The Theater of Narration

Guzzetta, Juliet

Published by Northwestern University Press

Guzzetta, Juliet.
The Theater of Narration: From the Peripheries of History to the Main Stages of Italy.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/84501.

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Notes

Introduction

1. Laura Curino and Gabriele Vacis, Camillo Olivetti: Alle radici di un sogno (Milan: Baldini & Castoldi, 1998), 23. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

2. Some of those included indoor and outdoor recreation spaces, cafeterias with notable chefs, libraries, buildings designed by award-winning architects, temporary housing with architectural advice centers for private housing, health care, child care, summer camps, and even cultural hours with some of the nation’s leading artists and intellectuals, such as Vittorio Gassman and Pier Paolo Pasolini.


6. Ladurie’s studies, which descended from the Annales school, famous for its macro breadth of historical inquiry, is an example of the overlap in macro- and microhistory that seeps through many works of narrative theater. Ladurie rose to international attention with his first major study published in 1966, Les paysans de Languedoc, in which he borrows from techniques in the social sciences and psychology to analyze seemingly banal remnants such as copious tax records as a basis for sweeping theories that put agricultural problems in conversation with cultural practices to tell the story of a region over three hundred years. Yet only nine years later, in 1975, he published his best-known study, Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324, which is microhistorical in scope and shares many

7. I am thinking here of major successes from film classics such as Gillo Pontecorvo’s *The Battle of Algiers* (1967) to Gianfranco Rosi’s lauded documentary *Fuocoammare* (*Fire at sea*) (2016) and of the many Italian writers (if problematically often referred to as “migrant writers”) from Igiaba Scego (born in Rome of Somali descent) to Amara Lakhous (born in Algeria).

8. Marco Paolini, Laura Curino, Marco Baliani, Giuliana Musso, and Davide Enia have all had works nationally televised, while Ascanio Celestini has appeared regularly as a guest on various variety programs, where he often performs vignettes or excerpts from full-length pieces. Regarding weekly magazines, in February 2006 *L’Unità* released six DVDs with each issue under the series Teatro Incivile, organized by the narrator Mario Perrotta and the journal’s dance and theater critic, Rossella Battista. The series included DVD versions of plays by narrators including Perrotta, Celestini, Enia, and Musso. In January 2010, *L’Espresso* (in collaboration with the Rome-based newspaper *La Repubblica* as the same company owns both media) released seven plays on DVD, all by Marco Paolini, and then in 2012 released ten issues with works by Ascanio Celestini.


14. Thomas Postlewait refers to these moments as “partial truths [that] can be attained, verified, and justified” and that acknowledge the challenges of historical inquiry. Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 23; Similarly, Freddie Rokem asserts that “performing history is obviously a hybrid notion—creating a bridge between performance and history—at times it moves closer to the fiction and even allegorical pole . . . and at others closer to the pole of historical accuracy and documentation.” Freddie Rokem, *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), 7.


19. Rokem also addresses the topic by combining embodiment with the vital connection between historiography and narrative via the actor. This individual, whom he terms a “hyper-historian,” has the ability to meld the imaginative that accompanies creative endeavors with a scientific level of investigation in order to embody a historical figure from the past. Rokem, *Performing History*, 12–13.


23. The ability to convey a nuanced perspective with the label “the years of lead” is challenging, even if the term was originally coined in German for the purpose of emphasizing weight in order to underline the heaviness of the decade. With the passage of time, translations into Italian and English exaggerate the play on words beyond the original intention. For a more detailed explanation of the term, see Pierpaolo Antonello and Alan O’Leary, *Imagining Terrorism: The Rhetoric and Representation of Political Violence in Italy 1969–2009* (London: Legenda, 2009), 11n1.


26. Jonathan Dunnage, *Twentieth-Century Italy: A Social History* (London: Longman, 2002), 172. Rather than what students perceived as the flimsy bandages of the Gui bill, they desired a radical reorganization of the Italian university system that would address various problems: from the technical (such as overcrowding), to the pedagogical (reducing the authority and authoritarian stature of the professoriate), to inadequate funding. Gui’s bill offered modest changes such as increasing faculty hiring and opportunities for working-class students, but also proposed to restrict enrollments in several disciplines in order to solve the overcrowding problem, perhaps its most controversial measure. See also Stuart J. Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 14–15; Stuart J. Hilwig, “The Revolt against the Establishment: Students versus the Press in West Germany and Italy,”


29. Films such as *Buongiorno notte* (dir. Marco Bellocchio, 2003, loosely based on the 1998 memoirs of Anna Laura Braghetti, the ex-brigatista, or ex-member of the Red Brigades, the far left group that frequently resorted to violent actions), *La meglio gioventù* (dir. Marco Tullio Giordana, 2003), and *Romanzo criminale* (dir. Michele Placido, 2005, based on the 2002 novel by Giancarlo de Cataldo) not only deal with specific terrorist events, from kidnapping to bombings, but also contemplate their political ramifications.

30. The former refers to an attempt to control the masses through the use of fear, propaganda, and disinformation and is largely associated with right-wing institutions. The latter reflects the attempt to find common ground between the major parties of the Christian Democrats, which was the dominant party in postwar Italy until it disbanded in 1994, and the Italian Communist Party (PCI). Aldo Moro, the prime minister who was kidnapped and eventually assassinated by the Red Brigades in 1978 and who is the subject of numerous works, including Marco Baliani's *Body of State*, was heavily involved in these talks, but when he was kidnapped they eventually crumbled. Antonio Negri argues that the PCI suffered considerably due to these two situations, since party members fractured ties with social movements as they became politically marginalized. Eventually the party itself morphed into the bureaucratic power-hungry organization that it never intended to be. In retrospect, it is clear that these events contributed to the end of the radical Left more broadly: to communism both as a viable political party and a philosophy, which is particularly significant in Italy because the PCI was the strongest communist party in postwar Western Europe. See Antonio Negri, “Reviewing the Experience of Italy in the 1970s,” *Le monde diplomatique*, n.d., http://mondediplo.com/1998/09/11negri.


32. For a thorough examination on media representation of women during the Berlusconi era, see Danielle Hipkins, “‘Whore-Ocracy’: Show Girls, the Beauty Trade-Off, and Mainstream Oppositional Discourse in Contemporary Italy,” *Italian Studies* 66, no. 3 (November 2011): 413–30. The activist and author Lorella Zanardo has been one of the most visible presences to explore media representation, particularly with the powerful documentary *Il corpo delle donne* (Women’s bodies), which she offers free for download in Italian but is also available with subtitles in a number of different languages on the website http://www.ilcorpodelledonne.net/. It is an excellent teaching resource.

34. For a thorough history, including the myths, of this law and the infamous Italian manicomi, or insane asylums, see John Foot, The Man Who Closed the Asylums: Franco Basaglia and the Revolution in Mental Health Care (London: Verso, 2015).


40. This particular meeting with Celestini, on April 27, 2018, occurred shortly before a performance of his Pueblo at the Teatro Franco Parenti in Milan. By the time we walked around the corner from the theater to a café, there was only an hour or so left before curtain, and I was concerned that we would not have much time to visit. In disbelief I kept looking at the clock on my phone that was recording the interview as the minutes brought us closer and closer to showtime. People on their way to see the performance passed us on the street, laughing, pointing, asking to shake his hand. As I continued to inquire if it was okay with him that we were cutting it so close, he assured me not to worry. At some point I understood why: he was using our conversation as the warm-up. All of the stories he told me, the way he told them hopping along the tangents, was how he practiced. He explicitly stated that his rehearsal method consisted of talking for hours just like that, sitting in a chair in a room. Now he was rehearsing in front of me, and soon he would perform for an entire audience in a very similar register, loosely following his script.

Chapter 1


3. While most European theaters are historically author-centered, Italian theater is largely actor-centered with the exception of a few important playwrights such as Carlo Goldoni and Luigi Pirandello. The theater of narration extends the long-standing tradition of the actor-author in Italy, best exemplified in the commedia dell’arte, demonstrating how those populist roots assumed an especially strong political potency in loosening the grip of directors who had assumed much authority in twentieth-century Italian theater.

4. See Guccini, “Teatro di narrazione”; Simone Soriani, “Mistero buffo, dal varietà al teatro di narrazione,” in *Coppia d’arte: Dario Fo e Franca Rame con dipinti, testimonianze e dichiarazioni inedite*, ed. Concetta D’Angeli and Simone Soriani (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 117–22. Along with his portrayals of the *zanni* (servant characters in the commedia dell’arte), and excerpts from Angelo Beolco (*il Ruzzante*), Fo also reinvented aspects of *giullarata* or *giullaresca* for a modern audience. Ronald Scott Jenkins, *Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Artful Laughter* (New York: Aperture, 2001), xi. *Giullarata*, a derivative of the Latin *ioculator* (joker, jester) is a popular style from the Middle Ages, where the *giullari* were itinerant players, mostly of the lower classes, who worked within oral traditions. They included a wide variety of performers, such as musicians, dancers, acrobats, jugglers, and actors. Traditions of the *giullari padani* (from the Po region) often created pieces that were meant to be told by one person. Soriani, “Mistero buffo, dal varietà al teatro di narrazione,” 108.


9. Fo and Rame also translated this “everydayness” in alternative performance spaces such as piazzas, in addition to theaters, nodding to forms of teatro minore (“minor theater” or “secondary theater” such as circuses, popular farces, and street theaters) that stress an engagement with the popular. This is another commonality with Teatro Settimo and narrators, but not necessarily attributable to Fo and Rame.


12. It is particularly egregious that although Fo contributed to some aspects of the writing or editing of Rame’s several monologue plays about women (translated in *Female Parts* and *A Woman Alone and Other Plays*), he is regularly credited as the sole author.


32. Ugolini, “Settimo Torinese.”
33. Ugolini, “Settimo Torinese.”
36. Vacis, “Il disegno e la casa.”
40. Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 6, emphasis in the original.
44. Vacis, “Il disegno e la casa.”
48. Vacis, “Il disegno e la casa.”
50. Laboratorio Teatro Settimo, “LTU3.”
55. Though he rarely returns to them, those first plays include *Cicoria: In fondo al mondo*, Pasolini (1998–99), written by, directed by, and starring Celestini and Gaetano Ventriglia; and the *Milleuno* trilogy: *Baccalà, il racconto dell’acqua* (1999), *Vita morte e miracoli* (1999), and *La fine del mondo* (2000), all written by, directed by, and with Celestini.

**Chapter 2**

10. The influence of factory worker protests as one powerful engine of revolt during much of the 1960s and into the 1970s, with the “hot autumn” of 1969 perhaps the apex, cannot be overstated. Notably, it held enormous influence both on a practical scale, in terms of bodies protesting on the street, and for the philosophical advances in thought that it inspired in various leftist Marxist movements, including workerism and autonomism, that attracted philosophers such as Antonio Negri. Mario Tronti’s *Operai e capitale* (Workers and Capital)
(Turin: Einaudi, 1966) was particularly influential, as was the journal that he began with Raniero Panzieri and Romano Alquati (who later wrote critiques of the Olivetti corporation), Quaderni Rossi (Red notebooks) and later on his own, the journal Classe Operaia (Working class).


27. Giuseppe “Peppino” Impastato (1948–78, Cinisi, Palermo) was a political activist who fought local Sicilian mafia crime through political and cultural
means (such as public shaming on the radio) and fought for the rights of peasants and the unemployed. He was murdered by the Mafia on the same day that Moro’s body was discovered.

32. The “strategy of tension” refers to the ways in which the Far Right, possibly including parties in both the Italian and foreign governments such as the United States who feared leftist platforms, manipulated and controlled the public through panic and terror especially during attacks such as the 1969 bombing of Piazza Fontana in Milan.
44. Madison, *Critical Ethnography*, 5, emphasis in the original.


52. Pollock, *Remembering*, 2, emphasis in the original.


64. Bruner, “Experience and Expressions,” 17.

Chapter 3


2. Paolo Puppa has mentioned the “particular coincidence between the rise of fascism—with its ambition to regulate the masses—and the parallel rise of the director.” He notes how directing implies the imposition of a hierarchical strategy on performances, greater prominence to the director’s name over the actors, and the prioritizing of disciplined acting over individual performances and decisions. Paolo Puppa, “The Actor-Narrator,” in Fischer, *The Tradition of the Actor-Author in Italian Theatre*, 158. Such a rise also coincided with the opening of many state-run theaters throughout Italy, *teatro stabili*, which was in many ways a positive and hard-fought endeavor, though one that similarly resulted in concentrations of power.


5. Haller, *The Other Italy*, 54, 41.


7. Haller, *The Other Italy*, 42.


10. Eduardo De Filippo is among the most celebrated Italian playwrights (and performers), and he frequently wrote in his native Neapolitan. Nino Martoglio, the Sicilian from Catania, was also heavily influential, especially for Pirandello. See Haller, *The Other Italy*, 39–53.


13. For Emma Dante’s Sud Costa Occidentale Enia wrote *Il filo di Penelope* and *Una stanza con nessuno dentro*.

14. For statistics see the Fondazione Iniziative e Studi Multietnicità, https://www.ismu.org/dati-sulle-migrazioni/.

15. In publishing this work with the small Sicilian press Due Punti in a lightweight pocket-sized edition, rather than with the Rome-based Fandango Libri, with whom he published his previous works, Enia supports local business and reaches local inhabitants more directly.


30. When scholars credit Dario Fo as the grandfather of the theater of narration, they are often quick to point out a major exception in Fo’s hyperanimated theater. Famous for his commedia dell’arte style physicality, Fo is the antithesis of narrators in this respect. Largely remembered for the elasticity of his facial expressions with which he endows his characters, and his full-body physicality of flailing arms and leaping across the stage, he maintains several somatic traditions associated with the court jester and commedia, including dimensions of pantomime and an exaggerated sometimes grotesque performance style. Verging on slapstick at times, he calls on traditions that invoke “vulgar” Roman comedies revised in the commedia dell’arte, where physical expression and spontaneity is relied on so heavily that improvisation takes the place of the script. In these practices, Fo reinstates the hegemony of the action over the word—the opposite
of what the theater of narration offers. In his “Grammelot” language skits, for example, he speaks in complete gibberish but is nonetheless able to communicate an entire story through intonation and physical expression. Words are rendered unnecessary. Fo exemplifies a “pure state” of orality, in which sounds do not accrue to words, yet meaning is still communicable. His rejection of the sacredness of the text also aligns him critically with performance theory, with its embrace of the three-dimensional stage world over a singular focus on the script. While narrators do not favor a script per se, they favor spoken language over physical communication, in some instances barely using their performance spaces. In contrast to Fo, narrators draw attention to the value of the spoken word by helping the listener concentrate their attention free of distraction on what they are saying, not what they are doing. See Simone Soriani, “In principio era Fo,” Hystrio 1 (January 2005): 17–22; Simone Soriani, “Dario Fo, il teatro di narrazione, la nuova performance epica: Per una genealogia di un ‘quasi-genere,’” Forum Italicum 39, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 620–48; Antonio Scuderi, “Dario Fo and Performance Theory,” Italian Culture 12 (1994): 239–46.


32. Nencioni, Di scritto e di parlato, 129.

33. Nencioni, Di scritto e di parlato, 131, 133.

34. Soriani, Dario Fo, 18. In a dialectical reading, Plato explains in the third book of the Republic that tragedy and comedy are wholly imitative types (mimetic), the dithyrambs (hymns sung to Dionysus) wholly narrative (diegetic); and their combination is found in epic poetry.


37. Povoledo, “In Italy, Memories Are Made of This.”

38. As with many of Paolini’s plays such as I-TIGI Canto per Ustica (2000), Gli album (1987), and Il sergente (2004), Vajont was not only taped but was also aired uninterrupted on national television across Italy.

39. Luigi Pirandello, L’umorismo e altri saggi (Florence: Giunti, 1994).


42. Paolini and Vacis, The Story of Vajont, 22, emphasis in the original.


44. For more on autocoscienza, see Paola Bono and Sandra Kemp, Italian Feminist Thought: A Reader (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 9–11; Libreria delle donne di Milano, ed., Non credere di avere dei diritti: La generazione della libertà femminile nell’idea e nelle vicende di un gruppo di donne (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1987), 32–35; Nanni Balestrini and Primo Moroni, L’ordina d’oro,


46. Paolini, for example, published I quaderni del Vajont (The notebooks of Vajont), a thin volume of materials and progress reports during his research for the production. Baliani wrote an entire book called Ho cavalcato in groppa ad una sedia (I rode on the back of a chair) (2010) about his experience creating Kohlhaas to coincide with the release of a DVD of the production on its twentieth anniversary.


50. Antonello and O’Leary, Imagining Terrorism, 2.


52. Antonello and O’Leary, Imagining Terrorism, 2.


55. Passerini, Torino operaia e fascismo, 16.

56. Laboratorio Teatro Settimo, “LTU3.”


59. Dario Fo, Mistero buffo: Giullarata popolare (Verona: Bertani, 1977), 5. It is noteworthy that in the 2003 edition grottesco was replaced with comico (“comic” instead of “grotesque”) and popolo with classi inferiori (“lower classes” instead of “the people”). Franca Rame is also added as the editor, suggesting that these changes might have been hers, though she was likely involved with earlier editions just not as prominently recognized. Dario Fo, Mistero buffo: Giullarata popolare, ed. Franca Rame (Turin: Einaudi, 2003).


61. Veneziani, Controinformazione, 43.


66. Marco Baliani, Corpo di stato: Il delitto Moro (Milan: Rizzoli, 2003), 64B.


Chapter 4


4. Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16 (Spring 1986): 24. Foucault’s idea leads to an understanding of theater in general as a space that plays the unreal as though it were real, and indeed he acknowledges that a heterotopia is “capable of juxtaposing in a single real space, several sites that are in themselves incompatible,” which is what theater does when it presumes space anywhere other than a theater (“Of Other Spaces,” 25). For an extensive genealogy of Foucault’s thinking on heterotopia and analysis of its key features, see Joanne Tompkins, *Theatre’s Heterotopias: Performance and the Cultural Politics of Space* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 20–24.
5. Tompkins, *Theatre’s Heterotopias*, 1, emphasis in the original.
9. Portions from this discussion were previously published. See Guzzetta, “At Work, at Home.”
15. Elisabetta Bini, Ferdinando Fasce, and Toni Muzi Falconi, “The Origins and Early Developments of Public Relations in Post-War Italy, 1945–1960,” *Journal of Communication Management* 15, no. 3 (2011): 215. The autonomist thinker Romano Alquati, who was influential in the discourses on workerism, particularly in Piedmont, embraced a “practice of inquiry” with Olivetti employees regarding their workplace experiences. The idea behind the practice is that no one would know more about capitalist exploitation than the workers themselves, so they should be the ones to articulate it. This study led Alquati to question the fundamental differences of working for this social employer (Olivetti) with respect to other companies, such as Fiat. For a helpful overview on the practice of inquiry, see Asad Haider and Salar Mohandes, “Workers’ Inquiry: A Genealogy,” *Viewpoint Magazine* 3 (2013), http://viewpointmag.com/2013/09/27/workers-inquiry-a-genealogy/#fn1–2809. In a similar gesture to Alquati’s practice of inquiry, three scholars interviewed former Olivetti workers at the turn of the twenty-first century about their experiences in the factories. While the former employees express gratitude and loyalty to Olivetti, they thinly mask an undercurrent that questions the potentially repressive aspects of the company’s widely perceived cultural and intellectual munificence. Some of them speculate that the in-house labor union, Autonomia Aziendale, was designed to create distance from more working-class organizations that might promote class conflict just at the
moment when the work of a new generation of foundational leftist intellectuals including Alquati, Antonio Negri, Renzo Panzieri, and Mario Tronti was taking shape. For the interviews, see Novara, Rozzi, and Garruccio, *Uomini e lavoro*. Special thanks to Jim Carter for discussions regarding the Olivetti Company.

16. Only four years later in 1964, the Olivettis lost their majority share when they sold the company to a holding group of various Italian conglomerates including Fiat, Pirelli, and Mediobanca, who shared control with Adriano’s eldest son, Roberto. Additionally, they sold the most promising wing altogether, the electronics division where they had begun developing mainframe computers, to General Electric.

17. Laboratorio Teatro Settimo, “Fase 0, 1, 2: Progetto Città Laboratorio” (1980–81), box 1980, LCPC.


22. P. G., “Che la festa cominci . . . sulla piazza settimese.”


24. “Quando il teatro scende in piazza e la trasforma.”


28. To this extent, their notions of community call to mind Giorgio Agamben’s theorization of uprisings, with the absence of specific demands other than to combat authoritarianism. Though the narrators and early Settimo artists were less interested in discussions of identity than Agamben was, their postmodern inclination toward an open scheme calls to mind some of his conceptions of community. See Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community* trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).


32. Settimo, “L’Arcircolo PEPE Pamphlet.”


42. Giuliano Scabia, *Marco Cavallo: Da un ospedale psichiatrico la vera storia che ha cambiato il modo di essere del teatro e della cura* (Merano: Edizioni Alpha Beta Verlag, 2011). The title of the project honors Italo Calvino’s short story collection *Marcovaldo*, or *The Seasons of the City*, which follows the humble title character as he attempts to navigate an unfamiliar and hostile society.
43. Settimo, “L’Arcircolo PEPE Pamphlet.”
47. Guccini and Marelli, *Stabat mater*, 98.
52. For a rich history of the term and essays seeking to push the boundaries of the definition, see Anna Birch and Joanne Tompkins, *Performing Site-Specific Theatre: Politics, Place, Practice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
59. As previously discussed in the section on Celestini’s “Temps Projects” (chapter 3), in the November 1966 issue of the theater journal *Sipario*, many leading artists from Carmelo Bene and Giuliano Scabia to Carlo Quartucci and even the critic Franco Quadri called for a new theater (*un nuovo teatro*), declaring the 1967 Ivrea festival the place where they would convene to devise fresh
methods and practices. Artists such as Luca Ronconi and Dario Fo did not sign the manifesto, but were present at the Ivrea gathering. The manifesto inspired a cross-disciplinary call to action with signatories from other artists including the musician Sylvano Bussotti and the film directors Marco Bellocchio and Liliana Cavani.


61. Canziani, Dedica, 7.

62. Some examples of these sessions include “theoretical reflections” such as “1968/69 La nascita del progetto ‘Animazione’ al Teatro Stabile di Torino” by Nuccio Messina (director of the magazine Primafila); “Dal teatro all’animazione. Dall’animazione al teatro” by Patrizia Mattioda; and “Il corpo animato” by Claudia Allasia (dance critic). “Il gioco del teatro: Convegno ‘l’animazione trent’anni dopo.’ Vetrina del teatro ragazzi e giovani,” April 21, 1998, box 1996–99, LCPC.


64. “Il gioco del teatro.”


66. The organizers were the Fondazione Nuto Revelli, which preserves and celebrates the works of this local writer, once partisan leader, most famous for collecting oral histories of the people who lived in the mountains outside of Cuneo, especially women, in addition to the Turin-based ACTI Teatri Indipendenti Azione del progetto MigraACTION, and cofinanced largely by the EU’s Programma di Cooperazione Territoriale Transfrontaliera Interreg V A Italia-Francia ALCOTRA 2014–2020.


Chapter 5

1. Guccini, La bottega dei narratori, 14.

2. For a helpful overview of these two perspectives, see Steve Dixon, Digital Performance: A History of New Media in Theater, Dance, Performance Art, and Installation (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).


5. For a succinct introduction to the historical rapport between orality and literacy see Marina Spunta, Voicing the Word: Writing Orality in Contemporary Italian Fiction (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 13–15.

6. Varazze (ca. 1230–98) was a member of the Dominican order who eventually became archbishop of Genoa. Around 1260 he compiled hagiographies that became very popular in the late medieval ages through the Renaissance.


10. Some of the seminal theater of narration pieces, such as Marco Baliani’s _Kohlhaas_ (1991), made their national debuts there, and Laboratorio Teatro Settimo also staged several significant productions at the Donizetti, such as _Elementi di struttura del sentimento_ (1980). In addition, Curino performed some of her most important pieces there over the years.

11. Lotto’s (ca. 1480–1556) frescos depicting Saint Bàrbera’s story are in the small chapel known as the Capella dell’Oratrio Suardi.


13. As in _Santa Bàrbera_, the manifesto often appears unattributed, though based on a copyright record in England from 2001 Maria Pike claims authorship. Little is known about the author. Though some websites now attribute the Raver’s Manifesto to Pike, in the past it circulated anonymously.


17. Curino and Tarasco, _Santa Bàrbera_, 35.

18. Curino and Tarasco, _Santa Bàrbera_, 37.


21. Curino and Tarasco, _Santa Bàrbera_, 42.


38. Lottizzazione describes the way in which any one entity can be split up into minor parts. This occurred with other state conglomerates in Italy around the same time, including ENI, the Italian oil and gas company; ENEL, the Italian energy provider; and the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction, which played a role in refinancing banks and private companies. Here I use the term only to refer to the state-run television networks under RAI, which first divided into two, and eventually three (RAI1, RAI2, RAI3).


40. With respect to the development of the three main state channels, since the DC had solely controlled RAI from 1953 until 1975, presenting a wide variety of political perspectives had not been possible until the parceling out of stations across the political parties themselves, but some were not convinced by this rationale. The main criticism of lottizzazione during the time was that allocating a national channel to each main political party challenged the standard view that objectivity meant an absence of political bias, since all the channels now had political parties at their helm. Paving the way for the logic of privatization, that argument insisted on a situation in which no party, rather than several major parties, would have so much control over television. Meanwhile, the counter-argument sought to persuade the public that it was precisely the multiple party system that exposed audiences to multiple viewpoints. Instead of refraining from party propaganda, lottizzazione allowed the main parties a forum for their political views.

43. Dagrada, “Television and Its Critics,” 244.
49. Radio Popolare in Milan is part of a tradition of left-leaning stations that emerged during the 1970s and include, perhaps most famously, Radio Alice in Bologna, which later became Radio Radicale; Radio Aut in Palermo lead by Peppino Impastato, the young activist that Baliani honors in *Corpo di stato* for speaking publicly against the Mafia, who then murdered him; and more recently Radio Blackout in Turin, emerging from protests in occupied universities in the late 1980s and early 1990s known as *il movimento della pantera* (the panther movement).
50. Paolini and Ponte di Pino, *Quaderno del Vajont*, 50–51.
55. R. S. Jenkins, preface to *Body of State*, ix.

**Conclusion**

2. The capital “V” in “moVimento” stands for an Italian vulgarity, in this instance directed toward members of Parliament, euphemistically translatable as “take a hike.”
4. For a taping of this event, see “Bettino Craxi sotto una pioggia di monetine,” YouTube video, 1:44, posted August 30, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCELIWzRFkg.
5. See, for example, Alessandro Dal Lago, *Clic! Grillo, Casaleggio e la demagogia elettronica* (Naples: Cronopio, 2013).