Jennifer Noonan

Prints and Printmaking at the Venice Biennale, 1930s-1970s

Abstract

This article examines the exhibition of prints at the Venice Biennale between the 1930s and the early 1970s. Drawing upon recently discovered archival material, this essay argues that the prints displayed and awarded prizes during this period offer a picture of the art world, biennial culture and its socio-political milieu, including the ebbs and follows of nationalism and internationalism. Part of this study, therefore, includes an assessment of how the print exhibitions reveal the shifting aesthetic, cultural and at times political world in which they were situated. This essay also provides an extended analysis on the role graphics played at the 1970 Venice Biennale in the Italian and United States pavilions and will argue that the organisation and installation of these exhibitions mirrored contemporaneous, ephemeral aspects of avant-garde art and, in fleeting moments, transnational exchanges.

Keywords

Nationalism, Internationalism, *Chocolate Room*, Print workshop, Lois Bingham

OBOE
Journal On Biennials and Other Exhibitions

ISSN 2724-086X

oboejournal.com

Published online: August 27, 2022

To cite this article: Jennifer Noonan, "Prints and Printmaking at the Venice Biennale, 1930s-1970s", *OBOE Journal* 3, no. 1 (2022): 3-18.

To link to this article: 10.25432/2724-086X/3.1.0002

Prints and Printmaking at the Venice Biennale, 1930s-1970s

Jennifer Noonan

In 1895 etchings by Dutch artists Jozef Israëls and Anton Mauve were displayed at the inaugural *Esposizione Internazionale di Venezia*. From that point and through the 20th century, prints continued to be shown and occasionally highlighted in special exhibitions. The ongoing presence of graphics may have had something to do with the nature of the medium: as multiple objects they are more accessible, more affordable, easier to ship and cheaper than paintings and sculpture to insure. Beyond the practical considerations, print exhibitions also reflected an increasingly widespread, popular interest in the medium. Alessia Del Bianco has noted as much in her essay on etchings in the *bianco e nero* salons of 1899 and 1901, arguing that they advanced an interest in graphics in the first quarter of the 20th century.[1] This study picks up with an examination of print exhibitions at the Venice Biennale in the 1930s and continues through the early 1970s. The prints displayed and awarded prizes during this period offer a picture (or imprint) of the art world, biennial culture, and its socio-political milieu, including the ebbs and follows of nationalism and internationalism.[2] This essay will also provide an extended analysis on the role graphics played at the 1970 Venice Biennale in the Italian and United States pavilions and will argue that the organisation and installation of these exhibitions mirrored contemporaneous, ephemeral aspects of avant-garde art and, in fleeting moments, transnational exchanges.

1
Alessia Del Bianco, "Le sale internazionali del bianco e nero, 1899-1901: The Debut of Graphic Arts at the Venice International Art Exhibition", *OBOE Journal* 3, no. 1 (Summer 2022): 19-37.

2
The language used in this analysis refers to, and expands upon, Caroline Jones' language regarding the foundations of Biennale and World's Fairs, and their capacity to offer a picture of the world. Jones posits that "the biennial is an enlightenment project that secures a kind of nationalism in the very act of transcending it" and continues, "the events stage themselves as pacifist alternatives and engagements that aim to make war less likely", surmising they are "politics by another means". Caroline Jones, "Biennial Culture: A Longer History", in Elena Filipovic, Marieke van Hal, Solveig ØVsebø (eds.), *The Biennial Reader: An Anthology on Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2010), 76-77. For an analysis of the different types of prizes awarded during the early years of the Biennale see Maria Mimita Lamberti, "International Exhibitions in Venice" [1982], *OBOE Journal* 1, no. 1 (2020): 26-45. https://doi.org/10.25432/2724-086X/1.1.0004

"Where Il Duce Once Walked Barefoot"[3]

The display of prints at the Venice Biennale in the early 1930s did not conform to a single form or movement. The governing body, the Ente Autonomo (Count Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata was the newly elected President, Antonio Maraini was the Secretary General, and a few additional government officials formed the group) selected works in a myriad of styles, including the *italianità* aesthetic—a vague and multivalent term for cultural forms that display classicising tendencies of past Italian art forms—the works of Il Novecento movement, works of the futurism Aeropittura group and abstractions produced by the Concretisti.[4] In 1930, for example, Bruno Marsili Da Osimo's woodcut *La Litanie Laurente* shared space in the *bianco e nero* rooms with Fabio Mauroner's *Mattino a Rialto (Morning on the Rialto)*. The former reveals the artist's interest in frontispiece book design rendered in imaginative, enigmatic symbolist forms while the latter offers a clear, luminous view of the Rialto bridge from Venice's Grand Canal. Such diversity of styles also meant that exhibited works did not always reflect the best of international graphics.[5] Though the woodcut revival was passé in Western Europe by the 1930s, for example, it continued to flourish in Italy and hence as just one among many styles displayed at the Venice Biennale.[6] This inclusivity may be a holdover from the 1920s when Mussolini's government was focused on centralising political power rather than culture, thereby leaving the door open to artists of different inclinations.[7] Yet it may also have something to do with the presence of Margherita Sarfatti on the Biennale committee. The poet (and one time mistress of Mussolini) championed Il Novecento, which for her meant exhibiting the best artists of the day rather than those who adhered to a single style, and her voice may have allowed for variety in the Biennale including those that did not always display the most progressive developments in printmaking.[8] The plethora of styles, or "aesthetic pluralism" to borrow Marla Susan Stone's term, reflected diverse tendencies in Italy and abroad but those selections may have ultimately been governed by policy requirements rather than avant-garde aesthetics. In more specific terms, the Ente Autonomo supported Italy's connection with European styles in an effort to: extend their cultural profile throughout Western Europe, expose Italian intellectuals to the latest in foreign trends, potentially convert visiting intellectuals to fascist ideology, revitalise the tourist industry and lastly to assert the prominence of fascism on an international stage in order to compete with the authoritarian regimes of Joseph Stalin and later Adolf Hitler.[9]

A pivot away from plurality and internationalism toward nationalist imagery that valorised Italian civilization, as scholars have noted, occurred after Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935 (for which he was sanctioned by the League of Nations) and allied with Adolph Hitler under the Rome-Berlin Axis in 1936 (later

3
"Where Il Duce Once Walked Bare-Foot: Prints in the Venice Biennale", *Art Digest* 13, no. 1 (October 1, 1938): 24.

4
Aeropittura emerged in the late 1920s from the second wave of Futurism and was shaped by the Italian military's buildup of the aviation industry. Marla Susan Stone, *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 43.

5
Martin Hopkinson notes that "the representation of international printmaking at the Biennale was deleterious, as countries tended to be conservative in their selection of artists, though some years were [an] exception", Martin Hopkinson, *Italian Prints: 1875-1975* (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2007), 25.

6
Hopkinson, *Italian Prints*, 21.

7
For example, Hopkinson writes that Mussolini declared all tendencies should be admitted to the 1931 Roman Quadriennale. Hopkinson, *Italian Prints*, 21. Stone notes that the amalgamation of styles provided the "glue" between the regime and elites. Stone, *Patron State*, 69.

8
Hopkinson, *Italian Prints*, 25.

9
Stone, *The Patron State*, 25-94. See also Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 11-12, 35-36.

formalised as the Pact of Steel in 1939).[10] That union marked the end of efforts to promote Italian culture and ideology within the context of developments in Western Europe and ushered in attempts to impose Italy as leader of the new order in Europe.[11] With the establishment in 1938 of the National Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (Istituto nazionale per le relazioni culturali con l'estero, or IRCE) came the directive to disperse Italian culture abroad with the aim of showcasing how other cultures had benefitted from Roman traditions. The Venice Biennale, and other state-sponsored exhibitions, showcased nationalist, *italianità* and *romanità*—an aesthetic of *Romanness*, which stressed idealized forms inspired by imperial Rome but used to extol life under Fascism—styles to advance those goals.[12] Fabio Mauroner's *Il podere dei Mussolini (The Mussolini's Estate)* [fig. 1], displayed in 1938, was one among many prints that combine Italian Renaissance and Imperial Roman traditions to showcase life under fascism. This image of where Mussolini romped as a young boy employs perspectival traditions and chiaroscuro techniques codified in the 16th century, but here they serve to glorify the land and the leader. Maraini, Secretary-general of the Venice Biennale, supported images of "collective life of the nation" drawn from Italian artistic traditions, and with the establishment of prizes in 1938, an international jury of ideologically aligned individuals rewarded such efforts.[13] Though the prints were often out of step with advanced international styles, their subject matter conformed to the aesthetics championed in Fascist Italy.

fig. 1
Fabio Mauroner, *Il podere dei Mussolini (The Mussolini Estate)*, 1938. Etching. Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1938. Foto: Giacomelli, © Courtesy Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia – ASAC.

10
Stone, *The Patron State*, 176-221. Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities*, 11-12, 35-36. See also, David Forgacs, *Italian Culture in the Industrial Era* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1990). See also, Benjamin Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order For European Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016). See also R.T.J. Bosworth, *Mussolini and the Eclipse of Italian Fascism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021).

11
Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order For European Culture*, 75-144.

12
Stone, *The Patron State*, 136, 203.

13
Antonio Maraini, "XXI Biennale", *Le Tre Venézie* 13, no. 6 (June 1938): 183.

Mario Delitala's graphics bear witness to this development. He exhibited at multiple Biennales and in 1938 he received the top print prize, the Premio Presidente (so named for Ente President Count Volpi, who offered two prizes of 5,000 lire to one Italian and one foreign engraver), for his prints in the *italianità* style. The woodcut *Gente del 1938*, *Aratori (People of 1938*, *Ploughmen)* depicts figures leading oxen through the landscape of Barbagia, the inner region of Sardinia.[14] Delitala was born on the island and knew the people of the region, thus conveying what Maria Luisa Frongia has described as "a strong sense of belonging to a proud people".[15] The chiaroscuro present in the women and men moving animals through the fecund lands as light skims the horizon conveys nature's bounty reaped through the daily hard work of the Sardinians. *Il padre contadino (The peasant father)* sets a similar, ennobling tone but here colour enriches the agrarian scene. Delitala's formal techniques recall Ugo da Carpi's innovative chiaroscuro woodcuts, yet they reflect their time because the woodcut embodied connotations of the proletariat.[16] Giuseppe Bottai, in his remarks at the exhibition opening, praised works of this ilk, noting that they "stem from a tradition [...which] reached maturity at that moment [... conveying] a poetic universal spirit well understood by the masses who live it".[17]

In the last two Biennales before World War II, the *italianità* and *romanità* styles remained prevalent. Marcello Boglione (an etcher associated with the *I 25 della Campagna Romana* group) won the Premio Presidente in 1940 for his ethereal, delicate etchings of the Italian countryside and cityscapes, including *Torino – Piazza s. Giovanni (Turin—Square of St. John)*, which recall 17th- and 18th-century Italian *vedute*.[18] The top print prize for the foreign engraver went to Maurice Brocas of Belgium whose engraving *Paesaggio d'Italia (Landscape of Italy)* contains similar characteristics and a comparable tone.[19] Generally speaking, prints made a strong showing that year: the Belgian and USA pavilions, for example, both focused on the medium. However, artists from the United States protested Italy's role in the war and eventually withdrew.[20] Younger, less established artist were allotted space and some competed for prizes given to artists who best "illustrated the words of Il Duce",[21] as evident in Arturo Cavicchini's *Il Duce fra il popolo (Duce among the people)* and Tosca Scano's *Virtù fasciste (Fascist virtues)*. In the last edition before the war, Luigi Bartolini won the top prize for his etchings of the life and landscape of Italy, as seen in *Pescatore d'acqua dolce (Freshwater fisherman)*.[22] These prints reflected the ethos of Italian governing bodies rather than international art trends, but that would change in the post-war exhibitions.

14
They were part of a larger prize system; Mussolini offered two prizes, one to an Italian and one to a foreign painter of 25,000 lire each and the City of Venice sponsored awards for an Italian painter and sculptor of 25,000 lire each.

15
Maria Luisa Frongia, *Mario Delitala* (Nuoro, Italy: Ilisso Edizioni, 1999), 248-249, http://www.sardegnadigitallibrary.it/mmt/fullsize/2008122013490300475.pdf., accessed April 2021.

16
Frongia suggests Delitala's religious imagery recalls Tintoretto. See Frongia, *Mario Delitala*, 248-249.

17
Giuseppe Bottai quoted in Giuseppe Marchiori, "La ventunesima Biennale di Venezia", *Emporium* 87, no. 522 (Giugno 1938): 291.

18
For a history of this group see Renato Mammucari and Federica Acunto, *I XXV della campagna romana: 1904-2004* (Napoli: LER, 2004).

19
The Belgian pavilion also contained a principal retrospective of the Vaes Walter's engravings. The President of the Society of Graphic Art in Holland, H. Van Der Stok selected forty-six printmakers whose graphic work reflects "wisdom and passion". H. Van Der Stok, "Padiglione Dell'Olanda", *Catalogo XXIIa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1940), 268.

20
"Withdrawn from Venice", *Art Digest* 14, no. 18 (July 1940): 24.

21
Antonio Maraini, "Introduzione", *Catalogo XXIIa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1940), 8.

22
Luigi Ficacci, ed., *Luigi Bartolini alla Calcografica* (January 15-March 2, 1997), exh. cat. (Roma: Edizioni de Luca, 1997).

A New Spirit After the War

Giovanni Ponti and Rodolfo Pallucchini, respectively the Extraordinary Commissioner and Secretary General of the Biennale Board, described a new spirit in their 1948 catalogue essays; Ponti wrote of "individual voices" joining together in a "universal chorus" of colour, line and volume to convey a new "spiritual intensity".[23] Pallucchini, meanwhile, detected the emergence of a new European "spirit" in the climate of freedom.[24] Abstraction, as their words suggest, was the vehicle to liberate this new vitality, and thus they championed it and its origins in order to revitalise the exhibition, expunge nationalist rhetoric and align Italy with Western European traditions. In essence, they advocated a return to internationalism, and this commitment appears in the retrospectives of modern art that foregrounded their shared history and culture.[25] Yet other members of the Biennale Board, particularly Roberto Longhi, promoted contemporary realism.[26] Those board members, including Longhi, who championed realism sought to mirror and thus align themselves with communist ideologies that advanced Social Realism. This position led to conflicts with other board members, such as Ponti and Pallucchini, who endorsed abstraction in order to gesture toward gestural abstraction that flourished in Western Europe, and in so doing, sought an alliance with international, democratic states.[27]

This duality emerges in the exhibitions between 1948 and 1958. The first two editions after the war balanced realism and abstraction through numerous historical and international retrospectives as organisers sought to rectify the isolationism of the Fascist era.[28] A democratic character also materialises in the *bianco e nero* and personal shows. Fabio Mauroner, who died in 1948, was honored with a retrospective and his realist etchings hung alongside comparable prints.[29] Similarly, Mino Maccari won the Italian prize in 1948 for his engravings rendered, according to Robert Longhi, in a style "accessible to all".[30] Though not reflective of innovative styles, Maccari's satirical prints parody authority and human foibles and in so doing display the liberal tenet of free expression which post-war Italy valued as an antidote to restrictive fascist rhetoric. Still other prints staged more recent trends in modern art, including Giuseppe Viviani's metaphysical, surreal print *La gamba (The leg)*; two years later he won the Premio Presidente.[31] This balance also manifests in the print prizes offered by private entities in 1950; Giovanni Barbisan received an award for his sensitively rendered suburban scenes, *Verso sera (Towards evening)*,

23
Giovanni Ponti, "Prefazione", in *Catalogo XXIVa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1948), x.

24
Rodolfo Pallucchini, "Introduzione alla XXIV Biennale", in *Catalogo XXIVa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1948), xii.

25
Enzo di Martino notes that the retrospective exhibitions began in 1948 because they were "clearing a back log that had accumulated during the Fascist period". Enzo di Martino, *The History of the Venice Biennale, 1895-2005: Visual Arts, Architecture, Cinema, Dance, Music, Theater* (Venezia: Papiro Arte, 2005); Pascale Budillon Puma, *La Biennale di Venezia dalla guerra alla crisi, 1948-1968* (Bari: Casa Editrice Palomar, 1995), 90.

26
For a seminal text on the exchanges between Rodolfo Pallucchini and Robert Longhi, see Maria Cristina Bandera, *Il carteggio Longhi-Pallucchini: Le prime Biennali del dopoguerra 1948-1956* (Torino: Charta, 1999).

27
See Nancy Jachec, *Politics and Painting at the Venice Biennale, 1948-1964: Italy and the Idea of Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

28
Rodolfo Pallucchini, "The world's art at Venice", *ARTnews* 47, no. 5 (September 1948): 20.

29
Giulio Lorenzetti, "Fabio Mauroner", in *Catalogo XXIVa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1948), 40-41.

30
Roberto Longhi, "Mino Maccari: Mostra Personale", in *Catalogo XXIVa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1948), 145.

31
See Giuseppe Marino, *Giuseppe Viviani, incisioni e xilografie* (Rome: Edizioni Art Center, 1991).

while Arnoldo Ciarrocchi's semi-abstract etchings, including *Paesaggio (Landscape)*, claimed another prize.[32]

The two styles jockeyed for primacy in the following three editions, albeit with less vehemence than before. In 1952, abstraction and strains of Western European modernism triumphed over realism.[33] That year's graphic prizes went to Emil Nolde and the Italian artist Tono Zancanaro, whose quick line work captures a figure's essence. Realism prevailed in the 1954 and 1956 Venice Biennale's due in part to changes in the Biennale administration, in the government, and as a result of international events, but tensions remained.[34] Angelo Spanio replaced Ponti in 1954 and during his tenure realism enjoyed a strong showing even though those who championed abstraction pushed back, most notably Pallucchini.[35] The tension between the two is perhaps most evident in the 1954 print prizes, when the Premio Presidente went to three artists, instead of the usual two. Joan Mirò won the prize for best foreign artist while Paolo Manaresi and Cesco Magnolato shared the Italian print prize. Manaresi's realistic engravings, such as *Visione notturna n. 2 (Night vision n. 2)* [fig. 2], counter Cesco Magnolato's abstract etchings, including *Gelsi (Mulberries)* [fig. 3], that are composed of active energetic lines, compressed spaces,

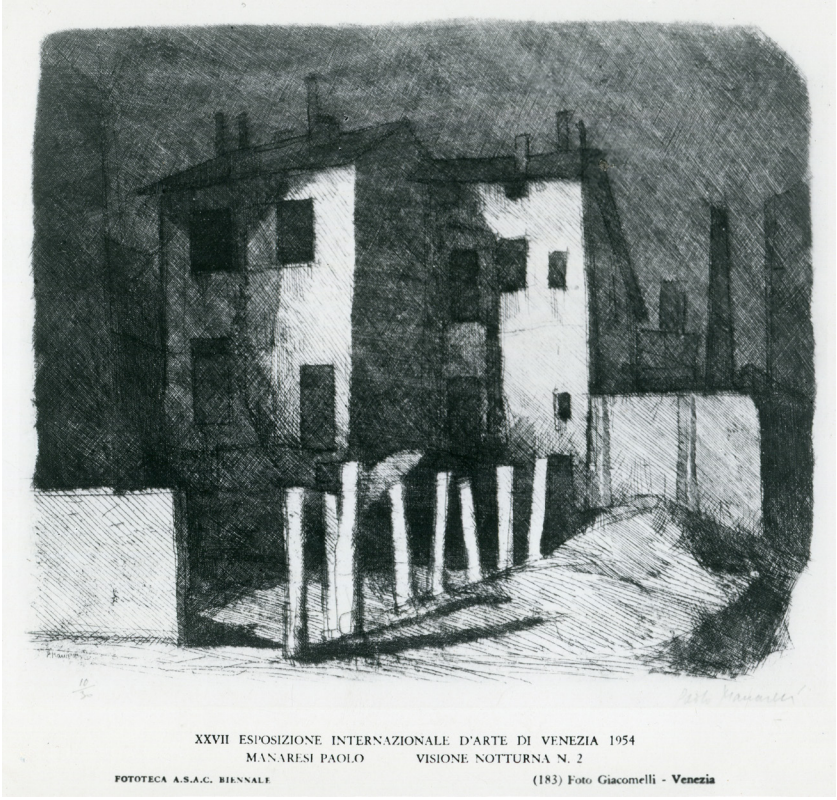

fig. 2
Paolo Manaresi, *Visione notturna n. 2, (Night Vision n. 2)*, 1953. Etching. Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1954 Foto: Giacomelli, © Courtesy Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia – ASAC

32
For a list of prizes see "Premi" in *Catalogo XXVa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1950), 22.

33
Nancy Jachec has argued the restructured Biennale board limited the power of realism. Nancy Jachec, "Anti-Communism at Home, Europeanism Abroad: Italian Cultural Policy at the Venice Biennale, 1948-1958", *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 2 (May 2005): 206-207, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20081256, accessed May 2021. Stefania Portinari has discussed the presence of the abstract-concrete tendency of the Group of Eight exhibited at the Venice Biennale of 1952. See Stefania Portinari, "Santomaso: l'opera grafica", *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 33 (2009): 493-512.

34
Ponti became the Minister of Tourism, Sport, and Spectacle. For an explanation of the politics see Jachec, "Anti-Communism at Home, Europeanism Abroad", 203-217.

35
Rodolfo Pallucchini, "Introduzione", in *Catalogo XXVIIa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1954), xxv-xxxviii.

and overlapping forms.[36] Awarding the top prize to one Italian artist working realistically and the other abstractly, foregrounds the debate among the Biennale's Board about which style was most suited to reinvigorate the Venice Biennale and which best bore the hallmarks of a new "spirit". The struggle raged on in 1956, and Pallucchini again vocalised his dismay at the "backward" choice to grant the large retrospective to Delacroix, with Gris and Mondrian receiving smaller, personal exhibitions.[37] However, it is important to note that the year's top prize went to Anton Zoran Mušić, whose bold abstractions, as seen in *Motivo dalmata (Dalmatian motif)*, radiated the "new spirit".

fig. 3
Cesco Magnolato, *Gelsi (Mulberries)*, 1954 (perhaps reprinted in 1959. Etching. https://museodelpaesaggio.ve.it/autore/cesco-magnolato/

Under Ponti and Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua (Segretary General installed in 1958 after Pallucchini resigned) the "new spirit" and internationalism emerged in Arte Informale (or Informalism). Ponti celebrated the expressive lines, material and vibrant colours employed by artists who matured in the post-war period, including Wols.[38] The display of Informalism in Venice, as Nancy Jachec has argued, communicated that the international exhibitions would be in "rapport" and competitive with contemporary, Western European culture, signaling Italy's renewed alignment with pro-democratic European states.[39] Exemplifying this direction, Great Britain displayed the work of vanguard printmaker, Stanley William Hayter. That year's Premio Presidente further evinces this commitment: Fayga Ostrower won the international prize while the Italian prize went to Lojze (Luigi) Spacal. The latter gained prominence after World War II for his woodcuts of bold, geometric shapes and flat expanses of colour that yield an abstracted landscape, "nourished by [the]

36
After meeting Morandi in the 1940s, Manaresi actively took up engraving. Manaresi became chair of Engraving at the Academy of Bologna in 1958 after Morandi retired. See Renato de Roli, ed. *Mostra antologica di Paolo Manaresi* (January 12-February 19, 1978), exh. cat. (Bologna: Compositori, 1978). Magnolato's Gelsi was shown in the 1954 exhibition, but he may have pulled another edition in 1959.

37
Rodolfo Pallucchini, "Introduzione", in *Catalogo XXVIIIa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1956), xxv-xxxiii. See also Jachec, "Anti-Communism at Home, Europeanism Abroad", 211.

38
Giovanni Ponti, "Prefazione", in *Catalogo XXIX Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte* (1958), lxii.

39
The "European Idea" aimed to establish a European economic community, and Italy's commitment to it signaled a unity with European nations. Jachec, "Anti-Communism at Home, Europeanism Abroad", 213-217.

popular primitivism of his homeland".[40] Fayga Ostrower (the Polish-born, Brazilian-based engraver) received the other prize for her wood engravings populated with prominent lines, geometric forms and lyrical washes of colour, as evident in *Forme in Grigio, Marrone e Rosso (Shapes in grey, brown and red)* [fig. 4].[41] Her mark-making most certainly matured during her time in Stanley William Hayter's atelier in 1955.[42] Ostrower became the first female artist to win the top printmaking prize, yet she was but one among many working to capture the "new spirit".

"The Strength of New Expressions (in Printmaking)"

fig. 4
Fayga Ostrower, *Forme in Grigo, Marrone e Rosso (Shapes in grey, brown and red),* Untitled (5826), 1958. Color woodcut on rice paper, 40 x 60 cm. XXIX Venice Biennial. Collection of the Fayga Ostrower Institute www.faygaostrower.org.br © Fayga Ostrower heirs. Image courtesy Anna Leonor Ostrower.

Informalism populated the 1960 and 1962 editions, though realism remained. In 1962, the main pavilion housed a group show of Italian Symbolist graphics, forty-two prints by Luigi Bartolini, and several abstract prints, including that year's prize winner Antonio Virduzzo, whose etchings teem with microscopic particles that clump and disperse across the composition.[43] A greater struggle was brewing about revisions to the Biennale statues, which were awaiting approval from Parliament in 1960. Tensions mounted in 1964 with Robert Rauschenberg's grand prize win, the arrival of American Pop art in Europe and Paris-New York rivalry.[44] With all

40
Massimo De Grassi cites the critic Giuseppe Marchiori, noting "The characteristic motifs of Spacal's perfect engravings belong to the reality of countries in which the artist lives [...] and the engraved images appear as symbols of a simple, elementary world, seen with candid eyes [...] rooted in an authentic popular tradition and in a culture that justifies it". Massimo De Grassi, "Pallucchini a Trieste: occasioni mancate", in *Saggi e Memorie di storia dell'arte* 35 (2011): 124, https://www.jstor.org/stale/43140563, accessed June 2021.

41
See Anna Paola Baptista and Vera Beatriz Siqueira, *Encontro de colecionadores: core de Fayga* (December 1, 2016 - May 20, 2017), exh. cat. (Rio de Janeiro: Museu da Chácara de Céu and Museus Castro Maya, 2017).

42
See Christine Weyl, *The Women of Atelier 17: Modernist Printmaking at Midcentury New York* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019).

43
Michel Seuphor described the "thousands of eyes looking at us from behind the same pupil". See Michel Seuphor, "Antonio Virduzzo", in *Catalogo della XXXIa Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte Venezia,* 2nd edition (1962), 73.

three came charges of corruption, the imposition of American imperialism and crass commercialism. The printed images in Rauschenberg's *combines* reflect another shift, namely an interest in and experimentation with printmaking. That same year, Angelo Savelli was rewarded for his innovative, ink-less (white-on-white) reliefs and two years later, in 1966, Ezio Gribaudo won the top prize for his inkless prints. While the emphasis on texture and surface echoes Lucio Fontana's slashed painting, the forms also reveal innovations and experimentation occurring in graphics. At that moment, a print renaissance was well underway in Italy, the United States and elsewhere.[45] Indeed, by the end of the 1960s, artists seeking alternatives to painting and sculpture, including those not formally trained as printmakers and who were working in various styles, tried their hand at working a stone or plate. Those who had begun to challenge the conventional status of the art object, to decentre the artist's authority, and to question institutional power found the print studio offered space to exchange ideas, flesh out concepts and pull prints in large numbers so that they were affordable and could circulate beyond the rarefied spaces of art. As a democratic, cooperative medium it offered a means to address the crisis within the Biennale which culminated in 1968.

Scholars have articulated various reasons for the protests surrounding the 34th edition of 1968, but utmost among them (and pertinent here) was the desire to renew the exhibition through, among other actions, eradicating commercialism and revising the restrictive, Fascist-era statutes.[46] For example, Chiara di Stefano has argued that protestors attacked the Biennale to decouple what they perceived as an "unholy alliance of art and money".[47] Others have noted that protestors sought the elimination of bourgeois culture and the politics of colonialism, seeking instead a new structure that would allow "social forces" to "participate democratically" in the planning and management of a large public institution.[48] After the police left, the protests ceased and tensions died down, the Biennale reopened (though some pavilions remained closed or half-installed) without the usual fanfare. Shortly before closing, prizes were awarded; it would be the last time until they were resumed in 1986. Just one artist received the print prize, which went to the German artist Horst Janssen for his representational, yet fantastically rendered, etchings that evoke the energetic linework and colour washes of Egon Schiele's portraits.[49] Disruptions at the 1968 edition and the long-sought revisions to the Biennale statutes shaped the 1970 edition.

In the wake of the protests and at a March 1969 meeting, the Working Committee of the Assembly of the Biennale discussed ways to revise the show while waiting for Parliamentary approval of the new statutes. They suggested that the show would benefit from focusing on experimentation with "consultation and collaboration from representatives of the art world", freeing the exhibitions from diplomatic influence, restructuring admission fees, eliminating the competitive nature most obviously demonstrated in juries awarding prizes and removing divi-

44
Philip Rylands and Enzo di Martino, *Flying the Flag for Art: The United States and the Venice Biennale, 1895-1991* (Richmond, Virginia: Wyldbore & Wolferstan, Ltd., 1993), 139-150.

45
For more recent histories of the print renaissance in the United States see Monica Rumsey, *Elizabeth Wyckoff, and Gretchen Wagner, Graphic Revolution: American Prints 1960 to Now* (November 11, 2018-February 3, 2019), exh. cat. (St. Louis, MO: St, Louis Art Museum, 2018). See also Susan Tallman, *The Contemporary Print: From Pre-Pop to Postmodern* (NY: Thames & Hudson, 1996). For a history of the revival in Italy see Hopkinson, *Italian Prints*, 81-82.

46
Lawrence Alloway, *The Venice Biennale, 1895-1968: From Salon to Goldfish Bowl* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1968), 24-25; Clarissa Ricci, ed. *Starting from Venice: Studies on the Biennale*, trans. by David Evans, Vincent Marsicano, and Bridget Mason (Milan: et al. Edizioni, 2010).

47
Chiara Di Stefano, "The 1968 Biennale. Boycotting the exhibition: An account of three extraordinary days", in *Starting from Venice*, 130-133.

48
Di Martino, *The History of the Venice Biennale*, 60-62.

49
For more information on the artist see, Claus Clément, et al., *Horst Janssen als angeber X: flegeleien und verneigungen* (Bielefeld, Germany: Kerber, 2012).

sions deemed inappropriate in light of the increasing interdisciplinary character of contemporary art.[50] These shifts would be more responsive to the needs of artists in light of recent artistic developments as well as social and cultural unrest. The following autumn specifications were provided when the foreign commissioners gathered at the headquarters of the Biennale at Ca' Giustinian.[51] Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua (Extraordinary Commissioner) intimated to those present that the Biennale Board had considered postponing the show while waiting for approval of the new statutes, but they concluded that this fraught moment should be highlighted in the Biennial of Visual Arts as had been done with music, cinema and theatre that year.[52] What also proved successful was the abolishment of divisions and competition, focusing instead upon "the participation of authors rather than the nations to which they belong".[53] Emphasis on creative experimentation, Dell'Acqua added, could serve to renew the institution long term but more immediately it would guide the 1970 Visual Arts exhibition, which would be titled *A Proposal for an Experimental Exhibition: Criticism, Research, and Experimentation*.[54] This revitalised Biennale would be integrative: its ateliers staffed with Italian and foreign artists, period exhibitions, applied arts and new mass communication technologies. Dell'Acqua encouraged similar in the displays themselves. Dr. Zorn Krizisnik, commissioner from Yugoslavia, indicated that their pavilion could run a tapestry workshop, but many others thought that there was not enough time to develop such a project.[55] The United States Commissioner, Lois Bingham shared her plans to exhibit prints and run a printmaking workshop.

Epistolary exchanges between Bingham, Dell'Acqua and Umbro Apollonio reveal that talks about revitalisation began during the vernissage of 1968.[56] They discussed the larger issues facing the Biennale and concluded that the international event should be as "pertinent" to the current "situation as the first Biennial was to its own decade".[57] Bingham suggested to Dell'Acqua that a workshop environment could transform the show, and that it could be precisely the democratic environment protestors sought. These ideas crystallised into a proposal that Bingham sent to Dell'Acqua in August of 1969. She noted that the "involvement of the people is as important as the display of art".[58] To that end, she proposed dividing the American pavilion into "two parts [...] a workshop and exhibition area".[59]

50
Working Committee for innovating experimentation of the organisation's activities, April 2, 1969, Record Unit 321 (hereafter RU), Box 176, Folder 70-03—Research and Planning (54 of 138), Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter SIA).

51
Comitato di Lavoro dell'Assemblea del Personale della Biennale Di Venezia, November 15, 1969, Arti Visive serie, busta 166, fascicolo: Illumini Giardini. Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice (hereafter ASAC).

52
Lois Bingham, Notes from December 10, 1969 meeting with Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua, Apollonio, Bruno Orlando, Luigi Scarpa and commissioners from various nations, RU 321, Box 176, Folder 70-03—Research and Planning (54 of 138), SIA.

53
Professor Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua to U.S. Ambassador, August 23, 1969, Arti Visive serie, busta 169, fasciolo: corrispondenza con i commissari Stati Uniti d'America, ASAC.

54
It was a theme of sorts, the first of its kind, though not considered as such because official themes did not begin in earnest until 1972. La Programmazione Generale delle Attività della Biennale nel 1970, February 25, 1970, Arti Visive serie, busta 169, ASAC.

55
The representative from Denmark, M. Mogens Andersen, for example, claimed the proposal was too difficult to carry out in the time remaining. Bingham, Notes from December 10, 1969 meeting, SIA.

56
Lois Bingham to Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua, August 26, 1969, RU 321, Box 176, Folder 70-03—Research and Planning (54 of 138), SIA. See also Professor Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua to Lois Bingham, September 20, 1969, RU 321, Box 173, Folder 70-03, Correspondence (18 of 138), SIA.

57
Bingham to Dell'Acqua, August 26, 1969, SIA.

58
Umbro Apollonio was assistant Secretary General of the 1968 show and then Director in 1970). Bingham to Dell'Acqua, August 26, 1969, SIA.

This new structure would create a "magnetic point" where "creative experimentation would be emphasised", fulfilling "the desire of artists around the world [...] to become better acquainted with each other's techniques, philosophies and concepts of art".[60] Exchange of ideas and emphasis on process, rather than the end product, would be the ultimate goal. Dell'Acqua responded positively to the proposal, recognising the development of her earlier idea, but he could not give Bingham an official reply because the Working Committee at that point was mired in discussions about ways to renew the show.[61]

After the December meetings and with the official program set in January of 1970, Bingham began working with that year's curator, Henry Hopkins, to set in motion her proposal for a print exhibition and workshop, with a rotating roster of artists from the United States, Europe, the Mediterranean, Italy and Southeast Asia. Hopkins and Bingham also focused on the medium because of "the strength of new expressions in printmaking".[62] Bingham argued that "a lot of good artists who are not straight printmakers have become increasingly involved with the graphic arts".[63] Yet, more important than the display of new graphics was the inclusion of a print workshop. Artists could pull screen prints at the station outside the US pavilion or on the lithograph presses inside, where the newly installed large window created a theatre of lithography and allowed visitors to view printmakers at work [fig. 5]. The exhibition spread outside the Giardini to the former US Consulate located along the Grand Canal, where more lithograph presses and screen print stations were housed.[64] The organisers brought together artists from the United States and abroad to experiment, share philosophies and exchange ideas; the programme's success, they argued, depended upon those interactions.[65] For Hopkins, the format was new and idealistic, but not everyone was as optimistic.[66] Of the forty-seven artists selected, twenty-six refused to participate: they did not want the government (in the guise of Bingham) to use "their art as a cultural veneer to cover ruthless aggres-

59
Lois Bingham, *An Experiment Proposed for the XXXV Venice International Biennial of Art*, August 26, 1969, Box 176, Folder 70-03—Research and Planning (54 of 138), SIA.

60
Bingham, *An Experiment Proposed,* August 26, 1969, SIA.

61
Dell'Acqua to Bingham, September 20, 1969, SIA.

62
Henry Hopkins, Director's Statement, American Printmaking, June 15, 1970, RU 321, Box 175, Folder 70-03—Publicity (51 of 138), SIA.

63
Grace Glueck, "US Plans Shifts in Biennale Role", *The New York Times*, February 14, 1970, https://nyti.ms/3f6eSdk, accessed September 2017.

64
Most of the workshop production took place in the former U.S. consulate because the environment was less distracting, but also because it was cooler than the pavilion. Participant Bud Shark recalled that the sun radiating through the glass wall heated up the workshop, making it too hot to work in for most of the day during July and August. Bud Shark, interview by the author, January 4, 2018.

65
Henry Hopkins stated "It remains true [...] that the most public part, but not necessarily the most meaningful part of our participation, is an exhibition [...]. The most extensive and complex sections of our participation are the workshops in lithography and silkscreen. Workshop emphasis is to be placed upon experimentation and idea exchange rather than product". Hopkins, Director's Statement, June 15, 1970, SIA. See also Lois Bingham, Statement about the Venice Biennial Plan for 1970, May 8, 1970, RU 321, Box 174, Folder 70-03—Fundraising for the 1970 Venice Biennale, Summary of Activities (28 of 138), SIA. Joshua Taylor, Director of the National Collection of Fine Arts, stated the exhibitions aims: "We plan that the United States representation at the Biennial this year serve as the occasion for discussions and exchanges of insights among artists and between artists and the public. We hope that people from many nations will join us". This announcement was posted in the pavilion; it also acknowledges those who withdrew. Joshua Taylor, American Printmaking, 1970 35th Venice Biennale, June 15, 1970, RU 321, Box 175, Folder 70-03—Publicity (51 of 138), SIA.

66
Henry Hopkins stated the guiding principle was "to develop a manageable pilot project involving multiple image graphic arts which would include exhibition, participation, workshops in lithograph and silkscreen, communication and documentation, which would extend beyond national boundaries and which would reach toward the realm of creative interaction for the visiting public as well as for the invited participants [...]. Obviously, the results of this interaction are not predictable; yet it is our hope that it will open new avenues of approach and communication". Hopkins, Director's Statement, June 15, 1970, SIA.

fig. 5
John Dowell, Jack Damer, and Margaret Cogswell at the lithograph press installed in the US Pavilion, Summer 1970. 35. Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1970. Photo by author from Smithsonian Institution Archives. RU 321, Box 165

sion abroad and intolerable repression at home".[67] Many withdrew. The organisers eventually accepted their decision, noting their withdrawal with an asterisk in the catalogue and a sign in the pavilion, that read in brief: "We are in sympathy with the seriousness of their concern and respect their action, even though we regret it".[68]

Edward Ruscha considered withdrawing but changed his mind after his friend Henry Hopkins asked him to participate as the first visiting artist.[69] He worked with staff artists William Weege and Jack Damer to produce *Chocolate Room* [fig. 6]. Using twenty-eight tubes of Nestlé chocolate acquired at Venice's Standa supermarkets, the artists silkscreened the sticky substance onto sheets of paper and installed them in the front room in the left wing, a space that remained vacant due to the withdrawal of many artists.[70] According to Ruscha and others, people quickly began writing graffiti in the chocolate, "for peace or anti-Vietnam or anti-American slogans and also just vulgarisms".[71] Then came the flies followed by ants, climbing and, as one critic quipped, "buzzing with enthusiasm of [an] obviously avant-garde taste".[72] The destructive force of the ants, the visitors' gestures and the humid temperatures continually degraded the work of art; none of this upset Ruscha, who

67
Emergency Cultural Government, Call for An Emergency Cultural Government, June 8, 1970, RU 321, Box 172, Folder 70-03—Venice 35, Emergency Cultural Government Letter/Master File (14 of 138), SIA. For the most recent account see of the ECG activities, see Caroline V. Wallace, "'Show Opened to All Artists': The 1970 Liberated Venice Biennale and the Production of Dissent", *Oxford Art Journal* 44, no. 1 (March 2021): 125-145, doi:10.1093/oxartj/kcaa033, accessed October 2021.

68
Taylor, *American Printmaking,* June 15, 1970, SIA.

69
Ruscha wrote Henry Hopkins on June 12, 1970 "It looks like I'll see you on the 17th (Wed.) sometime. I've decided to can my idea of withdrawing from the exhibit". Edward Ruscha to Henry Hopkins, June 12, 1970, RU 321, Box 173, Folder 70-03—Correspondence (18 of 138), SIA. In an interview, Hopkins stated that Ruscha referred to the show as a "national scandal" but accepted the invitation as a favour and because of their "personal friendship". Henry Hopkins, interview by Wesley Chamberlin, October 24-December 17, 1980, Oral History Program, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (hereafter AAA).

70
According to Hopkins, the chocolate's packaging looked like paint tubes. Hopkins, interview by Chamberlin, AAA.

71
Hopkins also witnessed people licking their fingers and wiping "dirty words and things" into the works. Henry Hopkins, interview by Chamberlin, AAA.

72
Dorothy Cameron, "Summer '70: The Crisis of Canada International: Part 2: Venice", *Artscanada* 27 (January 1971): 44. Lois Bingham also referred to the ants and suggested "a cremation ceremony". Lois Bingham notes to Bill Dunn, June 26, 1970, RU 321, Box 175, Folder 70-03—Miscellaneous (43 of 138), SIA.

meant for the work to be ephemeral, made for that space and time.[73] Temporary print installations by Weege, Damer, John Dowell, Bud Shark and visiting artist Romas Viesulas followed. Additional visiting artists included Lisa Mackie from the United States, Per Arnoldi from Copenhagen, Michel Fossick of London, Rena Tzolakis, Greek-born artist based in Paris, Ibrahim Hussein from Kuala Lumpur and the Italian artist Bruno Giaquinto.[74] Though not considered a critical success, the participants viewed the experience positively. For example, Rena Tzolakis wrote that "personal contacts with remarkable people, all contributed to an atmosphere of intense and rewarding creativity", and Michael Fossick reflected on how "everybody involved was both living and working together in the same building, which proved to be a good experience".[75] While all the interactions, activities and some two hundred prints produced cannot be detailed here, it's important to recognise that the collective activity and experimentation yielded "new expressions" in printmaking.[76]

fig. 6
Edward Ruscha, *Chocolate Room*, June 1970, U.S.A. Pavilion, Screen prints of Nestlé chocolate. 35. Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1970. Donation of Mary Anne Goley, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Photograph by Mary Anne Goley.

Ateliers in the main pavilion provided Italian and foreign artists with space to work together, share ideas and pull prints [fig. 7]. The medium proved to be a logical choice because of the abundant activity and interest in printmaking throughout Italy.[77] Additionally, printmaking's interactive process necessitates communication between artists across the space of a studio and therefore it offered the perfect vehicle to foster experimentation and exchange. Twenty-six artists, nominated by national commissioners and other experts, participated in the serigraph and plastics ateliers for a period of two to three weeks, rotating in groups of four.[78] Artists in the print laboratory included Alfonso Hüppi of Baden-Baden,

73
In an interview with Margit Rowell, Ruscha acknowledged that "after it was over, the room was destroyed". Margit Rowell, "Ed Ruscha et ses biennales de Venise", *Art Press* 13 (June 2005): 34-9.

74
William Weege and other artists working in the U.S. pavilion relied upon Fiorenzo Fallani's serigraph studio to print posters and help with other printing needs. Additionally, Stamperia 2RC Edizioni Grafiche in Rome lent a press and supplies, a vital component according Bud Shark. Bud Shark, interview with the author, January 4, 2018.

75
Rena Tsolakis to Peg Cogswell, April 5, 1971, RU 321, Box 179, Folder 70-03-Venice XXXV, Rena Tzolakis (109 of 138), SIA. Michael Fossick to Peg Cogswell, May 14, 1971, RU 321, Box 179 Folder 70-03-Venice XXXV, Michael Fossick (97 of 138), SIA.

76
They form the subject of a large project by the author, currently underway.

77
For a list of publishers and presses, see Hopkinson, *Italian Prints: 1875-1975*, 81-82.

fig. 7
Ricerca e progettazione, 35. Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1970 © Courtesy Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia – ASAC

Germany, Andrej Jemec of Ljubljana, Jean Lecoultre of Lausanne and the Italian artists Fernando De Filippi of Milan, Carlo Lorenzetti of Rome, Fabrizio Plessi of Venice and Ernesto Tatafiore of Naples.[79] Among the 631 prints produced is Hüppi's serigraph *Opera 2 (Palma Rosa)*, a minimalist composition containing an abstracted palm tree nestled between two earthen mounds.[80] Plessi created the serigraph *Mestificazione dell'acqua*, reflecting the recurring theme of water in the artist's oeuvre. During an edition's run, prints were placed around the atelier to guide artists and laboratory assistants, but they were also available for review and purchase by the audience. Laboratory coordinator G. Franco Tramontin observed that participants of "different stylistic approaches, of different tendencies, linked in their aesthetic convictions, have the possibility of an encounter, of an exchange of experiences both on the technological and on the critical level".[81] The dialogue, in Tramontin's estimation, "between operators and between the operator and spectator can inform not only the final part of the work, but also possible variations, creating a new experience, a new possibility to understand, to know".[82] The collaborative

78
Umbro Apollonio to Renè Berger, March 25, 1970, Arti Visive serie, busta 175, fascicolo: Produzione manuale e meccanica, ASAC.

79
For the full list of artists see, Arti Visive serie, busta 173, fascicolo: Biennale 1970. Produzioni grafiche ed oggetti: elenchi, ASAC.

80
Confortanti risultati della 35. Biennale di Venezia nella partecipazione del pubblico e nell'interesse della stampa, Arti Visive serie, busta 171, ASAC. For more information on the artist's prints see Thomas Hirsch and Rosa von der Schulenburg, *Alfonso Hüppi: Druckwerke mit einem Verzeichnis der Druckwerke 1953 bis 2006* (Köln: Salon Verlag, 2007).

81
G. Franco Tramontin, "Note sui laboratori", in Umbro Apollonio, Luciano Caramel and Dietrich Mahlow (eds.), *Ricerca e Progettazione: Proposte per una esposizione sperimentale* (Venezia: Ente Autonomo, La Biennale di Venezia, 1970), 121.

nature of the studio and the activation of the viewer allowed for an open and democratic environment and these aspects, according to Dell'Acqua, could help renew the Biennale.[83]

The focus on exchanges "of experiences on both the technological and critical level" among artists and audiences of varied nationalities in Venice parallel contemporary art practices that included the "dematerialisation" of the art object, but they also unveil moments of transnationalism. Transnationalism, according to Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in 1970 and more recently by Steven Vertovec in 2009, entails communication and interaction connecting people "across the borders of nation-states".[84] If we consider the pavilion as a microcosm of the nation state, then it is possible to conceive of the ateliers and the participating artists as working across borders, interacting and expanding their awareness and sensitivity to differing cultural and artistic conditions. Though not exactly planned or perhaps even sought by the organisers, the results of the interactions among participants and the prints created were certainly "pertinent" to that time and reflective of that day's "situation". After all, the removal of divisions and the activation of democratic and social forces through experimentation were the goals set forth by the Working Committee of the Assembly of the Biennale as they sought to renew the exhibition. After it closed, the prints produced on site were then shared with audiences in Milan, where graphics by twelve artists who had participated in the special ateliers were displayed at Rizzoli Galleria and were sold to "the interested public at deliberately low prices, in order to make them accessible to different social strata".[85]

The Legacy: Aspetti Della Grafica Europea 1971

Some individuals were sceptical of the organisers' ability to revitalise the exhibition through innovative programmes, in part because they were operating under the old statutes. In fact, a group of artists, writers, filmmakers, musicians and theatre personnel lead by Mario Penelope accused the administrators of not making changes and thus perpetuating authoritarianism, paternalism and bureaucracy.[86] In popular form, they protested and appealed to others to do the same.[87] Perhaps because of his actions, Penelope was appointed Special Commissioner the following year, 1971. Acting on behalf of the Biennale that year, he set about organising an exhibition of graphic art, *Aspetti Della Grafica*. Displayed at the Ca' Pesaro, the exhibition included both established and younger artists whose work demonstrated innovation, variety and a global reach.[88] Penelope also sought to include graphics that offered autonomous expressions, unique from their work in another medi-

82
Tramontin, *Ricerca e Progettazione*, 121.

83
Prof. Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua to Onorevole Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, April 15, 1970, Arti Visive serie, busta 170, fascicolo: Premi, ASAC. Visitors were invited produced a black-and-white image using the Xerox machine with the assistance of workshop staff.

84
Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973). See also Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

85
Il lavoro degli Ateliers grafici della 35. Biennale esposto a Milano al Centro Rizzoli, Arti Visive serie, busta 176, fascicolo: Biennale 1971, Comunicati Stampa, ASAC.

86
Mario Penelope, Oggetto Manifestazioni della Biennale di Venezia, February 11, 1970 (Comitato Nazionale Italiano dell'associazione internazionale delle arti plastiche—Ente associato all'Unesco), Arti Visive serie, busta 166, fascicolo: Varie, ASAC.

87
This letter of protest, signed by Penelope, included a list of thirty-three individuals representing the visual arts as well as music, cinema and theatre. Mario Penelope, Oggetto Manifestazioni della Biennale di Venezia, ASAC.

um.[89] He invited five artists from each nation with a pavilion in Giardini (Biennale exhibition grounds) to submit two works of art for inclusion and dedicated a special section to works produced by Italian publishers and printers. The works of art were available for sale with the majority of the proceeds going to the artist or owner.[90] By the time the exhibition closed in November, seventy-nine works, by fifty-one of the ninety-five artists, had sold.[91] The exhibition, he surmised from press reviews and attendance records, had achieved a wide resonance.[92] Its success perhaps prompted an installation of experimental graphics for the press at the 1972 Venice Biennale, which included radical innovations and an international panorama of graphic research.[93] The following year the Italian Parliament approved the Biennale's new statutes, which were in place for the next Biennale. By that time, the renaissance in printmaking and the interest in special displays had subsided. Between 1938 and 1972, when prints had received special displays and awards, they offered a picture of the shifting aesthetic, cultural and at times political world in which they were situated.

88
Andrej Jemec produced serigraphs in the experimental atelier at the 35. Biennale and was one of five artists who represented Yugoslavia in *Aspetti della grafica*. Mario Penelope, ed., *Aspetti della grafica* (September 3-October 31, 1971), exh. cat. (Venice: La Biennale, 1971). Mario Penelope, Mostra della Grafica Europea Alla Biennale di Venezia, August 30, 1971, Arti Visive serie, busta 176, fascicolo: Biennale 1971, Comunicati Stampa, ASAC.

89
Enzo di Martino has pointed out the democratic nature of printmaking. Di Martino, *The History of the Venice Biennale*, 63.

90
The Biennale kept fifteen percent of the proceeds. Mario Penelope to Richard Lohse, Arti Visive serie, busta 176, fascicolo: Biennale 1971, Comunicati Stampa, ASAC.

91
Conclusa con successo la Mostra Grafica della Biennale (11/B/71), Arti Visive serie, busta 176, fascicolo: Biennale 1971, Comunicati Stampa, ASAC.

92
Conclusa con successo la Mostra Grafica della Biennale, ASAC.

93
Mario Penelope, ed., *Aspetti della grafica europea Grafica sperimentale per la stampa, Catalogo XXXVI Esposizione Biennale Internazionale D'Arte* (1972), 9.

Author's Biography

Professor Jennifer Noonan specialises in art of the 20th century, with a particular focus on the history of prints and international exhibitions. Her research has appeared in *Print Quarterly* and has been supported by the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, the Terra Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Smithsonian American Art Museum and a Tyson Fellowship at Crystal Bridges. Her current book project (Routledge) provides the first written account of the International Art Program's Graphic Arts Workshop, considering its activities as one element of the soft diplomacy that advanced U.S. interests in the increasingly complex and shifting geopolitical landscape of the Cold War.