

The Caricaturist's Committed Pencil: A Suggested Analysis of the Italian Caricatures of Gabriele Galantara, 1888–1937

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Abstract. This article examines the caricature output produced in Italy by Gabriele Galantara (Montelupone 1865 – Rome 1937). It proposes an analysis of the cartoons produced between 1888 and 1937 intended for publication in regional and national periodicals. The material chosen for study has been divided into three principal categories, keeping in consideration the chronological sequence and the different typologies of language, style and semantics used. There follows therefore analysis of: goliardic caricature (1888–1892); satirical caricature (1892–1926), focussing on both political and cultural aspects; social humour and ethnic /racial satirical caricature (1931–1937). The principal objective is to describe the work of the artist in the field of caricature in a clear and well-structured manner; a second objective being an analysis and description of the transformations which took place within the graphic language of this artist.

Keywords: Gabriele Galantara; Illustration; Caricature; Goliardic; Satire; Humour; Italian satirical periodicals; Cartoons; Newspapers; Socialism; Political satire; Social satire; Proletariat; Fashion and women's lifestyle; Fascism; Ethnic/racial satire.

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1. Introduction

Gabriele Galantara's life as an artist was kaleidoscopic, as he was active as an illustrator, caricaturist, editor, advertising illustrator and painter, to say nothing of his active commitment to socialist politics¹. In the light of his numerous interests, passions and artistic production, the present article is concerned with the field in which he undertook the majority of his artistic activity: caricature.

As a caricaturist, Galantara produced work in Italy, France, Belgium, Austria, England and Germany; he took part in national and international group exhibitions and volumes

¹ A personal archive of Galantara does not exist. Therefore, the material connected to him is retained in different places: documents belonged to his political activity are in State archives of cities where he lived or in personal archives of people with which he was in contact; several newspaper - with which he has collaborated during his life - are been kept in public libraries and private collections. Original artistic works are mostly divided into three principal units: the Historical Archive of the University of Bologna, the Centro Studi e Archivio della Comunicazione (CSAC) of the University of Parma and the Civic Art Gallery "Corrado Pellini" in Montelupone (Macerata).

dedicated to his work were published abroad. He supported and raised the standard of the Italian satirical-caricature periodicals, which had boomed in the peninsula since 1848. In this context he was among the founders of several of the most savage Italian satirical journals (*Bononia ridet, l'Asino, il becco giallo, Marc'Aurelio*) and contributed to numerous foreign journals (*L'Assiette au Beurre, Der wahre Jacob, Simplicissimus, L'Europe anti-Prussienne...*); during the period 1892-1937 he collaborated in more than twenty-five publications. He was also the author and distributor of several iconographic works which have become part of the satirical imagery of Italian and European illustration.

In the light of such a complex and multi-faceted activity, this article proposes an analysis of his caricature output intended for the Italian market, including both a chronological overview from 1888 to 1937 and a description of his use of the different typologies of artistic language and form.

2. Gabriele Galantara: A Pencil Committed to Caricature

"A caricature *is* a cannon blast".² — Sigmund Freud used this phrase to describe both synthetically and effectively the value and meaning of the caricature image. The caricature is a cannon shot: for the subject of the bombardment who discovers with astonishment that he or she has been targeted and then portrayed; for the readers and the spectators, confronted with a different image, maybe a more realistic than a normal picture; and finally for the artist, who, while working in their usual artistic domain, is struck by the possibilities of this expressive form. The history of Italian art is dotted with humorous faces which peep out between the leaves of books and official projects and there were very many artists who applied themselves to this craft with passion and enjoyment between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Gabriele Galantara's taste for caricature developed during his youth; the letters sent home from his boarding school in Macerata³ (where he followed his higher technical studies) are populated with lively figures. It was during his university years however, that a simple pastime and a natural talent were revealed to be something of greater significance. When he moved to Bologna and registered at the university for the academic year 1884-1885, the young man came into contact with the intense cultural atmosphere of the city; he was introduced to the world of publishing, which he would never leave (except on a few occasions, under duress) and he remained fascinated by the art of caricature. From the 1880s onwards, Galantara was seduced by its tradition, its forms, its content and the infinite variations which it allowed. He was completely absorbed by this form of art, which led him to master the skills of the pencil and to which he remained faithful all his life.

As his artistic output spanned a period of forty-nine years, it is possible to follow a stylistic evolution through the *corpus* of his work, which can be divided into three significant phases: first of all the goliardic caricatures of 1888-1892; followed by his satirical caricatures, between 1896 and 1926; finally the dark social comedy and the ethnic-racial caricatures of 1931-1937. Obviously, this chronological division need not be considered as absolute; it is impossible to completely cut off one period from another; a return to an earlier form or the foreshadowing of a later one is always a given, they blend into each other and at some points coexist happily in the mind and the pencil of their author. These phases should not be considered as static categories, but dynamic ones, which are presented in this study as progressing from one to another separately and in sequence, partly as a consequence of the

² Quoted in Kris (1977, p. 177).

³ The letters, autograph documents and personal archive of Gabriele Galantara were lost in 1965, after the publication of the monograph by Guido Davide Neri.

greater use made of a particular style at a particular time and also with the objective of describing the evolution of an artistic poetics.

3. Goliardic Caricature (1888–1892)

The beginning of Gabriele Galantara's public career as an artist coincides with the period when he dedicated himself to goliardic caricature. This was at during the years he spent as a student in Bologna and can be encompassed within the period between 1888 and the first months of 1892; in reality, according to the historiography, his real debut came a year earlier, when he collaborated in 1887 with the weekly citizen journal *Ehi! Ch'al scusa...*⁴. But the first true epiphany of his youthful vocation were the illustrations he produced for the newssheet *Bononia ridet*, whose foundation was due to the genius and entrepreneurial spirit of the author himself and his friend and future colleague Guido Podrecca⁵. The rapport between the two of them was born during their time at the University of Bologna, a world in a continual process of evolution, which saw a rebirth of the ancient goliardic spirit at exactly this time. The experiences of groups of students (and sometimes even of professors), gathered together in academic institutions, who had inspired Italian education during the early years of the new era, gained a new strength in Bologna at the end of the 19th century. A champion of this new attitude was Giosuè Carducci, lecturer in Italian Literature, who gave a new push to irony, to excess, to the taste for jokes and for mockery among the students, who quickly adopted the term "goliards"⁶.

At the heart of the numerous activities which took place during that year, under the impetus of the new definition and on the occasion of the celebrations for the 8th centenary of the foundation of the university, came the experiment of *Bononia ridet*, which had presented itself to its readers in its very first issue as a «weekly artistic – literary – university review»⁷. The link to the university environment and thus to the goliardic spirit then to the fore were clear even in the title and subtitle, but the relationship found a still clearer confirmation by the use of Galantara's images, appearing on the cover and the inside pages.

The first illustrated newssheet was enlivened by characters of Bolognese life: ladies with the latest accessories and hairstyles, men dressed in the height of elegance and representatives of the forces of law and order. Usually they are presented as half-busts, whose portraits, with their smiling, self-satisfied and pleasure-loving expressions, fulfil goliardic intentions, while their clothes, posture and attitudes reflect daily reality. In 1890 the newssheet changed its appearance: a proud female figure appeared on the masthead, initially just apart from the group in the second rank, but in subsequent years appearing to denounce them, perhaps in the guise of a personification of the review itself.

The illustrations published were dedicated to the realities of life both of students and citizens; they represent professors, deans, important literary and cultural figures, both local and at a distance, even foreigners visiting the prestigious university. The most frequent target, portrayed either on the cover or in the illustrations inside, came to be Giosuè Carducci, attacked as teacher, writer and also as a politician (**Fig. 1**).

⁴ Fumagalli and Salveraglio (1909, p. 255).

⁵ Guido Podrecca (Vimercate 1865 – Auburn (NY) 1923) was an Italian journalist, writer and politician. Already a Italian Socialist Party Deputy in 1909, he aligned himself increasingly with the fascists, to the extent of standing as candidate for them in the 1919 elections.

⁶ "Let spirit and goliardic wit revive in the souls and being of every student", in: _____, 1888. *Strenna – Ricordo del Bononia ridet*. Bologna: Lit. F. Casanova e F., p. 92.

⁷ *Bononia ridet*, 1(1) (Mar 10, 1888) p. 1.



Figure 1. Rata Langa (Galantara, Gabriele), 1891. "Le opera di Giosuè Carducci illustrate".

Bononia ridet, 4(156) (March 21, 1891), p. 1. Courtesy Museo Archivio Casa Carducci, Bologna.

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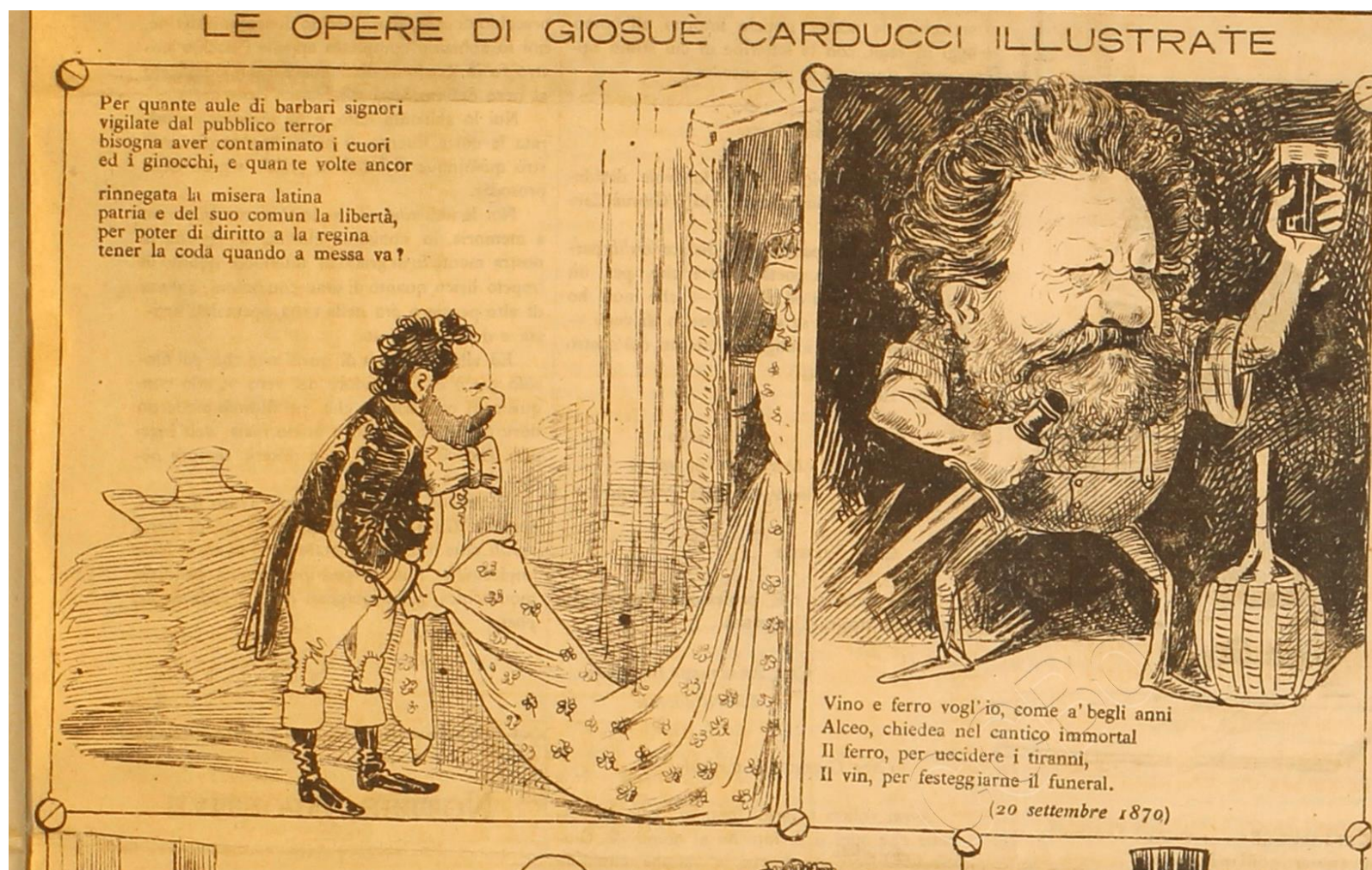


Figure 1b. Detail. "Bononia ridet. Rivista settimanale illustrata", 21 marzo 1891 (Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, 17.N.II.25). Copyright © Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio. All rights are reserved to Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Comune di Bologna. The images can only be printed by using this page and for personal/scholarly use. Any other use must be requested in writing to Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio : archiginnasio@comune.bologna.it



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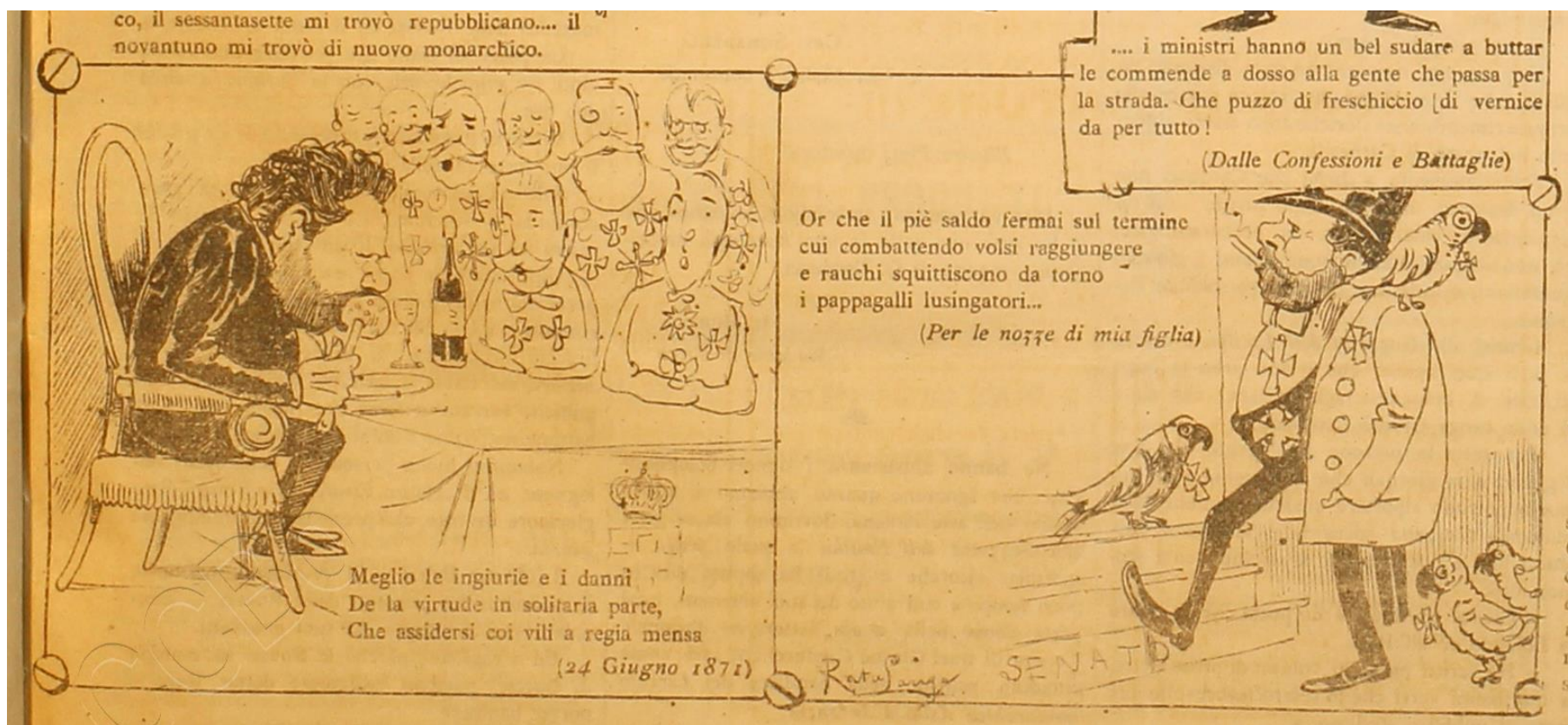


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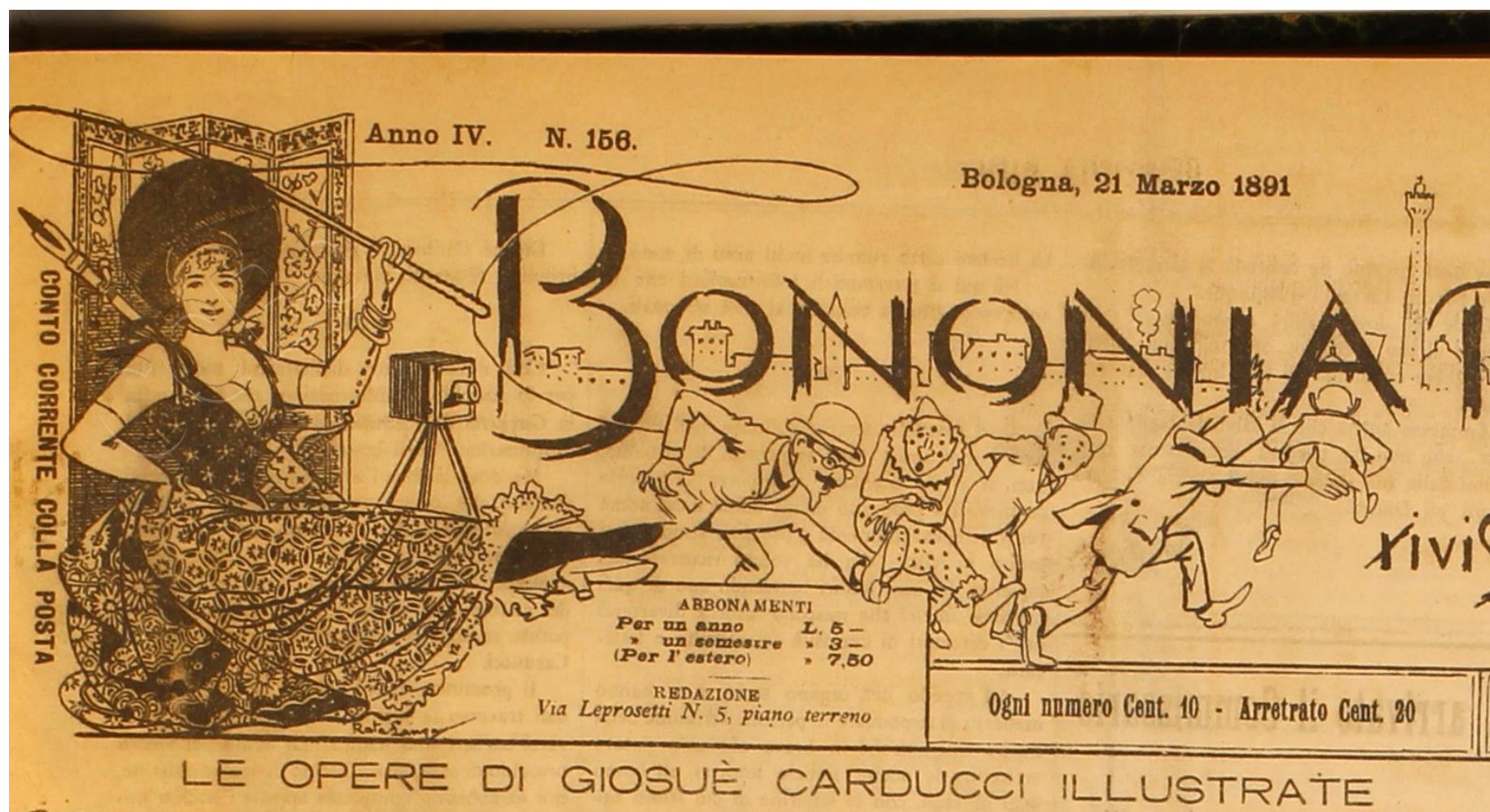


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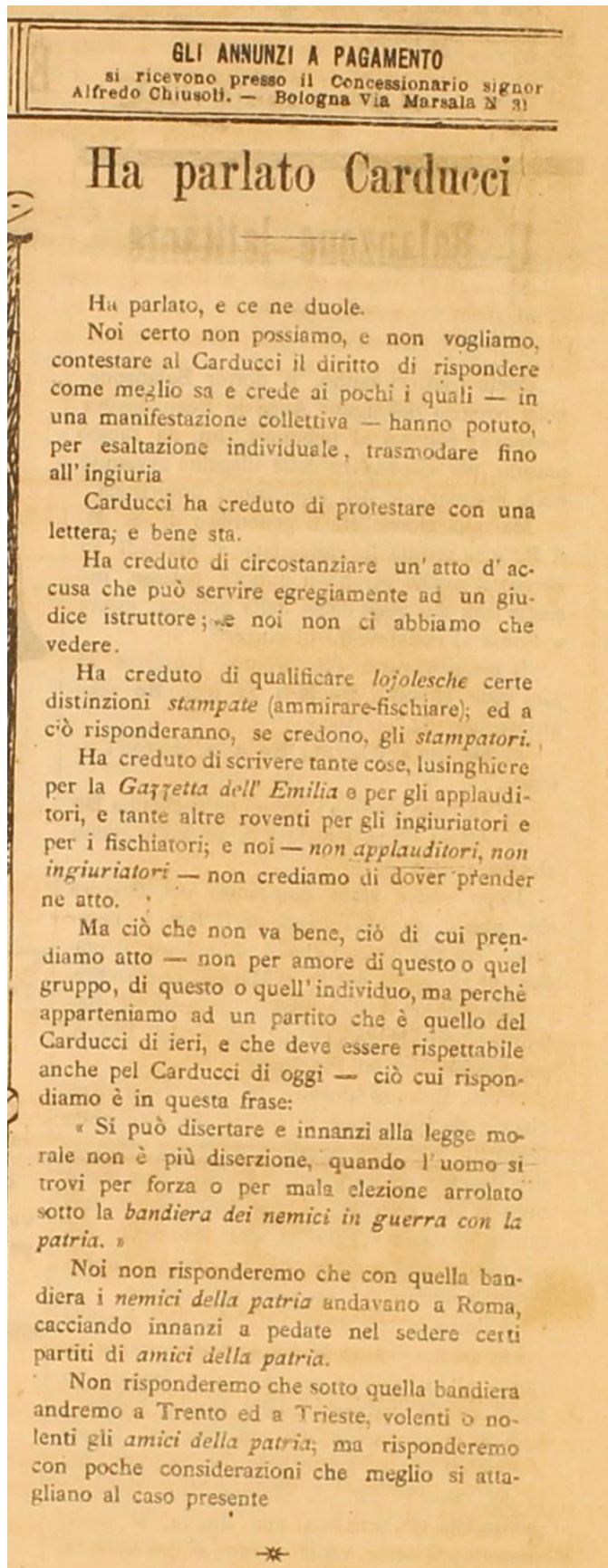


Figure 1g. Detail.

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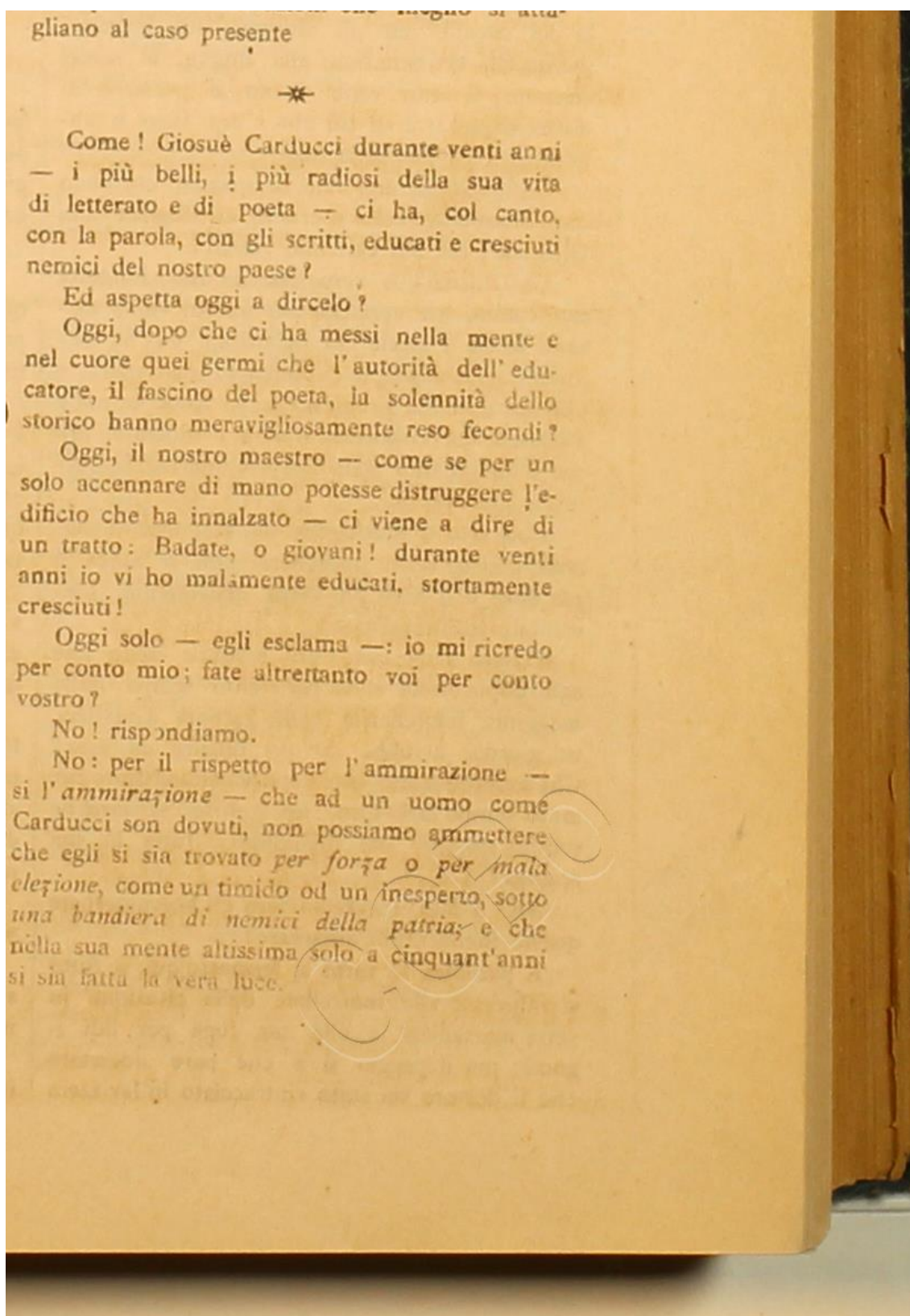


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The criticisms in his regard hinge on a key point: he was the originator of the rebellious university spirit, which in time turned against him, making him its favourite target⁸. Alongside the personal attacks, which dwelt upon his physical characteristics, and his well-known and much commented-upon attitudes, a certain stylistic iconography emerges, revealing, among others, themes rooted in the Middle Ages, such as chivalry, the circus, folklore and popular culture. These are themes through which it was possible to pour scorn upon the subject and, at the same time, bring him closer to the reading public.

At the beginning in 1888, Galantara's style still seemed acerbic; on the one hand, the jeering tone and the graphic style drawing on a "puppet man" format, both in the student satirical magazines and in contemporary as well as earlier humorous periodicals. On the other hand it is possible to observe a certain artistic direction, the study of composition and the use of *chiaroscuro*, learnt during his brief attendance at the Academy of Fine Arts in Bologna and during his private lessons with Professor Lolli⁹. The shapes are often rounded, the faces small, florid, almost stocky and ridiculous in the way they are drawn, which results in a mockery and caricature that is quite kind-hearted; the "characterized" appear almost innocent, not yet endowed with the coarse overtones of satire. From the second half of 1889 the main players in the illustrations began to transform: their shapes became slimmer and their outlines more thickly and strongly drawn; from the end of 1891, the backgrounds changed also, changing from silent and anonymous *chiaroscuro* backgrounds and becoming true, detailed environments, rich in details. At the same time, descriptions of university life in Bologna gave way to politics, at a national level as well, and to an attitude allied to socialism (Fig. 2).

Bononia ridet was not an unique publication, rather it was part of a sphere of activity already well supplied with satirical student publications; this weekly, however, was innovative due to its quality, its approach and its attention to the dynamics of university life, which was in turn linked to city news. These were among the reasons for its unexpected success and as a result, Gabriele Galantara was offered a further collaboration with another Bolognese periodical, *La Rana*, before the end of 1889. This enabled him to tackle more serious themes, including problems of a national dimension, both at the political and religious level. The change of style – even before that of subject – which was seen in *Bononia ridet* after 1889 is therefore due in part to this wider experience, which although brief in duration, doubtless influenced his subsequent changes of direction¹⁰. A second cause was probably his meeting with the socialist Enrico Ferri, who came to Bologna that year. Galantara definitively abandoned his university studies during this period, which also led to his moving away from the student world and thus from academic-goliardic attacks.

During the first stage of his season in Bologna — namely since the start of *Bononia ridet* adventure in 1888 up to last months of 1889 — Galantara's style bind to, as well as illustrated goliardic universes publications, contemporary Bolognese newspapers and Italian graphic tradition of the *Risorgimento*. Among the first there are, of course, Augusto Majani (alias Nasica) satirical creations for *Ehi! Ch'al scusa...*,¹¹ to which refer, not only local subjects and issues, but also the characters social characterisation, the lettering of the headline and of the text excerpt placed inside the images, and how actions are carried out in the box or in boxes succession.

⁸ Some evidences of this satirical controversy are present in the newspapers kept in the Museo Archivio Casa Carducci in Bologna.

⁹ Giacomo Lolli was a professor of painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Bologna; he was the private teacher of Gabriele Galantara (Neri 1980, pp. 10–12).

¹⁰ Neri (1980, p. 16).

¹¹ Testoni (1905).

2000

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Isolani: ... Niente!

Ispesione
Guardia: C'è della carne?
Signora: (sottovoce) No!... della stoppa.

Fra filantropi
Rudini: E così, mi prendete il catenaccio per portarlo a Bologna...
Dall'Ohio: Non lo prendo io; lo prendono... i contribuenti!

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bononia ridet

Figure 2. Rata Langa (Galantara, Gabriele), 1892. "Beneficenza Municipale – I regali daziari per i poveri" [The Town Council's Charity: The Toll-Gate's Presents for the Poor]. *Bononia ridet*, 5(199) (Jan. 2, 1892), p. 1.



Figure 2a. Detail.



Figure 2b. Detail.



Figure 2c. Detail.



Figure 2d. Detail.

Alle Porte
Guardia: Li dentro c'è niente?
Isolani: ... Niente!

Ispezione
Guardia: C'è della carne?
Signora: (sottovoce) No!... della stoppa.

Rudinl: E co
a Bologna
Dall'Olio: No
buenti!

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E. BERNAROLI	— minuscoletto
E. PINI	— grassetto
AVV. PASTI	— bodontano
U. PESCI	— basso
A. ZAGNONI	— maiuscolo
G. CARDUCCI	— reale

Figure 2c. Detail.



Fra filantropi

Rudini: E così, mi prendete il catenaccio per portarlo a Bologna.....

Dall'Olio: Non lo prendo io; lo prendono..... i contri-buenti!

carne?

No!... della stoppa.

E finalmente promettiamo di inviare ai nostri assidui la splendida opera biografica illustrata, di cui la prima edizione ha visto la luce, e meglio... le tenebre il 1. maggio dell'anno passato; ossia

LA VITA DEI REDATTORI

Volume rilegato..... in questura

Tutto ciò per sole 5 lire annue e 3 lire semestrali; e dell'attendibilità delle promesse avete una prova nella constatazione che carta, formato, testata sono già cambiati.

In quanto ai nuovi caratteri tipografici acquistati esclusivamente per *Bononia ridet* ne diamo qui sotto l'elenco completo con la loro speciale denominazione tipografica, preceduta dal nome delle più reputate case bolognesi che ce li hanno forniti.

A. DALL'OLIO	— leggero
U. GREGORINI	— non pariglia
G. PIGOZZI	— testino
P. F. ALBICINI	— inglese
E. BERNAROLI	— minuscoletto
E. PINI	— grassetto
AVV. PASI	— bodoniano
U. PESCI	— basso
A. ZAGNONI	— maiuscolo
G. CARDUCCI	— reale

A. ROSSI	— cangiante
P. MARIOTTI	— corsivo
F.lli ZANICHELLI	— elzevir
G. B. GANDINO	— cicero
G. TURRINI	— egiziano
A. ZAMORANI	— classico (!)
E. PANZACCHI	— fantasia
Q. FILOPANTI	— filosofia
L. GIOANETTI	— turco
G. COTUFA	— greco
A. MERLANI	— magro
G. SACCHETTI	— piccolissimo
G. BARATELLI	— rotondo

In quanto ai redattori hanno conservato e conserveranno sempre... lo stesso carattere.

E con ciò abbiamo finito: Il *Bononia ridet* — il più elegante giornale umoristico del mondo — entrando con tante innovazioni nel suo V.º anno di vita ci tiene a dichiarare che ha dovuto fare delle promesse *disoneste* perchè possano essere... *mantenute*.

bononia ridet

Detail 2f. Detail.

Stylistic, compositional and structural features,¹² instead, bind to the Italian graphic tradition of the *Risorgimento*, as: the setting and the connection with the background, the use of *chiaroscuro* and characters motion within the image. These features bring Galantara first production on *Bononia ridet*, not generally to pre and post unified satirical press — from *Il Pasquino* to *Il Don Pirlone*, from *Lo Spirito Folletto* to *L'Arlecchino* — but rather to a specific reference model: *Il Fischietto*. The newspaper founded in Turin in 1848 should be considered as the most widespread model at national level in the years between the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century. Galantara illustrations are part of this trend and they live in parallel, not only with contemporary *Il Fischietto*'s ones, but similarities with previous images (pre and post unified) are remarkable too. The use of an engraving derived *chiaroscuro* is wide and shared, either in characters structure or by backgrounds characterisation; figures come off backgrounds thanks to contrasting colours (whether several colours are used or not, namely when they has been reduced only into black and white); protagonists and other characters are represented while they are busy in symbolic actions, and if these are not full of *pathos* the physiognomy is beyond measure caricatured. In a special way these illustrations Galantara are close to Giorgio Ansaldi production, both the one appeared on *Il Fischietto* itself and one for advertising and graphic publishing, with a particular attention for women's fashion trends, which will remain constant during the whole artist's activity.

During the second stage — namely since the start of the 1890 up to first months of 1892 — the change already described in Galantara illustrations finds its both in political events and artistic influences. On the first point of view the meeting with the socialist member Enrico Ferri has been crucial: at the beginning Galantara's innate passion for the ideal of equality, justice and freedom had been fed by his partnership with Guido Podrecca and they were closed to anarchies tendencies; but then it was thanks to this meeting that they channelled to the socialist ideology (probably his familiar with Ferri had played an important role in the subsequent decision to move in the Capital too). The importance of Ferri for the artist's personal and political growth is reflected also in the relationship between the two during the first decade of the XX century, when the first was the secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and the director of the newspaper *Il Socialismo* and of the daily *Avanti!*. About artistic influences and subjects choices, *La Rana* and —above all — *Il Pappagallo* have been key experiences. Augusto Grossi had been the main illustrator of both of them and his choice to abandon local affairs in favour of national and international events can be found on *Bononia ridet* pages, as well as the supremacy of the image over the text and the use of vivid colours (inserted by Grossi in the chromolithograph centre fold and by Galantara on the cover page). Maybe also the stylistic approximation to French illustrations has happened thanks to Grossi: Galantara seemed to study not only the French caricatural language but also their graphic decorativism, as evidenced by *Japon Bononia*, *Bononia ridet*'s almanac for 1892, rich in ornamental elements and subjects with an oriental inspiration¹³.

Franco Cristofori has produced a detailed examination of the particular nature of humorous journals distributed in Bologna at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, including the three citizens' newspapers to which Galantara was a contributor and which offer certain features which typify something of the artistic progress of this illustrator. From *Ehi! Ch'al scusa...*, the artist makes it his right to habitually transform any individual or situation into an object of ridicule; *Bononia ridet* formed the basis of his journalistic existence

¹² Morachioli (2013).

¹³ A rare copy of *Japon Bononia* is kept in Bergamo in the "Associazione Culturale Fondo Paolo Moretti per la satira politica", which stores books, almanacs, satirical magazines and newspaper sheets and which constitutes the richest Italian private collection in the field of satire and caricature.

as an independent satirical illustrator, first in a goliardic, academic context, then in politics;¹⁴ and *La Rana* [The Frog] represents his stylistic turn into an elegantly modern key (derived particularly from the French) and, at the same time, his adherence to a notably satirical artistic language. These qualities are noticeable in his subsequent work, starting with the very first images produced for some Roman periodicals in 1892.

4. Satirical Caricature (1892–1926)

4.1. Preamble

Gabriele Galantara arrived in Rome in the spring of 1892; this entailed not only a definitive move away from the university ambience of Bologna, but also the step-up from a provincial city, albeit one with a lively cultural and ideological atmosphere, to the Capital of Italy, not only the seat of national and religious power but also of an unequalled political and intellectual *milieu*.

If his initiation into socialist ideas had its identifiable roots in the years in Bologna, also partly due to his meeting with the Deputy Enrico Ferri, it was in Rome that Galantara began his true political activism. This took place through his activities within the Italian Workers Party (later the Italian Socialist Party) during the last decade of the 19th century, and also because of his alignment to Marxist ideology¹⁵ during the following years. Since 1894 Galantara has been listed in the roman socialist section, within which he filled several positions playing an active role in her gradual structuring into a party. His activism involved in: a personal candidacy for the elections in the 1897 and in the 1899; his presence in the first editorial staff of the daily newspaper *Avanti!* (side by side with Leonida Bissolati, Ivanoe Bonomi and Alessandro Schiavi); a collaboration with the marxist publisher Luigi Mongini – for which Galantara has been author and illustrator; the creation and the direction of a personal publishing company. The *Libreria Editrice Podrecca & Galantara* was active with more or less successful between 1910 and 1914; it has published a list of socialistic-motivated books (biographies, pamphlets, novels) with suggestive covers, partly works of Galantara himself¹⁶. Therefore until the outbreak of the First World War the artist's production was deeply engaged with the party and its ideology; *vice versa* during the subsequent years the ideology gave way to his personal idealism.

The evidence of these collaborations and connections can be found also in his artistic work for the socialist universe, both illustrative and editorial, published mostly during the first two decades of the 20th century and belonging to different graphic languages: posters, membership cards, covers and illustrations supplied for published texts and books. Inside this group of images the link with the English illustrator Walter Crane appears self evident: it is established both by obviously glorifies or less straight reinterpretations of subjects, and in the adopting of a shared group of feminine rhetorical figures or of international socialistic symbol (as flags, red carnations, radiant suns). On the satirical and periodical side, in Rome Galantara also had the opportunity to come to terms with a tradition that had its roots in the Risorgimento, as in Bologna. *Il Don Pirlone* and *Rugantino* are only an example of the journals through which the stream of Roman caricature found a channel, living as it did, at the end of the century, through a period of immense vitality (even if the publishing ventures were not all equally successful). Galantara's adoption of a mostly satirical graphic language at this time was therefore not only attributable to his personal and artistic maturity, but was above all

¹⁴ Cristofori (1973).

¹⁵ Morganti (2016).

¹⁶ Morganti (2016).

the direct result of his move to Rome, the home of his definitive entrance into the socialist movement and a city well supplied with satirical publications.

Galantara particularly dedicated himself to satirical caricature during the years between 1892 and 1926; as well as the homogeneity of language already alluded to, it is also possible to detect, within this chronological framework, a heterogeneity of form and two principal semantic themes. Considered from the point of view of form, the images he produced can be divided into four macro-categories, related to the size, the *mise en page*, the captions and the articles. First and foremost, the covers, whether in colour or reduced to black and white, despite the falling cost of techniques of reproduction, in which visible echoes can be detected of a deep interest, study and application in the pictorial field. The second category consists of the medium sized illustrations, published on the first page under the mastheads or on the inside pages of the journals, given their own autonomy and almost exclusively in black and white. The third group is represented by the very smallest graphic illustrations, the portraits and the *pupazzetti* (thumbnail sketches, sometimes incomplete, inserted among the sections of an article to simplify the content), which linked Galantara to the work of Luigi Arnaldo Vassallo (alias Gandolin). Finally, the satirical comic strips, characterized by a graphical-narrative synchronicity, proper of comics.

A common and very obvious characteristic of these categories is the constant experimentation with style and form, an artistic study leading to the creation of images which, while sometimes being instant and even stripped to the bare essentials, maintain their own artistic integrity of construction or of development. Obviously the *pupazzetti* do not fit into this category, as they are part of a particular editorial tradition requiring a lightness of touch for both figures and scenes which is a particular characteristic of the form. On a semantic level, Galantara's satirical caricatures can be divided into two principal sub-groups: satirical political caricature and caricatures of society and lifestyle.

4.2. Satirical Political Caricature

Paolo Spriano has defined «the phenomenon of turning to socialism»¹⁷ at the end of the 19th century as being a nation-wide occurrence, which pushed contemporary Italian intellectuals and artists to translate the problems of the proletariat into words and images (Giacomo Balla, Duilio Cambellotti, Giovanni Cena, Giuseppe Pellizza, Gino Severini, and so forth). Taking this statement further, Anna Maria Damigella has proposed two co-existent artistic forms: art on a social topic (linked to *verismo* and not always of the moment) and art with a social objective (up-to-date, esthetically advanced and with a shared ethical basis).¹⁸ It is possible to add a third typology to this list — Gabriele Galantara's socialist art, which did not display a humanitarian and sentimental socialism, but a true political socialism, springing from the fusion of political engagement and artistic endeavour (like also Walter Crane).

The satirical political caricature is the category of illustration which reveals this trait of their creator most markedly. These illustrations are dedicated to national politics, foreign affairs and to the Catholic Church, approached either in terms of abstract and general categories (power, powerful people, particularly religious), or on the level of personalities in the limelight. To this latter group belong principally those which Roberto Mottadelli¹⁹ has rightly described as *types*: the capitalist, the militarist, the boss, the priest, namely standardized personality types, always with their own internal congruence and thus representative of their creator, *Galantarian types*, to be specific. Alongside these social

¹⁷ Spriano (1958, p. 63).

¹⁸ Damigella (1972, p. LXIII).

¹⁹ Mottadelli (2007).

archetypes came the caricatured masks, or the caricature portraits of important people, where repeated focusing on the same traits made the sovereigns and politicians more like the masks of themselves than real people. The artist drew more or less equally in his work on the three subject types already mentioned up until the middle of the second decade of the 20th century, working in turn on: the personification of social classes and concepts (the proletariat, clericalism, socialism, capitalism, and so on), the representation of types and the masks of temporal (Giovanni Giolitti, Francesco Crispi, Antonio Starabba di Rudini, Nicolas II Romanov, and so forth) or spiritual power representatives (Pope Pius X, whose lay name was Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto, was ironically nicknamed *Bepi* by Galantara). At the outbreak of the first World War and throughout the conflict, only a certain few caricatures enjoyed regular, repeated appearances (the people/proletariat and capitalism), while the increasing frequency of depictions of the war-mongering enemies of the Home Front: Franz Josef I, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Ferdinand I and Mehmet V. This characteristic reached a *climax* during the early Twenties, with the evocative mask of Benito Mussolini, to begin with, followed by the significant personalities of the regime and the Fascist hierarchy between 1925 and 1926.

The style and language of the satirical political caricatures seems sharper and darker than both the previous, goliardic-style production and his contemporary social-satirical work, as the targets are not the victims simply of a derogatory graphic process, but are enemies on an ideological and political level, that is, adversaries in the social battle to emancipate the proletariat. This is the reason for the excessive deformation of the features and for the depiction, to an extreme degree, of physical and facial defects; posture, stature, body size, noses and ears are all shown beyond normal size and appear unreal, while remaining all too faithful to the individual (or group of individuals) who inspired them. The proletariat, in contrast, are often shown in a heightened and grotesque, but never ironic, graphic style, as in the images produced during the First World War by the Dutch Louis Raemaekers, another artist with whom arise stylistic and iconographic similarities. Their faces lined and drawn with fatigue, they are barefoot or have deformed hands, their muscles are over-developed in a striking contrast with their overall portrayal (**Fig. 3**) as suffering mothers and victims of circumstance (which recall and pay tribute to the works of Honoré Daumier.²⁰ Even the importance given to hands refers back to the French artist: hands often set themselves up as the real characters of illustrations, thanks to emblematic gestures, unnatural distortions and insulations into the scenic settlement. The choice of a different artistic language and style should also be seen as a result of the social background of the readers. The periodicals which carried Galantara's satirical-political caricatures (including *l'Asino*, *L'Epoca*, *Avanti! Avanti della Domenica*, *Sempre Avanti!*, *il becco giallo* and *l'Attaccabottoni*) are aimed at a socialist public from a mostly proletarian rather than an intellectual-bourgeois background. They may well often have been illiterate or semi-illiterate and thus illustration was both a self-portrait and a raising of consciousness within the political struggle, and also a didactical instrument for collective education.

Satirical-political caricature is without doubt the most significant of Galantara's work, for his contemporaries as well as for historians. The attention devoted to this artist from abroad is symptomatic of the wide recognition of the expressive power of the images. The collaborations with *L'Assiette au Beurre*, *Der wahre Jacob*, *Simplicissimus*, *L'Europe anti-Prussienne* form a body of illustrations on political, religious and anti-war themes, whose protagonists are: immeasurably rich capitalists, corrupt clerics and representatives of monotheistic religions (amazingly close to the creations of Didier Dubucq, alias Ashavérus), greedy industrialists, and war-mongering, unscrupulous sovereigns.

²⁰ Benjamin (1991, p. 119).



Figure 3. Rata L. (Galantara, Gabriele), 1907. "I due metodi" [The Two Methods, i.e., clerical and anti-clerical]. *l'Asino*, 17 (49) (Dec. 8, 1907), p. 8. Courtesy Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana – Faenza.



Figure 3a. Detail.



Figure 3b. Detail.



Figure 3c. Detail. An anti-clerical asks a clerical whether he got a rise, and told he didn't, he tells him he, instead, is getting it: don't wait for a pie in the sky.



Figure 3d. Detail: the clerical labourer is worse off, because he was convinced not to protest, not to join forces with other labourers trying to improve their economic conditions, and to content himself with the pie in the sky.

Galantara's participation in the London exhibition *Italian artists and the War*, held in the Leicester Gallery in June–July 1916, exemplified and confirmed the process of recognition and artistic legitimization.²¹ Of the 225 works listed in the catalogue, 44 came from the pen of Galantara, confirming him as the artist with the greatest number of works in the exhibition, many of which contained references to Germany and the Kaiser. The curators chose to include three reproductions of his work (from a total of twelve): *The Embarrassment*, a satire of German officers; *The Prop*, a caricature portrait of the four sovereigns of the main Empires (Fig. 4) and *The latest portrait*, a caricature of Wilhelm II.

At the same time, the historiography of this artist, despite the wide range of his work, covering various techniques, media and artistic languages, has focused almost exclusively on studies and expositions of this caricature output. The fascination produced by encounters with this expressive form has influenced the analysis of his work over the long term, making it seem almost monocular in its vision. At the same time, this approach is a testimony to the power of the message, as powerful to contemporaries as to posterity.

4.3. Social-Satirical and Lifestyle Caricatures

Gabriele Galantara dedicated himself to social-satirical caricature and lifestyle caricatures less frequently than to the topics analysed in the previous section, but this category of images are as much a part of his production from the last years of the 19th century right up until the middle years of the 1920s. It can be considered as an evolution of his goliardic caricatures through a satirical optic: some of the themes addressed, for example the changes in fashions and social customs, had already been tackled during his years in Bologna. However, marking a change from his youthful work, the illustrations of this sort lost their good-hearted, comical spirit, being less of a tease and of poking fun at excessive modes of dress or strange behaviour. In accordance with Galantara's developing social and political awareness, these subjects were now handled satirically, the drawing lines became harder and the style more biting. Under the misleading guise of irony, the artist offered a critique with bared teeth of the social classes, in which the subtlety of political reference transformed caricatures from goliardic jokes into satire.

The graphical evidence of this third type of illustration is traceable both to the periodicals for which Galantara produced most of his political satire (like *l'Asino*, *Avanti!*, *il becco giallo*, *l'Attaccabottoni*) and also the sketches springing from his political allegiance. Works produced for *L'Illustrazione Italiana* at the beginning of the 20th century and for the magazines *Tutto* and *Humor* in the 1920s, belong in this category.²²

Note comiche was the title of the feature created for *L'Illustrazione Italiana*; the name gives a clue to its content: for the author, or perhaps the editor, did not think it convenient to speak openly of satire (even though some of the published drawings made explicit references to politics), however it was felt more appropriate to blend the suggested subject matter under the more generic term of "comedy". The feature was a synthesis for images connected to the events of the week: alongside domestic and foreign affairs were comments and references of purely social comedy. Alongside the usual targets of scorn found in other periodicals, the author offered light-hearted sketches dedicated to sport, women's fashions and art exhibitions, following a similar pattern of popular topics as those offered by the magazine as a whole.

²¹ Benjamin (1991, p. 119).

²² Morganti (2016).

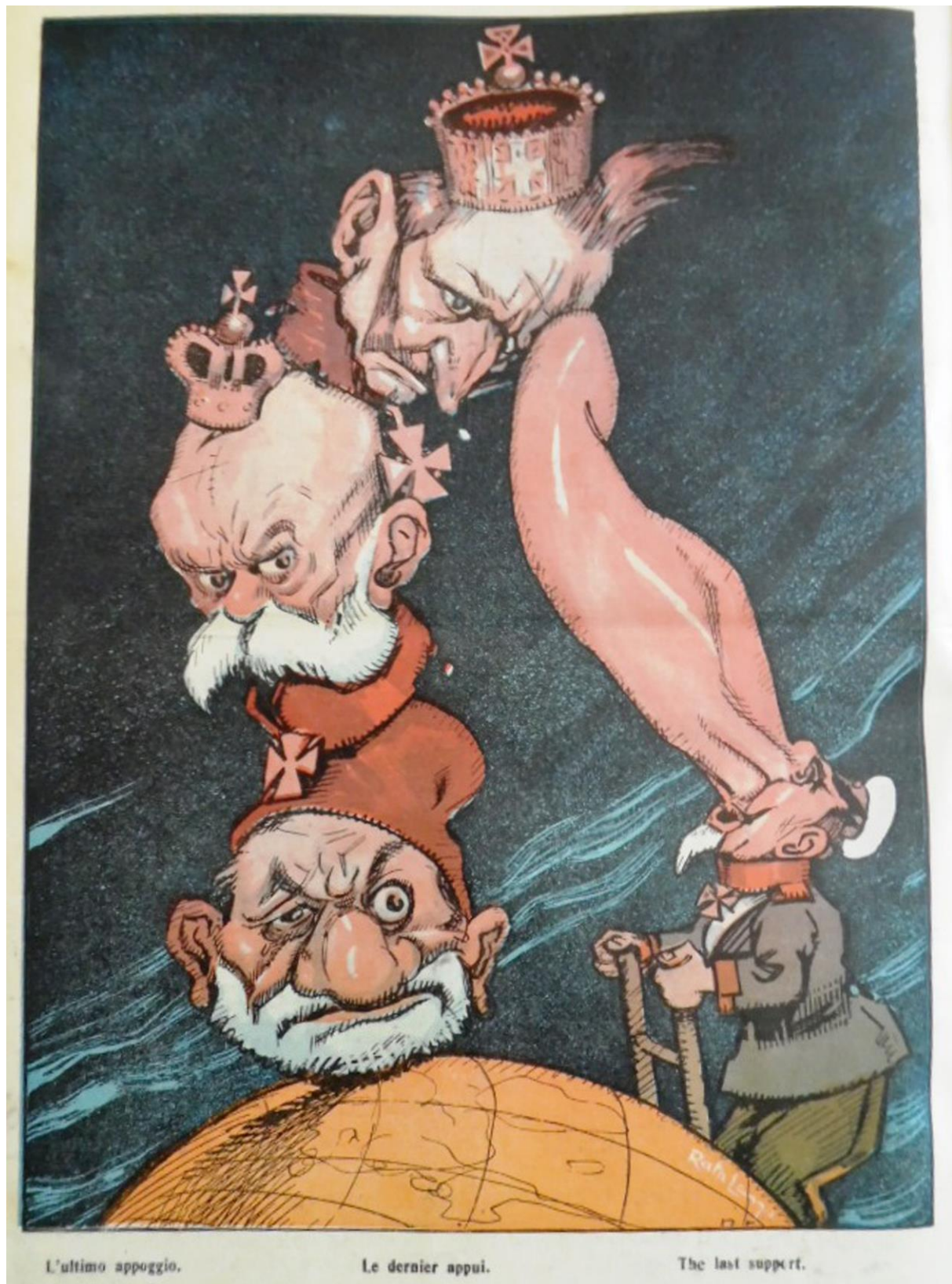


Figure 4. Rata Langa (Galantara, Gabriele), 1915. "L'ultimo appoggio" [The Last Support]. *l'Asino*, 24(44) (Oct. 31, 1915), p. 8. Courtesy Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana – Faenza.

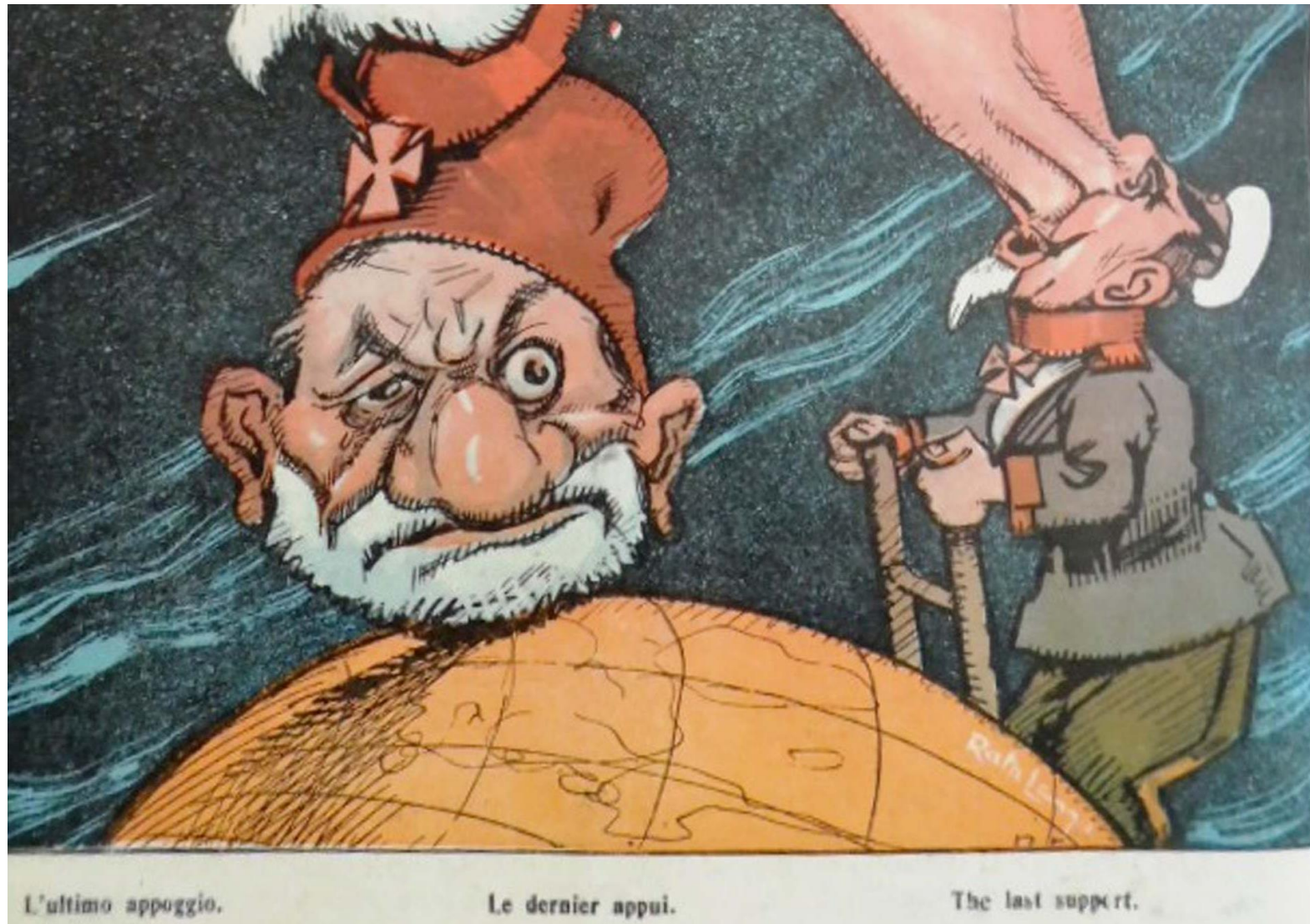


Figure 4a. Detail: the head of the Sultan supports Franz Josef, who in turn supports Wilhelm II.



Figure 4b. Detail: a long, fleshy nose reaches the forefront of Wilhelm II, who leans on Franz Josef's head.

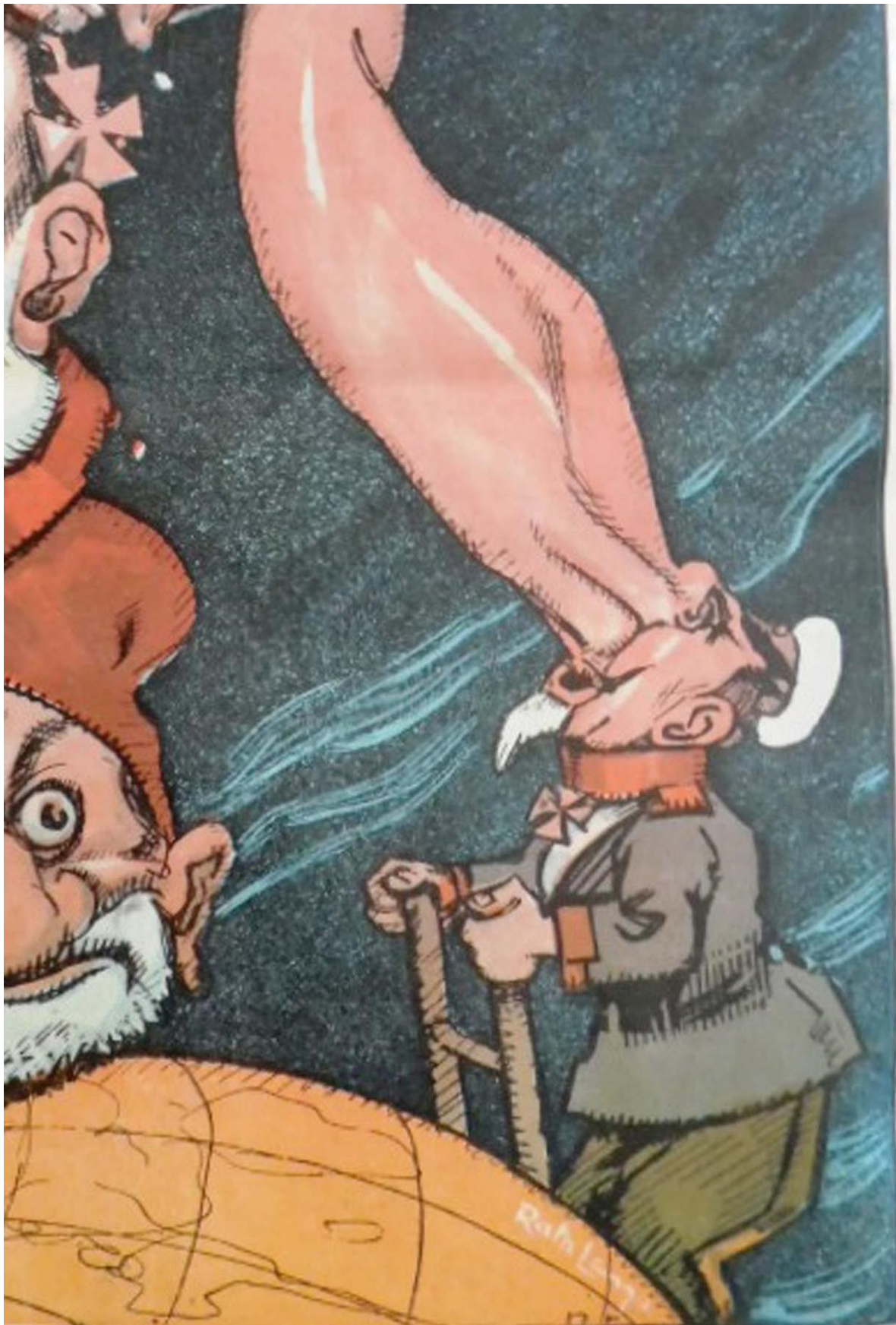


Figure 4c. Detail: the Tsar on a ladder, and his nose reaching up to Wilhelm II, even though actually Germany and Russia were on opposite sides of the First World War.

Not only was Galantara's work up-to-date and unedited, but the graphic form was itself innovative in its methodology²³: they are true satirical comic-strips, with drawings placed in horizontal sequence, each with its own caption; the sketches are presented separately from each other, or alternatively connected by logical and thematic links.

Even in the 1920s, Galantara used the graphic-narrative synchronicity combined with satirical-social subjects and ways of life for his collaborations with the magazines *Tutto* and *Humor*. In contrast to his earlier work, however, he created these illustrations for full-page publication, elevating the dignity of the image from that of an accessory to a real editorial contribution. In some cases, it was completely detached from any political themes, dedicating itself exclusively to satire on lifestyles.

The images in this caricature context offered subjects related principally to three main categories; contemporary art and architecture, sport and women's fashion and ways of life. If the first two of these themes appear less frequently, women's lifestyles and habits were much more regularly represented. His interest in dress and accessories, as well as his use of the novelties of the age (such as the velocipede), were the prisms through which he relayed criticisms of another nature (**Fig. 5**). Frivolity, the tendency to aesthetic ostentation, and more generally unsuitable women's clothing were apparently highlighted, but in reality male moral corruption was being denounced. Indeed, in the author's opinion, the flaunting of the female body is shown to be a direct consequence of dissolute masculinity, just as the ostentation of jewellery and elegant dressing is a reflection of masculine economic power. Both these stances have the same point of departure; a critique of the entire bourgeois or aristocratic class structure, which provided an ideal objective and a true target (**Fig. 6**).

In the description of these illustrations, comedy is only apparently the approach, they in fact reveals an essential satirical thrust; for this reason the social-satirical caricatures can be considered as a subtle diffusion of satirical-political caricature. This viewpoint also explains why this form of caricature is less frequently found, as it was often used to hide another critique, that of class. It was exactly this typology which merged in the 1930s into an apparently lighter-hearted humour, yet destined to give life to this illustrator's most extreme and disturbing satirical form.

5. Social humour and satirical racial-ethnic caricature (1931–1937)

5.1. Preliminaries

Between 1926 and 1927, as periodicals were progressively closed-down by the fascist censors, including those with which Galantara collaborated (*l'Asino*, *il becco giallo*, *l'Attaccabottoni*), and he was arrested and condemned to internal exile (never carried out, but commuted to an injunction), he ceased for a time to be active in the field of caricature illustration.

His return to print took place in spring 1931, thanks to the Roman periodical *Marc'Aurelio*, a publishing experiment which provided the background for the last two phases of his productive work discussed here: works of social humour and those of an racial-ethnic character. These two types of caricature were an evolution from his earlier work: in the former case they were inspired directly by his more recent activity, that is for *il becco giallo* and *l'Attaccabottoni*; on the other hand the second type can be linked to the illustrator's entire Roman experience, from his beginnings on *l'Asino* and *Avanti!* to his later works.

²³ Morganti (2016).



Figure 5. R.ta Langa (Galantara, Gabriele), 1896. "Contraddizioni" [Contradictions]. *l'Asino*, 5(37) (Sep. 13, 1896), p. 1. Courtesy Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana – Faenza.



Figure 5a. Detail.

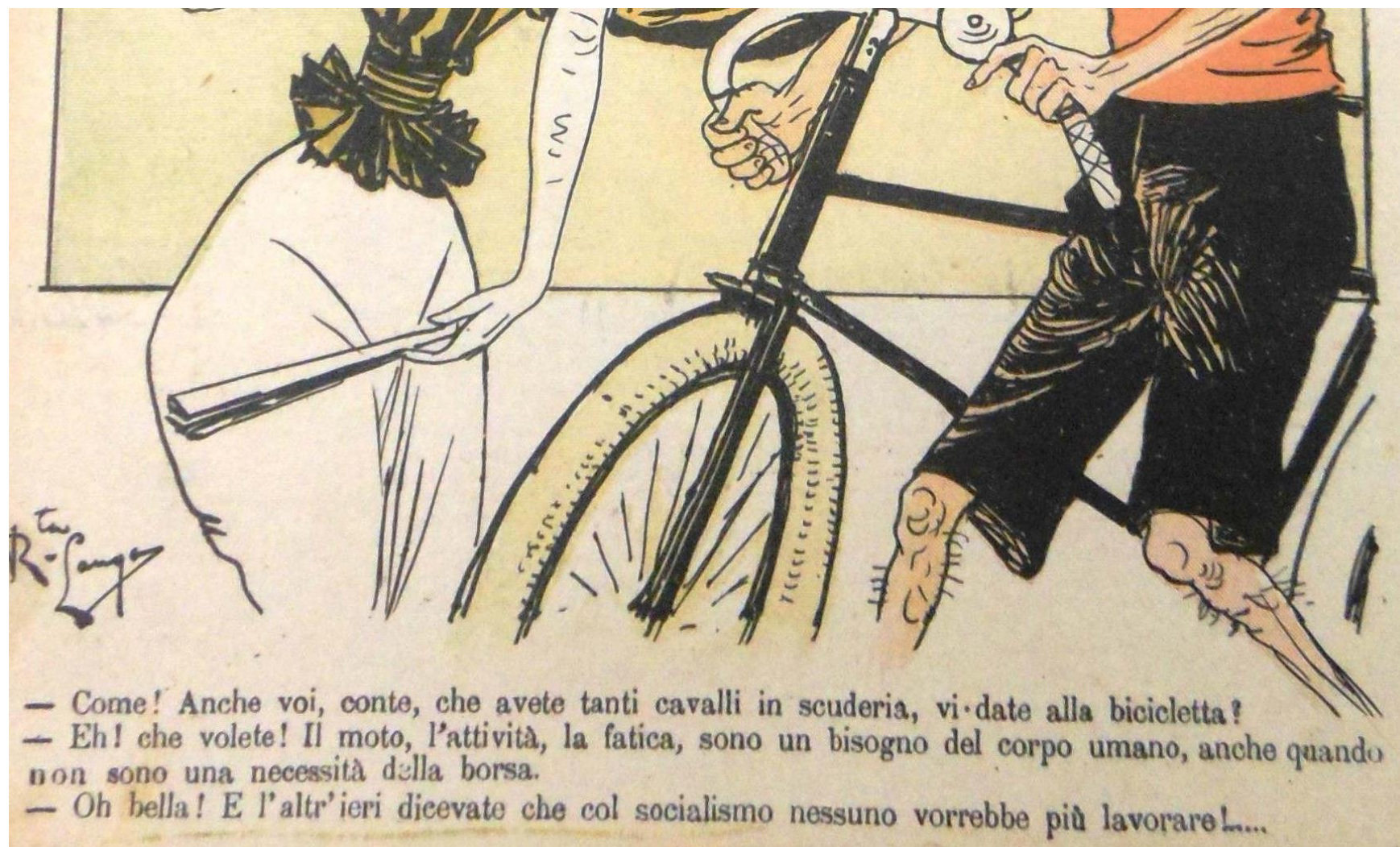


Figure 5b. Detail.



Figure 5c. Detail.



Figure 6. gala (Galantara, Gabriele), 1921. "La Storia di una Pelliccia" [The Story of a Fur]. *Tutto*, 3(5) (Jan. 30, 1921), w.p.



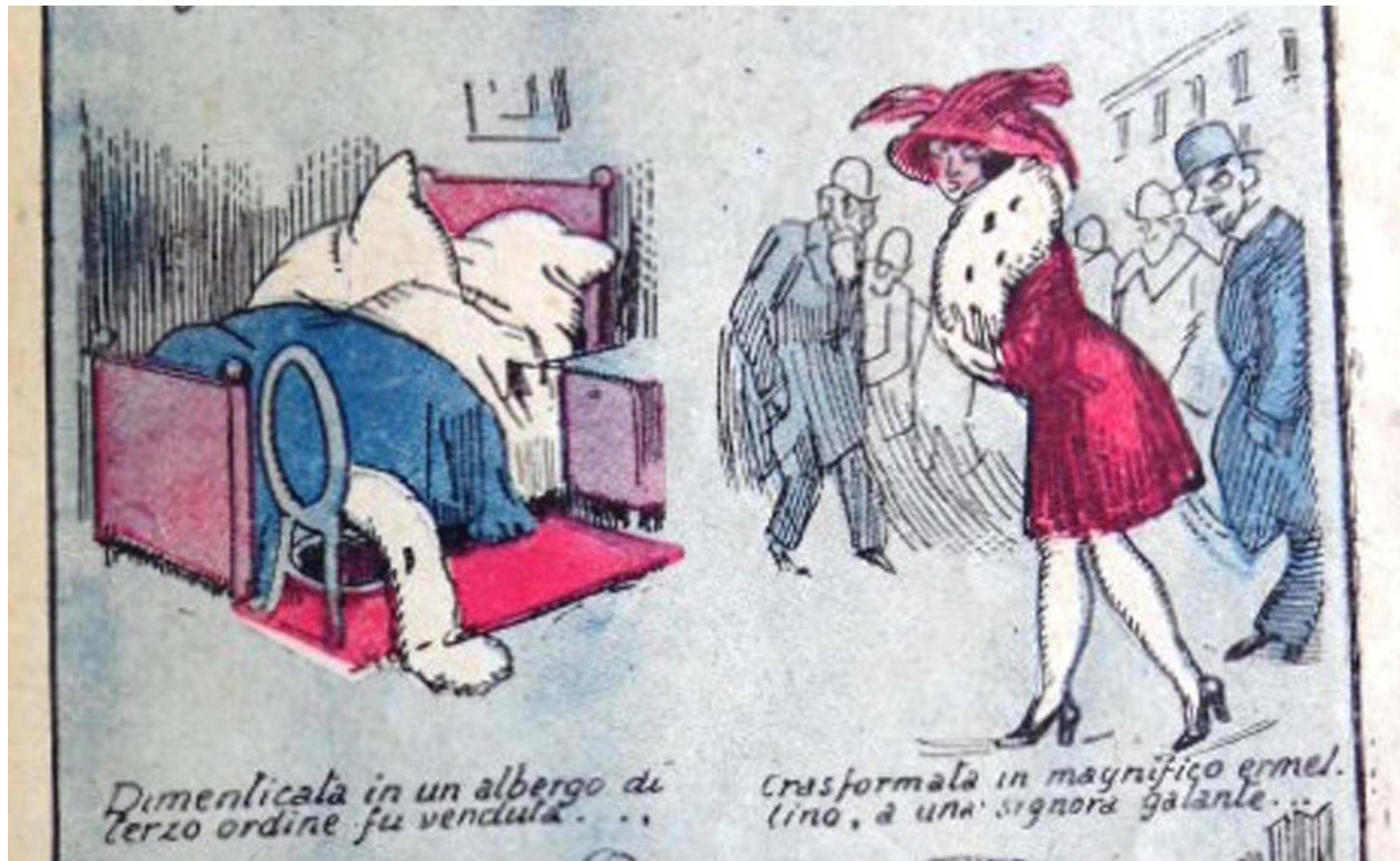


Figure 6b. Detail.



Figure 6c. Detail.

The change of language, themes and style were a consequence of his personal struggles and working difficulties at this time, but also because of the editorial choices of the publication. In 1931, *Marc'Aurelio* presented itself to its readers as a six-page periodical, containing articles, poetic and illustrated items, characterized by the same style of humour, sometimes more subtle, other times sarcastic. The general tenor of the publication did not adhere to any particular political line, at least not expressly, yet the contents were inevitably produced against that background. In the following years, an alignment to fascist ideology became more perceptible and some of the contributors definitely leaned in that direction. Gabriele Galantara was among those from whose pencil now emerged images of clearly ethnic and racial content.

It is generally believed that these changes came about as a result of personal circumstances and as a result of the adoption of a shared editorial policy. It is also possible that a third motivation might have been at work, in the form of an increasing adherence to fascism during the last few years of his life. This may have had its origins in the illustrator's previous political background and his youthful acquaintance with Benito Mussolini at the heart of the socialist movement. In the 1913 the *Libreria Editrice Podrecca e Galantara* also published a book written by Mussolini, entitled *Giovanni Huss. Il Veridico*, and some documents directed to him (from the artist and his fascist relatives) are still preserved in Rome at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato.²⁴ However, this is not the place for further consideration or exploration, as has been undertaken elsewhere,²⁵ as this article is focused on the analysis of his caricature work, which developed in the following ways during his final stage of activity.

5.2. Social Humour

Gabriele Galantara's comic illustrations, published in *Marc'Aurelio* from 1931 on, show in part at least, a return to his goliardic university days, light-hearted and provocative. Yet they are above all the natural development of his satirical social and lifestyle caricatures, created during the first three decades of the 20th century, when the illustrator homed in on well-to-do city-dwellers and their habits as his new targets. His irony and comic style, which first sprang from his deep political commitment, evolved in the 1930s to tackle lighter social subjects which gave no offense to the regime (thanks to his astute use of a foreign perspective when he tackled, admittedly only rarely, any political themes) parallel, for example, to the contemporary illustrations of Giovanni Manca and Aldo Mazza appeared on *Guerin Meschino* in the same years.

In the past Galantara had contributed to the creation of a socialist and proletarian artistic viewpoint, further on he became a sharp-eyed humourist, a portrayer of the faults of the average Italian citizen, who now represented a wider social class. His attacks on Italian society were mostly of an indirect nature, using ironic portrayals of the ordinary lives of anonymous citizens, their struggles and endurance being the mirror image of ministerial policies, such as the worsening of the economic climate and the difficulties brought about by the cost of living. This sarcastic view of the local population is the child of the youthful criticisms directed at the Bolognese in *Bononia ridet*; if at that time, individuals became the representatives of all the citizens, now it was the Romans who stood for the *typical Italian*. This partly explains why the figures who illustrate the pages of *Marc'Aurelio* are often stock stereotypical characters: the men have exaggerated hairstyles, large, hooked noses and wear long raincoats; the women have tightly coiffed hair and curved, motherly figures, quite

²⁴ Morganti (2016).

²⁵ Morganti (2016).

Junoesque and in accordance with the kind of feminine iconography promoted by the fascist regime. Both men and women are the main characters in little scenes, funny stories and jokes or in illustrations with comic captions, but greater social content (**Fig. 7**).

The irony deployed to describe the daily life of the Italians, with their problems and mischances, was also used by the artist to tell his own story. *Guida del mondo*, the yearly almanac produced by *Marc'Aurelio* in the 1935,²⁶ contained a little illustrated story entitled *La giornata dell'umorista* (*Day in the life of a humourist*), in which the author produced an ironic and self-deprecating account of his own working methods (**Fig. 8**). In the four sketches which make up the illustration, the characteristics previously described are clearly recognizable, but the subject and terminology used make it a very individual statement. His self-definition as a *humourist* bears witness to his understanding of the thematic, graphic and stylistic changes to his work in the recent past. This admission could have been his open acknowledgement of his artistic change to a lighter and more innocent style, but strangely, almost at the same time, Galantara had started producing caricatures on a theme of extreme aggression, both of form and content, so the story could also have been a way to preserve himself from potential attacks.

5.3. Ethnic and Racial Satirical Caricature

Between the autumn of 1935 and the spring of 1936, at the same time as the Ethiopian War launched by Italy, Gabriele Galantara produced caricatures on an ethnic and racial theme, destined for publication in *Marc'Aurelio* and subsequently almost entirely ignored by historiography. This type of illustration marks a move away from the style of satirical-political caricature he had produced in the past. It is in fact possible, taking his work from the end of the 19th century, to perceive a constant emphasis on the "other", even if it is only "not me", something different or opposite.²⁷ Later on, during the First World War, opposite came inevitably to mean the enemy in the context of a war, attacked graphically by the exaggeration and distortion of the facial traits of the rulers and stereotypical portrayal of the customs and habits of the soldiers and the victims (as, for example, in the works of Aroldo Bonzagni and more generally in the trench newspapers illustrations).

In the 1930s, these two previous stylistic and thematic tendencies came together in the treatment of themes and events on a racial and ethnic basis, in which context the physical "difference" of the political opponents became the object of satire. If previously the physical difference caricatured was a prism through which a political attack could be mediated, some sort of process of racial stereotyping of the enemy²⁸ (**Fig. 4**), this difference was now the object of satire. Physical traits were grossly exaggerated, local customs were mocked and the people were portrayed in ridiculous postures and situations with the aim of denigrating the appearance, the society and the culture of the ethnicity represented (**Fig. 9**).²⁹ This approach

²⁶ A copy of the almanac is kept in the "Associazione Culturale Fondo Paolo Moretti per la satira politica", cited above.

²⁷ Morganti (2016).

²⁸ Guerrini and Pluviano (2015, p. 48).

²⁹ [Editorial note: Galantara either was ignorant of, or, by essentializing race, chose to ignore that Ethiopia is a country of ancient written civilization. Emperor Menelik II defeated an Italian army in 1896; I have across scholarly treatment of his generals' dismay at especially revered Ethiopian churches being shown disrespect by the invaders, whereas the Ethiopian army in 1896 was motivated by shared Christianity to give Italian officers honourable burial. As for Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, see in **Fig. 10** an American cartoon by Edmund Duffy, published by the *Baltimore Sun*, "Civilization Comes to Africa", and protesting Italy's use of gas during the conquest of independent Ethiopia, for which, an authoritative account can be found in Del Boca

affects, in part of the early twentieth century, satire³⁰ concerning Jewish life and affairs, a kind of attacks from which Galantara did not abstain.



Figure 7. [Galantara, Gabriele], 1931. "Le speculazioni festive" [Festive Speculations]. *Marc'Aurelio*, 1(78) (Dec. 12, 1931), p. 1.

(1976–1987). In Duffy's cartoon, Mussolini, crowned with laurel, holds a gas mask in his left hand on his chest, under his jutting jaw which, and is looking upwards, while lifting in his right hand a rifle, on whose top a bleeding Black person, wearing a tunic labelled "Ethiopia", is bayoneted, raised supine in the cartoon top. The backdrop shows spires of smoke, apparently the toxic gas Mussolini's troops used. Isabel Simeral Johnson (1937, p. 41) reproduced Duffy's cartoon. Benito Mussolini used to be extolled for the macho value of his *mascella volitiva*, i.e., literally, "assertive mandible", or, as this is sometimes rendered into English in connection to Mussolini with *jutting jaw* or *jaw outthrust*. This is quite visible in Duffy's cartoon.]

³⁰ [Editorial note: Racial stereotyping, taught or reinforced in imagery intending sarcasm at tolerating Jews.]



Figure 7a. Detail.



Figure 7b. Detail: the man selling tickets denies the charge that the price rise is immoral, and claims it is in order to restrain fun-seeking.

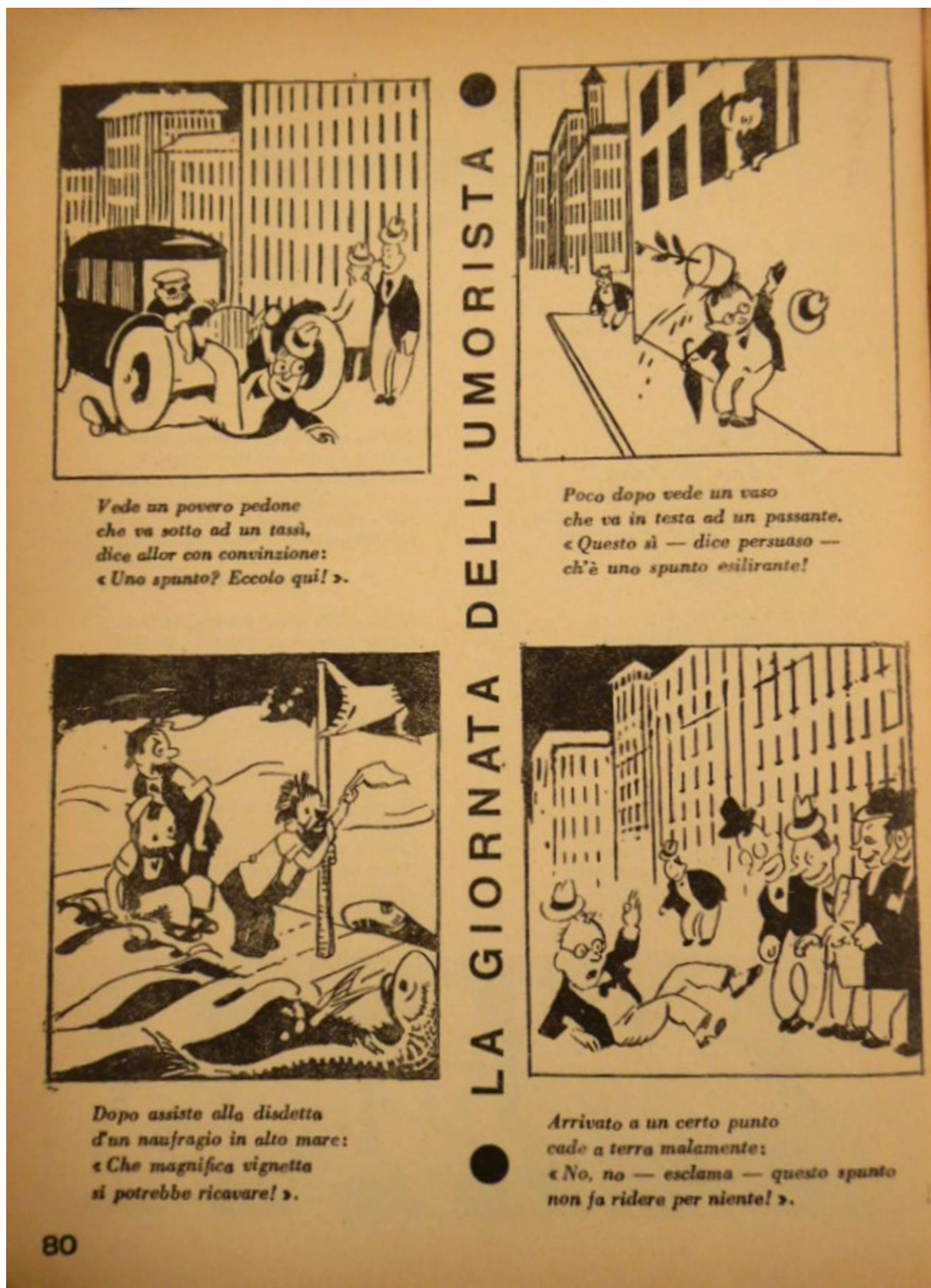


Figure 8. [Galantara, Gabriele], 1935. "La giornata dell'umorista" [A Humourist's Day]. *Marc'Aurelio. Guida del mondo. Almanacco*, Milano, Ambrosiana, p. 80. Courtesy Associazione Culturale Fondo Paolo Moretti per la satira politica – Bergamo.



Figure 8a. Detail.



Figure 8b. Detail.



Figure 8c. Detail.



Figure 8d. Detail.

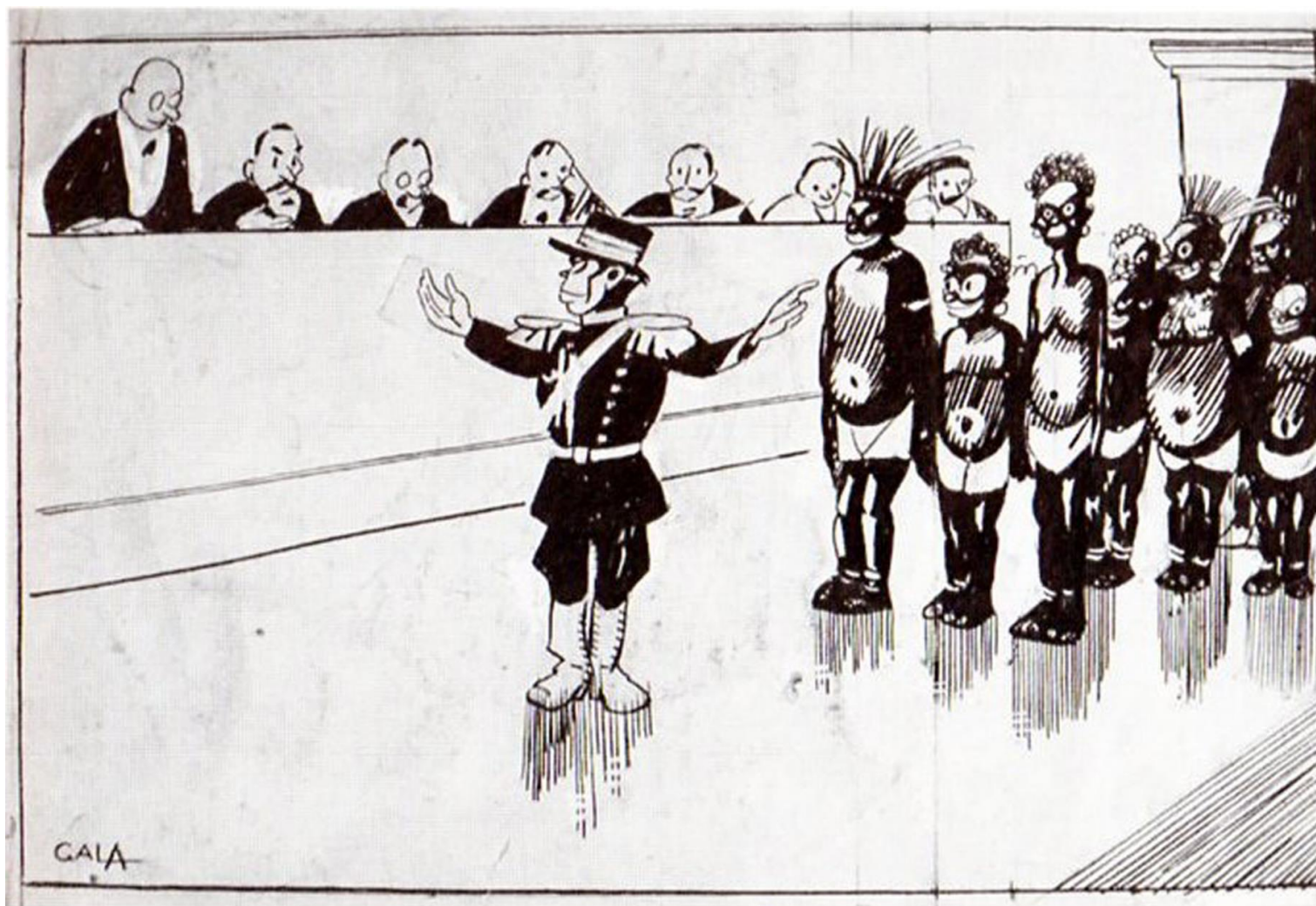


Figure 9. Gala (Galantara, Gabriele), 1935. "A Ginevra" [In Geneva, i.e., international interest in the fate of conquered Ethiopia]. *Marc'Aurelio*, 5(59) (July 24, 1935), p. 1. Courtesy Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio della Provincia di Macerata – Comune di Montelupone.



Figure 9a. Detail.



Figure 9b. Detail.



[Editorial addition: Figure 10. A cartoon by Edmund Duffy published by the *Baltimore Sun*, "Civilization Comes to Africa", protesting Italy's use of gas during the conquest of independent Ethiopia. The title of Duffy's cartoon is sarcastic, for more than one reason: the actual/perceived barbarity of the means used in the conquest, e.g. Galeazzo Ciano's description of a pilot's aesthetic pleasure as he drops bombs on villagers; and possibly also a widespread perception in the U.S. before the 1950s that members the immigrant community of American ethnic Italians were not quite white themselves. During Italy's Fascist period, recent anti-Fascist exiles in New York City were advised by local ethnic Italians not to do propaganda against Mussolini, as supposedly because of him, the Italo-American community had at the long last earned the respect of the locals. It is safe to say that media coverage of Ethiopia's conquest caused outrage, at least among the liberal intellectual elite.]

In this way, ethnic diversity, previously criticised, transformed into racial diversity. For this and other reasons, it has been separated, in this study, from his previous production. This is partly for chronological reasons, coming as it does so late in his career but also for ideological reasons, representing a clear break from an inclusive and participatory socialism to an exclusive fascism; also because of the different meaning of the concept of "otherness" and finally because of the change in style and form. From this latter point of view, the work which has been described as satirical ethnic- racial caricature is distinguished by its exclusive focus on the black-white colour difference and by the creation of backgrounds that are not scene-setting, but contain elements which underline the intent to denigrate and which also contain very few of his usual standard characters.

Roberto Mottadelli has in fact judiciously collated Galantara's unusual and modern decision to systematically deploy certain rhetorical flourishes, a practice entirely normal in literary and theatrical contexts, but unusual in satirical graphic illustrations.³¹ Such an organic methodology is typical of this illustrator's whole production in the sphere of caricature, within which are identifiable certain iconographies and styles used across the whole range of his work in all the different categories and within the chronological spread analysed here. But if previously his creations had been characterized by the abundance of personifications, metaphors and synecdoche, in his last active years his creations were less filtered by rhetorical styles and quite flagrant in meaning.

6. Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, the artistic production of Gabriele Galantara has been extremely widened, and even just focusing on the caricatural illustration it appears broader than what historiography had considered it, accounting an exhaustive and emblematic subset of his multifaceted activity. Through the study of the iconographic sources, the article has attempted to show how this kaleidoscopic feature is well represented by caricatures carried out between 1888 and 1937 for Italian newspapers.

Historiography has focused on his creations of Giolitti's time and during the advent of Fascism, and it has portrayed the artist as a satirical drawer, essentially political with socialist drift. Instead, the article has suggested a wider definition of the author as a caricaturist; for this reason it has also proposed and analysed his goliardic production in Bologna and the last ethnic and racial satirical caricature, turning subject of study his years of training and bringing to light inconvenient sides of his life and personality. From this perspective the more famous satirical –political caricature is no more than a step of his artistic poetics, next to the goliardic caricature, the satirical-social caricature, the caricature of manners, the social humour and the ethnic and racial satirical caricature.

Riccardo Campa claims that "the illustrator uses [caricature] to make visible to us the distortions that he sees in nature".³² Through a critical and chronological analysis of the different typologies adopted by Gabriele Galantara during the period of time suggested, this article has also sought to demonstrate how caricature for this illustrator was not just the means to expose and explain difficult themes to his readers (as Campa explains), but was also the purpose of the denunciation. If caricature was for him, until the third decade of the 20th century, a filter through which certain themes could be made clearer to the public, in the second half of the decade the illustrator made the grotesque representation of the characters itself the real point of the satire. Therefore, considering the artistic and semantic development undergone by the artist at the end of his productive career, it does not seem appropriate to

³¹ Mottadelli (2007, p. 63).

³² Campa (1989, p. 129).

define the subject of this analysis as an "evolution", but to consider it in terms of a "development" and a "transformation" of the graphic language used.

In contrast with the other fields in which Galantara was active, caricature is the one to which he remained the most faithful, dedicating himself constantly to its practice throughout his life. For this reason also it proved to be a multifaceted artistic form, with multiple aspects and expressive categories in continual evolution. The words of his contemporaries, spoken in recognition of the perceived value of Galantara's work in the field of caricature art, should not then surprise us, whether they come from the beginning of his career in the Italian publishing world, or at the end of his artistic journey. In 1907, the critic Ugo Ojetto declared Gabriele Galantara to be among the very best of European caricaturists, alongside Leonetto Cappiello, Charles Léandre and Jean Veber.³³ Exactly thirty years later, in his obituary, the painter Carlo Carrà described him as "the most notable figure in the panorama of Italian caricature art",³⁴ and the previous year the journalist Leo Longanesi had addressed him as "our first true caricaturist".³⁵ In conclusion, then, it is not only the quantity of images produced as caricatures between 1888 and 1937, so different from each other and at times seemingly in contradiction, but also the judgement of those who appreciated these creations in real time, without any preconditions, which permit us to define the caricature his favourite form of art and Gabriele Galantara as "a pencil committed to caricature".

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³³ Ojetto (1907).

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