Countercultural Christs:

De André's and Fo's Enchanted Modernity

"God is dead."

Friedrich Nietzsche (1882)

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"I want to reconsecrate things as much as possible,

I want to remythify."

Pier Paolo Pasolini (1968)

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"What kind of man today reads the Gospels?"

Francesco De Gregori (1976)

When Nietzsche first proclaimed in *The Gay Science* that "God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him." He followed up quickly with a question underlining the sense that the need for God would not disappear together with God himself. "What sacred games," he asks, "shall we have to invent? Is not the greatness of this deed too great for us?"[1] Though he asks the question rhetorically here, Nietzsche had already argued a decade earlier in *The Birth of Tragedy* for a return of the Dionysian chaotic and communal experience to introduce a sacred space to the modern world. Sociologist Émile Durkheim's 1912 *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* confirms that sacred elements of religion can exist without a supernatural god-figure. He argues that they are elements of the social and natural world that are set apart, belonging to the

community rather than the individual, and that, as objects or symbols, they inspire awe even without existing in tandem with supernatural corollaries.[2] He points out, however, that part of their power comes from the community's shared belief, for they are "simply collective ideals that have fixed themselves on material objects."[3] So the profane,[4] self-centered concerns of the modern individual must be overcome in order to experience religious or communal sacredness, but the experience of communal sacredness is not precluded from the atheistic, or scientifically-enlightened, experience of modernity.

That is, the experience of sacredness was not precluded from the experience of modernity until a few years later when the German sociologist and philosopher, Max Weber, posited a theory of modernity that gained traction and popularity across the 20th century, coming nearly to the point of calcifying the epoch's potential. Weber stated in 1919 that 'disenchantment'—or cultural rationalization and the devaluation of mysticism—*characterizes* modern, secularized, capitalist society.[5] In a secular world, Weber claims, man is alienated from his own meaning and purpose, alienated from his traditional sacred spaces of communion. In a world of industrialized production, man as a laborer is alienated from his humanness and as a consumer he is alienated from his very environment. In a world described by science, what Weber calls a 'calculable world', reduced mystery directly correlates to a reduced sense of awe. Man is left with a lack of meaning[6] and little to have faith in beyond himself, production, and progress, and so the regressive relics of institutionalized religion survive in varying forms.[7]

Weber precludes modern men from experiencing enchantment due to their alienated and rational experience of the world. By turning that assertion around, we understand that a return of enchantment, a feeling of great delight, charm, magical spell,[8] *must* be irrational and may lead to a non-alienating return of meaning and orientation. For my purposes, the magical spell will be

understood as a state of wonder that is induced by a return of a sense of an incomprehensible mystery and connectedness in a world that Weber had claimed to be totally 'calculable' and alienating.[9] Crucially, this incomprehensibility is not estranging, but connective, situating the individual securely within the whole. Theorists since Weber have pointed out various modern attempts at re-enchantment, at reintroducing realms of mystery, awe, and the irrational. The most straightforward of these endeavors is adherence to the sacred traditions and value systems of organized religions whose ontological explanations have been overcome in the modern age. The philosopher and social anthropologist, Ernest Gellner, suggests another example, arguing that certain so-called 'ideological re-enchantments', like Marxism and psychoanalysis, act in the modern world as closed belief systems that replace traditional religion, while the social philosopher, Theodor Adorno, points at capitalism, generally, and its attempt to respond to demands, including spiritual ones. The demand for mysticism and mystery, for awe, has been met by mass-media cultural productions according to Adorno and Horkheimer's 1947 *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, which, however, they say is a false enchantment, an enthrallment that does not lead to revelation but, rather, to the integration of underclasses into mass culture and to individual alienation.[10] This line of thinking was taken up by Guy Debord in his treatment of *spectacle* in modern capitalist societies, while Jürgen Habermas in his *The Theory of Communicative Action* reviews the theories of rationality proposed by Weber and the Neo-Marxist Frankfurt School, attempting to overcome the strictly negative view of rationalization and introduce positive gains to modern positivism.[11] Habermas's work is important, as it repositions the modern world to furnish a non-alienating future without creating what he sees as a non-realistic socialist utopia. However, in his discourse on communicative rationality and

theory of modernization, his goal is not to reveal pockets of modern enchantment, but, rather, to show the positive side of disenchanted scientific and technological reason.

This chapter is interested, instead, in investigating extant enchantment and the capacity of art in the modern world. According to theories of positivistic disenchantment, art today is necessarily detached from the pursuit of truth and morality, which now belongs to the realm of the exact sciences. Yet, science has not explained away fundamental mysteries around the origins of existence in this universe that would make the world once and for all calculable.[12] Indeed, I wonder, is this modern existence necessarily disenchanted? Recent scholarship has argued, against Weber, that modernity is enchanting, particularly when engaged with via literature and art.[13] Michael Landy's *The Re-Enchantment of the World* finds it in Nietzsche's discourse on redemption and transfiguration, in Wittgenstein's late defense of silliness and American pop culture productions, in Henry James's magical words. In the two cases taken up here, I find enchantment in the theater and song of Dario Fo and Fabrizio De André, and through their enchantment, I see, as political scientist and theorist of modern enchantment, Jane Bennett, argues, a road to ethical generosity. In her 2001 *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics,* Bennett asks whether "the very characterization of the world as disenchanted ignores then discourages affective attachment to the world." The question is important, she says, "because the mood of enchantment may be very important to ethical life."[14] Indeed, the enchanted, non-rational, sacred mood, especially, I argue, when experienced communally, may help modern individuals overcome a rational mindset that assesses individual, as opposed to shared, gain.

Disenchanted Modernity

On April 8, 1966, *TIME* magazine published a cover story sensationalizing the assertion

Friedrich Nietzsche had first made 84 years earlier. The cover read "Is God Dead?" in red letters on a black void.[15] The years of focus in this chapter, 1965 to 1971, were years of great spiritual and cultural change across the West. The *TIME* article looked at some of that change in the U.S. by investigating theological attempts to make God relevant in a decade that saw a significant decrease even in vestigial churchgoers, a rise in atheism, and direct questioning of organized religion. In Italy too, home to the Catholic Church, traditional beliefs and values began to change rapidly. As historian Guido Crainz points out, between 1962 and 1973, the number of Italians who belonged to Catholic Action (Azione Cattolica), a Roman Catholic lay association in Italy, dropped from 3,500,000 to 816,000,[16] while a census in the early 1960s found only 5% atheist, but 55% indifferent to religion. By the 1960s, even the Pope publicly recognized the need to demonstrate the continued validity of the Church's doctrine[17] and John XXIII's Vatican II, which closed in Rome on December 8, 1965, sought to narrow the widening gap between man and the Catholic God, man and the Catholic Church.

In light of all this, it is surprising that in those same years, there was a surge in cultural productions dedicated to Jesus Christ. From Southern Italy to London to Broadway, Jesus's myth was in the spotlight: in Italian cinema with Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1965 *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Il Vangelo secondo Matteo); in Italian theater with Dario Fo's 1969-70 *Comical Mystery Play* (Mistero buffo); in Italian progressive music with Fabrizio De André's 1970 concept album *The Good News* (La buona novella); as well as in the Anglo-American cross-media productions by John-Michael Tebelak and Stephen Schwartz: *Godspell: A Musical Based on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Musical debut in 1970, Broadway debut in 1971, film adaptation in 1973), and by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice: *Jesus Christ, Superstar* (concept album in 1970, Broadway debut in 1971, film adaptation in 1973).

In years that saw culture *en masse* facing the god-void that Nietzsche had looked into nearly a century before,[18] it is worth asking what meaning Jesus Christ might have for these Anglo-American and Italian cultural producers, particularly in the heightened activity around 1970. It is straightforward to imagine that the impulse in all cases, Anglophone and Italian, stems from a singular zeitgeist, as the 1960s was a time of unprecedented popular cultural exchange,[19] but research revealed, rather, very different impulses. The Anglo-American examples come in the wake of a revolution that sought to rediscover the divine through experimentation with mind-altering drugs and Eastern religions, and are part of the transition of the hippie movement from radical to mainstream. The Italian examples, rather, fall at a different moment in Italy's cultural revolution, and seek, as I argue, to fulfill some of the goals of enchantment that are unmet by Italy's highly rational rebellion. To see where the paths diverge, let us first look at an Italian example that echoes the *TIME* article of 1966: 27-year-old *cantautore,* Francesco Guccini's, 1965 song "God Is Dead" (Dio è morto), which was first performed by the band, The Nomads (I Nomadi), and released as a single in 1967.[20] The song's title and its first stanza,[21] which is an allusion to Allen Ginsberg's *Howl,*[22] open a space in which one can observe the contemporary experience of god's void as well as the American and Italian responses to it during the counterculture years. Both the song and poem begin as retrospectives that pit youth culture against the world at large:

<INSERT FIGURE 3.1 HERE>

Howl traces a revolution that is in Ginsberg's past when he writes it in 1955. Italy's cultural revolution is in its infancy in 1967, yet Guccini speaks in the past tense as well. The first two of Guccini's three stanzas end by describing atrocities of the modern godless world:

And a god who is dead

On the roadsides god is dead

In cars bought on installment plans god is dead

In the myths of the summer god is dead

…

And a god who is dead

In concentration camps god is dead

With racial myths god is dead

With party hatred god is dead[23]

Then the third stanza, like Ginsberg's closing section, introduces a holy vision, a return of the miraculous and divine. Ginsberg sees it in everything, repeating the word 'holy' 77 times in a long paragraph of sentence fragments. Guccini, rather, sees holiness return as specific to the beliefs and actions of his generation, which will resurrect the divine:

But I think

That my generation is prepared

For a new world and a hope just born

For a future already held in its hands, for a revolution without arms

Because, at this point, we all know that if god dies

It's for three days and then he rises

In that which we believe god has risen

In that which we want god has risen

In the world we will make god has risen[24]

Guccini's "God Is Dead" works so well as a hinging device in this chapter, in part, because it forces us to look at the very different points in their revolutionary arcs the United States and Italy

inhabited in the late 1960s. 1968 is often considered the most famous of counterculture years, but numerous scholars argue that by then the radical American beatnik or hippie[25] revolution was declining, and that it was, in fact, being snuffed out[26] where it could not be normalized.[27] Indeed, Ginsberg was 42 in 1968 and the potential of his youth Beat Generation, in many ways the precedent for hippies, was already diminished in his 1955 poem. His generation's great minds were 'destroyed', crucially, not just by the modern world, but by fighting to overcome it, specifically, to overcome the lack of purpose and place experienced in godless modernity. His youths are "burning for the ancient heavenly connection," "smoking in the supernatural," and "bar[ing] their brains to Heaven." Inebriated visions do not blur reality but, rather, see through its hampering rationality.

Meanwhile, Italy's youth revolution is, as previously mentioned, just beginning in the late 1960s and its path largely excludes the psychedelic experimentation of Ginsberg and his ilk.[28] Foreign hippies came to Italy for the sunny weather; they were called 'long-hairs', or *capelloni*, and were first noted as far south as Rome in 1965. In 1966, Italian *capelloni* appeared in Rome and Milan, and while they were preoccupied with dress, sex, and music, achieving an altered state through drugs was only a marginal concern.[29] Yet, Guccini introduces Ginsberg's same dichotomy: "wine" and "pills" that induce "the dream that channels madness" to combat his youths' sense of a lack of meaning[30] and dissatisfaction with the spoils of modern progress, "a tired civilization", "a world made up of cities" and of "concentration camps." He posits a world that has been rendered meaningless and brutal by the course of human progress that had led to man's abolition of God. He introduces a youth generation that seems on track to irrationally overcome a dead-end, godless world.[31]

But then, in a supremely rational and modern turn, he declares in the last stanza that god will, in fact, rise again, in the progress that his generation of modern men will accomplish: “They told me / That my generation doesn't believe anymore / In that which has masqueraded as faith / In the eternal myths of the homeland and the hero […] But I think […] That if god dies, it is for three days and he will rise again / In that which we believe, god is risen / In that which we want, god is risen / In the world we will make, god is risen.”[32] Guccini starts where Ginsberg started, but ends somewhere entirely different. God is a metaphor for modern man for Guccini, and so, in a sense, the miracle he promises is an iteration of the rational man-made utopia promised by modernity from its onset. Ex-priest and sociology professor, Pier Giorgio Rauzi, sees this as a characteristic of the larger Italian movement, which during the process of secularization transferred the doctrine of salvation from heaven to earth as the revolution became, itself, a form of salvation.[33] Allen Ginsberg, rather, resurrects the holy in the end, not by resurrecting an ancient deity or the myth of modernity, but by learning to see the hyper-quotidian as miraculous. His 77 holy declarations refer to everything from the world and body to the skyscraper and railroad: “The skin is holy! The nose is holy! … Holy the solitudes of skyscrapers and pavements! Holy the cafeterias filled with the millions!”[34] For Ginsberg, the entire world—natural, mythical, ancient and modern—becomes a site of holiness in 1955 and, for better or worse, his Beat Generation, then the hippies, largely follow this same path.

Indeed, hippie culture is, to a great degree, a direct response to a sense of the loss of God, and, more broadly, a sense of lost enchantment in the modern world. The young American intellectual who introduced the term, ‘counterculture,’ Theodore Roszak, underlined four drives in his book *The Making of a Counter Culture:* “the psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian experiments.”[35] The American Beat Generation, the

ensuing beatniks[36] and hippies, as well as intellectuals like the writer Aldous Huxley[37] and the psychologist Timothy Leary,[38] worked towards transcending a rational conception of the empirical world and gaining a greater consciousness through inspiration from Eastern religions (which, as in Taosim and Zen Buddhism, crucially do not hinge on a supernatural deity figure) and mystical drug-induced experience.[39] This irrational, mystical impulse threaded through the counterculture and manifested itself in positive as well as negative ways. The point, however, is not to validate, but simply to remember that a great part of the American countercultural promise was one of spiritual awakening that encouraged community, brotherly love, and an overcoming of profane modern concerns for gain and progress.[40] And to point out, in turn, that the beatnik/hippie is soon reduced to a simulacrum, as he is enveloped by mainstream culture and turned into, as Guy Debord might have said, the appearance of the thing rather than the thing.[41]

Therefore, mass-media Anglo-American Jesus-Christ productions that appear in the early 1970s, seen in this context, especially as they convey hippie values, should be seen as coming in the wake of the truly revolutionary moment. In 1971, when *Godspell* and *Jesus Christ, Superstar* hit Broadway, and in 1973 when they were turned into films, while some argue that they were radical,[42] I see them, rather, as Debordian spectacle, the commodification of revolution that retools the Jesus myth (and the rockstar myth) as a metaphor for hippie values. To be sure, *Godspell* and *Jesus Christ, Superstar* both made Jesus an anti-establishment hippie hero, though both were created, in part, by men who did not belong to the counterculture, but who would instead go on to become among the most successful Broadway creators in history: Stephen Schwartz[43] and Andrew Lloyd Webber.[44] After their initial debuts in 1970, [45] the two productions were quickly picked up for Broadway and film adaptations, which in and of itself demonstrates the mainstream marketability of a hippie Jesus and flower children disciples.[46] Furthermore, it

reveals them as paradigms of the *spectacle* that Guy Debord had claimed in 1967 served to distract and pacify consumers/citizens while commodifying and neutralizing radical elements of society.

Godspell's first act finds Jesus on stage with eight young people baptized by John the Baptist and transformed. Significantly this is portrayed as a change in dress, from outfits that indicate their roles in society—nurse, secretary, etc.—they transform into colorful trampish clowns, with inflections of hippie style. They unite to follow Jesus, dressed as a clown in a Superman t-shirt. Fundamentally, it is a peace-and-love morality musical with scenes telling Jesus's parables in a light-hearted and often comedic tone. Jesus is humanized, as he does not rise after his death, and he is still the clear hero. *Jesus Christ, Superstar,* rather, is not a morality play, and Lloyd Webber and Rice are highly ambivalent towards the humanized Jesus, seeing him as possibly misguided, his apostles as fame-crazed,[47] and ending the show by raising Judas from the dead after his hanging rather than Jesus from his death on the cross. Their musical, crucially, is not fraught with religion, perhaps due to the 'secular Anglicanism' that historian Arthur Warwick claims had been spreading through Britain since the 18th century.[48] The concept album unhesitatingly disrupts the myth of Jesus by, as Henry Bial argues, lowering Jesus to the rock star level, as if modern man could rise no higher,[49] and in accomplishing this, it becomes a very literal example of spectacle as defined by Debord a few years earlier as, in part: "The material reconstruction of the religious illusion. Not that its techniques have dispelled those religious mists in which human beings once located their own powers, the very powers that had been wrenched from them—but those cloud-enshrouded entities have now been brought down to earth."[50] When the album is visualized as a stage production and film, it compounds the spectacular. Tom O'Horgon's Broadway version was widely criticized for its gaudy and over-

the-top dazzle[51] while Jesus's disciples are quite explicitly frolicking flower children and groupies. Jesus himself is at once iconic—blonde-haired, blue-eyed, soft and angelic—and transformed into a rock idol, as the story takes on, particularly in the film version,[52] a music-festival feel,[53] which Marwich claims is "the greatest of all types of spectacle invented in the sixties."[54] This updating of Jesus's story superimposes a powerful hippie rock hero on a weak but iconic image of Christ surrounded by a counterculture menagerie. In so doing, it dehistoricizes and flattens 2,000 years of spiritual tradition and cultural history, while commodifying hippies. Guy Debord argues that this sort of cultural production, and most egregiously in mass-media productions, is "a specious form of the sacred" that in reality only alienates individuals further as "spectators are linked only by a one-way relationship with the very center that maintains their isolation from one another. The spectacle thus unites it only *in its separateness."* Debord also states that spectacle replaces historical life with pseudo-historical life experienced in *spectacular time* that forestalls self-consciousness by paralyzing history, paralyzing memory, and abandoning any history founded in historical time.[55] According to this definition, *Godspell*'s and *Superstar*'s flattening of time creates in the audience a timelessness of uprooted separation from a communal past.

In Italy there is no significant hippie movement to commodify in 1970, and there is no equivalent in the Italian counterculture that seeks to return the mystical experience to the modern. In 1968 it is Guccini's revolution envisioned in "God Is Dead" that takes root: it imagines the return of the divine (with all its moral and existential implications) achieved through social progress, that is, through rational human progress. Drug use amongst youths, indeed, became prevalent only near the end of the 1970s,[56] and it was heroin, not LSD or peyote, that was used to forget modernity's crushing alienation rather than, for better or worse, attempt

to overcome it. In historian Paul Ginsborg's view, drug use is one of Italy's most derivative and foreign forms of alternative culture, while Fo's theater is one of its most innovative.[57] In this context, unlike in *Godspell* and *Superstar,* Jesus's presence in Dario Fo's 1969, *Comical Mystery Play* (Mistero buffo) and Fabrizio De André's 1970 *The Good News* (La buona novella) cannot be conceived of as derivative of the foreign or local hippie movement.[58] Rather, they might be seen as playing a new, unique, and crucial mystical role, during a largely rational cultural shift in Italy, by inviting man—even and especially counterculturalists—to experience reality as somehow divine. That is, to experience the world beyond the rational and empirical, and to be, in turn, *enchanted*. This was a central concern in the 20th century, not only of the leaders of U.S. experimentation with hallucinogens, but also of philosophers and psychologists of the Weimar Republic, who similarly turned to marijuana and peyote.[59]

Walter Benjamin, for example, says in a chapter of his late 1920's meditation on Weimar culture, *One-Way Street,* that "nothing distinguishes the ancient from the modern man so much as the former's absorption in a cosmic experience scarcely known in later periods."[60] He goes on to argue in the chapter, "To the Planetarium," that:

> The exclusive emphasis on an optical connection with the universe, to which astronomy very quickly led, contained a portent of what was to come. The ancients' intercourse with the cosmos had been different: the ecstatic trance [*rausch*].[61] For it is in this experience alone that we assure ourselves of what is nearest to us and what is remotest from us, and never of one without the other. This means, however, that man can be in ecstatic contact with the cosmos only communally. It is the dangerous error of modern men to regard this experience as unimportant and avoidable, and to consign it to the individual as the poetic rapture of starry nights.[62]

Benjamin, throughout his life, sought to reshape visions of reality and he did so through the figure of the flâneur, as well as through experimentation, himself, with hallucinogens and narcotics.[63] In his notes on drug experimentation,[64] Benjamin recalls taking long walks after eating hashish and describes the great emotion the world produced in him: that fringes in the wind induced "amorous joy;"[65] that a sense of universal empathy caused him to perceive two strangers passing by as the Italian geniuses Dante and Petrarch;[66] that "an incomprehensible gaiety came over" him upon contemplating the names of boats in the quay and "the love promised to these boats by their names."[67] His fellow experimenter, the physician Ernst Joel, notes that feelings of loneliness quickly disappeared, stating that "there is a state of stronger connection with the world and the human race."[68] For Benjamin, however, as he says in "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia": "the true, creative overcoming of religious illumination certainly does not lie in narcotics. It resides in a *profane illumination,* a materialistic, anthropological inspiration, to which hashish, opium, or whatever else can give an introductory lesson. (But a dangerous one; and the religious lesson is stricter.)"[69]

Important to Benjamin's 'profane illumination' are three points. Firstly, that the mystery suppressed by modern modes of seeing lies right before our eyes, and we can "penetrate the mystery only to the degree that we recognize it in the everyday world."[70] Secondly, hallucinogens are but one way to access insights of perception. As he states in a letter to Max Horkheimer in 1938:

> Critical theory cannot fail to recognize how deeply certain powers of intoxication [*rausch*] are bound to reason and to its struggle for liberation. What I mean is, all the insights that man has ever obtained surreptitiously through the use of narcotics can also be obtained *through the human:* some through the individual—through the man or

> through the woman; other through groups; and some, which we dare not even dream yet, perhaps only through the community of the living.[71]

And thirdly, this search for non-rational insight is not hedonistic or individualistic but, rather, it is in its final goals, a sociopolitical drive. He concludes his letter to Horkheimer with this question: "Aren't these insights, by virtue of the human solidarity from which they arise, truly political in the end?" Benjamin's 'profane illumination in the modern world' can be seen as another description of 'enchantment in the modern world,' as the experience of "amorous joy" for the wind and "a state of stronger connection with the world and the human race"[72] resonate with the definition of enchantment, while his *rausch* is reminiscent of enchantment's magic spell.

With these three Benjaminian ideas in mind—that the search for new, non-alienating and enchanted ways of seeing need not be via drug-induced visions, that the key to unlocking mystery lies in seeing the everyday world in a new way, and that this insight may open doors to a new aesthetic, philosophical, as well as political, experience[73]—we can begin to look at the goals of Fabrizio De André's and Dario Fo's cultural productions. For, their unlikely engagement with the Christian myth in 1969-70 may be revealed as an invitation to personal enchantment (with interpersonal, and for Fo, specifically, political ends), in a highly Italian key that does not rely on experimentation with drugs, but which nonetheless conveys an accumulation of time in physical space—key to both the flâneur and hashish-eater experience—to reveal the miraculous mystery of the commonplace.[74] Yet, there remains one more stone to overturn before arriving at Fo and De André, for they are not the first non-Christian Italian subversives to retell the Gospels. And, consequently, any investigation must begin five years earlier, in 1965, when the renowned iconoclastic director, Pier Paolo Pasolini, filmed *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Il Vangelo

secondo Matteo).[75] Though he was a constant critic of the Catholic Church, Pasolini's film tells Jesus's story faithfully, respectfully, and was praised by conservative and Catholic communities, while confounding Pasolini's usual audiences. Due to its engagement with the gospels, as well as Pasolini's own profuse glossing of his film, it can help to understand Italy's unique relationship with Catholicism[76] and why all three cultural producers, Pasolini, De André, and Fo, might choose Christian mysticism to engage their progressive audiences, whether Catholic, atheist or Marxist progressives,[77] in an attempt to open up an irrational, miraculous space within the counterculture.

Pasolini as Precedent

Pier Paolo Pasolini was an Italian intellectual polymath: a novelist, journalist, philosopher, poet, actor, and film director. His legacy is prolific, complex, at times thorny, and his political stance can be hard to nail down. He was, for example, a staunch Marxist and Italian Communist Party (PCI) supporter who was, however, disappointed in the party by 1965. Indeed, it was in many ways a party in crisis by then, even before the death that year of Party Secretary, Palmero Togliatti. After World War II, Togliatti had turned the PCI into the largest Communist party in Europe, and his party, though it had lost some of its membership in the 1960s, was still hard at work 20 years after the end of Fascism. It was hard at work, indeed, for Togliatti's road to socialism did not call for immediate insurrection, but as historian Paul Ginsborg says, it utilized a Gramscian strategy of "deep-seated entrenchment in civil society and a long 'war of opposition' […,] the prerequisites for the transition to socialism."[78] Yet, by 1965, few of Togliatti's key radical reforms seemed possible without restructuring power first to displace the ruling elite. Furthermore, and perhaps more worrisome to Italian communists, though the PCI was not part of the proposed formation of a center-left coalition in the early 1960s as the

Christian Democrats and PSI (Italian Socialist Party) inched towards each other, it still seemed to be transitioning towards the center rather than pulling politics to the left.[79] In 1968, however, when student revolutionaries began to seek vehicles for change outside of a party that they, like Pasolini, saw as dysfunctional, Pasolini denounced the students' polemic with the PCI. In a poem he published in *L'Espresso* that year*,* "The PCI to the Youths," he calls them "figli di papà", which could be loosely translated as *spoiled brats,* and declares that they are 15 years too late. He claims theirs was no cultural revolution, but a tantrum of rebellion against their parents.[80] After an altercation in Rome between student protestors and the police, Pasolini saw the policemen (children of the proletariat) as the protagonists, while he saw the students (children of the bourgeoisie) as merely acting out.[81]

This stance seems in line with what John Wakeman argues about Pasolini, that "if there is one constant, one invariant, it is Pasolini's uncritical attachment to the peasantry."[82] Yet, university students in 1968 were not just sons of the bourgeoisie. 1962 had seen the introduction of compulsory education until age 14 and this had created the opportunity for young people of the middle and working classes to enter the university. In 1965 entrance exams were suspended, making universities open to all. For the first time, tens of thousands of working-class students decided to go on to university and much of what the protesting students were fighting for was born of a desire to improve the living and studying conditions of these new students.[83] Yet, Pasolini, the constant iconoclast, Marxist atheist, and defender of subalterns, stood against extra-parliamentary countercultural currents in the 60s and curiously took up an interest, instead, in Pope John XXIII and the lay Catholic action group, *Pro Civitate Christiana* (meaning, in Latin, 'For a Christian Society').

In 1962, in light of Pope John XXIII's desire to see the Catholic Church reach across the aisle to dialogue with non-Christians, *Pro Civitate Christiana* decided to invite the well-known atheist and Marxist filmmaker, Pier Paolo Pasolini, to their annual film convention. Pasolini accepted the invitation, claiming that he was coming only to meet the film theorist, Domenico Meccoli, and arrived in Assisi for the convention in October of 1962.[84] Within three years of the conference, Pasolini had made two very different films about Jesus Christ. The first is the 1963 short film, *Curd Cheese* (La ricotta)—part of a larger collaborative film, *Ro.Go.Pa.G.,* with Roberto Rossellini, Jean-Luc Godard and Ugo Gregoretti—which takes a satirical look at the Passion of Christ and bourgeois control of the filmmaking process. *Curd Cheese* is a meta-film that follows the filming of a Passion of Christ movie on the frontier of the Roman suburbs and countryside. The protagonist, Stracci (which means 'rags'), is a proletariat actor who is playing the Good Thief. Stracci gives up his free lunch on set to feed his family and the 24-minute film follows him as he attempts to procure another lunch to feed himself. After comedic mishaps and burlesque interludes, the famished man is finally confronted with a banquet and overeats. He is then called to set to die on the cross after speaking his line: "Lord, remember me to your father in heaven."[85] Before he can speak his lines, however, Stracci dies on the cross of indigestion, before an audience of press, politicians, starlets, and producers. Though the film begins with a director's statement maintaining that "The story of Christ's Passion […] is for me the greatest there has ever been, and the Texts that recount it the most sublime,"[86] Pasolini was prosecuted for contempt of religion (vilipendio della religione), and the film was censored before its release in Italy.

Before the controversy around *Curd Cheese* had died down, Pasolini started on his second film, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, which takes a different approach to the story of

Christ, though it seems to have similar goals.[87] Pasolini claimed to have read all four Gospels in one sitting in a Bible left in his room at the *Pro Civitate Christiana* cinema convention in Assisi. From that moment he was tormented by the idea of making the film and returned to Assisi to ask for *Pro Civitate'*s help.[88] When *The Gospel* was released in 1965, it was dedicated to the "dear, happy, and simple memory of Pope John XXIII,"[89] and was well-received by the Church. The Vatican journal, *L'Osservatore Romano,* called it in 2014, after 50 years and many Christ films, "without a doubt, absolutely the best film about the figure of Christ."[90] This time, Pasolini simply, piously, tells the life of Jesus of Nazareth, relying solely on words from the Gospel of Matthew for the screenplay.

On its surface, the decision is surprising, yet, in 2015 Peter Kammerer argues in his essay "The 'Subversive' Sacred of Pasolini," that "in a world characterized — as Max Weber told us — by secularization and disenchantment, the 'sacred' directly subverts the foundations of society."[91] Kammerer's statement, though precise, is somewhat more encyclopedic than critical, for Pasolini, himself, is recorded time and again defending his film along those very lines. For example, he says in 1968:

> There is the idea of myth and the epic […] so when I told the story of Christ, I did not reconstruct Christ as he truly was. If I had reconstructed the story of Christ as he truly was, I would not have made a religious film because I am not a believer. I do not believe that Christ was the son of God. I would have made a reconstruction that was at best positivist or Marxist, and so, in the best case it would have told the story of a life as it could have been for any of five or six thousand saints that preached at that time in Palestine. But I did not want to do that because I am not interested in desecrations: it is a

> style that I hate, it is petit bourgeois. I want to reconsecrate things as much as possible, I want to remythify.[92]

Many critics agree that *The Gospel* is Pasolini unearthing the sacred from a profane modern crust. Stefania Benini recently argued in her *Pasolini, The Sacred Flesh,* that "for Pasolini, the sacred is repressed under a new, omnipresent consumerism" and that, while he is "fully aware of the contemporary irrelevance of the sacred […,] he is alienated by technology and contemporary society, with its excessive rationality that has basically erased the irrational aspect of the sacred from its horizon." For Pasolini, she says, "the sacred embodies the nemesis of modernity, the return of the uncanny archaic that shatters the apparent coherence of the bourgeois existence."[93] The story of Christ, furthermore, fits well into Pasolini's unique Marxism, which maintains an uncritical attachment to the peasantry. As Oswald Stack pointed out in his 1969 *Pasolini on Pasolini,* Pasolini "lays increasing stress [not just in *The Gospel*] on the need to restore an epic and mythological dimension to life, a sense of awe and reverence to the world: a sense which, he believes, the peasantry still sustain, though the bourgeoisie has done all in its power to destroy it."[94] Pasolini is explicitly using the story of Christ to reintroduce a sacred space to the Italian public, and in so doing, he is perhaps also opening an artistic space in Italy where post-Christian cultural producers are encouraged to do the same. Orson Welles, playing the director of the Christ film in *Cheese Curd,* when asked by a journalist what he wants to express with his film, responds: "My profound, intimate, archaic Catholicism."[95] That is, a Catholicism that combines personal spirituality and Italian tradition to represent something older than and outside of the Catholic Church as a contemporary institution. In *Cheese Curd,* the elements of exhibition and commodity are clear, and they clash with the director's declared goals; the film is more a critique

of the film industry than an attempt at performing the profound and archaic sentiments felt by the director. *The Gospel,* then, should be Pasolini's expression of those feelings.

Pasolini, in making *The Gospel,* is in no way attempting to create a film that could avoid definition as Debordian spectacle, indeed Debord's book was published only after the two Pasolini films in question. While Debord sees mass-media image production, like cinema, as problematically pseudo-historical, Pasolini is thrilled by cinema's potential. "Cinema," he says, "represents one of the mythical devices available to modern man to escape history; like myth before it, cinema allows us to remain within history as if we were outside of it."[96] Yet, in order to avoid the vulgarization and commodification of myth that he sees as profane, he largely avoids pitfalls for Debordian spectacularization in *The Gospel,* as he had largely critiqued them in *Cheese Curd*. Pasolini does not update the myth, instead, he uses the words of the Bible without alterations or additions, including even Jesus's miracles. He does this so as to convey the myth in its fullness, but it also would have made it harder for modern post-Christian audiences to accept, which is perhaps why he eventually calls the inclusion of the miracles a "disgusting pietism."[97] Unlike the peace-and-love Jesus of the hippie-Anglo-American productions, Pasolini's Christ is, as he says himself, violently passionate about his politics, which complicates him to show a darker side that is not necessarily weaker or less certain, but which the filmmaker hoped, nonetheless, would disrupt passive viewing and make Christian spectators leave feeling disturbed and pensive.[98]

Similar to the Anglo-American Jesus Christ who is perceived as the ideal hippie in an anachronistic countercultural setting, Pasolini's Christ becomes a sort of ideal Marxist, as he wanders southern Italy instead of Palestine, preaching to and defending the peasants, in an analogy that pits the contemporary Italian classes against each other. As opposed to the blonde-

haired, blue-eyed Jesus in the Anglo-American productions, which borrow from images of Christ that come down from the Renaissance, Pasolini wanted "the face of Christ as reproduced by Medieval painters, so that his face reflected the arid and stony places where he preached."[99] In neorealist, documentary-over-spectacle style, he used many non-actors, including his own mother as Mary. Jesus was played by the 19-year-old Catalan trade unionist, Enrique Irazoqui.[100] His lingering close shots of individual faces, the familiar weatherworn faces of Southern Italian fishermen and farmers, meanwhile, bring the abstract myth close to home and to the Italian viewer's own experience. With these measures, and according to his own gloss of the film, Pasolini clearly sought to reintroduce a sincere and whole version of the myth that renewed it, made it moving again for all Italians, even non-religious Italians, with its sacred elements intact. As we will see, this move was particularly critical in Italy after Pope John XXIII's death.

Ironically, Pasolini's definition of his film as "the life of Christ plus 2,000 years of retellings of the life of Christ"[101] fits *The Gospel of Matthew* somewhat less well than it fits De André's *The Good News* and Fo's *Comical Mystery Play. The Gospel* relies on a single, 'original' account, while the latter two rely on non-establishment apocryphal gospels and medieval stories and performances, revealing Jesus as a grass-roots popular figure across centuries, rather than an institutional and static one. I believe that this popular portrayal, as well as their focus on peripheral characters, rather than Christ himself—which allows them to maintain the sacred human myth, without conceding divinity to Jesus—makes their productions distinctly viable as vehicles for modern atheistic enchantment. Dario Fo said of his own *Comical Mystery Play* and De André's *The Good News,* which were completed within months of each other: "We were not copying each other and therefore there was no jealousy: we were in the same field and [De André] was applauded for entering to do his share of digging."[102] Fo does not

specify beyond his metaphor, but I see his 'field' as the myth of Jesus Christ, a homogenous plain, made to look uncomplicated and simple, but hiding beneath its surface 2,000 years of accumulated schisms, interpretations, revolutions, institutions, translations, and worldly intrigue. Dario Fo imagines himself and De André there, both excavating the myth to reveal it, continuing the work Pasolini had begun.

I argue that they choose this specific myth in this specific moment because, just as Italy's experience of Catholicism is uniquely fraught, so too is its experience of the transition to secularism,[103] and so is the relationship between the Catholic and the revolutionary sectors of society.[104] To begin with, the Italian peninsula can trace much of its long history along with the history of the New Testament, from Jesus's life to the contemporary age. For the religious story of Jesus's life coincides and interacts with the historical Pax Romana, apex of the classical Roman period. Augustus's empire was then, in a sense, inherited by the pope who would go on to exert temporal and spiritual power for over a millennium, with worldly abuses and spiritual edicts whose effects were exaggerated on the peninsula compared to much of the rest of the Western world. When Italy was unified as a nation in 1861, Catholicism, both as a belief system and as a looming earthly institution, was one of the few binding agents for a new country that struggled to find commonality by which to define its nationhood. To invalidate the Christian myth in Italy by declaring the death of God meant to devalue many of the nation's foundational myths and much local cultural heritage. The Florentine dialect, for example, was chosen as the official Italian language largely due to the importance of medieval literary works by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. The most influential of these works and still the most significant work in the Italian canon, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, is a salvific Christian epic. The Italian architectural landscape is defined by its churches, which, with their Byzantine gold mosaics and medieval and

Renaissance art, silently remind Italians and visitors, alike, of each city's long and religious history. The accomplishments of the Renaissance in Italy are, likewise, largely redolent of the centrality of Christian faith and the Catholic Church: Brunelleschi's Duomo, Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and the epitome of Humanistic knowledge, Leonardo da Vinci, best known, not for his scientific thought and inventions, but for *The Last Supper*. With all of this tangible personal and communal history in mind, the death of the Christian God in the modern world somehow implies the diminishing of Italian history itself.

Italians, furthermore, were not only excluded from their cultural heritage by their own spiritual atheism or uncertainty, which essayist and proponent of Christian socialism, Lidia Menapace said caused them to "truncate history at their own shoulders,"[105] but more aggressively by the Church itself. That is, except for a brief reprieve in the 1960s introduced by John XXIII, who had declared the Church politically neutral[106] and thus changed the stance long held by Pius XII, who had insisted "on defending the West in a Holy War against the Communist and atheist East."[107] Until that point, Italian communists were forced into an inimical position, in direct opposition to the Church, but even after his death, the dialogue John XXIII had invited between Catholics and men of all faiths and parties continued to be taken up in Italy. As journalist and author, Romano Giuffrida, argues, Vatican II signaled its own "cultural revolution," in the Church as well as society at large, during which time new non-Catholic interlocutors demonstrated the demand for a "demythicized Christian"[108] in Italy. Meanwhile, for young Catholics it marked an opportunity to fight for Marxist ideals. During that period in Central and South America, certain Catholic priests' writings, seeking reconciliation between Catholicism and Marxism in the post-Pius Church, inspired Catholic youths in Italy into dissent.

They, in fact, became the first students to revolt, at the Catholic Universities of Trento and Milan in 1967.[109]

Yet, as journalist Michele Brambilla points out, 1968 is remembered as a year in which many great efforts came from the Catholic world, but, in reality:

> a crisis of faith exploded in that moment during which secularization was transforming from an elite movement to a mass movement… the Catholic 'timber' of the contestation was more illusory than real. It wasn't a bunch of Catholics, as much as it was ex-Catholics (or at least Catholics conditioned by confusion leftover from Vatican II) to leave their stamp on '68, and in turn it was they who were left conditioned and changed by '68 as well.[110]

Vatican II was a meaningful attempt to mend the rift between the Catholic Church, the Catholic faith, and modern man, but it did not return atheists to faith and unite the country. As Pope Paul VI, John XXIII's successor, concluded: "We believed that Vatican II would have brought a sunny day to the history of the Church. Instead, a day came that was cloudy, stormy, and dark."[111] Pope Paul VI, with his Credo of the People of God of June 1968, went on to neutralize much of Vatican II's efforts, as if man had not changed in the past centuries and Vatican II had never been.[112]

So young Italy was left splintering in sociopolitical divisions and, to a great degree, severed from its past. This division[113] and estrangement can be connected to one of the most popular slogans of the student revolution in the late 1960s: 'I want to be an orphan' (Voglio essere orfano). Pasolini might have seen the slogan as one reason to reduce the movement to a childish tantrum against parents, but De André and Fo may well have read deeper implications there. They may have seen young people who perceived nothing to gain from the past. The

Christian Democrats had ruled for 20 years, and the Italian Communist Party had gone astray from Antonio Gramsci's grassroots Marxist philosophy, which had held so much hope for so many people during the years of Fascism and the postwar. The economic boom had turned the partisans of WWII into, as the revolutionaries saw it, part of a complacent bourgeoisie,[114] and the secularization of Italian society further separated the youth generation from its past, from its parents and grandparents, and from its deeper past, as remembered in every church, every fresco, every religious cultural production that defined Italy to that point.

The slogan, 'I want to be an orphan*,'* in fact, echoes the Futurist desire to "demolish museums, libraries"[115] for the Futurists—the oldest of whom, were only thirty[116]—did not intend to waste their best mental energy "in a useless admiration of the past."[117] This declaration was born from a feeling that the past had been overcome, had been rendered useless and absurd, and that the present generation could raze history and start from a new year 0, with its own ingenuity and strength. F.T. Marinetti published his manifesto in 1909 near the height of a sense of renewed possibility in modern man who, free of the chains and mysticisms of the past, could build his utopia. But what followed was war, Fascism, and rationalized violence. A half century later, progressive youths in Italy were once again razed from their past and held a self-referential belief system, illustrated in Francesco Guccini's mid-60s song: "My generation is prepared for a new world." In that which we believe, want, and will make, god has risen, Guccini sings.[118] In 2008, historian Anna Bravo recognized what she calls their "self-confident and arrogant" attitude as a negative aspect of the long-'68 youth generation, which "was all too ready to burn the temples and the obstacles, in that belief that they were made of star-stuff."[119] I see Fo and De André as sensing something similar but divergent, namely, they intuited that, the Italian youth generation was critically unable to access an enchantment drive that might allow it to transcend a

hyper-alienated mindset. This is in part due to the youth movement's lack of experimental/spiritual element and in part due to Italy's exaggerated and very personal experience of the transition from religion to atheism. I argue that, with this insight in mind, they excavated their own, fundamentally Christian, history[120] as a way to rediscover and carefully reassemble a root system that connects the present to a yet-valid past and, in so doing, to give young people an access point to spirituality that was unique and well-suited to the Italian experience.

Crucially, while they are mass-media producers,[121] De André and Fo both manage to subvert alienating and life-negating spectacle, in part by avoiding participation (in their realms of live theater and song) in "the manufacture of an ever-growing mass of image-objects," which Debord defines as spectacle, as well as "the *chief product* of present-day society,"[122] and by refusing to allow industry interests to control their artistic productions.[123] While Fo's public are spectators, his theater is crucially bidirectional, ending nearly every evening in dialogue, which is the opposite of Debordian unidirectional and passive spectacle.[124] For De André, too, the concert arena becomes a sort of classroom, and his stage a lectern from which he glosses his own meaning and highlights historical injustices that inspired so much of his work. Yet, in 1970 De André still refuses live performance and will continue to do so for five more years, so *The Good News* must be considered for the affective role it can play via the recorded rather than live experience. Perhaps most importantly, neither man works in spectacular time but, rather, they historicize the human experience, and rebuild the human chain that connects their public to its ancestors, all the way back to the beginning of time, as commonly measured by Western calendars.

The Good News's Transcendent Vision

In an interview in January of 1969, Fabrizio De André was asked whom he considered his contemporaries in Italy and answered: "Fo and Jannacci are the only ones who come close to a genre like mine; Fo, above all."[125] Dario Fo, a dramaturge, is an unlikely choice as a singer-songwriter's most markedly similar contemporary, yet, within a year of that statement both De André and Fo would both unpredictably reproduce the apocryphal Gospels and medieval passion plays. So, the Genoese *cantautore* was perhaps on to something. Dario Fo did make music, both in collaboration for albums with singer-songwriters like Enzo Jannacci[126] and in collaboration for stage productions with musical collectives like the New Italian Song Book (Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano).[127] De André and Fo were, furthermore, both inspired by the playwright Bertolt Brecht as well as by medieval texts,[128] and produced experimental work that was deeply founded in the past.[129] When De André made this statement, he was entrenched in a two-year research project for his next two albums, the first of which, as he said in May of 1969, would be a series of songs about mass alienation and the second of which, would be songs of medieval music on one side and of the apocryphal gospels on the other.[130] These two albums were never produced; instead, De André released a combination of all three themes—alienation, medieval song, and apocryphal gospels—in his *The Good News.*[131]

The album famously pulls from the apocryphal gospels, specifically the Infancy Gospel of James, Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, Gospel of Nicodemus, and Arabic First Infancy Gospel. But it is also inspired by medieval literature, medieval Passion Plays, regional mystical song, and De André's own imagination.[132] It tells the story of Jesus of Nazareth through the figures of Mary, Joseph, and the Penitent or Good Thief, Titus, as they experience love and compassion that ultimately overcomes alienation. Jesus himself is silent, appearing only sparsely, at the

corners of the stories, as a pure expression of universal compassion. De André is neither Christian nor Catholic, yet he considers himself religious, saying that his "religiousness consists in feeling that he is part of a whole, a ring in the chain that encompasses all of creation."[133] Like Pasolini before him, De André is asked if he wanted to desecrate the myth. Pasolini had said he hated desecration and sought to remythify, while De André is shocked by the question and pauses before responding: "Desecrate, no, debunk is more like it. I tried more than anything else to humanize the characters."[134] He erases the iconic nature of the characters in order to reveal what he feels is at the core of the story of Jesus. He famously claimed that he considered Jesus of Nazareth the greatest revolutionary of all times, recognizing much in common between "the best and most reasonable actions of the '68 revolution, and those actions—which from a spiritual point of view were surely more elevated, but which were very similar from an socio-ethical standpoint—that 1,969 years before a man had enacted against abuses of power, in the name of egalitarianism and universal brotherhood."[135] Yet, De André saw two great differences between the revolutions. For one, the lack of the spiritual in the contemporary revolution, and secondly, the way in which the revolutionaries fought. He felt that the fight against the abuse of power had to be fought everyday individually, and that it had to be the sum of individual fights, while the '68 revolution he saw as "a flock of sheep fighting in the name of an abstract ideal with which they seek to replace one dogma with another to gain power themselves."[136] By submitting a historicized story of Jesus, it appears that De André is proposing additional elements to the '68 revolution that he felt were missing. Above all, beyond the political fight, it appears in his *The Good News* that there must be an individual and spiritual effort to achieve a sense of connectedness with the world that allows one to act, daily, with brotherly love towards all.

This is evocative of the element that the hippie segment of the counterculture added to the more-strictly political fights for socio-ethical equality between races and genders in the American movement. The U.S. counterculture encouraged this peaceful brotherly love through experimentation with drugs, indeed Scott J. Thompson argues in "From Rausch to Rebellion: Walter Benjamin's On Hashish & The Aesthetic Dimensions of Prohibitionist Realism" that it was a basis for an important portion of the youth protest, saying "it is hard to imagine the anti-war demonstrations becoming as large as they did if they had not been partially fueled by marijuana and LSD."[137] De André, I argue, proposes to engender the same through art. Later U.S. spectacles commodified the movement and fetishized Jesus as the ideal hippie and rock star, thus lowering Jesus to the human level. De André proposes just the opposite. In 1967 when he released the song "His Name Was Jesus" (Si chiamava Gesù), he claimed to have "hazarded the hypothesis that it wasn't a god who came to Earth, but a man who managed to deify himself through his conduct."[138] In *The Good News* he goes a step further by largely excluding Jesus, and instead raising Mary, Joseph, and Titus up to a heavenly level, in a chain of compassion that flows, not from God to Jesus to Mary, Joseph and Titus, but from Mary and Joseph to their son (and step-son) Jesus, and then to Titus.

Yet for all its emphasis on the human element, De André's goal is still mystical, a point that is made clear by Roberto Dané's long introduction on the album's cover, which marks the audience's first impact. It acts as a gloss for the album, but it does not define it, rather, it raises questions and concerns that De André and his collaborators, Dané and Gian Piero Reverberi, had in mind during production. Dané starts by saying that De André's work has always dealt ironically with men who need faith but who have not been able to find it.[139] To his mind the problem is "more a mystical one than a religious one," and it "becomes the overriding

problem"[140] in De André's work as well as the world. For, he goes on, the "existential loss of faith (given that the only one who could have been God is dead)" is followed and paralleled by the political loss of faith, and a more universal skepticism.[141] *The Good News,* he says, is the highest degree of this "illusion - disillusion - loss of faith," and it has as its goal to divulge and communicate something that, in this day and age, can only be communicated by the artist.[142]

That which only the artist can communicate, it seems here, is something that can overcome the disillusionment that led to the loss of faith. In Jürgen Habermas's "The Entry into Postmodernity: Nietzsche as a Turning Point," he highlights a similar claim made by Richard Wagner and elaborated by a young Nietzsche as he sought to "gain a foothold in myth as the other of reason."[143] That claim will be taken up at the end of this section, when we look at the enchanting role of music in the modern world. For now, let's look at the songs themselves, to bring into relief the work that De André did to expose and transmit what he saw as the truly miraculous of the Christ story: irrational and universal love and compassion, as a path by which to go beyond the state of disillusionment highlighted by Dané as modern man's most pressing problem.[144]

This section will consider De André's *The Good News* album in three parts: Mary as teacher of transcendent vision, Joseph as teacher of compassion, Titus and the miraculous revelation. We will begin where the story begins, with Mary, who is a complex Catholic signifier, and is furthermore translated into a secularized and nationalized version in Italy, as Anna Bravo points out, as the Great Mother (Grande Madre). During the revolutionary years, Bravo says, there was a populist register, which was essentially masculine, except in its mythic figures. Women's populism could not help but lean on maternity, Mary and the secularized and nationalized version, the *Grande Madre*, who represented at once love, dutifulness, redemption,

suffering, joy, power.[145] The symbol is rich, but problematic, according to Bravo, in that its most basic component is motherhood: "The fact is that woman has always been mother-for-man, the mother of the son, from whom she receives power and prestige. The daughter is merely a testing ground of the mother's capacity to look after and train."[146] De André's story does not entirely overcome this problematic association of woman as worthy in relationship to motherhood and sons, yet, it does take some steps, and the album's third track, "Ave Maria," became a significant manifestation of feminist protest in the 1970s.[147] Importantly, much more than Pasolini before him, De André's Mary is demythified to become a full person, introduced not as a mother, but as a daughter.

The story begins with "Mary's Childhood" (L'infanzia di Maria) as Mary's parents send their three-year-old off to a temple to be raised by priests. She is, from the album's first lines,[148] not the mother of the revolutionary, but the revolutionary herself, as she is associated with the lily, symbol of Easter and its redemption. The incipit is further suggestive of the redemptive moment as the last words of De André's 1967 song "His Name Was Jesus" draw the same imagery for Christ on the cross.[149] It is as if *The Good News* has now circled back to the origin of salvation, which is not God but a little girl:

<INSERT FIGURE 3.2 HERE>

Then, Mary's womanhood itself becomes a red revolution, called "her May […] painted in red," which in 1970 evokes, in color and month, the "French May," called by De André "our May" three years later in his revolution song "Song of May" (Canzone del maggio) on *Story of an Office Worker* (Storia di un impiegato) album. Mary's revolution is the arrival of her period, her transition from girl to woman, which acts as the initial catalyst for the events of the story: "And when the priests refused you shelter / you were twelve years old and had done nothing wrong /

but for the priests your crime was your May / your virginity that was painted in red."[150] In this instance, Mary is a passive recipient of the revolutionary act of womanhood, but when she is 16, it will be her sexual revolution, in which she plays a larger role, and which spurs the story's eventual denouement.

In "L'infanzia di Maria," De André redirects Jesus's heavenly quality to situate its source in the 12-year-old girl, described by a chorus of onlookers who insist in every refrain that she seems to have come from heaven. Mary's fundamental quality, however, is revealed in the lines that fuse and confuse her body with the world—not just the local arid and hot environment, but the whole, unknown globe—as her skin forms a halo of fog, sunlight, and snow, while at the end her smile is the source of itself, and snow seems to become, not a worldly phenomenon, but a manifestation of the girl's all-encompassing beauty, as her eyes, snow, and skin are heavenly:

Look at her, look at her, take down her tresses,

They are longer than all our dresses,

Look at her skin, supple and soft,

It shines in the sun like snow,

Look at her hands, look at her face,

She seems to have come from Heaven,

Look at her figure, her proportions,

She seems to have come as temptation.

Look at her, look at her, take down her tresses,

They are longer than all our dresses,

Look at her hands, look at her face,

She seems to have come from Heaven.

Look at her eyes, look at her hair,

Look at her hands, look at her neck,

Look at her skin, look at her face,

Look at her hair from Heaven.

Look at her skin, look at her neck,

She seems to have come from her smile,

Look at her eyes, look at the snow,

Look at the skin of Heaven.[151]

Mary is treated like an object in the song, which takes inspiration from The Infancy Gospel of James and Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. She is dragged to the temple, then kicked out and auctioned off to men three-times her age. Finally, she is taken home by Joseph, who in turn leaves her for four years to do work outside of Jerusalem. When he returns, Mary is 16 and comes alive in the song "Mary's Dream" (Il sogno di Maria), which recounts for Joseph a "troubled memory", that she "gathers like the remains of a dream."[152]

The confusion of the crowd as they look at her and see heaven, human, and nature, characterizes Mary's own experience of the world, as well, and informs the way she teaches her son to see. In "Mary's Dream", she recounts to Joseph how she became pregnant, as he has just returned to Jerusalem and discovered her with child. She describes the transcendent experience of falling in love, and in that transcendence she sees the world in a new way that conflates the hierarchy of existence to see all, at once, as both divine and natural. The conflation begins when she introduces the man she loves as "an angel" who "came down like every night / to teach a new prayer"[153] to her. This is not the angel Gabriel impregnating Mary through the immaculate conception, rather, it is, as De André himself asserts, a young and beautiful man that Mary falls

in love with and so believes to be an angel.[154] The story is similar to Boccaccio's comic tale from the fourth day of the *Decameron* in which Friar Alberto appears as the angel Gabriel so as to deceive a woman into sleeping with him. Yet, as Mary continues to conflate categories of existence, it seems that her perception of the man as an angel has much more to do with her own transcendent love than with the man's deception. In the dream—which is more precisely a waking vision that she describes as "maybe a dream but it was not sleep"[155]—she grows wings and flies away with the angel, saying "We really flew over the houses / beyond the gates and gardens and streets, / then we slid down through the flowering valleys / where the olive tree hugs the vine."[156] She rises above reality, most literally, in this flight, as an angel herself, but, most vividly, she overcomes reality in a moment of synesthesia[157] in which she synthesizes the experience: "for a day, for a moment / I ran to see the color of the wind."[158]

Synesthesia was a Romantic ideal, as they believed it to mark a transcended state, and as the vision fades, Mary returns to daily reality with a retained capacity to see the world through a sort of conceptual synesthesia. Her trance has faded but her vision of the world remains lastingly changed, which is the goal of Benjamin's trance experiments,[159] through which, "with the emptying out of personality, there is a diffusion of perspective."[160] Mary goes on to describe the end of her vision, her angel becomes pure light and an echo, while the priests who arrive to end it are stones and trees:

> The long shadows of the priests
> Forced the dream into a circle of voices.
> […]
> Then I saw the angel turn into a comet
> Their severe faces became stones,

Their arms the profiles of branches,

In the immobile gestures of another life,

Leaves their hands, thorns their fingers.[161]

She says then that the *immagine* bleaches and its colors fade in the present, but that the experience echoes its divine quality in the distance.[162] This is the first use of the word *immagine* in the album, and in this case its meaning in Italian is layered, signifying the mystical nature of the experience, which at once seemed an *image* overlaid on reality, a *figure* in the form of an angel, and a *concept* that had appeared in her imagination alone. The term is used three times in the album (and only three other times across De André's career), but the following two uses contrast this first one. Later it will be used to flatten Mary and her son's experiences to mere 'symbols' or 'icons', first, as the woodworker who makes Jesus's cross calls it the "*immagine* of suffering," and then when the thieves' mothers say to Mary under the cross that hers is the mere "*immagine* of an agony."[163] In his three uses of this term, it seems that De André ironizes and distances Mary's and Jesus's iconic statuses in order to underline their human statuses.

Mary returns from her memory of the vision and we see her next in "Ave Maria," as she walks down the street, under the gaze of a groups of onlookers. Though they stare in judgment, not at a virginal saint, but at a 16-year-old girl who is pregnant with a child who is not her husband's, the narrator sings: "Ave Mary, now that you are a woman / ave to all of the women like you, Mary."[164] Mary, meanwhile, sees the onlookers as she saw the priests, not as mean or hurtful, but simply as elements of the natural world: "And off you go, Mary, amongst the people / who gather together as you pass / a hedge's gaze does not hurt / in the season of motherhood."[165] She sees elements of the natural world, furthermore, as sentient and sensitive, asking the woodworker in the following song, "Mary at the Woodworker's Shop" (Maria alla

bottega del falegname), about the "lesions" and "wounds" he makes in the wood he is carving.[166] Indeed, the only moment in which Mary's view of the world sharpens out of its integrating reverie, is at her son's death on the cross in the song "Three Mothers" (Tre madri). She carefully describes his humanity, without divine or natural confusion, saying that she cries for his thin arms, his brow, his face. She says that "in the exertion of his smile" on the cross, "those who call him Our Father / look for a remnant of heaven," but for her he is only the son of her womb.[167] The smile is Jesus's first action in the album and through it shines his compassion for the people around him. The use of the words 'sorriso' (smile) and 'paradiso' (heaven) to describe this compassion evokes, not an unprecedented man-as-deity, but, rather, it evokes Mary, herself, as the crowd described her in "Mary's Childhood." So, we see that Mary is not a symbol in this story, nor a passive tool of God, but Jesus's teacher.

Through her transcendent experience she gains, as Benjamin says of the hashish-eater, "an unlimited capacity, and often also an unlimited propensity, for entering into the situation of every other in the cosmos, including every animal, every inanimate object."[168] She experiences the world without categorization or hierarchy—man as angel, man as plant, plant as sentient—and her smile, therefore is heavenly, as it conveys her sense that all is somehow divine and thus blessed. Jesus, in turn, smiles the same way, at all those who have been introduced in "Via Dolorosa" (Via della croce) and who now surround him. There are the disciples, who disassociate themselves from Jesus out of fear for their own lives, there are the soldiers who beat him, there are thieves who flank him, and there are the parents whose children were killed in Herod's Massacre of the Innocents and who have waited thirty years to see Jesus, the charlatan, die.[169] The women and widows are the only ones in the crowd who weep for Jesus, the rest would like to "dismember him with their teeth and hands / and know that his eyes had been eaten

by dogs." Yet, he smiles down on all of them. And for the parents whose newborns were killed, Jesus feels a compassion, a pain, that is more powerful than the fear and physical pain of his passion: "More than the death that calls you today / what kills you is the venom of these words: / the voices of the parents of those newborns."[170] As his smile is learned from his mother, so is his compassion passed down to him, not from heaven, but from his stepfather.

Joseph is introduced at the end of "Mary's Childhood" as an old man who takes Mary home because he has been ordered to. In contrast to Mary's youthful and spontaneous passion, De André's Joseph shows a measured and tired compassion.[171] His relationship with Mary is certainly more like a father to a daughter than a husband to a wife, as he says while he takes her home that the "priests gave her as a wife / to fingers that are too dry to close around a rose / and a heart that is too old and now is asleep."[172] On the road that carries him back to Jerusalem in "Joseph's Return" (Il ritorno di Giuseppe), he caresses a doll he has carved for Mary, as he hopes he can return to her some of the carefree childish years that were denied her as a child in the temple.[173] However, instead of the child he expects, he finds a woman who asks him to listen to her explanation. Mary goes on to tell Joseph about her vision (and pregnancy). When she stops "she dissolved into tears / but the fear on her lips / gathered in her eyes" as she looks at him through heavy lids and hopes for "uno sguardo *indulgente*" (an indulgent look) in return.[174] Joseph responds tenderly, by placing his fingers on her brow, very gently, "as old men when they caress / are afraid of doing it too roughly."[175] This *indulgenza* that Joseph shows to Mary, a synonym of generosity, understanding, forgiveness, and compassion, is the same that the women at Jesus's passion remember him showing to Mary Magdalene, "who with a brotherly gesture / taught a new *indulgenza* to God the Father," and which causes the women, "in gratitude, [to] suffer with him."[176] It is a generosity of spirit that was not learned from God the Father, but from

Joseph the Stepfather, who had listened to and had mercy on Jesus's mother, and thus its source is strictly human. Yet, it is greater than the heavenly (or 'inhuman' as De André says) *indulgenza* taught by Abraham's God.[177] There is wisdom, it seems for De André, to be learned from the far past and spiritual myths of antiquity, as well as from the near past and one's elders.

As Jesus carries his cross in the last lines of "Via Dolorosa", the narrator describes the two criminals who flank him with their own crosses, then Jesus is described as "bent by the wood that you drag *a stento* / and yet they [the thieves] are near you."[178] This *a stento* means 'with difficulty' or 'agonizingly', and it would have emphasized in the listeners' imagination Jesus's intense pain and full humanity by evoking the title of De André's 1968 concept-album *Tutti morimmo a stento* (We All Die Agonizingly), which sang of the public executions of medieval thieves and the slow deaths of drug addicts. Jesus, too, is on his way to be publicly executed and he does so between two thieves, whom De André calls Dumachus and Titus, the names of the impenitent and penitent thieves in the Arabic First Infancy Gospel. While the names of the thieves are taken from the apocryphal gospels, the album's story ends with a song that comes purely from De André's imagination: "Titus's Testament" ("Il testamento di Tito"). In the song, we understand that the miracle of Jesus's story is not of walking on water or multiplying loaves and fishes, nor is it the healing of lepers. Yet it is, somehow, a healing, as "Titus's Testament" ends with a miraculous revelation that completes the chain of universal compassion that begins with Mary and Joseph and is conveyed through Jesus to those who know him.

In his song, Titus rejects each of the ten commandments and demonstrates how, as De André explains, "all ten make evident the contradictions between the laws derived by the ruling class to aid their own well-being, and the difficulty of complying with those laws on the part of

those whom the law seeks only to subject. [The subjected class] observes those laws, when it does in fact observe them, only to forestall the threat of repression."[179] Titus asks: Why honor thy father and mother if they beat you? And what does it matter if you use God's name in vain? For God has never seemed to hear your cries. Is he a thief, he asks, if he has only taken from those who have too much? Why have sex only to reproduce life, he asks, if sex is pleasure and life is pain?[180] Titus is a revolutionary figure very similar to Jesus himself. As Jesus has come to bring a new set of commandments to the world, so too has Titus lived a life that overcomes the Old Testament, its God, and its set of values. However, he demonstrates a distinct alienation from any spiritual connection as well as from his fellow man, as he says God never "heard his sorrow,"[181] and he, in turn, insists three times that he never felt sorrow for his neighbors, for God, or for himself.[182] In this way, Titus is like the young revolutionaries to whom De André sings, alienated from spirituality and from their forefathers. Titus, however, in the final lines, experiences a human connection and as the night comes to "take this sorrow from my eyes," he realizes:

> In seeing this man dying,
>
> Mother, I feel sorrow.
>
> In his compassion that does not cede to rancor,
>
> Mother, I have learned to love.[183]

This empathic sorrow and love are the miraculous of the everyday in *The Good News,* similar to the miraculous of the everyday in the denouement of *Howl.* Through a confusion of the hierarchy of being that allows one to see the world as uniformly full of life and love, through a compassion taught to a son by his father, the album arrives at a miracle that is yet possible in the modern world, though modern man will not arrive at it rationally. Titus's rejection of the commandments

is a rational and convincing work of rhetoric, yet his salvific realization, his sudden experience of love and compassion, is not filtered through the intellect, but arrives suddenly as if by mystical revelation.

The final song, "Laudate Hominem" ('Praise Men' in Latin), evokes Guccini again, as De André similarly praises the men of his generation for their capacity to resurrect God in their desire, action, and revolution. Yet, De André's meaning is distinct, for as Dané says on the album's cover, De André's songs demonstrate "a mistrust of all that is ideal but not concrete […] in all that is will but does not want anyone or anything but itself."[184] De André sees an ideal of universal brotherhood in the promise of Marxism, but he does not see people daily performing, at the personal level, the love and mutual sharing it demands in order to come to fruition at the state level; he sees a will for a better world, but one that recognizes goodness only in itself, as the youth generation only looked to itself, and its own beliefs, to produce a better future. "Laudate hominem" chants for its listeners to look not to each other for heroes, but to look into the deep past, to remember Jesus, not as a god, but as an equal, a brother whose comportment, whose universal compassion, can be our own.

Richard Wagner argued in his 1880 essay "Religion and Art," that "it is reserved for art to save the spirit of religion,"[185] and that it is no mistake that music has become so important to modern man. It is Wagner that Nietzsche has in mind when he claims that as language has striven to convey thought more effectively, it has lost its capacity to communicate feeling, and "the sorrows of existence."[186] So, man needs music to overcome the estrangement and misunderstandings of language. De André's songs, both his music and rich voice, grants him an immediate affective charge; in fact, to 'enchant' has its root in the French *enchanter* and the Latin *incantare,* from *in-* + *cantare* (to sing), which is redoubled by his topic, which returns the

revolutionary and heroic nature to a myth that had lost meaning to many young Italians. By returning to this myth in particular, so much a part of Italian history and yet so foreign to contemporary youths' thoughts and sympathies, the album, I argue, has the capacity to produce in its listeners an encounter with enchantment that is, like enchantment itself, both pleasurable and uncanny.[187] This feeling of enchantment that is instilled in the listener may be very much like the feeling that came over Titus and that produced compassion in him, and, as Jane Bennett argues, enchantment and compassion, or a generosity of spirit, are indeed correlated. "It seems to me," she says, "that presumptive generosity, as well as the will to social justice are sustained by periodic bouts of being enchanted with the world. Affective fascination with a world thought to be worth it may help to ward off the existential resentment that plagues mortals."[188] This generosity of spirit is precisely the album's goal and the *cantautore* in the 1960s and 70s is in a powerful position to enchant his audience with the affective nature of song and with his position as representative of progressive ideals. De André traces enchantment and its 'presumptive generosity', through Mary's *rausch* transcendence and Joseph's compassion, to convey it to his alienated revolutionary: at once Titus and his listener.

Dionysian Revelry in *Mistero Buffo*

Fo's title, *Comical Mystery Play* (Mistero buffo), derives from traditional medieval mystery plays that reenacted Old and New Testament Bible stories. The word 'mystery' refers to the unknowable mysteries, or 'miracles', of the stories portrayed. The comic element is located, partially, in the character of the *giullare* or jongleur, who was a medieval street jester that spoofed official culture, both Christian and aristocratic. Fo brings the *giullare* and his performances (*giullarate*) back to the stage, altering them to varying degrees for modern audiences. Indeed, he saw himself as a modern-day *giullare,* buffoon, teacher, satirist, who was

devoted to popular, rather than official (bourgeois), culture, and the 1997 Nobel Prize in literature was given to him in commemoration of his emulation of "the jesters of the Middle Ages in scourging authority and upholding the dignity of the downtrodden."[189] The title is furthermore reminiscent of a long tradition of religious parody in the Feast of Fools (*festa stultorum*), Easter laughter (*risus paschalis*), and joyful sermons (*sermons joyeux*), all of which have their roots in pagan Saturnalian rituals and live on, in both religious and secular modes,[190] in the modern-day season of Carnival. Already in the complex significations of the play's title, an irrational and joyful potential appears, but that is not Fo's primary goal. For, the theater of Dario Fo is, in the first place, political theater, and his title is a citation of Vladimir Mayakovsky's *Mystere-bouffe,* which was a political satire set as a biblical epic, written for the first anniversary of the 1917 Revolution. When speaking of the importance of political satire, Dario Fo states in 1979: "I don't understand the fear of laughter […] The end of satire is the first alarm bell signaling the end of real democracy. The person who said that really knew what he was talking about. That was Mayakovsky. He was censored to begin with, then he was banned, then he was driven to suicide."[191] Fo, who experienced aggressive censorship across his career, demonstrated the power of laughter and satire by overcoming every attempt made by powerful political and religious institutions that would have seen him silenced.

Dario Fo and his wife and creative and political collaborator, Franca Rame, debuted their first theater company at Milan's bourgeois *Piccolo Teatro* in 1959. By 1962 their popularity had grown to a point that they were asked to write and act in a season of the popular television variety show, *Canzonissima.* The censorship they came up against during the season eventually led to the duo walking out of production just minutes before the beginning of a live show. Their experience at *Canzonissima,* however, turned Fo and Rame into mass-media stars, rather than

cult theater celebrities, and it gave them their first sense of an audience that was not elite and bourgeois. Fo, who said his satire in those years was like "an alka seltzer" for bourgeois guilty conscience,[192] left the official state theater with Rame in 1968 to set up their theater collective, New Scene Association (Associazione Nuova Scena), with the support of the PCI. Fo, with his anarchic and antiauthoritarian personality, never became a Communist party member, though he was always a fervent Gramscian Marxist. And though he saw the PCI as the best hope for Italian politics at that time, within two years under their patronage, he and Rame left once again, feeling oppressed by party censorship that did not grant them full creative autonomy to criticize politics. In 1969 they started their third group, The Commune (La Comune), and within a year of its formation, while squatting in a theater space in Milan, Fo had created the two works that largely form his legacy, *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* (Morte accidentale di un anarchico) and *Comical Mystery Play.*

Accidental Death of an Anarchist is a political satire that deals with the suspicious death of Giuseppe Pinelli on December 15, 1969, while being held by the Milanese police for questioning about the bombing of Piazza Fontana, often considered the first act of terrorism in a ten-year period known as the 'Years of Lead' (Gli anni di piombo). While I will argue for its enchanting qualities here, *Comical Mystery Play* is, likewise, a political piece, according to Fo. As Benjamin argued in the case of profane illumination, however, the two may very well be correlated. In years that saw the PCI move away from Gramsci's Marxist philosophy, Fo saw an opportunity to return to Gramscian theory with theater. For Gramsci had argued for engagement with folk culture that could exist outside of hegemonic bourgeois culture, and he had seen medieval popular culture as epitomizing that possibility. As medieval theorist Louise D'Arcens states, in his *Prison Notebooks,* Gramsci develops "an explicitly historical account in which a

hegemonic medieval culture, buttressed by the relationship between the Catholic Church and the feudal order, was contested by a resilient folk culture characterized by ribald buffoonery and antiauthoritarianism."[193] Fo sees that same possibility in the fall of 1969, and at an early performance he contests an audience member who said he preferred modern theater models to 'archeological' medieval structures. Fo charges:

> So you are telling me that Gramsci's statement "if you don't know where you come from, you don't know where you can go" is worthless. You are telling me that he has got it all wrong, that he hasn't understood a thing! … It's the people's culture that is up to date. When I speak about the peasants, for me that is the steel worker, the clerk in an office, even the student—they're all exactly the same as a peasant from other times.[194]

Fo's work is clearly political, but even in its foundations in Gramsci, it is also clearly a protest against the dominating modern modes, the hyper-serious and rational. For Fo, throughout his career, uses carnivalesque forms of reversal, revelry, and laughter as performative and didactic tools. Critics have pointed out his use of these strategies for satire and critique, and, indeed, the same satire and critique were the medieval goals of Fo's model *giullari.* But in *Comical Mystery Play* they, together with the play's content, have the capacity to create a secondary effect/affect of enchantment. As Jane Bennett argues, enchantment "can be fostered through deliberate strategies," one of which is to "give greater expression to the sense of play." In fact, she states, it comes as no surprise that historians have noted that "in early modern Europe, the terms for wonder and wonders—*admiratio, mirabilia, miracula*—seem to have their roots in an Indo-European word for 'smile.'" Bennett defines enchantment as being "struck and shaken by the extraordinary that lives amid the familiar and everyday."[195] What could be more striking to an audience of modern post-religious Italians than Jesus's narrative told to them for the umpteenth

time, but appearing uncanny, new, and moving?

It is difficult to talk about *Comical Mystery Play* in a comprehensive way as there is no definitive version; Fo believed, as Brecht before him, that his theater pieces needed constant updating to remain relevant. Across the decades in which he performed it, Fo added, included, and excluded various scenes, he sometimes included extensive prologues, sometimes not, and always added witty *lazzi* to his *canovacci,* in the tradition of *Commedia dell'arte* theater. However, the show can be broadly defined by structure and roughly divided into *giullarate* (episodes he modifies from medieval *giullare* acts), grammelot acts (episodes marked by their use of gibberish and onomatopoeic language as satire), and mysteries (those he takes from various sorts of medieval passion plays). For my purposes here, I will focus on four of the most enduring mystery episodes, all of which deal with the life and death of Christ: "The Miracle of the Marriage at Cana" (Miracolo delle nozze di Caina), "The Raising of Lazarus" (La resurrezione di Lazzaro), "The Morality of the Blind Man and the Cripple" (Moralità del cieco e dello storpio), and "Mary at the Cross" (Maria alla croce).[196]

"The Miracle of the Marriage at Cana," like the majority of the *Comical Mystery Play,* is performed by a single actor, originally Fo. It begins with an archangel, who speaks in aristocratic Venetian (the majority of the *Comical Mystery Play* is performed in combinatory variations of what Fo calls "coarse, vulgar, and very colorful dialect"[197]) and intends to recount a sacred spectacle from the canonic tradition. The angel, however, is continually interrupted by a drunkard who wants to recount a miracle he saw himself at his friend's wedding. The drunkard's loud persistence eventually wins out and he earns the stage. This sets up for the audience much of what is to follow in the mystery episodes, which will privilege the popular over the canonic, colloquial language over formal, and an irreverent over devout attitude. Jesus, furthermore, is

introduced as a Greco-Roman, rather than Christian, God, a joyous and celebratory Dionysus or Bacchus. To highlight this point, Fo proposes in his prologue to the episode that "religion is the same, always the same, with repurposed and re-proposed gods," and remembers that "in the first Christian catacombs we find the figure of Christ represented by the same image as the archaic Greek god."[198] So, we understand that for Fo, this story of death and return is not Christ's myth, but that of many gods across human history.

Nietzsche notes this same similarity of myth in his *The Birth of Tragedy,*[199] where he stands Dionysus in dialectic opposition to Apollo, his brother. Apollo represents reason and rationality, Dionysus represents irrationality and chaos, as well as ecstasy and revelation. Nietzsche uses the figure of Dionysus in his early philosophy to argue for archaic forms of non-rational revelation to overcome alienation as "state and society, indeed the whole chasm separating man from man, gives way to an overpowering feeling of unity which leads back to the heart of nature."[200] In the post-religious modern world, Nietzsche, again with Wagner's "Essay on Religion and Art" in mind, claims it is now up to the performative arts to save that which is still useful in religious festivals and open up modernity to archaic revelation.[201] Fo's Jesus in Cana sets the stage for this revelatory experience. The drunkard portrays him as the instigator of a Bacchanal feast, standing on a table as everyone gets drunk and dances, pouring wine and announcing: "Drink everyone and be merry! Get drunk, don't wait until after… Paradise… enjoy it now… not when you're dead!"[202] In this telling, his miracle is not the wine, but the joyful celebration that the wedding party succumbs to through communal inebriation. This sincere, joyful celebration recounted by the emotional drunkard, at once ecstatic and nostalgic, stands in stark contrast to the highly modern and familiar gathering that follows in "The Raising of

Lazarus," which is ruled by individual concerns and spectacular distraction, and which resonates with *Jesus Christ, Superstar* to highlight some of what I see as the latter's deficiencies.

"The Raising of Lazarus" episode is performed by one person, originally by Fo himself, and it is often considered the most challenging role in the play as it requires the actor, without costumes or props, to perform the parts of some twenty spectators in a crowd. The episode portrays Jesus's crucial miracle in the Gospel of John, in a version inspired by a sketch for a fresco on the wall of a cemetery in Pisa. Rather than showing the miracle, the sketch shows the spellbound crowd, and a thief who, taking advantage of the distraction, is reaching into one of the spectator's pockets.[203] Fo creates his modern *giullarata* around this idea, of the profane that exists in tandem with the sacred, and he spectacularizes the scene to the point that the profane overwhelms any possibility of a sacred event taking place. The tone is set from the first:

> *Visitor*: Excuse me, is this the cemetery where they are going to resuscitate Lazarus? The guy who died four days ago. He's gonna jump out of his tomb when that great saint, that great sorcerer arrives, Jesus… I think that's his name… last name Son of God […]
>
> *Cemetery Guardian*: Yeah, it's two bucks (*baiocchi)* to see the miracle.[204]

It continues schizophrenically, as the actor begins to introduce other members of the crowd. As more spectators arrive, the first visitor jockeys for position, punning on Christian doctrine. To a small man who tries to take a place in front of him the visitor says: "Ah you think you're in Paradise where the small will be first and the great will be last! Ha ha ha!" To a woman he says, "Oh, don't push me! It doesn't matter that you're a woman. Before death we are all equals!"[205] The first visitor has arrived early so he can "see clearly," as "there are some sorcerers who use terrible trickery,"[206] and he fights viciously to maintain his position.

Fo scholar Antonio Scuderi argues that in "The Raising of Lazarus" the carnivalesque or "Saturnalian inversion lies in presenting the miracle as a magic act with an emphasis on its entertainment value."[207] While this is certainly true, I see it as doing something more. The episode not only devalues the miracle, it also sets the public up to receive another miracle, by acting, in real time, as a critical mirror of their experience. Fo's audience finds itself watching another audience watch a show that is located in their own seating area. As vendors arrive to sell sardines and folding chairs and as people get the odds and place bets with bookies on the likelihood of Lazarus's resurrection, Fo's actual spectators are given the opportunity to reflect on the fictional spectators' mean attitudes. In a usual miracle scene, Fo's first visitor's, "I want to see clearly," would act as a metaphor for understanding, revelation, seeing with one's mind, but, while present at one of the greatest events in human record, he is too distracted by spectacle to actually engage the miracle and its possible significance.

When Jesus arrives with his apostles, the crowd screams at them as if they were rock stars, "There's Peter! There's Paul! Oh and Maaaaark!"[208] And when the magic trick is performed successfully, one visitor falls to his knees and exclaims: "Wonderful Son of God, I didn't believe that you were so miraculous! … I won! Seven *baiocchi* against five! Marvelous! Bravo, Jesus, bravo!"[209] Fo shows his spectators a group who is concerned with seeing a famous person, with witnessing an event that everyone has been talking about, with getting a good seat, with having a snack. That a miracle may or may not have occurred is unimportant, all that matters is the distraction and spectacle. As the actual audience members differentiate themselves from the spectators on stage, they must challenge themselves to enter a mindset that is not riddled with profane concerns, their comfort and hunger, or their own internal wagers about the show's success. They are invited to open their minds to engage in a deeper way, without the

cynicism of the cemetery crowd's disbelievers, to experience magic that is not a trick. Fo opens up a space for the audience to see beyond the spectacle, at his show and in the modern world, to perceive the mystery that it overshadows. Then in "The Morality of the Blind Man and the Cripple" he introduces that non-spectacularized wonder.

Morality plays like "The Morality of the Blind Man and the Cripple" are another common name for medieval *giullarate,* this particular one being, as Fo says, "very similar to one by the 15th-century French satirist, André della Vigne."[210] The episode can be performed by one or two actors who portray a blind man and a cripple who decide to work together to become whole by the cripple climbing on the back of the blind man and directing him where to go. As they begin to maneuver as one, they hear a commotion, and the cripple sees it is Jesus surrounded by an angry crowd:

> *Cripple*: It's Christ in person, Son of God.
>
> *Blind man*: Which Son of God?
>
> *Cripple*: What do you mean, which Son of God? The only one, stupid! A sainted son… they say he does incredible, wonderful things. He heals the sick […] It's better if we get out of this neighborhood!
>
> *Blind man*: Get out of here? Why?
>
> […]
>
> *Cripple*: They say that if the Son of God came over here, I would be miraculously healed… and you too […]. Think about it, if that really happens to us, the disgrace of being liberated from our disgrace! We would suddenly find ourselves in the condition to be obligated to work for a living![211]

The guiding moral in the episode is that of the dignity of working for one's living, but it is also a critique of the condition of workers who are told it is noble to work, then are treated inhumanly. As the Cripple says, "You will understand when you have a master/boss [*padrone*], when you are beaten, when your wife has to prostitute herself and your children are slaves and die of hunger, you will understand what this dignity is made of."[212] Upon contemplation of their potential, 'miraculous' futures, they decide to run, to hide, somewhere Jesus cannot touch them: "Let's go to Ferrara! Ferrara! Yes, let's go! Wait, Jesus Christ can surely arrive even to Ferrara, I know it. Let's go to Bologna! Let's go! Let's go to Bologna! Wait! He'll go there too! Jesus Christ goes everywhere. No! There is a city where he will not go. Rome! He'll never go to Rome! Let's go!"[213] This frantic and hilarious exchange of piggy-backed men works to introduce a later historical conception of Christ. No longer the Greco-Roman Jesus/Dionysus, this popular figure is firmly situated amongst the Italian people but firmly divorced from the Catholic Church.

So, when the two beggars pause before their escape, enthralled by the scene of Christ's passion, it is a non-official, popular account that Fo's audience has been prepared to receive. The Cripple witnesses the scene and recounts it to the Blind Man, warning him, however, that he "mustn't fall prey to compassion" at the pathetic tale "for that is the most dangerous of Christ's miracles!"[214] The Blind Man replies, in turn, "no, no, I have no compassion, for me he's nobody, that Christ, I'd never even heard of him… But tell me, what are they doing to him now?"[215] The Cripple describes "the poor guy"[216] being tied to a column, beaten and spit on but looking up at his oppressors, with sadness rather than rancor. The two continue to say they will leave but stay, and as the Blind Man listens, he feels compassion wash over him for this "nobody". "Don't tell me anything else about what's happening," he says, "as I feel my guts twisting… a chill in my

heart… and I am afraid it is something resembling compassion." The Cripple, too, feels it, as his chest is tight and his arms shake.[217] When they finally pull themselves away, ready to escape, it is too late. Compassion, Jesus's most dangerous miracle, has already healed them.

What follows as a conclusion are their very different reactions. The Blind Man, who can now *see* in the double sense of the word, has experienced a revelation. As for Allen Ginsberg, the entire world—his feet, toes, toenails—is a miracle: "Oh splendor! I see the sky… and the trees… and women! […] so beautiful the colorful colors… women's eyes… their lips, and the rest! So beautiful the ants and the flies… and the sun… I can't wait for night to come so I can see the stars and the color of wine in the *osteria*! Thank you, God!"[218] The Cripple, however, who in the allegory, crucially, does not gain sight*,* curses the compassion that led to his healing, saying that he will use his legs "to go look for another saint who will do [him] the favor of crippling [him] again!" In Dante's *Divine Comedy,* a similar *seeing* is at play. As the pilgrim travels through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, he must learn to see that which lies beyond the physical world, the miraculous source of all life, which is God's inscrutable light. In a similar allegory, Fo redirects the miraculous and inscrutable to the details of the physical world that lie all around us, first un*seen*, then revelatory.

To be enchanted, as it has been considered here, per Jane Bennett's definition, "is to be struck and shaken by the extraordinary that lives amid the familiar and everyday."[219] Fo's Blind Man is certainly enchanted, and his spectators are primed for it, as I see these three episodes preparing them for and building toward a sense of enchantment that will arrive in the non-comedic lament that often ends the show, and which Fo calls "the show's heart":[220] "Mary at the Cross." Fo's mysteries, more often than not, are loosely related to the original texts that inspire them. But he makes a point in the prologue to "Mary at the Cross" to emphasize that this episode

sticks close to its medieval version, which he found in a 13th-century text at Monte Cassino, in central-Italian dialect, as well as in a 14th-century text in the Lombard dialect of the north; both were certainly, according to experts, modeled after an original, more ancient representation.[221] He secures its status as a "classic, sacred mystery,"[222] as opposed to an inspired-by remake, because it is partly her ancientness that gives Mary her power. She is not an individual written for a modern audience, but a Medieval character who speaks an ancient dialect that the audience can understand only incompletely. Yet, she has not aged. Her suffering and terror are fully understood, the anguish of her body communicates directly to the bodies in the audience as they feel her meaning as their own pain.

The episode is performed by one actor, originally Franca Rame, without costumes or props. Before Mary arrives, Rame portrays a crowd of women standing at the cross discussing how to stop Mary from discovering her son. The Virgin has just learned that he is crucified and is "desperately running" along the path to the cross; "four people couldn't stop her now,"[223] one woman says. When she arrives, she is "speechless and looks in silence," "crushed by a grief"[224] that manifests itself bodily. When she finally speaks it is a whisper:

> *Mary*: Give me a ladder… I want to go up next to my little boy. [*She moves slowly closer to the cross, tortured, to speak to her son*] Child, oh my beautiful wan child… it's okay, my love, mommy's here. How they have thrashed you [*raising her voice*] these murderers, pigs, butchers! [*She screams and runs aimlessly looking for someone to blame*.] What did he ever do to you, my silly little boy, to make you hate him so, that you act as such scoundrels towards him! You will have to answer to me, one by one! Oh, you will pay… even if I have to hunt you to the ends of world, animals, beasts, wretches!

Christ: [*speaking with difficulty*] Mom, stop yelling… mom.

Mary: I'm so sorry my love.

[…]

Christ: Mom, don't worry, I swear I feel no pain, I don't feel anything. Go home, I beg you, go home.

Mary: Yes, yes! We will go home together. I will come up there and bring you down, free you from these beams, pulls these nails out so slowly, so carefully. Someone give me pincers [*desperate now*]. Will anybody help me?![225]

As the scene progresses, Mary bargains with a soldier for her son's life, but he refuses. When she asks if she can cover her son in a shawl for warmth, the soldier tells her that if she truly loves him, she will pray that he dies as quickly as possible, rather than trying to keep him, in all his pain, in this world.

Finally, and only in this moment, she realizes her son will die and starts screaming at the sky in a voice that grows increasingly cruel: "Gabriel! Gabriel! Gabriel! So beautiful and young, you will be first! You betrayed me!"[226] Jesus whispers for her to be taken away, telling her: "With you right here, tormented, I can't die mom, and it's such a strain to stay."[227] She begs her son in turn: "Don't send me away, Jesus! Don't send me away! [*At the height of her desperation*] I want to die, Jesus… I want to die… [*Screaming to the crowd*] Suffocate me and bury me in a tomb with my son!"[228] Jesus never dies in the scene, instead Mary faints, and when she awakens, she has transcended either into a holy vision, or grief-stricken madness, for the angel Gabriel stands before her. She begins speaking in a whisper that grows louder with every breath:

> *Mary*: Gabriel… go back to your joyful heaven… you have nothing to do with this, here… on this foul Earth, in this tormented world. Go away, Gabriel… that you may avoid dirtying your beautifully colored wings. Do you not see the mud and blood and filth, mixed into stinking shit all around? […] You are not accustomed, Gabriel, that in Paradise there is no racket, there are no cries, no wars, no prisons, no hanged men, no raped women! There is no hunger or famine, no one sweating at backbreaking labor, no children without smiles, no mothers darkened by pain… no one you punish to pay for sin! Go away, Gabriel! [*screaming*] Gooo awaaaaaaay, Gabrieeeeeel![229]

This medieval Crucifixion scene, stripped of the symbols—the cross and Christ's emaciated form slung across it—that have come to encapsulate it, transforms the four mysteries into classical tragedy, like those upon which Aristotle developed his theory of art's capacity to produce catharsis by first making spectators feel terror and compassion. Mary here is the universal mother, with a son who is not God's, risen from the dead, but hers, unjustly executed. In this, the heart of the mystery, Franca Rame confronts the audience with the fundamental mystery of the human experience, that which yet constitutes in the modern world the greatest unknown and, therefore, our darkest fear. It is not the mystery of Christ's resurrection, but of our own mortality.

In modern times, Nietzsche continued in Aristotle's vein to affirm that Greek tragedies can deliver a life-affirming catharsis, which overcomes the world's meaninglessness through inclusion of both the Dionysian and Apollonian. By experiencing the full spectrum of human experience, he argued, spectators are bolstered to affirm the terror of suffering as part of a condition that offers ecstasy as well. As the experience is shared and universal, spectators

furthermore transcend beyond petty individualism to see themselves as part of a continuum of self-similar experience.[230] This effect in the spectator is the same as can be argued for enchantment, which induces an attachment to the world and human experience seen as overwhelmingly desirable even in the face of the existential terror that largely defines the human condition when deprived of afterlife. I see Fo's *Comical Mystery Play* as enchanting its audience by creating a space in which the central mythology of their ancestors, now outdated and mundane, were alive and meaningful once again. Through the play's affective impact, the Italian audience may emotionally reconnect with their archaic and mystical past, thus, regain a worldly attachment and sense that one's own existence as an individual is crucially nestled in a larger temporal and communal whole. This is of particular importance for Fo's audience, which was largely young, Marxist, post-Christian, progressive, but it may have been important for other sectors of the Italian and broader western society as well. For, while it was sometimes censored[231] and disparaged by the Church,[232] the show was extremely popular across decades, eventually broadcast on television from a recording of a live show in 1977, and is estimated to have been seen by 40 million people around the world.[233]

Conclusion

This chapter set out to understand why Jesus Christ was a central spectacular figure in early 1970s cultural productions in the U.S., Great Britain, and Italy. It discovers quite different trends between the Anglo-American and Italian productions and, ultimately, argues that Fabrizio De André's music and Dario Fo's theater seek to enchant by humanizing mythical and mystical figures in order to create empathic links between individuals across 1,970 years. This empathic link works to emphasize, rather than erase, a sense of past time that is not the mere sum of years (1,970), but, rather, the truly inconceivable sum of seemingly infinite human passion, pain, and

joy in those years. Critics point out time and again the subversiveness of Pasolini's, Fo's, and De André's use of religion. Yet, they point out less often, hardly ever in the case of De André, the subversiveness of their use of human history, which validates the pre-Enlightenment past—the archaic pre-Christian and mystical Middles Ages—so as to return it to modern man as his cultural patrimony. That is, the subversiveness of looking, not to the canonical Jesus or Christian God, but to the people who believed in them. De André and Fo dig in and uncover the brave, sharp, critical, funny, agonizing, poignant, salvific humanity that twines itself with the history of Christianity on the Italian peninsula, and they restore its sacredness. It serves them as a guide rope back to their origins, to securely root and orient the alienated and to reveal mysteries and potential mystical experiences still latent in the modern world.

[1] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* [1882], ed. Walter Arnold Kaufmann, (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), Section 125.

[2] In 1939, Michel Leiris argues that, indeed, the sacred can exist in mundane objects or spaces that have accrued personal significance via one's nuclear community. Michel Leiris, "The Sacred in Everyday Life," in *The College of Sociology (1937-39)*, ed. Denis Hollier, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 24–31.

[3] Émile Durkheim, "The Dualism of Human Nature and Its Social Conditions," *Durkheimian Studies / Études Durkheimiennes* 11 (2005): 35–45, 42.

[4] 'Profane', throughout this chapter, will be used as a term here to denote Emile Durkheim's sacred/profane dichotomy in which the sacred represents unity, a group's interests and symbols, while the profane represents mundane individual concerns. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology* (London: New York: G. Allen & Unwin, 1926).

[5] In the 1919 lecture, "Science as a Vocation", Max Weber writes: "The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization, and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world.'" Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. C. Wright Mills and Alfred D. Chandler (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 129–56.

[6] Weber's argument is formed for life via death. Because the metaphysical afterlife has been removed, death becomes meaningless. "And because death is meaningless, civilized life is meaningless; by its very 'progressiveness' it gives death the imprint of meaninglessness." Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 139-140.

[7] This theory of disenchantment came through a long career interested in rationalization; that is, the modern individual's largely 'rationalized' cost-benefit calculation for initiating interaction with reality, as opposed to ancient interaction that was based in a mystical conception of existence. Disenchantment came about, Weber argues, through (1) a progression from polytheism to monotheism then secularism, (2) capitalism, which developed out of the Protestant work ethic, and (3) Enlightenment rationality that reduced the world to sets of calculations. Weber held an ambivalent attitude towards modern disenchantment, seeing it as a stage in a process that would eventually lead back to a polytheistic and enchanted world of subjective value and belief systems.

[8] To "enchant" is defined by the *New Oxford American Dictionary* as "to fill with great delight; charm" and "to put under a spell; magic." *Merriam Webster* defines it as the capacity "to attract and hold attention." The word has its roots in the French *enchanter* and the Latin *incantare,* from *in-* + *cantare* (to sing), which is an interesting point for the upcoming discussion of De André's album.

[9] As we will see later on, Walter Benjamin asserts the importance of this aspect, as he states, "A wonderful beatific humor dwells all the more fondly on the infinite questionableness of everything in existence." Walter Benjamin, *On Hashish* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 112.

[10] Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1987).

[11] Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986).

[12] Habermas in reevaluating Weber, points out that the utopia promised by Enlightenment needed to overcome the mystery of death, or it risked people returning to mysticism to deal with fears

and uncertainty around their own mortality. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, 153.

[13] Michael Landy in the introduction to *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age* argues that ours is not an age left to stubbornly hold on to the relics of religion to maintain the mystical. Nor is it one enchanted by symbols triggering unconscious spirituality, a sort of unwilling and deceptive enchanting, as Jung would have it. (Carl G. Jung, *Man and His Symbols* (Garden City N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), 83-94) It is, rather, a long history of substitutions for a dead God and rational world; neither religious or secular ideology, nor commodity-fetish spectacle, these substitutions perform enchantment fully without regressing to a premodern and pre-enlightened state. Joshua Landy and Michael T. Saler, eds., *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009). See also Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[14] Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[15] John T. Elson's *TIME Magazine* cover story explores theology's attempt to make God relevant in a world that finds him harder and harder to situate ontologically. It also looks at vestiges of belief, for example, those whom historian Martin Marty calls practical atheists, church attendees on Sunday, who behave in their daily life without regard to their religion's teachings.

[16] "All'universo dell'Azione cattolica, passata fra il 1962 e il 1970 da 3 500 000 iscritti a 1 600 000, che si riducono a 816 000 nel 1973. Le indagini dell'epoca danno i primi contorni di due opposti processi: la crescita della 'scristianizzaione' e dell'indifferenza, da un lato, e dall'altro il

diffondersi di un dissenso animato da suggestioni conciliari." Guido Crainz, *Il paese mancato: Dal miracolo economico agli anni ottanta* (Roma: Donzelli, 2003), 176.

[17] Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 261.

[18] Indeed, Nietzsche's madman who declares God dead in *Gay Science* goes on to say: "I have come too early ... deeds, though done, still require time to be seen and heard." (Nietzsche, *Gay Science,* Section 125.) It seems that society needed nearly a century to come to terms with God's death and for culture, at large, to begin to deal with it.

[19] "Unprecedented international cultural exchange, in which, along with (for example) espresso machines from Italy, discos from France, and theatrical innovation from America, Britain, particularly with respect to pop music and fashion, film, and television, played an unprecedented role." Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 18.

[20] The song is subtitled "If God Dies, It's for Three Days Then He Rises" (S*e Dio muore, è per tre giorni poi risorge*). It was written by Guccini in 1967 and first released by The Nomads (I Nomadi, *Dio è morto (Se dio muore, è per tre fiorni poi risorge)*, 7" Vinyl (Columbia – SCMQ 7046, 1967)). It was released in a version performed by Guccini himself in 1988 (Francesco Guccini, *...Quasi come Dumas...*, Vinyl (EMI – 64 7915241, 1988)). I will cite the version performed by Guccini from here on.

[21] "Ho visto / la gente della mia età andare via / lungo le strade che non portano mai a niente / cercare il sogno che conduce alla pazzia / nella ricerca di qualcosa che non trovano / nel mondo che hanno già / dentro alle notti che dal vino son bagnate / dentro alle stanze da pastiglie trasformate / lungo le nuvole di fumo, nel mondo fatto di città / essere contro ad ingoiare la

nostra stanca civiltà." in Francesco Guccini, lyrics, "Dio è morto", in *Canzoni,* ed. Gabriella Fenocchio (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2018), 19-22, lines 1-10.

[22] Allen Ginsberg, "Howl" [1955-56], in *Collected Poems, 1947-1980*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

[23] "e un dio che è morto / ai bordi delle strade dio è morto / nelle auto prese a rate dio è morto / nei miti dell'estate, dio è morto. […] e un dio che è morto / nei campi di sterminio,\ dio è morto / coi miti della razza dio è morto / con gli odi di partito dio è morto." Guccini, "Dio è morto", *Canzoni,* lines 11-14, 25-28.

[24] "Ma penso / che questa mia generazione è preparata / a un mondo nuovo e a una speranza appena nata / ad un futuro che ha già in mano, a una rivolta senza armi / perché noi tutti ormai sappiamo che se dio muore / è per tre giorni e poi risorge / in ciò che noi crediamo dio è risorto / in ciò che noi vogliamo dio è risorto / nel mondo che faremo, dio è risorto." Guccini, "Dio è morto", *Canzoni,* lines 29-37.

[25] It is important to distinguish the hippie counterculture, which directly translates to the Anglo-American productions to be studied later in the chapter, and the antiwar, New-Left and civil rights cultural struggles, which had been long fought but which were not yet on the decline. Charles Kaiser, for examples, begins his book on 1968 by saying: "For a surprising number of Americans, I think 1968 marks the end of hope." Charles Kaiser, *1968 in America: Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation* (New York, 1988), x.
While Timothy Miller begins his book on hippies with these words: "On a sunny afternoon in the fall of 1967, at the end of the Summer of Love, a band of San Francisco hippies solemnly filled a coffin with stereotyped artifacts of hippiedom and burned it, pronouncing as they did so "death

of hip." Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011).

[26] Governor Ronald Reagan, for example, enforced a near-military occupation of Berkeley's campus in the spring of 1969. Marwich, *The Sixties,* 643.

[27] A 1967 study by sociologist Lewis Yablonksy, attests to, not only the number of hippies, but to the transforming identification as hippiedom includes more and more mainstream versions. The study put full-time hippie dropouts at 200,000 and "visible teeny-boppers, part-time summer and weekend hippies" at 200,000. Then there were "several hundred thousand students, young executives, and professional people "who use psychedelic drugs, interact, and closely associate with totally dropped-out hippies, yet maintain 9-5 jobs or student status," and, finally, "those who had some sympathies with the hippies and what they stood for—'fellow travelers'" numbered another few million. Marwich, *The Sixties,* 480.

[28] In a survey of teenage culture in the U.S., Britain, France and Italy, between 1958 and 1963, Arthur Marwick states that the Italian case is the latest to bloom, claiming that in its earliest form it is "fractured and derivative," and citing a survey "carried out in January 1963 of young people aged between 15 and the early 20s (average age 17.5) in the middle schools, technical schools, and grammar schools of Pavia and Voghera in western Lombardy [that] did not indicate any striking change as compared with a similar survey carried out in January 1953. […] the interviewees seemed themselves to have no perceptions of a teenage subculture in formation" Marwich, *The Sixties,* 110.

[29] Marwich, *The Sixties,* 494.

[30] "People my age […] search for something they don't find / In the world they already have." Guccini, "Dio è morto", *Canzoni*, lines 2, 5-6.

[31] "People my age going away / Along streets that never take them anywhere" Guccini, "Dio è morto", *Canzoni*, lines 2-3.

[32] "Mi han detto / che questa mia generazione ormai non crede / in ciò che spesso han mascherato con la fede / nei miti eterni della patria o dell'eroe / perché è venuto ormai il momento di negare […] Ma penso […] che se dio muore è per tre giorni e poi risorge / in ciò che noi crediamo, dio è risorto / in ciò che noi vogliamo, dio è risorto / nel mondo che faremo, dio è risorto." Guccini, "Dio è morto", *Canzoni*, lines 15-19, 29, 33-37.

[33] "L'ex-sacerdote trentino e oggi professore di sociologia Pier Giorgio Rauzi: 'La presenza significativa di molti cristiani, a Trento forse poi più che altrove, all'interno di quel grande movimento, credo non si possa spiegare senza sottolineare la portata soteriologica che sopravviveva dentro quel fenomeno di radicale secolarizzazione… La liberazione del mondo, il quale diveniva così soltanto mondo, era vissuta al tempo stesso come liberazione della fede dal mondo. Il tema della redenzione veniva recuperato e trasvalutato in quello della liberazione… La dimensione del futuro veniva a sostituire a pieno titolo le funzioni salvifiche che l'escatologia giudaico-cristiana assegnava alla vita ultraterrena o destinava alla consumazione dei secoli. Il trasferimento di queste categorie dall'ambito religioso a quello profano-politico non le privava però lì per lì della loro valenza universalizzante e unificante, tanto che per molti credenti esse sostituirono ben presto la fede che smise per loro di continuare a essere un punto di riferimento, mentre per altri essa o si riduceva agli ambiti del privato-personale o comunque non riusciva risultare significativa.' Il Sessantotto al posto del paradiso, insomma. La rivoluzione invece della salvezza." Roberto Beretta, *Il lungo autunno: Controstoria del Sessantotto cattolico.* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1998), 13.

[34] Though Ginsberg uses the term 'holy', Walter Benjamin may have determined it along the lines of "profane illumination," as he describes the unaided Surrealist revelation brought about by everyday objects in his 1929 "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia," and as he searches for using hashish as an entryway in his posthumously published collection of writings *On Hashish* (1927-1934). Benjamin, like Ginsberg, is looking for a new way of seeing.

[35] Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), xiii.

[36] The Beat Generation includes the Beat writers, Ginsberg, Burroughs, Kerouac, Ferlinghetti, of the 1950s, while beatniks are "the early participants, usually bearded and wearing sandals, in the civil rights and other protests of the late fifties and early sixties." Marwick, *The Sixties,* 33.

[37] His long philosophical essay, *The Doors of Perception,* was published in 1954. It recounts an experience with mescaline, a hallucinogenic drug derived from peyote, a hallucinogen used by Native American during religious ceremonies for centuries. Huxley was British but lived in the U.S., mainly Los Angeles, from 1937 until the time of his death in 1963. He determines in his essay that the experience was positively transformative.

[38] Arthur Marwick cites Ken Kesey and Timothy Leary when he argues that hippies are fundamentally American: "American hippiedom, unlike the European movements, had two spectacular, news-commanding leading spirits, Timothy Leary and Ken Kesey; and these two figures had begun their proselytizing well before 1965. Indeed, some commentators date the beginning of the hippie movement to Kesey's abandonment of novel-writing in favor of setting up his Merry Pranksters and instituting the 'acid tests'." Marwick, *The Sixties,* 482.

[39] Marwick, *The Sixties,* 3.

[40] The desire for spiritual leaders and communities made fallow ground for cults that abused young minds and bodies. Furthermore, Arthur Marwick notes that a conservative might point out "the gross abuse of drugs in the sixties (fashions in hard drugs have changed, but it was in the sixties that society's defenses were decisively breached), aided by self-serving claptrap about the mind-expanding and enlightening qualities of psychedelic experiences; [and] that hippie communes were often as notable for violent squabbles and lamentable hygiene as for peace and spirituality." Marwick, *The Sixties,* 4.

[41] Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* begins with an epigraph from Feuerbach's Preface to the second edition of *The Essence of Christianity*: "But certainly for the present age, which prefers the sign to the thing signified, the copy to the original, representation to reality, the appearance to the essence... illusion only is sacred, truth profane." Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* [1967], trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1995), 10.

[42] Paul Flesher and Robert Torry, for example, say "*Jesus Christ, Superstar*'s adoption of Jesus as an antiestablishment hero showed that this new youth culture differed from the older generation in not only politics and musical taste but also in the very thing that lay at the heart of society, namely, religious belief. Young people were not afraid to reenvision Jesus as a countercultural icon who opposed the very pillars of American postwar society." Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher, *Film & Religion: An Introduction* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2007), 119.

[43] *Pippin* and *Wicked*

[44] *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat, Evita, Cats, The Phantom of the Opera*

[45] *Godspell* was originally a Carnegie Mellon theater school production and *Jesus Christ, Superstar* was a British concept album.

[46] According to Ellis Nassour, the British record label, "Decca was backing the album with a publicity campaign that could elect a president." Ellis Nassour, *Rock Opera: The Creation of Jesus Christ Superstar, from Record Album to Broadway Show and Motion Picture* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1973), 67.

[47] "Always hoped that I'd be an apostle / Knew that I would make it if I tried / Then when we retire we can write the gospels / So they'll all / talk about us when we've died." Andrew Lloyd Weber and Tim Rice, "The Last Supper," *Jesus Christ, Superstar* (Olympic Studios: London, 1970).

[48] "Britain, with the lowest church attendance figures in Europe, was notably unaffected by Catholic puritanism, bible belt evangelicalism, or, for that matter, the bourgeois stolidity of German Christian Democracy: Britain (excluding Northern Ireland where, as in the Republic, church attendance was high) was pervaded by what can conveniently be termed 'secular Anglicanism', a tolerance originating in the Anglican church of the eighteenth century, and spreading in more recent times to civil society." Marwick, *The Sixties,* 35.

[49] Henry Bial, *Playing God: The Bible on the Broadway Stage* (University of Michigan Press, 2015), 152.

[50] Debord, *The Society of Spectacle,* 18.

[51] One critic described the show thus: "Paul Ainsley plays King Herod as a drag queen, buskined, rouged, and chiffoned," while Judas "appears apotheosized high above the stage in a giant Tiffany-glass butterfly accompanied by a trio of soul singers à la the Supremes." Bial, *Playing God,* 150.

[52] Norman Jewison, the director of the film version cites Pasolini as an inspiration, but his film is far from its Italian predecessor: "Ive seen Pasolini's *The Passion according to Matthew* at least

eight times; it's so spare and simple and close to the Bible—and that's what I had in the back of my mind." Nassour, *Rock Opera,* 228.

[53] The film follows in the wake of 1967 Summer of Love festivals like the Magic Mountain Music and Monterey Pop Festivals, as well as, the iconic 1969 Woodstock.

[54] "Rock music (and the idolatry it inspired), nature, love, drugs, and mass togetherness—where they all joined hands was in the open-air music festivals, the greatest of all types of spectacle invented in the sixties." Marwich, *The Sixties,* 497.

[55] Debord, *The Society of Spectacle,* 114.

[56] Romano Giuffrida and Bruno Bigoni cite 1973 as the first recorded death by heroin overdose in Italy. "Nel 1973 - almeno ufficialmente - si aveva il primo morto per eroina." De Giorgi, Fulvio. "La storia del branco e la storia contraria." Romano Giuffrida and Bruno Bigoni, eds., *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2008), 69.

[57] Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 361.

[58] *Jesus Christ, Superstar* did make it to Italy and was a huge success, according to Ellis Nassour. Though, he points out, "Rai, the state-owned radio network, had banned the album and any songs from it. The paradox: Vatican radio had not only praised the album but had also programmed it. However, the official Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore,* had not been exactly kind in its remarks about the record." Nassour, *Rock Opera,* 191, 94.

[59] Interestingly, as Marcus Boon points out, "Those writers who were interested in drug use in the interwar period—Antonin Artaud, Polish modernist Stanisław Witkiewicz, René Daumal, Benjamin—were an untimely group, their writings largely ignored or unpublished until they were discovered by the Beats and the 1960s radical movements." Marcus Boon, "Walter

Benjamin and Drug Literature," in *On Hashish* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 6.

[60] Walter Benjamin, *On Hashish* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 129.

[61] Translated in English as trance, intoxication or rush, none of which fully convey the meaning, however, according to translator of Benjamin, Howard Eiland: "The term is rendered in this volume mainly as 'intoxication' or 'trance', neither an entirely satisfactory translation. The noun *Rausch* comes from the onomatopoeic verb *rauschen,* 'to rustle; roar; rush; thunder' murmur.' The English word 'rush', cognate with *rasuchen,* actually brings out a significant aspect of the German concept (the relevance of velocity touched on above), not to mention its usage in the argot of the 1960s drug culture, where it meant an intensification or intoxication." Howard Eiland, "Translator's Forward," in *On Hashish* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), xi-xii.

[62] Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 129.

[63] "At issue here, as everywhere in Benjamin, is a new way of seeing, a new concreteness in relation to history and the everyday." Eiland, "Translator's Forward," x.

[64] The experiments were, specifically, between 1927 and 34, with hashish, opium, mescaline and the opiate eucodal (the latter two were injected subcutaneously). Ibid., vii.

[65] Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 125.

[66] Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 142-143.

[67] Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 123-124.

[68] Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 46.

[69] Benjamin, "Surrealism", 47.

[70] Benjamin, “Surrealism”, 133.

[71] In a letter to Max Horkheimer February 7, 1938 (GB6, 23) in Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 145.

[72] Benjamin, furthermore, explicitly expresses this experience in terms of its opposition to the rational: “It enabled me now to bring the political, rational sense it had had for me earlier into juxtaposition with the individual, magical meaning of my experience the day before [while under the influence of hallucinogens].” Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 53.

[73] Boon, “Walter Benjamin and Drug Literature,” 8.

[74] This accumulation of time is highlighted by Howard Eiland in the forward to Walter Benjamin’s *On Hashish,* as an experience of the hashish eater that is similar to the experience of the flâneur and which helps them both see the world in a new way. Benjamin describes a drug-induced experience: “The window at her back was black and empty; through its frame the centuries entered by jolts, while with each of her movements—so I told her—she took up a destiny or let it fall.” To which Eiland remarks: “There is an analogy here to what the flâneur experiences when he sees the ghost of a barricade on a modern Paris street—that is, when far-off times and places interpenetrate the urban landscape and the present moment, creating for him a kind of historical palimpsest.” Eiland, “Translator’s Forward,” x.

[75] I am not the first to note similarities between artistic trends in Pasolini’s and De André’s career. Romano Giuffrida and Bruno Bigoni, for example, in their 2008 *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici,* state: “Le numerose similitudini che accomunano, infatti, l’intero suo giro culturale a quello di Pier Paolo Pasolini.” Giuffrida and Bigoni, *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici*, 63.

[76] Beyond the Italian experience of the Church’s temporal power, which put varying parts of the peninsula directly under Papal control from the 8th century until 1870, 9 years after Italian

Unification, the pope continued to exercise temporal control well into the 20th century. As historian Paul Ginsborg points out, "Pius XII's long, conservative reign, from 1939 onwards, had witnessed the Catholic church's unceasing intervention in Italian politics and society." Their interventionist position was abandoned only in 1961 by Pope John XXIII. Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 259.

[77] Mario Capanna says of the Italian progressive demographic, that it was neither wholly Catholic, nor wholly Marxista: Sarebbe dunque esagerato e sbagliato affermare che il Sessantotto fu tutto cattolico, ma anche che fu tutto marxista. In realtà ci furono mille livelli di fusione e integrazione, migliaia di contatti e molta influenza reciproca tra le due anime della contestazione." Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 19.

[78] Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 258, 291.

[79] "the longer the party remained becalmed in the relatively placid waters of the Republic, the more likely it was to be slowly transformed by this experience rather than itself initiate a process of socialist transformation." Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 292.

[80] "È triste. La polemica contro / il PCI andava fatta nella prima metà / del decennio passato. / Siete in ritardo, figli." Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Il PCI ai giovani!" *L'Espresso*, June 16, 1968.

[81] "Quando ieri a Valle Giulia avete fatto a botte / coi poliziotti, / io simpatizzavo coi poliziotti! / Perché i poliziotti sono figli di poveri. / Vengono da periferie, contadine o urbane che siano." Pasolini, "Il PCI ai giovani!".

[82] John Wakeman, ed., *World Film Directors* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1987), 744.

[83] As Ginsborg points out, "the position of 'worker-students', as they were called, was particularly difficult. In Italy there were no state grants for students […] Well-to-do parents paid for their children […] but by 1968 more than half the student population was having to work as

well as study." These students often could not attend lectures and their dropout rates were high. "The Italian education system thus operated a particularly subtle form of class-based selection: the university was supposedly open to all, but the odds were heavily stacked against poorer students ever getting a degree." Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 298-300.

[84] According to *Pro Civitate Christiana* legend, the group's founder don Giovanni Rossi called Lucio Settimo Caruso, organizer of their convention on cinema, and asked: "In your opinion, of all the film makers in Italy, who is the furthest from our position?" Caruso answered without hesitation that it was the well-known dissident, Pier Paolo Pasolini, and don Giovanni told him to invite him to the next convention. Virgilio Fantuzzi, "Pasolini ad Assisi," 13-26, in *Cristo mi chiama, ma senza luce: Pier Paolo Pasolini e* Il Vangelo secondo Matteo, ed. Roberto Chiesi (Recco, Genova: Le mani, 2015), 14-15.

[85] "Quando sarai nel regno dei cieli, ricordami al padre tuo." Pier Paolo Pasolini, "La ricotta" in *Ro.Go.Pa.G.* (Italy: Arco Film, 1963).

[86] "La Storia della Passione … è per me la più grande che sia mai accaduta, e i Testi che la raccontano i più sublimi."

[87] Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (Italy: Arco Film, 1964).

[88] Fantuzzi, "Pasolini ad Assisi," 17.

[89] "cara, lieta, familiare memoria di Giovanni XXIII." Pasolini, *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo.*

[90] "senza dubbio il miglior film in assoluto sulla figura di Cristo." in *L'Osservatore Romano.* 21 July 2014. Roberto Chiesi, *Cristo mi chiama, ma senza luce: Pier Paolo Pasolini e* Il Vangelo secondo Matteo (Recco, Genova: Le mani, 2015), 5.

[91] "In un mondo caratterizzato — come ha raccontato Max Weber — dalla secolarizzazione e dal 'disincanto' il 'sacro' sovverte direttamente le fondamenta della società." Peter Kammerer,

"Il sacro 'sovversivo' di Pasolini," in *Cristo mi chiama, ma senza luce: Pier Paolo Pasolini e* Il Vangelo secondo Matteo, ed. Roberto Chiesi (Recco, Genova: Le mani, 2015), 61–66, 62.

[92] "c'è l'idea del mito e dell'epicità … così quando ho raccontato la storia di Cristo non ho ricostruito Cristo come realmente fu. Se avessi ricostruito la storia di Cristo come realmente fu, non avrei fatto un film religioso perché non sono un credente. Non credo che Cristo sia figlio di Dio. Avrei fatto una ricostruzione positivista o marxista al massimo, e così, nel caso migliore una vita che avrebbe potuto essere la vita di ognuno dei cinque o seimila santi che predicavano a quel tempo in Palestina. Ma non volevo fare questo perché non mi interessano le dissacrazioni: questa è una moda che odio, è piccolo-borghese. Io voglio riconsacrare le cose per quanto è possibile, voglio rimisticizzarle." Luigi Martellini, *Ritratto di Pasolini*. (Roma: GLF editori Laterza, 2006), 124.

[93] Stefania Benini, *Pasolini: The Sacred Flesh* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 11, 22.

[94] Wakeman, *World Film Directors,* 744.

[95] "Il mio profondo, intimo, arcaico cattolicesimo" Pasolini, "La ricotta."

[96] Benini, *Pasolini: The Sacred Flesh*, 35.

[97] "I miracoli dei pani e dei pesci—scriveva [Pasolini]—e di Cristo che cammina sulle acque sono pietismo disgustoso." Martellini, *Ritratto di Pasolini,* 125.

[98] "l'appassionata violenza della sua politica e dei suoi discorsi è così grande che la figura di Cristo nel film produce necessariamente negli spettatori un forte senso di disagio. I Cattolici escono dal film un po' scossi dal fatto che ho messo in scena un Cristo cattivo. In effetti non è cattivo, solo è pieno di contraddizioni." Martellini, *Ritratto di Pasolini,* 125.

[99] "il volto dei Cristi riprodotto dai pittori medievali, affinché con la sua faccia rispecchiasse i luoghi aridi e pietrosi dove predicava." Martellini, *Ritratto di Pasolini,* 123.

[100] In an interesting convergence for this dissertation, Christ was dubbed by Enrico Maria Salerno, whose voice was famous in those years for dubbing Clint Eastwood's character in Sergio Leone's *Dollars Trilogy*. Perhaps Pasolini wanted to evoke arid and rocky places in Christ's face as well as in his voice.

[101] "Il mio film è la vita di Cristo più duemila anni di racconti sulla vita di Cristo." Ibid., 124.

[102] "Non ci si copiava ed è per questo che non c'era gelosia: eravamo nello stesso campo ed era applaudito che entrava a vangare a sua volta." Elena Valdini, ed., *Volammo davvero: Un dialogo ininterrotto* (Milan, Italy: BUR, 2007), 399.

[103] Arthur Marwick remarks on this topic that "The question of religious practices and beliefs is relevant to both ideological and institutional constraints on social change. In France and Italy, the Catholic Church was a very strong presence. […] The grip of the Catholic Church on social values and private morality was particularly strong in Italy, where many who gave formal allegiance to the Communist party were deeply imbued with Catholic notions about contraception, divorce, and abortion. Anything savouring of permissiveness would meet with great resistance in Italy." Marwick, *The Sixties,* 33-4.

[104] "La presenza cattolica, comunque, costituisce senza alcun dubbio uno degli specifici del '68 italiano, non fu così né a Nanterre né a Berkeley né a Berlino." Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 13.

[105] "Chi veniva dal versante di fede, ebbe più decisione nel troncare la storia alle proprie spalle. LA sinistra anche rivoluzionaria di tradizione marxista conservò la superbia della propria superiorità intellettuale, l'attaccamento alla propria tradizione… Si perse perciò del tutto il linguaggio ricchissimo di simboli che veniva dalla tradizione cristiana, l'immaginario, la fantasia." Marwick, *The Sixties,* 20.

[106] Pope John XXIII, in his final encyclical in 1963, *Pacem in terris,* had called for world peace, specifically peace between world powers that threatened mutual nuclear destruction.

[107] Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 261.

[108] "Il Concilio Vaticano II segnarono infatti una vera rivoluzione culturale: nella vita ecclesiale innanzitutto (liturgie in volgare e non più in latino, maggiore ruolo dei laici, atteggiamento aperto e dialogante), ma poi anche nella società." and "Era l'ansia di liberarsi da formalismi religiosi disincarnati dalla storia, era l'esigenza da 'cristiano demitizzato.'" Giuffrida and Bigoni, *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici*, 70, 75.

[109] Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 302.

[110] "Molte scintille di quell 'anno dei miracoli' che è considerato il 1968 vennero dunque da uomini e ambienti del cosiddetto mondo cattolico. Si pensa che ciò sia dovuto alla naturale propensione del cattolico a cercare la giustizia […] Ma se tanti cattolici decisero di scatenare la protesto, non *fu per una naturale conseguenza della loro fede,* bensì - al contrario - per le conseguenze di *una crisi di fede.* Una crisi di fede collettiva, che investì buona parte della Chiesa negli anni del post-Concilio; una crisi di fede esplosa nel momento in cui la secolarizzazione stava trasformandosi da fenomeno di élite a fenomeno di massa… il 'timbro' cattolico alla contestazione è più apparente che reale. Non furono tanto i cattolici, quanto gli ex cattolici (o comunque i cattolici condizionati dalla confusione del post-Concilio) a dare un'impronta all Sessantotto, e a rimanere a loro volta condizionati e travolti dal Sessantotto stesso." Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 13-14.

[111] "Paolo VI avrebbe più amaramente concluso: 'Si credeva che dopo il Concilio sarebbe venuta una giornata di sole per la storia della Chiesa. È venuta, invece, una giornata di nuvole, di tempesta, di buio." Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 21.

[112] "E difatti le reazioni di alcuni ambienti cattolici al Credo del Pontefice furono esplicite e rabbiose: 'Ciò che è stato disposto da diversi secoli' scrive un periodico progressista olandese 'è semplicemente ripetuto con le stesse parole, come se il mondo e l'uomo non fossero, nel frattempo, cambiati… Ancor peggio, come se non ci fosse stato il Concilio Vaticano II.'" Beretta, *Il lungo autunno,* 129.

[113] Indeed, the gap between Catholic and Communist constituents would, by 1976, lead the general secretary of the PCI, Enrico Berlinguer, to present his Historic Compromise (a proposed alliance between the ruling center-right DC and the PCI), as Paul Ginsborg says, "as a grand strategy in which Communists and Catholics would find a shared moral and ethical code on which to base the political and social salvation of Italy. […] The convergence of Catholic and Communist morality in the name of a greater political good was the dominant theme of Berlinguer's life." Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 356.

[114] Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 308.

[115] "Noi vogliamo distruggere i musei, le biblioteche, le accademie d'ogni specie." F.T. Marinetti, "Manifesto del Futurismo," *Le Figaro*, February 20, 1909.

[116] "I più anziani fra noi, hanno trent'anni." Marinetti, "Manifesto del Futurismo."

[117] "Volete dunque sprecare tutte le forze migliori, in questa eterna ed inutile ammirazione del passato." Marinetti, "Manifesto del Futurismo."

[118] Marinetti's youths placed faith in war, while Guccini imagined "revolt without arms;" (*rivoluzione senza armi*) yet the three years between Guccini's "God is Dead" and Fo's and De André's productions, saw the beginning of a decade of civil strife in Italy, during which "violence was," according to historian Paul Ginsborg, "accepted as inevitable and justifiable, and entered almost unquestioned into the values and actions of the movement. The just violence of

the revolutionaries - of Mao, of Che and of the Vietnamese - was opposed to that of the capitalists. 'Power comes out of the barrel of a gun'; 'Violence in return for violence'; 'War no, guerrilla action yes': these were amongst the most popular slogans of the time." Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy,* 306-7.

[119] "conta la baldanza (e l'arroganza') pronta a bruciare i tempi e gli ostacoli, quel credersi fatti di materia stellare che accomunava tanti giovani di allora." Anna Bravo, *A colpi di cuore: storie del sessantotto* (Roma: GLF editori Laterza, 2008), 9.

[120] Dario Fo points out, in talking about *Mistero buffo,* that Italian history is so closely tied to Christian history that he could not talk about one without the other: "Quando molto tempo fa ho cominciato a studiare la storia del teatro, a far ricerche sulle sue origini, mi sono accorto che la maggioranza dei suoi testi sono basati su storie religiose. Che era impossibile far rivivere il teatro dei giullari senza fare i conti con il cristianesimo, con i suoi protagonisti, con il suo potere temporale." Chiara Valentini, *La storia di Dario Fo* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1997), 177.

[121] Dario Fo's theater piece became a mass-media production in 1977 when a live performance was recorded to air on public television.

[122] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle,* 14.

[123] Fo leaves state theater to create a company under the umbrella of the PCI. By 1969 he had left that company to create an unassociated (and unfunded) company that squatted at an unused theater in Milan (see the next section for details). De André refused publicity events, television shows, contests like Sanremo and *Canzonissima,* that record companies forced their artists to do. He, therefore, refused record deals that did not allow him artistic freedom. He, furthermore, paid little attention to market demands. That which Romano Giuffrida says of *La buona novella* is true of much of his music, which was extremely successful though he pandered neither to the

mainstream pop market of *canzonette* nor to the progressive market of political song: "Inadatta a creare facili emozioni e gratificazioni pseudo-rivoluzionarie per il pubblico militante; impegnativa e troppo riflessiva per tutti gli altri che si accontentavano delle 'canzonette' usa e getta." Giuffrida and Bigoni, *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici,* 47.

[124] Giuffrida and Bigoni, *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici,* 16.

[125] "Fo e Jannacci sono gli unici che si avvicinano al mio genere; Fo, soprattutto." Claudio Sassi and Walter Pistarini, eds., *De André talk: Le interviste e gli articoli della stampa d'epoca* (Roma: Coniglio, 2008), 78.

[126] Enzo Jannacci was a singer-songwriter, pioneer of rock and roll music in Italy, and theater actor who, during the mid-60s, collaborated with Dario Fo for songs that would appear in his own theater shows, like *22 Canzoni,* and Fo's own *Ci ragiono e canto.*

[127] In fact, in 1966 Fo and Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano premiered a collection of popular songs, representing all of Italy's regions, in a show called *Ci ragiono e canto* (I Reflect and I Sing). The show, which was performed in second and third versions in 1969 and 1973, was in two acts, and represented the condition of the popular (and proletariat) man through regional popular song, that largely dealt with work, war, and popular festivals, but included a song recounting the passion of Christ according to apocryphal accounts. "Si assisteva a una serie di bellissimi quadri … [includendo] la passione di Cristo vista attraverso i Vangeli apocrifi, per finire nel gran crescendo della più popolare canzone degli anarchici, *Nostra patria è il mondo intero.*" Valentini, *La storia di Dario Fo,* 98.

[128] De André was nicknamed things like 'The Minstrel in Microgroove' and 'Modern Troubadour' (Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 28, 74) in his early career, while Fo is famous as a modern *giullare,* which can be likened to a medieval jongleur.

[129] Fo said "Ritengo che a teatro, tanto più si va sperimentando verso il nuovo, tanto più si deve affondare nel passato." Valentini, *La storia di Dario Fo,* 99.

De André said of one of his first hit songs, which was reworked from a Provençal ballad: "Facevamo gli scapigliati, i colti, i demistificatori, i protestatori di allora […] tutto lasciando intendere che conoscevamo la musica antica e la storia. Poi abbiamo migliorato" and "Nella scelta della partitura musicale e del testo, spesso mi rifaccio all'umore popolare del Medioevo. In quell'epoca l'arte aveva un valore didascalico: doveva insegnare, trasmettere un messaggio." His work was founded in the past, but he also was one of the first in Italy produce experimental concept albums and live-concert albums. Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 88, 102.

[130] Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 97, 108.

[131] "Il nuovo disco si intitolerà *La buona novella.* Uscirà in novembre. Sono due anni che ci penso sopra." Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 9.

[132] Monica Andrisani, *Fabrizio De André e* La Buona Novella: *Vangeli apocrifi e leggende popolari* (Firenze: Firenze Atheneum, 2002). Francesco Ciabattoni, *La citazione è sintomo d'amore: cantautori italiani e memoria letteraria* (Roma: Carocci editore, 2016), 74.

[133] "la mia religiosità consiste nel sentirmi parte di un tutto, anello di una catena che comprende tutto il creato." Giorgio Gallione, La buona novella *di Fabrizio De André* (Torino: Einaudi tascabili, 2002), 9.

[134] When asked if the work is "Un'opera dissacratoria?" De André "Ne è colpito" and responds, "Dissacratoria no, demistificante piuttosto. Ho cercato più di ogni altra cosa di umanizzare i personaggi." Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 109.

[135] "voleva essere un'allegoria che si precisava nel paragone tra le istanze migliori e più sensate della rivolta del Sessantotto e quelle, da un punto di vista spirituale e sicuramente più elevate, ma

da un punto di vista etico-sociale direi molto simili, che, 1969 anni prima, un signore aveva fatto contro gli abusi del potere, in nome di un egualitarismo e di una fratellanza universali." Gallione, La buona novella*,* 9.

[136] "la lotta contro l'autorità, il potere e i suoi abusi va combattuta ogni giorno individualmente […] deve essere una somma di individualità, non un branco di pecore che lotta in nome di un'ideologia astratta e che si ponga come obiettivo quello di rimpiazzare attraverso l'imposizione dei suoi dogmi lo stesso potere contro cui lotta, nella logica di 'leva il culo tu che ce lo metto io." Gallione, La buona novella*,* 18.

[137] Scott J. Thompson, "From 'Rausch' to Rebellion: Walter Benjamin's *On Hashish*," *The Journal of Cognitive Liberties* 1, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2000): 21–42. http://www.cognitiveliberty.org/2jcl/2JCL21.htm

[138] "cerco di umanizzare al massimo la figura del cristo […] Ho addirittura azzardato l'ipotesi che non sia stato un dio a venire in terra, ma sia stato un uomo che sia riuscito a divinizzarsi attraverso il suo comportamento." Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 94.

[139] "Tra un verso e l'altro filtra l'ironia dell'uomo che ha bisogno di fede e fede non ha trovato." Dané's internal cover text from the original release of: Fabrizio De André, "Inside Cover Text", *La buona novella*, Vinyl (Produttori Associati – PA/LPS 34, 1970).

[140] "Il problema più che religioso è mistico e, fattosi primo tra gli altri, comincia a cadenzare una sfiducia in tutto" De André, "Inside Cover Text", *La buona novella*.

[141] "Parallelamente a questa sfiducia esistenziale (anche l'unico che poteva essere Dio è morto) c'è, ben chiara, quella propriamente politica." De André, "Inside Cover Text", *La buona novella*.

[142] "il lavoro di questo disco […] nasce dalla necessità di divulgare e *comunicare e dalla convinzione che l'argomento è lungi dall'essere superato: semmai, oggi, l'interesse si sposta,

finalmente, dallo studioso alla gente, attraverso l'unico tramite ancora possibile, l'artista." De André, "Inside Cover Text", *La buona novella*.

[143] Jürgen Habermas, "The Entry into Postmodernity: Nietzsche as a Turning Point," in *Postmodernism: A Reader*, ed. Thomas Docherty (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 51–61, 53.

[144] This, crucially, is not a treatise on Christian values, which would make it impossible to pair with the philosophy of Nietzsche, which sought to overcome Christian values as outdated. De André called himself a moralist, but an individual moralist as he was an individual anarchist. "Io sono un moralista," he says, "ma rifiuto le morali borghesi o sotto proletarie. È un problema di scelta, di coscienza. Quindi la morale è per me genuina solo quando diventa un fatto individuale, non fatto di classe." Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 203.

In 1969 he even considered making an album that dealt with "un discorso di Nietzsche, vizi che diventano virtù, virtù che diventano vizi." The album would have paralleled the goals of the Crusades and the Nazis and it would have shown how virtue and vice cannot be canonized. At the end of the album he imagined having an angel and a devil come to Earth. In order to survive, the angel would have had to learn to hurt others in order to communicate with humans and he would carry around an 'encyclopedia of insults' while the devil would have to have a mechanical tear duct implanted to learn to cry. Sassi and Pistarini, *De André talk,* 96.

Romano Giuffrida notes in De André's self-proclaimed anarchism a hint of Tolstoy's style of anarchy, whose *The Kingdom of God is Within You,* is a key text for Christian anarchists, who denounce the state and its violence. Giuffrida and Bigoni, *Fabrizio De André: Accordi eretici,* 40.

[145] Bravo, *A colpi di cuore,* 146.

[146] "Il fatto è che la donna è sempre stata la madre-per-l'uomo, la madre di figlio maschio, da cui ricevere potere e prestigio. La figlia è il banco di prova della sua capacità di sorvegliare e formare." Bravo, *A colpi di cuore,* 146.

[147] "'Ave Maria,' centro ideologico della narrazione, che può essere considerato uno dei più famosi manifesti della protesta femminile degli anni Settanta." Gallione, La buona novella, 17.

[148] "Forse fu all'ora terza, forse alla nona / cucito qualche giglio sul vestitino alla buona, / forse fu per bisogno o peggio per buon esempio, / presero i tuoi tre anni e li portarono al tempio." Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "L'infanzia di Maria," in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 92-94, lines 5-8.

[149] "Ebbe forse un po' troppe virtù, / ebbe un volto e un nome: Gesù. / Di Maria dicono fosse il figlio / sulla croce sbiancò come un giglio" Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Si chiamava Gesú", in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 42, lines 29-32.

[150] "E quando i sacerdoti ti rifiutarono alloggio / avevi dodici anni e nessuna colpa addosso / ma per i sacerdoti fu colpa il tuo maggio, / la tua verginità che si tingeva di rosso" De André, "L'infanzia di Maria," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 23-26.

[151] "Guardala, guardala, scioglie i capelli, / sono più lunghi dei nostri mantelli, / guarda la pelle tenera, lieve / risplende al sole come la neve. Guarda le mani, guardale il viso, / sembra venuta dal Paradiso / guarda le forme, la proporzione, / sembra venuta per tentazione. / Guardala, guardala, scioglie i capelli / sono più lunghi dei nostri mantelli, / guarda le mani, guardale il viso / sembra venuta dal Paradiso. / Guardale gli occhi, guarda i capelli, / guarda le mani, guardale il collo, / guarda la carne, guarda il suo viso, / guarda i capelli del Paradiso. / Guarda la carne,

guardale il collo, / sembra venuta dal suo sorriso, / guardale gli occhi, guarda la neve, guarda la carne del Paradiso." De André, "L'infanzia di Maria," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 34-53.

[152] "lei propose l'inquieto ricordo / fra i resti d'un sogno raccolto" Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Il ritorno di Giuseppe", in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 95-96, lines 43-44.

[153] "l'angelo scese, come ogni sera, / ad insegnarmi una nuova preghiera" Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Il sogno di Maria", in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 97-98, lines 3-4.

[154] "si era fatta mettere incinta da un uomo misterioso e presumibilmente bellissimo, e comunque giovane, credendolo un angelo." Gallione, La buona novella, 16.

[155] "forse era sogno ma sonno non era" in De André, lyrics, "Il sogno di Maria", in *Come un'anomalia*, line 36.

[156] "Volammo davvero sopra le case, / oltre i cancelli, gli orti, le strade, / poi scivolammo tra valli fiorite / dove all'ulivo si abbraccia la vite" De André, lyrics, "Il sogno di Maria", in *Come un'anomalia*, lines 10-13.

[157] Synesthesia is the production of a sense impression relating to one sense or part of the body by stimulation of another sense or part of the body.

[158] "io, per un giorno, per un momento, / corsi a vedere il colore del vento" De André, lyrics, "Il sogno di Maria", in *Come un'anomalia*, lines 8-9.

This is similar to Benjamin's description of experimentation with opium which allowed him to "taste all of the joy." Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 82.

[159] His companion, physician Ernst Joel, notes: "It is possible that, after the fading of the acute state of the intoxication [*rausch*], with its isolations and restrictions, there is a state of stronger connection with the world and the human race." Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 46.

[160] Eiland, "Translator's Forward," ix.

[161] "Le ombre lunghe dei sacerdoti / costrinsero il sogno in un cerchio di voci. […] poi vidi l'angelo mutarsi in cometa / e i volti severi divennero pietra, / le loro braccia profili di rami / nei gesti immobili d'un altra vita, / foglie le mani, spine le dita." De André, lyrics, "Il sogno di Maria", in *Come un'anomalia*, lines 22-23, 25-30.

[162] "al presente. / Sbiadì l'immagine, stinse il colore, / ma l'eco lontana di brevi parole / ripeteva d'un angelo la strana preghiera" De André, lyrics, "Il sogno di Maria", in *Come un'anomalia*, lines 32-35.

[163] "Questi ceppi che han portato / perché il mio sudore / li trasformi nell'immagine / di tre dolori" and "Con troppe lacrime piangi, Maria, / solo l'immagine d'un'agonia." The first citation is from Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Maria nella bottega di un falegname," in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 100-101, lines 33. The second is from Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Tre madri," in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 104, lines 5-6.

[164] "Ave Maria, adesso che sei donna, / ave alle donne come te, Maria" Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Ave Maria," in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 99, lines 9-10.

[165] "E te ne vai, Maria, fra l'altra gente / che si raccoglie intorno al tuo passare, / siepe di sguardi che non fanno male / nella stagione di essere madre." De André, "Ave Maria", *Come un'anomalia*, lines 1-4.

[166] "Alle piaghe, alle ferite / che sul legno fai" De André, "Maria nella bottega di un falegname," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 25-26.

[167] "Per me sei figlio, vita morente, / ti portò cieco questo mio ventre" De André, "Tre madri," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 19-20.

[168] Benjamin, *On Hashish,* 142-3.

[169] "Nel lugubre scherno degli abiti nuovi / misurano a gocce il dolore che provi; / trent'anni hanno atteso col fegato in mano / i rantoli d'un ciarlatano." Fabrizio De André, lyrics, "Via della Croce," in *Come un'anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 102-103, lines 9-12.

[170] Ben più della morte che oggi ti vuole, / t'uccide il veleno di queste parole: / le voci dei padri di quei neonati" De André, lyrics, "Via della Croce," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 5-7.

[171] Michele Straniero points out in 1978 book on Dario Fo, *Giullari & Fo,* that De André's 'humanized' vision of Joseph is not taken from the apocryphal Gospels, but born of his own imagination: "al personaggio di Giuseppe, per esempio, De André ha dato un'anima che negli apocrifi non ha. Gli autori di duemila anni fa lo dicono servitore di un'idea ma non dicono che cosa lui pensasse." Michele L Straniero, *Giullari & Fo* (Roma: Lato Side, 1978).

[172] "Quei sacerdoti la diedero in sposa / a dita troppo secche per chiudersi su una rosa / a un cuore troppo vecchio che ormai si riposa" De André, "L'infanzia di Maria," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 64-66.

[173] "Odore di Gerusalemme, / la tua mano accarezza il disegno / d'una bambola magra, / intagliata del legno, / 'La vestirai, Maria, / ritornerai a quei giochi / lasciati quando i tuoi anni / erano così pochi.'" De André, "Il ritorno di Giuseppe," *Come un'anomalia*, lines 17-24.

[174] “E la parola ormai sfinita / si sciolse in pianto / ma la paura dalle labbra / si raccolse negli occhi / semichiusi nel gesto / d’una quiete apparente / che si consuma nell’attesa / d’uno sguardo indulgente.” De André, “Il sogno di Maria,” *Come un’anomalia*, lines 40-47.

[175] “E tu, piano, posasti le dita / all’orlo della sua fronte: / i vecchi quando accarezzano / hanno il timore di far troppo forte” in De André, “Il sogno di Maria,” *Come un’anomalia*, lines 48-51.

[176] “con riconoscenza ora soffron la pena / di chi perdonò a Maddalena, / di chi con un gesto soltanto fraterno / una nuova indulgenza insegnò al Padreterno” De André, “Via della croce,” *Come un’anomalia*, lines 19-22.

[177] “fedeli umiliate da un credo inumano / che le volle schiave già prima di Abramo” in De André, “Via della croce,” *Come un’anomalia*, lines 17-18.

[178] “piegata dal legno che a stento trascini / eppure ti stanno vicini.” in De André, “Via della croce,” *Come un’anomalia*, lines 55-56.

[179] “Il ladrone buono confuta, uno per uno, tutti e dieci i comandamenti mettendo in evidenza la contraddizione tra le leggi emanate dalle classi al potere per proprio comodo, e la difficoltà di attenervisi da parte di chi il potere lo deve solo subire, e osserva quelle leggi, quando le osserva, solo per scongiurare la minaccia della repressione.” Gallione, La buona novella, 18.

[180] “Onora il padre, onora la madre / e onora anche il loro bastone, / bacia la mano che ruppe il tuo naso / perché le chiedevi un boccone […] Non commettere atti che non siano puri, / cioè non disperdere il seme. / Feconda una donna ogni volta che l'ami / così sarai uomo di fede: / poi la voglia svanisce e il figlio rimane / e tanti ne uccide la fame. / Io, forse, ho confuso il piacere e l'amore, / ma non ho creato dolore.” Fabrizio De André, lyrics, “Il testamento di Tito”, in *Come un’anomalia: Tutte le canzoni,* ed. Roberto Cotroneo (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 105, lines 15-18, 33-40.

[181] "gridai la mia pena e il suo nome: / ma forse era stanco, forse troppo occupato, / e non ascoltò il mio dolore. / Ma forse era stanco, forse troppo lontano, / davvero lo nominai invano." De André, "Il testamento di Tito", *Come un'anomalia*, lines 10-14.

[182] "quando a mio padre si fermò il cuore / non ho provato dolore. […] ho spergiurato su Dio e sul mio onore / e no, non ne provo dolore. / Ho spergiurato su Dio e sul mio onore / e no, non ne provo dolore. […] nei letti degli altri già caldi d'amore / non ho provato dolore." De André, "Il testamento di Tito", *Come un'anomalia*, lines 19-20, 51-52, 57-58.

[183] "Io, nel vedere quest'uomo che muore, / madre, io provo dolore. / Nella pietà che non cede al rancore, / madre, ho imparato l'amore." De André, "Il testamento di Tito", *Come un'anomalia*, lines 65-68.

[184] "comincia a cadenzare una sfiducia in tutto ciò che è mito ma non risolve, che è autorità ma non opera, che è volontà ma non vuole altri che se stessa." De André, "Inside Cover Text", *La buona novella.*

[185] Richard Wagner, "Religion and Art," University of Notre Dame, trans. William Ashton Ellis, https://pls.nd.edu/assets/192300/wagner_religion_and_art_online_version.pdf, 7.

[186] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, "Richard Wagner in Bayreuth," in *Untimely Meditations* [1876] (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Chapter V.

It is important to point out that Nietzsche ultimately distances himself from Wagner, as Douglas Smith points out in his Introduction to the *Birth of Tragedy:* "Where once Nietzsche saw the heady prospect of a renewal of German culture, he now sees merely a symptom of decadence, a late Romantic artist whose work is marred by theatricality and religiosity. Instead of giving music the autonomy necessary to communicate Dionysian insight, Wagner subordinates music to

text and dramatic posturing, presenting a pessimistic view of human existence whose only hope lies in Christian redemption." However, he does not distance himself from all music, "Nietzsche's characterization of Wagner's music as a combination of dissonant form and mythical content provides the outline for the parallel movements of formal experiment and atavistic primitivism which Theodor Adorno saw as defining the parameters of modern music in his study of the work of the composers Schoenberg and Stravinsky respectively (Philosophy of Modern Music, 1948)." Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* [1872] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxviii, xxxi.

[187] Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life,* 5.

[188] Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life,* 12.

[189] http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1997/

[190] Antonio Scuderi, "Subverting Religious Authority: Dario Fo and Folk Laughter," *Text and Performance Quarterly*, no. 16 (1996): 216–32, 218.

[191] Tom Behan, *Dario Fo: Revolutionary Theatre* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 109.

[192] Valentini, *La storia di Dario Fo,* 7.

[193] Louise D'Arcens, "Dario Fo's *Mistero buffo*," in *Medieval Afterlives in Popular Culture*, ed. Gail Ashton and Daniel T Kline, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 57–70, 58.

[194] Antonio Scuderi, "Updating Antiquity," in *Dario Fo: Stage, Text, and Tradition*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Antonio Scuderi (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 39–64, 69.

[195] Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life,* 4-5.

[196] Other Mystery scenes include "The Birth of the *Giullare*," "The Flagellant's Laude," "The Drunkard," "Death and the Fool," "Mary Hears the Sentence Imposed on her Son," The Crucifixion," "Boniface VIII," "The Birth of the Peasant," "Definition of Mystery Play," "Rosa

fresca aulentissima," "The Slaughter of the Innocents," "The Fool Beneath the Cross, Laying a Wager," "Madonna Encounters the Marias," and "The First Miracle of Baby Jesus."

[197] Dario Fo, *Mistero buffo: Giullarata popolare*. (Torino: Einaudi, 2014), 93.

[198] Fo, *Mistero buffo*, 90, 91.

[199] A few similarities are that Dionysus's myth is one of death and rebirth, and that he too is promised to return. Until he does return, he has left behind, like Christ, wine, and bread.

[200] Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy,* 45.

[201] "it is left to art to save the core of religion … the religious festival become work of art is supposed, with culturally revived public sphere, to overcome the inwardness of privately appropriated historical culture … It will decenter modern consciousness and open it to archaic experience." Wagner, "Essay on Art and Religion."

[202] Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 104.

[203] Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 151.

[204] A *baiocco* is a copper coin of the former Papal States equal to 1⁄100 *scudi*.

"(*Nel ruolo del visitatore*) Scusi… è questo il cimitero, camposanto, dove vanno a fare il resuscitamento [la resurrezione] del Lazzaro? Quello che hanno seppellito da quattro giorni, che dopo arriva un santone, uno stregone, Jesus, mi pare che si chiami, Figlio di Dio di soprannome… salta fuori il morto. […] (*Nel ruolo del guardiano del camposanto*) Sì, due baiocchi se vuoi vedere il miracolo." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 152.

[205] "Ah… credi di essere in Paradiso, dove i piccoli saranno i primi e i grandoni in fila, gli ultimi? Ah, ah, ah! (*Si rivolge a un altro personaggio*) Oh, donna non spingere! Non m'importa se tu sei femmina! Davanti alla morte siamo tutti uguali!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 154.

[206] "Ci sono dei santoni-stregoni che fanno dei trucchi tremendi […] Io voglio vederci chiaro!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 154.

[207] Scuderi, "Updating Antiquity," 53.

[208] "Quell'apostolo lì… è Pietro […] quello è Paolo… quell'altro… (*portando festoso la voce*) Maarcooo!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 158.

[209] "Meraviglioso Figlio di Dio, io non credevo che tu fossi così miracoloso! (*Quindi, veloce verso il bookmaker*) Ho vinto io! Sette baiocchi contro cinque! (*A Gesú*) Meraviglioso! Bravo Jesus, bravo!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 162.

[210] "La versione che noi recitiamo è molto simile a quella francese di André della Vigne, autore satirico del Quattrocento." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 55.

[211] "*Storpio:* Cristo in persona… Jesus, Figlio di Dio! / *Circo:* Figlio di Dio? Quale? / *Storpio:* Come: quale? L'unico figlio, ignorante! Un figlio santissimo… dicono che fa cose mirabili, meravigliose. Guarisce le malattie […] Sbaracchiamo da questa contrada. / *Cieco:* Sbaraccare? E per quale ragione? […] *Storpio:* Dicono che se 'sto Figlio di Dio venisse da questa parte, io verrei miracolato di colpo… e anche tu […] Pensaci un poco, se davvero capita a tutti e due la disgrazia di essere liberati dalle nostre disgrazie. Di colpo ci troveremmo nella condizione d'essere obbligati a prendere un mestiere per poter campare." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 62, 64.

[212] "t'accorgerai quando sarai sotto padrone, bastonato… e quando la tua donna andrà a far la puttana e i figli tuoi, schiavi e costretti a morire di fame… t'accorgerai di cos'è fatta 'sta dignità." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 88.

[213] (*Nel ruolo del Cieco*) Andiamo a Ferrara! (*Nel ruolo dello Storpio*) Ferrara! Bene, andiamo… vai, vai vai! (*Si blocca spaventato*) Ferma! Gesù Cristo arriva di sicuro anche a Ferrara, io lo so! (*Nel ruolo del Cieco*) Bene, andiamo a Bologna! Andiamo, andiamo a Bologna! (*Nel ruolo dello*

Storpio, sconfortato) Fermo! Va anche a Bologna… Jesus va dappertutto! (*Nel ruolo del Cieco*) No! C'è una città dove non arriva! (*Pausa.*) A Roma! A Roma non va di sicuro! Andiamo!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 84.

[214] "Tu guarda bene di non lasciarti prendere da compassione per lui, che è il più gran pericolo di essere miracolati!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 64, 66.

[215] "No, no, non ho compassione… che per me non è nessuno quel Cristo… che non l'ho giammai conosciuto io… Ma dimmi, cosa gli fanno adesso?" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 66.

[216] "'Sto poveraccio" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 66.

[217] "*Cieco:* Non dirmi più niente di quello che va succedendo che io mi sento torcere le budella… e freddo al cuore… e ho paura che debba essere qualcosa che assomiglia alla compassione. / *Storpio:* Anch'io sento il fiato che mi strozza il gargarozzo e i brividi alle braccia…" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 66.

[218] "Oh meraviglia… Vedo anche il cielo… e gli alberi… e le donne! […] oh belli i colori colorati… gli occhi delle donne… le labbra… e il resto! Belle le formiche e le mosche… e il sole… Non ne posso più che venga notte per vedere le stelle e andare all'osteria a scoprire il colore del vino! Deo gratias!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 68, 70.

[219] Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life,* 4.

[220] "Entriamo nel cuore di *Mistero buffo."* Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 191.

[221] Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 191-2.

[222] "Entriamo nel cuore di *Mistero buffo,* o meglio in un mistero classico sacro." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 191.

[223] "*Prima donna:* Viene correndo disperata sul sentiero che in quattro non la possiamo tenere [trattenere]…" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 194.

[224] "*Entra Maria. […] Schiantata dal dolore, ammutolita lo guarda in silenzio*." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 196.

[225] "*Maria:* (*con un fil di voce*) Datemi una scala… voglio salire vicino alla mia creatura… (*Si avvicina, straziata, lentamente alla croce e parla al figlio*) Bimbo… oh bello smorto figlio mio… stai sicuro mio bene, che adesso arriva la tua mamma… come ti hanno conciato (*alza, via via, il tono della voce*) 'sti assassini, porci, macellai! (*Urla e corre intorno come cercasse i colpevoli*) Cosa vi aveva fatto, 'sto mio tontolone, da averlo così in odio, da essere tanto canaglie con lui! Ma mi cadrete tra le mani: a uno a uno! Oh me la pagherete… anche se dovessi venire a cercarvi in capo al mondo, animali, bestie disgraziati! / *Cristo:* (*parlando a fatica*) Mamma… non stare a gridare… mamma. / *Maria:* Perdonami, mio bene […] / *Cristo:* Non ti preoccupare… adesso, ti giuro… non sento più niente… Vai a casa, mamma, ti prego, vai a casa. / *Maria:* Sì, sì… andremo a casa insieme… vengo su, a tirarti giù, a staccarti da 'ste travi… a cavarti i chiodi piano piano… Datemi una tenaglia… (*È disperata*) Che qualcuno mi aiuti!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 198.

[226] "Gabriele, Gabriele… Gabriele… giovane di dolce figura, per primo tu, tu! Mi hai tradita!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 202.

[227] "con te… qui sotto… che ti strazi, non mi riesce [a morire] mamma… e faccio più grande fatica." Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 204.

[228] "Non cacciarmi via Gesù! Non cacciarmi via! (*È al limite della disperazione*) Voglio morire, Gesù… voglio morire… (*Grida disperata agli astanti*) Soffocatemi e seppellitemi in una tomba sola abbracciata a mio figlio!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 204.

[229] "Gabriele… torna ad allargare le ali, Gabriele… torna indietro al tuo bel cielo gioioso… tu non hai niente a che fare, qui… in questa lercia terra… in questo tormentato mondo. Vattene

Gabriele… che non ti sporchino le ali colorate di gentili colori… non vedi fango e sangue e letame misto e puzzolente merda dappertutto? […] Non sei abituato, tu Gabriele… che nel Paradiso non ci sono né rumori, né pianti, né guerre, né prigioni, né uomini impiccati, né donne violentate! Non c'è né fame, né carestia, nessuno che sudi a stracciabraccia, né bambini senza sorrisi, né madri scurite dal dolore… nessuno che peni per pagare il peccato! Vattene Gabriele! (*Urlando*) Vatteneee Gabrieeele!" Fo, *Mistero buffo,* 206.

[230] Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy.*

[231] Fo, for example, was arrested in Sardinia in 1973 for not allowing police to be present at rehearsals for the show.

[232] "As long as Fo was performing *Mistero buffo* to a left-wing working-class audience, the Vatican was not particularly concerned. When the state television channel RAI decided to broadcast *Mistero buffo i*n April 1977 the Vatican became far more vociferous, as Fo would then reach a far wider audience, an audience that would in part probably agree with many of Fo's criticisms of the Church—indeed it would be the first time that many of them would ever encounter such criticisms." Behan, *Dario Fo: Revolutionary Theatre,* 102.

[233] Ronald Scott Jenkins, *Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Artful Laughter*, (New York: Aperture, 2001), 103.