

International Yearbook of Futurism Studies

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Edited by
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Günter Berghaus

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Günter Berghaus

Editorial

The International Yearbook of Futurism Studies has reached the end of its first decade of existence. Time to look back at what has been achieved, what this volume brings to its readers and what we intend to do in the near future.

In 2009, De Gruyter gave us a test period of three years, then extended to five, to see if there was a need for a periodical that would serve as a channel of communication between Futurism scholars based in countries other than Italy or Russia – generally considered to be the ‘natural home’ of Futurism scholarship. Having worked in Italy for more than twenty years, I was fully aware that hardly any of the Futurism experts there could read Russian; and as I subsequently learned, very few Russian colleagues followed Italian research into Futurism. Added to which, neither communities of scholars had much knowledge of the lively research into Futurism that was being carried out in Northern Europe, Asia or the Americas. Way back in the 1960s and 70s this may have been understandable, as the literature on Futurism was then predominantly concerned with Italy and Russia and written in Italian and Russian. But by the time I had become a serious Futurism scholar, this was not the case any longer.

After the epochal 1986 Palazzo Grassi exhibition *Futurismo e futurismi* had presented the international ramifications of Marinetti’s movement, a long series of international exhibitions raised Futurism to a status on a par with Expressionism, Dada and Surrealism. Consequently, Futurism entered the syllabus of academic institutions and became a standard topic not only in courses on Italian or Russian art and literature, but also Hispanic Studies, Slavonic Studies, Cultural Studies, Theatre History, Music History, etc. In 2000, I published a short bibliographic guide to the literature that investigated Futurism on an international scale. It listed 2,350 publications written in more than a dozen languages. In the run-up to the 2009 Centenary of Futurism, I agreed with De Gruyter to issue an updated and expanded version of this bibliography and to include several thousand new items which had come to my notice in the intervening years. 2009 turned out to be a bumper year for Futurism. It not only brought hundreds of exhibitions and 68 symposia at which nearly one thousand papers were presented, but also 600 book publications on Futurist art and artists.

Work on the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies* extended my range of international contacts, many of whom became contributors to the still expanding bibliographic handbook, with the result that by 2013 my database had reached the previously unexpected size of 25,000 entries, with less than half of

them written in Italian or Russian. Thus, there was no doubt in my mind that Futurism Studies had become an international discipline. However, most of the research was still pursued in institutions dedicated to national cultures. Language barriers, in the first instance, prevented people from investigating the similarities and differences between the manifold Futurisms that existed around the globe.

Looking back at ten years of editing the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies*, I can say that I met many colleagues who shared my frustration with the lack of communication between scholars working in closely related fields. Between 2009 and 2012, I attended some twenty-five conferences in order to present the Yearbook and my research into the global reach of Futurism; and on each occasion people approached me with suggestions for an essay that they felt should get translated for an international readership. Thus, my network grew and now encompasses more than 700 scholars around the world. They regularly inform me about books or PhD theses which they think could be of interest to the wider community of Futurism scholars. Especially younger scholars outside the Western strongholds of learning are keen to send me English language summaries of their research. Consequently, every year I receive more essays than I can possibly accommodate in our volumes.

The ten issues published between 2010 and 2020 demonstrate that International Futurism Studies is a thriving academic discipline, to which we have contributed some 5,600 pages of studies concerned with Futurist activities in over 30 countries and on 3 continents. It is encouraging to see how the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies* has enriched and broadened our knowledge of the world-wide circulation of Futurist ideas in the years 1909–1945.

Volume 10 again examines how the innovative impulses that came from Italy were creatively merged with indigenous traditions and how many national variants of Futurism emerged from this fusion. The Futurists in many countries demonstrated how historical precursors, ancient and modern, could serve as a source of inspiration, just as much as the ideas emanating from Italy and Russia. Mzia Chikhradze, for example, acquaints us in this issue with the case of Ilya Zdanevich, who undertook research into the ancient culture of Georgia because he felt that the Caucasian Futurism he wanted to create had to combine selected features of Marinetti's aesthetics with the 'deep past', i.e. the national roots which, since the fourth century, had given his country such a vibrant creative tradition. In our previous volume, dedicated to Russian Futurism, we presented parallel cases that showed how the traditions and ancient monuments of the Scythians – a civilization that flourished from c. 900 BC to c. 200 BC in central Eurasia (ancient Hylea) – had inspired artists of the twentieth

century to the point that some of them chose to call themselves Hylaeans (*Gileia*) rather than Futurists.¹

Yet, such borrowing of ideas from ancient sources did not prevent the Futurists from producing works of absolute ‘originality’, which, of course, was one of the key concepts of Modernism and of the historical avant-garde. However, if we look at previous decades, or even centuries, we notice that neither ‘originality’ nor ‘imitation’ were ever clear-cut concepts. In previous volumes of the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies* we discussed the relations between Primitivism and Futurism in Peru, Brazil, the Caribbean, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, Poland, Estonia and other countries. The artists and writers examined did not participate in the age-old *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* but rather sided with Immanuel Kant, who distinguished between *Nachfolge* (aemulatio) und *Nachahmung* (imitatio) and recommended in his *Critique of the Power of Judgment*

not to undertake misguided attempts [...] to turn their successors into mere imitators, but rather put others by means of their method on the right path to seek out the principles in themselves and thus to follow their own, often better, course. [...] Emulation, which refers to a process, not imitation, is the right expression for all influence that products of an exemplary author can have on others.²

As many contributions in volumes 1–10 of the yearbook show, ‘originality’ also demanded an emancipation from the precepts proclaimed by Marinetti et al. Futurists all over the world not only fought against academic institutions, but also the modern (*scilicet* Futurist) tradition based in Italy or Russia. This is why ‘influence’ is such a questionable term in our context, no less, in fact, than ‘imitation’ was to the Classicists.

Johann Joachim Winckelmann wrote in 1755: “The only way for us to become great and, indeed, if this is possible, to become inimitable, is to imitate

¹ See also in previous volumes of the yearbook the essays by Michael Kunichika on “Primitivism and Scythianism in Russian Futurism” and by Irene Chytraeus-Auerbach and Lisa Hanstein on “The Russian Avant-garde and Its Eastern Roots”.

² “Es ist gar kein Gebrauch unserer Kräfte, [welcher] nicht in fehlerhafte Versuche gerathen würde, wenn nicht Andere mit den ihrigen ihm vorgegangen wären, nicht um die Nachfolgenden zu blossen Nachahmern zu machen, sondern durch ihr Verfahren andere auf die Spur zu bringen, um die Principien in sich selbst zu suchen und so ihren eigenen, oft besseren, Gang zu nehmen. [...] *Nachfolge*, die sich auf einen Vorgang bezieht, nicht *Nachahmung*, ist der rechte Ausdruck für allen Einfluß, den Producte eines exemplarischen Urhebers auf Andere haben können.” Kant: *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, § 32. “Erste Eigentümlichkeit des Geschmacksurteils”, in *Sämmtliche Werke* IV, pp. 145–146.

the ancients.”³ When we examine this well-known adage more closely, we notice that the paradox of “becoming inimitable by way of imitating” suggests that even in Classicist aesthetics ‘imitation’ did not mean a sterile and mechanical ‘copying’. Artists, we learn, should be inspired by an ideal to create an art that is equal in quality to that of the ancients. Kant’s *aemulatio* means: competing with a model and surpassing the example set by tradition. In this sense, tradition acts like a pool of resources that needs to be carefully sifted, and that which has been gathered and found useful should then be combined wisely and transformed into a new creation.⁴

A similar process can be observed amongst the artists we are concerned with here in our yearbook. The creative appropriation of ideas emanating from Italy or Russia and their combination with indigenous traditions and/or aesthetic concepts originating in coeval art movements turned International Futurism into a highly complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Artists inspired by Futurism created something original that moved beyond the inspiration received from abroad or from older traditions. Their works simultaneously integrated and rejected the models emulated, thus opening up a fluid field of transformation and assimilation.

Many of the processes mentioned above can be found elucidated in this issue of the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies* in **Section 1: Futurism Studies**, which opens with an essay by Giacomo Coronelli, **The Futurist Manifestos of 1909: Dates and Editions Reconsidered**. It re-examines the genesis of the foundational manifesto of Futurism in the light of new material that has recently emerged on the antiquarian book market, including Marinetti’s first Futurist press release, of which no copy was previously known. Coronelli has concerned himself for many years with the editorial history of Futurist manifestos. The new material brought to light in 2019 overturned a number of assumptions in his previous narratives. The essay published here invalidates many previous studies on the subject and demonstrates that even issues of fundamental importance – such as the foundation of the Futurist movement – have not been finally settled and require a great deal of further research. **Guicciardo Sassoli de’ Bianchi Strozzi** (Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Storico Artistici, Università di Bologna) discusses

3 “Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten.” Johann Joachim Winckelmann: “Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst”, p. 2.

4 The Classicists, in fact, follow in this Seneca’s bee metaphor which said that we ought to imitate the bees in the way they gather from flowers various kinds of nectar and transform this harvest into a unique blend that is fundamentally different from its original components. See Seneca: *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*. Liber XI, Epist. LXXXIV. § 3–5.

Margherita Sarfatti, Novecento and Futurism. Much has been written about the two competing artistic tendencies in 1920s Italy: Novecento and Futurism. Yet, despite their unquestionable competition for public attention, for State sponsorship and recognition as the most representative reflection of the period's *zeitgeist*, several key members in both groups were on friendly terms with each other and collaborated in joint projects. Sassoli, who recently co-curated two exhibitions on Margherita Sarfatti held at the Casa d'Arte Futurista Depero in Rovereto and the Museo di Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, paints a less familiar picture of this journalist, art critic and patron of the avant-garde. During the 1910s, she entertained an amicable relationship with the Futurist leader F. T. Marinetti. Her Milanese salon in Corso Venezia was frequented by Futurists of all colours; and even later, when she had become a key representative of the 'return to order' in the Italian art world, she did not cut herself off from her former friends. But the very fact that ex-Futurists such as Mario Sironi and Achille Funi now operated under her umbrella and promoted a 'new classicism' made conflicts unavoidable.

Using documents from the Fondo Sarfatti at MART, Rovereto, Sassoli explores Sarfatti's activity within the Futurist ambit of the 1910s. He characterizes her campaign for the Novecento group in the 1920s and analyses the conflicts between Futurism and Novecento when both tried to establish themselves as the hegemonic artistic movement in the Fascist State. In this essay we are not only given a complex picture of the fate of Futurism under the conditions of a Fascist State, but also learn how Marinetti's perceived enemy, supposedly courted by the régime, ended up in exile in Latin America. Clearly, things were not quite as clearcut in Fascist Italy as many critics would like to make us believe.

Gábor Dobó and Merse Pál Szeredi (Kassák Múzeum, Budapest) paint an equally complex picture of **Futurism in the Network of Avant-garde Journals**. Their essay explores the functions of advertisements for each other in avant-garde periodicals after the First World War. These 'network diagrams' constructed a virtual avant-garde community, and Dobó and Szeredi examine the rôle that Futurism played in this, especially after Marinetti issued his manifesto *Le Futurisme mondial* and attempted to re-conquer Futurism's position within the international avant-garde. Dobó and Szeredi analyse how the artists and groups mentioned in Marinetti's manifesto defined their own position in the avant-garde and how Futurism fared in the network advertisement, usually printed on the last page(s) of the magazines. Dobó and Szeredi's analysis demonstrates in no uncertain terms how the Italian movement lost its avant-garde image due to its compromises with the Fascist régime and how, in the second half of the 1920s, it was gradually replaced by International Constructivism.

Arturo Larcati (Stefan Zweig Zentrum, Salzburg) returns to a topic we have repeatedly broached in the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies*: **The Reception of Futurism in Vienna during the 1920s and 30s**. As a German-speaking country, Austria participated in many debates conducted in Berlin and Munich but, due to its position in the Habsburg Empire, it also benefited from discursive and artistic influences coming from Hungary and Bohemia. Futurism arrived in Austria in December 1912, when the touring exhibition that had previously been shown in Paris, London, Berlin and other European cities, reached Vienna on its way from Munich (October–November 1912) to Budapest (January–February 1913). It gave rise to the Kineticism movement (also known as Kinetism), a method of art education developed by Franz Čížek and formally quite close to Futurism, Cubism and Expressionism. In terms of publicity, Austrian Futurism benefited greatly from the activities of Theodor Däubler, Ludwig Ficker and his magazine *Der Brenner*, Robert Müller and the periodical *Der Ruf* and Lajos Kassák's six-year residency in Vienna.

Futurism's public profile in Austria reached a peak in 1924, when the *International Exhibition of New Theatre Technology* was held at the Konzerthaus, with a large Futurism section curated by Enrico Prampolini. The audience could see numerous stage designs and figurines by Carmelich, Caviglioni, Depero, Dottori, Marasco, Marchi, Paladini, Pannaggi, Prampolini, Tato and Valente. The catalogue reproduced manifestos by F.T. Marinetti, Luigi Russolo and Enrico Prampolini. Marinetti visited Vienna, engaged in several controversial debates and explained his concept of 'global Futurism' to large audiences of Austrians and international guests.

Larcati also directs our attention to a third wave of Futurism in Austria, when a touring exhibition of aeropaintings moved from Hamburg and Berlin to Vienna (February – March 1935). In contrast to Nazi Germany, where all Modernist schools were officially condemned as 'degenerate art', the Viennese public was much more open to the innovations in Futurist art, comparing them even to the achievements of the Bauhaus. The last Futurist exhibition Larcati discusses in his essay was held in 1937. The Roman Futurist Arturo Ciacelli, who had played a major rôle in bringing Futurism to Scandinavia (he ran a gallery in Stockholm from 1915 until 1921), came to Vienna and stayed there until after the Second World War. Ciacelli's paintings fused tradition and modernity into a harmonious whole and found, as Larcati analyses, a favourable reception in Vienna when he held his first exhibition there in 1937. However, Austria's annexation by Nazi Germany in March 1938 meant that National Socialist concepts of art also became the official cultural doctrine in Vienna and Futurism was banned as it was in Germany.

Fernando Dias (Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade de Lisboa) offers a useful complement to the Portuguese section in the 2013 yearbook on Iberian Futurisms by introducing us to **Carlos Porfirio and Futurism in the Algarve**. Before the short but fruitful ‘season of Futurism’ in Lisbon, there was already a precursor to be found in Faro. The painter and poet Carlos Porfirio was crucial for the Futurist circle that had emerged in this southern city in early 1917. Dias discusses in his essay Porfirio’s relations with the Futurist group in Lisbon, especially Santa Rita Pintor and José de Almada Negreiros, and their joint initiatives in Faro. He introduces us to the painter Carlos Lyster Franco who helped Porfirio to set up the “Futurismo” section in the newspaper *O heraldo* (The Herald), discusses the Futurist aspects of an art exhibition Porfirio organized in Faro in 1917, and then examines his rôle in the editorial history of *Portugal futurista* (1917). Drawing on a wealth of material brought together for the exhibition *Carlos Porfirio: Diálogos do modernismo*, which he curated for the Museu Municipal in Faro in 2019, Dias introduces us to the key features of Futurism in the Algarve and its double peripheral position with regard to the artistic debates in Lisbon and Paris. He outlines how, in the course of 1917, the movement’s activities shifted to Lisbon, eventually to be replaced by a Portuguese/Hispanic notion of Modernism. In an appendix, he communicates some previously unknown letters concerning Futurism in the Algarve.

Luca Bochicchio (MuDA Museo Diffuso Albisola) brings us back to Italy in his discussion of **Tullio d’Albisola between Futurism and Fascism**. The artist, poet and ceramicist Spartaco Mazzotti has become recognized as one of the most important members of the second generation of Futurism. Taking the political origins of his artistic pseudonym as a starting point, Bochicchio addresses the artist’s complicated relationship with the Fascist régime. Based on unpublished documents in Marinetti’s and Tullio’s personal archives, preserved in the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library and in the Casa Mazzotti in Albissola Marina, Bochicchio gives us new insight into the collaboration between the founder of Futurism and the leader of the Futurist branch in Albisola. He also opens our eyes to the complex situation many Futurists found themselves in during the 1920s.

Tullio’s anti-Fascist attitude caused him to be jailed from November 1921 until March 1923. Bochicchio draws on a variety of sources to show how Tullio d’Albisola acted as the leader of an anti-Fascist group in Albisola, which met in secret to discuss arts and politics as well as prepare actions against the Fascists in the province of Savona. Given his political record, Mazzotti was monitored by the Fascist authorities and forbidden to participate in public exhibitions. Adopting the pseudonym Tullio d’Albisola offered him an opportunity to circumvent this prohibition. Mazzotti’s career was also impeded by the fact that,

between 1928 and 1935, he was excluded from professional confederations and labour unions. In order to survive as an artist and to earn a living, he was forced into making certain compromises with the Fascist authorities. This meant that while prominent anti-Fascists were regular guests at the Mazzotti ceramics factory during the 1930s, Tullio also participated in the rituals and phraseology of Mussolini's régime. His enthusiastic support of Marinetti's cultural initiatives within the corporate institutions of Fascist Italy was, however, not politically motivated. As numerous letters testify, Mazzotti had great personal admiration for the Futurist leader. Marinetti, on the other hand, took great pride in promoting Mazzotti and procuring him commissions and exhibition opportunities. But still, in 1935 Mazzotti was forbidden to publish articles in periodicals and to contribute to radio broadcasts. Notwithstanding the fact that politically they were poles apart, Mazzotti and Marinetti had great esteem for each other and did their best not to let politics interfere in their personal relationship. Thus, one of the greatest œuvres in Futurist ceramics could be produced and found buyers in the years of greatest political repression.

Mzia Chikhradze (National Centre for Georgian Art History, Tbilisi) takes us into Transcaucasia in her essay on **The Georgian Avant-garde: Futurism and More**. In the first issue of the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies*, Bela Tsipuria offered a fairly general introduction to Futurist and avant-garde culture in Georgia. Chikhradze focusses our attention on what Georgian Futurism is probably best known for nowadays: its truly outstanding book art, especially by the brothers Zdanevich. The years between 1910 and 1920, when Georgia's short-lived independence safeguarded it against Russian intrusion, was one of the most dynamic periods in the country's cultural history. Georgian artists were very receptive to new artistic trends coming from Western Europe and Russia. The turmoil of the Russian Revolution and subsequent Civil War made leading Futurists move out of Moscow and Saint Petersburg and settle in Tbilisi for a number of years. As a consequence, European Modernist culture was fused with local artistic traditions and given powerful expression in a profusion of highly original works of art and literature

Ilya Zdanevich acted as a link between local artists and the immigrants from Russia and other countries. He was a multicultural cosmopolite who developed an alternative position to European visions of the avant-garde. Although he admired Marinetti's poetry, he rejected the Futurist leader's ideology of destruction and antipasséism. He complemented technophilia and machine aesthetics with ancient local traditions, thus creating a form of Futurist art that had strong national roots and a pronounced Georgian imprint. Chikhradze follows Ilya and Kirill Zdanevich's career, discusses their Cubo-Futurist paintings, flamboyant décor of artists' cafés, nightclubs and dining halls as well as theatre designs that

verge on Dadaist absurdity. The second part of her essay then focusses on the Zdanevich brothers' contribution to Futurist book art, inspired not only by Italian models (Marinetti's *parole in libertà*), but also by Russian avant-garde literature (*zaum'*) and Dada. The 41° group in Tbilisi sought to overcome the monotonous visual impression of conventional page design, to establish a new balance between words and images, and to operate with a large variety of fonts, different-sized letters and handwritten texts. Furthermore, their books were printed on unusual surfaces rather than sheets of industrial paper, thus giving them a pronounced 'primitive' appearance. As Chikhradze shows, the Futurist artists' books from Tbilisi were more versatile than their Italian and Russian counterparts. Because of this, Futurist publications from Tbilisi were an important step ahead in artistic book design. Texts became an artistic medium, where each letter, word or sentence had specific graphic characteristics. Images were an integral part of the books, and the cooperation of poets and artists created an inseparable system of representation in the volumes.

Caterina Toschi (Università per Stranieri di Siena) also directs our attention to graphic design in her essay on **Futurism and the Birth of a Modern European Typography**. She analyses the expressive means of avant-garde typography and examines the rôle played by Marinetti and some other Futurists in its historical development. Discussing the influence of Futurist typography in Eastern and Central Europe, she introduces us to El Lissitzky's theories about the visual effect of words and compares them with László Moholy-Nagy's research into the physicality of writing. The essay concludes with Jan Tschichold's technical studies on the historic rôle of blank and unprinted spaces in poetic and other texts and demonstrates that all of these designers operated with the Futurist heritage, but also incorporated elements taken from Dada and Constructivism. Toschi also shows how, after 1925, many of the techniques that Marinetti had handled so masterfully in *Zang tumb tuuum* (1914) and *Les Mots en liberté futuristes* (Futurist Words-in-Freedom, 1919) were replaced by the latest innovations in the printing industry which fused typography and photomontage. Thus, Marinetti as the initiator of the typographical revolution of the 1910s had to give way to a new generation stimulated by photography and its artistic use in the 'Typo-Photo' and 'Photo-Text'.

Ilaria Schiaffini (Università di Roma "La Sapienza") also deals with the medium photography in her essay on **Tato and Exhibitions of Futurist Photography in the 1930s**. Whereas most studies of Futurist photography highlight the experiments undertaken by A.G. Bragaglia and his brothers in the field of photodynamism (actually rejected by the Futurist painters), Schiaffini examines the contribution made by Tato (Guglielmo Sansoni), co-signatory with Marinetti of the *Manifesto della fotografia futurista* (Manifesto

of Futurist Photography) in 1930. Although Tato is best known for his *aeropittura*, he was also a professional photographer with a studio in Rome and contributed to the re-integration of Futurism into the photographic avant-garde. Schiaffini investigates the Futurist sections of two photographic exhibitions in Rome, the *Primo concorso nazionale* (First National Competition, 1930), where the *Manifesto of Futurist Photography* circulated for the first time, and *Prima Biennale internazionale d'arte fotografica* (First International Biennial of Photographic Art, 1932). She also presents two exhibitions organized by the Futurists themselves: the *Mostra sperimentale di fotografia futurista* (Experimental Exhibition of Futurist Photography), held in Turin in 1931, and the *Mostra nazionale futurista (ceramiche)* (National Futurist Exhibition: Ceramics), held in Trieste in 1932. Finally, she discusses the international dimension of Futurist photography by comparing the Futurist section at the *Prima Biennale internazionale d'arte fotografica* (First International Biennial of Photographic Art, 1932) to the *Mostra fotografica internazionale* (International Photographic Exhibition), organized as part of the Fifth Triennial in Milan in 1933.

Schiaffini demonstrates in her essay that Futurism tried to play a significant rôle in international photographic trends of the 1930s. What emerges is that Tato was well acquainted with aerial photography, which had emerged during the First World War, took it out of its original military contexts and transformed the new technical achievements into Futurist art. Furthermore, Tato's photography incorporated elements which had been ignored by Bragaglia and Marinetti (photomontage, macro photography, sandwich printing) but had found international dissemination through the seminal *Film und Foto* exhibition (1929). The novel photographic procedures allowed Tato to create images that demonstrate great mastery and exquisite craftsmanship.

Yet, in a Fascist State, none of these achievements discussed by Schiaffini, however innovative they may have been, lacked a political dimension. Schiaffini shows us how Futurist experiments, on the one hand, fitted in and supported Mussolini's cultural guidelines and military objectives, but on the other they were also hindered by the cultural bureaucracy. Schiaffini thus confirms what also Sassoli in his essay demonstrates: Marinetti's desire to occupy a position of official art in the Fascist State was never successful; Futurism never conquered a rank similar to that occupied by the Novecento group. Yet in the end (i.e. after the racial laws of 1938), also Novecento and, in particular, its Jewish leader Margherita Sarfatti, became victims of the corporatist State marching in unison with its Nazi ally.

Caro Verbeek (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) is a scholar and curator whose work I have been following for many years. Joined by a common interest in synaesthesia, we have had many fruitful exchanges regarding tactilism,

olfactory theatre, colour audition etc. She has now written up her research in an essay entitled **In Search of Lost Scents: The Olfactory Dimension of Italian Futurism**. Very few scholars indeed have ever directed their focus on the Futurists' use of smell in their creative experiments. Although Futurist art and literature repeatedly highlighted olfaction as an important human sense and linked it to other elements in the human sensorium, it never received the same attention as, for example, tactilism did. As Verbeek emphasizes, the inherent volatile nature of scent and a lack of a proper vocabulary have impeded research and have left olfaction as the last sensory bastion to be conquered in Futurism Studies. Yet, scent was a medium of communication for several Futurists, including F.T. Marinetti, Fedele Azari, Carlo Carrà, Bruno Munari and Bruno Sanzin. Olfaction played an important rôle in Futurist writings (manifestos, poems, plays). Verbeek's research reveals that the Futurists were fully up-to-date with contemporary artistic and scientific developments in the realm of olfaction. Therefore, scents were not just reflected on and evoked in their writings, but also actively employed during performances, artistic banquets and in cinemas. Verbeek suggests that also Futurist toys and sculptures may have possessed a fragrant dimension. Therefore, the Futurists can be regarded as predecessors of a phalanx of contemporary artists working in the realm of olfaction. No doubt, Verbeek's essay will ring in a new phase in Futurism Studies and more essays will soon explore this "valuable and volatile heritage" left by the Futurists.

Serge Lorenzo Milan (Université Côte d'Azur) analysed in volume 6 of the *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies* one of André Warnod's clever satires of Futurism. He returns to this subject in his essay **Satirizing Futurism in France: Roland Dorgelès, André Warnod and their Circle** and offers us an insight into one of the most effective lampoons of Futurism, the so-called 'Boronali Affair'. In 1910, the journalist Roland Dorgelès published in Paris a *Manifesto of Excessivism*, a satire of avant-garde painting, in general, and Futurist manifestos, in particular. It was distributed at the 1910 Salon des Indépendants, where the artist 'Joachim-Raphaël Boronali' exhibited a painting executed in a vaguely Post-Impressionist style. This work, in actual fact, had been produced by a donkey manipulated by Roland Dorgelès and André Warnod, in the presence of an official witness from the Civil Court of the Seine. Initially, this painting was largely ignored by the public, as was Dorgelès' manifesto, because the audience had plenty of innovative and extravagant paintings to admire at the 1910 salon. But then, on April Fool's Day, the satirical magazine *Fantasio* printed a detailed account of how the art-loving public had been duped by Lolo the Donkey and 'Boronali', the head of the School of Excessivism. The story went 'viral' and was

reported on even in the USA and in Russia (where it gave rise to the artists' group 'Donkey's Tail').

Serge Milan in his essay offers us not only a detailed account of the events in Paris in 1910 but also sheds light on the artistic atmosphere in the years when Futurism first appeared on the French scene and on the ties between bohemian circles and the budding avant-garde scene. He describes the personalities of Dorgelès, an inveterate critic of Modernism, and Warnod, a supporter of Futurism in France. Specifically, Milan focusses on the two accounts of the Boronali affair written by Dorgelès and offers us valuable insights into French opposition to Futurism between 1909, when *The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* appeared in *Le Figaro*, and 1912, when the first exhibition of Futurist paintings took place at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery.

Serge Milan's essay leads over to **Section 2: Caricatures and Satires of Futurism in the Contemporary Press**, which in this issue contains examples from Hungary, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Russia and Portugal. **Section 3: Archive Report** then presents an exciting new institution, the **Archiv der Avantgarden (AdA)**, affiliated to the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. With approximately 1,5 million objects, the collection is unique in scope and structure and covers the entire spectrum of the twentieth century. It reflects the international cross-connections and intermedia affiliations within the historical and postmodern avant-garde in the fields of fine art, literature, music, theatre, film, dance and politics. There is no doubt that in the years to come the Dresden archive will be of major importance to scholars researching the multifaceted paths of the twentieth-century avant-gardes.

Measured in terms of the total holdings, the Futurist records make up only a small portion of the Dresden archive. The material is multifaceted and disparate, encompassing both primary and secondary sources related to the first, second and third phases of Futurism, on Neo-Futurism and the activities of ex-Futurists in the period after the Second World War. A large collection of exhibition catalogues and secondary literature documents the history of Futurism both in Europe and other parts of the world. Journals and periodicals make up a great part of the Futurism holdings, but there are also hundreds of first editions of Futurist books, photographic reproductions of works of art, letters and other autographs, architectural drawings, design sketches and many original works of art.

Apart from its extensive Italian holdings, the Archive of the Avant-gardes possesses important first editions of books and journals related to Russian Futurism, as well as drawings by some of its greatest masters. The collection of documentary material encompasses the correspondence between David Burliuk and the American collector and art dealer Eric Estorick, related to the Grosvenor

Gallery in London and the Marussia Gallery in New York. This entirely unexplored material shows how Western art galleries began to develop an interest in Russian art of the Revolutionary period and how the market responded to it. Polish documents stored at the Archive of the Avant-gardes contain a sizeable number of avant-garde books and manuscripts and amount to what can be described as the largest collection of its kind in the world. The Archive holds first editions of all poetry volumes published by five poets, who formed the short-lived Polish Futurist literary group. The Dresden collection possesses full runs of all Polish avant-garde magazines, together with the books published by them. As the Polish Futurists participated in the wider international trends and collaborated with various avant-garde movements across Europe, the Polish section of the archive is also of interest to scholars investigating Futurism in other countries, and in Modernist movements cooperating with Polish Futurism.

A team of ten archivists and librarians is currently cataloguing the holdings in the Archiv der Avantgarden, so that in the near future in-depth analyses and contextualization can begin. As the report in this volume of the yearbook shows, the Dresden collection is a mine of information, where Futurism scholars will find material that documents its manifold connections with different avant-garde movements, throw new light on under-researched aspects of International Futurism, and investigate the links between Futurism and its precursors and successors. The Dresden State Art Collections will become an essential research tool for Futurism scholars in the years to come, and this work will be aided by scholarships, especially to young scholars and PhD students, and a book series, *Studies from the AdA Dresden*.

Section 4: Reviews contains six critical responses to new books that make a useful contribution to Futurism Studies. They include two volume of conference proceedings, *Valentine de Saint-Point: Des feux de l'avant-garde à l'appel de l'Orient* (Nantes, May 2017, reviewed by Simona Cigliana) and *El futurismo en Europa y Latinoamérica* (Madrid, September 2017, reviewed by Juan Herrero-Senés). Two publications are concerned with Italian Futurism: Stefano Bragato's study of Marinetti's diaries (reviewed by Dalila Colucci), and Katia Pizzi's analysis of the Italian Futurists' attitudes towards the Machine (reviewed by Marja Härmänmaa). Furthermore, Marina Dmitrieva assesses Vera Faber's extensive new study of Futurism and Constructivism in the Ukrainian avant-garde, Günter Berghaus comments on a new study of Růžena Zátková's life and works, and Luca Somigli discusses the merits of a new edition of Julius Evola's critical writings of the years 1916–1921, issued under the title *Teoria e pratica dell'arte d'avanguardia*.

As in every year, I have compiled **Section 4: Bibliography: Publications on Futurism, 2017–2020**. This time it offers details of 26 exhibition catalogues, 2

special issues of journals and periodicals, 8 edited volumes of conference proceedings, 17 collective volumes, 36 monographic studies, 28 editions and 3 volumes that turn Futurism into fiction. These 120 book publications are supplemented by 1 film recording.

Finally, a few words regarding future issues of this Yearbook. Volume 11 (2021) will be dedicated to Futurism and the Sacred, edited by Luca Somigli and Monica Jansen. The final selection of the essays is still in progress, but those selected so far contradict the old prejudice that Futurism was a movement characterized by technomania and machine worship. The next themed volume will appear in 2023 and be dedicated to Neo-Futurism, to be edited by Tim Florian Klähn and Dalila Colucci.

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Section 1: **Futurism Studies**

Giacomo Coronelli

The Futurist Manifestos of 1909: Dates and Editions Reconsidered

Abstract: This essay deals with the problematic dating of the different editions of Futurist manifestos, starting with the genesis of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism*. From the blue-ink leaflet featuring the manifesto for the first time in print, via the black-ink leaflets with the subtitle “published in *Le Figaro* on 20 February 1909” to the *Second Proclamation: Let’s Kill Off the Moonlight!*, the whole publishing activity of F. T. Marinetti in 1909 has been subjected to a forensic examination and a re-consideration of their editorial history. A previously undocumented press release, issued and distributed by Marinetti in early February 1909, is published here in full in the Appendix.

Keywords: The genesis of the *Manifesto of Futurism*, 1908–09; the early Futurist group; dates and editions of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism*; *Second Proclamation: Let’s Kill off the Moonlight*; pamphlets, booklets, flyers, leaflets and press releases; Edizioni futuriste di “Poesia”; the early reception of Futurism in France and Italy; Paolo Buzzi, Enrico Cavacchioli, Federico De Maria, Corrado Govoni, Gian Pietro Lucini.

The genesis of the Futurist foundation manifesto

At the end of 1908, the 32-year-old Marinetti had concluded the fourth year in his position as founder and editor-in-chief of the magazine *Poesia: Rassegna internazionale*, as well as publisher of its book series, “Edizioni di Poesia”. As a writer he was enjoying the success of his latest two books, *Les Dieux s’en vont, D’Annunzio reste* (Gods Go, D’Annunzio Stays, 1908) and *La Ville charnelle* (The Sensual City, 1908), released towards the middle of the year in Paris, under the imprint of his good friend Edouard Sansot.¹ Meanwhile, he was in the process of composing a manifesto that was to set out the key principles of the new literary school he was intent on founding.

¹ Edward Sansot (pseud. Édouard Sansot-Orland) was editor of the periodical *Anthologie-Revue*. In April 1900, when it fused with *La Vogue*, Marinetti became its editor-in-chief. On the close working relations between the two see Vinall: “Symbolism and Latinity: ‘Anthologie-Revue de France et d’Italie’ and its Diffusion of French Literature in Italy”.

A definitive, fully reliable historical investigation of the events concerning the elaboration of this manifesto does not yet exist. The chronology that can be found in most studies of Futurism is largely based on the testimonies released by Marinetti's contemporaries in the following years.² The first draft of the text seems to date back to autumn 1908. On 15 October, Marinetti had a car accident that was reported on in the *Corriere della sera*³ and can be identified as the episode alluded in the manifesto's prologue:

I had hardly got these words out of my mouth when I swung the car right around sharply, with all the crazy irrationality of a dog trying to bite its own tail. Then suddenly a pair of cyclists came toward me, gesticulating that I was on the wrong side, dithering about in front of me like two different lines of thought, both persuasive but for all that, quite contradictory. Their stupid uncertainty was in my way ... How ridiculous! What a nuisance! ... I braked hard and to my disgust the wheels left the ground and I flew into a ditch.⁴

Moreover, in the handwritten draft, now housed amongst the Marinetti Papers at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,⁵ the prologue contains a clear reference to an autumnal environment.⁶ Marinetti's recollection of the first Futurist cenacle in *Guerra sola igiene del mondo* (War, the Sole Cleanser of the World, 1915) offers a fairly reliable account:

² See Lista: "Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti's 'Manifesto of Futurism'", pp. 78–79; D'Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, pp. 47–57; Andréoli-de-Villers: *Le Premier Manifeste du futurisme*, pp. 15–16. All of Marinetti's biographers rely largely on secondary sources and are unreliable on the precise historical details concerning the period 1908 to 1909.

³ See Lista: "Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti's 'Manifesto of Futurism'", p. 79, note 5, and the reproduction of the column on p. 78.

⁴ Marinetti: *Critical Writings*, pp. 12–13

⁵ Yale University, New Haven/CT, GEN MSS 130, Box 57, Folder 2022 [Folder 1389], accessible on the library website "Digital Collections", <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3483113>. It is partially reproduced in Andréoli-de-Villers: *Le Premier Manifeste du futurisme*, pp. 39–101, who also provides a transcript, and in D'Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, pp. 18–25 and 28–35 (who repeats Andréoli-de-Villers' transcript, despite the fact that a number of misinterpretations has already been noticed and corrected by Vinall in her review "Le Premier Manifeste du Futurisme", p. 761f.). Unfortunately, Andréoli-de-Villers' edition of the Beinecke manuscript is highly unreliable. He is not a philologist and his "édition critique" is not following scientific criteria. It is even incomplete, lacking information on the folios' verso. He also fails to acknowledge that the first five folios were written on the backside of the notepaper Marinetti found in the Grand Hôtel de Paris. Moreover, he does not know the chronology of the leaflet editions of the manifesto (see again Vinall: "Le Premier Manifeste du Futurisme", p. 762) and ignores the blue-ink editio princeps.

⁶ "Le long du canal, les vieux palais assoupis de verdure roussie qui n'avaient pas eu la force de se déshabiller." Andréoli-de-Villers: *Le Premier Manifeste du futurisme*, p. 16 col. 1; D'Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, p. 28.

On October 11, 1908, having worked for six years at my international journal, *Poesia*, attempting to free Italian lyric genius from its traditional, commercial shackles that threatened to kill it off, I suddenly sensed that articles, poems, and polemic were no longer enough. The approach had to be totally different; we had to go out in the street, lay siege to theaters, and introduce the fist into the struggle for art. My poet friends Paolo Buzzi, Corrado Govoni, Enrico Cavacchioli, Armando Mazza, and Luciano Folgore helped me search for the right watchword. For a moment, I hesitated between the words “Dynamism” and “Futurism”. My Italian blood, however, surged the more strongly when my lips proclaimed aloud the freshly invented word “Futurism”.⁷

But Marinetti’s statements – and Futurist propaganda in general – should always be treated with caution. In 1908, *Poesia* had been running for four and not six years; the number 11 in the date is well known to be fictitious,⁸ and the collaborating “friends” quoted in this and other ‘foundation tales’ vary considerably. When Marinetti was conceiving the *Manifesto of Futurism*, he had only Paolo Buzzi and Enrico Cavacchioli close at hand. He was probably not yet acquainted with Armando Mazza, and he barely knew Omero Vecchi who, a year later, would become Luciano Folgore.⁹ But in 1915, when the above-mentioned recollection was published, they were amongst the original Futurists still active in the group.

The Milanese writer Paolo Buzzi (1874–1956) was Marinetti’s peer and his earliest friend amongst the Futurists. Their relationship dates back to the end of 1901; seven years later, Buzzi was his closest collaborator and one of the main contributors to his magazine.¹⁰ Enrico Cavacchioli (1885–1954) was born in Sicily and left the island when he was a child to settle in Milan. In 1906, his collection *L’incubo velato* (The Veiled Nightmare) won the second contest tendered by *Poesia*, the first, of 1905, having been won by Buzzi with his novel *L’esilio* (The Exile).¹¹ Cavacchioli decided to tie his fledgling career to Marinetti but, unlike Buzzi who remained a loyal comrade for the whole of his life, he

7 Marinetti: *Critical Writings*, p. 151.

8 See Ceccagnoli: “Anniversari, date e alfabeto in libertà”, p. 88.

9 Ruta: “Mazza Armando” is rather vague about the moment in which Mazza became a Futurist. His name appears for the first time on occasion of the first Futurist *serata* in Trieste, on 12 January 1910. Being essentially a man of the theatre (actor, playwright, theatre critic) it makes sense that he was co-opted right from the beginning into the cast of the *serate futuriste* in 1910. On Luciano Folgore see Salaris: *Luciano Folgore e le avanguardie*, p. 6, and Folgore and Marinetti: *Carteggio futurista*, p. 29.

10 On Paolo Buzzi’s life and engagement with Marinetti and Futurism, the most informative and useful resource is Buzzi: *Futurismo: Scritti carteggi testimonianze*. His rôle in the *Poesia* enterprise has been elucidated by Elena Rampazzo in “Marinetti’s Periodical ‘Poesia’ (1905–09) and Spanish-language Literature.”

11 Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, pp. 55–63 and Salasano: “‘Poesia’ e l’esordio di Paolo Buzzi.”

broke with Futurism during the First World War and focussed on his career as a journalist and playwright.¹²

Although Buzzi and Cavacchioli were part of the Futurism project from its very inception, it must be noted that neither of them was involved at any level in the drafting of the *Manifesto of Futurism*. The early account by Cavacchioli, printed in *L'attualità* of June 1911, should be read for what it is: an admission of having shared with Marinetti and Buzzi an urgency for regeneration, the need of a new movement and the search of the right name for it:

One day, then, it was decided *en petit comité* – there were Marinetti, Buzzi and I – to establish the canons of a school of rebels. Rebellion against what? The desire was a shared one. The cornerstones were laid down later. War was declared against a past that seemed to be responsible for all weaknesses. A name for the school was also sought. Not for a school, in fact, but for a new impulse.¹³

A later account by Buzzi is clear beyond any doubt:

The merit of that formidable text is entirely Marinetti's. With a modesty that did him great honour, he communicated the thrust of his ideas to his friends. At first, he almost doubted that he could fit those models, brimful of future, into the stranglehold of a monarchical code. And so he sought the advice of someone. But then, in one of those volcanic moments that always characterized him, he alone drafted the scheme in one night, opening and closing with some sentences that are among his best verses. "Standing tall on the roof of the world, yet again we fling our challenge at the stars!"¹⁴

Much has been written about Marinetti's relationship with Gian Pietro Lucini (1867–1914), an important Milanese writer and thinker, whose impact on early Futurism was considerable, and Federico De Maria (1885–1954), a minor Sicilian

¹² On Cavacchioli's life, see Ruta: "Cavacchioli Enrico" and Giornetti: "Cavacchioli, Enrico."

¹³ "Allora, un giorno, si decise, *en petit comité* – c'erano Marinetti, Buzzi, il sottoscritto – di stabilire i canoni di una scuola di ribelli. Ribellione a cosa? Il desiderio fu comune. I capisaldi vennero dopo. Si dichiarò la guerra al passato, che parve comprendere tutte le debolezze. Si cercò anche il nome della scuola. Anzi non della scuola ma dell'istinto nuovissimo." Cavacchioli: "I futuristi", p. [1].

¹⁴ "Il merito di quel testo formidabile è tutto di Marinetti. Con una modestia che gli fece grande onore, egli, comunicando agli amici il motto delle idee, parve, sulle prime, quasi dubbioso di poter fermare nella morsa d'una codificazione monarchica quelle norme così gravide d'avvenire. E si consultò con taluno. Ma poi, in uno di quei fermenti vulcanici che lo hanno sempre caratterizzato, tracciò tutto solo, una notte, lo schema aprendolo e chiudendolo con dei periodi che sono fra le sue strofe migliori. 'In piedi, sulla cima del mondo, a lanciare, ancora una volta, la nostra sfida alle stelle!'" Buzzi: *Futurismo: Scritti carteggi testimonianze*, p. 14. The text originally appeared in *La fiera letteraria* on 6 May 1928.

poet who, already in 1905, dealt with some concepts that were to become fundamental for Futurism, and surely exerted a sizeable influence on Marinetti.¹⁵ Repeatedly featured in *Poesia*, both of them were in regular contact with Marinetti, even though from afar, in those months between the end of 1908 and the beginning of 1909. Marinetti had accepted their two forthcoming books in his *Poesia* publishing house,¹⁶ but it would be wrong to turn them into co-founders of Futurism. Marinetti took full advantage of their ideas, but only informed them about the new Futurist school when all was done. Together with dozens of other personalities, Lucini received the blue-ink leaflet of the *Manifesto of Futurism* on 4 February, and De Maria one day afterwards (for the details see below).¹⁷

Both authors later claimed to have seen “a draft” of the manifesto, and most scholars took these sentences literally, believing that Marinetti wanted them to take part in the composition of the text, or that he submitted it to their scrutiny in advance of publishing it.¹⁸ In actual fact, Marinetti left his two friends intentionally

15 There is a wealth of studies on Lucini, many of them of high-quality. See, for example, De Maria: “Lucini e il futurismo”; Lucini: *Libri e cose scritte*; Lucini: *Revolverate e Nuove Revolverate*; Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*; Longatti: “Il primo sodalizio Marinetti–Lucini”. On De Maria see Miligi: *Prefuturismo e primo futurismo in Sicilia*, which also contains Marinetti’s letters to De Maria. Some discernment and caution is necessary when using Ruta: *Il futurismo in Sicilia*, particularly pp. 29–37 (§ 2.1); Ruta: “De Maria Federico”; Greco: “Futurist Roots in Palermo.”

16 Lucini’s theoretical masterpiece *Ragion poetica e programma del verso libero* (Poetic Reason and Program of the Free Verse) was printed at the author’s expense in only 375 numbered copies in Varazze (Savona), at the very end of November 1908. See Longatti: “Il primo sodalizio Marinetti–Lucini”, pp. 14f., 20f., and Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, pp. 77f. De Maria’s long free-verses poem *La leggenda della vita* (The Legend of Life) was printed by the author in Palermo in December 1908, notwithstanding the date “1909” on both the cover and the title-page – a detail that passed unnoticed by scholars. See Cammarota: *Filippo Tommaso Marinetti*, p. 162 no. 9, Miligi: *Prefuturismo e primo futurismo in Sicilia*, p. 171f. no. 1, and Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, p. 76f.

17 See, respectively, Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, pp. 143–156 and Miligi: *Prefuturismo e primo futurismo in Sicilia*, p. 173f. no. 2.

18 Three years after the events, Lucini published his correspondence with Marinetti related to Futurism in *La voce* 5:15 (10 April 1913): “Come ho sorpassato il futurismo”, reprinted in Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, pp. 137–179. It was therefore only in 1913 that Lucini claimed that “a draft of Marinetti’s manifesto was sent to me in Varazze in the following February” (“il Manifesto marinettiano in quel successivo febbraio [i]n bozze mi veniva mandato a Varazze”). Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, p. 143. De Maria claimed to have received the manifesto in December 1908. See his essay “Contributo alla storia delle origini del futurismo e del novecentismo”, *Accademia* 7–8, July–August 1945 (I was unable to retrieve this article in the original and rely here on quotations in D’Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 51, note 30, and Lista: “Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti’s ‘Manifesto of Futurism’”, p. 79, note 11). As the accompanying letter is dated ‘5 February 1909’, this recollection is not reliable. Miligi, misunderstanding the context of this letter, speaks of a “preview of the manifesto text that will be featured in *Le Figaro*” (“invio

in the dark about the launch of the new movement, with the effect that both of them felt copied and ignored by Marinetti who, according to them, was guilty of not involving them at all in the process.¹⁹ Yet, scholars have repeatedly written that Lucini and De Maria were amongst the “signatories of the *Manifesto of Futurism*”, patently ignoring the fact that the text was signed by Marinetti alone. It simply does not make sense to speak of ‘signatories’ of the *Manifesto of Futurism*.²⁰ It would be more correct to speak of ‘members of the first Futurist group’. But his cenacle, at the beginning and during its early existence, was in a permanent flux.

The editio princeps of the *Manifesto of Futurism*

At the end of December 1908, the foundation manifesto was apparently ready. Paolo Buzzi gives us a glimpse into the editorial office of *Poesia* in the magazine’s issue of February–March 1909, a recollection that is so close to the events that it can be regarded as highly reliable:

While I wallow in these beautiful verses [i. e. *Le canzoni di Re Enzo*, King Enzo’s Songs, by Giovanni Pascoli], my friend Marinetti reads me the proclamation of *Futurism*. His voice resembles the blast of Roland’s Olifant horn. Outside, the horrible voices of the news vendors proclaim Reggio and Messina devastated. [...] In Italy, Futurism’s warriors are born on the infernal cataclysm’s 200,000 corpses.²¹

in anteprima del testo del manifesto che uscirà sul *Figaro*”). Miligi: *Prefuturismo e primo futurismo in Sicilia*, p. 171.

19 Lucini replied immediately to the manifesto in a very abrasive letter dated 4 February 1909. See Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, pp. 144–156 and De Maria: “Lucini e il futurismo”, p. 252. Federico De Maria’s case is more nuanced, since as of today his letters are missing. A few days after the reception of the manifesto, he promised to publish an article on Futurism, yet despite Marinetti’s solicitations, he only managed to write a couple of harshly critical articles more than a year later, on July 1910, stating his opposition to the new school. See Miligi: *Prefuturismo e primo futurismo in Sicilia*, pp. 68–73.

20 These erroneous statements are so pervasive that it is impossible to mention individual cases here. References to the supposed ‘signatories’ of the *Manifesto of Futurism* – in the form of “he signed the manifesto” or “he was among the signatories” or “the *Manifesto of Futurism* was signed by ...” – continue to be a commonplace in books on Futurism.

21 “Mentre mi beo di questi versi bellissimi [dalle *Canzoni di Re Enzo* di Pascoli], l’amico Marinetti mi legge il proclama del *Futurismo*, con la sua voce che sembra lo squillo dell’Olifante di Rolando e, fuori, le voci spaventose degli strilloni mi annunziano Reggio e Messina rase al suolo. [...] In Italia, nascono i guerrieri del Futurismo sulle duecentomila salme del cataclisma infernale.” Buzzi: “Toute la lyre”, *Poesia* 5:1–2 (January–March 1909), p. 61 col. 1.

The devastating earthquake in Messina and Reggio Calabria occurred on Monday, 28 December, around 5:20 am. The Sicilian city was almost levelled to the ground and some 100,000 people were killed. The disaster grabbed the attention of the whole world for the best part of the next weeks. Futurism scholars therefore agree that this event forced Marinetti to delay the launch of his school. Giovanni Lista even asserted that the foundation manifesto was intended to be published in *Poesia* 4:11–12 (December 1908–January 1909),²² but had to be replaced at the last moment by Lucini's *Carme di angoscia e di speranza* (A Song of Anguish and Hope, 1909), an 'instant poem' commemorating the earthquake victims, which was also issued as a booklet under the *Poesia* imprint, to be sold for fundraising purposes.²³

Marinetti's plans for the launch of Futurism began to unfold towards the end of January 1909. The first act was to distribute the manifesto by mail, capitalizing on the large address book he had assembled as editor of his international magazine *Poesia*. The first printed version of the manifesto was a leaflet in classic double-sheet letter-format, measuring 290 x 230 mm, headed with the *Poesia* logo flanked by a large-letters sentence claiming that "The International Journal *Poesia* founded a new literary school that goes by the name of Futurism". The text itself is headed "MANIFESTE DU FUTURISME / MANIFESTO DEL FUTURISMO" and starts straight away with the eleven points, i.e. without the long introduction known to scholars as the "Prologue" (see Fig. 1).²⁴ This print is being referred to as the 'blue-ink leaflet' and was issued in an unknown print run by Poligrafia Italiana, a workshop in the centre of Milan which had been printing issues of *Poesia* for the last two years. A French and an Italian version were issued and mailed to journals and cultural figures in Italy and in the rest of the world, usually accompanied by a formal letter, handwritten on *Poesia* headed notepaper, requesting the recipients to join his new school or to voice an opinion on it:

My dear colleague, please send me your judgment on our *Manifesto of Futurism* and your total or partial backing. Pending your response, which will be published in *Poesia*, please accept my thanks in advance and the tributes of my profound admiration. F. T. Marinetti.²⁵

²² Lista: "Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti's 'Manifesto of Futurism'", p. 80.

²³ Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, p. 79.

²⁴ In this essay I distinguish between the *Manifesto of Futurism* (the manifesto with its 11 points followed by the conclusion), and the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* (the text complete of the framing narrative of the foundation of the movement).

²⁵ "Mon cher confrère, Je vous prie de vouloir bien m'envoyer votre jugement sur notre *Manifeste du Futurisme* et votre adhésion totale ou partielle. En attendant votre réponse qui sera publiée dans *Poesia*, je vous prie d'agréer mes remerciements anticipés et les hommages de mon admirations profonde. F.T. Marinetti." A copy of this circular is reproduced in D'Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, pp. 26–27, nos. 1909, addenda 1 and 2.

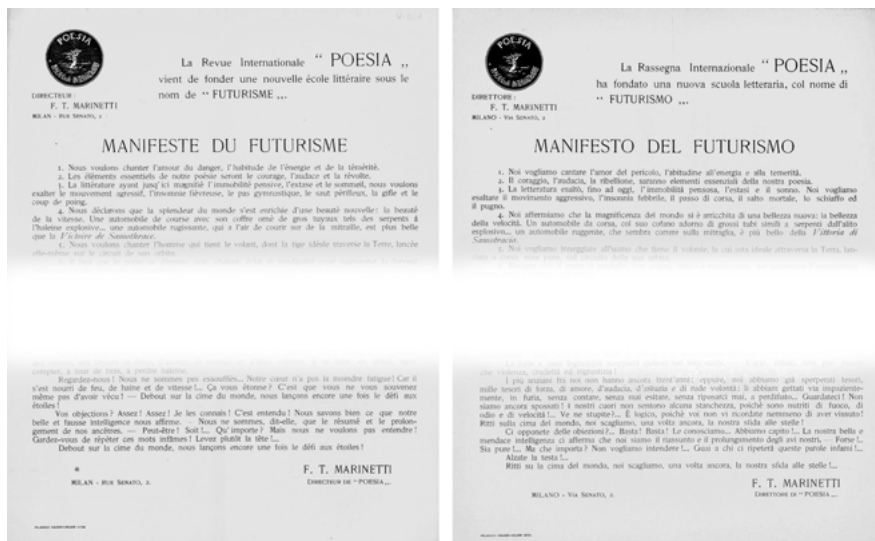


Fig. 1: The top of page [1] and the bottom of page [3] of the first printed versions of the Futurist founding manifesto, *MANIFESTE DU FUTURISME* and *MANIFESTO DEL FUTURISMO*. These leaflets contain the eleven points without the “Prologue”.

This edition has been generally recognized by scholars as the editio princeps of the founding manifesto.²⁶ The French version of the blue-ink leaflet contains a notable variant when compared with the official text of the *Manifesto of Futurism* (i. e. the text featured from then on in the official Futurist propaganda). At the beginning of the seventh paragraph from the bottom, the French blue-ink leaflet reads: “Les plus âgés d’entre nous ont trente ans” (the oldest among us are thirty), while three paragraphs below, the fourth-last paragraph reads: “Les plus âgés d’entre nous n’ont pas encore trente ans” (the oldest among us are not yet thirty). This inconsistency seems to originate in the handwritten draft of the manifesto, which reads “Les plus âgés d’entre nous ont trente ans [...]. Les plus jeunes d’entre nous n’ont pas encore 30 ans” (the oldest among us are thirty ... the youngest among us are not yet thirty).²⁷ The alternation “plus âgés / plus jeunes” in the handwritten text, mistakenly distorted in the first edition, was

²⁶ See D’Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, pp. 26–27, nos. 1908/10 and 1909/11. Tonini: *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 7, nos. 1.1 and 1.2.

²⁷ Second draft (see above, note 5), i. e. Andréoli-de-Villers’ “grand folios”, fol. “10–11–12” and “15”. See Andréoli-de-Villers: *Le Premier manifeste du futurisme*, pp. 90–91 and 96–97 and D’Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, pp. 23–24.

finally corrected to “the oldest among us are not yet thirty” in both versions, despite the fact that, back then, Marinetti was already thirty-two, Buzzi would have turned thirty-five on 18 February, and Lucini was forty-one.

The blue-ink leaflet was received by newspaper editors and a large number of intellectuals in Italy, France and other countries as early as 4 February.²⁸ A number of journals in Italy and abroad reported on the manifesto, in some cases quoting the text in full as it appeared in the blue-ink leaflet, i.e. without the prologue. Marinetti scrupulously registered the press responses, as we can see in a letter sent to Lucini some time between 4 and 14 February (the dates of Lucini’s letter before and after):

La sera, L’unione, Il caffaro, Il mattino, I tribunali, Il Pasquino, Il Monsignor Perrelli, Gazzetta di Mantova, Gazzetta dell’Emilia, Il pungolo, L’arena, Il momento, Fieramosca and many other minor newspapers have consecrated long columns of comments to Futurism.²⁹

In recent years, scholars have retrieved many mentions of the *Manifesto of Futurism* in newspapers before 20 February 1909 and have presented them as if each and every one of them held some great importance since they predate the version in *Le Figaro*. In fact, they are of little interest from a philological standpoint, because they followed slavishly the text of a press release and added nothing, or very little, to the public debate on the newly launched ‘literary school’. Marinetti, so it seems, was anything but satisfied with the press response in the *Gazzetta dell’Emilia* (5 February), the *Gazzetta di Mantova* (8 February), the Veronese journal *L’arena* (9–10 February), *La tavola rotonda* in Naples (14 February) – to mention just the newspapers featuring the text in full.³⁰ As an experienced cultural manager, Marinetti will have known full

²⁸ The Milanese newspaper *L’unione* and G.P. Lucini acknowledged receipt on that date. See D’Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, p. 40, no. 1909/16 (with reproduction of the columns in *L’unione*) and Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, pp. 143–156.

²⁹ “La Sera, L’Unione, Il Caffaro, Il Mattino, I Tribunali, Il Pasquino, Il Monsignor Perrelli, La Gazzetta di Mantova, La Gazzetta dell’Emilia, Il Pungolo, l’Arena, Il Momento, Il Fieramosca e tanti altri giornali minori hanno consacrato al Futurismo lunghe colonne di commenti.” Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, p. 158. The same letter is quoted by Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, p. 85, note 100.

³⁰ Scholars have provided long inventories of the pre-*Figaro* mentions, but they undertook little effort to analyse what was actually published. Giovanni Lista could win a medal for providing the longest list in “Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti’s ‘Manifesto of Futurism’”, p. 80, but he does not distinguish between mere mentions, brief quotations and full reprints. He also fails to make any mention – not a minor detail – of the Neapolitan *La tavola rotonda*. Tonini (*I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 7, nos. 1.4 to 1.11) offered a more precise overview, but is mistaken when he asserts that *La tavola rotonda* and the Romanian *Democrația* printed the full text,

well that a provincial newspaper filling its columns with news agency reports and press releases had next to no impact in the upper echelons of the Italian cultural world. But the major national newspapers, who could have stimulated public debates on Futurism, neither reprinted his manifesto nor did they ask their arts-and-culture editors to undertake an in-depth analysis of it. Marinetti was aware of those early responses in the Italian press, but he never made use of them for promotional purposes. In fact, he ignored them altogether when he compiled the documentation of press reports in issue 3–6 of *Poesia*, distributed in July 1909.³¹ The actual ‘birth date’ of Futurism that made history was 20 February 1909, when “Le Futurisme” appeared on the first page of *Le Figaro*.

The first Futurist press release

Actually, in those early days of February 1909, another document issued by Marinetti circulated in Italian newspaper offices. Lista deduced its existence from contemporary mentions in the press and partially recovered its content. It was published for the first time almost in full in the Milanese newspaper *L’unione* on 4 February 1909 but, according to Lista, the original “long printed circular” was lost.³² One hundred and ten years later, in late October 2019, a copy of this extraordinarily rare document was discovered in the archive of the editor-in-chief of the Piedmontese *Rivista di storia arte archeologia per le province di Alessandria e Asti*, published in Alessandria since 1892 and still active today (see Fig. 2). This document shows the typical tight and long format adopted by Marinetti for his

complete with the “Prologue”. It must be also noted that the actual date of the *Democrația* issue featuring the manifesto was Friday 5 March 1909 according to the Gregorian calendar: “At this time, Romania followed the Julian calendar rather than the Gregorian calendar used in Western Europe. Thus, although the Romanian journal in which the translation of the *Manifesto of Futurism* was published bore the same date as the original in *Le Figaro* (20 February), it actually appeared thirteen days after the latter.” Cărăbaș: “Romania”, p. 753, note 1.

³¹ It has been noted that no prominent figure commented on the manifesto in the national press, and that only some French intellectuals responded by letter, as can be seen in the documentation Marinetti printed in his journal *Poesia*. See Jannini et al.: *La fortuna del futurismo in Francia*, p. 10.

³² Lista: “Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti’s ‘Manifesto of Futurism’”, p. 80, reiterated verbatim in Lista: *Le Futurisme: Textes et manifestes*, p. 92.



Fig. 2: The first press release announcing the foundation of the new literary school of Futurism, together with the envelope in which it was sent to the editor of the *Rivista di storia arte e archeologia* on 13 February 1909, according to the postal stamp.

press releases already before the foundation of Futurism and frequently employed throughout the 1910s.³³

³³ These very early press releases are exceedingly rare nowadays. Nevertheless, they were seemingly produced for each of the books published under the *Poesia* imprint. See Salariis: *Marinetti editore*, pp. 48f., 58f., 61f., 91. Miligi: *Prefuturismo e primo futurismo in Sicilia*, p. 171f. no. 1. For the earliest amongst the Futurist press releases in 1910 see Lista: *Le Futurisme: Textes et manifestes*, pp. 161 (“Le triomphe des futuristes à Trieste”), 168–171 (“Marinetti et les futuristes arrêtés à Milan”), 176–178 (“La vittoria dei Futuristi a Torino”; this one has only

The first Futurist press release measures 430 × 140 mm, is headed “Il futurismo”, and bears the typical ‘for immediate release’ notice printed in capital letters vertically on the left side (for the full text see Appendix 1): “If the honourable editor of this newspaper wishes to obtain a copy of the magnificent double issue of *POESIA* featuring the Manifesto of Futurism, plus one or two beautiful books of his choice, published by *POESIA*, he only needs to send a copy of his periodical to via Senato, 2, Milan, containing this notice in full.” The press release then continues:

Under the auspices of the renowned international magazine *Poesia*, edited by the poet Marinetti, a “new literary school” that goes by the name of Futurism has been founded. What this *Futurism* is, is conveyed by imaginative language in an eloquent manifesto just released by Marinetti as a preface to Enrico Cavacchioli’s *Ranocchie turchine*, a book of verses published by *Poesia*, which is already the subject of comments and endless discussions in intellectual circles throughout the whole world. The fundamental ideas of the *Futurists*’ new literary school were inspired by an imperious desire for struggle and renewal at any cost, a desire born from a sense of satiation, fatigue and discouragement which oppresses anyone nowadays who is sufficiently cultured to perceive that literature – especially in Italy – languishes in a miserable state. It is a slave to the past and to a thousand traditions or conventions that have become unbearable. It therefore remains blind, deaf and dumb when confronted with the marvellous spectacle offered to the artist by the boundless vitality of contemporary life.

Thus, *Futurism* can be considered to be a very natural and truly wholesome phenomenon, ascertained in our art by the inevitable rebellion of a chosen group of young and courageous spirits, who are all sensitive to the powerful, irresistible force of the *New*, and who, weary of the perpetual adoration of the Past, extend their arms and raise their voices to the *Future*.³⁴

The tone of the *manifesto* launched by *Poesia* had to be and, of necessity, is extremely violent.³⁵

Ten of the eleven points of the *Manifesto of Futurism* are printed after this introduction. Point number 10, however, featuring the contentious statement about the destruction of museums and libraries, is missing. A similar prudence is shown in the closing line of the introductory text, which sounds like an *excusatio*

been conjectured by D’Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 135, and Salaris: *Marinetti: Arte vita futurista*, p. 347 note 77, but I was lucky enough to register a copy in person: 460 × 140 mm single-leaf). All of these press releases are missing from Tonini’s otherwise complete catalogue *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*.

³⁴ Italian has two words for ‘future’: ‘avvenire’ and ‘futuro’. It seems signicative that Marinetti uses the term ‘avvenire’ here, as it is not linked to ‘futurismo’.

³⁵ Except for few lines and some tiny details, the text matches the one published in *L’Unione* (D’Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, p. 40 no. 1909/16). For the full text see Appendix 1.

non petita in response to criticism likely to come from a moderately supportive camp. After the eleventh point of the manifesto, the press release concludes:

Around Marinetti, around *Poesia*, around the blazing ensign of *Futurism* – erected today and already fluttering at the head of the extreme avant-garde among the Italian intellectual élite – a group of fervid and combative talents is already gathered: Gian Pietro Lucini, Palo Buzzi, Corrado Govoni, Federico De Maria, Enrico Cavacchioli and others, many others, all young, all driven by an intense love of Free Art, of Life that ceaselessly accelerates its grand universal pulse, for the impetuous and despotic New that rises up everywhere.

Italy should be deeply grateful to the poet Marinetti for this noble and audacious gesture.³⁶

The names of the Futurists mentioned in this first official document predates, by some decisive months, the membership list featured in the *Second Proclamation*, considered by scholars to be the first of this kind.³⁷ It is astonishing that, already on 4 February 1909, Marinetti provided the press with a roster that included the names of Lucini, Govoni and De Maria – i. e. three people who had not yet read the manifesto and were unaware of the existence of the new school of Futurism. The cases of Lucini and De Maria have been already addressed above. Corrado Govoni (1884–1965), a protagonist of the Italian cultural life and literature in the first half of the twentieth century, was listed by Marinetti amongst the founding members in *Guerra sola igiene del mondo*. Nevertheless, his name is often lacking in scholarly accounts of the origins of Futurism.

Despite his young age, Govoni had already published four books when he met Marinetti in 1908. Marinetti had sent him the leaflet with the manifesto around 4 February 1909, as he had done to Lucini and De Maria. Govoni replied with a letter conjecturally dated March 1909 by the editor of Govoni's *Lettere a F.T. Marinetti*, but likely to have been written in early February 1909, as it is quoted verbatim by Marinetti in his reply to Lucini on 14 February 1909.³⁸ Govoni addressed Marinetti as “my dearest friend” and offered his enthusiastic support to the newly announced “school”. Since this letter portrays a relationship already under way, the two must have been in contact for a while, very likely discussing the forthcoming publication of twenty poems in *Poesia* 5:1–2, under the heading

³⁶ This conclusion is reported verbatim by the Neapolitan newspaper *Il pungolo*, 6 February 1909, preceded by the points 3, 5, 7–9 of the manifesto. See D'Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 51, who was unaware of the article's source.

³⁷ See, for example, De Maria in Marinetti: *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, p. LXXXVif., no. 2.

³⁸ See Govoni: *Lettere a F.T. Marinetti*, p. 49 no. 1 (pp. 12 and 104 for the editor's comments). Lucini: *Marinetti futurismo futuristi*, pp. 157–161, 160 in particular, also quoted in Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, pp. 86–87.

“Corrado Govoni e la sua opera poetica: Viaggio nell’Azzurro” (Corrado Govoni and His Poetry Work: Journey into the Light Blue, 1909). It was his grand debut with Marinetti, and it took place right under the auspices of the new-born Futurist school, as it was following the “Fondation et Manifeste du Futurisme / Fondazione e Manifesto del Futurismo” in the opening section of the issue of February–March 1909. Govoni subsequently became one of the most remarkable poets in the early Futurist group,³⁹ leaving the movement only after the First World War, but still maintaining an amicable relationship with Marinetti.

Towards *Le Figaro*

The discovery of the press release opens up a new perspective on the tenuous chronology of the early editions of the foundation manifesto. It demonstrates that the *Poesia* issue of February–March 1909 and the first two books containing the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* as a preface (Cavacchioli’s *Le ranocchie turchine* and the *Enquête internationale sur le vers libre*, both issued under the *Poesia* imprint) were already organized around 4 February, long before the text appeared in *Le Figaro*.⁴⁰ Apart from the obvious importance this chronology has from a bibliographical and philological point of view, it is particularly interesting because the two books and the issue of *Poesia* contain the long introductory piece known as the “Prologue”, unlike the ‘blue-ink leaflets’, which begin straight with the eleven numbered points of the *Manifesto of Futurism*.

The co-existence of several manifesto editions with and without the prologue raises some serious questions about its genesis and its purpose which, unfortunately, cannot be comprehensively discussed here. Marinetti’s handwritten draft of the manifesto (see note 5 above), consists of two different redactions, both

³⁹ See Salaris: *Marinetti editore*, pp. 102–105 and 186–198.

⁴⁰ Lista argued that Cavacchioli’s *Ranocchie turchine* was already printed in December 1908, referring to both the press release – which on 4 February bombastically states that the book “is already the subject of comments and endless discussions in intellectual circles throughout the whole world” – and the entry 1426 of the Florence Central Library *Bollettino delle pubblicazioni italiane ricevute per diritto di stampa: 1909*, which registers *Le ranocchie turchine* as “Milano, Poesia ed. (Bertieri e Vanzetti), 1908.” See Lista: “Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti’s ‘Manifesto of Futurism’”, p. 79. This date seems unlikely to me, as the *Bollettino* registered Cavacchioli’s book in its March 1909 issue (no. 99, p. 50 col. 2), meaning that the library received the mandatory copy when the book was actually published. In the absence of any other evidence, “1908” must be considered a misprint.

undated. One was written hastily on the headed notepaper of the Grand Hôtel Paris and contains the prologue followed by what seems an early rough draft of the manifesto's key points. The other is a much neater redaction of the text without the prologue, as it appeared first in the blue-ink leaflet. Following the precedence of the blue-ink leaflet, most scholars date the "Prologue" *after* the drafting of the manifesto proper.⁴¹

The launch plan in early February 1909 foresaw the use of both the blue-ink leaflets, already in the process of being distributed in January but halted because of the earthquake, and the manifesto including the prologue that was already printed – or ready to be printed – in three of Marinetti's forthcoming publications: the *Poesia* issue of February–March 1909 and the two books mentioned above, one for the Italian and the other for the French market. Apparently, *Le Figaro* was not yet on the horizon.

Marinetti's memoirs, drafted at the age of 67, between October 1943 and August 1944, add confusion to what is already a complex picture as they merge various events that happened during the first years of Futurism into one narrative. The birth of Futurism begins with the second Futurist *serata* at the Teatro Lirico in Milan, held on 10 February 1910, but then seamlessly moves on to evoke the actions of February 1909:

I took the train every week and was hosted on the River Seine in a semi-Moorish house [...] belonging to a friend of my father's, Mohamed el Rachi Pasha, an Epicurean 70-year-old Egyptian ex-minister, Parisianized and shareholder of the Parisian newspaper *Le Figaro*. A widower, a maniac of French literature [...], he had only one daughter, Rose Fatine, twenty years old [...].

In a Nile vessel [Dahabiya] specially erected by Rose Fatine in front of her villa, I read the famous manifesto to two friends of Mohamed el Rachi, who smiled praised did

41 See Lista: "Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti's 'Manifesto of Futurism'", p. 79 (who contents that the "Prologue" was written in December 1908, after the drafting of the manifesto), Salaris: *Futurismi nel mondo*, p. 325 (who did not take into account Lista's discoveries), D'Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, pp. 18–25, no. 1908/9, and 28–35, no. 1909/12 (who reversed the order of the first and the second draft, postdating what Andréoli-de-Villers considered to be the first draft). These reconstructions fail to take into account that the 'Grand Hôtel redaction' has all the appearance of an early first draft of the manifesto text, as if to say that the "Prologue" was part of the manifesto since its very conception. On this point, Andréoli-de-Villers' sequence and chronology – with some factual corrections – seems more plausible. See *Le Premier Manifeste du futurisme*, p. 14 col. 2: "écriture", and the chronology at p. 16 col. 2. Marinetti seemed to have at one point dismissed the prologue and focussed on the key demands in the manifesto (second draft and blue-ink leaflets; November–December 1908?), and then (January–February 1909?) changed his mind and retrieved the "Prologue".

not understand discussed with Rose Fatine, and at night persuaded the *Figaro* editor Calmette to publish as a lead article the object of all my anxieties at that time.⁴²

So far, I have been unable to obtain any information that could throw light on the Egyptian mediator who helped Marinetti publish his manifesto in *Le Figaro*. Marinetti's account barely offers any insight into his Parisian contacts, but it is obvious that he exploited the many personal acquaintances he had made over the past ten years, not forgetting the contacts provided by his family. But I also assume that Marinetti's *modus agendi* in this situation was similar to the method he employed when he was trying to secure a staging of his play *Le Roi Bombance* (King Guzzle, 1905) in Lugné-Poë's Théâtre de l'Œuvre. It took him over three years to succeed, as we learn from Lugné-Poë's own memoirs: "Marinetti prepared his advances to the director by becoming a founding member of the Maison de l'Œuvre. [...] In 1907 [... he] approached the director for a second time, now 'offering to meet the full cost of the production, and desiring that the piece be presented in luxurious décor'."⁴³ It will not have been a mere coincidence that, in Marinetti's memoir, the staging of *Le Roi Bombance* seamlessly follows the birth of Futurism.

At some point – and quite unexpectedly, with respect to his "fully developed plan"⁴⁴ – Marinetti managed to obtain the first page of one of the most renowned cultural newspapers in Paris.⁴⁵ On Sunday, 20 February 1909, *Le Figaro* opened with "Le Futurisme", a two-and-a-half column feature article

42 "Prendevo settimanalmente il treno e venivo ospitato sulla Senna nella villetta semimoresca [...] di un amico di mio padre Mohamed el Rachi Pascià ex ministro egiziano settantenne epicureo pariginizzato e azionista del giornale Le Figaro di Parigi. | Vedovo maniaco di letteratura francese [...] aveva un'unica figlia ventenne Rose Fatine [...]. || Nella dahabieh fatta costruire appositamente da Rose Fatine davanti alla sua villa lessi il famoso Manifesto a due amici di Mohamed el Rachi che sorrisero elogiarono non capirono discussero con Rose Fatine e la notte persuasero il direttore del Figaro Calmette a pubblicare come articolo di fondo l'oggetto di tutte le mie ansietà in quel momento." Marinetti: *La grande Milano tradizionale e futurista*, pp. 278–279.

43 Berghaus: *Italian Futurist Theatre*, p. 36, quoting Lugné-Poë: *Sous les étoiles*, p. 238.

44 "Very attentive to communication strategies, [Marinetti] also wanted to launch his Futurist movement according to a fully developed plan." Lista: "Genesis and Analysis of Marinetti's 'Manifesto of Futurism'", p. 79.

45 At the turn of the century, *Le Figaro* released a number of literary manifestos, beginning in 1886 with Jean Moréas' "Le Symbolisme: Un manifeste littéraire", which has been considered "the first text on literary matters to bear the label of manifesto" (Somigli: *Legitimizing the Artist*, p. 25). In 1897 followed Saint-Georges de Bouhélier's "Variétés littéraires: Un manifeste [naturaliste]", which may have caught Marinetti's attention as he was about to make his debut in the French literary world.

preceded by a note of the editors claiming – amongst other things – “la primeur de cette manifestation” (the scoop on this event). The text of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* appears with many omissions and with one notable addition, in the second paragraph of the conclusive part following the eleventh point. This addition went back to the manuscript now housed at the Beinecke Library:

a clause describing the ‘brocanteurs’ which appears in Marinetti’s second draft (Andréoli-de-Villers: *Le Premier Manifeste du futurisme*, p. 80) is still present in the newspaper but absent from the broadsheet versions. Such instances reveal that the process of textual revision continued even after the manifesto had been published.⁴⁶

Furthermore, the text in *Le Figaro* preserves the conflicting age reference “thirty / not-yet-thirty” of the first edition blue-ink leaflet, confirming that it stemmed from an earlier draft rather than from the official text printed almost in the same period in *Poesia* 5:1–2 and in the *Enquête internationale sur le vers libre*. The front-page article “Le Futurisme” did not find any notable response amongst the French cultural élite.⁴⁷ If Marinetti’s hope had been to access the French literary world through his new school, the (lack of) reactions of the Parisian circles would dispel this illusion.⁴⁸ But in his own country, in Italy, and then to the rest of the world, the front-page article in *Le Figaro* was a real coup for Marinetti, and he exploited it to the full. A series of leaflets distributed some time later (and re-issued in enormous print-runs at least until 1919)⁴⁹ all contain in large, bold letters the notice “published in *Le Figaro*, on 20 February 1909.”

The publication of the manifesto in *Le Figaro* was a necessary step in the process of legitimizing his cultural project, since the Parisian newspaper had the cultural capital to endow Futurism with a degree of authenticity as an avant-garde movement [...] to

⁴⁶ Vinall: “Le Premier Manifeste du Futurisme”, p. 762. The first to notice the incongruences between the *Le Figaro* edition and the official version(s) was Roche-Pézar: *L’Aventure futuriste*, pp. 63–72 and 103–109. Unfortunately, Roche-Pézar did not know the Beinecke manuscript.

⁴⁷ See Jannini et al.: *La fortuna del futurismo in Francia*, p. 10 and Roche-Pezard: *L’Aventure futuriste*, pp. 113–117. According to Somigli: *Legitimizing the Artist*, p. 155, the “earliest [French] critics” of the manifesto “appeared singularly unimpressed”. For an overview of French responses to the birth of Futurism see Novelli: “Contributo a una bibliografia della fortuna del futurismo in Francia (1909–1920)”, pp. 212 ff; Novelli: “Il ‘rayonnement’ del futurismo nella stampa francese (1909–1914)”; Cescutti: “The Reception of Futurism in France.”

⁴⁸ “Le reazioni degli ambienti parigini al Manifesto dissiparono l’illusione e la speranza di Marinetti di potersi inserire, con la sua scuola, nel movimento letterario francese.” Romani: *Dal simbolismo al futurismo*, pp. 114–115.

⁴⁹ See Coronelli: “Spigolature bibliografiche sui manifesti futuristi 1909–1910”, pp. 67–68.

acknowledge and validate the presence of Futurism, to contribute to the discursive economy on the basis of which Futurism constructed quickly and efficiently its symbolic capital. [...] The importance of such a legitimization was a lesson that Marinetti had learned when the appearance of an earlier version of his text (without the narrative prologue) in several provincial newspapers [...] failed to attract any public reaction.⁵⁰

The *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* leaflets

It is with the *Manifesto of Futurism* leaflet printed in blue ink under the aegis of *Poesia*, issued to the world in a major launch exercise, that the long-lasting misappropriation of the Futurist manifesto begins. Whilst we possess some information on the blue-ink leaflet with the *Poesia* heading – which, let us not forget, comprises only the *Manifesto of Futurism* – we have very little knowledge of the black-ink leaflets printed after the *Figaro* edition and featuring the complete text of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism*. Current research suggests that at least five editions in leaflet form were released after 20 February 1909: three in French and two in Italian. One French and one Italian version belong to the second edition issued from 1913 onwards by the Taveggia print shop under the aegis of the “Direzione del Movimento Futurista / Direction du Mouvement Futuriste”, giving as an address Marinetti’s new Milanese home, Corso Venezia 61.⁵¹

I wish that the date of this re-publication of the first manifestos would become universally acknowledged by scholars, particularly after Maria Elena Versari’s pioneering essay on the first Futurist letterhead, which succinctly recalls all significant data:

An interesting fact that seems to have passed unnoticed is the coalescence, between 1911 and 1912, of variations, shifts and readjustments in the printing history of Futurism. Amongst these, one element, in particular, warrants closer attention. Between 1912 and 1913, Marinetti started a massive republication campaign of previously issued Futurist manifestos. [...] Several events seem to have taken place between the end of 1911 and the beginning of 1912, in conjunction with the arrival of the first Futurist letterhead. Marinetti’s lease for the flat on Via Senato was up on September 29, 1911 [...]. On the exact same date, the outbreak of the Italo-Libyan war spurred Marinetti to chronicle the conflict as a reporter. [...] He returned to Milan between the very end of December 1911 and the first days of January 1912. It was probably around this time that the Poligrafia Italiana folded. This event had significant repercussions on the Futurist movement. Not only was the publication of the books planned for the Edizioni di *Poesia* halted, but the transfer of

⁵⁰ Somigli: *Legitimizing the Artist*, pp. 156–160.

⁵¹ Tonini: *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 9 nos. 1.23 and 1.24. Coronelli: “Spigolature bibliografiche sui manifesti futuristi”, pp. 66–67 nos. 2-it and 3-fr.

the movement's business to the print shop owned by Angelo Taveggia inaugurated a new chapter in the history of Futurism.⁵²

Versari is right in supposing that the “massive republication campaign” took place towards the first half of 1913 rather than in 1912 – as asserted in much of the critical literature dedicated to those details.⁵³ It was Marinetti himself who spoke of a “new reprint of manifestos that I am carrying out” in a letter to Francesco Balilla Pratella, dated 1 May 1913.⁵⁴

Hitherto, the three known leaflets of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* published after *Le Figaro* are dated for convenience sake ‘immediately after 20 February 1909’.⁵⁵ They comprise one French and one Italian print, definitely conceived and designed at the same time (see Fig. 4), and a French edition (see Fig. 3) that was printed with slightly different fonts, on a slightly larger paper, with the title

MANIFESTE INITIAL | DU | FUTURISME | (Publié par le « Figaro » le 20 Février 1909)

In the early years of Futurism, the adjective ‘initial’ in the title of the *Foundation Manifesto* appears to have been used only in this leaflet and in the catalogue for the London exhibiton at the Sackville Gallery, *Exhibition of Works by the Italian Futurist Painters* (March 1912). The use of that adjective suggests a need to differentiate the *initial* manifesto from others that came later. In the Sackville catalogue, the “Initial Manifesto of Futurism” faces the “Manifesto of the Futurist Painters”. Following this simple line of thought, Giovanni Lista assigns this edition of the leaflet to the 1912–1913 European tour of Futurist paintings.⁵⁶ The bottom of the last page of the *Manifeste initial* leaflet is, unusually, blank, leaving all the space to the signatory: “F.T. MARINETTI || POÈTE FUTURISTE | CHEF DU MOUVEMENT FUTURISTE.” The formula could fit a hypothetical printing date set close to the opening, on 5 February 1912, of the Paris exhibition at the Galerie

⁵² Versari: “The Letterhead”, pp. 99–100.

⁵³ Versari: “The Letterhead”, p. 111, note 24 highlights the fact that “antiquarian catalogues generally date these reprints to 1912. The typeface and layout used for them, however, seems to appear only later and is used for example in the Italian and French leaflets for Russolo’s *L’arte dei rumori*, dated 11 March 1913.” See in fact Tonini: *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 9 nos. 1.23, 1.24 etc.

⁵⁴ “[...] nella nuova ristampa di manifesti che sto facendo.” Lugaresi: *Lettere ruggenti a F. Balilla Pratella*, p. 44, also quoted in Tampieri: “Catalogo cronologico degli scritti e delle trascrizioni musicali di F.B. Pratella editi dal 1900 al 1995”, p. 397.

⁵⁵ See Tonini: “I manifesti del futurismo italiano”, pp. 8–9, nos. 1.13–1.14; D’Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, pp. 43–46, nos. 1909/20–22; Coronelli: “Spigolature bibliografiche sui manifesti futuristi”, p. 66.

⁵⁶ Lista: *Le Futurisme: Textes et manifestes*, p. 100.



Fig. 3: A French version of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* in an edition conjecturally dated as early as 1912, with the adjective “initial” in the title and with an unusually large blank space at the bottom of page [4], carrying only the name of the signatory “F. T. MARINETTI || POÈTE FUTURISTE | CHEF DU MOUVEMENT FUTURISTE.”.

Bernheim-Jeune, *Les Peintres futuristes Italiens*, since the formula “Direction of the Futurist Movement” had been coined just a few months before.⁵⁷ Moreover, the absence of the usual printer’s address at the foot of the last page, together with the slightly different paper format, could be explained by the fact that Poligrafia Italiana – the printing workshop in Milan customarily used by Marinetti – definitely

⁵⁷ The first organizational chart headed “Direction of the Futurist Movement” appeared at page [139] of *Le Futurisme* (The Futurism, 1911), the first anthology of manifestos and proclamation, published in Paris by Sansot and already circulating towards the end of July 1911, though it was mostly reviewed in the French press during the following autumn (*L’Aurore*, 24 July 1911; *L’Aéro*, 7 October 1911 and *Le Figaro*, 20 October 1911). Although *Le Futurisme* has found little attention in scholarship, it can be regarded as the official birth certificate of the “Futurist Movement” (“[Direzione del] Movimento Futurista”).

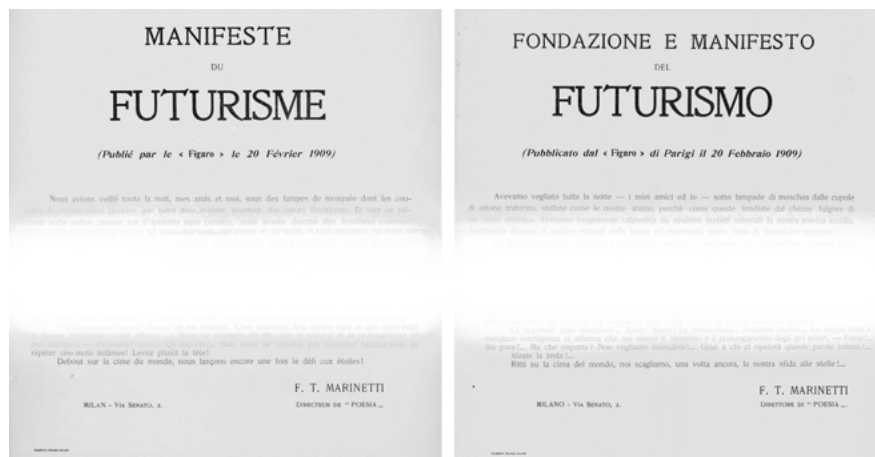


Fig. 4: The top of page [1] and the bottom of page [4] of the French and the Italian version of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* leaflets in the first edition, printed by Polografia Italiana.

closed its doors between the end of December 1911 and the first days of January 1912. However, all of these are mere hypotheses that require further investigation.

I shall use a similarly inductive reasoning about the other two leaflets bearing the full text of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism*, whose headings are as follow (see Fig. 4):

MANIFESTE | DU | FUTURISME | (*Publié par le « Figaro » le 20 Février 1909*)

FONDAZIONE E MANIFESTO | DEL | FUTURISMO | (*Publicato dal « Figaro » di Parigi il 20 febbraio 1909*)

I consider it to be unusual for someone in the year 1909 to issue a manifesto that carries in the title line the indication “published on 20 February 1909”. Marinetti, for one, did not see the necessity to add the year when he referred to “notre *Manifeste du Futurisme*, publié il y a quelques mois, dans le *Figaro* de Paris” (our *Manifesto of Futurism*, published a few months ago in the *Figaro* in Paris).⁵⁸ The first ever appearance in print of the note “published in *Le Figaro*” just below the title line is at page [7] of *Poupées électriques* (Electric Dolls), Marinetti’s drama issued by Sansot in May 1909.⁵⁹ The first page of the preface “Le Futurisme” has an epigraph-style note that reads, straight under the title: “Ce manifeste a été publié par « Le Figaro » dans son numéro du 20

⁵⁸ See Poesia 5:7–9 (August–October 1909), p. 40.

⁵⁹ Cammarota: *Filippo Tommaso Marinetti: Bibliografia*, p. 51, no. 18.

Février 1909” (This manifesto was published by *Le Figaro* in its issue of 20 February 1909).

The next issue of *Poesia* (no. 5:3–6), released in July 1909,⁶⁰ opens with a translation of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* in English: “DECLARATION OF FUTURISM | (This declaration appeared in the Paris “Figaro,, of Feb. 20.th [sic])”. Moreover, the pages 36–37 host again the *Manifesto of Futurism*, without the prologue, laid out as a two-column French-Italian parallel text. The titles read:

Manifeste du Futurisme | (publié par le «Figaro» le 20 Février)

Manifesto del Futurismo | (pubblicato nel «Figaro» del 20 Febbraio)

We have here, in my view, a sort of *terminus post quem* for the publication of the first two leaflets bearing the full text of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* in French and Italian. They were issued not simply a few days or weeks after 20 February, but *at least* five months later, in July 1909. It should be noted, however, that in the *Poesia* issue 3–6 of April–July 1909 there is also no year indication in the bracketed subtitles, as it would indeed have been redundant.⁶¹

As further confirmation that the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* leaflets were not issued immediately after the *Figaro* release, it should be noted that the blue-ink leaflet continued to be distributed, as an attachment to *Poesia* 5:1–2,⁶² or alone with an accompanying letter that is a mere variant of the pre-20 February circular (see note 25), this time with a reference to the *Figaro* release:

Dear colleague, I would be very grateful if you would kindly quote, in whole or in part, in your very important newspaper, this Manifesto (already published on the front page of *Le Figaro*, on February 20), with your frank opinion on Futurism. Your devoted F. T. Marinetti.⁶³

⁶⁰ The Neapolitan monthly journal *Ma chi è? ...* reviewed *Poesia* 5:3–6 in its July 1909 issue. See D’Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 62 and note 78.

⁶¹ Conversely, Sansot seems anything but reluctant to indicate the year in *Poupées électriques*, probably because it appeared in a book and not a journal, i. e. it was destined to have a shelf life of many years.

⁶² See D’Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 52 note 35.

⁶³ “Cher confrère, Je vous serai très reconnaissant de vouloir bien citer, en entier ou en partie dans votre très important journal ce Manifeste (déjà paru en première page du Figaro, le 20 février), avec votre franche opinion sur le Futurisme. Votre dévoué F. T. Marinetti.” This circular, little known amongst Futurism scholars, is described and pictured in De Michelis: “Il primo manifesto di Marinetti nelle sue versioni russe”, p. 307 f., note 3 and p. 29 (picture). There is also a record of a reprint of the Italian blue-ink leaflet, with identical typography but realized with black ink. See Tonini: *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 7 no. 1.3, dated “successiv[o] alla pubblicazione sul Figaro” (following the *Figaro* edition).

The *Second Proclamation: Let's Kill Off the Moonlight!*

The next major enterprise after the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* was the release of the *Secondo proclama* (Second Proclamation, i. e. 'second manifesto', 1909), later known as *Uccidiamo il chiaro di luna!* (Let's Kill Off the Moonlight!, 1911), written and signed again by Marinetti alone. It was printed as a twenty-page booklet, measuring 215 × 155 mm, in French and in Italian, with the *Poesia* heading as in the first manifesto leaflet, and a sentence in large letters filling the entire cover page (see Fig. 5a):

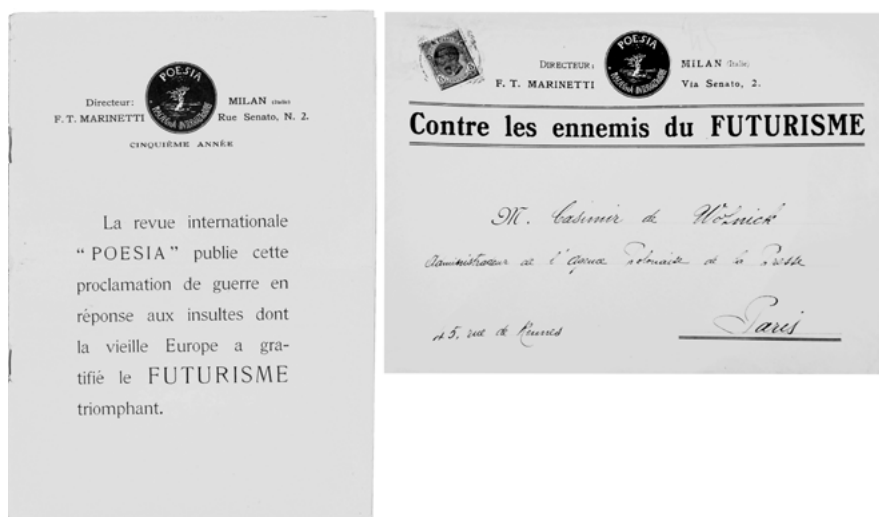


Fig. 5a: The first edition of the *Second Proclamation* (later known as *Let's Kill Off the Moonlight!*, 1911), printed in 1909 as a French and an Italian booklet. **Fig. 5b.** The custom-designed envelope for the *Second Proclamation*, with the *Poesia* heading and a sentence set in bold: "Against the enemies of FUTURISM".

La revue internationale
"POESIA" publie cette
proclamation de guerre en
réponse aux insultes dont

La rassegna internazionale
"POESIA" pubblica questo
proclama di guerra, come
risposta agl'insulti di cui la

la vieille Europe a gra-	vecchia Europa ha gratifi-
tifié le FUTURISME	cato il FUTURISMO
trionphant	trionfante.

Even if some slight differences can be noted in the *Poesia* heading, the sentence resembles the one introducing the leaflet in blue ink, published in late January: same tone, same setting, same font, same layout, same choice in the capitalization of the words ‘Poesia’ and ‘Futurismo’. This is rather important, in my view, as it shows that when the *Proclamation* booklet was conceived, the typical layout of manifestos leaflets had not yet been established.

Since the booklet merely bears the indication “Milan, 1909” in tiny print at the bottom of the second page, the precise publishing date of the *Second Proclamation* is uncertain, and scholars are split between two hypotheses: April⁶⁴ or July 1909.⁶⁵ Both these hypotheses rely on Marinetti’s words: the first is given in his catalogue of manifestos that served as an advertisement in Carrà’s leaflet, *La pittura dei suoni dei rumori degli odori* (The Painting of Sounds, Noises, Smells, dated 11 August 1913).⁶⁶ But if the *Second Proclamation* was already printed in April 1909, why it is missing in *Poesia* 5:3–6, released in July 1909? July is a date likely to be derived from Marinetti’s late memoirs, where he wrote that he drafted the *Second Proclamation* in “a melodious and resinated Provençal forest”,⁶⁷ clearly referring to late spring or summertime. However, the few significant quotations from the *Second Proclamation* I was able to find in the contemporary press all date to autumn 1909: the Parisian *Gil Blas* and *La Libre Parole*, 23 and 26 September respectively, and the October issue of the Neapolitan monthly *Ma chi è?*⁶⁸

⁶⁴ See De Maria’s note in Marinetti: *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, p. LXXXVII and Lista: *Le Futurisme: Textes et manifestes*, p. 116. The booklet was sent in a custom-designed envelope, with the *Poesia* heading and a sentence set in bold: “Contre les ennemis du FUTURISME / Contro i nemici del FUTURISMO” (against the enemies of Futurism). Lista reproduced one of those envelopes, stating that its postmarks confirm that its circulation, in French for France and in Italian for Italy, dates from April 1909. However, when I had a chance to examine *de visu* that very same envelope reproduced by Lista, now housed in an Italian private collection (see Fig. 5b), I noticed that the postmarks and postal stamps are completely unreadable.

⁶⁵ July is favoured by Cammarota: *Filippo Tommaso Marinetti: Bibliografia*, p. 51f. nos. 20–21 and Tonini: *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 11 nos. 3.1–2.

⁶⁶ Tonini: *I manifesti del futurismo italiano*, p. 42 no. 62 and p. 43 (picture). This very first catalogue of Futurist manifestos was repeated in a few other leaflets, and finally systematized in the *Lacerba* anthology *I manifesti del futurismo* (The Manifestos of Futurism, 1914).

⁶⁷ “[...] un melodioso e resinato bosco di Provenza”. Marinetti: *La grande Milano tradizionale e futurista*, p. 227.

⁶⁸ See “Artilleurs en goguette.” *Gil Blas* 30:1915 (23 September 1909), p. 1 col. 3/4. “Un accès de Futurisme.” *La libre parole* 18:6367 (26 September 1909), p. 1 col. 3/4. “Marinetti il terribile.”

Therefore, the French and Italian booklets of the *Second Proclamation* were released not before the middle of September. The Italian version of the *Second Proclamation* was then used as an introduction to *Aeroplani: Canti alati di Paolo Buzzi col II° Proclama futurista di F.T. Marinetti*, printed in October and apparently released towards the end of the month under the *Poesia* imprint.⁶⁹ The French version of the *Second Proclamation*, instead, was used as the opening piece in *Poesia* no. 5:7–9, of August–October 1909, for the first time with the title: “TUONS LE CLAIR DE LUNE!” (Let’s Kill Off the Moonlight), followed by the sentence that had filled the covers of the leaflet edition. This issue, the last of the journal, was printed and released as late as December 1909.⁷⁰

When were the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* leaflets first published?

The formula “published in *Le Figaro* on 20 February” (without year) does not appear before *Poesia* 5:3–6 (July 1909). In September 1909, the graphic design of the *Second Proclamation* booklet shows no significant changes from the very first manifesto leaflet issued in January (the *Manifesto of Futurism* printed in blue ink). The typical layout of Futurist manifesto-leaflet was almost certainly not yet determined at that date. Approaching the end of 1909, we can imagine Marinetti being busy preparing the schedule for Futurist activities in 1910, mostly revolving around the *serate futuriste*, a performance genre that fused lectures, declamations and provocative presentations and seriously challenged the public’s attitude towards Futurism and theatre as a public institution. The series began with the one in Trieste (Politeama Rossetti, 12 January), followed by Milan (Teatro Lirico, 15 February), Turin (Politeama Chiarella, 8 March), Naples (Teatro Mercadante, 20 April), Venice (Teatro della Fenice, 1 August)

Ma chi è? ... 3:10 (October 1909), pp. 798–800. All three periodicals speak of the reception of the booklet, so confusion with the French version featured in the last *Poesia* issue can be ruled out.

69 Buzzi’s *Aeroplani* is featured in the October issue of the Florence Central Library *Bollettino delle pubblicazioni italiane ricevute per diritto di stampa: 1909* (no. 106, p. 190, item no. 5429) and was reviewed in *La tavola rotonda* 20:46 (28 November 1909), p. 314. See D’Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 58, note 60.

70 Even though dated “August–October”, the last issue of *Poesia* only appeared at the end of the year. In a letter dated 4 December 1909, Marinetti announced to Palazzeschi the forthcoming mailing of *Poesia* 5:7–9 (Marinetti and Palazzeschi: *Carteggio*, p. 8f. nos. 8 and 9). The issue was then reviewed in *La tavola rotonda* 20:3 (23 January 1910), p. 22. See D’Ambrosio: *Nuove verità crudeli*, p. 123.

and Padua (Teatro della Gran Guardia, 3 August). The *serate* were a crucial change in Marinetti's communication strategy and pushed Futurist activity to new levels.

In my view, only the *serate* of 1910 provided Marinetti with a compelling reason for printing the very first leaflet bearing the full text of *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* in Italian, i.e. "Fondazione e Manifesto del Futurismo (pubblicato dal "Figaro" di Parigi il 20 febbraio 1909)". A new way of distributing leaflets in theatres complemented the traditional mailing system used to distribute manifestos until then. This also explains the increased print runs and the new leaflets layout, the definite relinquishing of the *Poesia* heading and any decorative 'frill' in favour of bold, straightforward large-letter captions. Günter Berghaus' authoritative reconstruction of the first *serata* suggests that

[Marinetti] went personally to Trieste to see to the matter and to make final arrangements for the event. *He sent copies of his manifestos to all journalists in the city, visited them personally, and they obligingly wrote a number of articles on the poet Marinetti, his journal Poesia, and the new literary school called Futurism.*⁷¹

Marinetti's late memoirs – for what they are worth – also seem to confirm this version:

The two gales that swept through the theatre in Milan and Trieste were stirred up by the *spreading of billions of leaflets bearing the first manifesto of the foundation of Futurism.*⁷²

In early January 1910, "billions of leaflets" bearing the title *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* were sent out to "all the journalist" and distributed amongst the audience of Politeama Rossetti in Trieste. For the second *serata* in the Milanese Teatro Lirico, Marinetti crafted a double-leaf newssheet tailored to the event, *Il futurismo: Supplemento alla rassegna internazionale "Poesia" (anno quinto)*. It was an improvised 'propaganda container' comprising manifestos and press releases, boldly opening with an original essay by Marinetti "Che cos'è il futurismo?" (What is Futurism?).⁷³ On its second page, the *Manifesto of Futurism* was printed in two columns without the prologue. It featured the following title, typeset in large letters:

⁷¹ Berghaus: *Italian Futurist Theatre, 1909–1944*, p. 87. Emphasis in italics is mine.

⁷² "Le due burrasche che gonfiavano il teatro milanese ed il teatro triestino [...] erano aizzate dallo sciorinamento di foglietti a miliardi del primo manifesto della fondazione del Futurismo." Marinetti: *La grande Milano tradizionale e futurista*, p. 278. Emphasis in italics is mine.

⁷³ See Salaris: *Riviste futuriste*, pp. 300–305. D'Ambrosio: *Manifesti programmatici*, p. 54. Versari: "The Letterhead", p. 96 Figure 1.3.

MANIFESTO DEL FUTURISMO | pubblicato dal “FIGARO,, di Parigi il 20 Febbraio 1909

This was the first time ever that a *Futurist* publication attached a year to the publication date of the foundation manifesto: in 1909 there was clearly no need for it. In 1910, indeed, it did not sound strange at all to read in the caption's subtitle that this text had been “published in ... 1909”. This specification also appears in all of the presently known subsequent leaflets of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism*.

Conclusions

At the beginning of February 1909, Marinetti put into action his plan for the launch of Futurism by means of a variety of media. He printed and publicized different versions of the foundation manifesto, in the form of a circular letter, a press release, as the opening piece of his magazine and as an introduction to two forthcoming books. The campaign does not seem to have attracted the attention of the cultural élite, but then, in a rather unexpected way, Marinetti managed to get his manifesto printed on the front page of *Le Figaro*. This publication could not go unnoticed and led to the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* being featured in a large number of newspapers around the world. But reactions were still predominantly negative and often outright scornful. After an assessment of the reception of the manifesto in Europe, and specifically in France, Marinetti responded with a *Second Proclamation* (later reprinted under the title *Let's Kill off the Moonlight!*). The violent statement printed on the cover of the booklet, issued in September 1909, announced a “proclamation of war in response to the insults which old Europe has awarded to triumphant Futurism.”

In early 1910, Marinetti undertook a fresh attempt at conquering the Italian public by means of a series of *serate futuriste*. He therefore had the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* printed as a leaflet in a high print run, all headed “published in *Le Figaro* on 20 February 1909”. This third launch of Futurism relied heavily on the success of the front-page article in *Le Figaro*, which from now on was exploited to the full. In the next thirty years, Marinetti never ceased to emphasize, usually in large bold letters, that his foundation manifesto had been heralded to the world in the prestigious French newspaper. It became a sort of ‘fixture for a lifetime’, an annuity he capitalized on to the full, as can be seen in two later editions, one yet to be studied but apparently issued to coincide with the touring exhibition of Futurist paintings that began in 1912, the

other being part of a large-scale re-publication campaign undertaken from 1913 onwards.

A second part of this essay, to be published in the Yearbook 2022, will examine the other early manifestos issued by Marinetti in 1910 to 1911, discuss the genre of the ‘manifesto-leaflet’ as a primary broadcast media for Futurist propaganda, and explore the wide array of variant printings and their implications for a detailed reconstruction of the early history of Futurism.

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Appendix

IL FUTURISMO

VIVA E CORTESE PREGHIERA DI PUBBLICAZIONE

Se questa onorevole Redazione desidera avere il magnifico **fascicolo doppio** di **"POESIA"**, contenente il Manifesto del Futurismo, **più un volume a scelta** delle bellissime edizioni di **"POESIA"**, non avrà che a mandarci in via Senato, 2, Milano, una copia del suo giornale, contenente il presente cenno **pubblicato per intero**.

Sotto gli auspici della celebre rivista internazionale *«Poesia»*, diretta dal poeta Marinetti, si è fondata una «nuova scuola letteraria» col nome di *Futurismo*.

Che cosa sia il *Futurismo* è detto con immaginoso linguaggio in un eloquente manifesto che il Marinetti ha testè pubblicato come prefazione alle *Ranocchie turchine* di Enrico Cavacchioli, volume di versi edito da *Poesia*, che già è oggetto di commenti e di discussioni senza fine in ogni ambiente intellettuale del mondo intero.

I principi fondamentali della nuova scuola letteraria dei *futuristi* furono ispirati da un imperioso desiderio di lotta e di rinnovamento ad ogni costo, nato da quel senso di sazietà, di stanchezza e di scoraggiamento da cui si sente oppresso oggidì chiunque sia abbastanza colto per accorgersi che la letteratura – specialmente in Italia – langue miserevolmente, schiava del passato e di mille tradizioni o convenzioni divenute insopportabili, rimanendo cieca, sorda e muta davanti ai meravigliosi spettacoli che l'incessante fervore della vita odierna offre all'artista.

Cosicchè il *futurismo* può essere considerato come un fenomeno naturalissimo e veramente salutare, determinato nell'arte nostra dalla inevitabile ribellione di una eletta accolta di giovani e coraggiosi ingegni che tutta sentono la prepotente e irresistibile forza del *Nuovo* e che stanchi di una troppo lunga adorazione del Passato, tendono le braccia e levano la voce verso l'Avvenire.

L'intonazione del *manifesto* bandito da *Poesia* doveva essere ed è, necessariamente, di una grande violenza.

1. Noi vogliamo cantare l'amor del pericolo, l'abitudine all'energia ed alla temerità.
2. Il coraggio, l'audacia, la ribellione, saranno elementi essenziali della nostra poesia.
3. La letteratura esaltò, fino ad oggi, l'immobilità pensosa, l'estasi e il sonno. Noi vogliamo esaltare il movimento aggressivo, l'insonnia febbrile, il passo di corsa, il salto mortale, lo schiaffo ed il pugno.
4. Noi affermiamo che la magnificenza del mondo si è arricchita di una bellezza nuova: la bellezza della velocità. Un automobile da corsa, col suo cofano adorno di grossi tubi simili a serpenti dall'alito esplosivo ... un automobile ruggente, che sembra correre sulla mitraglia, è più bello della *Vittoria di Samotracia*.
5. Noi vogliamo inneggiare all'uomo che tiene il volante, la cui asta ideale attraversa la terra, lanciata a corsa, essa pure, sul circuito della sua orbita.
6. Bisogna che il poeta si prodighi, con ardore, sfarzo e munificenza, per aumentare l'entusiastico fervore degli elementi primordiali.
7. Non v'è più bellezza, se non nella lotta. Nessuna opera che non abbia un carattere aggressivo può essere un capolavoro. La poesia deve essere concepita come un violento assalto contro le forze ignote, per ridurle a prostrarsi davanti all'uomo.
8. Noi siamo sul promontorio estremo dei secoli! ... Perchè dovremmo guardarci alle spalle, se vogliamo sfondare le misteriose porte dell'Impossibile? Il Tempo e lo Spazio morirono ieri. Noi viviamo già nell'assoluto, poichè abbiamo già creata l'eterna velocità onnipresente.