's political narrative.

A 'visual historiography'

If the presence of the image of the Tempietto in Dami's publication prompts us to rethink the early twentieth-century history of the Sacro Bosco, so, too, do other previously unpublished photographs of Bomarzo that I uncovered in the archives of Rome. These photographs, which constitute the site's 'visual historiography', were not meant to document it for the purposes of art history.[35] Instead, they were part of personal photographic collections, offering further evidence that there were many who knew of the Sacro Bosco and visited it despite its remote location, which – away from the major *autostrada* route between Rome and Florence, 10 miles from Viterbo and 12 miles from Orte – is difficult to reach even today. Indeed, these photographs corroborate the words of Rose Standish Nichols, who described Bomarzo in 1928 as 'always accessible'.[36]

Primarily taken by the Americans and British resident in Rome, these photographs strengthen the impression that the Sacro Bosco was regarded by the Anglophone expatriate community as both a familiar and intriguing site. This community included Isabel Fanny Louise Porges, who, born in London in 1879, was the wife of Marco Borghese, the duke of Bomarzo, and thus a member of the Borghese family that owned the Sacro Bosco. Isabel's youngest son Giovanni (1911–1983), in an article published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1964, described growing up at the estate and credited his mother with bringing 'attention to the gardens after so long a time', saying that 'she had them cleared of moss and under bush and the debris of centuries'.[37] While the extent of Isabel's involvement in uncovering and publicizing the Sacro Bosco is hard to assess, it is reasonable to assume that her English background at the very least would have played a part in attracting Anglophone visitors, who formed the group that mainly documented the garden during the first half of the twentieth century.

Some of the earliest photographs that I discovered in the collection of the American Academy in Rome were taken by two of its fellows: the landscape architect Norman T. Newton, who held the Rome Prize between 1923 and 1926, and Richard K. Webel, who trained at Harvard and visited Bomarzo in March 1927. In both instances, their personal photographs of Bomarzo were taken as part of their research projects on Italian gardens in and around Rome. Indeed even Ojetti, in his introduction to the 1931 catalogue, noted the positive role that the American Academy fellows played in developing the study of Italian gardens, particularly in providing detailed plans of the major villas.[38] Among Newton's ninety-three photographs are three black-and-white images of the Sacro Bosco, which show the Mouth of Hell, the Tempietto and the hulking mass of the *Elephant* surrounded by low dense foliage (Figure 3).[39] In addition to these three features, Webel also captured the *Fighting Giants* (Figure 4), the *Dragon*, the sculpture usually referred to as *Ceres* and another rarely photographed figure, the female nude in an alcove on the garden's lower level (Figure 5).[40]

Various sculptures shown in these photographs, which range from wide-angle shots to close-ups, evidence how close a visitor could get to the figures of the Sacro Bosco having braved the journey to Alto Lazio. In one of Webel's images, the site is even inhabited. Two small boys perch on top of the *Dragon*; wearing flat caps, fitted dark jackets and small leather boots,

FIGURE 3. *Norman T. Newton, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)' (Elephant), c. 1923–26. Black and white photographic print, 8 × 12 cm. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.*

they look directly into the camera (Figure 6). The statues in these images are overgrown – vines creep over the rough surface of the Mouth of Hell (Figure 7) – but they are not situated in a *bosco* or woodland. The ground around many of them is completely cleared, with the bright Lazian sky above (Figure 8). Without the cover of trees, the colossal sculptures would have been visible from the town above and the steep hill ridges that surround the valley, as indicated by a photograph by John Bryan Ward-Perkins, Director of the British School at Rome in 1945–1974 (Figure 9).[41] Looking out from the Monte Casoli ridge pockmarked by Etruscan caverns towards the town of Bomarzo, the sculptures of the Sacro Bosco are clearly visible in the bare inclines of the valley, with the open maw of the Mouth of Hell looming as a black orifice in the landscape. These photographs suggest that one could not miss Orsini's garden if visiting the town, let alone fail to see the monstrous statuary if photographing the Tempietto.

Newton's garden visits and research provided the basis for *A Guide to Villas and Gardens in Italy*, published by the American Academy in 1938. In this concise book, the Sacro Bosco, named 'Palazzo Orsini or Borghese', featured only briefly; but it certainly placed the site on the map of Italian garden history and provided another means for the English-speaking audience to learn about its existence.[42] It is significant that the *Guide* refers to the Sacro Bosco as a 'park', the entry expressly stating that there is 'no garden' associated with the town and Orsini castle.[43] The term 'park' or *parco* can also be found in many of the texts and films on Bomarzo from the early and mid-twentieth century. It positions the site more as a public recreational space as compared to a *giardino* or heritage site: an amusement park is a *parco divertimenti*, a zoo is a *parco zoologico*.[44] Indeed, the Italian author Ezio Bacino in 1953 described the Sacro Bosco as 'a huge petrified zoo', while today the site is marketed as the *Parco dei Mostri*.[45] The choice of the word *parco* is another expression of the uncertain status of Bomarzo in relation to the twentieth-century notion of the *giardino all'italiana*.

Newton's and Webel's photographs from the 1920s and the English-language *Guide* of 1938 would have been primarily accessible to a non-Italian audience. It was Loukomski, the Russian artist resident in Rome and author of sketches of the Sacro Bosco (see Figure 1), who in 1935 went on to publish an article in Italian entitled 'Ville meno conosciute del Vignola nei dintorni di Roma'. It was illustrated with photographs including several of the Sacro Bosco (Figure 10), in which he briefly described what he called 'l'antica residenza degli Orsini' and 'uno strano giardino' at Bomarzo, as well as the Villa Chigi at Albani and the Madruzzo estate at Soriano nel Cimino.[46]

Loukomski's article is particularly significant as it appeared in the November issue of *Le vie d'Italia*, the monthly journal published by the Touring Club Italiano (TCI), one of Italy's first major tourist companies geared towards the Italian audience. Founded in 1894 by a group of cyclists, the TCI represented an Italian appropriation and democratization of the Grand Tour tradition for a domestic user, publishing affordable Italian guidebooks and maps of Italy.[47] By the 1930s, the Club had 500 000 members, and the issue of *Le vie d'Italia*

FIGURE 4. *Richard K. Webel, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)' (Fighting Giants), 1927. Black and white photographic print, 8 × 12 cm. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.*

with Loukomski's article had a print run of 180 000 copies, making it one of the most widely distributed magazines in Italy at the time. That same year, moreover, the TCI published its first guide to Lazio without illustrations except for topographical maps, in which the Sacro Bosco also featured briefly.[48] One of the photographs accompanying Loukomski's text was reused, in a cropped form, to illustrate the Sacro Bosco in the Club's large photographic book on Lazio published eight years later in 1943 (the eleventh volume in the TCI series *Attraverso l'Italia: illustrazione delle regioni italiane*).[49]

The Sacro Bosco does not feature prominently in any of these books, neither in terms of illustrations nor text. Yet the very fact that it was included in the TCI publications as early as the 1930s and 1940s had significant implications for disseminating knowledge of the Sacro Bosco among the Italian public invested in exploring the country's natural and artistic treasures. While aiming for factual accuracy, the TCI catered primarily for a popular rather than scholarly audience, which perhaps explains the inclusion of Bomarzo as an intriguing rather than historically significant site.

The photographs by Milton Gendel, another American resident in Rome, add to this increasingly familiar image of Bomarzo. Part of his personal archive, these negatives document a trip that Gendel took to the Sacro Bosco in 1950 with Margaret Koons – a Fulbright Fellow in Art History at the American Academy in 1950–1951 – and her husband Howard Black.[50] Around half of the photographs show Koons and Black with the statues, which they seem to treat as curious artistic objects (Figure 11). The other half, however, tell a different story. Stepping back to capture wider views, Gendel records the Sacro Bosco as actively in agricultural use. In one of these photographs, a man, leaning over in front of the *Fighting Giants*, turns the earth with a hoe; in another, workers rake the soil into ridges with the Mouth of Hell behind them (Figure 12).

These farmers, with their tools and crops, signal an erased, agricultural, part of the history of Bomarzo, recalling the manual workers who are frequently removed from landscape histories, raising important issues of labour and class.[51] The presence of farmers also signals the gradual erasure of the original

FIGURE 5. *Richard K. Webel, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)' (Fountain with Female Nude, possibly Nymph), 1927. Black and white photographic print, 8 × 12 cm. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.*

land surface, paths and plantings in the Sacro Bosco. Agriculture is particularly aggressive when it comes to altering landscapes: the ground is flattened, soil upturned, natural species and habitats uprooted. These images serve as reminders that the current site is almost entirely made up of flora planted after 1950, and we need to be fully aware of such interventions when interpreting the garden as we see it today.

Ignored by scholars who were guided by the idea of the *giardino all'italiana*, the Sacro Bosco was thus actively appropriated for agricultural use by local inhabitants as well as explored by Italian and foreign visitors through the early twentieth century. As we now move to consider its moment of 'rediscovery', we must bear in mind that, after World War II, the idea of the 'Italian garden' developed during the fascist period may have lost its political motivation, but little of its ubiquity and appeal. If anything, it fossilized into what became the Italian tradition of garden scholarship. As a result, when Italian journalists, filmmakers and photographers visited Bomarzo after World War II, they still confronted a site that did not align with their idea of what an Italian Renaissance garden should look like. What is so fascinating about the articles, images and films that they produced is the variety of contrasting ways in which they tried to rationalize the Sacro Bosco. For, rather than attempting to broaden the understanding of the Italian national garden tradition to include this idiosyncratic site, they position Vicino's wood as a complete outlier, whether exotic or avant-garde.

'Impressions so alien'

For its twentieth-century visitors, Bomarzo was so unlike the accepted canonical idea of a sixteenth-century garden that they even struggled to place it chronologically. Postcards printed for the local municipality date the Sacro Bosco to the fifteenth century (Figure 13), while a newsreel broadcast in 1948 described it as Baroque.[52] In line with this confusion, in 1949, Mario

FIGURE 6. *Richard K. Webel, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)' (Dragon), 1927. Black and white photographic print, 8 × 12 cm. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.*

FIGURE 8. *Richard K. Webel, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)' (Ceres and the top of the Leaning House), 1927. Black and white photographic print, 8 × 12 cm. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.*

Praz – a leading Italian art critic and literary scholar who was one of the earliest post-war authors to write about Bomarzo – expressed his astonishment at finding a place with 'impressions so alien to Italian art'.[53] A friend of Vernon Lee's – whose ideas on the architectonic Italian garden had been appropriated by Dami and Ojetti – Praz wrote that until seeing Bomarzo he did not think that there were any exceptions to the Italian landscape design tradition. Yet at Bomarzo he found 'a place with a mass of bizarre and monstrous sculptures scattered among weeds and brambles, without apparent order, suggesting at certain angles the religions and influences from India and China'.[54]

FIGURE 7. *Richard K. Webel, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)' (Mouth of Hell), 1927. Black and white photographic print, 8 × 12 cm. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.*

FIGURE 9. *John Bryan Ward-Perkins, Bomarzo, c. 1954. Black and white silver gelatin print glued on card, 11 × 15 cm, part of his 'South Etruria Survey'. British School at Rome Digital Collections.*

FIGURE 10. *'Villa Orsini a Bomarzo' (Tempietto and Monumental Vase), c. 1910–1935. Black and white photographic prints glued on card. Touring Club Italiano/Alinari Archives Management. Both of these photographs were used to illustrate Loukomski's article 'Ville meno conosciute del Vignola nei dintorni di Roma' in Le Vie d'Italia, November 1935, pp. 837–842.*

By associating the Sacro Bosco with these two foreign cultures, Praz explained away its strange imagery by bringing up parallels from far beyond the borders of Italy. He likened the *Dragon* to 'those of a famous roof of Hong Kong or that of gilded bronze (T'ang dynasty) that can be seen today at the Fogg Museum in Cambridge'. Presumably, he referred to the only complete gilt bronze dragon held in the Harvard Art Collection bequeathed to it by Grenville L. Winthrop in 1943 as the 'Tang-style Striding Dragon' (Figure 14).[55] Ezio Bacino, in *Italia, oro e cenere* (1953), similarly noted the 'exotic' character of Bomarzo. The Sacro Bosco, he wrote, had the 'flavour of a temple ruin, a Buddhist sanctuary reconquered by tropical forest'.[56]

That Praz and Bacino would choose such analogies rather than prototypes closer to home reflected in part the post-war fascination with Eastern cultures, which was linked to the emerging Cold War politics and Italy's reintegration into international cultural networks. These parallels, however, also speak to how Bomarzo challenged the received notion of the *giardino all'italiana*, which was understood as a distinctly national style devoid of foreign references. In fact, Praz could barely bring himself to call the Sacro Bosco a garden, at one point referring to it as the 'so-called garden' (*cosidetto giardino*).[57] In this way, both Praz and Bacino, similarly to Dami and Ojetti previously, continued to position Bomarzo outside the predominant Italian garden narrative, showing that they still lacked a clear interpretative framework for understanding this site.

FIGURE 11. *Milton Gendel, 'Bomarzo' (Margaret Koons in front of the Fighting Giants), 1950. From black and white photographic negative, 6 × 6 cm. Fondazione Primoli, Rome.*

FIGURE 12. *Milton Gendel, 'Bomarzo' (Farmers at work in front of the Elephant and the Mouth of Hell), 1950. From black and white photographic negative, 6 × 6 cm. Fondazione Primoli, Rome.*

'Nel mondo del surreale'

It was the avant-garde art movement, Surrealism, that provided one of the most dominant points of reference for describing and understanding Bomarzo after World War II. This connection originated with one of the first known films to promote the Sacro Bosco: a newsreel (*cinegiornale*) broadcast on 10 November 1948 called *Nel mondo del surreale: Salvador Dalí nel 'giardino dei mostri'* ('In the world of the surreal: Salvador Dalí in the garden of monsters').[58] In fact, the artist's visit to Bomarzo marked the emergence of a lasting frame of reference for the interpretation of the Sacro Bosco, which scholars up to that point had failed to produce.

Part of the weekly program *La Settimana INCOM*, the *cinegiornale* featuring Dalí was 1 minute and 28 seconds long. It showed the famous artist

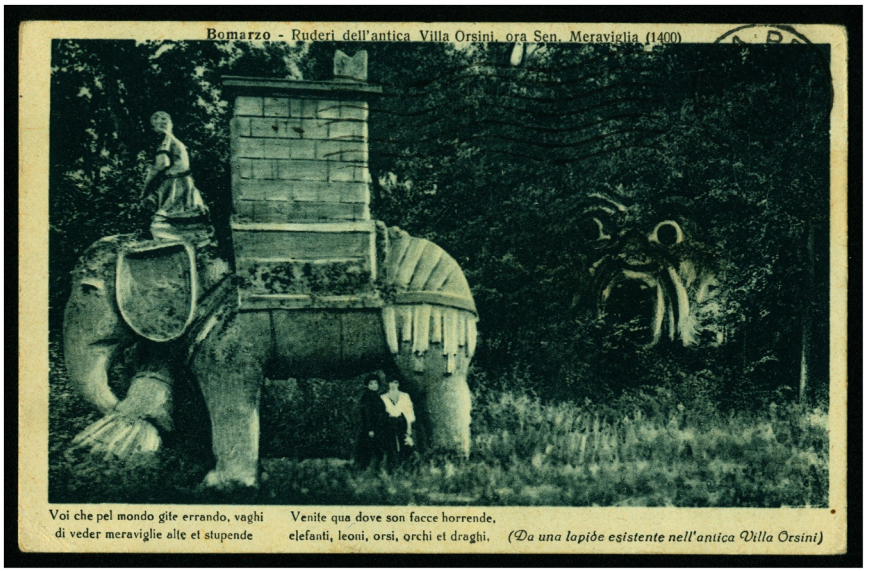

FIGURE 13. *Early twentieth-century postcard of the Sacro Bosco: 'Bomarzo – Ruderi dell'antica Villa Orsini, ora Sen. Meraviglia (1400)', c. 1930. Photographic reproduction on card, 9 × 14 cm. Edit. Fosci Romeo e Battistelli Giuseppina. Alterocca, Terni.*

FIGURE 14. *'Tang-style Striding Dragon', late 19th or early 20th century. Gilt bronze, 16.9 × 40.2 × 7 cm. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.53.113. Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College. Until 2003, this figure, bequeathed to the museum in 1943, was thought to be an original Tang-dynasty work.*

clambering on the statues of the Sacro Bosco to the sound of orchestral music: climbing up the *Ceres* statue to look into its impassive face (Figure 15), holding out what looks like a conductor's stick on top of the giant stone *Elephant*, and crouching by a candle in the gaping Mouth of Hell (Figure 16). Devoid of other protagonists and moving quickly from one part of the garden to another, the film presents the site solely through the workings of the Surrealist artist's mind. At one point the narrator even states: 'when he arrives, on the edge between grace and delirium, everything [in the garden] corresponds to the style of Dalí'.[59]

In contrast to the aesthetics of control and equilibrium that defined the *giardino all'italiana*, Dalí described his work in 1935 as giving 'objective value on the plane of the real to the delirious unknown world of our irrational experiences'.[60] This emphasis on the irrational – the very idea that had led to Surrealism coming under fire in fascist publications – is what the newsreel proposed as the lens through which to view Bomarzo.[61] The closing scene makes this point in a particularly striking manner. Dalí approaches the Tempietto, walks up its central steps and bends down to pick up a white cat. Carrying the feline in his arms, he turns his back to the camera and walks through the temple's columns. As the camera follows into the darkness, the narrator likens this experience to passing into the 'shadows of the unconscious', the screen then filling with images of Dalí and his Surrealist art.[62] From a single building of the Sacro Bosco that, to Dami, had represented rationality and order, the Tempietto was thus transformed into a portal to the least controlled part of the human psyche.

FIGURE 15. *Screenshot from Nel mondo del surreale: Salvador Dalí nel 'giardino dei mostri', La Settimana INCOM, no.00209, directed by Sandro Pallavicini, INCOM, 10 November 1948.*

FIGURE 16. *Screenshot from Nel mondo del surreale: Salvador Dalí nel 'giardino dei mostri', La Settimana INCOM, no.00209, directed by Sandro Pallavicini, INCOM, 10 November 1948.*

This is not to suggest that the newsreel was intentionally trying to challenge the idea of the *giardino all'italiana* or, more broadly, respond to specific issues that concerned art history. More than reframing the Sacro Bosco according to the principles of Surrealism, we see screenwriters and filmmakers searching for a new language to describe what they found there. By offering a key for understanding Bomarzo, Surrealism allowed post-war Italy to see this site anew and in a manner that was both distanced from the concept of the *giardino all'italiana* and reflected the country's new political and social realities. These changed circumstances warranted the newsreel's attempt to relate the Sacro Bosco to a global art movement.

Ironically, by 1948, Surrealism was hardly in its prime. That same year, the art historian R. O. Dunlop wrote that it had 'more or less worked itself out into vacuity', while, in 1950, Wallace Fowlie would note that its name 'already designates a historical period'.[63] As far as the Italian audience was concerned, however, connecting Bomarzo with Dalí presented two distinct opportunities. It allowed the artist to confer his fame upon the site and, at the same time, connected the garden to an art movement that was seen as a distinctly 'international phenomenon'.[64] Devastated by World War II, Italy was actively invested in building its new image as an outward-looking society and culture. Two-thirds of its industrial capacity and almost 80% of infrastructure were in need of replacement or repair, the dire situation exacerbated by harsh winters that resulted in drastic food shortages.[65] As Italian poet and essayist Giacomo Noventa wrote at the time, 'No one has seen the Rainbow appear … is the Flood really over?'[66] It would take ten more years before the country's 'economic miracle'. To recover, Italy relied on the financial support of the US, and it was this relationship with the superpower that would ultimately define its mode of integration into the new global order.[67]

A poster designed by Gian Rossetti for the 1948 Venice Biennale – the first held since the war and Mussolini's death – makes this new international self-image of Italy explicitly clear. It shows the white dove of peace wearing a ribbon of world flags around its neck. The Biennale's director, Giovanni Ponti, emphasized the importance of this event as a symbol of the country's

post-war artistic openness. 'Art invites all mankind beyond national frontiers', he wrote in the catalogue's preface, and 'in this 1948 (the glorious, historical centenary of our political reawakening and civil revival), humanity, still dazed by anguish and torments it suffered, receives an invitation from this assembly of artists from every part of the world'.[68] The reframing of Bomarzo in a Surrealist key was a response to this post-war political and social context. If the proponents of the national *giardino all'italiana* had sought to exclude the very possibility of foreign influences, Dalí's interest in the Sacro Bosco stressed the international relevance and appeal of the country's artistic heritage, while also suggesting that Italy had all along been part of the avant-garde scene.

The newsreel's very creation was tied to US geopolitical strategies. Hoping to check the rise of Communism and the Soviet power, the US directly invested in promoting Italy's democratic, capitalist and global outlook. When the Christian Democratic Party led by Alcide De Gasperi won the national elections on 18 April 1948, it was with the aid of 10 million dollars of covert US support.[69] Through the European Recovery Program commonly known as the Marshall Plan, the US also funded the production of thousands of Italian films and news programs that promulgated their agenda.[70] *La Settimana INCOM* was one such program. Distinctly oriented in favour of the Christian Democratic Party, the production company INCOM (Industria Corti Metraggi Milano) received most of its commissions from US funding agencies and the De Gasperi administration (1945–1953).[71]

In light of these agendas, it is revealing that the newsreel stressed Dalí's connections with the US. The viewer is told that he left the US – where he lived for eight years to escape the war – as soon as he heard about Bomarzo (although, by July 1948, the artist had already returned to his Spanish home in Port Lligat).[72] Moreover, the newsreel was broadcast in November, while Italian newspapers reported Dalí's presence in Italy both in October for the Biennale and in November for the production of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, directed by Luchino Visconti, for which he created the set design.[73] The emphasis on the artist's Transatlantic crossing is therefore to remind the viewer of his international fame, revealing the political mechanisms at play behind INCOM's choice of subject matter. Indeed, only 15 days after the *La Settimana* feature, another newsreel was broadcast, this time in the US, called 'Salvador Dalí visits Italy!' as part of Warner-Pathé's *People in the News*. It used exactly the same footage as the Italian *cinegiornale*, describing the Sacro Bosco as a 'typically Surrealist setting'.[74]

The exact means by which Dalí came to be filmed in Bomarzo is unknown. In 1955, Giuseppe Zander related that the artist had learned about this site via the Swiss writer resident in Rome, Maurice Yves Sandoz, many of whose publications Dalí illustrated.[75] Sandoz was part of the same expatriate circles as Andrei Beloborodov, the Russian painter whom Praz credited with telling him about the Sacro Bosco. Both shared an interest in the surreal and the metaphysical. Sandoz's literature explored the strangeness of dreams; Belobodoroff painted ruined architecture in flooded landscapes that drew inspiration from the work of Giorgio de Chirico.[76]

It is worth pausing here to note that although Dalí had been accused of fascist sympathies with Franco's Spain (1936–1975), a regime supported by Mussolini, this fact did not seem to have compromised his appearance in the newsreel, highlighting the complexities of Italian cultural politics of the time.[77] While officially the country sought to suppress the memory of its fascist past – an era described by some as 'a twenty-year parenthesis in our history' – others acknowledged the falsity behind such sentiments.[78] 'Fascism was not a simple parenthesis in our history, which, upon closing, allows us again to take up the rhythm of life that was broken', stated Eugenio Artom, a member of the Italian Liberal Party, in a newspaper article in 1945.[79] In reality, many fascist public figures, structures and institutions remained in place after the war. Notably, INCOM had produced content during Mussolini's regime, and the narrator of the Dalí newsreel, Guido Notari, had voiced the company's fascist material (much to the disgust of the Italian film director Michelangelo Antonioni, discussed below).[80] When Italians watched Dalí in the Sacro Bosco, did they see a figure associated with the ideology they were trying to erase from memory or an internationally acclaimed artist paying heed to a historic Italian garden? The latter would, almost certainly, have been the newsreel's intended message. The murky nature of Dalí's political views, however, highlights the tension that existed in Italy between the obvious continuities with the past and the country's new projected self-image promoted in the course of its post-war rebuilding.

Dalí's presence at the Sacro Bosco had lasting repercussions. In 1948, it was obligatory for Italian cinemas to show a news program before the screening of every feature film, and the country had the highest number of cinemas in Europe: 11641 as compared to 5806 in France and 6885 in Germany.[81] After the newsreel was broadcast, articles, films and photographs of the Sacro Bosco

appeared at a steady and increasing rate. Other artists associated with Surrealism paid visits to the site: Brassaï, a friend of Dalí's, for example, made a photo essay for *Harper's Bazaar*.[82] The French author of fantastic literature, André Pieyre de Mandiargues, published an illustrated text in 1957, in which he presented the Sacro Bosco as a physical manifestation of 'cruel eroticism' and a 'disturbance of the senses'.[83] The artist Niki de Saint Phalle's visit to Bomarzo would ultimately feed into the creation of her Tarot Garden begun in 1979.[84] Dalí, in the meantime, became synonymous with the Sacro Bosco's 'discovery', and the assertion of the site's Surrealist character became embedded even in the academic discourse.[85] The architecture students who surveyed the *bosco* for the issue of *Quaderni dell'Instituto di Storia dell'Architettura* published in 1955 recounted 'a Surrealist scene', and Marie Noble Kelly described the garden as 'a surrealist dream' in 1958.[86] The use of such language continues to resonate throughout the historiography of the Sacro Bosco.[87]

'Ecco bravo Polimartium!'

Two years after the newsreel was broadcast, another short film was created about the Sacro Bosco, this time by the Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni. Dated 1950 and titled *La villa dei mostri*, this documentary takes a contrasting approach to the earlier newsreel, focusing instead of the international celebrity of Dalí on the regional and everyday contexts of Bomarzo.[88] Trying to capture the *genius loci* of the site by situating it in the life and culture of Alto Lazio, Antonioni's film marks the emergence of a concurrent interpretative framework for the understanding of the Sacro Bosco still perpetuated by current scholarship.

Very little is known about this film's creation, but its length of 9 minutes and 39 seconds with French and German subtitles suggest that it was contracted by a government or international agency. Such shorts were commissioned in the thousands after the war to be played before the start of a feature film either in Italy or abroad.[89] That the Sacro Bosco was chosen as a subject for such a film suggests it was by this point considered a site worth promoting overseas as part of Italy's marketable heritage.

What is immediately striking about *La villa dei mostri* is its focus upon the setting and inhabitants of Bomarzo. Beginning with a long-distance shot of the countryside, the camera moves across the landscape before pausing on the medieval town. At that point, the narrator exclaims: 'Here's good Polimartium!' (*Ecco bravo Polimartium!*), using the town's historical name attributed variously to the region's Etruscan, Roman or early medieval inhabitants to situate Bomarzo in terms of Italy's long and regionalized history. The film then leads the viewer through narrow cobbled streets, with men in flat caps leading donkeys, before passing down the town's cliff-side to the Sacro Bosco below. At various points, the screen fills with a luminous rectangle of a street sign or a face of a large clock, while slow pans give a sense of topography and location. In contrast to Dalí's surreal landscape of the unconscious, Antonioni explores Bomarzo's historical fabric, its rhythms of life and sense of the past.

Once inside the *bosco*, the camera moves through the site at ground level. Starting with the Tempietto, it descends the crumbled, broken steps that lead to the stone monsters below, their fragmented slabs cutting the screen into horizontal lines. Moving through the garden in this manner, the lens pans slowly across and around each of the statues, scans from top to bottom and shifts from close-up to wide view. In this way, it seems to follow the visitor's earth-bound gaze, taking time to convey a sense of the size and materiality of each sculpture and especially their rough and tactile surfaces, in a manner that would later be employed by Carlo Ragghianti in his art historical 'critofilms'.[90]

Using the medium of cinematography, *La villa dei mostri* thus attempted to capture the *genius loci* of Bomarzo, but in a way different to other authors of the time.[91] Praz, for example, described Bomarzo in poetic and evocative terms. The town, he wrote, was a 'towered acropolis', 'suffused by the golden dust of the October sky, standing out against the faraway mantles that seem to be engraved with sweet sapphire'. The surrounding landscape had a 'mild solemnity … that contrasts with those monstrous protuberances, those dreams and nightmares of the volcanic earth that are the monsters of the fort-like labyrinth'.[92] Bacino, too, felt the tug of the surrounding topography, which he described as an 'ancient landscape of stones and trees, gentle and strong, proud and gentle'.[93] By contrast, in Antonioni's documentary the regional landscape is rooted in mundane reality rather than romance, with a donkey chewing the grass by the colossal *Elephant*.

While offering a comprehensive overview of the individual statues and the garden as a whole, Antonioni's camera lingers over the broken monuments that litter the site, pausing on individual sculptural fragments (Figure 17). Such details provide the historian with invaluable information to assess the scope of

FIGURE 17. *Screenshot from La Villa dei Mostri, written and directed by Michelangelo Antonioni, black and white, 9 minutes 39 seconds, French and German subtitles, FILMUS, 1950.*

subsequent restorations; but for contemporary viewers they were primarily a reminder of the site's delapidation. There was poignancy in showing, in the aftermath of World War II, the broken head of a sculpted woman looking skyward, the toppled Orsini crest clutched by an overturned tufo bear, or fragments of inscriptions discarded on the ground as signs of the physical devastation that Italy had suffered.

Many other Italian documentaries and newsreels from the same period focused on promoting the country's rebuilding efforts. In shorts such as *Italia d'Oggi* (1952), *Fabbricato in Italia* and *Italia allo specchio* (both 1953), camera captures the construction of new railroads and factories with gleaming metal surfaces, while narrators boast that the country is 'a story of healed scars' in which 'nobody remembers the difficulties of the post-war period anymore'.[94] Different in tone and tempo, *La villa dei mostri*, by contrast, is more aligned to the topographies of Neorealist film, in which directors undercut the triumphalist new Italy promoted by US-funded organizations. Instead, they focused on 'the everyday and its detritus, the marginal and forgotten' and the hardships of the post-war era by using on-location shooting and choosing the regions that were left beyond the scope of the reconstruction efforts.[95] In Roberto Rossellini's *Paisà* (1946), for example, extended travel shots capture the war-torn and rubble-filled streets of Naples.[96] In 1951, Italian film critic Luigi Chiarini spoke of Neorealism as a movement responding to the need to 'reassert, in art, those human values which had been trampled and crushed underfoot'.[97] Antonella Sisto describes this cinema in terms of left-wing opposition to 'the propagandistic scopes of the [fascist] Regime'.[98] This was very much how this style was identified at the time, as a move against Italy's recent past, though more recent scholarship has highlighted continuities between the fascist and Neorealist film-making practices.[99]

In line with these agendas, one inhabitant of the Sacro Bosco featured in Antonioni's short is a farmer who works the land around the statues. White shirt tucked into loose dark trousers, sleeves rolled up to the elbows, this *contadino* journeys through the garden, hoe in hand, seemingly oblivious to the camera's lens. Recalling the men shown at work in Gendels' photographs, the presence of this local creates a very different impression of Bomarzo as compared to the 1948 newsreel with Dalí. Given the cinematic objectives of Neorealism, the inclusion of the farmer can be understood as a means of reclaiming and acknowledging the value of regional identities in the new reality of post-war Italy.[100] The focus on the *contadino*'s agricultural tools and crops, moreover, presents the Sacro Bosco as a productive and fertile space, home to local Italians – an act of politically reclaiming this landscape from the elitist Surrealism of Dalí.

Indeed, at one point, the film makes a direct reference to the 1948 *cinegiornale*. In the closing 60 seconds, the sequence almost exactly replicates a scene in the newsreel, in which the painter-provocateur sits in the Mouth of Hell with a lit candle on one of the protruding stone teeth. When Antonioni turns his lens upon this structure, as the camera slowly zooms in on the gaping maw and the narrator explains that here Dalí 'came to sit in the mouth of the dragon', the viewer is led to think that the artist might emerge from the dark cave. Yet, at that very moment a figure appears and crouches by a small campfire (Figure 18).[101] Is this Dalí? 'Ah, no', says the narrator, 'it's just a farmer, who burns his corn on the cob'.[102] By replacing Dalí with a farmer in this scene – and particularly given the narrator's direct reference to the artist – Antonioni unequivocally positions his documentary as a conscious critique of the earlier newsreel and its association of Bomarzo with the famous Surrealist painter.

FIGURE 18. *Screenshot from La Villa dei Mostri, written and directed by Michelangelo Antonioni, black and white, 9 minutes 39 seconds, French and German subtitles, FILMUS, 1950.*

The role of the narrator is an essential feature of Antonioni's strategy. The narrator's words – a post-synchronized voiceover by Gerardo Guerrieri, a screenwriter who had worked on the seminal Italian Neorealist film *Ladri di biciclette* (1948) – were added after the documentary had been shot. On the one hand, the script adds to the immediacy and inclusion of the cinematic sequence by using direct address. When descending the steps by the Tempietto, for example, Guerrieri says to the viewer: 'You go down these stairs. Okay, I know you don't really want to because they are in ruins, the plants have consumed everything'.[103] On the other hand, the script at times evokes the language of Surrealism and makes parallels with modern art, which seem at odds with the directness of Antonioni's cinematography. Guerrieri describes the garden as 'metaphysical' and 'unreal', where 'the most absurd things will seem the most natural'.[104] When the camera falls on the *Three Graces* carved in relief, the narrator describes them as primitivist and thus ironically modern in style.[105]

Beyond the scope of the documentary, the image of Bomarzo's *contadino* emerging from the Mouth of Hell became a trope, co-opted in the photographs by Brassaï and those by the German photographer Herbert List (Figure 19).[106] There is a mythologizing agenda at play here as conveyed by a pervasive emphasis on local inhabitants, just as there is with the Surrealist reframing of

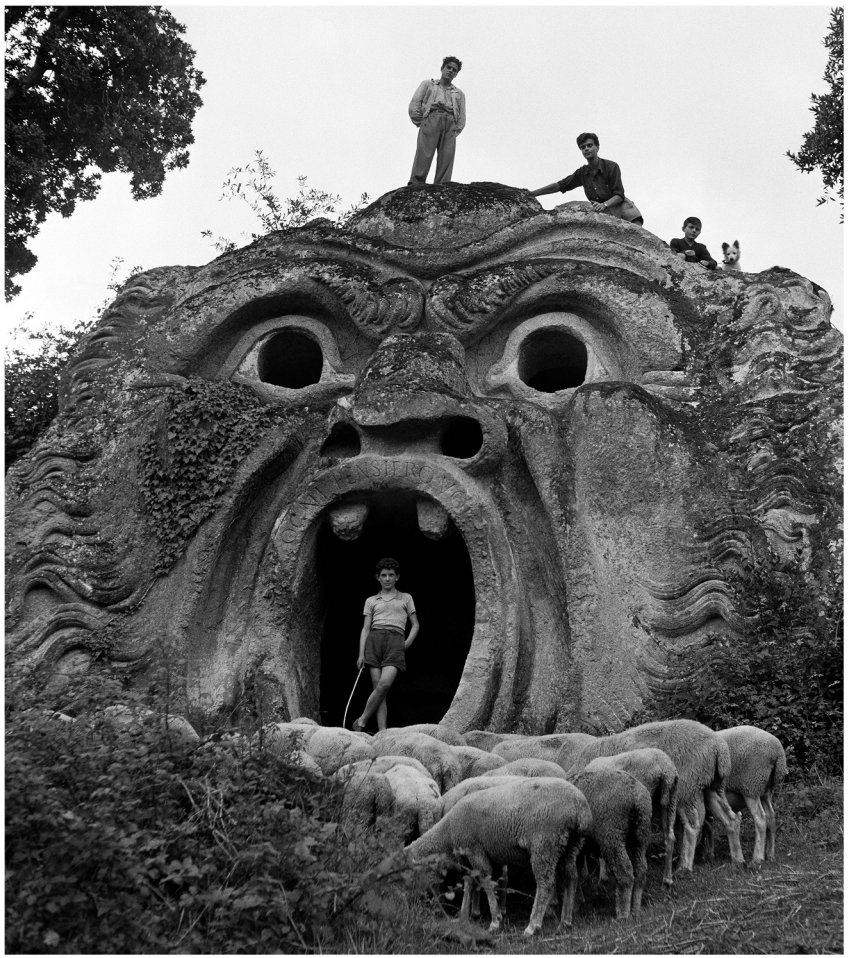

FIGURE 19. *Herbert List, 'Sacro Bosco – the Ogre in the garden of Pier Francesco Orsini, Bomarzo', 1952. Black and white silver gelatin photograph. Herbert List Estate, Germany, Magnum Photos.*

Bomarzo. These photographs and Antonioni's film reclaim the Sacro Bosco as intrinsically Italian, but with reference to its specifically regional character; hence, they do so in a manner very different from the national 'Italianness' of the *giardino all'italiana* as articulated by Dami and Ojetti.

It is interesting that Praz objected to such 'genre' photographs accompanying his 1949 article, one of which showed three children clambering over the *Dragon*, much like in Webel's image from 1927 (see Figure 6). 'I must also add that the photographs fail to give an adequate idea of Bomarzo', he complained. 'The photographer, as usual, gathers a group of country people to give a sense of scale, and the magic of the usual loneliness surrounding the place is destroyed'.[107] Yet, though somewhat staged, the images that Praz disliked show how Bomarzo was encountered and engaged with the post-war realities of the Sacro Bosco. When List took his photographs, for example, he was using a Rolleiflex camera with a mechanical wind mechanism that made film-loading semi-automatic, allowing shots to be taken spontaneously and in fast succession. In some of his photographs, young shepherds streak across the frame as they run around the site, as if List was purposely documenting the activities of the locals. What Praz's complaint, therefore, seems to anticipate is the emerging tension between the popular and scholarly framings of the Sacro Bosco. Praz wished to emphasize the horror, mystery and eccentricity of the site so different to the conventional idea of a historic garden. By contrast, the 'genre' photographs, along with Antonioni's documentary, present it as accessible and steeped in the rhythms of local life.

An anti-classical rebellion

Antonioni's film and List's photographs take us to the moment when the site, which until then had been a municipal property, was sold to the Bettini family in 1954. A year later, a dedicated edition of the *Quaderni dell'Instituto di Storia dell'Architettura* was published by the architecture department of the University of Rome, offering the first multi-author scholarly study of the Sacro Bosco.[108] From that point on, Bomarzo would prominently feature in art historical literature.

The previous positioning of the Sacro Bosco as an outlier in the context of Italian garden history was due to the prevalence of the concept of the *giardino all'italiana* and the predominantly classical aesthetic promoted by Mussolini's fascism. It is therefore significant that many Italian authors and filmmakers who became attracted to the Sacro Bosco in the post-war period approached it from a left-wing perspective, seeing it as a political alternative to the traditional narratives of Italian gardens and culture associated with the right. While the government led by the Christian Democratic Party, to which INCOM's output was closely tied, was a decidedly centrist administration, it was also expressly distancing itself from the fascist-era politics. Its head, the Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi, had acted as the secretary of the anti-Fascist group of the Italian People's Party between 1924 and 1926 and was imprisoned under Mussolini for his political beliefs.

Mario Praz is an exception here. Although part of the Italian academia, he kept his politics close throughout his career, returning, after a decade in England, to his teaching post at the University of Rome in 1934, during the heyday of Mussolini's regime. Praz's interest in what he saw as the eclectic, sensual and mystical elements of the Sacro Bosco and art more generally can be found throughout his writings, from his first publication on Romanticism to the collection of essays on Mannerism and the Baroque. Entitled *Il giardino dei sensi*, this study was published in 1974 and included a reprint of his 1949 article on the Sacro Bosco. Piovene, Bacino and Antonioni, however, were all associated with the anti-fascist movement in Italy.

Both the language and imagery used by these pioneers of Bomarzo studies, along with their political affiliations, continued to play into the academic discourse, which incorporated the popular newspaper articles, photographs and films produced after World War II. This is particularly evident in the discussion of Mannerism that snowballed from the mid-1950s through to the late 1960s, in the context of which the Sacro Bosco was placed. Earlier re-evaluations of sixteenth-century art, such as Walter Friedlaender's *The Anti-classical Style* (1925), started to use the term 'Mannerism' to identify the stylistic period between the High Renaissance and the Baroque.[109] After the war, these ideas were taken up and developed by writers with other methodological goals, but who – together with Piovene, Bacino and Antonioni – were largely reacting to the fascist scholarship sanctioned by Mussolini's regime.

In this context, the idea of Mannerism as an 'anti-classical style' became particularly potent and acquired new political implications. Between 1925

and the end of World War II, the classical aesthetic of Roman art previously appropriated by the Renaissance became widely associated with political tyranny, having been co-opted by both Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Already in 1936, the English art historian Herbert Read firmly stated that classicism 'represents for us now, and has always represented, the forces of oppression … Wherever the blood of martyrs stains the ground, there you will find a Doric column'.[110] There were thus strong political underpinnings to the emergence of Mannerism as an antithesis to classicism in the 1950s. Its appeal was largely due to how it offered an alternative reading of the Renaissance, different from the one favoured in previous decades.

In Italy, a key champion of this conception of Mannerism was Eugenio Battisti, who described it as an 'anti-classical rebellion'.[111] Battisti was a student of Lionello Venturi, one of twelve university professors in Italy who had refused to take an oath of loyalty to Mussolini's fascist government. There was certainly a politically conscious element to Battisti's post-war focus on Mannerist art. In 1956, he celebrated Mannerism as having 'freed us from the myth of the classical Renaissance', his use of the word *liberati* in the mid-1950s still having strong connotations of anti-fascist resistance. He thus positioned the study of Mannerist art as a left-wing art historical agenda that opposed classical aesthetics openly favoured by the political right.[112] Battisti's work on Mannerism would ultimately culminate in the publication of *L'antirinascimento* in 1962, which, though not focused specifically on Mannerism as a concept, argued that the central characteristics that he associated with the term – its anti-classical, iconoclastic air, the preference for 'the tumultuous, the indefinite, the protean, the psychologically aggressive' – were central to sixteenth-century Italian art.[113] Rather than defining Mannerism as a 'style' or period, Battisti stressed a freer mode of creativity running throughout Italian culture of the time, in which epochal barriers were blurred, the concepts of 'classical' or 'Renaissance' were broken down altogether, and the popular and folkloric, the mystical and alchemical elements were absorbed into the fine arts. In 1989, he described his emphasis on these aspects of Renaissance art previously left out of its discussion – calling it his efforts to 'sanctify the witches' – as 'an act of social justice'.[114]

The parallels between Bomarzo and Surrealism drawn from 1948 onwards also, somewhat paradoxically, entered the post-war discourse on Mannerist art. The concept of Mannerism as a 'revolution' marked by 'an intentional and ostentatious deviation' from the preceding period – to borrow the words of the Marxist scholar Arnold Hauser (1965), for whom Mannerism was a primarily a sixteenth-century style – aligned it with twentieth-century avant-garde movements.[115] Writing in 1962, the Italian scholar of comparative literature, Renato Poggioli – resident in the US from 1938 and a key member of the antifascist Mazzini Society – characterized the avant-garde as technical and formal experimentation: a sequence of 'liquidations of technical forms' marked by a spirit of adventure or activism and deviation from the artistic canon.[116] Just as the avant-garde positioned itself as a radical departure from the perceived norm, so, too, scholars argued, did Mannerism. For Marxist scholars such as Hauser, it was 'similar historical constellations' that created this connection: both Modern Art and Mannerism were products of political and social periods marked by crisis and instability.[117]

The natural sympathy that such writers and theorists felt for Mannerism found a strong affinity in Surrealism, which had previously been described by scholars as a movement bent on 'liquidating classicism'.[118] Even the Italian scholar Giuliano Briganti, who pushed against the idea that Mannerism was a break from the classical ideals, found that the way it changed 'the forms of reality' produced 'results recalling those of modern Surrealism'.[119] Like Surrealism, Mannerism was viewed by many in the 1950s as an international phenomenon, which, although originating in Europe, expressed aesthetic values shared across political and national borders.[120] This was certainly the case for Gustav Rene Hocke, a Belgian cultural historian resident in Rome, for whom the connections between Mannerism and twentieth-century avant-garde art were evidence of the collective unconscious that had existed for centuries across Europe – an interpretation that can be seen as part of the emphasis on European integration after World War II.[121]

Authors whose focus on Bomarzo explicitly brought together Mannerism and Surrealism put these concepts in a deliberate interplay. In 1956, Battisti wrote that 'modern Surrealism, moved by a similar poetic, has met with Mannerism on its game-like terrain'.[122] A year later, Hocke, whom Battisti would cite as a major influence, stated that 'certain paranoid giants by Dalí have their home in Bomarzo', which he described as resembling 'the visions of Max Ernst'.[123] Just as Surrealism was about disorientation and 'stupor', Hocke argued, so too did the Sacro Bosco aim to 'produce

"perplexity"'.[124] In *L'antirinascimento*, Battisti described Bomarzo as a site created spontaneously, almost with Surrealist automatism. 'The forest, dense with shadows', he wrote, 'with intricacies, with unconsciousness, seems to generate monstrous apparitions from within', morphing the landscape – which, as we know, was still open and agricultural at the time of Battisti's writing – into a dark forest that stood as a counterpoint to the legibility of classicism.[125]

In this way, as in the case of the *La Settimana INCOM* newsreel, Surrealism allowed post-war scholars to arrive at a deeper appreciation of Mannerist art, just as it had previously led journalists, filmmakers and the public to the 'rediscovery' of Bomarzo. Battisti acknowledged this fact when he wrote that 'only recently, thanks to more in-depth knowledge of modern art, sympathy for the Mannerists has turned into affection and understanding'.[126] Likewise, Hauser argued that without the avant-garde the spirit of Mannerism 'would have remained basically unintelligible'.[127]

The interpretation of Mannerist art that would dominate Anglo-American scholarship in the next few decades, however, was that of John Shearman. In 1967, the year he was appointed Reader at the Courtauld Institute in London, he published his influential book *Mannerism*.[128] Approaching the concept from purely stylistic and iconographic angles, in which he situated Mannerism as a decidedly courtly phenomenon, Shearman rejected Battisti's emphasis on the 'anti-classical' aspects of this style or any notion that it shared the 'virtues peculiar to our time'. Such comparisons, Shearman argued, devalued the historical significance of Mannerism as an artistic period.[129] In doing so, he sought to depoliticize the concept of Mannerist art and instead argued that 'Mannerism should by tradition speak a silver-tongued language of articulate, if unnatural, beauty' through highly artificial and extravagant forms, 'not one of incoherence, menace and despair'.[130] The Sacro Bosco, according to Shearman, became an expression merely of 'artistic and literary escapism'.[131] 'The Bomarzo curiosities', he wrote, 'are only a freakish case of a general sixteenth-century tendency to focus the attention of the visitor to the garden upon the stunning set piece'.[132]

Conclusion

Shearman's reading, which precluded the possibility of connecting the Sacro Bosco to the broader cultural and social trends of the late sixteenth century, continued to resonate through the later historiography, having a reductive impact on Mannerism studies. Works published throughout the 1970s and 1980s, when not dismissive of Bomarzo by putting it under the rubric of Mannerism, focused almost exclusively on specific architectural and iconographic details or the patronage of Vicino Orsini. While these perspectives align with more general methodological trends in twentieth-century art history, they at the same time continue to frame the Sacro Bosco as an expression of Shearman's 'stylish style' or as an idiosyncratic creation of an eccentric individual.

Bomarzo also remained an outlier within Italian garden history, where, despite Battisti's efforts, the concept of the *giardino all'italiana* continued to dominate both popular and academic discourse into the twenty-first century. One thing, however, is certain. Omitted from the canon and overlooked by art and garden historians prior to the late 1940s, the Sacro Bosco was propelled into scholarly prominence by a distinct set of political and intellectual circumstances. In 1953, in an article entitled *L'India nel Lazio*, Piovene would write that the contemporary interest in this 'garden (if this is a suitable name for the piece of land that we want to describe) can serve as a test of the change that occurred in our tastes'.[133] These new agendas and interests sought an alternative to the histories of Renaissance art and Italian gardens that had dominated the previous decades, which would accord both with the new image of political and cultural openness and the liberated left-wing art historical discourse in Italy.

That the Sacro Bosco did not fit the framework of the *giardino all'italiana*, ironically, worked in its favour, even if the newspaper articles, newsreels and short films that we have examined clearly struggled to find the right language to describe and understand this site. The resulting image of Bomarzo served to test and expand the perceived boundaries of Italian Renaissance garden art to accommodate the notion of disorder and parallels with international avant-garde movements. It also pushed art historians to embrace its geographical specificity and regional character. Yet, at the same time, the Sacro Bosco became a poster site of consumerist Italy, a privately owned tourist attraction and a backdrop for fashion shots in glossy magazines such as *La Donna* and *Harper's Bazaar*.[134] It was even selected as one of the locations on the itinerary of the state visit to Italy by Britain's Queen Mother in 1959, as captured on film for a newsreel by *Mondo Libero*.[135] From relative obscurity, the

Sacro Bosco came into view reframed and reformulated by post-war Italian politics as a site representative of the new ways of celebrating the garden culture of Italy.

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NOTES

1. For the reception of gardens and their 'afterlives', see John Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) and essays in Michel Conan (ed.), *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005).
2. A more in-depth consideration of the Sacro Bosco's afterlives is found in my doctoral dissertation: Thalia Allington-Wood, *Grounded: History, Materiality and Myth at the Sacro Bosco of Bomarzo*, PhD dissertation, University College London, 2019; https://iris.ucl.ac.uk/iris/publication/1674444/1.
3. For the sale of Bomarzo, see UCLA, Charles E. Young Research Library Special Collection, Orsini Family Papers, ca. 1150–1950, Bomarzo 01, Box 29, Folder 2 (Vecchia Segnatura: I.A. XIV.12).
4. See the documentation in Archivio di Stato of Viterbo, Notarile di Bomarzo, no. 86, fols. 31v–34r.
5. '… si ammira un giardino con molte colossali sculture'. Luigi Vittori, *Memorie Archeologico-Storiche sulla Città di Polimarzio oggi Bomarzo*, 1846 (Whitefish: Kessinger Legacy Reprints, 2010), p. 112.
6. 'Primeggiano in queste un Ercole che assiso sull'intera armatura squarcia una donna che tiene afferrata per l'estremità dei piedi. Viene quindi una lotta di animali, ed un elefante con torre in sul dorso con gigantesche proporzioni … ed altri mitologiche rappresentanze, ed innumerevoli vasi e rabeschi', 'ma non debbo preterire il vago tempietto porticato, innalzato dal duca Corrado Orsini per eternare la memoria di Giulia Farnese sua amantissima consorte'. Ibid.
7. '… giardino con statue colossali e bel tempietto eretto dal duca Corrado Orsini alla memoria della mogle Guilia Farnese'. Gustavo Strafforello, *La patria: geografia dell'Italia*, 5 vols (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice, 1894), III ('Italia centrale: Il Lazio'), p. 650.
8. Rodolfo Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna* (London: Constable and Co. Limited, 1909), pp. 212–213.
9. '… conserva ancora numerose statue gigantesche di divinità mitologiche, mostri e animali, scolpite in grossi blocchi erratici sparsi qua e là nel terreno'. Giulio Silvestrelli, *Città, castelli e terre della regione romana*, 1914, (Rome: Multigrafica, 1970), 2nd edn, vol. II, p. 680. Silvestrelli also includes incorrect information, such as placing Vicino's marriage to Giulia Farnese in 1570, when she was already deceased, suggesting that little archival information about the Orsini of Bomarzo was available to him.
10. Rose Standish Nichols, *Italian Pleasure Gardens* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1928), pp. 83–84.
11. See Georges Loukomski, *Les statues et les fountaines de Soriano Nel Cimino, de Bomarzo et de la Villa Farnese a Caprarola: catalogue des dessins et des sanguines* (Paris: Galeries de MM. Jacques Seligman et Fils, 1935).
12. 'Ma quando fummo in paese, e chiedemmo alla guida locale – sicuri di avere per tutta risposta uno sconsolato cenno del capo – se capitassero molti visitatori, ci rispose: "Americani e canadesi ogni giorno … "'. Mario Praz, 'I Mostri de Bomarzo', 1949, reprinted in Mario Praz, *Il giardino dei sensi: studi sul manierismo e il barocco* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1975), p. 77.
13. '… debbio dire che dell'esistenza di Bomarzo io non sospettavo più della stragrande maggioranza dei miei connazionali fino al giorno in cui me ne parlò un pittore russo'. Ibid.
14. 'Se si parla oggi di Bomarzo, spesso si ha questa risposta: ne ho sentito parlare, da una signora inglese, che ne è entusiasta'. Guido Piovene, 'L'India nel Lazio', *La Stampa* (21 May 1953), p. 3.
15. 'Da noi, come ho già detto, non sembra ancor entrato tra i valori ufficiali'. Ibid.
16. On the fascist construct of the 'Italian Garden', see Claudia Lazzaro, 'Politicizing a National Garden Tradition: The Italianness of the Italian Garden', in Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum (eds), *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 157–169; Sonja Dümpelmann, 'La battaglia del fiore. Gardens, Parks and the City in Fascist Italy',

Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes, 25/1, 2005, pp. 40–70; Massimo Visone, '"Ville e giardini italiani": Il giardino storico italiano attraverso la storiografia contemporanea', *Nuova informazione bibliografica 2*, 4, 2005, pp. 736–748; Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, '"Grafting the edelweiss on cactus plants": The 1931 Italian Garden Exhibition and Its Legacy', in Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee (eds), *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-First Century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), pp. 55–77; Anatole Tchikine, 'The Expulsion of the Senses: The Idea of the "Italian Garden" and the Politics of Sensory Experience', in D. Fairchaild Ruggles (ed.), *Sound and Scent in the Garden* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2017), pp. 217–253.

17. See Edith Wharton, *Italian Villas and their Gardens* (New York: Century, 1904), p. 6, and Vernon Lee, 'Old Italian Gardens', 1897, reprinted in Vernon Lee, *Limbo and Other Essays* (New York: John Lane, 1908), pp. 107–132. Lee described the Italian garden as a space that has 'nothing to do with Nature, or not much', where 'trees and hedges are treated as brick and stone', and where design is spurred by rules of 'perspective, architecture, [and] decoration'; see pp. 110, 115 and 120. For the 'cottage style' garden, of which Wharton and Lee were critical, see William Robinson, *The Wild Gardens; or, Our Groves & Shrubberies Made Beautiful by the Naturalization of Hardy Exotic Plants: With a Chapter on the Garden of British Wild Flowers* (London: John Murray, 1870).

18. 'La parola "italiano" ha in questo libro significato stilistico, non geografico. Si vuole infatti qui definire con qualche precisione, nelle loro varie apparizioni e casi varii, quelle forme che, determinatesi tra il quattro e il cinquecento'. Luigi Dami, *Il giardino italiano* (Milan: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1924), p. 1. For the English I use the translation published a year later: Luigi Dami, *The Italian Garden*, tr. L. Scopoli (New York: Brentano's Inc. Publishers, 1925), p. 7.

19. Marco Lastri, a Florentine agronomist, stated in 1797 that in contrast to an English garden, which included 'altissimi alberi di rarissime specie' and 'erba freschissima', the Italian garden derived its charm from 'piante fruttifere, dagli agrumi, da' fiori'. Marco Antonio Lastri, *L'osservatore fiorentino sugli edifizi della sua patria*, 1797, Quarta edizione esequita sopra quella del 1821, con aumenti e correzioni del Sig. Cav. Prof. Giuseppe Del Rosso, 16 vols. (Florence: Giuseppe Celli, 1831), III, p. 107.

20. '… una ragione perspicua e di una volontà decisa', 'Tutto è definito, sicuro, equilibrato'. Dami, *Il giardino italiano*, p. 22.

21. 'Non c'è posto nel giardino italiano per sentimentalità romantiche', '… il pallore o il turchino del cielo, ritagliato a zone dalle sagome delle piante'. Ibid., pp. 22–23.

22. 'Il Giardino Italiano è un giardino simmetrico e architettonico', 'd'ordinata bellezza e di regolata varietà dentro una natura fatta obbediente e domestica e allineata in disegni precisi'. Ugo Ojetti, 'La Mostra del Giardino Italiano', in *Mostra del giardino italiano: Catalogo* (Florence: Comune di Firenze, 1931), pp. 23–24.

23. '… il catattere del Giardino Italiano: giardino dell'intelligenza', 'il continuo e ordinato e visibile dominio dell'uomo sulla natura'. Ibid.

24. 'Sala 24: Libri sul giardino Italiano', *Mostra del giardino italiano: Catalogo*, p. 142.

25. Archivi Alinari, Florence: ACA- F-007099-0000 and FVQ-F-133190-0000. On the Alinari see Filippo Zevi (ed.), *Alinari: Photographers of Florence, 1852–1920* (London and Florence: Alinari Edizioni & Idea Editions for Scottish Arts Council, 1978) and *Una storia della fotografia italiana nelle collezioni Alinari: 1841–1941* (Florence: Alinari, 2015).

26. Dami, *Il giardino italiano*, p. 19.

27. 'Fig. CXXXIV: BOMARZO (Viterbo): giardino Orsini, VIGNOLA (?), Tempietto'. Ibid., Appendix.

28. Though it should be noted that, unlike such follies, the Tempietto was a functioning, consecrated church.

29. '… classici tempietti rotondi … un rimpianto per l'architettura perduta'. Ojetti, 'La Mostra del Giardino Italiano', p. 23. I owe thanks to Luke Morgan for pointing me to this passage.

30. '… questa Mostra intende rimettere in onore un'arte singolarmente nostra che dopo aver conquistato il mondo sembrò offuscata da altre mode o nascosta sotto nomi stranieri' (emphasis my own). Ibid.

31. 'Abbiamo raccolto memoria anche dei Giardini e delle Ville scomparse o mutate; ma tanta è stata la folla dei documenti, quadri, disegni, stampe, vedute, piante, plastici, che abbiamo alla fine dovuto scegliere e abbandonarne parecchi'. Ibid., pp. 24–25.

32. The region of Lazio had one of the ten 'comitati regionali' established for the exhibition, with Urbano Barberini, Benedetto Bonacelli, Camillo De Gregorio di Sorrentino, Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, Enrico Josi, Roberto Longhi, Giuseppe Lugli, and Roberto Papini named as its members. *Mostra del giardino italiano: Catalogo*, p. 7.

33. See Giannetto, 'Grafting the edelweiss'.

34. Francesco Fichera, 'La Sicilia orientale e i suoi giardini alla prossima mostra di Firenze'. *Gionale d'Italia* (25 March 1931). Quoted and translated in Giannetto, 'Grafting the edelweiss', p. 59.

35. The term 'visual historiography' is borrowed from Geraldine A. Johnson, whose work on the relationship between photography and the history of sculpture has been particularly informative. See, for example, Geraldine A. Johnson, '"(Un)richtige Aufnahme": Renaissance Sculpture and the Visual Historiography of Art History', *Art History*, 36/1, 2013, pp. 12–51, and

Geraldine A. Johnson, 'Photographing Sculpture, Sculpting Photography', in S. Hamill and M. Luke (eds.), *Photography and Sculpture: The Art Object in Reproduction* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2017), pp. 271–299.

36. Nichols, *Italian Pleasure Gardens*, p. 278.
37. Giovanni Borghese speaking to Maria Boggeri Ambrosini, 'The horrors of Bomarzo', *Harper's Magazine,* US edition, 228, April 1964, p. 68.
38. 'I più accurati disegni e rilievi moderni delle nostre Ville, esposti nella Mostra, sono di architetti americani'. Ojetti, 'La Mostra del Giardino Italiano', p. 24. David R. Coffin makes it clear that when Ojetti mentions American architects here, it is the fellows of the American Academy in Rome to whom he refers. David R. Coffin, 'The Study of the Italian Garden until the First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), p. 32.
39. Norman T. Newton, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)', three photographic prints, black and white, 12 × 8 cm, c. 1923–1926. American Academy in Rome, Photography Archive (object numbers: LA.Italy.Bomarzo.8/111133; LA.Italy.Bomarzo.9/111134; LA.Italy.Bomarzo.10/111135).
40. Richard K. Webel, 'Villa Orsini (Bomarzo, Italy)', seven photographic prints, black and white, 12 × 8 cm, 1927. American Academy in Rome, Photography Archive (object numbers: LA.Italy.Bomarzo.1/111080, LA.Italy.Bomarzo.2/111081, LA.Italy.Bomarzo.3/111128, LA.Italy.Bomarzo.4/111129, LA.Italy.Bomarzo.5/111130, LA.Italy.Bomarzo.6/111131, LA.Italy.Bomarzo.7/111132).
41. John Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Bomarzo', part of his 'South Etruria Survey', black and white, gelatin silver photographic print glued on card, 11 × 15 cm, c. 1954. British School at Rome Photography Archive (object number: wpset-1871.29A). As part of the same series Ward-Perkin's also took photographs inside the Sacro Bosco (object numbers: wpset-05794, wpset-1868.05, wpset-1868.03, wpset-1868.02, wpset-1868.01, wpset-1868.06).
42. See Amey Aldrich and John Walker, *A Guide to Villas and Gardens in Italy* (Rome: The American Academy in Rome, 1938), p. 29. The authors note: 'The following is an amplification of a Guide to the Villas of Italy made by R. K. Webel of the American Academy in Rome', p. 5.
43. Ibid., p. 29.
44. For example, in the documentary by Michelangelo Antonioni discussed later in this article, the voiceover states 'è una bella giornata, andremo a prendere un pò d'aria nel parco'. *La Villa dei Mostri*, written and directed by Michelangelo Antonioni, voice over: Gerardo Guerrieri, music: Giovanni Fusco, black and white, 9 minutes 39 seconds, French and German subtitles, FILMUS, 1950.
45. '… un immenso giardino zoologio petrificato'. Ezio Bacino, 'La Valle dei Mostri', in Ezio Bacino, *Italia, oro e cenere* (Florence: Vallechi, 1953), p. 92.
46. Georges K. Loukomski, 'Ville meno conosciute del Vignola nei dintorni di Roma', *Le vie d'Italia*, 11, 1935, p. 840. After detailing the construction of the Orsini palazzo, Loukomski relates that there is 'uno strano giardino' below the town, in which 'utilizzando la pietra che si trovava in luogo, il Vignola eresse una quantità di statue curiosamente scolpite in forma di elefanti, di rane, di ninfe e di satiri. Un tempietto squisito, una delle più graziose cose dovute al suo grande talento', p. 840. Loukomski's photographs of Bomarzo that illustrate this article are part of the Touring Club Italiano archive, now held in that of the Archivi Alinari in Florence: Unidentified photographer [Loukomski?], 'Orsini palace' and 'Gardens of Villa Orsini', Bomarzo, Viterbo, black and white photographic prints glued on card, c. 1910–1935: Archivi Alinari, Florence (TCM-F-000408-0000; TCM-F-000409-0000; TCM-F-000411-0000 and TCM-F-000412-0000).
47. On the Touring Club Italiano, see *90 anni di turismo in Italia, 1894–1984* (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1984) and Stefano Pivato, *Il Touring club italiano* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2006).
48. 'Addossato alla collina, ha inoltre un parco con una quantità di statue rappresentanti animali, ninfe e satiri e un tempietto grazioso eretto alla memoria di Giulio Farnese, amico dell'Orsini, opera del Vignola'. L.V. Bertarelli, *Lazio, non compresa Roma: Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano* (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1935), p. 160.
49. Consociazione Turistica Italiana, *Lazio* (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1943), 11, p. 105. Under Fascism, the Touring Club Italiano was forced to Italianize its name to *Consociazione Turistica Italiana*.
50. Milton Gendel, 'Bomarzo', black and white negatives, c. 1950. La Fondazione Primoli, Archivio Gendel.
51. Mauro Ambrosoli addresses this issue in 'From the Italian Countryside to the Italianate Landscape: Peasants as Gardeners and Foreign Observers in Italy, 1500–1850', in Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee (eds), *Clio in the Italian Garden*, pp. 145–169.
52. *Nel mondo del surreale: Salvador Dalí nel 'giardino dei mostri'*, *La Settimana INCOM*, no.00209, directed by Sandro Pallavicini, INCOM, 10 November 1948. Archivio Storico Luce (object number: I020903).
53. 'Impressione così aliena all'arte italiana'. Praz, 'I Mostri de Bomarzo', p. 81.
54. '… un luogo che per la sua folla di bizzarre e mostruose sculture disseminate tra sterpi e rovi senza ordine apparente può far pensare a certi angoli religiosi e sinistri dell'India e della Cina'. Ibid., p. 76.
55. '… quelli di un famoso tetto di Hing-kung o di quello di bronzo dorato (dinastia T'ang) che può vedersi oggi al Museo Fogg di Cambridge'. Ibid., p. 80. The statue is, in fact, from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, but was

thought to be of genuine Tang origin when accepted by the museum in 1943. Doubts regarding its authenticity surfaced in the late twentieth century, which led to the object being tested by the Straus Centre for Conservation and Technical Studies in 2003. Monique Goodin, Division of Asian and Mediterranean Art and Alison M. Cariens, Straus Centre for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard Art Museums, 2017, personal communication. For the bronze dragon: Harvard Art Museum, object number: 1943.53.113.

56. '… il sapore arcano di una ruina babilonica, di un santuario buddista riconquistato dalla foresta vergine'. Bacino, 'La Valle dei Mostri', p. 95. At another point Bacino describes the site as 'come un immenso giardino zoologico pietrificato, o come una foresta equatoriate', p. 92.
57. Praz, 'I Mostri de Bomarzo', p. 78.
58. *Nel mondo del surreale*.
59. '… quando lui appare al limite della grazie e del delirio, tutti gli aspetti prendono lo stile di Dalí'. Ibid.
60. Salvador Dalí, *The Conquest of the Irrational*, tr. D. Gascoyne (New York: Julien Levy, 1935), p. 15.
61. Mario Puccini, in the journal *Critica fascista*, aligned the Surrealist movement with Satanism. Mario Puccini, 'Un'arte fascista', *Critica fascista*, 4/23, 1 December 1926, pp. 435–436, reprinted in Jeffrey Schnapp (ed.), *A Primer of Italian Fascism*, tr. Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Olivia E. Sears, and Maria G. Stampino (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), p. 229.
62. '… simili alle ombre dell'inconscio'. *Nel mondo del surreale*. First, we see Dalí's famous 'Atomicus' portrait shot by photographer Philippe Hamsman in New York in 1948, then a lithograph made for the New York production of the ballet *Tristan Fou*, for which Dalí designed the set, backdrops and costumes in 1944, followed by *The Sublime Moment*, a painting by Dalí from 1938.
63. R. O. Dunlop, *Understanding Pictures: From Primitive Art to Surrealism* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons LTD, 1948), p. 40. Wallace Fowlie, *Age of Surrealism* (New York: Swallow Press, 1950), p. 11.
64. Cf. Herbert Read: '[f]rom the moment of its birth Surrealism was an international phenomenon – the spontaneous generation of an international and fraternal *organism*'. Herbert Read, 'Introduction', in Herbert Read (ed.), *Surrealism* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1936), p. 20. With regard to Dalí's fame, one article published in the American weekly news magazine *Time* in 1936, stated that 'Surrealism would never have attracted its present attention in the U.S. were it not for a handsome 32 year old Catalan with a soft voice and a clipped cinema actor's moustache, Salvador Dalí'. Author unknown, 'Marvelous and Fantastic', *Time*, 24, 14 December 1936, p. 60.
65. Paolo Scrivano, 'Signs of Americanization in Italian domestic life: Italy's post-war conversion to consumerism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40/2, 2005, p. 317. For Italy's 'economic miracle' see Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy. Society and Politics 1943–1988* (London: Penguin History, 1990), particularly chapter 3, pp. 210–253, and Guido Crainz, *Storia del miracolo italiano. Cultura, identità, trasformazioni fra anni 50 e 60* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 1996), pp. 53–81.
66. '… nessuno ha visto apparire l'Arcobaleno … È veramente finito il Diluvio?' Giacomo Noventa, 'Quelli dell'Arca', in Dino Terra (ed.), *Dopo il diluvio: Sommario dell'Italia contemporanea* (Milan: Garzanti, 1947), p. 402.
67. See John Lambert Harper, *America and the Reconstruction of Italy, 1945–1948* (Cambridge: London and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1986); David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America, and Postwar Reconstruction* (London and New York: Longman, 1992); and Mariuccia Salvati, 'Behind the Cold War: rethinking the Left, the State and civil society in Italy (1940s-1970s)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 8/4, December 2003, pp. 556–577.
68. 'L'arte invita tutti gli uomini, oltre le frontiere nazionali […] In questo 1948 (glorioso centenario storico del nostro risveglio politico e del nostro Risorgimento civile) l'umanità ancora stordita dale angosce e dai tormenti patiti, accolga l'invito che le viene da questo convegno di artisti di ogni parte del mondo'. Giovanni Ponti, 'Prefazione', in *XXIV Biennale di Venezia Catalogo*, 2nd edn (Venice: Edizioni Serenissima, 1948), pp. x–xi. For the 1948 Biennale and its ties to European politics, see Nancy Jachec, *Politics and Painting at the Venice Biennale, 1948–64: Italy and the Idea of Europe* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), particularly pp. 37–44, and Maurizio Calvesi, 'The Avant-garde Biennales', in Giandomenico Romanelli (ed.), *Venice and the Biennale: Itineraries of Taste* (Milan: Fabbri, 1995), pp. 95–96.
69. For US funding of Italy's election, see James E. Miller, 'Taking Off the Gloves: The United States and the Italian Elections of 1948', *Diplomatic History*, 7, 1983, pp. 35–55, and Steven F. White, 'De Gasperi Through American Eyes', *Italian Politics and Society*, 61, Fall/Winter 2005, pp. 11–21.
70. See David W. Ellwood, 'Italian modernism and the propaganda of the Marshall Plan', in L. Cheles and L. Sponza (eds), *The Art of Persuasion: Political Communication in Italy from 1945 to 1990s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 23–48, and Regina M. Longo, 'Between Documentary and Neorealism: Marshall Plan Films in Italy (1948–1955)', *California Italian Studies*, 3/2, 2012, pp. 1–45.
71. As a result, *La Settimana Incom* was one of the most prolific news series in Italy, producing 2555 weekly shows between 1946 and 1965. See Augusto Sainati, *La Settimana Incom:*

cinegiornali e informazione negli anni '50, (Turin: Lindau, 2001), p. 85, and Maria Adelaide Frabotta, 'Official Italian Newsreels of the 1950s: Europeanism and International Politics', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 15/3, 1995, pp. 361–365.

72. 'Dalí è partito dall'America appena ha saputo di questo parco'. *Nel mondo del surreale*. Dalí's critics were famously disdainful of his emigration to the US. As George Orwell wrote, 'Dalí is a good draughtsman and a disgusting human being', 'when the European war approaches he has one preoccupation only: how to find a place which has good cookery and from which he can make a quick bolt if danger comes too near'. George Orwell, 'Benefit of Clergy: Some Notes on Salvador Dali', 1946, reprinted in George Packer (ed.), *George Orwell, All Art is Propaganda: Critical Essays* (Boston and New York: Mariner Books/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), p. 213.

73. For Dalí presence at the Biennale, see Raffaelo Carrieri, 'Dalí non è un Diavolo'. *TEMPO* (29 October 1948), p. 27. For Dalí's appearance at the opening of *As You Like It* performed at Rome's Teatro Eliso, see Paolo Monelli, '"Spettacoli e Mondanità": Come si spense alla ribalta una Commedia di Shakespeare', *La Nuova Stampa* (28 November 1948), p. 3. The artist's visit to the theatre was also recorded for a INCOM newsreel; see *Prime del teatro a Roma: Rosalinda di Shakespeare*, *La Settimana INCOM*, no. 00218, INCOM, 01 Dec. 1948, Archivio Storico Luce (object number: I021805).

74. 'Salvador Dalí visits Italy!', *People in the News*, Warner Pathé News, 25 November 1948, British Pathé Archive (object number: 2240.15).

75. Giuseppe Zander, 'Gli Elementi documentari sul Sacro Bosco', *Quaderni dell'Instituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, 7–9, 1955, p. 27. For the editions illustrated by Dalí, see Maurice Yves Sandoz, *Fantastic Memories* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1944), *La Maison sans fenêtres* (Paris: Pierre Seghers, 1949) and *The Maze* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1945).

76. Giorgio de Chirico was also a friend, who would describe Beloborodov's compositions as that of an 'architectural poet' (*poeta architettonico*). Giorgio de Chirico, 'Andrea Beloborodoff alla Finestra', *Gazetta delle arti* (24–30 March 1947). Belobodorov even designed a villa for Sandoz on his estate La Vigna Pepoli; see Maurice Sandoz, *'Rencontres fantastiques': Dalí-Fabergé-Bosshard et les montres et automates de la fabrique de Genève*, Musée historique du Vieux-Vevey, Vevey, 29 August–29 November 1992, exh. cat. (Suisse, Musée historique du Vieux-Vevey, 1992), pp. 49–50.

77. See André Breton's accusation in 'Des tendances les plus-rècentes de la peinture surrèaliste', *Minotaure* (12 May 1939), reprinted in André Breton, *Surrealism and Painting*, tr. Simon Watson (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2002), pp. 146–147.

78. '… è nella nostra storia una parentesi di venti anni'. Benedetto Croce, 'La libertà italiana nella libertà del mondo', 1944, reprinted in Benedetto Croce, *Scritti e discorsi politici (1943–1957)* (Bari: Laterza, 1963), 1, pp. 56–57.

79. 'Il fascism non è stato una semplice parentesi nella nostra storia che chiudendosi consenta la ripresa del ritmo di vita rotto violentemente'. Eugenio Artom, 'Il compito del liberalismo', *La Nazione del popolo* (21 January 1945), reprinted in Pier Luigi Ballini (ed.), *Un quotidiano della Resistenza: La nazione del popolo: organo del Comitato toscano di liberazione nazionale (11 agosto 1944–3 luglio 1946)* (Florence: Polistampa 2008), 1, p. 247. Likewise, Giacomo Noventa argued that 'Il fascism e il nazismo del primo e del secondo period sono entrambi presenti'. Noventa, 'Quelli dell'Arca', p. 404. Recent scholarship on Italian history has stressed the continuities, rather than the differences, between pre- and post-fascist Italy. See, for example, Pietro Scoppola, 'Momenti e aspetti della riflessione storiografica', in Giancarlo Monina (ed.), *1945–1946, Le origini della Repubblica* (Soverina Mannelli: Rebbettino Editore, 2007), 1 ('Contesto internazionale e aspetti della transizione'), pp. 5–22, and Charles L. Leavitt IV, '"An entirely new land"? Italy's postwar culture and its Fascist past', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 21/1, 2016, pp. 4–18.

80. Antonioni complained in 1944 that Italians were still made to listen to Notari's voice 'with the same cadence, the same warmest faith that was fascist'. Michelangelo Antonioni, 'La Battaglia per l'Ukraina Sovietica'. *L'Italia Libera* (17 September 1944), reprinted in Michelangelo Antonioni, *Sul Cinema* (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), p. 37, tr. in Daniela Baratieri, *Memories and Silences Haunted by Fascism: Italian Colonialism MCMXXX-MCMLX* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 116.

81. Statistics from Daniela Treveri Gennari, *Post-War Italian Cinema: American Intervention, Vatican Interests* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 7–9.

82. G. H. Brassaï, 'The mammoth figures of Bomarzo', *Harper's Bazaar,* US edition, January 1953, pp. 70–73.

83. References to 'érotisme cruel', 'le trouble des sens'. André Pieyre de Mandiargues, *Les Monstres de Bomarzo: Photographies de Glasberg* (Paris: Grasset, 1957), pp. 186 and 207. In describing the site as emblematic of 'cruel eroticism', de Mandiargues saw it as expressive of the subliminal, primitive and violent forces central to his theory of sexuality as the destructor of psychic stability.

84. In addition to the article by John Bearsley 'Alchemy or archetype? Bomarzo and Niki de Saint Phalle's Tarot Garden' in this Journal, see Anna Mazzanti (ed.), *Niki de Saint Phalle: the Tarot Garden* (Milan: Charta, 1998); Jill Johnston and Marella Carracciolo Chia, *Niki de Saint Phalle and the Tarot Garden* (Bern: Benteli, 2010).

85. Dalí's presence in the Sacro Bosco was referenced by Praz, 'I Mostri de Bomarzo', p. 77,

Piovene, 'L'India nel Lazio', p. 3, and Bacino, 'La Valle dei Mostri', p. 92. In 1977, Luisa Quartermaine wrote that 'the garden was first thoroughly studied in 1955 by the school of architecture of the University of Rome, after Salvador Dalí had rediscovered it', while as late as 2007 Jessie Sheeler asserted that 'in 1949 the influential critic and art collector Mario Praz and the Spanish surrealist Salvador Dalí discovered it, abandoned and deformed by thickly growing shrub and grass'. Luisa Quartermaine, 'Vicino Orsini's Garden of Conceits', *Italian Studies*, 32/1, 1 January 1977, p. 68; Jessie Sheeler, *The Garden at Bomarzo: A Renaissance Riddle* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007), p. 33.

86. Reference to 'una scena surreale'. Lucio Luise, Manfredo Manfredi, Ildo Manfroncelli and Salvatore Marino, 'Premessa', *Quaderni dell'Instituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, p. 1; Marie Noble Kelly, 'A Magnificent Folly', *Country Life*, 124, 16 October 1958, p. 822.

87. In 1997, for example, Bruno Zevi described the Sacro Bosco as indicative of 'a Surrealist phase of expressive freedom, freed from constraints and checks': 'Siamo infatti in una fase surrealista di libertà espressiva sganciata da vincoli e controlli'. Bruno Zevi, *Storia e controstoria dell'architettura in Italia*, 1997 (Rome: Grandi Tascabili Economici Newton, 2005), p. 424.

88. *La Villa dei Mostri*.

89. A government decree passed on 31 January 1942 required the triad screening of a newsreel, a documentary and a feature film. Screenings took place in regular movie theatres, as well as in factories, recreational centers, classrooms and public squares. See Paola Bonifazio, *Schooling in Modernity: The Politics of Sponsored Films in Postwar Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), pp. 3–4.

90. In the 1950s, art critic Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti began making a series of art documentaries, which he termed 'critofilms', alluding to the way he saw cinematography as an interpretive tool for understanding and presenting works of art on film. These 'critofilms' were characterized by slow pans and detailed close-ups of the artworks being presented. See Valentina La Salvia, Vittorio Fagone, Antonino Caleca and Lorenzo Cuccu, *I critofilm di Carlo L. Ragghianti: tutte le sceneggiature* (Lucca: Fondazione Ragghianti studi sul'arte, 2006).

91. Antonioni's engagement with regional cultures of Italy can been seen in his other films of the period, such as *Gente del Po*, a languorous look at the communities that lived on the Po river. *Gente del Po*, written and directed by Michelangelo Antonioni, black and white, 11 minutes, Artisti Associati and I.C.E.T., 1947. The film was conceived and shot in the early 1940s, but only released later and on a much-reduced scale.

92. '… acropoli turrita … circonfusa dal pulviscolo d'oro del cielo d'ottobre, profilata contro i manti lontani che sembrano incisi in un dolce saffiro'; 'v'e una mite solennita in questo paesaggio italico che contrasta con quelle mostruose escrescenze, quei sogni ed incubi del terreno vulcanico che sona i mostri del labirintino forteto'. Praz, 'I Mostri de Bomarzo', p. 81.

93. 'In quel paesaggio antico di pietre e d'alberi, gentile e forte, fiero e soave'. Bacino, 'La Valle dei Mostri', pp. 91–92.

94. *Fabbricato in Italia*, *La Settimana Incom*, no. 00925, directed by Raimondo Musi, INCOM, 02 April 1953, Archivio Storico Luce (object number: I092501); *Italia allo Specchio, La Settimana Incom*, no. 00929, directed by Pietro Benedetti, INCOM, 10 April 1953, Archivio Storico Luce (object number: I092901); *Italia d'Oggi*, directed by Romolo Marcellini, Europa Telefilm, 1953.

95. Giuliana Minghelli, *Landscape and Memory in Post-Fascist Italian Film: Cinema Year Zero* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), p. 148. Antonioni's place within the Neorealist movement has been the subject of wide debate, but speaking of his own practice in the 1940s, Antonioni stated that he would own the 'presumption: of having entered the path of neorealism by myself'. Michelangelo Antonioni, *The Architecture of Vision: Writings and Interviews on Cinema*, ed. Carlo Di Carlo, Giorgio Tinazzi and Marga Cottino-Jones (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 65.

96. *Paisà*, directed by Roberto Rossellini, black and white film, 126 minutes, Organizzazione Film Internazionali, 1946.

97. Luigi Chiarini, 'Italian Film: A Mirror of Social Responsibility', *Courier*, 4/9, UNESCO publication, September 1951, p. 3.

98. Antonella Sisto, *Film Sound in Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 81–82.

99. See Ruth Ben-Ghiat, 'The Fascist War Trilogy', in David Forgacs, Sarah Lutton and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (eds), *Roberto Rossellini: Magician of the Real* (London: British Film Institute, 2000), pp. 20–36.

100. In this way, *La Villa dei Mostri* can be seen alongside Antonioni's documentary of Rome's street cleaners: *N.U.: Nettezza Urbana*, directed by Michelangelo Antonioni, black and white film, 11 minutes, I.C.E.T., 1948. Antonioni's interest in the lives of members of the lower strata of the Italian society is evident from the list of documentaries he never realised, noted down in his diary in the early 1950s. It includes 'everybody's woman, undertakers, waiters, show girls, models, convents, public safety, [and] railway cleaning service'. Quoted in Carlo di Carlo, *Il primo Antonioni* (Bologna: Cappelli Editore, 1973), p. 15.

101. 'Perfino il pittore surrealista Salvador Dalí … venne qui e si mise a sedere in bocca questo drago'. *La Villa dei Mostri*.

102. 'Ah no, è un contadino che brucia una pannocchia di granturco'. Ibid.

103. 'Chissà, scendevano queste scale, non va più lo so, è una rovina, le erbacce coprono tutto'. Ibid.

104. 'Amava le bizzarrie artistiche. Metafisico, vero? E questa apparizione gigantesca, solitaria nel

campo di granoturco? Irreale', 'Vedrà, qui tra un pò le cose più assurde le sembreranno le più naturali'. Ibid.

105. 'Guardi là: le tre grazie. Come sono moderne in quel primitivismo un pò ironico'. Ibid.

106. Brassaï, 'The mammoth figures of Bomarzo', and Herbert List, whose archive is held by Magnum Photos and includes five photographs of the Sacro Bosco from c. 1950–1952 (http://pro.magnumphotos.com).

107. 'Debbo anche aggiungere che le fotografie non riescono a dare un'adeguata idea di Bomarzo … il fotografo, come di solito, per dare il senso delle proporzioni, convoca intorno ai massi i ragazzi del paese, distrugge la magia di cui l'abituale solitudine circonfonde il luogo'. Praz, 'I Mostri de Bomarzo', p. 78.

108. See *Quaderni dell'Instituto di Storia dell'Architettura*. For a discussion of the arguments, images and implications of this publication for Bomarzo scholarship, see my PhD thesis. Allington-Wood, 'Grounded', pp. 68–74.

109. Walter Friedlaender's essay 'Mannerism: the anti-classical style' was first published in *Repertorium fiir Kunstwissenschaft* (vol. XLVII, 1925) and was reprinted in Walter Friedlaender, *Mannerism and anti-mannerism in Italian painting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 3–43. Friedlaender also acted as primary advisor for the exhibition 'Pontormo to Greco: The Age of Mannerism' at the John Herron Art Museum in Indianapolis, 14 February–28 March 1954. His text for the exhibition catalogue offers concise thoughts on Mannerism: Walter Friedlaender, 'Preface', in *Pontormo to Greco: the age of mannerism. A loan exhibition of paintings and drawings of the century 1520–1620*, exh. cat. (Indianapolis: The John Herron Art Museum, 1954), pp. i–v.

110. Read, *Surrealism*, pp. 22–23. The view continued post-war. In 1950, the American scholar Wallace Fowlie would describe classicism as the antithesis of Surrealism due to the fact that '[t]he immediate words which come to mind when we think of classicism are order, control, condemnation, choice, synthesis, rules'. Fowlie, *Age of Surrealism*, p. 14.

111. '… è ribellione anticlassica'. Eugenio Battisti, *Rinascimento e barocco* (Turin: Einaudi, 1960), p. 225. Such descriptions would continue throughout Mannerist scholarship. Linda Murray in 1967 would argue that this period was characterized by 'violations of the High Renaissance and classical forms and canons'. Linda Murray, *The High Renaissance and Mannerism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), p. 126. Equally there were writers who argued against this definition, proposing instead that Mannerism coincided, overlapped and at times engaged with the classical High Renaissance. See, for example, Giuliano Briganti, *Italian mannerism*, 1961, tr. Margaret Kunzle (Leipzig: VEB Edition, 1962), pp. 9–11, and Franzsepp Wuertenberger, *Mannerism: the European style of the sixteenth century*, 1962, tr. Michael Heron (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1963), p. 6.

112. '… hanno liberati dal mito del classicismo rinascimentale'. Eugenio Battisti, 'Lo spirito del manierismo', *Letteratura. Rivista di lettere e di arte contemporanea*, 4/21–22, 1956 (Rome: De Luca), p. 3.

113. Eugenio Battisti, *L'antirinascimento* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1962), p. 52. Battisti's text grew out of Hiram Collin Haydn's *The Counter-Renaissance*, which focused on sixteenth-century literature to argue for the importance of the 'anti-intellectual, anti-moralistic, anti-synthetic, and anti-authoritarian'. Hiram Collin Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. xiii. For an informative discussion of Battisti's book, see Michael W. Cole and Christopher S. Wood, 'Review: *L'antirinascimento* by Eugenio Battisti', *The Art Bulletin*, 95/4, December 2013, pp. 651–656. With regard to Battisti's focus on *informe,* it is significant that the same year Umberto Eco published his theory of the 'Open Work': Umberto Eco, *Opera Aperta: Forma e indeterminazione nelle poetiche contemporanee* (Milan: Bompiani, 1962). Battisti published a review of Eco's book in *Il Mondo* on 17 July 1963, cited in Umberto Eco, 'Un ricordo di Eugenio Battisti', *Arte Lombarda*, nuova serie, 105–107/2–4, 1993, p. 167.

114. Eugenio Battisti, *L'antirinascimento* (Milan: Garzanti, 1989), II, p. 686.

115. Arnold Hauser, *Mannerism: the crisis of the Renaissance and the origin of modern art* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 3 and 21. For his discussion of Surrealism as 'mannered', see pp. 371–382.

116. Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-garde*, 1962, tr. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 131–132.

117. Other scholars noted the social and political turmoil that Mannerism responded to in the sixteenth century, but without connecting it to the conditions of their present. For example, see Briganti, *Italian mannerism*, pp. 5–6.

118. Read, *Surrealism*, p. 22.

119. Briganti, *Italian mannerism*, p. 15.

120. Ibid., p. 11, and Wuertenberger, *Mannerism*.

121. Gustav Rene Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth: Manier und Manie in der europäischen Kunst* (Munich: Rowohlt, 1957). Hocke's book was notably published the same year as the Treaty of Rome and the establishment of the European Economic Community (ECC), precursor to the EU.

122. '… il surrealismo moderno, mosso da una affine poetica, si è incontrato col manierismo proprio sul terreno del gioco'. Battisti, 'Lo spirito del manierismo', p. 7.

123. References to 'un Visionen von Max Ernst', 'Gewisse paranoische Giganten DALIS … haben ihre Heimat in Bomarzo'. Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth*, pp. 85–86. For Hocke's full discussion on the Sacro Bosco and the avant-

guard, see pp. 85–92. Battisti cites Hocke as important to his thoughts on Mannerism in *Rinascimento e barocco*, p. 216, note 1.

124. References to 'der "Verblüffung" erzeugen will', '"Stupeur" (Schock) ist die Wirkung, die alle Surrealisten vorzugsweise erreichen wollen'. Hocke, ibid., pp. 87–88.

125. '… perde il controllo del reale', 'il bosco, denso d'ombre, d'intrichi, di scrosci, sembra generare dal suo stesso grembo le apparizioni mostruose'. Battisti, *L'antirinascimento* (1962), pp. 125 and 128. In line with Battisti's view of Bomarzo, Hauser saw Surrealist practice of 'giving reign to impulses' as closely 'related to the mannerist attitude, the peculiarity of which was blind confidence in the autonomous activity of the means of expression, that is to say, of language, and in the autogenesis of images'. Hauser, *Mannerism*, p. 381. Moreover, Battisti characterized the sixteenth-century garden as a space of sensory overload that would 'take away from [the visitors] any rationality of behaviour, overwhelm them through vision, noise, sound, climactic and environmental conditions': 'in modo da togliergli ogni razionalità di comportamento, di sopraffarlo emotivamente mediante la visione, il rumore, il suono, le condizioni climatiche e ambientali'. Battisti, *L'antirinascimento* (1962), p. 135. As Anatole Tchikine has shown, these were the very elements central to garden experience that were dismissed and excluded from the *giardino allitaliana* and fascist rhetoric. See Tchikine, 'The Expulsion of the Senses'.

126. 'E soltanto recentemente, per merito di una più approfondita conoscenza dell'arte moderna, la simpatia per i manieristi si è trasformata in affetto e comprensione'. Battisti, 'Lo spirito del manierismo', p. 3.

127. Hauser, *Mannerism*, pp. 355–357. A re-evaluation of Mannerism, according to Hauser, was 'feasible only for a generation which experienced a shock like that associated with the origin of modern art', p. 4.

128. John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Press, 1981). Despite being considered now a key Italian art history book, Battisti's *L'antirinascimento* went almost unnoticed upon publication. It received no substantial reviews in English; and, by 1965, as Battisti revealed later, it had sold only 52 copies. Cited in Cole and Wood, 'Review: *L'antirinascimento*', p. 651.

129. Shearman, Mannerism p. 15.

130. Ibid., p. 19.

131. Ibid., p. 158.

132. Ibid., p. 125.

133. '… giardino (se questo è un nome adatto per il pezzo di terra che vogliamo descrivere) può servire di saggio del mutamento avvenuto nei nostri gusti'. Piovene, 'L'India nel Lazio', p. 3.

134. See, for example, 'Gli abiti da ballo hanno i più romantici dei ricami', *La donna*, July 1953, pp. 32–33, and 'Beauty and the Stone Beasts', photographs by Richard Avedon, *Harper's Bazaar*, US edition, 91, July 1958, pp. 70–75.

135. 'Ore romane delle ospiti inglesi', *Mondo Libero*, no. M403, 30 April 1959, Archivio Storico Luce (object number: ML040301).