Enrico Cicalò *Editor*

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Editor

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Enrico Cicalò
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Preface

After the first edition hosted in Brixen by the Free University of Bozen, “IMMAGINI? International and Interdisciplinary Conference Image and Imagination between Representation, Communication Education and Psychology” has become a biennial and itinerant event that in 2019 arrived in Sardinia, in Alghero, hosted by the Department of Architecture, Design and Urban Planning of the University of Sassari. The event has preserved its international and interdisciplinary character, focusing in this new edition on graphic languages, on their being image and on their relationship with the imagination, on their use in the different fields of science and the arts, to explore the emerging fields of research and relevant experiments, the new interdisciplinary applications, highlighting their scientific relevance in relation to both their history and the contemporary context with its peculiarities, problems and potentialities.

Also, this edition of the conference was organized and supported by a network of researchers from different universities and disciplines. The event was sponsored by four Italian scientific societies: UID (Unione Italiana per il Disegno), SID (Società Italiana di Design), SIPED (Società Italiana di Pedagogia), AIP (Associazione Italiana di Psicologia) and AIAP (Associazione Italiana Design della Comunicazione Visiva).

The conference proposed the exploration of the *Graphic Sciences*, a name capable of synthesizing the variety of approaches and traditions with which the disciplines of graphic representation are declined in the international panorama of research and teaching.

The call for papers and for images was answered by 180 authors from 9 countries and 42 universities and research centres. About 70 contributions were presented in Alghero. The responses to the calls declined the proposed keyword in a plural way, outlining six major areas of interest of the hypothesized *Graphic Sciences*:

- graphic thinking and learning
- drawing, geometry and history of representation
- digital modelling, virtual and augmented relay, gaming

- graphic languages, writing and lettering
- graphic communication and digital media
- data and infographic visualization

These areas have made it possible to represent the complexity of genealogy and geography of what have been hypothesized to be the *Graphic Sciences* and that find different names and characterizations in the international research but that are united by their contents belonging to the sphere of production, analysis and interpretation of images in the most varied fields of application. This genealogy and geography of the *Graphic Sciences* has been represented in diagrammatic form through an image that has been used as a map and graphic index of the conference.

The IMG2019 conference was conceived not only as a collection of research presentations, but was itself a research experimentation aimed at verifying a hypothesis—i.e. the definition of a field of knowledge definable as *Graphic Sciences*—through a method—i.e. the collection and analysis of data from call submissions—to achieve a result—i.e. the verification of the possibility of defining and representing the hypothesized *Graphic Sciences* and its different fields of investigation—although not exhaustive and not definitive but that the next editions of IMG events will can deepen and further develop.

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Communication's Strategies and Images. The Case of Federico Seneca in Perugia

Marcello Scalzo¹ and Benedetta Terenzi²(✉)

¹ Architecture Department, University of Florence,
via della Mattonaia, 14, 50121 Florence, Italy
marcello.scalzo@unifi.it

² Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering,
University of Perugia, via Goffredo Duranti, 93, 06125 Perugia, Italy

Abstract. The images have always been an evocative, effective and incisive expressive method, representing the main tool for the transmission of contents, values and meanings in the most varied fields, proving to be an indispensable communication resource. In turn, propaganda is a form of communication that aims to influence the collective psychology and behavior of a community. Both have an ancient common matrix: persuasive communication based on techniques of conviction that refer to rhetoric. The artistic director, today visual designer, is a key figure that can determine the success of products or ideas with his creativity, mastery of the graphic's language and visual communication, knowledge of communication and marketing strategies, possession of visual and expressive linguistic tools and the needful technologies to make them.

The aim of this paper is to describe the communicative power of images and the role of propaganda through the work of Federico Seneca as artistic director of Perugia in the 20s and 30s.

Keywords: Federico Seneca · Visual communication · Propaganda · Advertising · Perugia · Visual designer

1 Introduction

As is well known, advertising communication, and above all the kind that deals with posters, billboards, ads, affiches etc., proceeds by “campaigns” and it “gets burned”, which is to say it is consumed over the period of the campaign itself. On the contrary, institutional graphics runs its course virtually only in the medium to long term. It concerns the brand and the basic elements that constitute the desired image of an institution, a company or even a person and covers, also, all of their applications. In other words, the systematic or institutional graphics is all about the conception and the ruling of the above-mentioned features of the entity and is capable of expressing their identity and to capitalize on all the opinions of the audience to which it is subjected (Terenzi 2012).

Indeed, in a civilization like our own (which, with good reason, may be called a “communication society”), the ingredients that constitute the official image of any well-managed entity remain habitually engraved in the memory of the public and, therefore,

carry a significance that could be transformed into an explicit business value. Certain brands are so strongly rooted in the collective imagination that can survive even the production of goods and services for which they were originally conceived and used.

For its procedural characteristics and, especially, for the unequivocal need to correspond with a rigorous reasoning to the performance requirements of an effective image, the planning techniques and methodologies of graphic communication are attributable *tout court* to those of the industrial design.

Similarly, the planning ability of institutional graphics coincides with the reproductive logic (for instance, in the most advanced typographical processes), interpreting the nature of the materials it uses, such as the infinite qualities of papers and other supports. Moreover, it must be in accordance with the aesthetic customs (i.e., expressive and formal) of its time and, especially, of those to come. Finally, it cannot disregard a pervasive ethical and social awareness.

We can define communication as the activity of transmitting information. The term, in fact, comes from the Latin word “communis” (*cum* = with and *munire* = provide), which means to share. In this regard, communication requires a sender, a message and an intended recipient.

Propaganda, instead, is a form of communication that aims to influence the collective psychology and behaviour. Indeed, both propaganda and advertising have a very old common matrix; persuasive communication based on the convincing techniques developed from rhetoric. In 476 B.C. Corace and Tisia in Syracuse first defined the concept of rhetoric as a system of techniques (*ῥητορική τέχνη*) to argue plausible arguments during proceedings. Later, Empedocles of Agrigento, a presocratic philosopher, stressed the importance of arousing emotions in order to obtain consensus. The sophists Protagora and Gorgia glorified the seductive power of the words; in their view, the ultimate truth was no less than the most convincing statement.

In the same way, the language of images -so evocative and impactful- constitutes an essential communication resource. Pictures, still or moving, are the foundation of the advertising message, an indispensable tool for conveying ideas, models and concepts used in all fields of production, such as fashion, design, architecture or industry.

In the current terminology, the visual designer is the figure that most of all can determine the success of a product or idea. Things that must be part of their background as professionals are of course creativity, but also a mastery of graphic and visual communication languages, a deep knowledge of communication and marketing strategies and finally the linguistic, visual and expressive tools needed to develop projects and strategies.

This text wants therefore to emphasise the innovative communication skills of a certain type of graphic artwork created between the ‘20s and the ‘30s in Italy, and its evocative power of propaganda, starting from the example of the work of Federico Seneca for Perugia.

2 Communication vs Propaganda

The use of persuasive techniques and rhetorical speech in order to affirm and consolidate the political power is obviously a very ancient practice, as we have mentioned, dating back to the birth of rhetoric. But this fine art reached its highest expression as proper propaganda only at the beginning of the 1600s. On the other hand, the use of structured persuasive techniques to promote products is a more recent phenomenon. It is in fact the effect of the birth of mass production and it became relevant during the Industrial Revolution, at the end of the XVIII century. It is only in the middle of the XIX century, though, that it would be defined with the term "advertising".

According to Losito (2003), it is possible to give two definitions of the concept of propaganda: a more general one, that assimilates it to a dissemination tool, and one more circumscribed, that compares it to a tool of persuasion. It does not seem to be in any case an information tool.

More precisely, according to the first definition, propaganda is a form of communication intended to spread some ideas, goals, programs or products issued by various sorts of institutions operating in different areas of society (social, political, economic, cultural, religious, etc.).

The second definition refers instead to the case in which propaganda is intentionally created with a goal of persuasion, aiming at changing the attitude or behaviours of others through the transmission of ideas in various media. In this respect, it is an integrated system of planned communication and promotional activities put in place to exert a targeted influence on the recipients. This influence is considered to be effective both when it determines the strengthening or conversion of opinions, attitudes or pre-existing behaviours in the recipient, and also when it induces new opinions, new attitudes or new behaviours. In this sense, multiple forms of communication with persuasive purposes can be found in different socio-cultural contexts.

Though since classical antiquity rhetoric was the instrument of persuasion par excellence, only in modern industrial societies propaganda became the expression of an organic project, with specific competences and professionalism. That happened firstly due to the necessity of reaching a vast audience and secondly because of the possibility of using mass communication systems to convey information and ideas.

We can therefore state that the term propaganda, in the two meanings proposed by Losito, is laden with different functions to which judgments of opposite sign are associated. Specifically, a feature of diffusion of elements of knowledge -and so on the recipient's service- which contrasts with a manipulatory function as a tool of persuasion -on the source's service- that is negatively evaluated.

In the most general sense, we can define the communicative process as that chain of acts consisting in the exchange of messages through a channel and according to a code, between a system (animal, man, machine) and another of the same or of a different nature. As the object of the message, the channel or the code used vary, the types of communication change as a form of knowledge, propaganda or persuasion (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Palazzo Braschi in Roma, during the plebiscite of 1934.

Fig. 2. Seneca. Advertising Perugina, 1920 circa.

3 The Rule of Image in Communication

If the language is the ability -which is proper to human beings- to express themselves and communicate through a system of symbols, signs, voice and graphics, it is a tool with which humans makes themselves understood by their fellows and with which they recognize their belonging to a specific group; people using the same language use the same system of conventions.

Among the various existing languages, the graphic one in particular is constituted by a communication system of encoded signs, with allows to express concepts and give information.

Talking about visual communication is talking about a language made only of images. The visual language is, albeit more limited than the spoken one, certainly more direct. Every one of us continuously receive signals of visual communication from which they can draw considerations -and therefore knowledge- without the use of words (Terenzi 2013).

It is indeed clear that the elements of the image as perceived by the users of the message does not arise only from an established goal or from an accurate and rigorous assessment. The subject is often distracted, subjected to many stimuli or influenced by factors of an emotional nature.

If we want to speak more specifically of visual communication, then, we have to consider the fact that the image will be designed according to the perception of a ‘two-dimensional space’ in which a reading order and a hierarchy of components must be given, as well as a consideration of the “Gestaltpsychologie”. The image’s primary task is thus to help to perceive and make the best use of the information that the issuer wanted to send for achieving its targets, whether they be social, commercial, political, etc.

The modern debate on the role of images focuses on the assessment of their strength as a vehicle of information. There is in fact a relative risk that the immediate and predominantly emotional impact typical of the visual message could take the upper hand on the conceptual content of the message itself and on the critical reflection of the

recipient. However, it is also said that it is the image itself, with its peculiar characteristics, that encourages different forms of learning and sharing, making the results more effective and long-lasting.

When we start learning, we can do it in different ways which act in synergy between them: visual, auditory, tactile, cynical or cognitive learning. The visual cortex is the largest system in the human brain and the sense of sight is certainly predominant over the others. Pairing words with images and videos increases the focus on what we look at and strengthens the memory of what we have seen (Doria 2016). Our ancestors began to represent their lives through cave paintings, giving life to spirited scenes of hunting and daily life which responded to the profound and innate need of man to communicate and to transfer knowledge, as well as to avert evil influences or bad luck (Terenzi 2017).

Although the need and pleasure of telling stories is something that dates back to antiquity and that characterizes all cultures and civilizations, the concept of what we now call "storytelling" was born in the United States in the '90s. The need to tell stories has the purpose of moving and thrilling an audience and it also serves a social function. Storytelling is a proper narrative technique that excites and creates empathy. Visual storytelling, or the telling of a story through images, is particularly effective precisely because of the above, that is, because of the features proper of the images of being immediate and evocative, and of bearing an expressive and emotional strength.

4 The Social Role of Communication and Political Propaganda

The term 'social communication' refers to the type of communication that aims at diffusing information to the collectivity. It is typically implemented by the public administration, non-profit organizations or private companies, by means of campaigns considered as of public utility on social issues deemed to be a priority, in order to raise awareness among the population. It is therefore a persuasive communication that has no commercial purpose and does not promote commercial goods. In Italy, some interesting reflections on the activities of social advertising were provided by Gadotti (1993), which has carried out an interesting analysis of the social campaigns realized in Italy and, in particular, to the role played in this field by the experienced "Pubblicità Progresso".

Sometimes, however, it happens that we are not provided with images of mere social protest, but rather with images that are a harbinger of disinformation, characterized by an emotional charge so strong that is not simply used to increase the information content of a message by improving communication and empathy, but prevail on the semantics, abusing even the primary goal of the information you wish to communicate.

Having said that, it must be pointed out that it is very difficult to establish *ex ante* the boundaries within which a certain communication may be expressed impartially and what it may be considered propaganda. And this is especially true in visual communication, because the image is the result of a complex abstraction. It is hence evident and inevitable that the result of the author's work-be it a poster, a photo or a

video7assume value thanks to the ability to convey their emotions in an artwork and to cause an emotional response in the viewer.

Already towards the end of the 40's, Mannheim (1950) summarised the characteristics and implications of propaganda in the following way: "Propaganda can be evaluated only if we understand that its main function is to determine the level of reality on which people should discuss and act. When we speak of "level of reality" we mean to refer to the fact that each company develops a mental environment where certain facts are considered fundamental and are called "real", while other ideas remain below the level of the "reasonably acceptable" statements and are considered to be fantastic, utopian and not realistic (...).

The aim of propaganda is to bring the integrative values of the society in question (...) Promoting their unconscious acceptance, fear of considering alternative points of view is instilled in the people's mind". Particularly in the last century, politics worldwide has seen an evolution in the methods of communication and propaganda which is worth remembering.

In social sciences the term propaganda assumes a negative connotation whenever it is used to designate the strategies of manipulation of consent implemented in totalitarian systems. For example, Mazzoleni (1998) in proposing a classification of the forms that political communication addressed to the citizens may assume, observes: "Propaganda is not here considered because it is not really a form of political communication. It is quintessential to dictatorial regimes (fascism, communism, islamic fundamentalism) or situations of conflict (the Cold war, but also the Gulf war), where in other words it is possible to find a manipulative intent which collides with the assumptions of non-coercion and openness that the conception of public space and the form of mass democracy imply".

Indeed, in Italy, the triumphant era of political propaganda has surely been the Fascist period, in the years between the two World Wars. It was used by the regime to justify its authority and its manifesto, as well as to encourage popular support. In 1935, a special Propaganda Minister was set up to supervise the nature of the content that was being disseminated, with the function of 'telling the truth' about the regime. An enormous amount of posters and slogans -highly accomplished in graphics and semantics- were published in that period by great authors, a testament to the widespread organization of the fascist propaganda and the breadth of expressive means and symbols through which it took shape. This at a time when, among other things, the massacre of millions of young people (largely peasants and workers) in the trenches had to be legitimized.

It is interesting to note that many of the graphic designers of the period borrowed the burning issues of the regime and the popular clichés to express contents of various nature in the advertising posters of Italian goods. Some posters produced by Federico Seneca for Buioni and Perugia are examples of a high level of interpretation and restitution of content in an innovative way in the field of commercial propaganda of that period (AA. VV. 1962).

5 Communication Strategies in Commercial Propaganda

Advertising is undoubtedly one of the main motors of the economy and the most used means to create consensus in favour of a company's image and products. The objective of advertising communication is essentially to transform the consensus that you can obtain from viewers liking an advertising campaign into good and positive behaviours on the part of the audience, including but not limited to the purchase of products or services.

It is certainly the most common means of communication, "an aesthetic and ideological mass tool, the reservoir from which we draw our way of looking at things, of discovering beauty, of having fun and dreaming" (Volli 2012).

With regards to the communication strategies that business propaganda should use in order to result as effective as possible, a relevant contribution is the one provided in the 50s by Carl Hovland and other scholars of Yale University based on the results of an experimental research on the different stages of the process of persuasion. Thanks to this study a set of rules for inducing the desired effect in the recipients was developed (Hovland et al. 1953). The research underlined how it is possible to lead the viewer's attention towards the desired message, taking advantage of formal devices (figures, colours, contrast figure-background, etc.) and content devices (novelty, centrality, richness of the meanings in relation to the recipients' interests). And, moreover, how it is possible to make the comprehension of the message easier by presenting elements which are familiar to the recipient. One can even prevent rejection and promote the acceptance of the message by refraining from using anxiety-inducing contents and offering instead opinions, attitudes, models of behaviours and values that do not conflict with those already shared by the recipients, emphasizing the credibility of the source and associating it, for instance, with generally well-liked testimonials, etc. (Losito, op. cit.).

Advertising changes can evolve more or less quickly, but always along with the growth of the social and socio-anthropological dynamics of a society. Unquestionably simplifying, we can say that advertising consists of messages which in various ways may persuade a recipient. Those messages, however, vary according to the choices of the issuer and of the receiver, the style of the period or the objective of the campaign.

If we consider instead the more limited scope of affiche covers, as it is in the specific interest of this text, we must emphasize how they need to have their own autonomous logic. In the case they are part of a broader advertising campaign -heterogeneous and wide- due to their peculiarities, they must be designed separately. In order to function, in fact, the affiche's message must be synthetic, draw attention, be engaging and produce benevolence in its users, and never be violent or tasteless.

Fig. 3. Seneca. Pubblicità Coppa Perugina, 1924.

Fig. 4. Seneca. Pubblicità Cacao Perugina, 1930.

6 The Emblematic Case of Federico Seneca in Perugina

Federico Seneca (Fano 1891 - Casnate 1976), from Marche, studied at the Royal Institute of Fine Arts of Urbino until 1911. Then he began teaching at the Scuole Normali of Fano and getting to know the working environments of Milan. Here and in Rome, probably, he met Marcello Dudovich and started to appreciate the graphics of Cappiello, Hohenstein, Mataloni, Mauzan and Metlicovitz, as well as the production of the Officine Grafiche Ricordi and of the Bertarelli, Treves and Tensi printing presses.

During the first World War he joined the Alpine army. Afterwards he obtained a pilot's license in the Air Force, flying also seaplanes. During the same period, he also met Gabriele D'annunzio and other airpilots, namely Francesco Baracca, Francesco De Pinedo, Umberto Nobile and Luigi Fontana (the founder of Fontana Arte) with whom he established a lasting friendship.

Between 1919 and 1920 his lasting and fruitful collaboration with Perugina began. He became the company's art director and head of the advertising department for twelve years, even when, in 1925, it merged with Buitoni. To him we owe the conception of the well-known box of Baci in 1922, that has on the back a revised and outlined version of the painting "Lovers" by Hayez. To Seneca is also attributed the invention of the "cartiglio", the piece of paper with love phrases, that is present even today inside the wrapping of the chocolates.

In 1929 he received a prestigious award; the first prize at the International Art Exhibition in Munich. The relationship between Seneca and Perugina stopped in 1933, for reasons never entirely clarified. This event would bring about Seneca's decision to move to Milan, where he worked with various advertising agencies for many important Italian companies, such as Rayon, Cinzano, Talmone, Modiano, Stipel, Lane BBB, Agip, ENI, and Ramazzotti. He died at the age of 85 in Casnate, province of Como, in 1976.

In his posters, he adopts an essential design. His subjects, his characters have no defining somatic features but are almost surreal figures, volumes characterized by exceptional fluidity and dynamism. They are moving figures crystallised in a moment, almost like a photographic snapshot. Even the language of the colours used appears extremely functional and bare. He uses a few colours, preferably monochrome, and a few planes, with evident contrasts between the graphic elements.

The exceptional nature of Seneca's work is provided by its simplicity and its ability to create settings using only the suggestion of colours and of a few simple graphic elements. In the poster for the "Cacao Perugina" of 1930 (Fig. 4) the monochrome yellow of the background evokes the scorching heat of the desert; a few brushes of ochre hint at two palms towards the undefined horizon; the two black bearers carry - with evident effort but with brisk pace- baskets full of the fruit of the cocoa.

Fig. 5. Seneca. Pubblicità Cioccolatini Perugina, 1928.

Fig. 6. Seneca. Pubblicità Cioccolatini Perugina, 1929.

In the 1928 advertising poster for the Perugina chocolates, a luminous figure, enveloped in drapery, stands out on a dark blue background at night. This character almost looks like of a sculpture, smoothly carved from a marble block (Fig. 5). From the compact volume, only the flap of the box of chocolates emerges, red as the advertising writing of the product.

In another 1929 advert, we can see only two coloured shapes that held each other tenderly while walking (Fig. 6). They do not have particular features; they are brown coloured (a clear reference to the colour of the chocolate), and they hold in their hands two cubic boxes (and the three-dimensional writing 'Perugina'), highlighted in blue, as if to recall the colour of the chocolates gift boxes. The yellow background gives great prominence and detachment to the figures.

In one 1928 campaign for the Buitoni gluten feed pasta (essentially egg pasta), Seneca uses a nun as a "testimonial". Specifically, a Daughter of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, the religious order which traditionally provided assistance and comfort to the sick in hospitals (Fig. 7) The unmistakable, albeit stylised, silhouette -recognizable by the headdress- clearly stands out from the dark background. The nun is represented in the act of offering a plate of steaming pasta in broth. The brilliant intuition of the designer is in the creation of the font: the colours and chromatic effects on the orange and yellow of the characters evidently recall the colours of egg yolks. In one other, always of the same year (Fig. 8), a potbellied cook with smug attitude carries, almost triumphantly, a steaming bowl.

Fig. 7. Seneca. Pubblicità Pastina Buitoni, 1928.

Fig. 8. Seneca. Pubblicità Pastina Buitoni, 1928.

In recent year's analysis, it is becoming evident that Seneca's work for Perugina had an entirely alternate ironic dimension to it. The double meanings and innuendoes, more or less hidden in the posters, are sometimes malicious and definitely not what we, today, may refer to as "politically correct". In an historic moment when Italian colonies are given a remarkable importance (the famous "Italy's place in the sun"), Seneca introduces in his posters black characters to represent chocolate or other food products. At the time there was a tendency of identifying a series of "exotic" products with Africa. We ought not to forget that this is the era of Fascisms, a period in which throughout the whole world people of different ethnicities -black or yellow as they may be- were graphically used in a way that would be quite unthinkable today one need only to think of the illustrations of Enrico De Seta. Taking advantage of a common prejudice, Seneca in the advertising of "Perugina's Milk Chocolate" depicts a black woman intent on breast feeding a baby (Fig. 2).

Leaving for a moment his faceless characters, in the 1930 poster of Perugina's chocolate bananas (Fig. 9), Seneca presents us with an athletic young black man who, smiling gleefully, holds up a huge banana between his legs and arms, it reminds me of some of the characters of the pompeian paintings with a huge phallus or the illustrations of Aubrey Beardsley for the *Lysistrata*, 1896. An innuendo, this, which results ironic and definitely funny. Also brilliant is the letter "B" of Banana, directly taken from that of the "Baci", but elaborated to remember the shape of the fruit. After all, Perugina's chocolate bananas were one of the specialities of the company and one of

Fig. 9. Seneca. Pubblicità Banane Perugina, 1931 circa.

Fig. 10. Seneca. Pubblicità Perugina, 1930.

the most successful, since the real fruit -given the high price and scarce availability- was precluded to the majority of Italians. The creation of this unique chocolate, in 1925, was precisely a response to this desire.

Another example of a rather titillating -for the tastes of that time- advert is the 1930 Perugina's Milk Chocolate. Here Seneca, in full creative happiness and free of constraints, depicts a young, naked black man smiling and embracing from behind a beautiful blonde girl covered in a light, fluttering and transparent peplos (Fig. 10). Both protagonists are portrayed in a plastic and dynamic pose -almost a dance step- depicting a fun and wild scene.

It is surprising that this poster ended up on Italian billboards without provoking any protest or indignation; today, for instance, it would not have been possible. This testifies to how Seneca contributed to creating a progressive and avant-garde visual imagination -which still results surprising and effective- in an era definitely not characterized by social open-mindedness.

7 Conclusions

The designs adopted by Federico Seneca to advertise the Perugina and Buitoni products is characterised by a surprising modernity. While looking at the stylistic elements of the futurist art, the artist adopted a personal style and language; dry, terse and verging almost to abstraction. The advertising posters made by Seneca for Perugina ranged from confectionery products to motor racing (first examples of sports events sponsored by companies) (Fig. 3). In all of them, we can recognize a minimalist, synthetic trait that, however, is extremely effective. It allows a rapid association between an idea and a product, an almost a rational line of thought brought, sometimes, to an extreme. Federico Seneca is one of the first "all-round" creative artists; for his advertising, he supervised the graphics, the texts, the slogans and the packaging.

As has been pointed out so far, the collaboration between Seneca's innovative interpretative skills and Perugina, which fully recognized and embraced them, was productive and fruitful. After all, this well-known company from Umbria was already in those years a pride of the Made in Italy. It successfully exported its products in America, captivating the imagination of both locals and immigrants, eliciting the idea of the taste and quality typical of Italian products.

The communication campaigns arising from this bond are a testament to the originality and cleverness of the marketing and communication strategies of Perugina that, throughout the lives of Giovanni Buitoni and Luisa Spagnoli, covered all sectors and fields, from production to promotion. After all, already at the end of the '20s and for the years to come, this enterprise owned the skills proper of a modern company. One need only to think of the use of testimonials, sponsorships, well-finished packaging, up to the first organised convention for the sellers, in December 1929, which anticipated by some decades other similar endeavours.

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