UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Out of Italy:

Italian Women Exiled under Fascism Reimagine Home and the Italian Identity

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the Degree of Philosophy in Italian

by

Nicole Hardy Robinson

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Out of Italy:

Italian Women Exiled under Fascism Reimagine Home

and the Italian Identity

by

Nicole Hardy Robinson

Doctor of Philosophy in Italian

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Lucia Re, Chair

Vera Modigliani (1888-1974), Maria Brandon Albini (1904-1995), and Joyce Lussu (1912-1998) were antifascist activists who emigrated from Italy—*fuoriuscite*—and wrote novels, memoirs, and poetry about their varied experiences both during their period of exile, and well after it in the course of their literary careers. In my dissertation, I conduct a comparative study of these women's narratives. I offer a nuanced study of the women's literary works in order to fill a pronounced gap in current exile literature scholarship of the period, which has focused almost exclusively on male authors. My critical framework for this research is interdisciplinary, structured predominantly around the narrative theory of life writing. In addition, I also pull from exile, feminist, and sociological theory. Ultimately, I demonstrate that there are experiences and literary themes common to the three

women, despite the fact that they were not closely linked in their exile. I examine the following leitmotifs, among others: the tension between an Italian cultural identity and the marginalized identity of woman, Jewish, or other; the reciprocal influence of memory and narration; the tension between narrating memories and the passage of time; and gendered identity construction through narration. I thus delineate the beginnings of a typology of women's exile literature that male-oriented scholarship has previously been unable to detect and map.

The dissertation of Nicole Hardy Robinson is approved.

Thomas J. Harrison

Efrain Kristal

Claudio Fogu

Lucia Re, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles,

2016

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The Department of Italian at UCLA has provided me with an amazing doctoral experience, and I am thankful to Prof. Harrison for his departmental and educational support. Thanks to the unique opportunities I have received at UCLA, I am poised to begin the next chapter of my life fully prepared to tackle any challenge.

Special thanks are owed to my parents Bill and Jean Robinson. My mother's real-life example of how to thrive professionally and personally gave me the confidence to pursue the Ph.D. It is also largely thanks to her gracious but constructive encouragement and readings of my drafts that this project continued to move forward.

To my friends and colleagues at UCLA and beyond, thank you for sharing this experience. We are a small and unique group to tackle this undertaking, and I could not have asked for a better cohort.

Lastly, I owe a special thanks to my husband Isaac. For your support and understanding, even when times got rough, I thank you. We never could have imagined this life all those years ago, but I know I am lucky to share it with you.

Curriculum Vitae

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UCLA Student Fee Advisory Committee, Los Angeles, CA

Graduate Student Representative *(6/14–6/16):* Appointed to represent graduate students interests in the $20M Student Services Fees budget while assessing proposals for sustainability and evaluating funded units.

- Identified $400K+ in underutilized funds and proposed redistribution to maximize student impact, resulting in $120K savings and innovative proposals for graduate support programming.

UCLA Graduate Student Association, Los Angeles, CA

President *(6/13–6/14):* Elected head of the Graduate Student Association, representing 13,000+ graduate students at UCLA and 50,000+ students system-wide. Managed $900K budget as part of the larger 501(c)3 organization.

- Collaborated with UC President, Janet Napolitano, on quality of life improvements and greater graduate support, which resulted in the co-founding of the Doctoral Student Support Task Force.
- Co-sponsored the first annual Masters and Ph.D. Career Symposium while leading efforts to establish graduate student professional development best practices.

Vice President of Academic Affairs *(6/12–6/13):* Elected graduate student representative on campus for academic programming and policy making. Liaison to the Graduate Council and Academic Senate Executive Board.

- Negotiated the reversal of changes to UCLA's Leave of Absence policy, increasing maximum terms of Leave from three to six, while broadening Leave provisions.
- Eliminated $60K in Graduate Writing Center budget shortfall using a two-prong approach: proposing and passing student-fee referendum to increase Center's permanent budget, and negotiating redistribution of funds with university administration.

UCLA Department of Italian, Los Angeles, CA

Teaching Assistant *(9/11–present):* Primary instructor for all levels of Italian language, both online and in the classroom. Teaching assistant for literature, film and culture courses, with 98% positive teacher evaluation rate in classes ranging from 6-120 students.

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UC Humanities Research Institute, Irvine, CA

Graduate Student Research Intern *(6/15-present):* Facilitate research projects for UCHRI initiatives to develop career development programming for University of California humanities Ph.Ds.

UC Student Regent's Office, Los Angeles, CA

Graduate Student Affairs Director *(6/14-present):* Policy advisor to Regent, leading campaign to increase student Board of Regents participation and create opportunities for shared governance.

<u>Student Advocates for Graduate Education (SAGE), LA, CA and Washington, D.C.</u>

Communications Director, Executive Board *(6/14-6/15):* Led nationwide graduate student advocacy in Washington, D.C., contributing ideas to pending legislation including The Student Loan Fairness Act (HR 1330) and the Student Bill of Rights Act (HR 3892). Led media presence (e.g., press releases, newsletters, and social media.)

Writing & Publications:

- Co-editor in Chief, *Carte Italiane* (International and bilingual peer-reviewed graduate journal)
  - *Carte Italiane: Italian Polarities*, eds. Nicole Robinson and Monica Streifer. Series 2. Vol. 9. University of California, Los Angeles, 2014.
  - *Carte Italiane: Open Issue*, eds. Nicole Robinson and Monica Streifer. Series 2. Vol. 10. University of California, Los Angeles (forthcoming, 2015).
- "Out of Italy: Joyce Lussu's Many Autobiographical Voices," *Carte Italiane: Open Issue*. Series 2. Vol. 10. University of California, Los Angeles (forthcoming, 2015).
- Review of *I fratelli Rosselli: l'antifascismo e l'esilio*, edited by Alessandro Giacone and Éric Vial, *Italian Culture* Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (September 2014): 155-157.

Selected Honors & Awards:

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- UCLA, Graduate Research Mentorship Grant (2013-14)
  $35,208.38 for tuition and stipend research, resulting in paper-presentation in Zurich, Switzerland, for the American Association of Italian Studies Conference.
- US Government, Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Grant (2012)
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- NYU, Marimò-Zerilli Outstanding Italian Scholar award (2007)
- NYU, Presidential Scholar (2007)
- NYU, Dean's list all semesters (2003-07)

Selected Presentations:

- "'*Non so cosa il domain ci riservi*' (I don't know what tomorrow will bring us): Vera Modigliani and the *Fuoriusciti* under Fascism" presented at the California Interdisciplinary Consortium of Italian Studies Conference in San Francisco, April 2014.
- "'It's not *truthful* but *the truth*': Memory, Self-Narrative and the Passage of Time in Joyce Lussu and Maria Brandon Albini" presented at AAIS in Zurich, Switzerland, May 2014.
- "Evolving Self-censorship: An Analytical Look at the Different Editions of Alba de Céspedes' *Nessuno Torna Indietro*," presented at AAIS in Charleston, SC, May 2012.
- "Return From Exile: The Many Autobiographical Voices of Joyce Lussu," presented at NeMLA in Rochester, NY, March 2012.
- Instructor / Workshop Leader, UCLA TA Conference: "Nuts and Bolts of Lesson planning" and "Surviving the First Quarter of Teaching," 2012.
- Graduate Student Orientation, Panel Presenter/Moderator "Keys to Success in the Humanities," annually 2011-present.

Introduction

> "As these writers propose different categories of exile, they are giving structure to their own lives as well. Once they have achieved a sense of kinship with fellow exiles and erected a context for their experience, they are able to make the next important rescue: to distinguish their own displacements from those of others—and so restore their individuality."[1]

Since Italy's recent unification, migration—particularly emigration out of the country—has been a significant and reoccurring phenomenon. From 1880 to 1915, an estimated thirteen million Italians emigrated to neighboring countries in Europe, to Africa, and to both North and South America; during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, over twenty-seven million Italians left home, with over half returning to their native Italy.[2] Historian Mark Choate notes that this was the "largest emigration from any country in recorded world history."[3] The migrants were predominantly workers in search of economic prosperity, and while the archetype of an Italian emigrant abroad was that of a young, male laborer, Donna Gabaccia and Katherine M. Donato

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[1] Marc Robinson, ed., *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile* (Harvest Books, 1996), xv.

[2] Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (London: UCL Press, 2000), i.

[3] Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Harvard University Press, 2008), 1.

have convincingly demonstrated that in reality Italy's mass migration was more gender-balanced than many would think.[4]

While mass migration had been common throughout Italy for decades, after the end of World War I, Italian migration began to take on a different form:

> Mass migrations, labor internationalism, and competing forms of nationalism had little place in this world of assertive, and often hostile, nation states. Indeed, wartime tensions and economic depressions raised states' demands for national loyalties and conformity and heightened distrust of migratory workers.

Mussolini's nationalistic politics contributed to the reduction of Italian mass migration, with supporters arguing that loyal Italians should in fact remain at home.[5] At the same time, foreign acceptance of migrants became more restrictive, with the United States—one of the most common destinations for Italian migrants—passing laws limiting Italian immigration. Despite these changes in national attitudes to migration, numerous Italians still traveled along the *rivoli d'oro* (rivers of gold) for economic opportunity.[6] These communities of economic migrants provided a natural point of attraction for political opponents of the Fascist movement and

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[4] Pulling from a 1929 study of international migration, the authors show that Italian emigration was between twenty and thirty percent women through the end of the nineteenth century, reaching levels as high as sixty percent after the end of World War I. Katharine M. Donato and Donna R. Gabaccia, *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery Era to the Global Age*, 2015, 88–89. See also Paola Corti, "Women Were Labour Migrants Too: Tracing Late-Nineteenth-Century Female Migration from Northern Italy to France," in *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, trans. Gabriele Scardellato (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 133–59.

[5] See *Perchè non si deve emigrare.* (Roma: Diritto del Lavoro, 1928).

[6] The reduction in migration was significant, though Italian migration had been so common that even the reduced numbers of migrants still counted in the millions: compared to the thirteen million migrants that applied to leave in the thirty years before World War I, only four million would apply in the thirty years that followed. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 130.

regime, who chose the path of voluntary exile in great numbers early on, and most willingly.[7] These exiles, or *fuoriusciti* as they would come to be called, left Italy in search of political liberty and an environment in which they would be free to express and promote their opposition to Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.

Scholars have studied the political ramifications of this period of exile, and several historiographies have attempted to contextualize the impact of the *fuoriusciti*'s involvement in the antifascist movement from abroad.[8] Scholarship on the literary production during and about this period, however, has been less plentiful. A few notable writers have received scholarly attention—Carlo Rosselli and Ignazio Silone being perhaps the two most well known examples—but relatively few studies have focused on the female writers who were exiled during this time.[9]

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[7] Gabaccia estimates that as many as ten thousand of Mussolini's opponents fled and became *fuoriusciti*. Ibid. The overwhelming majority of Italian migrants left the coutnry for economic reasons, with 3.8 million Italians leaving from 1920 to 1942. These numbers are somewhat offset by the fact that roughly two-thirds of the migrants in Europe returned home between 1921 and 1945. Ibid., 134–35.

[8] Aldo Garosci, a political exile from 1932–1943, was the first of his contemporaries to offer a historical account of the unique and exceptional experiences of the *fuoriusciti*. See *Storia dei fuorusciti* (Bari: Laterza, 1953). Since then, scholars have returned to this moment in history to attempt to clarify what effect antifascism abroad had on the regime, and how the experience affected the exiles. See Angelo Tasca, "Per una storia politica del fuoruscitismo," *Itinerari*, no. 9–10 (ottobre 1954): 230–50; L. Casalino, "L'esperienza politica di G.L. nella Francia degli anni Trenta," in *Gli anni di Parigi: Carlo Levi e i fuorusciti, 1926–1933*, ed. Maria Cristina Maiocchi (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, 2003), 31–41; William Valsesia and Pierfrancesco Manca, *Un antifascista europeo: dai fuoriusciti di Parigi ai partigiani del Biellese* (Recco, Genova: Le mani, 2011). Today *fuoriusciti* has become the more commonly recognized spelling of the term.

[9] Recent studies on intellectual women exiles during the Fascist period include Sara Galli, *Le tre sorelle Seidenfeld: donne nell'emigrazione politica antifascista* (Firenze: Giunti, 2005); Lucia Perrone Capano, "scrivere senza avere più parole. Esperienze al femminile in esilio," *Quaderni di didattica della scrittura*, no. 2/2008 (2008), doi:10.7369/71376; Federica Trenti, *Il Novecento*

This dissertation aims to correct this gap in the research through a narrative analysis of three women writers, Vera Modigliani (1888–1974), Maria Brandon Albini (1904–1995), and Joyce Lussu (1912–1994), who have been largely overlooked within Italian literary scholarship, despite their having collectively published over thirty works of prose and poetry. My comparative study will demonstrate that there are experiences and literary themes common to the works of these three women writers, despite the fact that they were not closely linked in their exile. And on this basis I will also attempt to delineate a preliminary framework of a typology women's exile literature from the Fascist period.

The focus on women exiles, or *fuoriuscite*, comes from an interest in the literary production of a group that was doubly marginalized: first politically as exiles, but also socially as a gendered other in patriarchal European societies in the first half of the twentieth century. To date, scholarship on women's involvement in the antifascist movement has focused more on the cultural histories of the women who remained in Italy to fight with the Resistance, rather than on the narratives written by those in exile.[10] This scholarly neglect of exiled women writers is not the result of paucity of skill or inspiration on their part, but rather the academic tendency to

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di Joyce Salvadori Lussu: vita e opera di una donna antifascista (Bologna: Le Voci della Luna, 2009).

[10] For a comprehensive understanding of women's involvement in the Italian Resistance, see Lydia Franceschi, *L'Altra metà della Resistenza* (Milano: G. Mazzotta, 1978); Marina Addis Saba, *La corporazione delle donne: ricerche e studi sui modelli femminili nel ventennio fascista* (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1988); *Partigiane: tutte le donne della Resistenza* (Milano: Mursia, 1998); Robin Pickering-Iazzi, *Mothers of Invention: Women, Italian Fascism, and Culture* (University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Giovanni De Luna, *Donne in oggetto: l'antifascismo nella società italiana 1922–1939* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1995); *Politics of the Visible: Writing Women, Culture, and Fascism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

marginalize women's literary contributions.[11] Patrizia Gabrielli's *Col freddo nel cuore: uomini e donne nell'emigrazione antifascista* offers a preliminary context for analyzing exiled Italian women's writing, but to date there has not been an in-depth literary study.[12] The women taken into consideration in my study were prolific writers throughout their lives, and the theme of exile figures prominently in many of their literary works, making them ideal subjects for this comparative analysis.

Ultimately, I intend to demonstrate that the writings of these *fuoriuscite* offer up new typologies of the condition of exile that male-focused scholarship has been unable to identify. Instead of confirming gender stereotypes, such as a lack of adventure or women's passive involvement in the antifascist movement abroad, the narratives in this study are indicative of active female participation in the fight against Fascism. These women took up the mantle of author, claiming their unique stories. Additionally, given the autobiographical nature of all of the narratives, these texts shed light on the experiences and sacrifices that women exiles faced.

That all three authors relied heavily on life writing in their narratives is a reoccurring point of inquiry in the following chapters. Paola Bono notes in her study of women's biographies and autobiographies that for autobiographical narratives "there are three elements to bear in mind and to investigate: the self of the subject/s in question; the life which is the pre-text of the

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[11] JoAnn Cannon notes that although "many works by 'serious' Italian women writers typically enjoy large audiences, they have only rarely captured the attention of key gatekeeper intellectuals (the vast majority of whom are of course male)" in "Women Writers and the Canon in Contemporary Italy," in *Italian Women Writers from the Renaissance to the Present: Revising the Canon*, ed. Maria Ornella Marotti (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 14–15.

[12] Patrizia Gabrielli, *Col freddo nel cuore: uomini e donne nell'emigrazione antifascista* (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2004).

narration; the writing where they meet, both giving and taking shape from it."[13] By addressing these three questions, I aim to identify the commonalities and differences between the three authors, with the goal of laying the groundwork for a possible typology of women's exile literature during the Fascist period.

Critical Approach

My theoretical framework for this research is interdisciplinary, structured predominantly around the narrative theory of life writing. In addition, I also pull from exile, feminist, and sociological theory. "Life writing" is an intentionally vague term that refers to the different autobiographical approaches employed by the authors here. I refer to Susanna Scarparo and Rita Wilson's broad definition of life writing:

> Escaping clearly defined genre boundaries, this form [life writing] stands neither merely for autobiography or personal narratives, nor solely for biography. In its varied incarnations, it is also neither entirely fictional, nor purely historical writing, and often includes elements of metafictional and self-reflexive styles. […] The term life writing, first proposed by feminist critics who wanted to expand the genre of autobiography to include personal narratives such as diaries, memoirs and letters, is currently used to account for narratives that cross the line

[13] Paola Bono, "Women's Biographies and Autobiographies: A Political Project in the Making," in *Across Genres, Generations and Borders: Italian Women Writing Lives*, ed. Susanna Scarpano and Rita Wilson (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 11.

between fact and fiction, and to describe writing that is located on the cusp of autobiography and fiction.[14]

Given the variety of genres in this study—Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere* is best classified as a memoir, Modigliani's *Esilio* is a hybrid diary, Brandon Albini's *Il paese in esilio* is a novel—this more general classification of life writing best encompasses the type of autobiographical influence present across the texts. For each author, lived experiences are profoundly influential for their narrative creation, and I believe that the intersection of literary narrative creation and narrative identity creation is important to these women's exile literature.

From the late 1990s to the early 2000s, an interest in Italian female autobiography and life writing resulted in several collections of scholarly inquiry, despite the fact that the genre has traditionally been overlooked as too tied to personal history and the every day to warrant serious scholarly attention.[15] Despite the fact that many of the canonical works of *confino*, or internal exile, literature are highly autobiographical in nature—it could even be considered a prominent characteristic of the period—this same criticism has not been levied against male authors of the

[14] Susanna Scarparo and Rita Wilson, eds., *Across Genres, Generations and Borders: Italian Women Writing Lives* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 2. For additional research into women's life writing, see Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *De/colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury, and Penny Summerfield, *Feminism & Autobiography* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2000).

[15] See, for example, Shari Benstock, *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings* (UNC Press Books, 1988). In the Italian context see, Graziella Parati, *Public History, Private Stories: Italian Women's Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Rita Wilson, *Speculative Identities: Contemporary Italian Women's Narrative* (Leeds, U.K.: Northern Universities Press, 2000); Scarparo and Wilson, *Across Genres, Generations and Borders*.

time. Indeed, it is flawed to think that a perceived faithfulness to personal experience somehow detracts from the overall literary capacity or quality of a text. In his essay on narrative identity, Paul Ricoeur argues precisely that "the constitution of narrative identity, whether of an individual or a historical community, [is] the place to search for [a] fusion between history and fiction."[16] For Ricoeur:

> a) knowledge of the self is an interpretation; b) the interpretation of the self, in turn, finds narrative, among other signs and symbols, to be a privileged mediation; c) this mediation borrows from history as much as fiction making the life story a fictive history or, if you prefer, an historical fiction, comparable to those biographies of great men where both history and fiction are found blended together.[17]

The narrative production of personal experience is inherently linked to the same processes that have long been of interest to literary scholars. By extension, the same attention should be given to these autobiographical texts and life narratives. Rather than female life writing being tied to the mundane, the narration is linked to identity creation and, in turn, to social and cultural structure.[18]

The Italian experience of exile and migration has existed throughout history in many different forms. Despite the difference between Dante's life as an exile of Florence and the day-

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[16] Paul Ricoeur, "Narrative Identity," *Philosophy Today* 35, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 73.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Paul Eakin notes that "Foucault dates the emergence of the everyday and the individual as objects of knowledge to the end of the eighteenth century […] [H]istorians of autobiography date the rise of modern Western autobiography to this same period." *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 105.

to-day experiences of the migrant workers in Argentina, Italian culture has embraced these types of migration and created a national culture that celebrates the honored tradition of Exile. In Choate's words:

> With powerful resonance, Italians conflated the mass migration of workers with the expatriation of intellectuals and political exiles. The exile of Dante Alighieri from his native Florence, and even the emigration of Virgil from Mantua, blended rhetorically with the temporary economic exile of millions of laborers worldwide.[19]

Given this variation of experience, it is no surprise that Marc Robinson notes the numerous forms that individual exile can take "have spawned their own variations, each of which tailors the abstract idea of exile to fit the shape of individual histories."[20] He goes on to state that personal experience "becomes a springboard for general meditations on the subject of displacement; and the broad commentary, in turn, helps each writer clarify the confusion surrounding his or her private history."[21] This back and forth between private and shared, personal and collective experience is most easily seen as authors put in writing their narratable experience and publish it for others to read.

STRUCTURE

Many themes and techniques reoccur throughout the texts that I am researching, allowing for a comparative analysis of the authors. The most important leitmotifs that I will focus on include

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[19] Choate, *Emigrant Nation*, 6.

[20] Robinson, *Altogether Elsewhere*, xiv.

[21] Ibid., xv.

the tension between an Italian cultural identity and the marginalized identity of woman, Jewish, or other; the reciprocal influence of memory and narration; the tension between narrating memories and the passage of time; and identity construction through narration. While these three themes appear throughout almost all of the works by Lussu, Brandon Albini, and Modigliani, a few are more predominant than others in certain works by certain authors. I therefore have organized my chapters by author, starting with the chapter on Joyce Lussu. As the most prolific writer of the three authors, Lussu's oeuvre offers the largest opportunity for critical analysis. This organization will not preclude comparison between authors, but rather will allow for the opportunity to build up a comparative analysis from one author to the next.

Due to the scarcity of research done on these authors, I will include a brief biographical and contextual introduction in each chapter. The primary texts I will discuss are *Fronti e frontiere* (1943) by Joyce Lussu; *Esilio* (1946) by Vera Modigliani; and *Il paese in esilio: un romanzo* (1978: written in two parts, Part I was written in the 1930s but not published until 1978) by Maria Brandon Albini.[22] These three texts best represent each author's most direct product of exile literature and offer explicit examples of women's exile literature during the Fascist period.

In addition to the autobiographical nature of the exile literature taken into consideration in this study I will discuss how these narratives offer varying insights and historical accounts of the period, along with a literary interpretation of the moment. To help contextualize my subsequent analysis, the first chapter of this study aims to give a brief explanation of what it meant to be a political exile, or *fuoriuscito*, in France from roughly 1920–45. The focus on France—rather than Switzerland or the Soviet Union, for example—addresses two important

[22] I will refer to the version of *Fronti e frontiere* in *Opere scelte*, ed. Silvia Ballestra (Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale, 2008), 21–137. The other editions referenced are: Maria Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio: romanzo* (Sciascia, 1978); Vera Modigliani, *Esilio* (Milano: Garzanti, 1946).

elements of my research: while the women in my study were rather peripatetic in their exile, the majority of their experience occurred in France.[23] I will start with a brief discussion of the importance of the terms "exile" and "*fuoriuscito/a*" to clarify the semantic implications of both, and why the term *fuoriuscito* has come to specifically represent the Italian political exiles under Fascism.[24]

[23] Joyce Lussu's exile covered two continents (Africa and Europe) and numerous countries (France, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, England). Vera Modigliani spend the bulk of her early years in exile in France, traveling to the United States for a time and eventually escaping to neutral Switzerland. Maria Brandon Albini moved to Paris at a young age, and after the fall of Fascism chose to remain in France as a writer and professor.

[24] In his seminal work on the history of European Fascism, Stanley Payne makes the typographical distinction between references to the Italian Fascist Party and associated members or groups by capitalizing the term, a convention that I will maintain throughout this study. Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 3.

1. The History of the *Fuoriusciti* in France

EXILE V. *FUORIUSCITISMO*

As Aldo Garosci states in the opening pages of *Storia dei fuorusciti*, the tradition of exile has been present and honored throughout Italian history:

> L'esilio è una antica istituzione del nostro paese. Le diverse reazioni politiche e religiose che, in lunghi periodi, soppressero la libertà in Italia, ebbero ciascuna come conseguenze vasti fenomeni di emigrazione; il tema dell'opera "degli Italiani fuori d'Italia" e del contributo dato da essi alla storia generale della civiltà europea, è stato ripreso più volte nella nostra storiografia, da Cesare Balbo a Croce e a Gramsci. Nel nostro risorgimento poi il motivo dell'"esule" divenne strumento d'azione, fu esaltato nella poesia patriottica; "l'esilio" fu elevato, come si disse, a "istituzione" e rimase nobile e venerata memoria nazionale.[1]

Going as far back as the Italian Middle Ages and Renaissance, expulsion from or lack of a homeland has been a reoccurring theme.[2] Machiavelli's most famous work, *Il principe*, was

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[1] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 8. "Exile is an ancient institution in our country. The various political and religious movements that suppressed liberty in Italy, for long periods, each resulted in vast instances of emigration; the theme of 'Italians outside of Italy' and of their subsequent contribution to the history of European civility has been the subject of numerous historiographies, from Cesare Balbo to [Benedetto] Croce to [Antonio] Gramsci. During our *Risorgimento* the motivation guiding 'exile' was action, it was exalted in patriotic poetry; 'exile' was elevated, so to speak, to the level of 'institution,' and remained a noble and venerated national memory."

[2] On the importance of exile in Italian Medieval and early modern literature, see for example: Giuseppe Mazzotta, "Dante and the Virtues of Exile," *Poetics Today* 5, no. 3 (January 1, 1984): 645–67, doi:10.2307/1772385; Dolora Wojciehowski, "Petrarch's Temporal Exile and the Wounds of History," in *The Literature of Emigration and Exile*, ed. James Whitlark and Wendell

largely the product of exile, written to appease the Medici family and allow him to return home.[3] Continuing through the early-modern period, during Italy's unification in the 1800s exile was a common theme in literature including the works of Niccolò Tommaseo and Giuseppe Mazzini.[4] As Garosci highlights in the quote above, the causes and effects of exile have been of interest to scholars as well.

Given the rich tradition of Italian exile, and the general prestige associated with the archetype of the political dissident continuing to fight the good fight abroad, it is not surprising that Fascist propaganda challenged the narrative that those who were fleeing Italy during Mussolini's rule belonged to the same honorable group. To fight against the idea that only in exile could the antifascists achieve the political and social freedom they were working towards, the regime attempted to brand those who left Italy as "una banda di avventurieri, al soldo dello straniero e agli ordini della Massoneria," or as "sciocchi, ignari della condizioni del paese, che si cullavano nell'illusione della prossima fine del regime e del loro trionfale ritorno."[5] To further distance the antifascist exiles from their noble predecessors, Fascist propaganda chose to refer to them not as *esuli* (exiles), but rather as *fuoriusciti* (roughly, "those who left"): "Proprio per questo la propaganda fascista non chiamò 'esuli' gli antifascisti emigrati, ma riesumò la vecchia

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M. Aycock (Texas Tech University Press, 1992), 11–21; A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature* (Yale University Press, 1984).

[3] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

[4] Niccolò Tommaseo, *Il primo esilio di Niccolò Tommaseo, 1834–1839: lettere di lui a Cesare Cantù* (Milano: Cogliati, 1904); *Diario intimo*, ed. Raffaele Ciampini (Torino: Einaudi, 1939); *Memorie poetiche*, Scrittori d'Italia, n. 229 (Bari: G. Laterza, 1964); Giuseppe Mazzini, *Note autobiografiche*, ed. Mario Menghini (Firenze: F. le Monnier, 1944).

[5] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 7. "a band of adventurers, mercenaries for foreigners and the Masons" or as "fools, ignorant of the country's conditions, who cradle themselves in the illusion of next fall of the regime and their triumphant return."

parola di 'fuorusciti', che richiama alla memoria le fazioni e gli odi comunali, e contro di essa per vent'anni sollevò e sollecitò l'opinione pubblica."[6] The term—which was first used by Alessandro Manzoni to describe his wicked character Innominato—had historically referred to those who fled the country to avoid imprisonment as fugitives or outlaws.[7] During the *Risorgimento* the term began to be used less pejoratively, though the Fascists' intention in the 1920s was to use *fuoriuscitismo*/*fuoriuscito* as an intentional distancing from the more prestigious category of *esilio*/*esule*.[8]

While this semantic difference between the two terms was rather subjective—indeed over the course of the twentieth century *fuoriuscito* and its variants have come to now explicitly reference a political exile during the Fascist period—modern *fuoriuscitismo* was indeed radically different from the institution of exile as Italy had generally known and celebrated it. *Fuoriuscitismo* lasted for over two decades, and throughout that time the demographics of the *fuoriusciti* and the nature of the act of leaving Italy changed considerably.

The turn of the century was one of the first times in history that Italian emigration had happened *en masse*. Economic migration to France had begun in the nineteenth century as many laborers found job opportunities and resources more plentiful in the north. The thirteen million Italians that migrated between 1880 and 1915 were predominantly young male laborers, and

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[6] Ibid., 8. "Precisely for this reason Fascist propaganda refused to call the antifascist migrants 'exiles,' using instead the old term '*fuorusciti*' [people who left] that evokes the memory of the factions and the communal hatreds, against which public opinion had been pushing against and opposing."

[7] Manzoni describes Innominato as a "ricettatore di forusciti, foruscito un tempo anche lui." *I promessi sposi, storia milanese del secolo XVII, scoperta e rifatta* (Milano: Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1840), 372. "a harborer of outlaws, an outlaw at one time himself."

[8] "Fuoriuscito," *Treccani.it/*, accessed April 8, 2015, http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/fuoriuscito/.

international networks that developed in response to the Italian experience offer a clear example of how international migration can globalize a country and culture:

> Emigration created a capillary network tying Italy in an intimate way to other societies across the world. It was a circulation of individuals and families, but also of capital, traditions, and ideas. Italian emigration changed Italy and the world, with a sustained impact on economic developments, social customs, governmental institutions, and political theory.[9]

For Italy, this exodus of workers solved many of the most pressing problems at the time: overpopulation, lack of resources and industrialization for its workers, and a weak economy. Regionally, northern Italians tended to migrate to European countries, and southerners arrived in greater numbers in the Americas.[10]

By 1911, over 400,000 Italians were sending their earnings home to family along the *rivoli d'oro* (rivers of gold). After the end of World War I, several countries began to restrict their acceptance of foreign workers, limiting the freedom with which the Italian migrants had followed international labor markets. The overall numbers of Italian migrations out of Italy remained at the same level of migrations in the 1880s and 1890s, however, thanks to France, Argentina, and Brazil's reluctance to implement immigration restrictions in the 1920s.[11] Citing wartime losses and the fear that a stagnant national birthrate would depress France's military strength, Gabaccia notes that France's welcoming immigration policies resulted in an increase of

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[9] Choate, *Emigrant Nation*, 1.

[10] Around 60% of the northern Italian migrants stayed in Europe, while closer to 80–90% of southerners travelled to the Americas, with around 60% arriving in the United States. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 70.

[11] Ibid., 133–34.

Italian migration in the 1920s.[12] Italians quickly became the largest immigrant group in France.[13] Consequently, when the political *fuoriusciti* began arriving in France after 1923, there was already a large Italian population in the country, and a network of French support for Italian immigrants.

This preexisting population of immigrated laborers created a much different environment in France in which the *fuoriusciti* found themselves, and even the demographics of those who chose to leave the country differed from previous periods of political migration. Fiametta Cirilli notes that while previously exile was a relatively common practice among the intellectual and political elite:

> Specie nelle sue fasi iniziali, e a differenza di quel che era accaduto negli anni del Risorgimento, l'emigrazione antifascista aveva avuto per protagonista "una massa di lavoratori, in prevalenza manuali, cui il fascismo rendeva impossibile la vita e che si riversò, sulle orme della emigrazione economica che l'aveva immediatamente preceduta, soprattutto nella vicina Francia"; mentre l'esodo di intellettuali e di figure di rilievo—in particolare dell'*establishment* politico e academico-scientifico—fu fenomeno più limitato, da metter in relazione soprattutto con il biennio 1925–26, che, notoriamente, segnò l'azzeramento delle libertà politiche nel paese.[14]

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[12] Ibid., 133.

[13] For information on interwar migrations to France see Maurizio Degl'Innocenti, *L'emigrazione nella storia d'Italia* (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1978); Pierre Milza, *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940* (Roma: Ecole française de Rome, 1986).

[14] Fiammetta Cirilli, "L'emigrazione antifascista: scrivere del regime e dell'Italia," in *La letteratura italiana e l'esilio*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Roma: Carocci: Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza, 2011), 274–75. Cirilli cites Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 9. "Especially in

While there would be some notable exceptions to this assessment of the landscape of the *fuoriusciti*, in general the population of *fuoriusciti* in France lacked the large contingent of intellectuals and well-renowned writers that had been present in the exile communities during the *Risorgimento*.

According to Ruth Ben-Ghiat, among the intellectuals that were not imprisoned or sent into *confino*—or internal exile—the Fascist policy of *bonifica della cultura* enticed many to stay in Italy and continue to produce under varying forms of self and state censorship.[15] As Fascist censorship laws slowly progressed, a writer's choice was ostensibly either to voluntarily leave Italy in the hopes of greater liberty abroad—but without access to an engaged Italian readership—or to remain under the influence of Fascism, and publish (self)censored work that would reach the desired audience. Faced with this choice, and the conflicting lure of state sponsorship and funding, many intellectuals chose to remain in Fascist Italy. Ignazio Silone and

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its initial stages, and differently from that which had happened during the *Risorgimento*, antifascist emigration had been made up primarily by 'a mass of workers, mostly manual laborers, for whom Fascism had made life impossible and who poured out of the country, mostly to France, on the heals of the economic emigration that had immediately preceded them"; meanwhile the exodus of intellectuals and notable figures—particularly the political and scientific/academic ruling class—was a more limited phenomenon, which happened above all during the two-year period from 1925–26, which, as is commonly known, coincided with the complete suppression of political liberty in the country [Italy]."

[15] "The concept of *bonifica*, or reclamation, was central to many discourses of fascist modernity. Initially, the term referred to the conversion of swamp-land into arable soil and New Towns along the Latium coast and in Sicily and Sardegna. Yet land reclamation merely constituted the most concrete manifestation of the fascists' desire to purify the nation of all social and cultural pathology. The campaigns for agricultural reclamation (*bonifica agricola*), human reclamation (*bonifica umana*), and cultural reclamation (*bonifica della cultura*), together with the anti-Jewish laws, are seen here as different facets and phases of a comprehensive project to combat degeneration and radically renew Italian society by 'pulling up the bad weeds and cleaning up the soil.'" Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 4.

Carlo Rosselli serve as two notable exceptions to this trend, both in their choice to exile themselves, and in their prolific intellectual production from abroad.[16]

It was not until 1923 that notable political figures began to leave Italy to flee Fascist persecution, and even then those who made it abroad were politicians first, and writers (possibly) second. While in the past exiled intellectuals had engaged with their host country through literary and artistic production that influenced the political landscape back home in turn, Cirilli argues that during the Fascist period there was a marked divide between influence within Italy and activity without, with ever-decreasing opportunity for crossover between the two groups. Ignazio Silone, a notable exception to this trend, lamented the "analfabetismo dell'emigrazione italiana," which was particularly detrimental to his publishing house, *Nuove Edizioni di Capolago*.[17] Despite writing three of the most famous and well-received antifascist novels of the time, Silone felt that his attempts to take up the mantel of printing abroad suffered from a lack of publishable material.[18] In a letter to Egidio Reale, Silone's frustration with the scarcity of writers abroad is evident: "Purtroppo a questo è ridotto 'Capolago', senza che i Ferrero ne abbiano colpa, perché

[16] Complicating Silone's reputation as an exemplary author of exile literature of the time, numerous scholars have asserted that he worked as a Fascist informer. See John Foot, "The Secret Life of Ignazio Silone," *New Left Review*, II, no. 3 (June 2000): 146–52; Elizabeth Leake, *The Reinvention of Ignazio Silone*, Toronto Italian Studies (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Stanislao G. Pugliese, *Bitter Spring: A Life of Ignazio Silone* (Macmillan, 2009).

[17] Cirilli, "L'emigrazione antifascista," 274. "the Italian emigration's illiteracy"

[18] Silone's "Abruzzo Trilogy" has historically received wide critical acclaim and scholarly attention though this reception is now put into question in light of the accusations that he worked as a Fascist spy (see note 12 above). *Fontamara* (Zurigo: Nuove edizioni italiane, 1933); *Vino e pane* (Milano: Mondadori, 1955); *Il seme sotto la neve* (Milano: Mondadori, 1961).

non è colpa loro se nell'emigrazione italiana non vi sono scrittori. L'unico vero scrittore che abbiamo, il Borgese, continua a pubblicare i suoi libri in Italia."[19]

The more working-class makeup of the migrant Italians in France had another lasting effect that marked *fuoriuscitismo* as a profoundly different experience from previous eras of exile. In the 1800s and before, political exiles had come from mostly middle- to upper-class families, with relatively few working-class Italians deciding to leave their country for political reasons. During the Fascist era, however, the intellectual class largely chose to remain in Italy, while antifascists from the working class chose to emigrate *en masse*. This overall shift in socio-economic status, coupled with relative lack of public thinkers and speakers, had profound effects not only on the *fuoriusciti*'s activism abroad, but also on their general acclimation to their host country. Whereas in past migrations upper-class exiles frequently were already proficient in French and were able to find jobs as tutors and instructors to help integrate themselves into French society, the working class immigrants were unable to do so. Italian communities developed where the economic migrants had settled, and by the time political leaders began to arrive in Paris in the mid-1920s, there was already a sizable population of economic migrants throughout the country.

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Mussolini's campaign to rebrand the political exiles as irresponsible and non-involved had measured success both domestically and abroad. While he would not be able to stem the flow of

[19] Cirilli, "L'emigrazione antifascista," 272. Silone's reference to the Ferreros is to Gina Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, his partners at *Capolago*. The letter, written in October 1937, is interesting in part because Borgese self-exiled to the United States in 1931 to avoid taking the Fascist oath. In 1937 he published his famous antifascist treatise *Goliath; the March of Fascism,* (New York: Viking Press, 1937). "Unfortunately this is what 'Capolago' is reduced to, and it is not the Ferreros' fault, because they can't be blamed if there aren't any writers in the Italian emigration. The only real writer among us is Borgese, and he still publishes his books in Italy."

emigration—even after closing the borders and refusing to issue passports to his citizens in 1936—the narrative that problems in Italy were not generally dire enough to warrant a political exodus seems to have been convincing to many foreign States, at least initially. While there were numerous campaigns to raise awareness of the crimes and human rights violations going on in Italy under Fascism, many *fuoriusciti* encountered great difficulty abroad gaining support against Mussolini.[20] Fascism and *il Duce* were, at least in the early years, seen as a somewhat benign transitional government in Italy, and the need to flee the country was routinely downplayed by foreign leaders.[21]

Early Years of *Fuoriuscitismo*

The Italians who found themselves in France during Mussolini's rise to power leading up to the March on Rome in 1922 were, for the most part, apolitical. The prior waves of Italian migration had tended to correspond to periods of economic crisis, with more Italians arriving in France during Italian downturns when French jobs were more plentiful.[22] Economic concerns took

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[20] Many historians have been skeptical that the activist work of the *fuoriusciti* had much of an influence in Italy due to the difficulty they had crossing and communicating across the Italian border. For those who chose to leave Italy in search of greater freedom and liberty abroad, this contradiction—that they would be free to act, but their influence in Italy would be reduced almost to zero—weighed heavily. Groups like *Giustizia e Libertà* strategized constantly about how to overcome this problem, and how to have the strongest impact against Fascism from their removed positions.

[21] Isabelle Richet's study on Marion Cave—Carlo Rosselli's English wife—explores the difficulties many antifascists had engaging communities abroad. See "Marion Rosselli, la fuga di Lipari e lo sviluppo dei circuiti antifascisti in Gran Bretagna," in *I fratelli Rosselli: l'antifascimo e l'esilio*, ed. Alessandro Giacone and Eric Vial, 1[a] ed (Roma: Carocci, 2011), 74–88.

[22] 1921, for example, marked a period of economic crisis: 79,902 Italians immigrated to France, while 114,912 traveled to the United States. In 1922 France regained its standing as the more popular destination, with 150,555 Italians emigrating to France and 121,139 to the United States.

precedence over the political, and even though the violence by the Fascist *squadre* against the Socialists reached alarming levels from 1920–21, it was not until after Mussolini became Prime Minister in 1922 that politicians began to seek asylum in France: in 1923, ex-Prime Minister Francesco Nitti became the first well-known political figure to flee to France after the Fascist Blackshirts, or *squadristi*, ransacked his home.

With time, the demographics of the Italian population abroad would begin to shift as the children of Italian migrants, who were raised in France, began to engage with the influx of antifascist *fuoriusciti*. The change was slow to progress, however, in part because the French government offered comprehensive social services for Italian immigrants aimed at de-radicalizing political extremists. In the early 1920s France chose a benevolent approach geared to appeasing Mussolini both in international relations and domestic policy. To better integrate the Italian immigrants—and in the process de-radicalize any political dissidents that may have crossed the border—the French government launched a broad campaign: throughout the country Italian language newspapers were distributed to guide political radicals more towards the center, working conditions were improved for Italian laborers, and free schooling was provided for Italian children. As a result, of the roughly two million Italians living in France by 1926, only a small percentage were actively involved in politics, and fewer still were engaged in the antifascist resistance movement.[23] In these early years, notable antifascists—such as Piero

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By 1924 France had become a decisive leader, with 232,403 Italians immigrating vs. 120,501 to the United States. Degl'Innocenti, *L'emigrazione nella storia d'Italia*, 471.

[23] While the general majority of Italians in France at this time were not politically engaged, government leaders realized the potential for a change of heart. Soviet leader Grigory Zinoviev warned in 1926: "Ci sono in Francia due milioni di stranieri che possono divenire due milioni di agitatori." Cited in Simonetta Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia* (Milano: Mursia, 1988), 7.

Gobetti—began to arrive more regularly in Paris, but their numbers remained relatively small compared to the much larger population of economic migrants.[24]

One notable long-term Italian family of Paris provided particular welcome and assistance to the arriving *fuoriusciti*: Luigi Campolonghi and Ernesta Cassola. The couple had lived in Paris permanently since 1915, and Campolonghi had lived in France on-and-off since 1898 (he had fled to Marseilles at the age of twenty-one to avoid arrest and imprisonment for some of his political writings at the time). As the political refugees began to arrive, Campolonghi and Cassola were poised to receive them, being well versed in the needs of the *fuoriusciti*. The Campolonghis were regulars in Madame Pauline Ménard-Dorian's salons in her *hôtel particulier*, where they were introduced to many illustrious exiles from around the world, including Alceste De Ambris.[25] The Italian arrivals coincided with many other immigrants coming to France in the hopes of benefitting from the country's famous hospitality and respect of human rights, since France "nell'immaginario collettivo degli antifascisti era il paese dei diritti dell'uomo e la terra che aveva già accolto altri profughi italiani, prima i liberali e i repubblicani

[24] Gobetti's work as an outspoken and liberal anti-fascist journalist led to a particularly violent encounter with Mussolini's *squadristi* in 1925, and he fled to Paris shortly after. Unfortunately, he passed away in exile almost immediately upon his arrival in France. For an overview of his life, writing and politics, see David Ward, *Piero Gobetti's New World: Antifascism, Liberalism, Writing* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

[25] Luigi Campolonghi was well known for his nuanced understanding of French politics. Alceste De Ambris, who as a radical socialist and syndicalist had a long history of exile in Latin America and Switzerland, became famous for fighting with Gabriele D'Annunzio at Fiume, and he and Campolonghi fought many battles together before becoming anti-fascist organizers in France. They were active revolutionaries abroad, and a valuable source of continuity from the early years of *fuoriuscitismo* to the more organized antifascism that would develop after 1926. Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 14–15.

risorgimentali—poi, verso la fine del XIX secolo—i socialisti e gli anarchici."[26] Madame Ménard-Dorian was a past director of the International League of Human Rights (*Ligue des Droits de l'Homme*), and the Italians were inspired to begin an organization that would ease the Italian migrants' transition to French life. Since the turn of the century, the League of Human Rights had facilitated the immigrants' transition to France and protected them from police aggressions, but faced with the immense influx of arrivals from Italy, the League turned to sister organizations to lessen the workload. The ever-growing number of Italian immigrants quickly demanded the creation of an Italian League, and in 1922 Cassola, Campolonghi, and De Ambris opened the *Lega internazionale dei diritti dell'uomo* (LIDU).

In these early days of *fuoriuscitismo*, there were barriers to access for women migrants interested in the antifascist movement, but there were also several high-profile examples of women antifascist activists at the time. Ernesta Cassola stands out as one of the most notable. During the early 1920s she worked closely with her husband and De Ambris running LIDU. The couple accepted a kind of traditional gender role divide in the organizational work, with Cassola taking charge of the "domestic" duties at LIDU (administration of the bureaucratic aspects of running the organization) and Campolonghi and De Ambris focusing on the more public coalition building to bring together the antifascists abroad and garner French public support for the organization. There does not appear to be any indication that Cassola would have preferred a different arrangement, and her influence within LIDU was certainly not in question, as she was

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[26] Carmela Maltone, "Scrivere contro. I giornali antifascisti italiani in Francia dal 1922 al 1943," accessed May 2, 2016, http://e-revues.pum.univ-tlse2.fr/sdx2/lineaeditoriale/article.xsp?numero=5&id_article=article_003-666. "[France was] in the antifascist imaginary collective the country of human rights, and the land that had already accepted other Italian exiles, first the liberals and republicans from the *Risorgimento*—then, toward the end of the 19th century—the socialist and the anarchists."

also the president of the Lot-et-Garonne chapter during her family's time in Nérac, France.[27] The group organized LIDU according to the French League model: a pyramid structure with a network throughout France at the base and, at the top, a committee charged with guiding the organization throughout the year and defending human rights, democracy, and liberty wherever they were subverted.

Beyond defending the rights of those oppressed, LIDU also assisted immigrants. While in Italy Mussolini launched campaigns aimed to ensure that those who chose to leave the country remained under the influence of Fascism, in France LIDU attempted to counter that influence by assisting all of those who lacked identity documents and basic needs. LIDU developed a network of thousands of associates and supporters, with its strongest support in the southwest where De Ambris and the Campolonghis lived. Receiving little push back from the authorities, the two leaders published articles and held conferences denouncing Fascism and the looming war in France. After 1925 LIDU's influence grew countrywide, and the arrival of more seasoned antifascists associated with prominent political parties increased the organization's prestige and credibility. LIDU was the first group to officially organize itself against Fascism, and it proved to be a unique initiative in a period of immigration that lacked discipline and direction.

As early as 1923, Mussolini encouraged the establishment of Fascist clubs abroad to grown the ranks of the Fascist party and further discourage antifascist sentiment.[28] These clubs

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[27] Pietro Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane: fascismo e antifascismo in Francia tra propaganda, militanza e integrazione," in *Lontane da casa: Donne italiane e diaspora globale dall'inizio del Novecento a oggi*, ed. Stefano Lucconi and Mario Varricchio (Accademia University Press, 2015), 235.

[28] For a history of the *Fasci all'estero* see João Fábio Bertonha, "I Fasci italiani all'estero," in *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, ed. Piero Bevilacqua, Andreina De Clementi, and Emilio Franzina, vol. 2 (Roma: Donzelli, 2001), 527–33; Emilio Franzina and Matteo Sanfilippo, *Il*

were made the official branch of Italian aid for Italian migrants in 1924 when the government absorbed control of Umanitaria and Bonomelli, both longtime welfare societies.[29] These clubs, or *Fasci all'Estero*, developed a rather extensive network of recruitment abroad throughout the 1920s, and claimed a 101,500 membership by 1929.[30] Part of the success came from Mussolini's targeted campaigns: having understood that one of the best ways to engage the largely apolitical masses abroad was through aid, Mussolini's campaigns abroad focused on outreach to the working class. Tombaccini cites the French government's assessment of the *Fasci all'estero* in 1926 to demonstrate the programs' general scope and success:

> Gli italiani residenti sul territorio francese tendono sempre piú a passare sotto l'influenza fascista. Nel sud-ovest […] il governo fascista promuove un'opera di penetrazione energica e organizzata. Cosí l'associazione degli ex combattenti italiani, retta attualmente da un triumvirato fascista, ha creato *in loco* numerose attività. Anche l'opera Bonomelli, cattolica e nazionalista, arma di combattimento del fascismo, controlla l'emigrazione in pieno accordo con il governo fascista. Per dare all'opera fascista nel sud-ovest una base solida si è creato a Tolosa la società

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fascismo e gli emigrati: la parabola dei Fasci italiani all'estero (1920–1943) (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2003).

[29] Philip V. Cannistraro and Gianfausto Rosoli, *Emigrazione, Chiesa e fascismo: lo scioglimento dell'Opera Bonomelli, 1922-1928* (Rome: Studium, 1979).

[30] Subsequent analysis suggests that this number was likely exaggerated. See Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 213. For a comprehensive study of the *Fasci all'Estero* and Fascist foreign policy, see Luca de Caprariis, "Fascism and Italian Foreign Policy: 1922–1928" (Ph.D., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998), http://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/304457056/abstract/708C30E91C754360PQ/2.

> anonima agricola italo-francese […]. Il suo scopo è di dire agli agricoltori italiani colà stanziati: "Fatevi fascisti e vi faremo credito".[31]

The *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (PNF) membership abroad tended to be made up of more working-class members than was represented in Italy, and likely reflects this community involvement campaign, as many of the poor laborers in France enrolled in the party in exchange for goods and services.

The Fascists also began a campaign to capitalize on the women migrants' influence abroad. The main focus of the Fascist propaganda was maternity:

> La maternità era, per le migranti, un dovere nei confronti della nazione [...] proprio perché a chi aveva lasciato la patria era richiesto un più forte impegno nella difesa dell'italianità. I frequenti viaggi in Italia dei bambini e delle donne—in particolare delle puerpere—rappresentarono l'impegno costante delle autorità consolari nel tentativo di mantenere madri e figli legati alla patria lontana.[32]

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[31] Cited in Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 17. Mussolini's quote comes from a report from the *Archives Nationales* (A.N.) F 7 13245. "Mussolini had understood this point so well that he was arranging several measures in the emigration zones that were aimed at keeping Italians under the influence of Fascism. A document from French authorities in 1926 is particularly illuminating. It said: "The Italian residents in French territory are increasingly tending to fall under Fascism's influence. In the south-west […] the Fascist government promotes an energetic and organized campaign. This is how the association of ex-fighters, a network that is actually from a Fascist triumvirate, created numerous on-site activities. Even Bonomelli's campaign—Catholic and nationalistic, an arm of the Fascist battle—controls emigration with the agreement of the Fascist government. An anonymous Franco-Italian agrarian society was created in Toulouse to give the Fascist campaign in the south-west a solid base […]. Its scope is to tell the Italian farmers: 'Become Fascists and we'll give you loans'.'"

[32] Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane," 240. "Maternity was, for the migrants, a national responsibility […] precisely because more was asked of those who had left the country in the fight to defend the Italian identity. The frequent trips to Italy by women and children—particularly women who had just given birth—represented the steady duty of the consulate's authority to maintain mothers and children still tied to their distant homeland."

This traditional division of gender roles, and the focus on women's identities as mothers and caregivers was a direct extension of the Fascist propaganda in Italy.[33] The support that these Fascist clubs abroad offered families, mothers and children in particular, resulted in many of the apolitical migrants aligning with the Fascist party in exchange for goods.

The lack of political engagement among the Italian communities in the early 1920s contributed to the somewhat slow organization of official antifascist movements abroad, compounded by the fact that the political migration occurred only sporadically for the first several years of Mussolini's reign. Many politicians, particularly in the Socialist party, felt that they could be the most effective at combating Fascism by continuing to work within the government, and apart from a few high-profile cases of *fuoriuscitismo*—ex-Prime Minister Nitti in 1923 being the first and most notable, while founding member of the *Partito Popolare Italiano* (PPI), Don Luigi Sturzo, followed not long behind in 1924—it was not until the middle of the decade that political leaders began to emigrate in significant numbers. The fact that political expatriation was relatively rare in the early years of *fuoriuscitismo* helps to partially explain how Mussolini was able to rebrand the antifascist political movement abroad in more disparaging terms.

While the first wave of antifascist political emigration was spontaneous and usually in reaction to targeted Fascist violence, that period soon came to an end. Just over a year and a half

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[33] Several studies have focused on Fascism's approach to women, and the regime's return to a traditional ideal of the "*donna focolare*" (a "hearth and home woman"). See Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Pickering-Iazzi, *Mothers of Invention*; Carmen Marie Gomez, "Women Writers and Italian Fascism: Figures of Female Resistance in Paola Masino, Paola Drigo, and Milena Milani" (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013), http://search.proquest.com/pqdt/docview/1400490717/abstract/140470CD92E57832107/1?accountid=14512.

into Mussolini's term as Prime Minister, the political environment in Italy took a decidedly negative turn: on June 10, 1924 the Socialist leader and dedicated antifascist, Giacomo Matteotti, disappeared; his body was not found until several months later, in the trunk of a car.[34] During the uncertain interim period between the disappearance and discovery, the Socialists and other antifascists in Parliament strategized about how to proceed and what actions to take against Mussolini, the presumed mastermind behind the crime. The leftist minority, together with a few remaining liberals, ultimately reacted by abandoning the Parliamentary Chambers and setting up their own protest Parliament on the Roman Aventine Hill. This calculated protest backfired, however, for the opposition lost access to their only direct governmental check on Mussolini's increasing power. Indeed, when Mussolini addressed the predominantly Fascist Parliament on January 3, 1925 to assume responsibility for the Matteotti affair, he also dissolved the Parliament, assuming full executive power and responsibility, responsible only to the King. In Mussolini's own words:

> Ma poi, o signori, quali farfalle andiamo a cercare sotto l'arco di Tito? Ebbene, dichiaro qui, al cospetto di questa Assemblea e al cospetto di tutto il popolo italiano, che io assumo, io solo, la responsabilità politica, morale, storica di tutto quanto è avvenuto. […] Se il fascismo è stato un'associazione a delinquere, io sono il capo di questa associazione a delinquere! Se tutte le violenze sono state il risultato di un determinato clima storico, politico e morale, ebbene a me la

[34] Giuseppe Tamburrano, *Giacomo Matteotti: storia di un doppio assassinio* (UTET libreria, 2004); Lucio Battistrada and Florestano Vancini, *Il delitto Matteotti ...* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1973).

> responsabilità di questo, perché questo clima storico, politico e morale io l'ho creato con una propaganda che va dall'intervento ad oggi.[35]

Stripped of their ability to enforce any kind of checks or balances on Mussolini's executive power, the antifascist politicians were now faced with few desirable options: acquiesce to the dictatorship, protest domestically (which could lead to imprisonment, or worse), or exile.

For those who chose *fuoriuscitismo* during the early years of Mussolini's regime, five main categories stand out along the political spectrum: the Communists, the Republicans, the Socialists, the *Popolari*, and the Anarchists.[36] The Communists, Socialists and Anarchists benefitted the most in exile from pre-established structures, though none of the groups was particularly successful in the early stages at recruiting passionate followers abroad. Especially in the early years the Communists were the most engaged abroad, due to their well-established party system structure, and the requirement that all Communists register in their host country's

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[35] From the Appendix in Chiara Ferrari, *The Rhetoric of Violence and Sacrifice in Fascist Italy: Mussolini, Gadda, Vittorini* (University of Toronto Press, 2014). "And then, gentlemen, what are these butterflies we're going to chase at the Arch of Titus? Well, here I declare, in the presences of this Assembly and in the presence of the Italian people, that I, and only I, will assume the political, moral, and historical responsibility of what has happened. […] If Fascism has been an association that breaks the law, then I am the leader of this association that breaks the law! If all of the violence has been the result of a certain historical, political, and moral climate, then I am held responsible for this, because I created that historical, political, and moral climate with propaganda form the intervention to today."

[36] The *Partito Popolare Italiano* (PPI) was a democratic Christian group created in 1919 by Don Luigi Sturzo (one of the first prominent political leaders to go into exile in 1924). Called the *Popolari*, the political party did not survive beyond their time in exile. See Stefano Jacini, *Storia del Partito popolare italiano* (Milano: Garzanti, 1951); Alcide De Gasperi, *Le battaglie del Partito popolare: raccolta di scritti e discorsi politici dal 1919 al 1926* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1992). Santi Fedele has done extensive research on the different political factions and their organization abroad, see *I Repubblicani in esilio nella lotta contro il fascismo (1926–1940)* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1989); *Il retaggio dell'esilio: saggi sul fuoriuscitismo antifascista* (Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro): Rubbettino, 2000); *La massoneria italiana nell'esilio e nella clandestinità: 1927–1939* (Milano: F. Angeli, 2005).

organization upon arrival. The Socialists had the potential to benefit from similarly robust international structure, though their split form the *Partito Comunista d'Italia* (PCd'I) had left them somewhat fractured. For the Republicans (PRI), the *Popolari*, and the Anarchists it was more of a struggle to create party organization and leadership abroad, given the paucity of their preexisting international organizations.

While the *fuoriusciti* came from different parties they all shared antifascist ambitions, and the effect on Italy's antifascist population was, according to Garosci, that "[q]uella prima ondata di emigrati fu per l'Italia una vera emorragia politica e sociale."[37] Conservative politicians instead remained in Italy under the consolidated power of Fascism. Thus, a defining characteristic of the political emigration in the 1920s and 1930s was that it was marked as an emigration of leftist (and antifascist) political parties. The well-established political party allegiances among those who left Italy helped conserve the pre-Fascist Italian political parties abroad, while the common antagonism against Fascism simultaneously lay a substantial incentive for future collaboration between them. The difficulty, particularly in the early years of *fuoriuscitismo*, became how to respect the autonomy and individual agendas of the emigrated political parties, while also fostering the kind of collaboration that would maximize their effectiveness in influencing Italian politics from their removed positions. This political emigration, different in scope and need from the economic emigration of the previous decades, marked the beginning of what would be a long-term struggle for antifascists abroad: how, given their need to remove themselves from the Italian territory, could the *fuoriusciti* continue to influence the antifascist resistance in their homeland?

[37] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 12. "that first wave of migrants was a true political and social hemorage for Italy."

In 1926 Mussolini banned all other political parties, and many of the opposition parties began officially transferring their leadership abroad. France was a natural choice because of its historical acceptance of political refugees, with the added bonus that much of the emigration leading up to 1926 had consisted of the parties' rank and file membership. The PSI was among the first to transfer its leadership, and on October 31, 1926 Ugo Coccia and Giorgio Salvi became Secretary and Vice-Secretary abroad. There were already roughly over a thousand Socialist members in France, so to increase their communication with current and prospective members Coccia and Salvi decided to reinstate the Socialist newspaper *Avanti!* (which was coincidentally the same publication at which Mussolini first emerged as a political leader during his time as editor).[38] While the initial circulation reached only one thousand people, it was still considered the preeminent voice of Italian Socialism in France at the time.

Around the same time the Paris section of the *Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani* (PSULI, previously PSU), took up its own direction and sent out an announcement to its members about the reorganization abroad.[39] Giuseppe and Vera Modigliani arrived in Paris in 1926, and Vera played an integral role in setting up the *Popote*, a combination cafeteria/meeting

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[38] Ironically, the noted socialist and *Avanti!* contributor, Angelica Balabanoff—along with several other renowned socialist thinkers—wanted Mussolini at the head of *Avanti!*, though Mussolini's rise to power and shift to fascist ideology would directly lead to Balabanoff's subsequent exile from Italy. Angelica Balabanoff, *My Life as a Rebel* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1938).

[39] At the XIX Congress in October 1922, the reformist group that would form the PSU was expelled from the Italian Socialist party. Filippo Turati and Giacomo Matteotti led the group, which included Claudio Treves, Giuseppe Saragat and Sandro Pertini. PSU was outlawed in 1925 after Mussolini's rise to power, and the PSU reconstituted itself clandestinely abroad as the *Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani* (PSLI), ultimately becoming the *Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani* (PSULI) in 1927. After the formation of GL, PSULI and the PSI merged back together in 1930.

hall that welcomed numerous Socialists upon their arrival.[40] Claudio Treves and Filippo Turati's arrival in Paris later that year completed the PSULI's leadership. The three men knew that before they could begin to strategize about collaborating with other parties, they would need to unify their own party members who were dispersed throughout Paris and the countryside. Failure to create proper organization and structure abroad ran the risk that the antifascists would function like "un'armata di generali senza truppe."[41]

In many ways PSULI started out with considerable advantages compared to the other parties reforming in France: thanks to the Matteotti fund through the Labour and Socialist International, PSULI had reliable access to a significant funding stream; French politicians also felt a certain amount of affinity for the reformist group, thanks in no small part to the international renown of its leaders, particularly Filippo Turati; and organizationally PSULI benefitted greatly from its collaboration with the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* (CGL), which was also based in Paris.[42] Having established itself as a formidable political entity, PSULI began to organize its plan of action against Fascism. Propaganda to convince the Socialist *fuoriusciti* in France to join PSULI rather than PSI took premier importance initially. Aware as well of the risk of isolation that was practically inevitable while they functioned in exile, PSULI also decided to address the Communist force that had sprung up in Italy within the vacuum of

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[40] See Chapter 3, pp. 143 and 185 for more information on the *Popote* and Vera's involvement in the organization.

[41] Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 58. "an army of generals without any troops."

[42] The CGL was a labor union that was founded in Milan in 1906 by Socialist militants. Bruno Buozzi, a leftist Socialist, led the organization clandestinely during the Fascist regime, despite some controversy within the group over whether or not the CGL should disband to allow greater autonomy to individual trade unions in Italy. From "La Storia della CGIL | Dalla nascita ai giorni nostri," accessed April 10, 2016, http://old.cgil.it/CGIL/Storia/Storia.aspx#C1.

leadership after the Socialists fled to France. CGL's reach among the workers in Italy made it the logical choice to take up the mantel of clandestine antifascist organization within Italian borders. CGL and PSULI longed to send fighters across the border to aid the antifascists in Italy, but unfortunately the logistics to execute that plan turned out to be impossible. In these early stages of antifascist organization abroad, only the Communists had the capacity to send a squad of fighters back into Italy.

While the Communists had initially benefitted from the Comintern structure and support throughout Europe and the Soviet Union, in 1925 the French Communist party voted to reorganize all the Italian members into the French system. Officially, this was an attempt to leave behind the organizational models inherited by old factions and move to a new system based on cells. Rather than agreeing to combine the Italian and French groups under one political umbrella, roughly three thousand Italian immigrants chose to leave and not renew their membership. To stop the hemorrhaging loss of party members, the French PC slowed the closure of the Italian groups, citing a previous misunderstanding in their original intent. In 1926 the assimilation was still ongoing, and it was clear that there was still much ground to be made up to regain the previously lost members; the PC decided to create the Antifascist Proletarian Committee. Despite these changes, the French Communist leadership would struggle to integrate Italian communists into the French system for years to come.

The Socialist parties represented the largest group of *fuoriusciti* reorganizing in France. Numerous other leftist parties, however, began to reconvene abroad in the second half of the 1920s. The old hierarchies of power from Italy's coalition system were reshuffled abroad, and being in exile leveled the playing field among some of the smaller parties, such as between the Republicans and the Democrats. This multifaceted landscape initially appealed to the working-

class *fuoriusciti*, who had the opportunity to identify with the party that they felt best represented their specific needs and goals, though the variety of organizations came with its fair share of trials as well. The reconstitution of the parties sprang in part from an understandable desire to be in charge of antifascist activities abroad. But in reality this abundance of leadership and viewpoints meant that where objectives differed between the parties, the result was often overlapping or redundant initiatives that worked against each other rather than in collaboration.

It was clear from the first wave of antifascist emigration that in order to be successful the movement would need a certain amount of local cohesion and organization, especially considering the limited support that the *fuoriusciti* could expect to receive from their sympathizers in Italy. Out of this mutual desire for action grew an interest in an alliance between the non-Communist antifascist parties. As Campolonghi described it, it was time to "estrarre dal partito tutti gli elementi insofferenti di inerzia e impazienti di azione; raccoglierli in un'associazione che non abbia nulla di ufficiale e studiare i modi di lottare per la resurrezione italiana, fuori d'ogni vincolo di parte e d'ogni ceppo programmatico."[43] In October 1926, numerous antifascist leaders met in Nérac to establish the basis of a common organization. Different perspectives on the responsibilities of the monarchy, the bourgeoisie, and the political parties led to conflict—highlighting the heterogeneous landscape of the *fuoriusciti*—though a general admonishment of the "complici del fascismo" placated most in attendance.[44] As the committee began to work towards an alliance, however, it was interrupted by Anteo Zamboni's

[43] Luigi Campolonghi, "Ancora il fronte unico," *La France de Nice et du sud-est*, giugno 1926; cited in Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 62. "extract from the party all the was intolerant of inertia and impatient for action; bring them together in an association that was in no way official, and study the ways to fight for Italian resurrection, beyond every party tie and programmatic stump."

[44] Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 63. "accomplices of Fascism."

assassination attempt on Mussolini in Bologna on October 31, 1926.[45] The failed assassination resulted in more oppressive policies and policing throughout the country. For the antifascist emigration, the increased oppression at home led to a crisis abroad, and many *fuoriusciti* returned to their individualistic tendencies that favored the multi-party structure.

It was not until December 1926 that Republican and Socialist representatives were able to put together a committee of antifascist activity with the goal of publishing a newspaper that was representative of all the antifascist factions. Republican journalist Ferdinando Schiavetti and his friend and fellow activist Francesco Volterra sought to lead a movement that functioned outside of the parties—though still Republican and Socialist leaning—to create a new source of action that was both unencumbered by the past's mistakes and attractive to those in France who could no longer support the ambiguity and opportunism of the old political parities. In practical terms Schiavetti and Volterra's work lay the groundwork for what would ultimately become the main theme of antifascism abroad: taking a middle road. This Republican/Socialist collaboration offered an alternative organization to the conservative groups and the Communists. It represented a way for working-class immigrants to participate in the antifascist movement without having to sacrifice their right to the democratic process, and tapped into their desire to volunteer and be involved in the antifascist movement.

In March 1927, the *Concentrazione Antifascista* (Antifascist Concentration), was officially born out of the collaboration between two socialist parties (PSI, PSULI), the

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[45] There had been several assassination attempts throughout Mussolini's political career, but the year from November 1925–October 1926 marked a particularly dangerous time for the *Duce*: he suffered four separate assassination attacks, though none resulted in grave injuries. Richard Carter, "Benito Mussolini (1883–1945): Assassination Attempt at International Society of Surgeons Convention, Rise to Power, Medical History, and Final Days," *World Journal of Surgery* 25, no. 2 (February 24, 2014): 153–55, doi:10.1007/s002680020066.

Republican party (PRI), the General Confederation of Labor (CGL) and the Italian League of Human Rights (LIDU).[46] Months of work had gone into this unification, and the official organization of the Concentration represented no small amount of collaboration and effort. On March 27, 1928 the Antifascist Concentration released a manifesto establishing the organization's goals as a unified antifascist *fuoriusciti* coalition:

> a) di promuovere all'estero l'organizzazione delle forze italiane antifasciste giovandosi dei seguenti mezzi: pubblicazione di un giornale quotidiano, costituzione nei centri di emigrazione italiana di sezioni della Concentrazione, fiancheggiamento della propaganda della Confederazione del Lavoro d'Italia;
> b) di tenere il contatto con le masse italiane, guidandole ed aiutandole nei loro movimenti di difesa sociale e di resistenza politica, e spingendole ad organizzarsi nelle forme più proprie e necessarie dopo che le leggi eccezionali fasciste hanno soppresso ogni libertà di stampa, di associazione, di riunione, e fatto di ogni rivendicazione dei diritti del cittadino, dell'autonomia di pensiero e della libertà di organizzazione, un delitto contro la patria;
> c) di coordinare infine l'assistenza morale o materiale delle vittime del fascismo, che si contano a migliaia e migliaia nelle prigioni, nei centri di deportazione, nell'esilio.[47]

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[46] For a comprehensive history of the Concentration, see Santi Fedele, *Storia della concentrazione antifascista 1927–1934* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1976).

[47] Enzo Collotti, *L'Antifascismo in Italia e in Europa: 1922–1939* (Loescher, 1975), 75–76. "a) to promote abroad the organization of the Italian antifascist forces, benefitting from the following tools: publication of a daily newspaper, establishment of sections of the Concentration in Italian emigration centers, pairing with the propaganda from the Italian Labor Confederation; b) to keep in contact with the Italian people, guiding and helping them in their social defense and political resistance movements, and pushing them to organize in the most proper and necessary

While the scope of the Concentration was broad and ambitious—to channel the *fuoriusciti* into a unified structure that was easily identifiable as Republican and Socialist, to present the voice of free Italy to the world, and to reunite the political forces in a collegial organ that would work well on the world-stage—it also suffered from the conflicting interests that arise in collaborations between such vastly differing groups. To overcome these differences, the Concentration decided to focus primarily on antifascist action abroad:

> la Concentrazione dichiara che i vincoli comuni dei suoi membri sono: la lotta a fondo contro il fascismo, contro le forze sociali reazionarie di cui esso è la espressione, contro gli istituti politici che hanno favorito lo sviluppo e lasciato conculcare pubbliche libertà e asservire il paese, la volontà di proseguire questa lotta fino a quando, abbattuta la dittatura, sia reso possibile al popolo italiano di scegliersi le istituzioni politiche e sociali che lo garantiscano dai periodici ritorni reazionari che hanno caratterizzato la storia dello stato italiano.[48]

The Concentration chose to unite around antifascist action, with the hope that this common objective would help alleviate tensions that existed between the parties in regards to their other political positions.

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forms after the special Fascist laws have suppressed every freedom for printing, collaborating, meeting, and having made every claim to citizen's rights, to freedom of thought and organization, a crime against country; c) also to coordinate moral or material assistance for Fascism's victims, who number in the thousands in prisons, in deportation centers, in exile."

[48] Ibid., 76. "The Concentration declares that the common ties of its members are: the fight to the end against Fascism, against the reactionary social forces of which Fascism is an expression, against the political institutions that have fostered the development and let public freedoms be freely violated and enslaved the country, the desire to follow this fight to the end, overthrowing the dictatorship, so that the Italian people may choose for themselves the political and social institutions that safeguard them from the periodic reactionary resurgence that has characterized Italian history."

Despite the eagerness that went into the formation of the Concentration, the organization needed time to affirm its role and demonstrate to the *fuoriusciti* that its existence was valid and necessary. As Eric Vial has noted, the antifascists abroad were somewhat disadvantaged by their relatively slow move towards collaborative organization, given their hopeful belief that Mussolini's dictatorship (and their exile) would be short lived.[49] The antifascist *fuoriusciti*—organizationally weakened by their exile and with a tendency towards in fighting—struggled to make their concerns heard. Additionally, there was a fair amount of disagreement among the parties on many issues, including the future of the monarchy, bourgeoisie, and economy.

Because of these delicate relationships, the Concentration was far from stable in the early months of 1928, a situation further complicated by the early assumption that the *fuoriusciti* would soon return to Italy. Francesco Nitti famously welcomed new exiles to France with the phrase, "Fra tre mesi saremo a casa," which Vera Modigliani remembered bittersweetly years later: "Durante il suo esilio egli fermissimamente credette ad ogni foglietto di calendario, ad ogni cambiar di luna, di poter tornare in Italia. Ma, forse lo diceva più che non lo credesse, per rafforzare il proprio coraggio e quello dei suoi […]. Potremmo sorridere, ora, di quella sua tenace illusione, se essa non comportasse, anche, la delusione delle nostre speranze più care."[50] While he was likely encouraging the new immigrants to remain strong and resist through the

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[49] Piero Bevilacqua, Andreina De Clementi, and Emilio Franzina, eds., *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, vol. 2 (Roma: Donzelli, 2001), 139.

[50] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 96. "In three months we will be home." "During his exile he most firmly believed that at every page of the calendar, every moon change, he would be able to return to Italy. But, maybe he said it more than he believed it, to bolster his own courage and that of the others […]. We could smile, now, about his tenacious illusion, if only it didn't also bring to mind the disappointment of our most treasured hope."

difficult transition to their new lives abroad, the sentiment also delayed the sense of urgency that the new arrivals might have had to organize themselves abroad.

In truth, the Concentration's impact on the *fuoriuscito* community was limited, and its initiatives to fight international indifference towards the regime only marginal. While the Concentration printed materials to send to Italy as propaganda, police intervention quickly shut down any real hope their antifascist networks had of distributing the flyers. Rather than the newspapers arriving at the intended addresses, the censors rounded up the publications and they went to Mussolini's office. The will existed, but the Concentration lacked the grand vision and structural support to follow through. Furthermore, the increasingly bellicose environment in Europe, coupled with the large social expenditures that the French government provided for the *fuoriusciti*, fed a growing sense of xenophobia against the Italians in France, who were increasingly viewed as troublemakers who brought Italian problems to their host country.

The Concentration would continue to be plagued by similar problems through the 1930s, and uncertainties among the membership and organization of the group would limit the effectiveness of its actions. Despite these hurdles, the Concentration represented a significant accomplishment of collaboration, and had a lasting impact on the antifascist movement in France: "Questa elevazione dell'ambiente, questa restaurazione di un serio clima democratico restano certamente i meriti maggiori della Concentrazione, oltre naturalmente al principio della costituzione di un blocco socialista repubblicano che salvò all'Italia rinata posizioni che altrimenti sarebbero andate disperse."[51] While the Concentration was unable to meet its

[51] Aldo Garosci, *La vita di Carlo Rosselli*, Collezione Giustizia e libertà 3 (Roma: Edizioni U, 1945), 43. "This elevation of the environment, and this restoration of a serious democratic climate were certainly the biggest merits of the Concentration, beyond, naturally, the principle of

ambitious goal of overthrowing Fascism, the mere fact that the Concentration existed represented the first successful collaborative attempt at antifascist organization abroad.

Years of Action (1929–39)

In 1928 the mindset of antifascist *fuoriusciti* started to become decidedly more optimistic. Among other changes, Italy was suffering an economic downturn, and many believed that it would serve as the catalyst for the overthrown of the regime that they felt was imminent. To the *fuoriusciti*'s mind, a government that was barely tolerated could not possibly pacify the needs of the *bourgeoisie* while simultaneously stemming the exasperation of the working class that was already pushing back against the government and ready for a fight. The antifascists believed that Fascism would be crushed under its own inability to govern, taking the monarchy and other political structures down with it. As proof of the impending revolution, the antifascists pointed towards Spain, which rose up against Primo De Rivera, ultimately removing him from power and declaring the country a Republic 1931.[52]

The conviction of the antifascists abroad was not entirely representative, however, of the realities within Italy, and their enthusiasm failed to consider the consensus and passive acceptance that Mussolini had managed to establish throughout the 1920s and early 30s. Indeed, in this "third phase of the dictatorship" from 1929–36, very little active domestic opposition

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the creation of a socialist republican block that saved political stances from being lost in postwar Italy."

[52] The removal of General Miguel Primo de Rivera after his seven-year dictatorship was notable because its collapse led to the downfall of the Spanish monarchy, but also because the subsequent Spanish Republic was the only new government in Europe that marked a choice against the authoritarian and fascist politics of the 1930s. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 254.

towards Mussolini existed. Often called “the years of consensus,” in this time most of Italy society offered at least passive acceptance of the regime, and the main political and social agents throughout the country generally offered at least some degree of a consensus of support.[53] While the antifascists abroad believed that their cause was just and there would soon be action against Mussolini, they failed to recognize the extent to which their own absence from Italy weakened the antifascist movement at home, and how successful Mussolini’s integration of the Fascist party into Italian government had truly become.[54]

Despite this disconnect, in 1929 the antifascist community in France learned of one of the most daring and legendary stories of escape to occur: on July 27, 1929 three illustrious antifascists finally managed—after several failed attempts—to escape in a small boat from their *confino* on Lipari. Sent to the remote island as punishment for their antifascist opposition, Fausto Nitti, Emilio Lussu, and Carlo Rosselli were well known leaders of the antifascist movement in Italy.[55] Nitti remembered his colleagues as notable men of courage and respect, even before their

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[53] The idea of popular passivity and consensus was first put forward by Renzo De Felice in *Le interpretazioni del fascismo* (Bari: Laterza, 1969). Emilio Gentile, a student of De Felice’s, continued this analysis in *La via italiana al totalitarismo: il partito e lo stato nel regime fascista* (Roma: La Nuova Italia scientifica, 1995).

[54] For a nuanced study of how Mussolini’s aesthetics of politics and mythology of the Fascist party impacted the hearts and minds of the Italian people, see Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[55] The escape from Lipari counts among the most notable episodes of antifascist resistance to fascism. Aside from the suspense-novel quality of the story—near misses with the police, several previous failed attempts, high stakes, etc.—Lussu, Rosselli and Nitti were all three active writers. Their publications of the experience in *confino* helped revitalize the “questione fascista” in the international media, and the story of their experiences as *confinati* and their successful escape became something of a legend among the antifascists abroad. See Carlo Rosselli, “Fuga in quattro tempi,” in *Almanacco socialista del 1931* (Paris: PSI, 1930), 76–89; Fausto Nitti, *Escape; the Personal Narrative of a Political Prisoner Who Was Rescued from Lipari, the*

arrival in France: "Lussu era già un veterano della lotta contro il fascismo, dopo essere stato un valoroso combattente della prima guerra mondiale; Carlo Rosselli era una personalità completa, uomo di studio e insieme uomo d'azione. Ambedue erano considerati pericolosissimi dal regime."[56] They differed in age, social class, education, upbringing, and political affiliation, but they shared a vision for the antifascist movement abroad:

> i tre evasi non portavano solo con sè una forza di propaganda. Intendevano trasformare l'antifascismo; criticavano la passività della Concentrazione, proseguimento all'estero dell'Aventino, intendevano riprendere contatto con l'Italia, svegliare con "l'azione", l'"esempio", cioè con gesti audaci compiuti dall'estero; intendevano creare o aiutare a creare in Italia un movimento antifascista a fine e a carattere insurrezionale.[57]

Carlo Rosselli was the central figure of the group thanks to both his force of character and the financial support he could offer the organization.[58] The three men's escape was also greatly

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Fascist "Devil's Island", (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930); Emilio Lussu, *Marcia su Roma e dintorni: il fascismo visto da vicino.* (Paris: Critica, 1931).

[56] Fausto Nitti, "L'antifascismo nell'esilio e nella guerra di Spagna," in *Storia dell'antifascimo italiano*, vol. I (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1964), 116. "Lussu was already a veteran of the fight against Fascism, after having been a courageous fighter in the First World War; Carlo Rosselli was a complete personality, a man of study and of action. The regime considered both to be incredibly dangerous."

[57] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 56. "the three escapees brought more with them than just the strength of their story. They understood how to transform antifascism; they criticized the Concentration's passivity, a continuation of the Aventine protest abroad, they understood how to reestablish contact with Italy, how to wake the country with "action," "examples," that is with audacious acts done abroad; they understood how to create or help to create an antifascist movement in Italy that was aimed at insurrection."

[58] Many exiles struggled with the financial burden that leaving Italy put on them and their families. Rosselli was among the few who were able to access his estate while in France. Rosselli's family was well-off thanks to his mother's inheritance: Amalia Pincherle Rosselli,

facilitated by his English wife Marion Cave: thanks to her English citizenship, she was able to travel and help coordinate the affair (this successful escape was their third attempt) with a freedom of movement that Italian citizens had already lost.[59]

Rosselli's intentions were immediately clear from an interview he gave to *Italia del Popolo* that contained the principle ideas of the future political movement he would lead. Starting with a redefined scope of the antifascist movement, Rosselli proposed moving away from the traditional focus on propaganda that appealed to the public's sensibilities and general sense of right and wrong. Activism in Italy should be the main goal, argued Rosselli, as that was the only way that the *fuoriusciti* would be able to win back their freedom. Declaring himself to be a "liberal socialist," Rosselli argued that socialism was a descendant more of liberalism than Marxism. He had begun this political reasoning during his *confino* in Lipari, and by the end of 1930 published *Socialismo liberale* in which he challenged Marxism and Italian socialism for being slaves to historical materialism and economic determinism.[60] Furthermore, he accused the

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who was also an exile, inherited her estate from her late-husband John Rosselli, who had invested in mining stock and been lucky. Additionally, because Rosselli's wife Marion Cave was an English woman, the couple maintained ties to her family in England throughout the time of Rosselli's exile in France, offering an additional level of financial support.

[59] Lussu, *Marcia su Roma e dintorni*, 196; Alberto Tarchiani, "L'impresa di Lipari," in *No al fascismo*, ed. Ernesto Rossi (Torino: Einaudi, 1957), 80–89; Richet, "Marion Rosselli."

[60] The first edition of the text was published in a French translation. For Rosselli, the political parties' inertness led to their inability to evolve with time, and squashed any spontaneous revolutionary impulses that would have led to societal change. Even though he recognized Marxism's merits for having contributed to the awareness of industrial society, Rosselli refrained from giving it a historical role and believed Marxism was incapable of explaining the intervening transformations since it reduced humanity as reactionary only to biological motivation. See Carlo Rosselli, *Socialisme libéral*, trans. Stefan Priacel (Paris: Libr. Valois, 1930); *Socialismo liberale; ed. clandestina* (Milano: Edizioni di "Giustizia e libertà," 1944).

Italian worker movement of failing to reinvent itself and respond to the needs of youth. Socialism needed to shed its tired old influences in order to survive, he thought.

Socialismo liberale was a shock to the antifascist system abroad, particularly to the large percentage of PSI and PSULI members. Rosselli was a relatively recent arrival to the *fuoriusciti* community, especially compared to many of the high-profile politicians that had arrived in the early 1920s, and his accusation that socialism and antifascism needed to reinvent themselves in order to succeed was not immediately nor universally accepted by the old guard. Almost immediately upon its formation, Rosselli's new group made three demands of its would-be collaborators (the parties that made up the Antifascist Concentration): 1) all antifascists should unify their actions in Italy with the scope of developing a revolutionary movement; 2) political party activities should be reduced, particularly publication of newspapers and journals; and 3) the maximalist misunderstanding should be abandoned to bring all Socialists together under a common party.[61] Given that the members of the Concentration had only agreed to coexist with each other thanks to agreed upon respect of their respective autonomy, these conditions were resoundingly deemed excessive.

While limiting party and publishing activities made sense to promote unity among the antifascists and to save their limited economic resources, Rosselli's suggestions failed to accommodate the concerns of the antifascist leaders who had been active abroad for many years. Three years prior the Concentration had vigorously *defended* group autonomy in an effort to avoid making the antifascist movement a uniform group in which the initiatives and goals of each individual party had to submit to the larger collective idea. From the Concentration's point

[61] Franco Catalano, *Filippo Turati*, Biblioteca Socialista 6 (Milano: Avanti, 1957), 361.

of view, publications and individual campaigns allowed the parties to maintain their own identities; agreeing to reduce those activities threatened to erode their relevance within the *fuoriusciti*. Without a clear sense of autonomous identity, the parties argued, their actions would be subsumed under a general movement, and they would lose their hard-won influence. The demands set forth by Rosselli's group promoted a way forward that was at direct odds with the carefully crafted and maintained consensus that had been so carefully reached by the Concentration, and some activists began to question his motives. The *Concentrazionisti* saw Rosselli's demands as the first step on a slippery slope towards their undoing. Unable—and perhaps unwilling—to reach any consensus with the "old guard" in the Concentration, Rosselli, Lussu, and Nitti founded *Giustizia e Libertà* (GL) on their own terms in 1929.

While GL and the Concentration argued over alliances and involvement, the Communist party benefitted from its standardized organization throughout Europe. Thanks to the system in place, the Communists were able to harness the energy of the *fuoriusciti* and begin organizing its female members. During the early months of 1930, Teresa Noce was charged with leading Communist recruitment of Italian women migrants in France. Noce—a founding member of the PCI—had left Italy for Moscow prior to arriving in Paris in 1926. During meetings that were often held over the noise of the women's children in attendance, Noce argued that "le donne dovevano anche più degli uomini condurre questa lotta perché esse lottavano, oltre che per se stesse in quanto italiane e lavoratrici, per le loro famiglie e per l'avvenire dei figli."[62] Thanks to Noce's propaganda work—during this time she went by the code name Estella—notable women

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[62] Teresa Noce, *Rivoluzionaria professionale* (Milano: Bompiani, 1977), 134. "Women needed, even more than men, to fight this fight because they were fighting for more than just themselvesas women and workers, but also for their families and their children's future."

such as Elettra Pollastrini and Francesca Ciceri Invernizzi joined the Communist ranks in the fight against antifascism.[63]

Such dedicated organization of *fuoriuscite* was lacking in the non-Communist groups. Eager to gain a reputation in Italy and organize the non-Communist resistance fighters in Italy, GL announced itself with a somewhat broad appeal that was, nonetheless, recognizable by supporters who were familiar with the leaders and their past actions. The movement's motto "Insorgere! Risorgere!" ("Rise Up! Rise Again!") was a call to arms as the leadership announced themselves in their first issue:

> Provenienti da diverse correnti politiche, archiviamo per ora le tessere e creiamo una unità d'azione. Movimento rivoluzionario, non partito, Giustizia e Libertà è il nome e il simbolo. Repubblicani, socialisti e democratici, ci battiamo per la libertà, per la Repubblica, per la giustizia sociale. Non siamo piú tre espressioni differenti ma un trinomio inscindibile.[64]

Rosselli would later explain that this call to action was intentionally vague: the goal of GL's founders had been to direct all of their activities towards Italy to fight the hesitations that had previously inhibited the revolutionary spirit. The founders recognized that the best justification for solidarity was the collective mentality developing among the antifascists that rejected the people, mentality, and methods of the pre-Fascist state, and longed for active revolution that

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[63] Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane," 236.

[64] November 1929, in *Quaderni di "Giustizia e Libertà" (Ristampa fototipica. 1932–1935)* (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1959). "Hailing from diverse political trends, for now let us put away our party cards and create a collective of action. A revolutionary movement, not a political party, *Giustizia e Libertà* is the name and the symbol. Republicans, socialists, democrats, we fight for liberty, for the Republic, for social justice. We are no longer three different expressions, but a inseparable trinomial."

would overthrown the old power structures in Italy.[65] By keeping the organization's mission broad, they hoped to avoid the fracturing and dissent that they feared extended theoretical discussions and organization would bring about, and which would threatened the newly formed group's future. The broad mission precluded, however, a specific address to the role that women would play within the organization.[66]

GL set about creating a plan of direct action, with the ultimate goal always being the downfall of Fascism and Mussolini: "[l]'azione ardita dall'estero venne quindi a configurarsi come azione di appoggio all'organizzazione italiana, di diffusione delle speranze e delle parole d'ordine di questa non attraverso parole, ma attraverso fatti."[67] The attempts to organize the antifascists and consolidate their effectiveness flew in the face of the Concentration's previous accord; many antifascist leaders had left Italy precisely to maintain a certain level of political autonomy, and prospect of giving up that independence at the request of a group of perceived youngsters did not immediately gain traction. While GL did not succeed in negotiating a reorganized leadership and more focused mission, as it had hoped to, the ultimate desire among all the antifascists was always to fight the threat of Fascism and liberate Italy from the dictatorship.

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[65] Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 137.

[66] There is much that suggests that while Rosselli was a supporter of the strong and independent women in his personal circles (his wife and mother, for example), he held little interest in integrating the "woman question" into his antifascist movement. See Noemi Crain Merz, *L'illusione della parità: donne e questione femminile in Giustizia e libertà e nel Partito d'azione* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2013).

[67] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 58. "the courageous action from abroad therefore came to be set up as support for the Italian organization, to spread hope and the rallying cry of the movement not with words, but with deeds."

True to its word, GL began organizing clandestinely and just a year after its creation, French journalist Emile Curet wrote that GL was a Fascist nightmare.[68] Indeed, GL had members in thirty-four Italian cities and had developed an extensive organizational structure that promoted and protected secret-society types of activism. The push to activism lead to a certain propensity for adventure; *liaisons dangereuses* and clandestine activity were necessary if the *fuoriusciti* hoped to be effective in their activities, but they also opened the group up to the risk of being double crossed by the Fascist police and spies. GL established a vast European network of "*giellisti*," a term derived from the organization's acronym, who dedicated themselves to weakening Mussolini's hold on Italy. GL's membership was predominantly male, and the clandestine agents tended to stay in line with the gender demographics of the group, and examples of women being active public participants of GL are limited.[69] Marion Cave published in the Manchester Guardian in 1931, correcting the reporting of Umberto Ceva's prior suicide and publicly linking her name to GL (she would remain under surveillance long after her husband's death). And Joyce Lussu was taken into police custody on several different occasions as she aided fellow antifascist in crossing the borders. Generally, however, women's activities fell into a lesser tier of support work: nearly half of the addresses under the surveillance of the

[68] *Petit Niçois*, August 1930.

[69] A small but noteworthy contingent of women—usually the wives and partners of the leadership—were dedicated to GL throughout the movement. These *gielliste* considered themselves "rebel women," and they purposefully flouted gender norms in the public sphere, participating in the antifascist conspiracy that was traditionally reserved for men. Privately, however, they frequently fell back on their bourgeois upbringing, tending to fade to the background behind their renowned male companions. They seem to have felt secure enough in their relationships and their equal footing with their partners that they viewed their more traditional roles as wives and partners as a choice, rather than oppression to rebel against. This partly explains the fact that not a single *giellesta* ever published in *Quaderni di Giustizia e libertà*, which remained throughout its existence a sounding board only for the men. Crain Merz, *L'illusione della parità*, 30.

Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Antifascism (OVRA, Italy's secret police) in Paris belonged to women, thanks to GL's incorrect assumption that a woman's name would raise less suspicion with the police.[70] As Fausto Nitti remembered of that time, "lo spionaggio fascista creavano gravi ostacoli alla attività degli emigrati politici. Come sempre, gli esiliati dovevano guardarsi dai provocatori e dalle spie, che lavoravano alla diretta dipendenza dei consolati e al servizio dell'Ovra, la tristamente famosa organizzazione spionistica e repressiva creata da Mussolini."[71]

Publishing antifascist propaganda and getting it into Italy was the predominant activity, and the movement's propaganda machine was impressive: in ten months GL had mailed twenty series of pamphlets to Italy, each of which was made up of one hundred thousand copies. To avoid the Fascist sensors the *giellisti* smuggled in newspapers in false-bottomed suitcases, sent innocuous-looking packages through the mail, and paid off border control guards. On this scale the group could be certain that their message was reaching Italians at home, despite the regime's attempts to censor and block revolutionary material from entering the country. Emilio Lussu and Carlo Rosselli edited some of the pamphlets themselves, and the two men's differing personalities and ideologies influenced the content: Lussu's pamphlets were most successful in communicating the environment and military mentality of the *fuoriusciti*, while Rosselli edited his pamphlet to be aimed at working-class Italians with an instructive call to action laid out for them. Aware of GL's role in the fight against Fascism and their insurrectionary prospective,

[70] Ibid., 30–31.

[71] Nitti, "L'antifascismo nell'esilio e nella guerra di Spagna," 118–19. "the Fascist espionage created grave obstacles for the political migrants' activities. As always, the exiles needed to be vigilant of agitators and spies, who worked directly under the consulates and in the service of OVRA, the infamous and repressive spy organization created by Mussolini."

Rosselli was attempting to move Italians closer to the antifascist movement by giving them information about GL's goals, along with informative guides on how to bring about the revolution.

Leading up to 1931 the leaders of GL had been courting the PSI in the hopes of finding common ground and fostering cooperation between the two groups. The road was not easy: the PSI was wary of Rosselli's brand of socialism and the blistering accusations in his recently published *Socialismo liberale*. The split in the XIX Congress was still fresh in the Socialists' minds, and Rosselli's radical ideas for how antifascists abroad should organize themselves went against the status quo. Wariness aside, both groups shared enough interests that a truce was indeed possible: GL was ready to make the transition from a non-party, volunteer organization to a more organized movement, and hoped that the support of the PSI would facilitate that.[72] For the Socialists—aware of their limited presence within Italy and the looming risk of becoming a political party made up by and for *émigrés*—an alliance with an activist group like GL provided a more promising vision of the future in post-war Italy. In the end, the mutually beneficial agreement was formalized on July 31, 1931. In the agreement the PSI officially recognized GL as the only Action Movement aimed at Italy and, accordingly, offered its assistance and collaboration while still maintaining its autonomy in decision making for its own initiatives. The

[72] In March Rosselli wrote to his brother: "Non me la sento piú di proseguire una pura lotta d'azione. […] l'inverno superato senza incidenti gravi, nonostante la crisi, l'apatia delle masse, il mutamento di fronte di politica estera, lo stato dei giovani questi e cento altri elementi che ben conosci mi hanno convinto che la lotta, oltre che dura, sarà ben lunga. Ed io non mi sento di bruciarmi cosí, unicamente volto all'azione per anni." Carlo Rosselli et al., *Epistolario familiare: Carlo, Nello Rosselli, e la madre (1914–1937)* (Milano: SugarCo, 1979), 519. "I no longer feel like following just a struggle of action. […] the winter passed without serious incident, other than the crisis, the apathy of the masses, the change to the political front abroad, the state of the young and a hundred other things that you know well have me convinced that the struggle, more than hard, will be long. And I don't feel like burning myself like this, only turned to action for years."

goals of the two groups remained the same: overthrow the Fascist regime and instate a democratic republic in Italy.

As the 1930s progressed, the *fuoriusciti* began to suffer a crisis of morale. Many of the antifascist activists had been in exile for five to ten years, forcibly separated from family and removed from their homeland. Rather than feeling that their actions and goals were crystalizing into more substantive objectives with a series of successes, the general horizon towards which many *fuoriusciti* focused their energies seemed hazier than ever. Spectacular activism no longer held quite the same level of surprise and innovation, and calls to join the revolution had failed to mobilize the Italians back home into action. Even the newspaper publications began to feel repetitive, and antifascists from every party were growing weary of fighting for their country on a world stage that seemed largely indifferent to their complaints.

In truth the antifascist *fuoriusciti* were facing increasingly difficult conditions with decreasing resources. Difficulty reaching out to Italians still in Italy not only made it hard to plan action, but it also made it easy for many *fuoriusciti* to fall into a state of indifference. Additionally, Mussolini's influence domestically and internationally showed no sign of waning, and his strategic alliance with the Church was another blow to the antifascist movement. The concordat with the Church essentially gave the blessing of the most influential institution in Italy, but it also allowed for the existence of the *Azione Cattolica*, a counter-Fascist group. While many of the *fuoriusciti* had left Italy after the political parties were banned and it became impossible to legally protest the regime, the *Azione Cattolica* became an official channel for action, decreasing some of the support for the clandestine antifascist groups. Mussolini's success at consensus building domestically, and his campaign for alliances abroad challenged the

antifascist propaganda machine's accusations that the dictatorship was illegal and immoral; the claim that Italy was becoming a bellicose state began to be viewed as less and less probable.[73]

Continuing the public relations campaign, in 1932 the Fascist police made a few highly publicized arrests of antifascists that were planning violent attacks. Antifascist activism was branded as associated with terrorism, which delivered a blow to the movement's credibility, and the strength of the regime was in turn increased. In this difficult environment of low-morale among the *fuoriusciti*, the leadership and membership of the Antifascist Concentration continued to struggle with unity. GL's alliance with the PSI had resulted in GL finally becoming a part of the Antifascist Concentration. The inclusion of GL in the Concentration was a significant step towards unity among the antifascists abroad, but the uneasy relationship between the various parties meant that that unity continued to be tenuous. Seeing an opportunity to consolidate the organization under his vision of a unified socialist umbrella, in January of 1932 Rosselli decided to publish a theoretical socialist journal, *Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà*, further developing his polemic philosophy of an authentic Italian socialism. The journal only furthered the growing rift between GL and the PSI. The deaths of Turati and Treves within a year of each other in 1932 and 1933—the men were two of the most active Socialist leaders in the Concentration, and also supporters of the collaboration between the Socialists and GL—further stressed the increasingly uncomfortable alliance in the Concentration.

In the end, despite the shared leadership, the Concentration was unable to survive. The PSI and the PRI criticized Rosselli and GL for their first issue of *Quaderni di Giustizia e*

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[73] Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 120; Robert O Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 135–41.

Libertà.[74] Troubled by the tone of the articles, the Concentration was also concerned that GL's paper would cannibalize their own paper's readership; their fears proved correct, and the last issue of *Libertà* was published in 1933. That same year Emilio Lussu had published an article entitled "Orientamenti" in *Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà* in which he compared the Antifascist Concentration to a cracked bell: without a way to fix the break, the only option was to recast the bell, and Lussu argued that only GL was in the position to be the mold for the new one.[75] Additionally, the Republicans and GL were displeased with the Socialists' advances towards an alliance with the Communists. With none of the members of the triumvirate satisfied with their partners' contributions to the Concentration's stated goal of collaboration and unity, the alliance fell apart. On May 5, 1934 it officially came to an end.[76]

The second half of the 1930s marked an increased participation in antifascist activities by the *fuoriuscite*, which also corresponds to more documentation of their existence in political spheres. The dissolution of the Antifascist Concentration had lingering effects on the Socialist and Democrats' ability to organize their women members, but the Communists continued, under Teresa Noce's leadership, to reach out to women, strengthening their ties to both French and International organizations. Specific examples of groups and initiatives formed for women migrants include: the formation of the *Gruppo femminile Anna Kuliscioff* in Paris in 1934, led by

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[74] *Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà* was edited by GL leadership in Paris. Twelve issues were published from 1932–1935. While several women were active in GL throughout its existence, particularly Joyce Lussu, not a single woman published in the journal. See *Quaderni di "Giustizia e Libertà" (Ristampa fototipica. 1932–1935)*. (Some numbers also have the title in French: *Cahier de Justice et liberté.*) On the movement's lack of involvement by the women members, see Crain Merz, *L'illusione della parità*, 30.

[75] February, 1933, *Quaderni di "Giustizia e Libertà" (Ristampa fototipica. 1932–1935)*.

[76] Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, 234.

Bianca Tosoni Pittoni and Letizia Levi; and in 1937 in Lorraine another women's group started in Boulange, thanks to the support of the *Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière*.[77] Together with Xenia Silberberg, Emilio Sereni's wife, Noce—who had adopted the *nom de guerre* Estella—started the antifascist newspaper *La Voce delle Donne*, published in Paris from 1934 to 1937.[78] Through the articles of *La voce delle donne*, it is possible to trace the formation of small antifascist women's groups—usually ten or so women—showing that there was widespread interest among the *fuoriuscite* to join the antifascist movement. The monthly newspaper was dedicated to the issues of the *fuoriuscite*, and offered a unique channel of communication for communist propaganda and women's initiatives throughout France (though with a tendency to focus on Paris).

After the dissolution of the Concentration, Rosselli was left as the only remaining active leader out of the three founding members of GL; Fausto Nitti had taken a step away from the organization for personal reasons, and Emilio Lussu had decided to take a medical leave (which ended up being several years long). Lussu was also in disagreement with Rosselli over the direction in which GL was moving: whereas Rosselli wanted to create a new political tradition through the group's antifascist work, Lussu envisioned a movement that united all the antifascist groups in a Socialist-Republican paramilitary organization along the lines of the *Schutzbund* (an Austrian paramilitary organization of the left).[79] The two founders disagreed strongly enough

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[77] Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane," 246.

[78] In 1937 *La voce delle donne* would change its name to *Noi donne*, a name that was later adopted by the *Unione Donne Italiane* (UDI) for their monthly newspaper that ran from 1944–1990. Maltone, "Scrivere Contro"; Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane," 247.

[79] In 1923 the Austrian Socialist Party established the paramilitary Republikanischer Schutzbund (Republican Protection League) as a reaction to the rising political radicalization in the years

that Lussu ended up publishing his dissent in a long letter of resignation that received a fair amount of support within the membership. While others chose not to publicize their complaints, there was a distinct sense that GL was increasingly being run by young idealists (Carlo Rosselli, et al.), and members of the old executive committee (Emilio Lussu, et al.) who respected the founding fathers of democratic antifascism feared that there would be no room for older generations in the organization's leadership. Ultimately, after the *Concentrazione Antifascista* dissolved in 1934, Rosselli and GL officially took up the mantle of organizing antifascist action abroad. Unfortunately, this period marked a high number of failed initiatives led by the organization. This seeming paradox perhaps explains why this also ended up being the period in which GL reinvented itself as a permanent political movement, rather than a collection of activists with only one immediate goal. For Garosci, "La vera ragione per cui la figura di Rosselli e il suo movimento—pure spesso isolato, inefficace sui più grossi movimenti e partiti, travagliato da problemi interni—non cessarono tuttavia di crescere d'importanza in questo periodo, fu che G.L. seppe conservare e esprimere non le ragioni di un partito, ma la coscienza viva dell'antifascismo in generale."[80] While Rosselli believed in Liberal Socialism, he had intentionally conceived GL as an antifascist movement first, and thus created an organization that attracted those *fuoriusciti* who were passionate about contributing to the end of Fascism; the most important goal of the group remained antifascist activism.

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after WWI. C. A. Macartney, "The Armed Formations in Austria," *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* 8, no. 6 (1929): 617–32, doi:10.2307/3015677.

[80] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 124–25. "The real reason that Rosselli and his movement never ceased to grow in importance in this period—even though they were often isolated, ineffective at influencing the largest movements and parties, troubled by internal problems—was that GL knew how to conserve and express the lively consciousness of antifascism in general, not the reasonings of a political party."

Mussolini had succeeded in creating a general atmosphere of consensus within Italy, and in 1932 he assumed the role of the Foreign Minister. While he outwardly attempted to portray the role of pacifier in Europe, Mussolini felt that a successful colonial campaign in Africa would not only strengthen Italy's position to compete with England and France, but would also increase his dominance as *il Duce* in domestic policy.[81] Having readied the troops in the years after assuming the Foreign Minister role, Mussolini gave the order to invade in October 1935, marking the beginning of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War. There was considerable outcry across Europe, for the invasion marked the first aggressive act by a European power in ten years. The League of Nations reacted swiftly, branding Italy as an aggressor and invoking economic sanctions. The *fuoriusciti* focused their efforts on condemning the war and turning international opinion against Mussolini and the military effort. However, the Italian reaction to the Ethiopian War was overwhelmingly positive: the main part of the country was conquered in May 1936, with only around one thousand of the six hundred thousand Italian troops being lost in combat, and the populace generally considered the enterprise a success, one that previous leaders had been unable to achieve.[82] While the gains from the war were limited in terms of land and economic power, the Ethiopian War was a powerful propaganda coup for the Regime, and Mussolini used the increased good-will among the people to take further control of the government.[83]

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[81] Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 228.

[82] Ibid., 234.

[83] Payne suggests that at this time Mussolini considered eliminating the monarchy all together—the only remaining political power limiting him from absolute control of the government—but ultimately decided that it was an unnecessary step given Victor Emmanuel's advanced age. Ibid., 235.

The Ethiopian War represented a low point for the *fuoriusciti* community, for while GL and the parties were vocal of their disapproval of aggression "perchè è una guerra, e perchè è guerra imperialista, e […] perché è una guerra fascista," they were also discouraged by the overwhelming approval of the campaign throughout Italy.[84] As Vera Modigliani remembers of that time, "l'antifascismo italiano in esilio sentì che si era giunti ad una svolta e che sarebbe stato vile rinunziare a schierarsi pro o contro; pro o contro l'avventura minacciosa per le sorti del nostro paese; pro o contro la rientrata in iscena del cannone, in un'Europa sempre più satura di esplosivi."[85] The inroads that many felt they had been making with their antifascist propaganda seemed to be reversing, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to envision how Italians would be ready for the antifascist revolution in which Rosselli so strongly believed. In August 1934, forty-seven Italian women delegates from France, Switzerland, and Belgium participated in the Women's World Congress for the Fight against War and Fascism in Paris.[86] In May 1935, the *Comitato italiano femminile* launched its own campaign against the war in Ethiopia. A call to action read:

> A meno che di essere un mostro nessuna donna è in favore della guerra. [...] La guerra per noi donne significa maggiore miseria e maggiore schiavitù, significa la

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[84] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 133. "Because it is a war, and because it is an imperialistic war, and […] because it is a Fascist war."

[85] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 250. "Italian antifascism in exile felt that it had arrived at turning point a that it would have been cowardly to refuse to declare for or against the war; for or against the threatening ordeal of our country's destiny; for or against the reemergence of cannons, in a Europe that is saturated with explosives."

[86] Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane," 247.

separazione dai nostri cari, dai nostri sposi, la rovina delle nostre famiglie, la morte pei nostri fratelli e pei nostri figli.[87]

Despite the *fuoriusciti*'s concerted efforts, Italy's reaction to the war was overwhelmingly positive. International sanctions, while heartening to the Italians abroad who were against the war, had the perverse effect of furthering Mussolini's popularity domestically.

Less than two months after the success of the Ethiopian War a new revolutionary-counterrevolutionary civil war broke out in Spain. In 1936 the falangist-monarchical led army attempted to take over the leftist and democratically elected Republican government.[88] Whereas the fall of de Rivera had been hailed by many antifascists as a sign that Europe was moving away from fascism, when civil war broke out between the Republicans and the Nationalists—who installed Francisco Franco as the head of government—the effect for antifascists abroad was chilling: "La Guerra di Spagna fu come uno squillo d'allarme che gli antifascisti esuli, insieme con gli antifascisti in Italia, percepirono e interpretarono come […] fatto di enorme importanza per le conseguenze che quel conflitto avrebbe avuto in Italia e nel mondo."[89] Modigliani also highlighted the tension of this time: "La guerra civile spagnuola sarà per noi un periodo di ansia

[87] *La voce delle donne*, May 3, 1935. "As long as she is not a monster, no woman is pro-war. […] For us women, war means more misery and more slavery, it means separation from our loved ones, from our spouses, the ruin of our families, the death of our brothers and children."

[88] Whether or not Franco's dictatorship should be labeled as fascist is up for some debate. Born out of the falangist movement, there were many similarities to other fascist regimes, and Mussolini considered Franco's rule to be ideologically allied with his own. Payne notes that the Spanish dictatorship ultimately became more Catholic and traditionalist than Fascism. See *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 263–67, 466.

[89] Nitti, "L'antifascismo nell'esilio e nella guerra di Spagna," 119. "The Civil War in Spain was like an alarm that the antifascist exiles, along with the antifascists in Italy, understood and interpreted to be […] an event that held enormous importance for the consequences it would have on the conflict in Italy and the world."

dolorosa, così come era stata la guerra di Etiopia."[90] While the League of Nations members had officially signed a Non-Intervention Agreement in 1936, the Nationalists immediately received money, arms, and troops from Germany and Italy.[91] For Mussolini, support for the Spanish Nationalists was both strategic to secure control of the Mediterranean, and ideological since Franco's dictatorship seemed to rise with many parallels to Mussolini's. The Civil War also offered Mussolini another opportunity to demonstrate the might of Italy's army, which had just experienced such quick success in Ethiopia.

For the exiled antifascists, the Spanish Civil War represented a tangible opportunity to fight against Franco's falangist regime and, by extension, his ally Mussolini. Indeed, while Rosselli had been unable to convince the other antifascist leaders to engage in the fight against the Ethiopian War, the Civil War in Spain represented an opportunity to make up for that previous inaction and fight against fascism:

> Prima ancora che fosse noto l'intervento mussoliniano in Spagna (appena cioè ci si rese conto che il colpo di stato non sarebbe riuscito da solo, ma avrebbe incontrato resistenza e la lotta si sarebbe decisa a lunga scadenza) Rosselli aveva compreso che in Spagna la posta era tra fascismo e antifascismo, che in Spagna si

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[90] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 252. "The Civil War in Spain was to be, for us, a period of anxious pain, just as the war in Ethiopia was."

[91] In 1936 Mussolini sent Franco 10,000 machine guns, 240,000 rifles, 1,930 cannons and three divisions of *squadristi*. By 1937, 44,000 Italians fought alongside the Nationalists, and by 1938 that number had grown to 60,000. Nitti, "L'antifascismo nell'esilio e nella guerra di Spagna," 121.

decideva non la sorte di un colpo di mano militare, ma il destino di Mussolini e quello dell'Italia.[92]

With the organization of the International Brigades, the Civil War was also unique for the antifascists because it offered "alla fine una ragione immediata, e non intermediata di battersi."[93] Energized by the possibility to engage in direct combat with the enemy, many *fuoriusciti* volunteered to fight alongside the Republicans in the International Brigades.[94]

Rosselli led the members of GL in the *Colonna Italiana*. Commonly known as the Matteotti Battalion or the *Colonna Rosselli*, it was a volunteer regime that fought in support of the Republican forces. Through the propaganda machine that GL had built up, Rosselli resoundingly criticized France and Britain's neutrality policy, especially after Italy and Germany started supplying troops and arms to Franco's army. Indeed, the Italian Navy contributed to the blockade in the Mediterranean, greatly aiding the fascist counterrevolutionaries. It was during this period of activism that Rosselli's made his famous remark, "Oggi in Spagna, domani in Italia" ("Today in Spain, tomorrow in Italy). The idea quickly spread that Italians could fight alongside the Republicans in Spain for liberty, and that that experience would prepare them well for their eventual revolution against Fascism in Italy.

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[92] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 145–46. "Even before Mussolini's intervention in Spain was known (that is, just as it began to be understood that the coup d'etat would not be achieved along, but it would be met with resistance and the fight would be decided much later) Rosselli had understood that in Spain the wager was between fascism and antifascism, that in Spain the decision was not about the destiny of a sudden military attack, but about Mussolini and Italy's destiny."

[93] Ibid., 146. "finally and immediate, and not indirect, reason to fight."

[94] Italians were not alone: volunteers from across the world joined the International Brigades, and made up a considerably large contingent of foreign fighters on the side of the Republicans. Over the course of the War, an estimated 40,000 foreigners fought in the Brigades, and many Italians followed Rosselli to join the Garibaldi Battalion.

While there were some decisive victories for the antifascist Italians, such as at the Battle of Guadalajara, in the end the Republicans were unable to defeat Franco and, by extension, Mussolini.[95] The Republican defeat in 1939 was particularly painful for the *fuoriusciti* because in 1937 the Rosselli brothers had been assassinated in Bagnoles-de-l'Orne, France. *Cagoulards*, most likely working on the orders of Mussolini, killed them both, dealing a devastating blow to the *fuoriusciti* community.[96] Garosci remembers:

> L'assassinio di Rosselli si inquadra con precisione nella situazione creata dall'emigrazione italiana nella guerra spagnola. Prima dell'intervento degli emigrati in Spagna, prima della "Colonna italiana" e del "battaglione Garibaldi", un tale assassinio è difficilmente concepibile; i rischi e gli inconvenienti sarebbero stati evidentemente maggiori dei vantaggi. Ma, come l'assassinio di Matteotti nel clima del 1924 mostrava l'incapacità del regime a dominare, altrimenti che col terrore, una opposizione parlamentare, così l'assassinio di Rosselli mostra la incapacità di Mussolini di affrontare la battaglia internazionale in un clima in cui i "fuorusciti" facessero la loro parte.[97]

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[95] The battle of Guadalajara in March 1937 was one of the most decisive wins for the Republicans, and it represented a true Italian battle, as the Garibaldi Battalion fought against troops that were predominantly Italian Fascist soldiers. Mussolini had heavily armed Franco's Nationalists to ensure that the victory was credited to Italy's involvement, but instead the antifascist propaganda machine took the victory as an opportunity to convince soldiers to desert the Fascist army and join them. Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936–1939* (Penguin, 2006), 228.

[96] La Cagoule (The Hood) was the derisive term given to agents of the Comité Secret d'Action Révolutionnaire (CSAR) in France. Made up of middle-class radicals from the right, La Cagoule aimed to incite a military coup through terrorist acts. See Philippe Bourdrel, *La Cagoule: histoire d'une société secrète du Front Populaire à la Vè République* (Editions Albin Michel, 1992).

[97] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 162. "Rosselli's assassination was framed within the situation created by the Italian emigration to the Civil War in Spain. Before the involvement of the

Vera Modigliani considered this traumatic event the "caso Matteotti dell'esilio."[98]

Fuoriuscitismo and WWII

By 1939 Hitler had annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia, and it seemed likely that he would continue his campaign into Poland. In an effort to curb his military advances, France and Britain signed an Agreement of Mutual Assistance with Poland, agreeing to offer military support in the likely event of a German invasion. Indeed, German troops did begin to take over Poland on September 1, 1939, with Britain and France declaring war on German just three days later. For many of the *fuoriusciti*, this war had felt inevitable for some time, but the discovery of the formation of the Nazi-Soviet Pact—which had been signed August 23, 1939 and remained in force until the Germany broke it by invading the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941—came as a shock to much of Europe. Until Hitler and Stalin reached their agreement, the general consensus among the antifascists was that there was an irreconcilable difference between the Nazi party and Stalin's Communist state. The USSR's military advances to the west had been dismissed as threats to France and England rather than a possible move towards an alliance with Germany, and the realization that the Nazis and communists were official allies sent shockwaves through the *fuoriusciti* communities: "l'accordo germane-sovietico del 23 agosto scoppiò come una bomba per la quasi unanimità dei Francesi e dei profughi italiani. Di guisa che, lì per lì, fra questi

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migrants in Spain, before the "Italian Brigade" and the "Garibaldi Battalion," it is difficult to imagine an assassination of this type; the risks and problems would have been considerably worse than the advantages. But, just as Matteotti's assassination in 1924 demonstrated the regime's inability to control an opposition parliament without terror, so Rosselli's assassination showed Mussolini's inability to deal with the international battalions that included the involvement of the *fuoriusciti*."

[98] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 265–67.

ultimi, non trovò più nessuno, assolutamente nessuno, che non considerasse il patto del 23 agosto come un tradimento da denunciare senza la minima esitazione."[99]

For France, the German/Soviet alliance represented a dire threat, for without the fear of attack from the East, Hitler was free to continue his military advances to the West. Britain and France had been attempting to negotiate neutrality with Mussolini throughout the 1930s, and there was reason to believe at the end of the decade that Mussolini had begun to fear that Hitler had grown too powerful.[100] Despite having signed the Pact of Steal in 1939—which allied Italy to Germany in the event of an eventual combined war against France—Mussolini also signed a new commercial accord with France, going so far as to provide materiel and information to the French. Prime Minister Daladier became particularly cautious to avoid any implication that France was interested in an ideological war against the neighboring dictatorship:

> Rispetto agli stranieri, e agli italiani in particolare, la preoccupazione di nulla lasciar fare che potesse dare un pretesto di malcontento a Mussolini era tale, nel governo francese, che ogni pubblica attività antifascista venne quasi interamente sospesa. I giornali antifascisti vennero, dopo poche settimane, soppressi; lo stesso

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[99] Ibid., 290. "the news of the German-Soviet agreement on August 23 exploded like a bomb for almost all of the French and exiled Italians. So much so that, here and there, among the exiles, I found no one, absolutely no one, who considered the agreement on August 23 as anything but a betrayal that must be repudiated without any hesitation."

[100] For Payne, Mussolini's attempts at negotiating a "neutral bloc" of southern European states to insulate Italy from the looming war, and his support for Finland after the Soviet Union attacked there, both indicated that Mussolini was not an eager ally to Hitler. *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 384.

> appello per la legione italiana […] venne mutilato delle sue sobrie allusioni al fascismo italiano, così da perdere forza ed efficacia persuasiva.[101]

The result of this suppression of antifascist activity by the French government was that the *fuoriusciti* had to push their propaganda and planning underground, and clandestine activity became the only way that the *fuoriusciti* could continue the *lotta antifascista*. In regards to Hitler's continued aggressions, the non-communist groups were willing and able to condemn the new alliance between Hitler and Stalin, and they vigorously defended France's autonomy from Hitler's advances. The contrast, however, between their ability to defend the liberty of their adopted country, and their inability to continue to fight for their *patria* left many *fuoriusciti* discouraged and unsure of how to proceed.

The day after France declared war on Germany (a mere ten days after the Nazi-Soviet Pact was announced) LIDU, GL, the PSI and the PRI met to decide to unify their forces to aid the French and continue to fight for democracy in Europe. Thus, the *Comitato Nazionale Italiano* was born, with its headquarters in Paris. The French government did nothing to hinder this support for French democracy, and Italian nationals were not rounded up and interned in prisoner of war camps. Instead, the French asked the *fuoriusciti* for an *acte de loyalisme*, an "impegno di non turbare in nessun modo la lotta che esso governo conduceva."[102] This was the environment

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[101] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 198. "In regards to the foreigners, and to the Italians in particular, the French government's preoccupation with avoiding at all costs any activity that would disturb Mussolini was such that all public displays of antifascist activity were immediately suspended. After a few weeks the antifascist newspapers were shut down; a similar call went out for the Italian legion […] which was changed by its simple allusions of Italian Fascism, such that it lost all force and persuasion."

[102] Ibid., 201. "a promise to not in any way disturb the government's fight."

in which the *fuoriusciti* found themselves when, in June 1940, the Allied forces lost the Battle of Sédan, leading to the rapid fall of France and the subsequent Nazi occupation of the country.

For Mussolini, the Nazi success was troublesome, for up to this point he had been carefully balancing a co-alliance with both Germany and France. Payne succinctly summarizes *il Duce*'s dilemma:

> It now appeared that Hitler was about to win a stunning victory that would make him master of western Europe, while Italy—despite all its Fascist pageantry of war—stood peacefully on the sidelines. Moreover, Mussolini had had to ignore the terms of his own military alliance with Germany when he declared non-belligerence, and he now seemed to be exposed as a hollow braggart unwilling to fight, with Italy once more, as in 1914, "the whore of Europe," refusing to honor its alliances. Even worse, from a practical point of view, if Italy failed to enter the conflict, the country would gain no profit from the peace settlement likely to be dictated by Germany and would be weaker than ever by comparison with a victorious Reich, which would no longer have any reason to favor its de facto non-ally.[103]

Faced with the embarrassment of inaction and the potential losses from the spoils of war, Mussolini declared war on France June 10, 1940. By this point France had largely lost to the well-organized German troops, and Italy's intervention appeared to give "an already mortally wounded France a final stab in the back."[104] That said, the French army was able to resist the

[103] Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, 384.

[104] Ibid.

Italian units for some time, adding further embarrassment to Italy's paltry land settlement in the subsequent peace agreement between Hitler and the Vichy government.

The armistice divided France into zones: the occupied zones in the north and west would fall under German control, while Italy would control a smaller territory in the south-east; the unoccupied zone that remained would be under the control of the French Vichy government, with Marshal Pétain at the head. Many of the *fuoriusciti* fled to the unoccupied zones to avoid capture by Nazi or Fascist police, though the relative safety of those areas diminished as WWII continued. In September 1940, German troops marched on Paris, and any of the *fuoriusciti* who still remained joined the mass exodus fleeing the city.[105]

After the fall of France, the world of the *fuoriusciti* in France changed dramatically: antifascist leaders scattered throughout the country, and the towns where they settled became the new centers of antifascist activism. Many *fuoriusciti* were immediately handed over to the Italian government by the Vichy police based on their prior records and were generally sent to concentration camps (though a few did manage to escape). For those who were not immediately apprehended, some went underground choosing to wait until the end of the war to reengage in political action. Others, such as Joyce and Emilio Lussu, continued to travel throughout unoccupied France and bordering countries until the end of the war. For the Lussu's, Joyce's presence even served as a diversion and protection from police aggression: traveling with a blond haired, blued eyed woman who spoke nearly-native German and French considerably reduced

[105] All three authors in this study evoke the imagery of the slow-flowing rivers of people evacuating Paris ahead of the Nazi invasion.

Emilio's danger (he happened to be one of the most wanted clandestine antifascist activists in Europe at the time) as they traveled throughout Europe.[106]

In many ways the women who participated in the clandestine antifascist movement were a perplexing affront to patriarchal fascist society. On the one hand, they were women and therefore viewed by the Fascist troops as unequal to the task of political engagement at the level of their male colleagues. On the other hand, they were clearly involved in many antifascist activities, including GL and the Communist's clandestine work. That involvement challenged their perceived traditional femininity. For Crain Merz, this paradox was particularly salient during the women's arrests and episodes in prison: "da un lato, esse hanno violato un tabù molto più grande di quanto possa aver fatto un agitatore uomo, ma dall'altro ai poliziotti fascisti riesce difficile vedere in una donna un'avversaria, proprio a causa della concezione della donna come sesso debole, impotente e inerme."[107]

Slowly but surely the number of *fuoriusciti* who remained in France after the Nazi occupation began to dwindle, as arrests and imprisonments of high profile antifascists became more and more common.[108] In Marseilles GL dedicated a large portion of its activities to

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[106] Joyce credits her Aryan looks and German education for the good treatment she received during one episode when she was captured by the Nazis on the French-Swiss border in *Padre, padrone, padreterno: breve storia di schiave e matrone, villane e castellane, streghe e mercantesse, proletarie e padrone* (Milano: G. Mazzotta, 1976), 31–32. Emilio also comments on the strategy behind having his young wife at his side throughout his clandestine activities, arguing that a disheveled bachelor is more likely to raise police suspicions than a young couple "per bene," see *Diplomazia clandestina, 14 giugno 1940-25 luglio 1943* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1956).

[107] Crain Merz, *L'illusione della parità*, 73. "On the one hand, they had violated a taboo much more gravely than the male agents could have, but on the other it was very difficult for the fascist police to see these women as adversaries, precisely because of the idea that women were the weaker sex, important and defenseless."

[108] Nenni, Faravelli, and Bocconi all suffered this fate.

providing false documents for exiles living clandestinely, and helping facilitate border crossings into Switzerland for those who needed to escape. In her memoir *Fronti e frontiere*, Joyce Lussu recounts the near-miss Vera and Giuseppe Modigliani had, as Joyce helped them flee across the French-Swiss border by distracting the Italian soldiers that were trying to stop them. Lussu, who posed as a French woman, was arrested and briefly imprisoned, but the Modiglianis successfully escaped, and proceeded to travel extensively throughout the Allied nations for the rest of the war.

Life for the *fuoriusciti* became increasingly difficult. Some, like Joyce Lussu, could live clandestinely and avoid being captured by Italian soldiers by passing as French. Others, such as the Modiglianis, found themselves at increased risk as Socialists, antifascists, and Jews. For many, like Maria Brandon Albini, life became a balancing act of avoiding attention and suspicion while aiding the Resistance efforts, both for the antifascists and the French Partisans. Many antifascist activities were begun anew in the unoccupied zones, and clandestine newspapers began circulating not long after the arrival of the *fuoriusciti*.

The German and Italian occupation of France marked a new era of *fuoriuscitismo*; similar to the impetus to leave Italy as Mussolini's regime restricted the antifascists' activities, as France became increasingly hostile for Italian exiles, many political leaders chose to leave their original exile for yet another country. New communities of *fuoriusciti*—this time fleeing fascist oppression in France—sprang up in the United States, Mexico, and Egypt, as well as in numerous South American pockets. The leaders of GL were the most numerous recipients of emergency visas in the United States, and thanks to the help of the unions, the Quakers, and the Unitarian Universalists most of the leadership was able to escape Marseilles.[109]

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[109] Susan Elisabeth Subak, *Rescue and Flight: American Relief Workers Who Defied the Nazis* (U of Nebraska Press, 2010).

The changing landscape had a profound effect on the antifascist collective in France. While GL still remained intact as both an organization and a movement, many of the political parties abroad were forced to reduce their activities and scope of organization. As Elisa Signori has noted in her study on the Republicans and *giellisti* during this period, the old political parties began to function on a much more local level, as connection points between the specific programs of Resistance being carried out in Marseilles, Lyon, or Grenoble, for example, and the larger collective of the antifascist network throughout Europe and the Americas.[110]

Returning to Italy

The advent of World War II had already started the process of returning some of the *fuoriusciti* to Italy: the 1938 measures against "*étrangers indésirables*" (undesirable foreigners) led to many cases of deportation, and the repression of political action inspired many active Italians to return home, where they hoped their clandestine work would have a more direct outcome against Mussolini. Others chose to stay in France, frequently because of the family ties that the migrants had developed during their years abroad.[111] For those who were not captured or forced to leave, the decision of when and how to return to Italy differed. For many, the desire to return was immediate upon hearing the news that Mussolini had been removed from power on July 24,

[110] Elisa Signori, "Repubblicani e giellisti in Francia tra guerra di Spagna e Resistenza," in *Gli italiani in Francia: 1938–1946*, ed. Gianni Perona and Giuseppe Astre (Milano: F. Angeli, 1994), 148.

[111] Emanuela Miniati, "Antifascisti Liguri in Francia. Caratteristiche E Percorsi Del Fuoriuscitismo Regionale," *Fughe E Ritorni. Aspetti Delle Migrazioni Nel XIX E XX Secolo*, Percorsi Storici, 1 (2013), http://www.percorsistorici.it/component/content/article/17-numeri-rivista/numero-1/72-emanuela-miniati-antifascisti-liguri-in-francia-caratteristiche-e-percorsi-del-fuoriuscitismo-regionale.html.

1943. Some *fuoriusciti*, like Ernesta Cassola and Luigi Campolonghi, returned to Italy after the announcement of the armistice (Luigi unfortunately died only a few months after his return).

Even with the Allies moving north along the peninsula, and Mussolini no longer the dictator, it was a dangerous decision to return to Italy. Many Italians were unsure if the Fascist soldiers and police would continue to persecute the antifascists upon their arrival, or if the government was truly overthrown. Joyce and Emilio Lussu both chose to return to Italy in 1943, but Joyce returned openly via train, while Emilio crossed the border clandestinely: Emilio's long history as an antifascist activist made it more risky for him to travel openly, while Joyce's relatively unknown status to OVRA meant that she could pass through police checkpoints freely.

For the *fuoriusciti* who sought refuge outside of France—such as the Modiglianis in Switzerland, or Gaetano Salvemini in the United States—return was not a quick process. World War II continued, and many borders were still closed to travel. Italy was an uncertain place to be, for while the Allies steadily made progress liberating Italy as they moved north, the Nazi occupation was strong and the fighting was brutal. Some of the activist *fuoriusciti* in France suffered a fate similar to Teresa Noce's: having successfully avoided capture throughout the years of war, she was eventually captured and deported to a concentration camp in Ravensbrück, Germany, and was only able to return to Italy after 1945. Eventually, though, many of the politicians who had been forced out of Italy years, sometimes decades before, returned and took up the task of slowly rebuilding their country.

The *fuoriusciti*'s return was not universally met with enthusiasm; for many antifascists who had remained to fight Fascism in Italy, those who had left the country were seen as latecomers to the struggle. For years the *fuoriusciti* had struggled to influence affairs in Italy, and their return reignited the debate over how influential the politicians and the leaders could be

when they had absented themselves from the political scene. As Garosci, who was himself a *fuoriuscito*, remembers, "Il ritorno degli esuli pone il problema della loro influenza buona o cattiva, ottima o nefasta, sulla costruzione del nuovo stato italiano, sulle tendenze dei partiti e sui primi passi della politica dell'opposizione antifascista ricostruita."[112] Oftentimes the *fuoriusciti* who returned to Italy were perceived as outsiders who could not truly understand the conditions in Italy, nor the full extent of the trauma the country had experienced. Others argued that their return was not profoundly different from the returns of other marginalized communities during the same period: politicians from opposition parties who had been ousted from the government, *confinati* returning to their residences, prisoners, and even the Resistance fighters who were able to return to "normal" life.[113]

For the women who had been active in the antifascist movement, returning to Italy after years of work did not necessarily translate into gender parity in their home country. The gains in gender equality that had resulted from the extraordinary circumstances of the war did not transfer smoothly into post-war Italian culture. As Amelia Rosslli asked in "Uguaglianza!" (the journal curated by the *Movimento femminile Giustiza e libertà*)[114] "Esiste dunque ancora—nel 1945—un problema femminile, e c'è dunque ancora, a quarant'anni di distanza, una emancipazione

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[112] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 231. "The exiles' return led to the problem of their influence—good or bad, auspicious or ill-fated—on the construction of the new Italian state, on the inclination of the parties, and on the first steps of the newly reconstituted antifascist political opposition."

[113] Ibid., 232.

[114] See chapter 8 of Crain Merz's study on the women of GL for a details overview of the *Movimento femminile Giustizia e libertà* (MFGL). The movement, created in 1945, was meant to create an autonomous and independent space in the spirit of GL for all women, regardless of their party preference. Joyce Lussu somewhat cynically observed that the creation of MFGL coincided with what she considered to be a regression in regards to the movement's reckoning with the "woman question." Crain Merz, *L'illusione della parità*, 97–112.

femminile da conquistare?" Her answer to her own question: "i nostri uomini, anche i più illuminati, da quest'orecchio non hanno mai voluto sentirci."

REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE *FUORIUSCITE*

While the scope of this chapter has been to contextualize the historical and political environment in which the *fuoriuscite* of my subsequent study found themselves, I have also attempted to offer a historiography that includes the impact of the women involved in the antifascist movement in France. There is still much to be done in this regard. At a conference at UC Berkeley in 1948, Barbara Allason gave a talk about the experiences of the men and women in the antifascist Resistance:

> I have spoken until now of antifascist *men*, of partisan *men*: it was a way of speaking not exact at all. In fact since the beginning of Fascism, during the two decades it lasted, side by side with the antifascist men there were antifascist *women*: women as well as men worked in the antifascist propaganda; women as well as men went through the terrible and glorious test of persecution and imprisonment [sic] and as the fatal hour sounded women stand [sic] with men the dangerous and glorious adventure of the partisan war.[115]

Lack of scholarly interest surrounding women's migration has damaged the ability to recreate and understand women's individual political trajectories and the collective experiences of women migrants from this period between the two World Wars. Archival material is often silent on these details since the police records and consulate documents (the most common sources of

[115] *Conferenza di Barbara Allason, tenuta a Berkeley il 15-16 Novembre 1948*, manoscritto, in Acspg, Fondo Barbara Allason, car. 5, fasc. B, p. 3, cited in Ibid., 79.

information) were often curated by men that came from backgrounds that made them suspicious of, if not outright hostile to, women's activism.[116]

Many of the women who were most active in the antifascist movement abroad were the companions of important (and often more historically celebrated) men. However, it would be mistaken to think that their husbands and partners brought these women to the political environment. In reality, many of these couples only met because of the men and women's joint interest in political activism, and the women often had extensive political histories prior to meeting their would-be companions: Ernesta Cassola met Luigi Campolonghi in 1900 at a Socialist convention; sisters Barbara and Gabriella Seidenfeld met their husbands (Pietro Tresso and Ignazio Silone, respectively) through their troubled relationship with the PCI; Marion Cave met Carlo Rosselli at a political rally in Florence; Joyce Lussu met Emilio delivering a clandestine message to him in France; and Maria Brandon Albini met her French husband Pierre Brandon after choosing to exile herself to Paris for political freedom. These examples are just a sampling of the many stories of women's individual political activism serving as the matchmaking catalyst to meet the men they would partner with, though history often portrays them as little more than wives of great politicians.

Another reason that women's activism fails to appear in the archival fonts is because of the gender division of labor. For some activists, such as Teresa Noce, the idea of women's work was something to rebel against, even though organizations frequently tried to relegate female members into what they perceived to be appropriate women's roles:

> Personalmente il lavoro "femminile" non mi è mai piaciuto e mi sono sempre rifiutata di compierlo, anche se sono sempre stata attiva in difesa delle donne. È il

[116] Pinna, "La conquista delle migranti italiane," 234.

> concetto stesso di lavoro femminile che mi sembra sbagliato, in quanto quasi contrapposto o comunque separato da quello generale. Secondo me, come non vi può essere emancipazione femminile se non si emancipano anche gli uomini, così nel Partito non vi devono essere organismi e tanto meno organizzazioni differenziati per sesso.[117]

But for others, traditional gender roles ended up being reflected in the couple's division of political labor as well: Ernesta Cassola helped her daughter Lidia, for example, through many bouts of sickness as a young girl, and was a primary source of support when Lidia separated from her French husband and was forced to be apart from her daughters. The importance of the women in these antifascist families cannot be discounted, for as Lidia Campolohnghi remembers, her mother was the family's *trait d'union*, the anchor that kept the antifascist family together.[118] Ultimately, studies on the *fuoriuscite* need to be able to incorporate a focus on both the extraordinary leaders and the women who were part of everyday life: sharing these women's stories refocuses the history of the period away from the "grandi uomini."[119]

Upon their return, many of the antifascists turned to publishing houses for an opportunity

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[117] Noce, *Rivoluzionaria professionale*, 361–62. "Personally, I have never liked "women's" work and I have always refused to do it, even if I've always been an active defender of women. It's the idea of women's work that seems wrong to me, in the way that it is opposed to or at least separated from work in general. I think, just as there cannot be women's emancipation without emancipating the men as well, so to in the Party there shouldn't be entities nor should there be organizations differentiated by sex."

[118] Lidia Campolonghi, *La vie d'une femme antifasciste* (Firenze: Centro editoriale toscano, 1994), 21.

[119] Crain Merz believes the first biographies of the women who were a part of the Resistance succeeded in this goal when they were published in the 1970s. See Anna Maria Bruzzone and Rachele Farina, *La Resistenza taciuta: dodici vite di partigiane piemontesi* (Milano: La pietra, 1976); Bianca Guidetti Serra, *Compagne: testimonianze di partecipazione politica femminile* (Torino: Einaudi, 1977). *L'illusione della parità*, 8.

to share their extraordinary experiences with their Italian compatriots. Much of the antifascists' activities abroad became the focus not of history texts, but of memoirs and literary collections after the war. Women in particular took up the task of writing down their stories of exile, and many of the first testimonials to be published were written by the *fuoriuscite*: *Fronti e frontiere* by Joyce Lussu (1945), *Memorie di un'antifascista* by Barbara Allason (1946), *Esilio* by Vera Modigliani (1946), and *Storia di una passione* by Biana Ceva (1948), to name a few. The following chapters will address two of these memoirs by Joyce Lussu and Vera Modigliani, as well as a third novel inspired by Maria Brandon Albini's time in exile.

2. Self-Revision and Identity Creation in Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*

In her collection of commentary on Italian women authors cheekily entitled *Tutte signore di mio gusto*, Monica Farnetti opens her essay on Joyce Lussu with the declaration that Lussu was "un'eccentrica":

> Partiamo dal presupposto—così condiviso e unanime da non aver mai suscitato la benché minima obiezione—che Joyce Lussu sia stata un'eccentrica e che lo sia stata, per così dire, a tutto tondo. Lo è stata infatti come militante […] Lo è stata come storica e come letterata […] Lo è stata come traduttrice […] Lo è stata come pensatrice e come conversatrice […] Lo è stata infine come femminista.[1]

While written as a light-hearted introduction, this affirmation takes on a serious note when Farnetti explains that the result of this perceived eccentricity was to "ritrovarsi [Lussu] oggi fuori dai manuali letterari e di storia nonché fuori dalla memoria dei suoi stessi compagni di lotta, dove dovrebbe a rigor di logica occupare una postazione centrale e dove invece si ritrova marginalizzata."[2] Farnetti has pinpointed one of the most lasting forms of exile in Lussu's life: after the years of exile in her life she has been exiled from Italian and antifascist historiography

[1] Monica Farnetti, *Tutte signore di mio gusto: profili di scrittrici contemporanee* (Milano: La Tartaruga, 2008), 128–29. "Let's begin with the assumption—so universally shared that it's never once been objected to—that Joyce Lussu was an eccentric, and that she was completely and totally such. She was an eccentric militant […] an eccentric historian and writer […] an eccentric translator […] an eccentric thinker and conversationalist […] and, finally, an eccentric feminist." All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[2] Ibid., 129. "find herself [Lussu] today outside of not just the literature and history books, but also outside the memory of her fellow activists, where she should logically hold a central role but instead finds herself marginalized."

for her non-conformity to societal, political, and literary standards. If not for the impressive *oeuvre* of original narratives and translations that she left behind, it would be nearly impossible to identify Lussu's extensive involvement in pre- and post-war politics, and Italian society from history books alone.

In this chapter I will analyze Joyce Lussu's writings, particularly her most representative work of exile literature, *Fronti e frontiere*.[3] Through a comparative study of *Fronti e frontiere*'s different editions, I seek to demonstrate how this author carefully constructed the narrative of her time in exile, adjusting her focus throughout the years to establish her text as an exemplary story of an Italian woman's participation in the Italian antifascist movement abroad. Using both a narratological and psychological framework, I argue that Lussu's writing serves as both a valuable contribution to the body of exile literature, and also at a personal level as a tool to shape her identity as a narrative construct.

THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE OF JOYCE LUSSU

Joyce Salvadori Lussu's antifascist activism as a *fuoriuscita* accounts for just a short chapter of her personal history. She was born Joyce Salvadori in Florence in 1912, the youngest of three children. Frequently called Giocanda, her English name Joyce was a tribute to her English heritage, as both her paternal and maternal grandmothers moved to Le Marche from England.[4]

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[3] As will be explained, throughout this study I will reference three different editions of *Fronti e frontiere*. There is significant difference between the first edition, published in 1945, and the subsequent editions, based on the author's 1967 revisions of her text.

[4] Joyce's older siblings also received English names: Max and Gladys. Her maternal grandmother, also a writer, wrote of her experiences as an English woman in Italy, see Margaret Isabella Collier Galletti di Cadilhac, *Our Home by the Adriatic.* (London: R. Bentley & Son, 1886). Her brother was also a writer, publishing many antifascist historical texts, see Massimo Salvadori, *Resistenza ed azione; ricordi di un liberale* (Bari: Laterza, 1951); *Storia della*

Her publishing career made her the third of her family's matrilineal literary tradition, and her multicultural ancestry was reflected in her peripatetic travels throughout her life. Her parents, both intellectuals, had moved to Florence in part to distance themselves from their Fascist relatives in Le Marche, and in part for better job opportunities.[5] Growing up in an antifascist household with intellectual and liberal parents instilled a rebellious seed early on:

> E pensare che quando avevo nove anni, durante la campagna elettorale del '21, che fu molto carica di violenza, a Firenze ero stata picchiata da uno squadrista grande e grosso, visto che scrivevo sui muri: "Abbasso Mussolini! Abbasso il fascio e viva la repubblica!". Lo squadrista voleva obbligarmi a dire: "Viva Mussolini e viva il fascio!" ma io, nonostante le lacrime e il sangue che i colava dal naso, continuavo a dire: "Abbasso Mussolini e morte al fascio!" Poi, ero corsa via dalla strada ed ero rientrata a casa da mia madre piuttosto orgogliosa di quanto avevo combinato e le avevo chiesto: "Ho fatto bene, mamma, secondo te?"[6]

Resistenza italiana (Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1955). For a detailed and historical biography of Joyce Lussu, see Trenti, *Il Novecento di Joyce Salvadori Lussu: vita e opera di una donna antifascista*.

[5] Lussu's parents, Guglielmo Salvadori and Cynthia Galletti were both dedicated liberal antifascists. Salvadori studied in Florence and Lipsia prior to taking a position as a professor at the University of Pisa. Galletti, of English decent like her husband, wrote for the British newspapers *The Manchester Guardian* and *The New Statesman*. Her articles focused on the rising power of Fascism in Italy, and she hoped to raise awareness of the political change that was going on.

[6] Silvia Ballestra and Joyce Lussu, *Joyce L.: una vita contro. Diciannove conversazioni incise su nastro* (Milano: Baldini & Castoldi, 1996), 20. "And think that when I was nine years old, during the 1921 elections [when Mussolini came to power], which were very violent, in Florence I was beat up by a big fat *squadrista*, because I was writing 'Down with Mussolini! Down with Fascism and long live the Republic!' on the walls. The *squadrista* wanted to make me say 'Long live Mussolini and Fascism!' but, despite the tears and blood running from my nose, I continued to say 'Down with Mussolini and death to Fascism!' Then I ran away home and walked in rather proud of myself for how I had acted and asked my mother 'Did I do well, mama, do you think?'"

This story of political engagement and bravery in the face of physical violence as a nine year old is suggestive of the adventurous and extraordinary stories that would later be recounted in *Fronti e frontiere*.

During the rise of Fascism, her parents found themselves increasingly under political scrutiny for their antifascist activities: both were active writers who published in newspapers and journals in Italy and England. After her father and brother were brutally attacked by the *camice nere* for her father's antifascist publications abroad, the entire family fled to Switzerland in 1924, beginning Joyce's exile that would last until Mussolini's fall in 1943.

As Joyce remembers in *Fronti e frontiere*, her family's time in exile was legally tenuous, with forms and documents rarely in order:

> Fin dall'infanzia avevo vissuto in esilio dopo aver dovuto abbandonare Firenze, dove i miei genitori si erano fissati da anni. […] In esilio, i mezzi per vivere erano così scarsi, che né io né una sorella e un fratello maggiori di me eravamo potuti andare a scuola. […] Poi ci eravamo dati da fare per trovare un lavoro e pagarci gli studi universitari: cosa assai difficile, per via dei documenti che non erano mai in regola.[7]

Despite their uncertain legal status, Joyce and her siblings were able to complete a unique educational path, combining private tutoring from their mother and father with occasional formal schooling (like the Quaker school in Switzerland) and sitting for maturation exams for the *liceo*

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[7] Joyce Lussu, "Fronti e frontiere," in *Opere scelte*, ed. Silvia Ballestra (Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale, 2008), 24–25. "Since childhood I had lived in exile, after needing to abandon Florence, where my parents had lived for years. […] In exile, making a living was incredibly difficult, so much so that my older brother and sister and I weren't able to go to school. […] Then it was time for us to find a job and pay our own way through university: no small feat, since our documents were never in order."

classico during clandestine trips back to Italy. This hybrid education led to the children being instructed predominantly in topics that their philosophically-trained father was interested in, with a strong emphasis on personal discovery, political engagement, and academic curiosity.

Joyce began working with philosopher Karl Jaspers during her university studies in Heidelberg shortly before Hitler's rise to power. Several of her fellow students looked to her for advice on how to fight the rise of Nazism, given her experience from a young age as an antifascist, but Joyce was disillusioned by the overwhelming support Hitler had throughout Germany. She and her friends attempted to organize a protest against Hitler during one of his rallies at Heidelberg, but the group was overwhelmed by supporters and blocked from demonstrating in the square.[8] Forced to leave in 1932 when it became clear that Hitler had won over the German state, she continued her university studies at the Sorbonne in Paris, and shortly thereafter became involved—along with her brother Max—with the antifascist movement *Giustizia e Libertà* (GL). It was through her work as a *staffetta* for GL that she was charged with delivering a letter to Mister Mill, group-leader Emilio Lussu's code name at the time. Emilio was also in exile living clandestinely in France after having daringly escaped from *confino* in Lipari.[9] While Joyce confessed later to an initial attraction to Emilio, that first meeting was relatively brief. After finishing her degree at the Sorbonne, Joyce married in 1934 and moved to Kenya with her husband Aldo Belluigi, brother Max, and sister-in-law Joyce Pawle.[10] The men started a

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[8] Joyce Lussu, *Portrait* (Roma: L'Asino d'oro edizioni, 2012), 61–63.

[9] See pages 37–38 of Chapter 1 for details of the escape.

[10] Aldo Belluigi was a young landowner from Tolentino and a registered Fascist. After losing his investments, Belluigi decided to return to Tolentino in 1936, while Lussu chose to travel to Tanganyika (present day Rwanda and Burundi). Despite the autobiographical nature of Lussu's writing, she makes no mention of Belluigi in any of her memoirs, completely eliminating him

farming venture that did not succeed, and by 1938 Joyce had decided to leave Belluigi to return to France, GL, and Emilio. The pair reunited in Paris and developed a life-long partnership both romantically and politically. Despite some resistance from other members of GL, Joyce became active in many of the group's riskiest operations, functioning as GL's official ID forger, and occasionally being captured by Fascist police and imprisoned. Joyce's many close-calls with the fascist police while she lived clandestinely in France and worked with GL—spanning the years between 1938 and 1943—along with her subsequent imprisonment after helping Vera and Giuseppe Modigliani cross the French-Swiss border, make up the central story line of *Fronti e frontiere*.

The Lussus returned to Italy in 1943 soon after Mussolini's fall from power; they continued to organize antifascist Resistance, this time from within Italy, and Joyce even managed to rendezvous with the Allied troops as they advanced north through the peninsula. Thanks to this mission, along with her antifascist work during the war, Joyce was awarded the Silver Medal of Military Valor. It was during this time that Joyce discovered she was pregnant, and she took a step back from her activist role to start her role as a mother.[11] It is at this same time that Joyce decided to write *Fronti e frontiere*. Emilio, who had been an active and well-

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from her personal narrative. See Trenti, *Il Novecento di Joyce Salvadori Lussu: vita e opera di una donna antifascista*.

[11] While she does not discuss her previous pregnancy in *Fronti e frontiere*, this was the second pregnancy for Joyce and Emilio, but only their first child. The couple chose to go through with a clandestine abortion in France when the learned of their first pregnancy, and this event was one of the most profoundly traumatic events in Joyce's life. Her decision not to include the event in *Fronti e frontiere* likely reflects her desire to focus on the aspects of her life that were most closely related to her identity as an activist, and eschew those that would have placed her in the more traditionally expected gender roles.

known politician before his exile, also received national recognition for his activities, and was nominated for the position of *Ministro dell'Assistenza Post-bellica* by the Parri government.

While both husband and wife dedicated themselves to post-war politics, returning to Italy after years of activity in the Resistance movement was difficult for Joyce. During her exile, her skills as a forger had made her an integral member of GL, and her husband's leadership role in the organization had protected her from some discrimination by those who believed women should not be involved in such dangerous activities. After the end of World War II, both she and Emilio were active in the *Partito d'Azione* (PdA), and after its dissolution in 1947 they focused their energies in the *Partito Socialista Italiano* (PSI), with Joyce becoming one of the national leaders of the *Unione Donne Italiane* (UDI).[12] UDI's goal was to create "un'associazione unitaria delle donne," that would serve as both a political arm for women's issues and as a societal movement for women's emancipation.[13] Lussu became an outspoken member and passionate defender of women's rights. Before long, however, the organizational structure began to conflict with her preferred form of activism:

> io, in omaggio al vigente principio che la minoranza deve accettare le decisioni della maggioranza, avevo cercato di adeguarmi diventato persino responsabile nazionale femminile del Psi e dirigente dell'Udi. Ma le riunioni e le agitazioni di

[12] Founded in 1944–45, the UDI was originally organized by women representatives from three main parties: the *Partito Communista Italiano* (PCI), the *Partito Socialista Italiano* (PSI), and the *Partito della Sinistra Cristiana* (PSC). Still today UDI functions as a women's organization dedicated to promoting the interests of women politically, socially, and culturally. For a comprehensive overview of the history of the UDI's involvement in the women's movement in relation to the ideas of emancipation and liberation, see Giulietta Ascoli, "L'UDI tra emancipazione e liberazione (1943–1964)," ed. Fondazione Lelio e Lisli Basso-ISSOCO, *Problemi del socialismo.* 17(no. 4) (December 1979): 109–59.

[13] Marisa Rodano, *Memorie di una che c'era: una storia dell'Udi* (Milano: Il saggiatore, 2010), 23.

sole donne mi parevano altrettanto frenanti e riduttive quanto quelle di soli uomini, e poco rappresentative della moderna lotta di classe.[14]

Lussu had been raised in a liberal family that believed in an uncompromising sense of equality between men and women; consequently her feminist and socialist beliefs were very much entwined.[15] Her disinterest in working solely on feminist issues within women's groups made continued engagement in UDI less appealing, and her unpredictable nature frequently put her in conflict with organizational leaders. Over the years her involvement in political representation at the national level dwindled.[16]

Longing for an autonomous pursuit that would distinguish her as something more than "Emilio Lussu's wife," Joyce joined the international peace movement where she met Turkish poet Nâzim Hikmet and started her career as a translator.[17] Translating and publishing poets from

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[14] Lussu, *Portrait*, 105–6. "I, in honor of the rigorous principle that the minority must accept the decisions of the majority, had attempted to adapt myself [to the situation], even becoming a national representative of the PSI and a leader of UDI. But meetings and protests attended only by women seemed to me to be as held back and reductive as those attended only by men, each hardly representative of the modern class struggle."

[15] Lussu's personal brand of feminism appears as a reoccurring theme throughout much of her writing: from her memories as a young woman who would challenge Benedetto Croce's view of women while dining with him and his wife, to her stories to feeling more kindred with the youth movements of the 1970s in Italy than the feminist movements of the 1950s and 1960s, Lussu based her feminism in the conviction that men and women were equal in almost all capacities, with women having a slight advantage in their unique ability to create life.

[16] While working for the *Partito d'Azione* after return to Italy, Lussu was asked to travel throughout the country to speak on behalf of the party. She was a gifted speaker, but her habit of demanding that the men's wives be allowed to attend events—either bringing their children with them, or having the men stay home to watch over them—eventually resulted in those speaking invitations being rescinded. *Lotte, ricordi e altro* (Roma: Biblioteca del Vascello, 1992).

[17] Lussu and Hikmet met at the Stockholm Peace Conference in 1958. Able to communicate with each other in French, Hikmet would read his poems to Lussu in their original Turkish, and then explain their meaning and effect on him in French, which Lussu translated into Italian. After Hikmet's death in 1963 Lussu continued to translate his work in this way with his former wife

cultures and countries that had not generally received attention became a new political pursuit for Joyce, and she traveled around the world to work with poets from places like Angola, the Middle East, China and the Black Power movement in the US. She considered these translations to be a type of political engagement with societies and cultures that were frequently ignored by western civilization.[18] As was the case in her first translation project with Hikmet, Lussu frequently did not speak the languages of the poets she was translating; she relied on the aid of interpreters to help her discuss the poetry with the authors, a process she believed was facilitated by the universality of human experience.[19]

During the "Hot Autumn" of 1969 (including the intense activity that spread from 1968 to 1972) Lussu became an active ally in the students' protests.[20] As a life-long pacifist, the student protestors' initial anti-war message resonated with Joyce more than any other political movement at the time. Lussu's involvement in the feminist movement during the 1970s no

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Münevver Andaç. While Lussu never became fluent in Turkish, she spoke many languages—including Italian, English, German, and Portuguese—thanks in part to the extent of her travels and study during exile. Lussu and Hikmet's first collaborative publication was *Poesie d'amore*, trans. Joyce Lussu (Milano: Mondadori, 1963).

[18] In total, Lussu published twelve collections of translated poetry including works by Nâzim Hikmet, Agostinho Neto, Alexandre O'Neil, Jose Craveirinha, and Ho-Chi-Min. For a complete list of Lussu's publications, see Trenti, *Il Novecento di Joyce Salvadori Lussu: vita e opera di una donna antifascista*.

[19] For more on Lussu's philosophy of translation, see her *Tradurre poesia* (Roma: Robin, 1998).

[20] Lussu, *Portrait*, 133–35.In her article on Italian feminism from the 1960s–1970s, Judith Adler Hellman pinpoints the "period of social and political upheaval we now speak of as the hot autumn [as], in a sense, the logical outgrowth of the 'Italian Miracle,' the process of rapid economic growth and industrialization that unfolded from the mid 1950s to the late 1960s. […] The hot autumn of 1969 (intense activity actually stretched from 1968 to 1972) opened with mass mobilizations of workers, but eventually drew other social classes into broad and sustained struggles that would change patterns of Italian politics." Judith Adler Hellman, "The Originality of Italian Feminism," in *Donna: Women in Italian Culture*, ed. Ada Testaferri, University of Toronto Italian Studies 7 (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions, 1989), 18–19.

longer included official representation or leadership in the UDI, nor involvement in the new feminist movement of groups such as *Rivolta femminile* and the Milan Women's Bookstore. Yet she continued her personal pursuit of feminist inquiry, publishing essays and the most politically engaged feminist works within her *oeuvre*.[21] After her husband's passing in 1975, Lussu returned at age sixty-three to her family's home in Le Marche, where her research and writing began to focus on the local traditions of the places where she had lived.[22] A life-long collaborator and leader, Joyce continued to work with young scholars and writers well into her 80s, and several joint-efforts continued to be published late in her life.

Joyce Lussu lived to be 86, and passed away on November 4, 1998 in Rome.

SELF-REVISION AND SELF-PRESENTATION IN *FRONTI E FRONTIERE*

Fronti e frontiere is Joyce Lussu's autobiographical account of her time working for Giustizia e Libertà. While she had grown up surrounded by literary influences, this was her first return to writing after publishing a collection of poetry at the age of seventeen.[23] The first edition of *Fronti e frontiere* was written shortly after her return to Italy in 1943, and was published in 1945 by the small publishing house *Edizioni U*. While Lussu was already a published poet, *Fronti e frontiere* is her first piece of prose. Aside from *Tradurre poesia*, *Fronti e frontiere* is the most

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[21] See Lussu, *Padre, padrone, padreterno*; *L'uomo che voleva nascere donna: diario femminista a proposito della guerra*, ed. Chiara Cretella (Camerano AN: Gwynplaine, 2012) originally published in 1978.

[22] See Joyce Lussu, *Storie* (Bologna: Il lavoro editoriale, 1986); *L'olivastro e l'innesto* (Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1982); *Understatement*, ed. Alfredo DiLaura (Venezia: Centro Internazionale della Grafica, 1989).

[23] Benedetto Croce had personally encouraged her to publish that first collection of poetry when she was young, and which he personally reviewed in his journal *La Critica*. Those poems were later republished in *Liriche* (Napoli: Ricciardi, 1939).

reprinted of Lussu's works. It is also an interesting example of authorial self-revision: the first edition in 1945 (U'45) underwent extensive edits prior to its second printing by the much larger, national publishing house *Laterza* in 1967 (L'67).[24] The extensive revisions included changes to language and style, with cuts and simplifications making up the majority of the changes: the original version was 241 pages, the edited version only 137.

Despite her literary upbringing and prior success as a poet, Lussu did not necessarily consider herself a writer when she returned to Italy after the war. As she later told Silvia Ballestra, her decision to write her memoirs of her time as a *fuoriuscita* was not immediately based in a drive for literary creation:

> Avevo cominciato a scrivere non perché mi credessi una scrittrice. Come sai, avevo scritto delle poesie, in gioventù, che Croce aveva gentilmente lodato, ma io non ci avevo creduto. Tuttavia, subito dopo la guerra, dato che Emilio e io avevamo avuto una vita abbastanza avventurosa, succedeva che la gente mi chiedesse di raccontare com'erano andate le cose. Alla fine, arrivata alla ventesima versione dello stesso episodio, mi sono resa conto che correvo dei gravi pericoli. Intanto, era faticosissimo ripetersi.[25]

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[24] All subsequent versions have remained relatively unchanged from the 1967 edition, including a series of scholastic publications designed for middle-school children, and the most recent re-publication included in a collection of Lussu's writing entitled *Opere Scelte* from 2008. To distinguish between the editions of *Fronti e frontiere* I will use the following indicators: U'45—*Fronti e frontiere* (Roma: Edizioni U, 1945); L'67—*Fronti e frontiere* (Bari: Laterza, 1967). Throughout my study all citations from L'67 will come from "Fronti e frontiere" in *Opere scelte*.

[25] Ballestra collaborated extensively with Joyce Lussu in the 1990s, and has continued to be a literary advocate of Lussu's memory, organizing numerous republications of Lussu's more well-known narratives. Her dedication to Lussu's memory stems in part from the support she received from her as a young writer, and also from the fact that they are distantly-related cousins. The interviews that make up *Joyce L.* consist of several intimate conversations. Ballestra and Lussu, *Joyce L.*, 116. "I had begun to write not because I believed myself to be a writer. As you know, I

While the declaration that writing her story down was easier than repeating herself every time someone asked about her adventures in exile is somewhat glib, it is striking that Lussu mentions it was the process of telling her story over and over that ultimately allowed her to realize what an adventurous experience she had had. This idea that the telling of the story can lead to understanding offers a possible explanation for Lussu's decision to heavily edit her text in 1967. Having written down her story in the immediate aftermath of the war, she continued to recount versions of it over the following decades; the repetition led to more nuanced and developed understanding of the moment, and it became necessary to revise the text so that it effectively represented Lussu's evolved understanding of the events. The self-evaluation that she was not necessarily a writer at the time of writing the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere* is another possible explanation for the extensive revision in 1967, after which time Lussu had clearly established herself as a writer.

Prior to in-depth analysis of the leitmotifs present in *Fronti e frontiere*—the text that best represents Joyce Lussu's contribution to exile literature—it is important to understand the context in which the narrative was written, published, revised, and republished. To that end, the first part of this section will focus on analysis and comparison of the revisions made in 1967 to the 1945 version of *Fronti e frontiere*. Some scholarly attention has focused on the differences between the two editions, though critical attention to the possible motivations behind the

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had written poetry, in my youth, that Croce had very kindly praised, but I hadn't believed him. Nevertheless, right after the war, given that Emilio and I had had a rather adventurous life, people started asking me to tell them about our experiences. In the end, after telling my same story dozens of times, I realized that I had taken considerable risks in exile. On the other hand, it was exhausting repeating myself."

revisions is still lacking.[26] Lussu's decision to self-revise not only offers valuable insight into her narrative process as an author, but also into the ways she processed and coped with the traumatic events she lived through during her exile. The autobiographical nature of her memoir cannot be denied, but it is also clear from the revisions to the text that Lussu's authorial intent to narrate a compelling story cannot be subsumed within the conventional understanding of non-fiction life writing.

The latter part of this section will look to the 1991 edition of *Fronti e frontiere* published alongside Emilio Lussu's 1957 memoir *Diplomazia clandestina* in the collection entitled *Alba rossa*. The Lussus collaborated extensively in their political and literary pursuits, and the purpose of this analysis is threefold: to establish the dialogic nature of the two texts, particularly given the addition to the collection of Joyce Lussu's *Che cos'è un marito*; to highlight the similarities and differences between a husband and wife's recollection of the same period in exile; and to situate *Fronti e frontiere* within the broader context of exile literature.

A brief summary of the fabula of *Fronti e frontiere* will be helpful for subsequent analysis.[27] The narrative begins in April of 1938 with Joyce attempting to renew her expired

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[26] Gigliola Sulis succinctly catalogues many of the revisions that Joyce Lussu submitted to Laterza for the 1967 edition—but saves for another study in-depth analysis as to why the changes were made—in her article "Scritture e riscritture: note sulle varianti d'autore di *Fronti e frontiere* di Joyce Lussu," *Quaderni del Circolo Rosselli* 4 (2003): 81–95. Consuelo Tersol takes some of the changes into consideration in her study of Joyce Lussu's poetics, arguing that the changes reduce the feminist element in Joyce Lussu's writing overall. I believe this conclusion only narrowly takes into account the changes made, and fails to holistically consider how Lussu's self-promotion as a protagonist actually increased the feminist stance.

[27] From this point forward, to avoid confusion in my analysis of Joyce Lussu's autobiographical narratives, I will refer to Joyce Lussu the author as "Lussu" or "Joyce Lussu," and I will refer to the autobiographical character from *Fronti e frontiere* as "Joyce."

passport in the seaport town of Aden, Yemen, en route to Marseilles.[28] A devious Fascist official tricks her into allowing him to invalidate the document, leaving Joyce worried that she will not be able to debark in France at the end of her voyage. Thanks to some good fortune, she ultimately makes it to Paris where she reestablishes herself with the antifascist movement GL and meets Emilio Lussu. Working together, Emilio and Joyce must make their way clandestinely to Marseilles after the Nazi invasion in the summer of 1940. In Marseilles, Joyce and Emilio decide to travel to Lisbon to help a group of their companions reach America. While in Lisbon, the English invite Emilio to England to further develop a course of action to organize a revolution in Sardinia (where he was born). After spending some time with the English War Office, Emilio decides that collaboration with the English is not possible, and the couple decides to return to their clandestine life. They find themselves once again in Marseilles, but the city is no longer safe and they decide to set up a new base in Lyons, frequently traveling to the border town of Annemasse to facilitate border crossings into Switzerland for fellow antifascists who were in danger of imprisonment or deportation. While on a mission to help Vera and Giuseppe Modigliani leave France, Joyce daringly sacrifices herself to the police to ensure that the Modiglianis are able to cross the border and seek asylum. She is taken into Italian custody with false French papers (that she herself had forged) but is eventually released.

This is the last French episode of the book, and in 1943 Joyce returns to Rome to continue her Resistance work with the other members of GL. When several male members of GL fail to reach the Allied troops in the south of Italy, she volunteers to rendezvous with the antifascists who have been liberated by the Americans, and to speak with Benedetto Croce to

[28] This is the start of the L'67 version, while the U'45 version opens with a scene in 1940 in Paris, France.

consult with him regarding what GL's next course of action should be.[29] Traveling down the peninsula mostly on foot, Joyce ultimately makes it to Agropoli and the Allied troops, where she is serendipitously reunited with her brother Max, who—thanks to the family's Anglo-Italian heritage—had become a member of the English Special Forces. They travel back north to Capri, where Croce is, and Joyce begins her return to Rome to reconnect with Emilio and the others. Joyce's story ends with her returning to Emilio and the other members of GL at a safe house in Rome, where Emilio had intuitively gathered his fellow collaborators in anticipation of her arrival during dinner.

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The story of Lussu's time as an antifascist activist recurs in numerous subsequent narratives, with the scope and focus occasionally modified to suit the genre or narrative goal as necessary. This act of returning to and reusing previously written work is one of the most distinguishing hallmarks of Joyce Lussu's writing style. For example, her most traditional autobiography *Portrait*, published in 1988, opens with a reprinted excerpt from her book *L'acqua del 2000* (1977): "[s]e dovessi scrivere la mia storia, prenderei come punto di riferimento il mio rapporto con il cibo e le bevande, che da tanti decenni continuano a carburare questa mia carcassa, con

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[29] Benedetto Croce's relationship with Fascism has been a point of great contention and inquiry for historians, in part because of the general lack of disturbance the regime had on his life and work. A world-renowned philosopher, Croce held strongly to the *Risorgimento* ideals that he had championed in the 1800s. His friendships with antifascist leaders such as Rosselli, Gramsci, Gobetti, Sturzo, Nitti and Turati led to his classification by the Fascist authorities as an enemy of the regime, and a analysis of his police file shows that his engagements and communications with antifascist leaders domestically and abroad were tracked and recorded. In his study of Croce's relationship with Fascism, Fabio Fernando Rizi claims that the "admiration that such men and women felt for Croce is the best testimony to his anti-fascist and liberal credentials and to his central place in the history of modern Italy." Fabio Fernando Rizi, *Benedetto Croce and Italian Fascism* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), 267. Joyce Lussu's mission to rendezvous with Croce is a further testament to his place of privilege as an intellectual leader among the antifascists.

sempre rinnovata soddisfazione poetica."[30] Authorial recycling worked on the texts in two ways: "sia estrapolando da essi 'tessere narrative' da riutilizzare in contesti diversi—quindi con il trasporto di episodi da un volume all'altro—, sia modificando i materiali memoriali in occasione della loro riproposizione."[31] This two-part process works as a narrative device for Lussu, but it also creates a narrative continuity throughout her work. Much as Natalia Ginzburg's *Lessico famigliare* focuses on the oft-repeated stories of family history, Lussu's *oeuvre* returns to the well-known tales that ultimately make up her life's story. The reader begins to recognize the stories from one text to another, and the autobiographical nature of Lussu's poetics is reinforced by the repetition. But the versions of the stories remain distinct through variation, as Lussu's narrative choices in the retellings highlight different themes depending on the context of the retelling.

While Lussu's relationship with her writing was never static, *Fronti e frontiere* stands out as the only narrative to undergo a near-total transformation in the revision process. The extensive edits were due, in part, to the draft-like quality Lussu perceived in the first edition:

> Ho ripreso in mano subito dopo la guerra il mio *Fronti e frontiere* per non ripetermi su quel che avevo fatto. La seconda stesura di *Fronti e frontiere* è infatti più curata, dal punto di vista storico, rispetto alla prima. La prima, ad esempio, è molto grezza nel trattare le questioni storico-generali, poiché quando fai una

[30] "[i]f I needed to write my story, as a reference point I would take my relationship with the food and drink that has fueled my carcass over several decades, always with renewed poetic satisfaction." My translation. Lussu, *Portrait*, 9. Originally from *L'acqua del 2000: su come la donna, e anche l'uomo, abbiano tentato di sopravvivere e intendano continuare a vivere* (Milano: G. Mazzotta, 1977), 22.

[31] Sulis, "Scritture e riscritture," 85. "both extrapolating from them 'narrative threads' that can be reused in different contexts—with the transportation of episodes from one volume to another—, and altering the memorial content according to its reimagined state."

guerra e ci stai in mezzo, mica capisci niente: sai quel che avviene nel tuo settore di mezzo chilometro, ma non hai idea dell'insieme degli avvenimenti. La prima stesura è solo il grezzo racconto di quel che avveniva a me, mentre la seconda edizione è più storicizzata, ci ho messo dentro in maggiore misura il problema generale, e ho spiegato con più scene e più quadri ciò che accadeva attorno.[32]

While Lussu argues that the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere* lacked a comprehensive understanding of the historical events through which the protagonist was living, the extent of the revisions cannot be explained solely by the author's stated intent. In her preliminary study on the revisions between 1945 and 1967, Gigliola Sulis identifies the main changes made, which mostly fall into the category of cuts, additions, and language modifications. While she does not offer a definitive hypothesis as to why the changes were made, the quantity of revisions identified brings into question Lussu's claim that her revisions only increased the historical accuracy of the narrative.[33]

One of the most striking changes made to the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere* lies in the chapter titles. In the L'67 version Lussu reduces the overall number of chapters from twelve to eight as part of the general tendency to cut pages, but also removes chapter titles from the eight chapters that remain. In U'45, each chapter begins with a title that references a female

[32] Ballestra and Lussu, *Joyce L.*, 216. "I returned to *Fronti e frontiere* right after the war to keep from repeating myself about what I had done. The second draft of *Froni e frontiere* is in fact more curated historically, compared to the first. The first, for example, is very rough in the way it addresses generally historic questions, since when you're in the middle of a war you can hardly understand anything: you know what is happening around you in your corner of the world, but you have no idea of the larger picture. The first draft is just a rough story of what happened to me, while the second edition is more historical. I added more reflection on the general problem, and wrote more scenes to explain what was going on around me."

[33] Sulis, "Scritture e riscritture," 86.

figure that was relevant and important to Lussu's time in exile. The significance of these titles even warrants a brief forward to her text in the U'45 version to comment on the use of these women's names:

> Alcuni si domanderanno perchè i capitoli portano come titoli dei nomi di donne, che non sono figure centrali nello svolgimento del racconto. In realtà avrebbero dovuto esserlo, perchè la mia intenzione, inizialmente, era di presentare appunto queste figure femminili. Si parla così poco di donne nella letteratura italiana, di donne nel pieno senso umano, e non solamente amoroso e sentimentale! Ma il filo della narrazione ha poi tradito questo intento iniziale.
>
> Pure io lascio, in cima a ogni capitolo, questi nomi che mi sono cari, non come titolo, ma come dedica.[34]

Lussu's self-assessment holds true in her writing; while the original edition's first chapter is entitled "Madame Noëlie," it focuses only very briefly towards the end of the chapter on the eponymous woman who rented a room to Joyce and Emilio in the South of France after they are forced to flee Paris:

> Madame Noëlie era una contadina dagli occhi larghi e chiari e dal sorriso parco ma luminoso, piccola e magra e ormai vecchia ma robustissima ancora. Era vedova da vent'anni e i suoi due figli, seguendo l'uso delle nuove generazioni, avevano disertato i campi paterni per cercarsi in città qualche miserabile impiego

[34] Lussu, *U'45*, 5. "Some people will ask themselves why the chapters have names of women as their titles, when they aren't central figures in the story. In realty they should have been, because my intention, in the beginning, was to present just that: the story of these women. Women are mentioned so rarely in Italian literature, women who are complete characters, not just love interests and sentimentalists! But the story's thread betrayed my original intent. And yet, at the beginning of each chapter, I'm leaving these names that are so dear to me; not as titles, but as dedications."

> statale. Ella viveva tutta sola in una casetta costruita coi suoi risparmi e coltivava, senza nessun aiuto, un gran numero di orticelli e campicelli sparsi qua e là, i cui prodotti, che non poteva consumare e nemmeno raccogliere, si perdevano per tre quarti. “Che pazzia, dicevano i vicini, faticar tanto senza costrutto!” Ma Madame Noëlie, con quella sua fatica, alimentava nel cuore solitario la inconfessata speranza che un giorno uno dei figli sarebbe tornato a condividere con lei la casetta pulita e i frutti dei suoi campi.[35]

This description of Madame Noëlie appears towards the end of the first chapter, and is not integral to the overall narration of the chapter. Rather than recount this section through the lens of Madame Noëlie—as the dedication suggests was her desire—Lussu's first chapter in U'45 opens and primarily focuses on the fall of Paris, Joyce and Emilio's journey to relative safety in the south of France, and the difficult limbo period as members of GL waited to hear news of continued resistance or confirmed defeat. Madame Noëlie, the dedicatee most closely linked to this transitional period in Lussu's life, appears only fleetingly in the chapter title and closing paragraphs as a testament to the “tranquillo e sicuro asilo” that Joyce and Emilio had been able to find while antifascist resistance abroad recovered after the fall of Paris.[36]

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[35] Ibid., 19. “Madame Noëlie was a country woman with large, clear eyes and a thrifty but radiant smile; small, thin and old by that point, but still hardy. She had been widowed for twenty years and her two children, following the norms of the new generation, had abandoned their paternal fields to find some pitiful state job in the city. She lived alone in a small house built with her savings and she tended, without any help, a large quantity of kitchen gardens and small fields located here and there. She lost roughly three-quarters of the produce from those gardens, which she couldn't consume let alone harvest on her own. ‘How crazy, the neighbors said, to work so hard for no reason!’ But with her work Madame Noëlie was feeding the secret hope deep in her lonely heart that one day one of her children would come home to share the small, clean house and the fruits of her labor.”

[36] Ibid., 22.

By L'67, this description and interaction with Madame Noëlie has been in fact reduced to a cursory mention: "Prendemmo in affitto da Madame Noëlie, una vecchia contadina che viveva tutta sola, una cameretta con uso di cucina."[37] The reader is no longer privy to her family situation, nor does Lussu linger on the comfortable relationship Joyce and Emilio developed with the other local farmers during their stay. Madame Noëlie's overall impact within the story is reduced, and yet the fact that she survived the extensive cuts made to L'67 indicates to what a high level of importance Lussu held her former landlord. While it is the dedication of the first chapter that highlights the appreciation Lussu had for Madame Noëlie in 1945, after nearly 100 pages of cuts, including the removal of four of the original twelve chapters, in 1967 it is the fact that she has survived to remain in the story that suggests just how important she was to Lussu and Lussu's vision of *Fronti e frontiere*.

In her study of Joyce Lussu's poetics, Consuelo Tersol concludes that the removal of the chapter titles—and in several cases the characters that inspired them—represents a waning or reduced feminism in the L'67 version of *Fronti e frontiere*.[38] While Tersol cites other scholars who suggest that Lussu's reduced feminism may have been due to her desire to privilege later, more feminist texts such as *Padre, padrone, padreterno*, her interpretation fails to take into account the numerous changes that went into Joyce Lussu's self-revisions, and the possible incompatibilities that arise when a twenty-year old text is edited for a new vision of the present. Indeed, after the 1945 publication of the first edition of *Fronti e frontiere*, Lussu had had two

[37] Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 36. "We rented a small room with kitchen access from Madame Noëlie, an old country woman that lived alone."

[38] Consuelo Tersol, "Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*: Re-writing between Literature and Political Activism" (MPhil(R) Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013), 48–63.

decades to refine her personal story, read Emilio's account of the same period in his *Diplomazia Clandestina*, and experience the aftermath of the Second World War and Italy's reconstruction.

Lussu herself offers no real explanation for the removal of the dedicatees, other than her claim that the L'67 version represents a more historicized and polished draft of the text. And yet it seems incongruous that Lussu would intentionally reduce the feminist message: throughout the 1950s and 1960s Lussu had been active in the Italian feminist movement, including, as we have seen, holding a leadership role in the UDI; and her literary production during the late 1960s and early 1970s is some of the most feminist in her *oeuvre*. Additionally, accusing the author of "a lost feminism" ignores the multifaceted ways in which a woman writer can promote a feminist message. While the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere* maintain the vestiges of Lussu's original desire to write a book that would "presentare appunto queste figure femminili," the L'67 version presents an independent, daring female protagonist who is integral to GL's activities in exile. The collective feminism of remembering forgotten women may have been reduced, but feminism in general in the text was not. Rather, it was replaced with a feminist narrative that unapologetically casts the autobiographical female protagonist at the center of events, giving her the agency and influence that history had long denied women. Additionally, Lussu's revisions to *Fronti e frontiere* put her in the undeniable role of author, complete with the narrative power and control to rewrite her life in such a way that she becomes a woman who is the central character and exclusive focus of her own compelling narrative.

The reduction of Madame Noëlie's character can also be explained within the updated plot. In U'45, Lussu's description of the local farmers that Joyce and Emilio meet creates a scene of transition in which the adventurous narrative is slowed during a period of waiting; scattered to various countryside towns after the Nazi invasion of Pairs, the antifascists in exile no longer had

a central organizing group to refer to, and the narrative meanders through Lussu's memory of the time accordingly. After the revisions to L'67, Lussu glosses over this limbo-like period, referencing the landlord and change in daily pace *en passant* before recalling the much-anticipated radio transmission by Charles De Gaulle: "'Ici le général De Gaulle. Français, la guerre continue. Résistez. Nous le aurons!' fu un tripudio, e ci abbracciammo con le lagrime agli occhi."[39] The change in tone accompanies the French quote that is also an addition to the L'67 version: an added historical account that Lussu wished to insert in her text, but also a dramatic climax to the end of the book's opening chapter.

Another significant change to the L'67 version is immediately apparent in *Fronti e frontiere*'s opening pages. In U'45, Lussu's dedication to her forgotten female friends leads to the evocative description of Paris at the time the Nazi invasion:

> Parigi, in quelle giornate di giugno del '40, era quasi deserta. Una densa, giallastra, nauseante caligine si appesantiva sulle vie silenziose e le case vuote : forse era nebbia artificiale, forse il fumo dei depositi di nafta in fiamme. […] Verso la porta d'Orléans, le vie s'animavano. Fluiva, lungo le strade di circonvallazione, l'immensa fiumana di profughi dal nord e dall'est.[40]

The heightened imagery of the scene focuses on the ruins of wartime Paris, and immediately contrasts with the image many have of the "City of Lights." The description of Paris

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[39] Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 37. "'General De Gaulle here. Frenchmen, the war continues. Resist! We will have it! (*nous le aurons*)' we were jubilant, and we hugged each other with tears in our eyes."

[40] Lussu, *U'45*, 7. "Paris, in those June days in 1940, was almost deserted. A dense, yellowish, nauseating haze weighed down on the silent streets and empty homes: perhaps it was an artificial fog, maybe the smoke from fuel oil deposits on fire. […] Towards the Porte d'Orléans, the street was more animated. Along the streets of the ring road, the immense river of refugees flowed north to east."

demonstrates Lussu's already-distinctive visual style that she and others have referred to as cinematic.[41] As Tersol notes in her study, one of the characteristics of Lussu's early writing in U'45 was a tendency to connect numerous adjectives together, as is the case with "densa, giallastra, nauseante caligine."[42] During revision process, Lussu removed many of these double and triple adjective constructions, preferring a more straightforward and immediate style.

In the U'45 version the opening description of destruction in Paris creates a bookend effect with the penultimate closing scene of war-torn Italy:

> Venafro era devastata dai bombardamenti, la popolazione era in fuga. Sedetti su un muricciolo, stanca. Continuando di questo passo, avrei messo una diecina di giorni per arrivare a Roma. Sulla strada non si vedeva un italiano, ma file continue di automezzi carichi di tedeschi. Decisi di far segno che si fermassero e mi prendessero su.[43]

The two scenes' symmetry is set against the backdrop of war torn cities: first, as the population flees the invaders, and finally as the Germans are forced back north to avoid the arrival of the Americans. These two moments in history—the fall of Paris and the liberation of Italy—stand out to Lussu in 1945 as the symbolic beginning and end of her story as an antifascist exile. Despite the fact that she first went into exile with her family in the 1920s, roughly two decades before beginning U'45 and her tale of life as a *fuoriuscita*, Lussu chooses the moment that she

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[41] See Ballestra and Lussu, *Joyce L.*; Sulis, "Scritture e riscritture."

[42] Tersol, "Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*," 32.

[43] Lussu, *U'45*, 240. "Venafro was devastated by bombardments, the people were fleeing. I sat down on a low wall, tired. It would take me almost two weeks to get to Rome at this pace. On the street you saw never-ending rows of cars filled with Germans, but not a single Italian. I decided to wave one down and try to hitch a ride."

and Emilio were forced to flee Paris and their community of antifascists as the beginning of *Fronti e frontiere*. Similarly, in the immediate aftermath of the war, the moment in time that stands out as the end of her exile and the end of her story is the moment that she watches the German troops limp along the roads out of Rome.

It is no great surprise that this opening scene is substantially rewritten when Lussu decides to make her revisions two decades later. In her study "Narrating Troubling Experiences," Linda C. Garro notes that "recollected experiences may take on new contours to meet the needs of present and future."[44] This study builds on Garro's previous work, which has focused on the interplay between cultural and social influences on the constructive act of remembering:

> Remembering in everyday life cannot be understood apart from the social and cultural contexts in which it occurs. […] A basic premise is that cultural and social processes, in conjunction with cognitive processes, play a constitutive role in remembering. Cultural and social processes are integral not just to what we remember of the past but to how we remember as well.[45]

Considering the significant amount of time that had passed between the first and second publication of *Fronti e frontiere*, as well as the profound personal development that Joyce Lussu went through after the war—the subject of which is a central theme to her 1977 *Che cos'è un marito*—it is plausible that moments that stood out for their importance in 1945 would not

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[44] Linda C. Garro, "Narrating Troubling Experiences," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 40, no. 1 (2003): 37.

[45] Linda C. Garro, "The Remembered Past in a Culturally Meaningful Life: Remembering as Cultural, Social and Cognitive Process," in *The Psychology of Cultural Experience*, ed. Carmella C Moore and Holly F Mathews (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 105–6.

necessarily maintain their valor in 1967. Similarly, memories that withstood the test of time were not necessarily those that felt the most profound during Italy's liberation.

In the L'67 version, Lussu chooses to open her narrative with a scene that predates the U'45 opening by two years and travels partway around the world to an Italian consulate in Aden, Yemen:

> Il mio passaporto era scaduto da diversi anni, e i consolati italiani rifiutavano di rinnovarlo. Decisi di tentare col console di Aden, dove la nave si fermava per mezza giornata. Speravo che in quell'angolo dell'Arabia i nostri funzionari non avessero informazioni particolari sulla mia persona. Era l'aprile del 1938.[46]

Whereas in 1945 one of the immediate traumas of the war was the devastation of Paris, by 1967 Lussu's remembrance of her time in exile had evolved to include not only the vivid experience of her war-time activism, but also the much broader recollection of the many decades she spent in exile, from 1924–43. Understandably then, the new edition gives place of privilege in the opening scene to the moment that Joyce's juridical identity as an Italian citizen is challenged, the moment that her life in exile officially became that of a clandestine, non-citizen abroad.

The opening scene in Aden is followed by several pages of Joyce's backstory: her family's decision to go into exile while she was a still a young child; her and her brother's involvement in GL; her romance with Emilio. Interspersed in this personal history, Lussu adds two important paragraphs of geopolitical history, detailing the Nazis' Czechoslovakian invasion and the almost domino-like fall of the French Prime Minster Daladier, followed by Mussolini's

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[46] Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 7. "My passport had expired several years ago, and the Italian consulates refused to renew it. I decided to try at the Consul in Aden, where the ship was stopping for half the day. I hoped that in that corner of Arabia our officials wouldn't have any particular information on who I was. It was April 1938."

declaration of war on France. This personal and global backstory, absent from U'45, helps to orient a reader from the late 1960s (and after), and to contextualize the social and political realities of *fuoriuscito* life. The historical lens also casts a somewhat more positive light on Joyce and Emilio's flight from Paris; while the U'45 version contains vivid imagery of the destruction of the city and the impending doom of Fascist victory, in L'67—with the clarity of hindsight likely influencing the tone—the mood is considerably less pessimistic.

In U'45, Lussu's recent memory of the terrors of the war was still immediate and raw, focusing on the details of Paris' destruction and the uncertainty that existed at that time. By L'67, much of that uncertainty had been processed into a more coherent personal narrative, and the collective historical remembering of the fall of Paris includes the ultimate victory of the Allied forces. The personal and cultural healing of a traumatic event is appropriately reflected in the text's tone.

Joyce Lussu's revisions to *Fronti e frontiere* are best explained through Jerome Bruner's assertion that "we *become* the autobiographical narratives by which we 'tell' about lives."[47] Rather than a contradictory and conscious desire on Joyce Lussu's part to reduce the feminist message, the drastic changes made to L'67 represent an author's desire to publish a text that accurately reflects the life narrative that most closely resonates with her sense of personal truth; by 1967, this is a narrative that is no longer mirrored in the account that Lussu laid out immediately after the war. Between 1945 and 1967 Lussu had been restyling and recycling her story of *fuoriuscitismo*—indeed, even after 1967 she would return to this period of her autobiography in numerous works throughout her publishing career—and the refinement of her story produced an incompatibility with her original manuscript. Much like her failure to mention

[47] Jerome Bruner, "Life as Narrative," *Social Research* 71, no. 3 (October 1, 2004): 15.

her first husband in any of her life writings, the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere* was largely abandoned by its author. Lussu's comments to Silvia Ballestra are largely dismissive of the first edition, referencing it as a rough draft written in haste to satisfy the needs of those around her.[48] Her reconstruction of her narrative is so complete that she will not, or cannot, recognize in U'45 an alternative to the story that she holds as true.

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After the L'67 revisions, all subsequent publications of *Fronti e frontiere* remained relatively unchanged, and the book went on to be one of Lussu's most published works.[49] In 1991 a new edition was released, together with Emilio Lussu's *Diplomazia clandestina* and a short memoir by Joyce Lussu entitled *Che cos'è un marito*.[50] This intentional coupling of the spouses' two books is not altogether surprising: both texts reference the other within their stories, and they cover similar periods in the protagonists' lives, each from a unique perspective. The texts were not revised for this publication (Emilio had passed away in 1975, leaving Joyce to be the sole editor of the volume), but the dialogue created between the two texts presents a rich opportunity to elucidate the commonalities and differences between *Fronti e frontiere* and *Diplomazia clandestina*.

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[48] See note 32, Lussu referred to the U'45 version as "molto grezza." Ballestra and Lussu, *Joyce L.*, 216.

[49] The most substantial changes made to the text after 1967 were the edits to the scholastic publications. These edits were predominately geared towards the middle-school aged audience, removing a some of the more colorful language from the text, and adding the occasional footnote for historical context.

[50] Joyce Lussu, "Che cos'è un marito?," in *Alba rossa* (Ancona: Transeuropa, 1991).

Lussu's introduction to the book humorously suggests that she was not in favor of the publication, and that *Alba rossa* owes its existence to her persistent young editors and their refusal to accept her answer of "no":

> "Avete mai pensato, tu ed Emilio," mi hanno chiesto i miei giovani editori, "a scrivere un libro a quattro mani, una storia raccontata insieme?"
>
> "Assolutamente mai," ho risposto con fermezza. "Lui scriveva i suoi e io scrivevo i miei. Ce li leggevamo e li criticavamo, ma non ci sarebbe mai venuto in mente di farne una scrittura sola. […] Intanto, lui era un uomo, e io una donna, cosa di cui difficilmente ci dimenticavamo, anche nei momenti più drammatici. Le nostre voci avevano tonalità e ritmi diversi, e i nostri occhi si posavano sull'infinita multiforme varietà delle cose scegliendo aspetti e indizi non certamente identici […]; per cui non potevamo mescolare i nostri linguaggi, i nostri modi di esprimerci, con parole che avevano colorazione e musicalità diverse."[51]

Despite this insistence by the author, the "giovani editori" manage to convince Lussu that the "libro a quattro mani" has already been written, and all that remains is to assemble its pieces. And yet, Lussu's insistence that the project would never have worked because of the inherent differences between her and Emilio's points of view and approach to writing remains valid: the

[51] Joyce Lussu and Emilio Lussu, *Alba rossa* (Ancona: Transeuropa, 1991), 7. "'Have you and Emilio ever thought,' my young editors asked me, 'of writing a book together, of telling a story together?' 'Absolutely not,' I ardently replied. 'He wrote his and I wrote mine. We read each other's and commented on them, but we would never have even thought of writing one text between us. […] Plus, he was a man and I a woman, something we didn't easily forget, even in the most dramatic moments. Our voices had different tones and rhythms, and our eyes took in a varied and infinite multitude of things, choosing aspects and clues that were anything but identical […]; that's why we couldn't mix our languages, our ways of communicating, with words that had different shading and tones."

two texts—while ostensibly covering the same period and the same events—are profoundly different accounts of remarkably similar stories. For the purposes of this study, *Alba rossa* provides a unique opportunity to benchmark the two texts against each other.[52] Joyce Lussu's addition of *Che cos'è un marito?* also offers a more precise understanding of what it meant to be the wife of a renowned politician and writer, and how that relationship—which Lussu repeatedly affirmed as a partnership of equals—influenced her own decisions in her quest to be an autonomous woman.

Diplomazia Clandestina: 14 giugno 1940–25 luglio 1943 is Emilio Lussu's account of his diplomatic work for GL from 1940-1943. Originally published in 1956, Emilio's text was part of a series of books printed in collaboration with the political science journal *Il Ponte*.[53] By the time *Diplomazia clandestina* went to print, more than a decade had passed since Joyce Lussu published the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere*, confirming her prediction that "Su queste questioni […] Lussu scriverà un giorno."[54] Rather than a companion adventure-narrative that is similar in style to Joyce's text, Emilio chose to employ a more documentarian genre for his memoir. Both books cover similar periods in the couple's personal history, but the scope of

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[52] As has been briefly mentioned, Lussu came from a literary family, and the opportunities for comparison of male and female writers includes her brother Max Salvadori's many writings on his involvement in the Allied war efforts, GL, and the *Resistenza*. Max was the most Anglicized of the three children, even living for a significant period in the United States, where he became a professor. Comparison with Max's texts would also offer interesting intercultural and transnational comparisons of exile literature.

[53] The book's *Avvertenza* alerts the reader that this series, of which *Diplomazia Clandestina* is the most recent addition, was planned in close collaboration with Piero Calamandrei, the noted antifascist and Social Democrat leader during the *dopoguerra*. Unfortunately, Calamandrei passed away in February 1956, several months before *Diplomazia clandestina* was released to the public.

[54] Lussu, *U'45*, 76. "Lussu will write about these affairs one day."

Emilio's narrative is very narrowly defined to cover only his political maneuvering and antifascist activism during that time. The result covers a broad swath of political players in no less than six countries (France, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, England, the United States), but more often conveys the feel of a political science textbook rather than a personal memoir. Even the full title, with its specific date references to the day the Germans invaded Paris and the day Mussolini is voted out of power and arrested, conveys the sense that the manuscript is more of a historical text or political treatise, rather than a personal story.

Considering the fact that Emilio Lussu was in exile for several decades this restricted timeline of *Diplomazia Clandestina* represents a specific choice to recount only a particular element of his activism abroad. That period coincides neatly with Joyce Lussu's choice of timeline in *Fronti e frontiere*: both texts open with the fall of Paris (though after Lussu's revisions in L'67 this similarity is changed) and cover the subsequent years leading up to Fascism's fall. This was arguably the period of time in which the antifascist *fuoriusciti* were most active, but also most at risk, with German and Italian troops occupying France and their activities continually putting their lives at risk. Emilio was working fervently to organize and implement an antifascist uprising in his native Sardinia, and his text documents the extensive organizational and international planning that he put into his efforts to combat Fascism from abroad. Particularly considering the fact that many of the *fuoriusciti* were later criticized for their lack of influence on Fascism within Italy, and for their inability to coordinate productively with the antifascists who remained at home, Emilio's memoir serves as strong historical documentation of the extensive antifascist activism and planning that he and his colleagues influenced in Italy during their decades of exile.

Since both *Diplomazia clandestina* and *Fronti e frontiere* cover roughly the same period of time, they can be read as a kind of "his and hers" approach to the couple's story.[55] Further strengthening Joyce Lussu's young publishers' claim that *Fronti e frontiere* and *Diplomazia clandestina* were destined to be published together, the publication dates of the narratives create an intertextual dialogue. Spanning almost two decades, the books not only present non-competing she-said, he-said, she-said versions of the time period, but they also make explicit reference to each other within the narratives, indicating to the reader that there is another point of view available and that the story is important enough to continue exploring. As was mentioned, in U'45 Joyce hypothesizes that her husband will likely write a more politically-oriented version of the events, and therefore a brief sketch of the situation suffices "perché il lettore si renda conto delle nostre peregrinazioni."[56] Just over ten years later, Emilio in turn offers his own acknowledgement of Joyce's publication as he recalls the risks of a clandestine voyage to Portugal: "Tuttavia, sia pure attraverso qualche rischio, che mi pare Joyce racconti in un suo libro, riuscimmo ad arrivare a Madrid ed a Badajoz."[57] By 1967, Joyce knows that her husband did publish his own text. Furthermore, she has read and critiqued it throughout its development. Her continued conversation with her spouse's writing is no longer hypothetical, but it is also

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[55] The Lussus considered themselves married throughout this period, despite the fact that they would not be legally wed until the 1940s. In *Fronti e frontiere* Joyce comments that she and Emilio presented themselves as married while still in France, but in *Che cos'è un marito?* Joyce recalls the more pragmatic reasoning behind their officially documented marriage: Joyce was pregnant, and Italian law at the time only allowed for one unwed parent to be listed on a child's birth certificate. Unwilling to let either partner be legally erased from their child's personal history, the couple wed a few days before Joyce gave birth.

[56] Lussu, *U'45*, 76. "so that the reader understands the situation of our peregrination."

[57] Lussu, *Diplomazia clandestina*, 16. "Nevertheless, and having run some risks that I believe Joyce remembers in one of her books, we made it to Madrid and to Badajoz."

carefully non-distracting from the narrative arc that she is carefully crafting in L'67: "l'intensa attività di quel periodo, fino al ritorno in Francia, è descritta nel suo libro *Diplomazia clandestina*."[58]

The sense of an inter-memoir dialogue is further strengthened by Emilio's structural choices within his narrative and Joyce's choices regarding her revisions to *Fronti e frontiere* in 1967. For example, both the U'45 version of *Fronti e frontiere* and *Diplomazia clandestina* open with the same scene: the fall of Paris as Nazi troops invade the capital. When Emilio chose to write *Diplomazia clandestina* in 1957, he had as a point of reference for the period Joyce's U'45 text, and therefore the common chronological starting point could represent an intentional choice on his part to cover the same story, but from his point of view. Joyce has made it clear that writing was an individual activity for the two authors, interspersed with moments of collaboration ("Lui scriveva i suoi e io scrivevo i miei. Ce li leggevamo e li criticavamo"), and therefore it seems clear that Emilio chose the opening scene of his memoir fully aware of the way that it would mirror his wife's previously published text.[59]

The dialogue continues between *Diplomazia clandestina* and the L'67 version of *Fronti e frontiere*: whereas the U'45 version ended with Joyce speaking to a German who acknowledges the futility of war, Emilio ends his story with a brief description of the *fuoriusciti*'s various methods for returning to Italy safely after Mussolini's fall. In a classical style, Emilio's story ends with his return to Italy and his call to arms for action from his fellow antifascists:

[58] Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 62. "the intense activity during that time, up until our return to France, is described in his book *Diplomazia clandestina*."

[59] Lussu and Lussu, *Alba rossa*, 7. "He wrote his and I wrote mine. We read each other's and commented on them"

> Quando scesi a Ventimiglia, mi volli fermare, farvi un giro e visitare il mercato dei fiori. Tutti parlavano italiano! Mi sembrava una meraviglia, un sogno! Ne ebbi tanta emozione che stentai a tenermi in piedi, e dovetti appoggiarmi a una colonna per non cadere. L'Italia!
>
> Alla stazione di San Remo, per caso, vidi Joyce che mi era venuta incontro, così alla ventura, e mi raccontò della situazione di Roma.
>
> Si apriva un nuovo periodo di lotta e si annunciava la Resistenza armata.[60]

In her L'67 revisions, Joyce Lussu modifies the start of her text, pushing her opening scene back several years and modifying her story's timeline in a way that differentiates it from her husband's. At the same time she changes the ending, concluding her story in a way that much more closely mirrors Emilio Lussu's narrative.

While it is difficult for readers today to read all three books in dialogue form—U'45 editions of *Fronti e frontiere* are exceedingly rare—the conversational aspect of the various editions is in keeping with Joyce's description of the couple's preferred method of collaboration. Much like their time spent in exile, the two authors focused on their own projects and activities (which were compatible) but regularly contributed expertise or support when they could to help their partner as needed. As the narratives corroborate, while the couple worked together frequently (Emilio comments on the fact that a well-to-do couple could travel more freely than if they had attempted to travel as a suspicious bachelor or an unattached young woman) they also at

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[60] Lussu, *Diplomazia clandestina*, 78. "When I got off at Ventimiglia, I wanted to stop, take a walk and visit the flower market. Everyone was speaking Italian! It seemed a miracle to me, a dream! I was so emotional that I had trouble staying upright, and I had to lean against a column to keep from falling. Italy! At the San Remo station, by chance, I saw Joyce walking towards me by chance, and she caught me up with the situation in Rome. A new chapter in the fight against Fascism had started, and the armed Resistance was begun."

times separated to focus on their own projects and activities. While Emilio worked with the English War Office, Joyce enlisted in army training with the British parachuters; when Joyce traveled with the Modiglianis to Annemasse to facilitate their border crossing into Switzerland, Emilio remained with the other members of GL, even after Joyce's imprisonment by Italian guards. The "libro scritto a quattro mani" exemplifies the independence and collaboration that was a hallmark of the Lussus' antifascist activism and literary production.

The dialogue between the texts and the shared time frame represent the similarities at the core of each book, but in their totalities the narratives are quite different one from the other. For example, while the opening chapters of both *Diplomazia clandestina* and U'45 *Fronti e frontiere* ostensibly begin with the fall of Paris, the authors' differences in style and form are immediately apparent. The chapter titles alone suggest the differing approaches to story-telling between Joyce and Emilio: *Diplomazia clandestina*'s first chapter is very straightforwardly entitled *La caduta di Parigi*, yet Joyce Lussu, as we have seen, starts U'45 with the chapter entitled *Madame Noëlie*.[61] Emilio's more explanatory chapter title is very much in keeping with his political text, and a historical contrast to Joyce's more personal chapter title and more cinematically narrative prose.

Joyce Lussu comments in U'45's prologue that her desire to write the stories of the women to whom the chapters are dedicated ultimately was supplanted by her need to tell her story of antifascist action in exile. Despite her evocation of Madame Noëlie, it is this latter narrative that unfolds in the opening scene, highlighting the destruction and despair that was prevalent during the Nazi invasion of Paris. Joyce's use of heightened imagery of the smoke and

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[61] As has been previously mentioned, the L'67 version of *Fronti e frontiere* removes chapter titles all together. This is possibly another example of the dialogic nature of Joyce and Emilio's writing styles: an indication of how Emilio's political, straight-forward writing style influenced Joyce's poetics.

fog surrounding the City of Lights sets the stage for a descriptive literary style that will continue throughout Joyce Lussu's writing, even after the revisions she makes to L'67. Indeed, she continues to set the scene for two full paragraphs before revealing the narrator, and even then Joyce Lussu doesn't take the traditional autobiographical approach to her equally autobiographical text: "Non ci restava che andarcene anche noi, come gli altri."[62] The reference to we—"[Emilio] Lussu ed io ce ne andammo a piedi"— follows more closely the conventions of women's autobiography.[63]

Diplomazia clandestina's first chapter entitled *La caduta di Parigi* suggests that a similar evocation of destruction and war will open Emilio Lussu's story. Despite this utilitarian and clear historical reference, it is not until several pages into the text that Emilio begins to describe his reactions to the German invasion. Rather than begin his narrative with a description of the event that frames the chapter, his opening pages are dedicated to establishing a very traditional autobiographical pact between the reader and writer, and setting a specific limitation of the scope of the text in hand:

> In questo scritto, rievoco alcuni fatti dell'emigrazione politica italiana, e solo quelli caduti sotto il mio controllo personale; principalmente i fatti politici, lasciando un po' da parte le vicende avventurose che pur furono varie e non prive di interesse.[64]

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[62] Lussu, *U'45*, 7."There was nothing left for us to do but leave, like everyone else."

[63] Ibid., 8. "Lussu and I left by foot"

[64] Lussu, *Diplomazia clandestina*, 3. "In this text I will recall some details of the Italian political emigration, but only those that happened under my personal control; mostly political events, setting aside the more adventurous moments that occasionally happened and weren't without their own interest." The idea of the autobiographical pact, established by Philippe Lejeune, consists of an understood agreement between the author and the reader that the self-referential

This initial declaration of the authorial "I" ([*io*] *rievoco*) is further reinforced by the affirmation that only political events under the purview of the author will be included in the following pages. Additionally, the emphasis on *fatti politici* rather than *vicende avventurose* establishes *Diplomazia clandestina* as an intellectual and historical account rather than a remembrance of the more personal adventures of an exciting historical period. Significantly, this reference to *vicende avventurose* seems to create a direct response to Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere* written eleven years earlier.[65] It is as if Emilio chose to consciously declare his memoir's inherent difference from Joyce's previously-published text.

This exclusion of that which fell outside the realm of the strictly political (in his eyes) can also be explained by the fact that Emilio did not consider himself to be a literary writer, but an exclusively political one: "La mia attività è stata solo politica […]. I miei scritti sono tutti saggi politici, autobiografici. Se dopo la prima guerra mondiale non avessi assunto un impegno politico, non avrei mai scritto un libro. Io non appartengo alla repubblica delle lettere."[66] Despite

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protagonist of the autobiographical text relates back to the author. Lejeune established the theory of the autobiographical pact to help explain how autobiography differentiates itself from other literary genres. This traditional and restrictive definition of autobiography has been since critiqued—Lejuene himself returned to modify the theory—particularly by scholars of autobiographies by underrepresented groups, such as women, immigrants and people of color. Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, ed. Paul John Eakin, trans. Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

[65] See note 25 where Joyce Lussu recalls to Silvia Ballestra that writing *Fronti e frontiere* helped Lussu realize that her extraordinary activities during her exile were, in fact, adventurous and daring. Tersol goes so far as to suggest that *Fronti e frontiere* can be classified as an adventure novel, noting that scholars have identified it as picaresque. Tersol, "Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*," 22–25.

[66] Giuseppe Fiori, *Il cavaliere dei Rossomori: vita di Emilio Lussu* (Torino: Einaudi, 1985), 257–58. "My activity has only been political. My writings are all political essays, and autobiographical. If, after the First World War, I hadn't assumed a political role, I would never have written a book. I am not a part of the world of letters."

this self-declaration, many of Emilio's stylistic choices resonate with the conventions of the 19th century memoir.

Fronti e frontiere is, without doubt, an exemplary text of exile literature. It is also an important historical document that offers insight into both women's involvement in the antifascist resistance abroad, and into the writing process of a young activist returned to post-war Italy. Lussu adamantly refused to consider herself exceptional among the many women who were exiled abroad or fighting Fascism at home.

REPRESENTATIONS OF BORDERS IN *FRONTI E FRONTIERE*

The category of Italian exile literature during the Fascist period has traditionally been combined with prison and confinement (*confino*, or internal exile) literature. This broad categorization has resulted in most scholarly attention focusing on the literary and political writings of the *confinati*, the political prisoners sent into internal exile by the Fascist government. Indeed, many of the most well-known works of the 1930s were written by these internal exiles either during or shortly after their time in *confino*: Carlo Levi's *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* and Cesare Pavese's *Il carcere*, to name two of the most famous. While many similarities exist between the experiences of the *confinati* and the *fuoriusciti*, it is important to note that Joyce Lussu wrote about a notably different experience of exile, exclusion and seclusion in *Fronti e frontiere* than that traditionally read in the works by Carlo Levi, Cesare Pavese, Antonio Gramsci, Giorgio Amendola, or others who wrote about their experiences under Fascism.[67] Furthermore, as a woman *fuoriuscita*—and therefore a political Other as well as a gendered Other in patriarchal Italian and European

[67] Carlo Levi, *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1947); Cesare Pavese, *Prima che il gallo canti; Il carcere* (Torino: Einaudi, 1948); Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni (del carcere)*, 1977; Giorgio Amendola, *Un'isola*, 1a ed (Milano: Rizzoli, 1980).

societies—Joyce Lussu's works offer invaluable insight into the ways in which women's exile literature occupies a unique literary and memorial space. While her experience was assuredly different, the *confinati* and *fuoriusciti* shared a common inimical element: borders, political and physical, that entrapped or excluded them. In exploring the poetics of Joyce Lussu's exile literature, the ways in which Lussu's use of the theme of borders is similar to and different from the treatment of borders in male *confinati* literature offers a fertile space for analysis, and helps to establish a possible typology of women's exile literature.

Two important aspects of this theme present themselves in *Fronti e frontiere* and demonstrate the significance these political boundaries had in Joyce Lussu's experience as a *fuoriuscita*. Not surprisingly perhaps, the theme of borders is recurrent throughout Lussu's memoir, as is the complementary theme of border crossing. Beyond the appearance of this theme within her narrative, border crossing is also evidenced in the text. Rather than writing an autobiographical account that can be easily classified as a historical memoir, Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere* is polyvalent: scholars easily classify it as a memoir; others argue it is an adventure novel, a picaresque novel, or an autobiography.[68] Looking first at the ways that Lussu crosses literary genre borders in her writing, and then how the theme of borders is represented in her text, I will demonstrate how *Fronti e frontiere* is in many ways similar to the exile literature written by Joyce Lussu's male peers, but exists in a space apart from the traditional conventions found in their writing.

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[68] Tersol, "Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*."

Fronti e frontiere is an autobiographical narrative, and can therefore be placed within the very broad category of life writing proposed by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson.[69] More specifically, it most closely fits into the traditional literary category of memoir: the timeline covered is autobiographical, but relatively brief, and there is a strong historical component to the narrative that is fitting with the author's political involvement at the time. Lussu excludes many important personal events from the narrative, but pays a significant amount of attention to the missions of GL and historical events of the time. While this phase of Lussu's life is relatively brief, it is particularly formative and represents one of the most important periods in the formation of Lussu's identity, as Lussu's desire to write and publish the memoir so quickly after the events occurred suggests. That said, given the extensive revisions that went into the L'67 edition, the term memoir does not seem to adequately encompass the text. Indeed, the changes suggest that while Lussu considered her book to be autobiographical—something she confirms in her interviews with Silvia Ballestra—she approached her story not as just a historically accurate text that documented a period in her life, but also as a novelistic narrative open to authorial intervention and character development as the various scenes required and permitted.

In his study of *Fronti e frontiere* as a "protagonist-based narrative," Consuelo Tersol suggests that the extensive revisions exemplify how "it is possible to consider *Fronti e frontiere* as part of a re-thinking of the female contribution to the Resistance […] a consequence of the cultural change in society and that brought the author to describe a more independent female protagonist."[70] In this sense *Fronti e frontiere*, specifically the L'67 version, is also a political

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[69] See note 7 in the Introduction in regards to life writing.

[70] Tersol, "Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*," 79.

piece, a revisionist history of a social movement that has been in turns dismissed by scholars, and narrowly focused on the few well-known, male protagonists.

Within Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*, the theme of borders reoccurs frequently and significantly as Joyce and her fellow *fuoriusciti* cross, challenge, and work to influence beyond the political demarcations separating countries. This leitmotif is reoccurring throughout exile literature, and particularly in many of the famous works of *confinati* literature. The modified imprisonment of *confino* depended on city and region borders to create a profound sense of enclosure and removal from the world, similar to that of an open-city prison.[71] The significance of these arbitrary and invisible lines demarcate the outer limit of their space, the line beyond which they could not travel, but also the enclosed area in which others cannot penetrate. For Lussu, it is this secondary classification that holds the most sway: instead of borders representing the outer limit of her world in exile, borders more frequently represent hurdles or obstacles that must be overcome.

This conflicting idea of border is, according to Étienne Balibar, inherent to the definition of border, given that:

> to mark out a border is, precisely, to define a territory, to delimit it, and so to register the identity of that territory, or confer one upon it. Conversely, however,

[71] Rather than traditional imprisonment, the *confinati* were sent to remote villages in the far south of Italy or, occasionally, on islands. They were not allowed to leave the villages, and were required to check in regularly with the local fascist police to ensure their compliance. While they were granted some freedoms that incarcerated prisoners were denied—Pavese, for example, writes of his brief affair with a local woman, and his friendship with another local man—the constrictive reality of being confined to a specific place, removed from their friends, family and colleagues remained a shared experience between the *confinati* and prisoners. This practice of internal exile banished activists to remote villages and islands throughout the country, cutting off key figures from their networks and effectively reducing their ability to organize the antifascist movement.

> to define or identify in general is nothing other than to trace a border, to assign boundaries or borders […]. The theorist who attempts to define what a border is is in danger of going round in circles, as the very representation of the border is the precondition for any definition […]. Every discussion of borders relates, precisely, to the establishment of definite identities, national or otherwise. Now it is certain that there *are* identities—or rather identifications—which are, to varying degrees, active and passive, voluntary and imposed, individual and collective. Their multiplicity, their hypothetical or fictive nature, do not make them any less real.[72]

Whereas the borders of prison and *confino* are actively imposed upon those incarcerated within, the national borders that delineate the area from which a *fuoriuscito* flees are a blurred mixture of "active and passive, voluntary and imposed, individual and collective" identification. For the *fuoriuscito*, the border is simultaneously the line that needs to be crossed to avoid imprisonment or prosecution, and the frontier that longs to be re-crossed to return home. The border represents the collectively understood barrier that keeps the *fuoriuscito* out of the homeland, rather than the real (or metaphorical) wall of a prisoner's enclosure.

It is precisely this sense of being pushed outside that we find in *Fronti e frontiere*. Throughout the text Joyce is keenly aware of the existence of national borders and the juridical identities that are conferred upon those that belong to one collective of borders as opposed to another. But rather than focus on the sense of separation and subsequent alienation that they can create, Lussu's writing focuses more on the difficulties that come from attempting to cross them. Indeed, border crossing happens fairly frequently in *Fronti e frontiere*: through the course of her

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[72] Etienne Balibar, *Politics and the Other Scene* (London; New York: Verso, 2002), 76.

work for the resistance movement *Giustizia e Libertà*, Joyce—at times with Emilio, at times working alone—travels across the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Swiss and English borders, as well as her extensive sea crossing from Aden, Yemen to France at the beginning of the story. Many of these crossings are challenging and result in close calls with the authorities, but Lussu privileges Joyce's ability to overcome the borders' ability to restrict space. There is only one border that remains impossible to cross until Mussolini's fall, and it is naturally the one border that Joyce and Emilio desire to cross more than any other: Italy's. But the couple's inability to cross the Italian border does not result from its power as a symbolically imposed limit on their physical world; rather, the very real hurdles on the other side of the arbitrary border line reinforce its strength. It is the threat of what is on the other side of the border that has the greatest impact on the Lussu's ability to cross over. Ultimately, the direct Fascist threats to the couple—which had forced both Joyce and Emilio to leave many years before—create an insurmountable challenge for much of the book.

While it is true that Lussu spent much of her life in self-imposed exile to avoid Fascist capture and imprisonment, by no means does this mean that she preferred to be outside of Italy during Mussolini's reign. For many *fuoriusciti*, the choice to leave Italy was a *scelta falsa* (false choice), with the consequences of remaining in Italy being so profoundly damaging (imprisonment, *confino*, torture, death) that their only possible option was to flee the country. This forced separation created profound homesickness, a sentiment that Lussu highlights in the opening pages of *Fronti e frontiere* when her passport is invalidated and she loses her ability to travel across borders with any sense of legality:

> Come sarei sbarcata a Marsiglia? Come avrei trovato lavoro? Mi sentii sola nel vasto mondo, con una gran voglia di correre da mia madre. Ma mia madre era in

> Italia, probabilmente in carcere o al confino; tornando, ci sarei finita anch'io, e certamente non nello stesso luogo.[73]

This opening scene simultaneously highlights the importance *fuoriusciti* placed on their liberty to travel, the ability of the Fascist government to impose border controls on its citizens, and the conflicting pull and tug of the desire to return to Italy but the need to remain outside its territorial bounds. Joyce's inability to legally debark in France creates a desire to go to Italy, the very thing she wants to avoid by going to Marseilles. Returning to Italy would result in assured imprisonment, making it an impossible option despite the profound lure of home and family that returning offered. Joyce is lucky that in 1938 it was still possible to encounter antifascist officials in France that were willing to turn a blind eye to political refugees. By debarking in France without any valid documents, Joyce chooses the clandestine life, at the same time freeing herself of borders' ability to enclose or confine her—she could adopt various French identities to avoid imprisonment as an Italian antifascist activist—and making the separation of the Italian border and its ability to keep her out all the stronger. Despite the near-certain threats of capture and punishment in Italy, this choice was not an easy one to make: many activists who longed to enact change within Italy and contribute to the antifascist movement that, they believed, would overthrow Mussolini chose to leave only reluctantly, and after having survived one close-call too many.

[73] Lussu's mother was indeed sent into *confino*, as were many political dissidents at the time. Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 24. "How would I debark in Marseilles? How would I find work? I felt alone in the vast world, with an enormous desire to run to my mother. But my mother was in Italy, probably in jail or sent to *confino*; if I went back, I'd end up in the same situation, but certainly not in the same place."

There is only one point in the narrative in which Lussu comments on the limitation of being confined within a national border, and that is when Joyce and her companions have been taken in by the police in Switzerland for illegally crossing into their country:

> — E non siete venuti in Svizzera per rimanervi?
>
> — No, — disse Lussu senza esitazione; — desideriamo rientrare subito in Francia.
>
> Non avevamo nessuna voglia di *rimanere bloccati in Svizzera, nell'inattività*, fino alla fine della guerra.[74]

At this point, Joyce and Emilio (referred to as Lussu in the citation above) have entered Switzerland purposefully and illegally, with the intent of meeting other members of GL. Their intent was to stay briefly and clandestinely, planning with other GL members and then traveling as their plans required. The guards, justifiably, assumed that they were in Switzerland to claim asylum, something the Lussu's had facilitated for others many times. The Swiss border had been difficult to cross, but that difficulty up to this point had been logistical; evading the border guards and slipping through the gaps in security had been difficult, but possible, and the idea was always to re-cross the border with the same relative freedom. The trip was never intended to be permanent, and the idea of being registered as asylum seekers and therefore being forced to remain in Switzerland was absolutely counter to the plan. In a slightly modified version of the prisoner/*confinato* narrative, the Lussus are able to enter their potential "prison" with relative ease. However, upon threat of losing their ability to freely—albeit clandestinely—cross back over and leave the space of "inattività" in neutral Switzerland, they are able to choose to return to

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[74] Ibid., 75. My emphasis. "—And you didn't come to Switzerland to stay? —No, — Lussu said without hesitating; —we want to return immediately to France. We had no desire to *remain blocked in Switzerland, inactive,* until the end of the war."

the "other side" where can rejoin their hubs of activity and false identities in France. Ultimately, this spectrum of perceived imprisonment has a profound effect on the ability of borders to enclose or challenge the protagonist: crossing into Switzerland to meet with Joyce's compatriots and plan further action is difficult but possible, remaining against her will without the ability to return to France becomes insufferable.

The frequency with which Lussu recalls crossing borders in her memoir is indicative of how important it was for *fuoriusciti* to be able to defy the geopolitical districting that surrounded them the moment they left their homeland. As Lussu remembers in an episode of *Fronti e frontiere* (and as will be further discussed in the subsequent chapter on Vera Modigliani's *Esilio…*), after the Nazi invasion of France many *fuoriusciti* chose to claim asylum in Switzerland to avoid imprisonment or death. For those who were unable, or unwilling, to take on false identities to evade the police, border crossing became an unavoidable necessity in their journey of survival. Prior to this tenuous period, though, border crossing had long been a defining aspect of *fuoriusciti* life. The term itself is a portmanteau that combines the act of going out (*usciti*) with the physical state of being outside predetermined bounds (*fuori*). While *confinati* and prisoners are placed into their respective enclosures, the *fuoriusciti* become exiles when they choose to cross beyond the Italian border. The importance of borders in *fuoriusciti* identity is doubly present for Joyce and Emilio: Joyce, who in 1938 had spent over half of her life crossing borders as a matter of survival, partnered with Emilio, one of the most famous escapees from *confino*. Whereas in some *confino* literature the relationship with borders and geopolitical limits is very passive, Joyce and Emilio consistently challenge the strength and impermeability of the borders around them. Indeed, Joyce's partnership with Emilio puts her in a position to work with

one of the very few people who definitively crossed over the confine that was designed to imprison him, reclaiming freedom after his time in *confino*.

The Italian border remains the most difficult for the Lussu's to cross throughout *Fronti e frontiere*, despite the couple's extensive planning and attempts to reconnect with their colleagues at home. Towards the end of her memoir, however, Joyce is able to return to Italy semi-legally after Mussolini's fall in 1943, taking the train across the weakened border and successfully avoiding the disorganized Fascist police on either side. In many similar autobiographical narratives, this return home marks the end of the text, a final resolution to the protagonist's displacement and reordering of the chaos that exile (*confino* and *fuoriuscito* alike) had endured. *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* famously ends with Carlo Levi looking out the window of his train car as he returns north to Piedmont from his *confino* town; even Emilio Lussu's *Diplomazia clandestina* closes with Emilio debarking his train and setting foot in Italy for the first time in decades, as Joyce welcomes him at the station. Whereas in many examples of exile literature this return home marks the end of the narrative, in *Fronti e frontiere* returning to Italy marks the beginning of a new chapter in Joyce's involvement in the Resistance, and in the text. Whereas Carlo Levi and Emilio Lussu both finish their stories with the protagonists on the train, leaving their space of exile and returning home, Lussu continues to tell her narrator's story of involvement in the Resistance in Italy up until the summer of '43. In *Fronti e frontiere*, Lussu distances herself from the traditions of the *fuoriusciti* narrative genre by deciding to continue to tell her autobiographical character's story beyond the limits of what may technically be considered the period of exile. Similar to the engagement with border that was present during Joyce's exile, when the time comes that one would expect the story to be over—when the

traditional limits of exile literature present an opportunity to end the narrative—Lussu crosses over and continues until the end that suits *her* story and *her* journey.

IDENTITY CREATION AND RECOVERY[75]

While *Fronti e frontiere* is more closely defined as a memoir, one could argue that the differentiation between autobiography and memoir is of minimal importance given that life writing (in the broadest sense) is a flexible category that lends itself well to authorial manipulation.[76] Indeed, one of the most important themes throughout Lussu's six decades of writing can be traced to its initial development in her first prose work: the creation and narration of Joyce Lussu's identity. Autobiographical reflection becomes a hallmark of Lussu's poetics, but it is particularly relevant to the various editions of *Fronti e frontiere*: the process of narration interacts with Lussu's sense of self as she actively reclaims her marginalized identities as a woman and exile. Particularly in *Fronti e frontiere*—though it is a reoccurring leitmotif throughout her *oeuvre*—writing her personal narrative allowed Lussu to reclaim a specific sense of self after having had to suppress it during her many years in exile: Joyce the Resistance fighter, antifascist, and activist.

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[75] Portions of this section have been modified from my earlier study that analyzed *Fronti e frontiere* and Lussu's official autobiography written several decades later, *Portrait*. See Nicole Robinson, "Return from Exile: Joyce Lussu's Many Autobiographical Voices," *Carte Italiane* 2, no. 10 (2015): 41–60.

[76] In her study of women's autobiography, Graziella Parati refers back to James Olney's theory of autobiographies as "contexts in which metaphors of selves are performed," and states: "I consider autobiography as fiction, as narrative in which the author carefully selects and constructs the characters, events and aspects of the self that she or he wants to make public in order to convey a specific message about her or his past and present identity." *Public History, Private Stories*, 4.

In many respects, Lussu's autobiographical narratives follow conventions of women's autobiography, which she uses to tell the story of her involvement in the Resistance, an event that was situated firmly within the political, and therefore traditionally male, world.[77] Several scholars, including Estelle Jelinek and Sidonie Smith, have identified characteristics common to many women's autobiographies, and these traits succinctly describe Lussu's poetics: instead of exclusively writing in prose narrative, Lussu occasionally mixes genres and interjects moments of poetry into her narrative to convey a particular state of being or to describe a specific moment in her life; instead of writing exclusively about her own life, she frequently detours into the lives of family, close friends, and even historical figures who had a profound impact on her personal history.[78] Across her *oeuvre*, but specifically among the various versions of *Fronti e frontiere*, Lussu employs the techniques of life writing with the clear intent of structuring specific narratives of her identity for the reader. The result is a series of portraits (not-coincidentally, I believe, the title of her autobiography in 1988) of a woman whose existence and experience within the larger contexts of Italian, European, and global history cannot be denied. Through her stories, she reaffirms and validates her various identities—such as political activist, wife, *fuoriuscita*, clandestine fighter—that frequently did not conform to societally accepted versions of womanhood in 20th century Italy. She blends techniques of women's autobiographical writing

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[77] When discussing the numerous genre classifications into which *Fronti e frontiere* can be fit, the genre of autobiography has become a highly loaded and problematized category. Scholarship regarding traditional autobiography (thus equated with the male tradition) has subsequently evolved to explore a much more flexible space. See Paul John Eakin, *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self Invention* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); *Living Autobiographically*.

[78] See Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography*; Estelle C. Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography from Antiquity to the Present* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986).

with a standard (male) adventure narrative to create her own autobiographical space that encompasses her unique experience.

As was briefly discussed in the analysis of the revisions to *Fronti e frontiere*, the addition of the scene in Aden, Yemen to the L'67 version was a conscious choice on Lussu's part to initiate her story of exile at the moment that her Italian identity was challenged and denied. In the book's opening, Joyce the narrator is attempting to affirm her identity as an Italian citizen in the port town of. She had moved to Kenya with her first husband to find work but, after the end of their marriage and business venture, had decided to return to France alone with her expired passport as her only proof of Italian citizenship. Already labeled a problematic citizen that the Fascist government preferred to keep within the country's borders and control, previous attempts to renew her passport had proven unsuccessful. The importance of legal documentation to confirm an identity through citizenship is reoccurring theme throughout the narrative:

> Il mio passaporto scaduto era la mia ultima difesa, in un mondo dove era molto difficile circolare e trovare lavoro. Perciò ero decisa a non separarmene mai, per nessun motivo. Ma il console di Aden seppe tentarmi, abilmente. "Me lo dia," mi disse, "glielo rinnovo in dieci minuti e glielo restituiscono subito." […] Tornò infatti dopo mezz'ora, tutto trionfante, e con un sorriso maligno me lo mise aperto sotto il naso. Sulle pagine c'erano grandi croci di cancellatura, e timbri e timbri, tutti uguali: annullato, annullato, annullato.[79]

[79] Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 23–24. "My expired passport was my last defense in a world where it was incredibly difficult to move around and find work. That's why I had decided to never let it go, not for any reason. But the consul in Aden knew how to tempt me, skillfully. 'Give it to me,' he said, 'I'll renew it for you in 10 minutes and give it back to you right away.' […] He returned triumphantly after half an hour, and with a vicious smile thrust it open under my nose. One the

Joyce's hope that a government official in Aden would not be aware of her status as a blacklisted Italian citizen who had been labeled a dangerous antifascist is short lived. With a passport that was merely expired, Joyce had been able to maintain the fiction that the Italian government recognized her relatively unrestricted citizenship and that her actions were at least tacitly accepted. The cancellation stamps shatter that illusion, and with only a canceled passport for documentation Joyce is faced with either conforming to the law and returning to Italy or officially taking up a clandestine identity to maintain her freedom to travel and work abroad. Keeping in mind the heightened imagery that comes with the understanding that in Italian the verb *cancellare* means both "to cancel" and "to erase," once the consul has voided Joyce's passport it is no longer possible to maintain that pretense that her legal Italian identity is still valid. Her Italian citizenship is relegated to this extra-juridical space and—unwilling to return to Italy and the guaranteed suppression of her activism—the "grandi croci di cancellatura" mark the beginning of Joyce's obligatory adoption of clandestine identities while a *fuoriuscita*.

Joyce's first thoughts upon seeing the cancellation stamps turn to the incredible loneliness that comes from having her citizenship and a part of her identity denied (Mi sentii sola nel vasto mondo, con una gran voglia di correre da mia madre.) [80] Returning to Italy would have resulted in severe punishment and isolation for her subversive actions, but choosing to live clandestinely under false names created a barrier of separation between her beloved Italian identity and the series of French identities that she adopted and performed. In essence, given that Joyce did not conform to the behavior that Fascism demanded of her, the government denied her

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pages were large cancellation Xs, and stamp after stamp, all the same: cancelled, cancelled, cancelled."

[80] See note 73.

the legal right to exist as Joyce Lussu, a citizen of Italy.[81] The loss of the passport and the inability to replace it marginalizes and relegates Joyce to a space of juridical non-existence in which she becomes incapable of proving she is who she says she is. Faced with the choice of legally returning to Italy where she would almost certainly be imprisoned or sent into confinement, or illegally remaining in self-exile, Joyce chooses to travel to France. From this point on the narrator must keep up an elaborate ruse of false papers, documents, and languages to avoid imprisonment, and the result is that Joyce must construct several new identities—constantly changing names, birthdates, birth towns, occupations—to replace her original, denied Italian self.

Fronti e frontiere focuses on the period of Lussu's life when she was most active in *Giustizia e Libertà*, and much of the narration revolves around one of Joyce's main tasks for the group: fabricating documentation for the false identities that she and her fellow resistance members adopted while in France. Not only did she create the false identification documents, but she also frequently worked with the *fuoriusciti* to learn the false identities and accompanying life stories that went along with them. She had been taught to reproduce the official government stamps that gave the group's fake documents credibility by a fellow *giellista*, before he left France, and Joyce became "la sola depositaria del segreto."[82] These false documents were incredibly important to the members and affiliates of GL, as Joyce experienced first hand in

[81] While Fascism's rhetoric of the ideal woman and its practices day-to-day were not necessarily one and the same, from 1922 to 1945 under Mussolini's reign being a woman in Italy involved delicate balance and maneuvering between the advancement of modernity and the celebration of femininity equated with motherhood. By coupling the future and tradition, women were expected to fulfill a paradoxical role that ultimately denied their freedom. See De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*.

[82] Lussu, "L'67 (2008)," 44. "the only keeper of the secret"

Aden. Under Fascism, Italian citizens were rarely granted passports for international travel, and after the Nazi occupation admitting to being Italian instantly raised suspicion in France. "Non si poteva vivere che passando per cittadini francesi" because Italian *fuoriusciti* resistance fighters were being arrested everyday by the Nazi and Fascist troops.[83] This ability to create a false identity and maintain the charade helped to initiate Lussu into the realm of storytelling, ultimately enriching, though not falsifying or forging, her narrative account of her experience.

Joyce and the other members of GL held to the standard that "uno dei princìpi della vita illegale è difendere la propria falsa identità fino all'estremo possibile" even when it seemed impossible to maintain the fiction.[84] The most reliable way to truly go into hiding in France was to live a still relatively out-in-the open life as a French citizen, suppressing any reference to an Italian identity that would alert the authorities. Elaborate document and story construction as well as collaboration with other Resistance fighters to protect against the threat of cross-examination in detention went into every false identity, and the *fuoriusciti* continuously adopted new identities to ensure that the authorities did not have a clear history of who they were pretending to be. As the only member able to falsify documents, much of Joyce's time was spent perfecting official signatures and ensuring that the ID cards would pass inspection. The weight of the responsibility and the highs and lows of success and failure were taxing:

> Se il documento non era perfetto e destava i sospetti della polizia, il compagno sarebbe stato arrestato, torturato, mandato in carcere o in campo di concentrazione o forse passato per le armi—e tutto per colpa mia! […] Ma che soddisfazione

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[83] Ibid. "You couldn't live without passing for French citizens"

[84] Ibid., 105. "one of the principles of illegal life is to defend one's false identity until the bitter end"

> quando imitavo, ultima e lieve fatica, la firma del sindaco o del commissario in fondo a una carta d'identità veramente riuscita![85]

The formidable effort needed to maintain not only Joyce's charade but also that of her companions left very few resources to dedicate to maintaining a sense of self that conformed to what she remembered and claimed as Italian. By writing down her story upon her return to Italy and re-rooting her self in a literary reality, Lussu is able to reestablish and reclaim the elements of her Italian identity that she was forced to give up: birthplace, hometown, name. In that process, she is able to reorient Joyce's experiences within the parameters of her Italian identity. Through life writing, Lussu is able to reclaim an aspect of herself that had been suppressed in exile, and establish it within a continuous personal narrative that had previously been fractured and made up of numerous false identities.

The effort required to maintain a false identity was at times more than Joyce could bear without losing the distinction between her Italian and adopted self. In one episode, Joyce recounts a precarious period when she is taken into custody by the Italian army for helping fellow antifascists cross the border into Switzerland. Never once admitting that she was an Italian citizen, despite the fact that she was arrested by Fascists and held in Italian containment, Joyce maintains her false French identity and even defends it to the point that she loses touch with herself and is completely, albeit momentarily, the invented woman that she created for her false documents, Maria Teresa Chevalley from Sallanches, France: "Il nostro esercito,—ribattei,

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[85] Ibid., 45. "If the document wasn't perfect and tipped off the police, the companion would be arrested, tortured, send to prison or a concentration camp, maybe even executed—and it would be all my fault! […] But what satisfaction when I copied, that last, light effort: the mayor or commissioner's signature at the bottom of a ID card beautifully done!"

sentendomi ormai francese per davvero,—l'hanno battuto i tedeschi."[86] While maintaining her false identities the strength and credibility of Joyce's forged self determined whether or not her story would be accepted. Similarly, choosing to write an autobiographical account of a period in which her Italianess had been denied allows Lussu to reclaim a piece of herself that she had necessarily suppressed during this time. By writing Joyce's story, Lussu is able to contextualize her narrator's actions in a global setting and reintegrate the many identities and life stories that Joyce experienced under the umbrella category of "Joyce's life narrative" and, by extension, "Lussu's life narrative." By examining Lussu's construction of Joyce's autobiographical story—in particular the self-revisions that went into the L'67 version—we learn what Lussu felt was necessary to reclaim or reaffirm; the memoir creates an opportunity for Joyce Lussu, the identity forger, to create the backstory for the version of her self that she will adopt upon her return to Italy. *Fronti e frontiere* anchors her sense of self in an authentic, Italian context, despite the peripatetic reality of her life in exile. Not only that, it reintegrates the activities Lussu carried out under false identities into one continuous life narrative, uniting the fractured identities under a comprehensive whole and therefore completing her physical return from exile.

Fronti e frontiere is, ultimately, just a small sampling of Joyce Lussu's life writing; self-representation and self-discovery are persistent themes not only in her original work, but also in many of the translations she collaborated on with foreign authors. For much of her life Lussu struggled against social systems that rejected her identification as an Italian woman equal to Italian male peers. As Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson make clear in their writing on memory in autobiography, remembering the past and narrating it to an audience in written or oral form does

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[86] Ibid., 104. My emphasis. "Our army—I countered, *in that moment feeling truly French*,—was defeated by the Germans."

not recreate the past experience, but rather creates a record of it. These memories or fragments of memories can change over time, but "we inevitably organize or form fragments of memory into complex constructions that become the stories of our lives."[87] Confronted with the fact that her identity was frequently challenged or overtly denied, Lussu chose to record the pieces of memory that stood out as essential to her life's stories. Documenting those stories in writing served as acts of creation and affirmation that connected her life to general history and anchored her identity in the larger fabric of society.

CONCLUSION

The following poem included in Lussu's autobiographical collection of memories *Lotte, ricordi e altro* suggests that towards the end of her life Lussu was aware that her *eccentricità* had marginalized her from society:

> Un giornalista mi ha chiesto
> se mi considero una donna di successo
> e ho risposto di sí.
> "Non puoi rispondere cosí!"
> ha osservato un amico
> che mi segue dappresso
> cercando d'impedirmi di far brutte figure,
> "I tuoi libri hanno scarse tirature
> raramente hai accesso alle televisioni

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[87] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 16.

il sociologo Alberoni

non ti ha mai citata…”

“Allora avevo capito male

dissi, credevo che il successo

nella vita, fosse svegliarsi la mattina

di buon umore, senza problemi di fegato

guardando alla nuovissima giornata

come a un’avventura piacevole…”

“Ma lo sai bene che anche le femministe

ti hanno sempre snobbata

che Panorama e l’Espresso

non ti chiedono articoli

di politologia…”

“Senti, sia come sia, ti confesso

che non m’interesso molto al successo

ma appassionatamente al succede

e al succederà.

Il successo è un paracarro

una pietra miliare

che segna il cammino già fatto.

Ma quanto piú bello il cammino ancora da fare

la strada da percorrere, il ponte

da traversare

verso l'imprevedibile orizzonte

e la sorpresa del domani

che hai costruito anche tu…"[88]

With lighthearted reproach, Lussu acknowledges her marginalization within society, but also rejects the paradigm for success as defined by those who would snob her. As an acknowledgment of how others view her, her friend's version of her life is that of a woman who has failed to achieve the milestones usually associated with success: large readership, citations, requests for articles. But in this poem—as she has done throughout her writing—Lussu reinterprets her own narrative and redefines success on her own terms. According to her standards and her understanding of what constitutes a life well lived, she is "una donna di successo." While her view may not be that which is commonly shared with her friend/society, as the author of her personal narrative and this poem, she has last word on her own interpretation of her identity.

As is commonly the case in women's life writing, writing autobiographically allows Lussu to anchor the story of her life and her identity within the text, creating a record of her actions and her existence that reaffirms her sense of self. Throughout her literary career, Lussu

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[88] "Un giornalista mi ha chiesto" in *Lotte, ricordi e altro*, 114. "A journalist asked me / if I consider myself a successful woman / and I replied yes. / "You can't say that!" / observed a friend / who follows me around / trying to keep me from looking bad, / "Your books are poorly circulated / you've rarely been on TV / the sociologist Alberoni / has never cited you…" / "Then I misunderstood / I said, I thought that success / in life was waking up in the morning / in a good mood, in good health / looking at the new day / like it is a pleasant adventure…" / "But you know full well that even the feminists / have always snubbed you / that *Panorama* and *Espresso* / never ask you for articles / on politics…" / "Listen, that may be, I admit / that success doesn't interest me much / but what is happening / and what will happen passionately does. / Success is a bollard / a milestone / that marks the path behind us. / So much more beautiful is the path ahead / the road yet to travel, the bridge / yet to cross / towards an unpredictable horizon / and tomorrow's surprise / that you, too, built…"

paints us a series of portraits of Joyce over time, recreating and continuously reestablishing her self as an historical subject.

Almost all of Lussu's texts unfortunately have largely gone out of print after their first few runs; when possible Lussu favored small printing houses to the larger publishers (another example of how a conscience choice fed the idea of her *eccentricità*), and the lack of resources coupled with her marginalized identity ultimately resulted in her texts being very difficult to find. Lack of access coupled with her established outsider status during her life led to Lussu being either largely forgotten by scholars or relegated to the lesser historical role of Emilio Lussu's wife, a title she rebelled against and actively rejected in preference to her many other qualifications. Despite this hiatus in availability, *Fronti e frontiere* was republished in 2008 as part of a larger collection of Lussu's work entitled *Opere*, and *Portrait* was re-released in 2012.[89] Several other collections have also been reprinted, and Lussu's texts are once again available as examples of self-affirmation and self-emergence through autobiographical writing.

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[89] Corresponding somewhat with the recent availability of her texts, new scholarship is emerging on Lussu. See, for example, Tersol, "Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*"; Joyce Lussu and Luigi Balsamini, *Un'eretica del nostro tempo: interventi di Joyce Lussu ai meeting anticlericali di Fano (1991-1995)* (Camerano (AN) [i.e. Ancona, Italy]: Gwynplaine, 2012); Claudia Capancioni, "Joyce Lussu's 'Africa, out of Portugal': Translating José Craveirinha, Kaoberdiano Dambarà, Marcelino Dos Santos, Agostinho Neto, and Alexander O'Neill in Italian," *Scientia Traductionis* 11 (2012): 245–58; Claudia Capancioni, "Travelling and Translation: Joyce Lussu as a Feminist Cultural Mediator," 2011; Trenti, *Il Novecento di Joyce Salvadori Lussu: vita e opera di una donna antifascista*.

3. Toward a Feminist Historical Narrative: Hybridity and Precariousness in Vera Modigliani's *Esilio*

Immediately after World War II the Italian people were finally introduced to many of the accounts that the *fuoriusciti* had written during their time abroad; these narratives had been published originally for foreign audiences—at times in the host countries' languages—but after the fall of Fascism it became possible to publish in Italy the memoirs and political essays that had been in circulation abroad.[1] Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere* was one of the very first *fuoriusciti* memoirs to be published in 1945 after the liberation of Italy, and Vera Modigliani's *Esilio* came out shortly after in 1946.[2] As has been discussed in the previous chapter, both *Fronti e frontiere* and Emilio Lussu's *Diplomazia clandestina* were limited in their narrative scope, covering a particular period of exile for the two authors. Modigliani's *Esilio*, on the other hand, is a broad and sweeping personal history of the author's eighteen years in exile in several countries. By comparison it is the most similar in terms of breadth and scope to Aldo Garosci's *Storia dei fuorusciti*. Garosci's text would ultimately become the seminal work on the history of

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[1] Authors like Carlo Rosselli and Emilio Lussu published extensively while they were abroad, particularly for French and English audiences. Rosselli's collaboration with Stefan Priacel helped disseminate his brand of socialism throughout Europe, and Marion Rawson translated several of Lussu's publications into English. Their memoirs, frequently published in part in their journal *Giustizia e Libertà*, along with Rosselli's political writings on Socialism were then republished (and at times translated) for the Italian audience. See Carlo Rosselli, *Oggi in Spagna, domani in Italia.* (Paris: Edizioni di Giustizia e Libertà, 1938); *Socialisme libéral*; *Socialismo liberale; ed. clandestina*; Lussu, *Marcia su Roma e dintorni*; *Enter Mussolini; Observations and Adventures of an Antifascist,* trans. Marion Rawson (London: Methuen & Co., 1936); *La catena* (Roma: Edizioni U, 1945).

[2] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946.

the *fuoriusciti* and *fuoriuscitismo* under Fascism, while Modigliani's would be mostly forgotten, despite its initial success.[3] The reasons behind this historical amnesia and academic apathy include the diary-like quality of the text, the author's focus on women's involvement in the antifascist resistance abroad, and her primarily self-effacing identification as *moglie di* Giuseppe Modigliani. It is the goal of this chapter to demonstrate not only that Vera Modigliani should be remembered as a significant member of the antifascist *fuoriusciti* in France, but also that *Esilio* should be remembered and studied as a remarkably nuanced text of exile writing.

As a challenge to the simplistic classification of *moglie di*, which has unfortunately stood out as the predominant and still current interpretation of Vera Modigliani's identity as a *fuoriuscita*, I will examine *Esilio*'s hybridity as a text in an effort to demonstrate how it is both reflective of Vera Modigliani's multifaceted role in the antifascist movement abroad, and how it represents the many nuanced experiences of the *fuoriusciti*. First, it is a hybrid personal account: Vera claims in the *Presentazione* that her goal is to write something akin to an account—a diary– of her husband's political work abroad, but in reality the narrative she produces is a predominantly personal remembrance of her time and her own experiences as a *fuoriuscita*. The personal nature of her memories and their chronological presentation is not enough, however, to neatly situate *Esilio* within the traditional classification of women's literary diaries and it is evident early in the text that *Esilio* is at only a partial diary: the majority of the narrative—but not all—is a simulacrum of a diary, or a recreation ex-post-facto of past memories in diary form, with only the final few sections being written in an authentic diary manner. Second, the memories themselves function in a two-fold manner: her close relationship to Giuseppe, along

[3] Aldo Garosci, "Presentazione alla nuova edizione," in *Esilio*, by Vera Modigliani (Roma: Ed. ESSMOI, 1984), VII.

with her vast social network among the Socialist elite, result in an overlap of the public and the personal, and Modigliani's narrative frequently results in a hybrid telling of the political through the lens of the personal, and vice versa. Given her awareness of, and close proximity to, key political moments, her choice to blend the public and private narration creates an alternative historical account that may be read as both a source document and an alternate interpretation of historical events. Modigliani's text is less concerned with the geopolitical significance of events, and more focused on the interpersonal connections between individual historical protagonists (who were frequently the Modiglianis' friends).

Despite being an extensive remembrance of both the antifascist *fuoriusciti* and one woman's contribution to the movement, *Esilio* has not been remembered as a work of historiographical importance. This is likely due at least in part to its alternative focus, which offers a narrative that is filtered through a woman's experiences; *Esilio* focuses heavily on interpersonal relations between key political figures, as well as on the "secondary characters" in history, such as the wives, partners, and daughters of famous men. It does not necessarily challenge conventional historiography, but it does capture the experiences of the *fuoriusciti* and the effects of exile in ways that would elude the canonical history texts to come. Written in part as a series of *ritratti*, which Garosci argues "ha grande valore documentario soprattutto per gli spunti che ci offre per la figure dei protagonisti," Vera Modigliani's text creates a historical space for all those whom she deemed important to the *fuoriusciti* community, including her husband.[4] This comprehensive nature of *Esilio* makes it a hybrid historical document: both an

[4] Ibid., XIV. "[it] has great documentary value above all for the hints it gives us of the images of these protagonists." In his "Presentazione alla nuova edizione," Garosci observes that Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani, one of the most important socialist leaders to go into exile—in the company of Turati, Treves and Morgari, though he was the youngest and the only one to return

interpretation of a historical period and a source document. *Esilio* provides as an invaluable documentation of a woman's experience in the antifascist movement, and as an unofficial history (if only in hindsight) of the time, as Modigliani attempts to create a cohesive narrative that will allow her to understand and reason through the confusion of society from 1940 onward.

Ultimately, the choice to write in a diary form serves several purposes. Through the chronological organization of a simulacrum diary—a text that appears to be a journal or diary but was actually written several years after the events—Vera is able to bring a semblance of structure to the chaotic and uncertain atmosphere in which she and her husband found themselves. Within the diary format, *Esilio* pulls from different genres and styles so that the author can fulfill her multifaceted literary goal to record the experiences of the *fuoriusciti*, particularly those of her husband, and to make sense of her uncertain reality. As a *fuoriuscita*, her experience of exile is varied, and her autobiographical narration reflects this kaleidoscopic identity while also creating an organized space in which she can collect and make whole the various fragments of her experience. Even within the diary format, Vera organizes the chaos she had experienced into a comprehensible story with a beginning, middle, and an (albeit uncertain) end.[5] While the diary form–unlike the novel–usually does not offer a compelling structure for

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to Italy alive—had been overlooked in key historiographies for "il suo pessimismo, il suo anticomunismo, la sua intransigente difesa di una concezione di riformista in attesa, trascurando quel pacifismo a ogni costo che in certo modo costituisce la sua principale caratteristica" (VIII). "his pessimism, his anticommunism, his uncompromising defense of the idea of crusader-in-wait, overlooking the pacifism-at-all-costs that in a certain sense made up his principle characteristic."

[5] As Estelle Jelinek has observed in her research on American women's autobiographies, women's autobiographical writing also tends to differ from men's in the way that "women often depict a multidimensional, fragmented self-image colored by a sense of inadequacy and alienation, of being outsiders or 'other'." Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography from Antiquity to the Present*, 14.

this type of narrative reconstruction, I will further analyze the rhetorical effects that came from the choice to adopt the style of a diary shaped as a novelistic narrative, as opposed to, for example, a memoir.

While *Esilio* sold well in 1946, in general the book has not received significant attention from critics or, perhaps more interestingly, from historians.[6] Ersilia Alessandrone Perona's reflection on the invisibility of women writers who lived in exile or on the borders during World War II confirms how difficult it is to find and assess women's writing, especially when it is personal or autobiographical in nature:

> L'"invisibilità" delle donne è infatti in parte prodotta dalle stesse fonti, che si tratti di scritture personali o di materiali ufficiali, a loro volta inficiate da visuali parziali. Come ha osservato Elisa Signori, anche le serie più ricche di informazioni, come quelle di polizia, rendono molto arduo il compito di chi cerchi di "misurare le dimensioni dell'impegno femminile nell'antifascismo e nelle Resistenza".[7]

This reality of the invisibility of women helps to explain why *Esilio* has been forgotten: it is written in the style of a personal diary, and that autobiographical outlook precludes an omniscient historical overview of the past, limiting its perceived usefulness as a historical text or

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[6] The first printing "andò presto esaurita" but would not be reprinted until 1984 when the *Fondazione Giuseppe e Vera Modigliani* collaborated with Aldo Garosci and Enzo Dalla Chiesa to put out another edition: Vera Modigliani, *Esilio* (Roma: Ed. ESSMOI, 1984), VI.

[7] Ersilia Alessandrone Perona, "Donne di frontiera," *Le Alpi e la guerra*, 2007, 154. Perona cites Elisa Signori, "Tra i fuorusciti: Gisella Floreanini e l'antifascismo italiano in Svizzera," *Archivio storico ticinese*, no. 121 (1997): 8. "Women's invisibility is, in fact, partly the result of the same sources, which are personal writings are official materials, invalidated by their partial vision. As Elisa Signori has observed, even the richest sources of information, such as police records, make it hard for those who want to 'measure out the dimensions of female involvement in antifascism and the Resistance."

source. Additionally, *Esilio* is somewhat problematic in regards to Vera's communication of her "impegno nell'antifascismo." Unlike Joyce Lussu, Vera was not an active agent of the antifascist movement; her involvement was directly tied, and secondary, to her husband's party leadership, and she appears to have considered herself an apolitical witness of history, rather than central protagonist to the antifascist movement abroad. As a result, her narrative style feels self-effacing, as she has a tendency to defer to the more well-known political protagonists of the time. Yet it would be mistaken to dismiss *Esilio*, for the existence of the text itself is just one of many of Vera Modigliani's contributions to the antifascist movement abroad. Not only did she assume the role of documentarian in writing her narrative, capturing the realities and descriptions of the antifascist community around her in with a sense of immediacy to her narration, but she also led quite an extraordinary life in her own right, the details of which come through in her text (despite her declared self-effacing intentions).

It is in the hope of resituating *Esilio* as an important historical narrative artifact, as well as Vera Modigliani as an important figure among the *fuoriusciti*, that this chapter examines her text as a hybrid narrative. Scholars such as Patrizia Gabrielli have been rather dismissive of *Esilio*, relegating it to a stereotypical account of a privileged woman's time in exile, but upon closer inspection of the text that judgment is both overly critical and unfair.[8] Further analysis of *Esilio* as a simulacrum diary shows how the author's choice of this form of life writing best expresses her multifaceted experience, and her extensive network of personal connections throughout the antifascist movement. Finally, the last section of the chapter addresses the theme of *precarità* as a possible explanation for the narrative choices in *Esilio*, and how the theme

[8] Gabrielli, *Col freddo nel cuore*; *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia* (Franco Angeli, 2009).

derived from the very real precariousness that existed in Vera Modigliani's life as she wrote the text.

VERA MODIGLIANI: MORE THAN A FORGOTTEN "*MOGLIE DI*"

Vera Modigliani was born on May 24, 1888 in Alexandria, Egypt to the name Nella Funaro. As a young girl she adopted the name Vera to honor Russian Menshevik writer and revolutionary Vera Zasulich. As Gabrielli has observed, this decision to change her name indicated an early awareness of the importance of political engagement, and represented one of her first acts in a long personal history of political action.[9] Her political husband would ultimately overshadow Vera's own Socialist involvement, though Perona argues that Vera's contributions merit attention, and her biography should be rewritten to include her involvement in the Socialist Party both domestically and abroad.[10]

While she was born in Alexandria, her family—like those of many of the Italians living in the Italian community of Alexandria at the time—was of Jewish and Livornese origins, and throughout her life she strongly identified with her Tuscan roots.[11] It was, in fact, in Livorno that she met her husband, the prominent lawyer and socialist political leader Giuseppe "Mené" Modigliani. Despite a considerable age difference—Giuseppe was sixteen years older than Vera—the couple married in 1908. They would never have any children of their own, but after

[9] Gabrielli, *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia*, 21. To better understand the importance of the relationship between chosen names and political identity, see Stefano Pivato, *Il nome e la storia: onomastica e religioni politiche nell'Italia contemporanea* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1999).

[10] Alessandrone Perona, "Donne di frontiera," 60.

[11] Throughout *Esilio* Modigliani comments on her language and accent (Tuscan, rather than Italian) and her hometown as central to her sense of identity.

Giuseppe's brother Amedeo Modigliani—the famous artist—died of tubercular meningitis at the age of thirty-five, the couple took in their niece Jeanne and became parent figures for the girl (Jeanne's mother, Jeanne Hebuterne, who was an artist and frequent subject of Amedeo's paintings, had committed suicide the day after Amedeo's death).

Vera came from a well-off family, and easily settled into her role as the wife of a prominent lawyer and politician; later in exile, she would wonder at the comfort and ease of her life in Italy as she attempted to learn to keep house and cook with the other wives in France. As Giuseppe's political career advanced, his status as a socialist leader placed the couple in the crosshairs of the Fascist government. Though they were non-practicing throughout their lives together, they were eventually doubly branded as hostile to Fascism because they were antifascist Socialists and Jewish. After Giacomo Matteotti's assassination—the opening event in *Esilio*—life became increasingly difficult for the Modiglianis: the *camice nere* repeatedly harassed them both, and Giuseppe, who was a member of Parliament and a supporter of the unions, was the victim of physical violence on numerous occasions. He was particularly unwelcome by the Fascists because he was one of the lawyers in charge of finding the instigators of the Matteotti assassination. In 1926, after another unsuccessful assassination attempt on Mussolini, the Modigliani's home was ransacked by the *camice nere*, and they only narrowly escaped a physical attack by climbing out their window and hiding in their downstairs neighbors' home. This increased violence led the couple and their supporters to decide that it was no longer safe to remain in Italy, and they began to plan their escape.[12]

[12] Modigliani details the necessity of her and her husband's escape abroad in the chapter entitled "Sospinti verso l'esilio," *Esilio*, 1946, 19–32.

To avoid increased suspicion and potential imprisonment, the Modiglianis left the country officially to travel to Austria to help Giuseppe recover from a recent health issue. In 1926 they were both able to receive passports, as the government had not yet restricted all international travel for citizens deemed hostile to Fascism. Like many who would soon flee Italy, they left with very few of their possessions to maintain the illusion of their eventual return. Vera had the opportunity to say goodbye to family, but Giuseppe was only allowed a brief moment for farewells during a surreptitious train layover so as not to raise suspicions.[13] As Vera would remember in *Esilio*, her home in Italy was only the first of several *case* she would lose as a *fuoriuscita*:

> Lasciai la mia casa come se avessi dovuto tornarvi il giorno dopo, senza niente portare con me delle tante cose che mi erano care. In certi momenti bisogna che lo strappo sia netto e bisogna saper rinunziare se pur con grande rimpianto! (Un'altra casa meno bella, ma pur tanto piena di ricordi, ho lasciato a Parigi qualche mese fa).[14]

Neither Vera nor her husband truly believed that they were embarking on a period of exile that would last several decades and cover two continents before their return. After several months in Vienna, they traveled to Switzerland and then Paris, France. After the stress and violence they

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[13] One of Giuseppe's distinguishing physical characteristics was his abundant and bushy beard. It became a reoccurring lament for Vera, both leading up to their exile and then abroad, that Giuseppe was easily recognizable because of the beard, and he stubbornly refused to shave it. The nighttime meeting with his family was only possible because of the winter cold: he was able to hide his beard under a large scarf, and therefore travel to Campo Marte to say goodbye to his mother. Ibid., 29.

[14] Ibid. "I left my home as if I would be returning the next day, not taking any of my precious possessions with me. Sometimes the break needs to be clean and total, and you need to know how to let go of things even with a great deal of regret! (Just a few months ago I left behind another home in Paris, less beautiful but just as full of memories)."

had experienced in Italy, this initial period of exile was exhilarating: Giuseppe was able to freely coordinate with his colleagues, and both husband and wife readily welcomed their friends and compatriots as they began to join them first in Vienna, then in Paris. Being among the first wave of political *fuoriusciti*, the Modiglianis became something of a welcoming party for the many refugees that were to come: "Quando noi partimmo d'Italia la grande famiglia dell'esilio non era ancora costituita. Solo più tardi essa si sarebbe composta."[15]

Paris quickly became a second home for Vera, and France a second *patria*. Many of the friends that she had grown close to in Italy eventually joined the couple in Paris as Fascism became more and more intolerant of any opposition. As more refugees began to congregate together, Vera had the idea to create a cafeteria that would cater to their homesickness with low-cost, authentic Italian food:

> Io mi trovavo nei locali dell'Unione delle Cooperative intenta ad esercitarmi sulla macchina per scrivere, mi venne fatto di scoprire un bugigattolo dove era una tubatura di gas. "E perché non ci mettiamo insieme e non facciamo la cucina qui?". […]
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> Con una spedizione al Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville e, cioè, con qualche acquisto sommario di pentole, piatti, bicchieri, fu messa su la "Popote". […] Avevamo fatto tutto in assenza di Baldini e senza il suo consenso. Che cosa avrebbe poi detto? Ci sentivamo un po' colpevoli ed intimoriti.[16]

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[15] Ibid., 31. "When we left Italy the large exile family had not yet been formed. Only later would it come together."

[16] Ibid., 57–58. "One day I found myself in the meeting space of the Cooperative Union hoping to practice my writing, when I happened to find a small little room with a gas hook up. "Why don't we put it together and set up a kitchen here?" […] After a purchase from the Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville, that is a rather large acquisition of pots, plates, and glasses, the Popote was

Vera had conceived of the *Popote* while her husband and fellow PSU member Nullo Baldini were away, and with the help of Ugo Coccia she had proven that it could work; all that remained was the stamp of approval from Baldini, who had been in Paris for some time organizing Italian cooperatives. After a successful minestrone recipe the evening of Nullo Baldini's return, the *Popote* received his blessing and the combination meeting hall, gathering space, and cafeteria for Italian refugees was officially established. Born in part out of necessity—new arrivals to Paris needed social support as they learned to navigate their host environment—in part out of a longing for a connection to Italian food and culture, the *Popote* became a central gathering space much like Madame Ménard-Dorian's salon or Francesco Nitti's home.[17] Vera would make light of her contribution to the exile community, but from a feminist perspective this creation of a shared table served to reconstitute and nurture a sense of much needed community. Despite her initial idea to start the *Popote*, Vera's attempts to join the other wives and share in the domestic duties were somewhat thwarted by her upper *bourgeois* upbringing, which had ill-prepared her for the many domestic skills required. Especially in the kitchen, Vera lamented, "Care donne: Maria, Zita, quante volte ho pensato a loro con riconoscenza, là a Parigi, quando mi adattavo—in

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born. […] We had done everything while Baldini was gone and without his approval. What would he have said, really? We felt a bit guilty and scared."

[17] Madame Ménard-Dorian's salon had long been an intellectual hub for displaced Europeans, and as the Italian intellectual emigration grew, her salon took in even more Italian thinkers. Vera Modigliani remembers the salon fondly, as well as Fracesco Nitti's home, which was available from the very beginning of the political emigration as he had fled Fascism quite early after a viscous attack on his home in 1923. Ibid., 92–99.

fondo, volentieri—a tutte le faccende domestiche, rammaricandomi di non aver imparato abbastanza dalla loro perizia!”[18]

Vera and Giuseppe remained in exile for almost twenty years, continuing to travel throughout France and Switzerland, as well as making their way for a time to the United States in 1934–1935. To support themselves the couple relied partly on Giuseppe’s party employment, but Vera also became an Italian teacher, even publishing her own textbook.[19] In one of her more activist roles among the *fuoriusciti*, Vera also worked as a radio announcer at the radio sponsored by the *fronte popolare*, a role that she particularly enjoyed because it provided a unique sense of connection to the antifascists that they were trying to reach in Italy.[20] During that time they continually suffered from the loss of their *patria*, and as the war progressed, their adopted land of exile, France, became “un’altra patria perduta.” Paris was particularly dear to the couple, but when the Nazis began to invade the city in 1940 they were forced to flee to the south of France with many of their antifascist colleagues.

It was during this period, as the couple was forced to move every few months to avoid capture by the police that Vera began to truly identify with her Jewish heritage:

> Mai, prima di ora, mi sono accorta di essere ebrea, e cioè, a quanto pare, qualche cosa di diverso e di peggiore del resto dell’umanità. […] Mai, prima di ora, avevo provato per i miei “fratelli di razza” questo senso di simpatia, composto, probabilmente da ricordi atavici di antiche sofferenze comuni, odierna. Una più

[18] Ibid., 57. “Dear women: Maria, Zita, how many times did I think of them with gratitude, there in Paris, as I adapted—voluntarily, I should say—to all of the domestic chores, regretting that I hadn’t learned more from their expertise!”

[19] Vera Modigliani, *Pour bien savoir l’italien* (Paris: Payot, 1932).

[20] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 270.

> facile comprensione, una sensibilità acutizzata ci accomuna tutti, desta in tutti noi lo stesso desiderio di mutua assistenza. Mai e poi mai avrei potuto capire, prima di oggi, quell'ebrea polacca alla quale domandai quale fosse la sua nazionalità e che mi rispose: "Je suis Juive!".[21]

For much of her life Modigliani did not strongly identify as Jewish, despite her family's parentage and her marriage to a leader from another prominent Jewish family in Livorno. It was not until the height of World War II that Modigliani began to consciously self-identify with her family's identity, largely in part because of the juridical classifications established during her exile in France.

While those around her were being captured and deported, she and Giuseppe were able to stay one step ahead of the police thanks to the help of a dedicated antifascist network. Giuseppe had been morally opposed to the use of false identity documents, but after considerable coaxing from Vera and the members of *Giustizia e Libertà* (GL) he finally agreed to a plan to smuggle the couple out of France and into Switzerland. With Joyce Lussu's help—an action that resulted in her imprisonment—the Modigliani's were able to cross the French-Swiss border and claim asylum for the last year of their exile. This period was particularly difficult for the couple, as it marked the official end of their political involvement, and the first time that they were truly cut off from their *patrie*, community, and any hope for activity:

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[21] Ibid., 337. "Never before this had I realized that I was Jewish, that is to say something different and worse than the rest of humanity. […] Never before this had I felt a sense of sympathy for my fellow 'members of the tribe,' likely made up from atavistic memories of ancient communal suffering every day. An easier understanding, an intensified sensitivity connects us all, awakens the same desire for mutual assistance in all of us. Never, ever before this could I have understood, before today, that Polish Jewish woman who answered, when I asked her nationality: 'I am Jewish!'"

> Mi vien fatto di pensare, con rimpianto, ai tempi in cui essa [la Svizzera] poté essere libera palestra di discussione e d'idee, anche per gli stranieri rifugiati; in cui vi si stampavano giornali e libri nelle più svariate lingue straniere. […] Oggi, pena il "campo" o il "refoulement", ogni attività politica è severamente proibita ai rifugiati; la più assoluta neutralità deve essere rispettata, anche nell'espressione del pensiero.[22]

This period of "esilio nell'esilio," that had started in 1940 when they left Paris, ultimately came to an end in June of 1944 when the couple was able to return to Italy via Naples.[23] While the return was long-awaited, Vera did not immediately feel a sense of reassurance upon her arrival: "L'esilio è finito. Il ciclo è concluso. Un'ansia d'ignoto m'invade ancora una volta l'anima. Dopo più di diciott'anni un mondo nuovo ci attende."[24] Indeed, much had changed for the couple in their decades abroad: the effects of war and resistance aside, both were much older, and Giuseppe's health had been steadily deteriorating for the past several years.

Giuseppe's status as a political leader kept him involved in Italy's reconstruction after the war, and he served as a member of the Constituent Assembly of Italy. In 1947, however, his health worsened, and he died on October 5th in Rome. During this time Vera had also been involved in political circles, and she was nominated by the PSLI to the Senate after her

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[22] Ibid., 465. "It makes me think, with regret, of the times in which it [Switzerland] could be like a free training ground for discussion and ideas, even for foreign refugees; where journals and books were printed in the most diverse languages. […] Today, threat of "the camps" or "refoulement," [deportation], refugees are harshly forbidden from every political activity, even in the way they express their thoughts."

[23] Vera Modigliani entitled the fifth chapter of *Esilio* "L'esilio nell'esilio (1940–1943)."

[24] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 512. "Our exile is finished. The cycle is completed. Anxiety of the unknown fills my soul once again. After more than eighteen years a new world awaits us."

husband's death.[25] While she did not go on to become a politician, she did establish and dedicate the rest of her life to the *Fondazione Modigliani: ESSMOI*, an institute dedicated to "gli studi storici sul socialismo e sul movimento operaio."[26] Based in Rome, the foundation opened in 1949 and is still a hub of cultural activity, as well as an archive of socialist texts.

Vera Modigliani passed away at the age of 86 in Rome in 1974.

ESILIO: AN UNACKNOWLEDGED FEMINIST TEXT?

As World War II ravaged Europe, life for clandestine *fuoriusciti* in France became increasingly more dangerous. Whereas Paris had once been a safe haven for those who faced political persecution in their home countries, the arrival of the Nazis quickly eliminated any hope of continued political tolerance in France's capital. For many Italians who had been living in Paris for many years, the fall of the city marked not only the beginning of a new era of danger, but also an emotional and psychological rupture as they were forced to leave the place that had become a second home, a second *patria*. After this terrible migration to the south of France, Vera doubted if she would be able to rebuild her sense of community and safety; the uncertainty, coupled with the double sense of mourning after having left Italy years before, led to the start of her "carnet de route de l'exil," a travel diary of exile. In the *Presentazione* to *Esilio* she comments:

> E perché scelgo questo momento per scrivere? Perché oggi, piuttosto che ieri o domani? Perché oggi ho l'impressione che, veramente, col giugno 1940, una fase

[25] Tiziana Noce, *Nella città degli uomini: donne e pratica della politica a Livorno fra guerra e ricostruzione* (Rubbettino Editore, 2004), 243.

[26] "historical studies on Socialism and the Labor movement." ESSMOI is located in via Arco del Monte 99 in Rome and is open to the public. From the Fondazione Modigliani: ESSMOI website: "Fondazione," October 12, 2015, http://www.fondazionemodigliani.it/index.php?it/145/fondazione.

di vita si sia chiusa: fase, non solo della mia vita personale, ma del nostro esilio.

Non so cosa il domani ci riservi; non so se sia lecito nutrire speranze. [27]

This bleak period in Marseille is a profoundly different environment than Paris' thriving Italian immigrant scene in the 1920s and early 1930s. By 1940 Vera Modigliani's exile had become an uncertain experience: her initial assumption that her time abroad would be short-lived had to be finally and terribly abandoned, and the political situation in France made it increasingly perilous for antifascist *fuoriusciti* to live and work in freedom.

As a coping mechanism to attempt to make sense of the confusion of the world around her, in June 1940 she decided to begin to narrate the events that had led to the specific situation in which she and her husband found themselves. To fully understand her current situation, and to begin to understand whether she could allow herself to hope for the future ("Non so cosa il domani ci riservi; non so se sia lecito nutrire speranze"), Vera needed to organize her experiences and give them a sense of narrative order. As Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps have noted:

> Narrators attempt to identify life problems, how and why they emerge, and their impact on the future. As such, narrative allows narrators to work through deviations from the expected within a conventional structure […] the conventionality of narrative structure itself normalizes life's unsettling events.[28]

When Vera decided to begin narrating her memories in October 1940, she did so in response to a profound break with the way things had been, which made it impossible to understand how

[27] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, x. "And why am I choosing now to write? Why today, rather than yesterday or tomorrow? Because today I truly feel that, in June 1940, a chapter of life is closed: a chapter not only of my personal life, but of our exile. I don't know what tomorrow will bring; I don't know if it is right to hope."

[28] Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps, "Narrating the Self," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (January 1, 1996): 27.

things would be. In an effort to determine whether or not hope in the future was justified, or even permissible, she needed to come to some sort of understanding of what had happened in the past. Her never-ending exile needed to be contained within a comprehensible sense of human experience, and she—as many authors before her had done—turned to narrative as an ideal tool for the task. Significantly, she did not begin *Esilio* in true diary form; that is, she did not start writing in June 1940 with an entry from June 1940. Rather, she retraced her history back to what she felt was the pivotal moment that could be considered the start of her narrative: Matteotti's assassination in 1924

This decision to start her story at the beginning creates a space for reflection and understanding that would not have been possible in an authentic diary structure:

> Rilevanze e polarizzazioni sono ancora più sensibili se l'atto della scrittura nasce da un più tardo ripensamento di quella fase della propria vita, sempre stimolato, come ogni atto di memoria, da una sollecitazione del presente. La struttura narrativa che assume il racconto retrospettivo privilegia—molto più del diario—degli assi preferenziali, che selezionano il ricordo del passato alla luce di una ricostruzione coerente, di una interpretazione della propria storia.[29]

The need for clarification and understanding pushes Modigliani to retrace her history to the beginning so that she can organize her experiences into a narrative that has a beginning, a middle and, hopefully perhaps, a conclusion or an end. By working through this organizational process,

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[29] Ersilia Alessandrone Perona, "Sincronia e diacronia nelle scritture femminili sulla seconda guerra mondiale," *Passato e Presente* 30 (sett/dic 1993): 124. "Importance and polarizations are even more perceptible if the act of writing is born from a later reconsideration of that phase of ones life, stimulated as always, as is every memory, by a solicitation in the present. Retrospective stories have a narrative structure that privileges—much more than diaries—preferential axes that choose the past memory in light of a logical reconstruction, of an interpretation of one's own history."

Vera creates a narrative space in which she can begin to interpret what had happened to her and her husband, rather than merely react.

Vera's decision to write her personal narrative is common among women forced from their homes, though scholarship and attention to their works are rare. In her survey of women writers who lived on or near border territories in World War II, Perona notes:

> Scrivere in tempo di Guerra sembra rispondere, per le intellettuali come per le contadine, ad una necessità tutta femminile di salvare uno spazio per sé, mentre gli ambienti consueti spariscono; a una ricerca di preservazione e di identità, nel mutamento catastrofico di riferimenti personali ed esterni; ad un compensativo dell'assenza di persone care, con le quali si intrattiene un dialogo quotidiano, magari sotto forma di lettere senza risposta; sovente a una necessità di sfuggire all'angoscia. […] tanto le contadine Candida e Nora Casagrande Torre, quanto la colta borghese Ilda Finzi Bonasera scrivono ai loro cari, di cui non hanno notizie, lettere che non possono essere spedite e che sono soprattutto una forma di cura di sé.[30]

In *Esilio* this feminine desire to save space for oneself is clear, even if the intentionality behind that choice may seem somewhat obfuscated. For while the text provides a wealth of historical

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[30] Ibid., 1222. "Both for intellectual and less-educated women, the decision to write during war time seems to respond to a feminine need to save space for oneself while the normal environs disappear; to a search to preserve one's identity within the personal and external catastrophic changes; to need to compensate for the absence of loved ones, with whom one creates a daily dialogue, perhaps in the form of unanswered letters; frequently to a need to run away from pain. […] both the country women Candida and Nora Casagrane Torre and high society woman Ilda Finzi Bonasera write to their loved ones, from whom they have not received news; they write letters that cannot be sent and that are, more than anything, a form of self-care."

information, particularly because of its feminine point of view, some scholars criticize what they perceive to be Vera Modigliani's self-effacement and erasure as "a subject" in history.

Patrizia Gabrielli is particularly critical of Modigliani's portrayal of hers and other women's involvement in the Resistance:

> Vera Modigliani, fondando la rappresentazione di sé e delle altre emigrate sull'immagine stereotipata di *moglie di*, finiva per marginalizzare e svuotare la presenza femminile e, nascondendosi dietro l'autorevole figura del marito, Giuseppe Emanuele, sminuiva un atto tanto importante e carico di soggettività quale è quello di "prendere la penna in mano."[31]

For Gabrielli, even though *Esilio* is one of the most comprehensive narratives of exile during Fascism, the "atrofia dell'io" that she believes marks Modigliani's narrative is a disservice to the memory of women's involvement in antifascist resistance.[32] Some of Modigliani's narrative choices do justify Gabrielli's claims, though it is unjust to wholly dismiss the author and the text because of this suggested deflection of personal introspection. While there are elements that can be read to justify this viewpoint, a more comprehensive analysis of the text is necessary to determine whether or not *Esilio* suffers from a stereotypical representation of women, and whether that judgment should condemn it to be dismissed.

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[31] Gabrielli, *Col freddo nel cuore*, 12. "Vera Modigliani, basing her self-representation and the representation of the other women *émigrées* on the stereotypical image of 'wife of,' ended up marginalizing and erasing the female presence and, hiding behind the fame of her notable husband Giuseppe Modigliani, diminished the importance of her declarative act of 'picking up the pen.'"

[32] For the concept of "atrofia dell'io," Gabrielli references M. A. Saracino's "L'autobiografia di una nazione," in *L'Autobiografia: il vissuto e il narrato* (Padova: Liviana, 1986), 235–43.

One of the first possible confirmations that Modigliani will hide behind her husband's larger persona comes in book's dedication, which reads: "A mio marito—ubi tu cajus, ivi ego caja."[33] The reference comes from a traditional Roman wedding tradition: during the ceremony, the bride speaks the words "ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia" ("as you are Gaius, I am Gaia") and the groom replies "ubi tu Gaia, ego Gaius" ("as you are Gaia, I am Gaius"). The names Gaius and Gaia—two of the most popular during Roman times—evolved to be used as commonly generic terms for "man" and "woman," respectively.[34] By only including the wife's portion of the marriage refrain, Vera ties her identity to her husband's existence or, perhaps less radically, at least his presence: "*as you are* Gaius [man], I am Gaia [woman]" with the implication being an identity of contingency. However, a less condemning interpretation of this dedication is also possible. Rather than the line indicating Vera Modigliani's complete self-effacement to highlight her husband's identity and work, it can also be an indication of the clearly defined gender roles that existed between the two of them. It is a pronouncement similar to Joyce Lussu's assertion that she and her husband would never have written a book together because he was a man, she was a woman, and their languages and experiences were incompatible for collaborative writing. In fact, this acknowledgement of different genders is echoed throughout the book in the various political and social spaces that they both inhabited. Furthermore, not including her husband's response in a way highlights his absence as an author. She establishes her relation to him, but does not create an ego of her husband within the text.

[33] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946. "To my husband—As you are Gaius, I am Gaia."

[34] George Davis Chase, "The Origin of Roman Praenomina," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 8 (1897): 129, 175, doi:10.2307/310491.

Gabrielli is correct to acknowledge and celebrate women who pushed the boundaries of conventionally accepted roles throughout this period; but that does not mean that Vera's narrative and experiences cannot be emblematic of women who managed to contribute to history without drastically challenging their roles in society and the family. Vera Modigliani was in many ways a typical politician's wife: her peregrinations were dictated by her husband's political activity, and it is clear from her writing that she strove to fill the expected role of a good spouse. But she and her husband shared a strong mutual respect, and Vera was ultimately in a unique position to observe and interact within her husband's political world. She may not have considered herself a political agent in the traditional sense, but it is clear from her memories in *Esilio* that she was a unique supporting character in the cast of antifascist *fuoriusciti* and took on her own political role through the act of writing and through the choices she made in her personal life.[35] Different from second-wave feminism's conscious desire to talk about the personal and exemplify the ways in which women's domestic experiences are, in fact, political in nature, Vera Modigliani explicitly narrates the ways that the political enters into her (and other women's) personal space. In this way, her narrative prefigures the Italian Marxist feminists of the 1960s and 1970s who advocated for bettering women's economic and political standing within existing political structures.

[35] Modigliani likely did not intentionally subvert the distinction between personal and private, though that is ultimately the result of her decision to write *Esilio*. While her narrative would not For the foundational essay on the personal as political, see Carol Hanisch, "The Personal Is Political," in *Radical Feminism: A Documentary Reader*, ed. Barbara A. Crow (NYU Press, 2000), 113–16. The concept of women's personal experiences being political served as the foundation of second-wave feminism throughout Europe, and was formative in Italian feminism's Marxist approach to the "*questione femminile*," see Luisa Abbà, *La coscienza di sfruttata* (Milano: G. Mazzotta, 1972). For an excellent overview of Italian feminism from the 1960s to 1980s, see chapter 9 "'Io Sono Mia': Feminism in the Great 'Cultural Revolution', 1960-1980," in Perry Willson, *Women in Twentieth-Century Italy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Gabrielli's criticism is most salient when confronted with *Esilio*'s *Presentazione*, where Vera states that she is not writing her memoirs, but rather those of her husband:

> A tutte le persone che hanno avuto una certa parte nella vita politica, e che la vita e gli eventi hanno ormai messo fuori di gioco e, a volte, quasi ormai della vita stessa, si dice: "Scrivi le tue memorie". È una specie di messa riposo: è, quasi, una giubilazione in vita.
>
> Sia ben chiaro che io non scrivo le mie memorie, per la buona ragione, che nessuna parte attiva, sia pure indiretta, ho avuto nel movimento politico, nè in Italia nè all'estero. Ma, per mia grande ventura, la vita mi ha messo accanto a qualcuno che ha invece dedicato alla politica—nel senso più elevato della parola—tutta la sua attività, tutta la sua passione. Qualcuno, a cui nessuno, fino ad ora, per mia e sua fortuna, ha chiesto di scrivere le sue memorie, perché, sebbene non più nella verde età, ha ancora forza e lucidezza d'idee tali, da non meritare di essere messo a riposo. Del resto, questo "qualcuno" le sue memorie non scriverebbe mai, perché il suo abito mentale, portato soprattutto alla visione panoramica e sintetica degli avvenimenti, ha sempre trascurato i dettagli, gli episodi, di cui molto spesso le memorie sono fatte.[36]

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[36] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 9. "Everyone who has played a certain part in political life, and whom life and events have at this point taken out of the game, sometimes almost out of life itself, is asked: "Write your memories." It is a kind of memorial service: it is, almost, a pensioning off in life. It should be absolutely clear that I am not writing my own memories, for the very good reason that I did not have an active role, not even indirectly, in the political movement, neither in Italy nor abroad. But, by good fortune life put me next to someone who dedicated all of his activity and passion to politics—in the highest understanding of the term. Someone who has never been asked, up to now and luckily for me, to write his memoir because, even though he is getting on in age, he still boasts a strength and clarity of ideas that does not warrant being put to rest. Furthermore this "someone" would never write his own memories because, given his mental

For Gabrielli, the declaration "io non scrivo le mie memorie" represents a lost opportunity for Vera Modigliani to take on the role of author and subject. By establishing her focus to be her husband's life and activities, and not her own, she relegates herself to the secondary role of Modigliani's wife, and so minimizes her and her fellow *fuoriuscite*'s contributions to the antifascist movement abroad.

Working against Gabrielli's interpretation of this declaration is the fact that the text does not, ultimately, merely fulfill its stated goal in the *Presentazione*. Vera Modigliani's intention to record her husband's political activity and contributions is occasionally honored—and certainly she is in the position to write *Esilio* because of his political involvement—but the reality is that her roughly five hundred page narrative functions more as a general historical account of the *fuoriusciti* in France, with her interpersonal relations to key political figures serving as the common thread throughout.

The *Presentazione*'s declared goals almost immediately feel disconnected from the realities of the text, as the opening scene of the narrative itself is between Vera and Velia Matteotti, with Giuseppe's "character" existing only in the background. The lack of focus on Giuseppe—a seeming incongruity—is evident to the author as well, and towards the end of the second chapter, and therefore quite early in *Esilio*, Modigliani pulls back from the story of how they crossed the border into Switzerland to comment on the development of her writing so far: "Sono veramente mortificata che queste prime pagine siano state riempite di 'me' e di 'noi'. Ma come fare diversamente? Volevo spiegare come e perché fummo trascinati sulle vie di esilio."[37]

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tendency to think panoramically and succinctly about events, he always passes over the details and episodes which frequently make up memories."

[37] Ibid., 31. "I am truly mortified that these first few pages have been filled with 'me' and with 'us.' But what could I do differently? I wanted to explain how and why were dragged into exile."

The politics of the text emerges as one that involves a network of people, a political community rather than an individual, or a couple.

The answer for this mismatch of what Vera hoped to write and what she ultimately produced lies in the *Avvertenza*, which was written for *Esilio*'s publication in 1945:

> Lo presento [*Esilio*] tal quale senza nulla modificare. Alcuni "bozzetti" sono invecchiati ed avrebbero bisogno di essere ritoccati. Non lo farò: toglierei al libro quello che è forse uno dei suoi tanti difetti, ma forse anche, il suo unico pregio. Gli toglierei la spontaneità e l'immediatezza delle impressioni, che talora possono falsare la visione, ma che più spesso, servono a farla più chiara e più viva.[38]

As many writers have experienced, what one sets out to write is not always a perfect match with the final product. Especially in the case of introductions written before the rest of a text—which the *Presentazione* is presented to be—it generally behooves the writer to go back and ensure that what was intended to be written and what was actually written still form a coherent narrative. Rather than returning to her writing to correct the "tanti difetti," Vera Modigliani chose to maintain the immediacy and authenticity that she felt the unedited text conveyed. Alternatively, if the *Presentazione* was in fact written after the fact, perhaps in an attempt to correct the perceived lack of attention to her husband's activities and story, the result is still a stated intent in the *Presentazione* that the author's text does not go on to fulfill. Gabrielli's critique of this perceived self-effacement consequently gives too much weight to this initial, ultimately undeveloped intention, and fails to consider the reality of the rest of the text to come.

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[38] Ibid., vii. "I present it [*Esilio*] as such, without any modifications. A few "drafts" should have been reworked. I won't do it: I would take away from the book that which is perhaps one of its many defects, but which is also, perhaps, its only virtue. I would take away its spontaneity and the immediacy of the impressions, which can sometimes falsify the vision, but which more often serve to make it even more alive."

It is true that Vera identified strongly as a *moglie di*, and therefore did not necessarily see herself—or perhaps did not desire to promote herself—as a woman who was drastically reinterpreting a wife's role in society. That said, writing *Esilio* was assuredly a transgressive act. First and foremost, possession of a text like *Esilio* put both Vera and her husband in danger, especially after the Nazi invasion of France when it became increasingly dangerous to work as an antifascist. Had the authorities found the manuscript at any point, she would have likely suffered severe punishment—compounded by her Jewishness—despite her self-professed lack of political involvement and understanding. Indeed, the opening of *Esilio* contains a thank you to those who kept a copy of the manuscript on Modigliani's behalf during the periods in which it was too dangerous for her to keep in in her possession: "Debbo un ringraziamento a M.me Jeaune Mouillefarine, e a M.me Laure Garsin (zia Lò) le quali hanno custodito in Francia il manoscritto di 'Esilio', quando, averlo in casa, poteva non esser comodo."[39] The understatement of the phrasing "poteva non esser comodo" to reference a potentially incriminating manuscript that could have led to her and her husband's imprisonment (or worse after the creation of the concentration camps) is reoccurring throughout *Esilio* and a hallmark of Vera's self-effacing style, though it does not diminish the risk she took in writing her narrative.

Additionally daring was Vera's desire to take on the mantle of author and become the documentarian who would create a literary space in which she and her colleagues and friends would not be forgotten. As Gabrielli and Perona's studies have shown, Vera was far from alone in her desire to document her experiences as a *fuoriuscita*, and it is possible that Vera's class and social status predisposed her to turn to writing during her time in exile: "Per le donne più

[39] Ibid. "I owe thanks to M.me Jeaune Mouillefarine and to M.me Laure Garsin (Aunt Lò) who took care of the manuscript for 'Esilio' in France during the times that having it in my home could have been uncomfortable."

attrezzate culturalmente o politicizzate, infatti, scrivere risponde piuttosto all'intenzione di registrare e commentare eventi di cui si comprende la portata e, durante la Resistenza, di lasciare traccia di un'esperienza esaltante."[40] Vera Modigliani's goal in writing *Esilio* is precisely to "lasciare traccia di un'esperienza esaltante." Faced with a true "atrofia dell'io" as her friends and colleagues who had helped to define her identity die in exile and are forgotten in history, Modigliani declares: "Fissare attimi della nostra vita di esilio: ecco il mio proposito. Vita di esilio che può ben rivendicare la sua nobiltà."[41] Rather than *Esilio* failing as an autobiographical declaration of the presence and involvement of the *fuoriuscite*, it succeeds in serving another part of its author's multifaceted purpose: to leave an account of her experience through her memories of those close to her; and to create a structured framework in which the author can begin to give meaning to the events that led up to the traumatic period in which she began writing. She succeeds in creating a documentary-like simulacrum diary that tells the history of the *fuoriusciti* through the filter of her relationships and memories of the people she was close to throughout her time in exile.

In this light, Gabrielli's criticism that "la rottura dei canoni propri del genere autobiografico, fondato sulla celebrazione del sé, portò, tra le varie conseguenze, all'abbandono del modello narrativo compatto" seems somewhat misplaced, as it accuses *Esilio* of failing to

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[40] Alessandrone Perona, "Sincronia e diacronia nelle scritture femminili sulla seconda guerra mondiale," 123. "For more culturally or politically inclined women, in fact, writing responds instead to the desire to record and comment on events, including their impact, and, during the Resistance, to the desire to leave a trace of an exciting experience."

[41] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, x. "Define moments of our life in exile: this is my intention. A life in exile that can reclaim its nobility."

meet a standard its author never intended to fulfill.[42] As Cynthia Huff has argued, "male-centered criterion for diary excellence overlooks the ways in which women render their subjectivity concrete by allowing for the free flow between inner and outer, between the psyche of the writer and the everyday quality of her life as she explores connections."[43] Vera's autobiographical account must be judged not just within the context of her initially stated purpose of writing, but also by considering the final narrative that she ultimately wrote. Ultimately, she has written *her* memories, and in so doing she has written a memorial account of not only her husband, but of the larger collective of antifascist *fuoriusciti* with whom she shared her exile. She attempts to orient her narrative around her husband—whom she views as an important figure deserving of having his memories recorded—but the reality is that Modigliani tells her husband's story only through her own experiences. It is this position that enables Modigliani to write her alternate history of the time: one that follows the same events and significant moments that would be picked up by historians after the end of World War II, but one that also tells the story of those moments in a decidedly non-traditional way. By focusing on the overlapping interpersonal relationships of key political figures, as well as the mothers and wives who were left behind after the deaths of so many antifascist activists, Vera Modigliani records the history of the *fuoriusciti* through a profoundly female experience.

Vera's auto/biographical historical account of the *fuoriusciti* is filtered through the unique lens of a woman assuredly involved in—but not leading—many important socio-political

[42] Gabrielli, *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia*, 22. "breaking with the canon of the genre of autobiography, which was founded in its celebration of the self, causes, among the various consequences, the abandonment of the solid narrative model."

[43] Cynthia Huff, "'That Profoundly Female, and Feminist Genre': The Diary as Feminist Practice," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 3/4 (1989): 10.

moments. Her status as the wife of a noted Socialist leader places her in a unique position to observe many of the most important moments in the antifascist movement: Matteotti's death, the development of the Socialist community in Paris, Carlo Rosselli's assassination, and Italy's declaration of war on France to name just a few. Gabrielli is correct that Vera Modigliani saw herself as the "moglie a seguito di," and consequently that she was rarely an agent of traditional political action the way that Joyce Lussu was.[44] But Vera's involvement in, and contribution to the fuoriusciti's political discourse was unique. Not only does *Esilio* reflect her perspective, it also serves as unparalleled documentation of the movement from a woman writer.

A Retrospective Diary: Creating Authenticity and Structure in *Esilio*

Esilio was written in the style of a diary of exile, and is most closely related to the exile diaries or memoirs from the *Risorgimento*.[45] But as a hybrid text, there are many ways to approach *Esilio*, and the decision to approach it as a diary poses its own challenges. Diary as a genre is, in itself, inherently difficult to define or classify:

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[44] In her subsequent study of women in the antifascist movement Gabrielli continues to criticize Modigliani's narrative choices in *Esilio*: "Fondando la rappresentazione di sé e delle altre emigrate sull'immagine stereotipata della *moglie a seguito di*, ella finì per ridurre e svuotare la presenza femminile." *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia*, 22. "Basing her representation of self and of the other women immigrants on the stereotypical image of the *wife following*, she ended up reducing and emptying the presence of women."

[45] Important autobiographical exile writings from the *Risorgimento* include Cristina Belgioioso, *Ricordi nell'esilio*, ed. Maria Francesca Davì (Pisa: ETS, 2002); Tommaseo, *Diario intimo*; Mazzini, *Note autobiografiche*; Ippolito Nievo, *Le confessioni d'un italiano*, ed. Simone Casini (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo ; U. Guanda, 1999).For a comprehensive study of the exiles during the *Risorgimento* around the world, see Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

> The diary, as an uncertain genre uneasily balanced between literary and historical writing, between the spontaneity of reportage and reflectiveness of the crafted text, between selfhood and events, between subjectivity and objectivity, between the private and the public, constantly disturbs attempts to summarize its characteristics within formalized boundaries.[46]

In the case of *Esilio*, this uncertain "balancing between" is further compounded by the fact that much of the narrative is ultimately diary-like—and not an authentic diary—because the vast majority of the text was written up to sixteen years after the events took place. While the *Avvertenza* contains the information necessary to alert the reader to this seeming contradiction, it presents itself as if it were a final addition to an authentic diary:

> Roma, Settembre 1945
>
> Questo libro è stato veramente scritto nei luoghi e nei momenti, di cui porta le date. È un po' il "carnet de route de l'exil", il taccuino delle impressioni e dei ricordi.[47]

This classic autobiographical pact strongly suggests to the reader that *Esilio* is an unedited and unaltered journal from Vera Modigliani's years in exile, a fact that is further reinforced by the date and location at the opening of the *Avvertenza*.[48] This diary format is continued in the

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[46] Rachael Langford and Russell West-Pavlov, eds., "Introduction: Diaries and Margins," in *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), 8.

[47] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, vii. "Rome, September 1945 This book was truly written in the places and moments that correspond to the dates within. It is kind of a "exile travelogue", the notebook of my impressions and memories."

[48] For a discussion of Lejeune's concept of the autobiographical pack, see note 65 in the previous chapter, which references Lejeune, *On Autobiography*. While Lejeune has since revised his

Presentazione, where the first "entry" of the narrative is dated June 12, 1924, and in the final one is dated October 13, 1944. Immediately following this declaration, however, is the slightly complicating explanation that Modigliani began to write "nell'autunno del 1940, a Marsiglia […] riandando indietro alle origini dell'esilio."[49] The result is a sense of diachronic dissonance between the actual time of writing (1940 and beyond) and the presented time of writing within the text (1924 on). Indeed, it is not until the final few chapters that Vera Modigliani's diary-narrative has caught up with her diary-writing, providing a brief stretch of "authentic" diary within *Esilio.*

Possibly the greatest rupture with the diary form comes from the personal editing that evidently took place: while there may not have been any significant editing for publication after the writing was completed, what Vera chose to write about as she recreated the prior sixteen years of her exile serves as a type of personal editing. The question remains: why choose a diary form, with dated entries from the past and a disclaimer to the reader to reinforce the illusion? Maurice Blanchot and Jean Pfeiffer's description of the diary form suggest a few possible answers:

> Il diario rappresenta il succedersi di punti di riferimento che uno scrittore stabilisce per riconoscersi, quando prevede la metamorfosi pericolosa alla quale è esposto […]. Il diario, questo libro in apparenza completamente solitario, è spesso scritto per angoscia o per paura della solitudine […]. Il diario vuole radicare il

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classical definition of the autobiographical pact, *Esilio* is a clear example of the traditional approach to autobiographical writing upon which Lejeune based his original theory.

[49] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, vii. "[I began writing] in the fall of 1940, in Marseilles […] going back to the origins of our exile."

movimento di scrivere nel tempo, nell'umiltà del quotidiano, datato e preservato dalla sua data.[50]

Not only is the diary form a common choice for writers who are struggling through a difficult period, such as a drastic displacement from home, or a second rupture with an adopted *patria*, but Modigliani's choice to date her "entries" may reflect this desire to stabilize reference points in her personal history to better understand the chronology of events that led up to her most recent traumatic displacement. Furthermore, in *Esilio* Vera focuses extensively on those political figures who figured most heavily in her and her husband's lives: both the political and the private. Her displacement to Marseilles in 1940 was not only a geographical exile from Paris, it was also the beginning of a truly painful intellectual and emotional exile as the community of antifascists that had formed was now dispersed and unorganized. Additionally, in 1940 deaths among the antifascist leadership had reach an alarmingly high number—both from natural causes and criminal acts—and this sense of a dwindling antifascist population compounded the scattered loneliness of this "esilio nell'esilio."

Irena Paperno has argued that another reason to choose the diary format lies in its ability to convey an "illusion of 'authenticity' and 'immediacy' […], an effect predicated on the presumed presence of self and presumed primacy of the living moment."[51] The same can be said

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[50] Maurice Blanchot and Jean Pfeiffer, *Lo spazio letterario* (Torino: Einaudi, 1975), 14. Translation from Maurice Blanchot and Ann Smock, *The Space of Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015). "The journal represents the series of reference points which a writer establishes in order to keep track of himself when he begins to suspect the dangerous metamorphosis to which he is exposed. […] The journal—this book which is apparently altogether solitary—is often written out of fear and anguish at the solitude which comes to the writer on account of the work. […] The journal roots the movement of writing in time, in the humble succession of days whose dates preserve this routine."

[51] Irina Paperno, "What Can Be Done with Diaries?," *Russian Review* 63, no. 4 (October 1, 2004): 565.

for Vera Modigliani's *Esilio*; perhaps even more important than authenticity, structuring her recollections as if they were written as a diary creates a more compelling sense of immediacy, linking the description of the events to a specific moment in history. For the reader, these markers serve as a primer on how we should interpret the text, since "the diary has a peculiar status of an 'as if' text: we write and read the diary *as if* it is a private text capable of communicating an 'authentic' self and an 'immediate' experience."[52] The caveat here is that Vera Modigliani's distance from the events she writes about diminishes as she goes on; the recreation of the opening act—Matteotti's disappearance and her interactions with his wife Velia—is the most distant memory, but as she writes she gradually "catches up" with herself. By the end of *Esilio*, Vera is in fact writing an authentic diary in and of the moment, and the reader's expectations of the authenticity and immediacy of the text are (belatedly, perhaps) confirmed.

The choice to structure *Esilio* as a diary is not without its pitfalls. Despite being one of the first accounts of *fuoriuscitismo* during Fascism, *Esilio* is not ranked among the classic narratives of or about the *fuoriusciti*. While Huff argues that diary writing may be a profoundly feminist act, diary writers may still remain invisible or obscure:

> Diaries are often referred to as women's traditional literature, presumably traditional because they were the only form women were allowed to practice. Diaries then became excluded from the literary canon for two reasons: they are composed by that "inferior" sex, women; and they are only written if their creator is prevented from achieving the exemplary status of author.[53]

[52] Ibid.

[53] Huff, "That Profoundly Female, and Feminist Genre," 9–10.

This tendency to discount both women's writing and genres associated with women writers is compounded by the fact that Vera also did not consider *Esilio* to be either a literary or a political text. Her self-appointed task is to put together "i dettagli, gli episodi" of her and her husband's life, and in so doing make a record of their memories. The traditionally political sphere appears because of her husband's public role, but it is the personal details and the more personal politics and intimate history of this world that ultimately interest her the most.

When Vera Modigliani began to write *Esilio* in 1940, she was searching for a way to make sense of her uncertain future and the bleak world around her. A simulacrum diary provided an ideal structure to organize her memories, since:

> The diary also prepares a space for the unknown future. (It is hardly an accident that many diarists discuss plans for the future in today's entry.) Thus the diary form transcends the present moment by delving into the past and future alike. A narrative template that represents the flow of life while anticipating and absorbing the future, the diary can be used to construct continuity as well as to deal with personal and social rupture.[54]

The structure of the diary narrative allowed her to organize her memories and thoughts, presenting her experiences to both the reader and the author in a way that suggested a level of metonymic progression that likely eluded Modigliani at the time. These narrative "benefits," coupled with the fact that the diary is a genre already associated with women's writing made the simulacrum diary form easily accessible to Modigliani. Just as Vera Modigliani's experiences as a political wife were unique and multifaceted, so is her approach to the diary form: she does not

[54] Paperno, "What Can Be Done with Diaries?," 572. Paperno references Felicity Nussbaum's idea that "the diary creates and tolerates crisis in perpetuity." "Toward Conceptualizing Diary," in *Studies in Autobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 134.

create what can be considered an authentic war diary, or an authentic diary-document. Instead, choosing the diary form allowed Vera Modigliani to structure her narrative and also provided the rhetorical immediacy that she likely experienced in real life.

Esilio, the First, but Forgotten, Historical Account

While in this study *Esilio*'s hybridity is a reason for academic inquiry, its publication contributed to it being forgotten; somewhat similarly to Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*, *Esilio*'s non-literary and autobiographical qualities precluded it from entering canonical lists of exile literature. But it is precisely this hybridity that make *Esilio* a unique historical document of and for the time, and therefore worthy of academic acknowledgement and attention. The focus on the political through the narration of personal experience offers historians a unique opportunity to better understand the general ethos of the *fuoriusciti* environment. *Esilio* captures the mood of the everyday lived experience of the *fuoriusciti* that is difficult to understand and communicate for historians who focus exclusively on the macro-history and the socio-political narrative. Ultimately, these characteristics were out of keeping with the period: Vera Modigliani was not a revolutionary feminist, and her self-effacing style continues to this day to vex scholars, making it difficult to reconcile her innovative narrative with her perceived traditionalism.

The hybridity of *Esilio*'s classification as a historical document—diary and memoir—put it at odds with the historical trends of the time. While both the diary and the memoir can function to convey personal experiences to a broader audience, for historian Marc Bloch these genres fall into two distinct categories of historical documents: those that intentionally communicate

historical evidence, and those that do not.[55] For Bloch and his contemporaries, historical best practices privileged authentic and unintentional historical sources over intentional ones. While in its form *Esilio* is evocative of a diary, it also functions as a historical document and a narrative that addresses and interprets historical events. This polyvalent nature is not altogether surprising, as "[t]he diary belongs to the overlapping domains of history and literature."[56] As a historical document, *Esilio* exists both as a retrospective interpretation of events, therefore similar to a memoir, but within the presentation of a simulacrum diary. For while a memoirist attempts to transmit her version of events to the reader, possibly at the exclusion of alternative interpretations, the diarist more commonly communicates historically important information secondarily, privileging the immediacy and accuracy of the day-to-day account rather than a developed interpretation of a certain period. For Bloch and other historians of Modigliani's time, the authentic quality of the diary makes it a preferable historical document; through thorough investigation, diaries offer the possibility to discover that which the writer did not consciously intend to share.[57] Rather than neatly falling within one of these categories, *Esilio* exists between the two classifications, obscuring the interpretative intentionality of its evidence within the diary form. The simulacrum diary that Modigliani utilizes to structure her account creates the illusion of a historical document, but it is through the very personal act of self-revision and self-editing of the day-to-day events as she narrates her story that she engages in historical interpretation. These factors ultimately led to *Esilio*'s disappearance from print, and general exclusion from

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[55] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, trans. Peter Putnam (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954), 60.

[56] Paperno, "What Can Be Done with Diaries?," 561.

[57] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 61–62.

historiographies; indeed, *Esilio* did not become a primary source text for historians of the period until much later, significantly when female scholars began to investigate the history of the *fuoriuscite* of the time.[58]

The tension between being intentional/unintentional and immediate/retrospective complicates *Esilio*'s interpretation, and likely contributed to its eventual disappearance, despite the wealth of historical information that is both communicated in the text, and can be inferred from it. Indeed, in his introduction to the 1984 edition of *Esilio* (the only reprinting of the text, done after Vera's death by the *Fondazione Modigliani*) Garosci himself notes that Modigliani's book "non ebbe dagli storici—a parte il consenso del pubblico—tutta l'attenzione che meritava."[59] Despite the wealth of information within this comprehensive narrative that spans the advent of Fascism and World War II to its end—nineteen years of history—*Esilio* was largely overlooked by historians and scholars, much to their works' detriment. Garosci goes on to comment that:

> Quel che mi premeva di sottolineare è il "clima" di *Esilio*, è il valore di documento storico di queste memorie, che con le inesattezze, o gli errori che potranno esser rilevati (non aveva certo, l'autore, a disposizione nè gli archivi nè i documenti di partito nè... le schede della polizia), valgono a umanizzare quella storia di uomini e di idee che è la storia dei fuorusciti; e che non c'è industria

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[58] Both Simonetta Tombacini and Patrizia Gabrielli reference *Esilio* in their studies, see Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*; Gabrielli, *Col freddo nel cuore*; *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia*.

[59] Garosci, "Presentazione alla nuova edizione," vii. "aside from the public consnses, [*Esilio*] did not receive all the attention it deserved from historians."

postuma che riuscirà a trasformarla in monotono scontro di frazioni e correnti, in analisi di mozioni politiche, correnti, ambiziose scalate al potere.[60]

Through the narrative overlap of the personal and the political, Vera Modigliani is able to document and communicate the humanity that existed throughout the antifascist movement abroad. Her stated focus on the political life of her husband serves to organize her memories of the relationships she had with key political figures, but her narrative follows not their maneuvering throughout Europe and the Americas, but rather their personal experiences of the political. While historians have attempted to recount the story of this time in a way that accurately communicates the "scontro di frazioni e correnti, in analisi di mozioni politiche, correnti, ambiziose scalate al potere," they have eschewed including the personal experiences that motivated the key figures, resulting in *Esilio* being largely forgotten.

In her recollections of significant historical moments, Vera Modigliani's narration intertwines the historical with the personal, creating complex memories of events of geopolitical importance that are expressed through the details of the often-mundane day-to-day realities of life. A prime example is Modigliani's entry for September 3, 1939, the day the couple learned that France and Britain had declared war on Germany:

> Il 3 settembre ci fu la dichiarazione di guerra. Poiché proprio quel giorno era l'anniversario del nostro matrimonio, andammo a mangiare fuori di casa, in una piccola trattoria parigina. Erano con noi mia nipote, figlia di Amedeo Modigliani,

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[60] Ibid., XVIII–XIX. "That which I feel compelled to highlight is the 'atmosphere' of *Esilio*, the documentary value of these memories that, with inaccuracies and errors that could be revealed (she certainly had no access to archives, party documents or… police records), are worthy of humanizing the history of the men and ideas that make up the history of the *fuoriusciti*; and there is no posthumous industry that will succeed in transforming that history into a monotonous contest of fractions and trends, into an analysis of political motions, trends, and ambitions power plays."

> un nostro cugino francese ed un nostro amico medico, francese anche lui. Il cugino—già vestito da ufficiale dell'"Intendance"—bruno, nervoso, sicuro della vittoria, era impaziente quasi dello scetticismo doloroso che vedeva in mio marito; il giovane medico (doveva esser richiamato subito dopo) biondo e dolce, attingeva dall'esercizio della sua professione un profondo senso di umanità e non riesciva nemmeno a sorridere. Mentre escivamo dalla trattoria, gli strilloni annunziavano la dichiarazione di guerra. La triste notizia era attesa e ci trovava psicologicamente preparati ad accettarla come una fatalità ineluttabile. Ci demmo appuntamento in quella trattoria "per il giorno della pace" diceva mio marito.[61]

France, which had become a second home for Vera and her husband—at this point they had lived in Paris for nearly thirteen years—had been grievously wounded by the first World War, and the realization that there would be yet another war was a profound blow to the Modiglianis and their adopted country. It also starkly confirmed the continuing advances of Nazism and Fascism, and the Modigliani's were surely aware of the enormity of the France and Britain's decision. But rather than focuses on the larger implications that the war declaration had on Europe, or what it would mean for the couple to live as political refugees in a now bellicose country, Vera focuses on the details of her anniversary dinner: who was present, where the couple went, what they all

[61] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 292. "September 3 was the day of the declaration of war. Since that was also the day of our anniversary, we went out to eat in a small Parisian restaurant. My niece, Amedeo Modigliani's daughter, joined us, as well as one of our French cousins and a French doctor friend. The cousin—already dressed in his Quartermaster uniform—was brunette, nervous, sure of victory, and almost impatient with what he perceived as my husband's painful skepticism; the young doctor (he must have been called up shortly thereafter) blonde and sweet, drew a profound sense of humanity from his professional experience and was unable to even smile. While we were leaving the restaurant, the paperboys announced the war. The sad news was expected and we found ourselves psychologically prepared to accept it as unavoidable. We made a date with each other in that same restaurant for "the day of peace" as my husband called it."

talked about, how others were dressed. It is an entirely personal experience of the historical moment.

These smaller details and episodes make up what John P. Eakin refers to as the concept of "everyday life." In *Living Autobiographically: How we Create Identity in Narrative*, Eakin discusses at length the way that the majority of our day-to-day experiences are largely dismissed, "for our customary associations with the 'every day' carry with them the sense of 'not worthy of note,' with the result that we usually don't pay much attention to this nonetheless huge area of our experience."[62] Referencing Marianne Gullestad's *Everyday Philosophers*, Eakin argues that instead of being insignificant or trivial, "the activity of making selves and life stories is yet another everyday practice" worthy of scholarship to "understand the interplay between sociocultural structure and individual creativity."[63] Modigliani's memories throughout *Esilio* confirm, rather than challenge, the historiography that would later come to be established of this period, but her text does so in an emotionally rich and descriptive way. The various reactions at the dinner table to seemingly inevitable war create a microcosm that was reflective of the larger society as a whole: the darkly featured hawk who is eager for the conflict to begin so that it will soon be over; the fair doctor who suffers prematurely at the impending loss of life; and the aging politician whose skepticism frustrates the younger generations. In this brief scene, Modigliani is able to capture the trends throughout society, filtering the impact of the political on the people involved through her personal experience.

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[62] Eakin, *Living Autobiographically*, 105.

[63] Ibid., 106. Eakin cites Marianne Gullestad, *Everyday Life Philosophers: Modernity, Morality and Autobiography in Norway* (Oslo; Boston: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), 31.

There is a strong sense throughout *Esilio* that Lussu means it to be read as a very personal, intimate memoir:

> Mi sono appena soffermata—è vero!—sui transfughi (pochi), e sui traditori (pochissimi), perché queste pagine non vogliono avere un carattere politico. Vogliono soltanto fissare i ricordi dei nostri migliori. Alcuni ho trascurato senza volerlo, o perché ho avuto con essi scarsa dimestichezza, o perché hanno vissuto fuori di Parigi e non ho potuto vederli da vicino.[64]

Not only is Modigliani reluctant to admit that her intent is to pass any kind of political judgment on those who would later be labeled "traitors," she also limits the scope of her narrative to those with whom she had some sort of personal interaction or connection. It is the exact opposite of the omniscient third-person narration that many political historians adopt as they attempt to interpret all the events and actions that led to a certain moment or period in history. Instead, Modigliani overtly ties her narrative to her personal point of view; a choice that is perfectly in keeping with diary or memoir writing, but was out of step with the best practices at the time for biography (her stated goal) or historical writing (a category within which *Esilio* falls in a broad sense).

Two additional "entries" of historical events stand out in *Esilio* as exemplary of this personal/private hybridity: Giacomo Matteotti's death and the Rosselli brothers' assassination. As with the description of France's declaration of war, in these two episodes Vera focuses on her personal experience of the events, exploring her reactions to the news, and limiting her commentary on the larger political impact of the assassinations. As Garosci explains:

[64] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 31–32. "I have only briefly lingered—it's true!—on the abductions (rare), and on the betrayals (even rarer), because these pages shouldn't have a political feel to them. They should serve as a record of the best of us. Some people have been left out despite my desires, either because I did not know them well or because they lived outside of Paris and I wasn't able to see them up close."

> L'assassinio di Rosselli, come quello di Matteotti per l'opposizione del 1924, fu il preludio di un'offensiva, che nelle intenzioni di chi la condusse, doveva arrestarsi solo con lo schiacciamento di quell'opposizione; e difatti tra il 1924 e il 1927, le opposizioni come forze politiche furono pressochè annientate in Italia, e tra il 1937 e il 1940 anche le forze dei fuorusciti persero in una dura lotta difensiva, la maggior parte delle loro carte.[65]

Matteotti's death was ultimately the blow that spurred the Modiglianis to leave Italy, and Rosselli's death marked the beginning of the slow decline that lead to the couple fleeing Paris for the south of France. The assassinations of these men stand out in the historiography of the antifascist movement as epitomes of the horrors of Fascism, and representative of the profound struggle that the opposition faced. Both moments are taken up in historiographies of the period, and Vera Modigliani also includes them in her narration.

Matteotti's assassination is in fact the opening scene of *Esilio*, the event that most closely resonated for Vera as a starting point for the succession of experiences that led to the couple's exile and, ultimately, her need to narrate her story:

> 12 giugno 1924.
>
> Verso le cinque del pomeriggio, nel nostro studio a Roma.
>
> Il giovane di studio mi annuncia la signora Velia Matteotti.
>
> La visita insolita mi sorprende. Corro incontro alla signora. Mi dice: —Da martedì, Giacomo non è tornato a casa. L'ho aspettato fino ad ora. Vengo dalla

[65] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 162. "Rosselli's assassination, like Matteotti's was for the offensive in 1924, was the prelude to an offensive that, according to those who were behind it, should have ended only after the complete destruction of the opposition; in fact, between 1924 and 1927 the political opposition forces were nearly annihilated in Italy, and from 1937 to 1940 the *fuoriusciti*'s forces lost much of their power in a difficult defensive battle.

> Camera, dove ho avvisato i suoi compagni deputati. L'onorevole Modigliani mi ha detto di aspettare qui un suo colpo di telefono. Assumeranno informazioni e me le comunicheranno.[66]

These opening lines focus on what served as a catalyst for the increasing Fascist aggression against the Modiglianis that is to come, and ultimately marked the beginning of the end of the Modiglianis' time in Italy. In the weeks that followed Matteotti's disappearance the country wrestled with profoundly concerning questions regarding Fascism and the government.[67] Giuseppe Modigliani was one of the first to learn of the Socialist Deputy's disappearance, and in keeping with Vera's claim to write about her husband's life, he is mentioned as a key character in this scene. But it is through a much more domestic atmosphere that Vera recalls her memory of this event and its emotional impact on their lives. Rather than an omniscient view—which she could have easily adopted—she immediately chooses a more personalized focus on her interaction with Velia Matteotti in her home, a focus that largely continues throughout *Esilio*. Rather than focusing solely on the political ramifications of Matteotti's disappearance, Vera intersperses the macro-historical details—the Aventine and the discovery of his body, for example—with her personal experiences and memories of the time, which focus on her interactions with Matteotti's wife in the domestic space of the women's homes. Vera's focus on the personal throughout this and subsequent episodes highlights the experiences of the women

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[66] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 3. "June 12, 124 Around five in the afternoon, in our study. The office assistant announces Mrs. Velia Matteotti. The unusual visit surprises me. I run to the woman. She says: —Giacomo hasn't returned home since Tuesday. I waited for him until today. I'm coming from the Chamber of Deputies, where I alerted his colleagues. Hon. Modigliani told me to wait here for his call. They'll find out what they can and let me know."

[67] Tamburrano, *Giacomo Matteotti*.

connected to these revered political figures, offering an alternative view of the effects and impact of these important historical moments on people's lives and minds.

In keeping with Modigliani's choice to structure *Esilio* as a simulacrum travelogue, the use of the present tense here conveys an additional sense of immediacy and urgency to this pivotal moment in history. Jerome S. Bruner's study *Acts of Meaning* explains that this use of "transposition" can indicate an author's continued difficulty in moving past a particular moment in the past: "This rhetorical strategy renders narrated events vivid and captivating. The use of the present tense to relate past events may indicate a continuing preoccupation; the events are not contained in the past, but rather continue to invade a narrator's current consciousness."[68] Especially considering the relationship between the time of writing and that which was being written about, it is understandable that Modigliani would have chosen a writing style that connects her moment in the present to this life-changing moment in the past. Since Modigliani began *Esilio* before she could be certain that she and her husband would return to Italy in their lifetimes, this significant period was likely very much "invading her current consciousness" as a "continuing preoccupation."

Giuseppe and Vera's peaceful period with the ever-growing anti-fascist community in Paris was horribly shattered by Carlo and Nello Rosselli's assassinations on June 9, 1937. As a primary founder of *Giustizia e Libertà*, Carlo Rosselli's charisma and leadership as a Socialist and an antifascist had been an important glue that held the various parties and activists together. While frequently politically at odds, the two men shared a deep mutual respect and had spent considerable time working together throughout their exile. At the time of his murder, it was not

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[68] Bruner notes that the term "transposition" comes from Karl Buhler. Jerome S. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 25.

entirely clear who was responsible, though antifascists everywhere were critical and suspicious of Mussolini. In 1953, Garosci describes the brothers' deaths as follows:

> Carlo Rosselli fu soppresso il 9 giugno 1937, insieme col fratello Nello, in una strada solitaria del bosco di Couternes, presso Bagnoles de l'Orne, dove si era recato a curare radicalmente la sua flebite, prima di tornare, come ne aveva intenzione, in Spagna. Esecutori materiali dell'assassinio furono i sicari dello C.S.A.R (associazione terroristica francese di estrema destra, che anche sotto il regime di Pétain fu l'esecutrice di altri assassinii); mandanti, tramite il colonnello Emanuele e il maggiore Navale, dei servizi del S.I.M., Ciano e Anfuso e, nell'ombra, Mussolini. Prezzo dell'operazione, cento mitra italiani consegnati all'organizzazione francese. L'assassinio di Rosselli si inquadra con precisione nella situazione creata dall'emigrazione italiana nella guerra spagnola.[69]

It is matter-of-fact, with only the smallest lyrical detail suggested about the scene of the crime: "una strada solitaria." The description of the murders segues almost immediately into a more detailed discussion of the success of the Italian intervention in the war in Spain, and how Rosselli's death was an attempt at curbing that momentum. While the brothers' death was assuredly a profound blow to the antifascist community, Garosci chooses to situate the importance of this assassination in the larger geopolitical context in Europe at the time,

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[69] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, 161–62. "Carlo Rosselli, together with his brother, was surprised on June 9, 1937 in a solitary road through the Couternes woods, near Bagnoles de l'Orne. He was there for a radical cure for his phlebitis before his intended return to Spain. Hired assassins from the C.S.A.R (an extreme right-wing terrorist group France that carried out other assassinations under Pétain's regime) were the primary perpetrators of the assassination; they were sent by Colonel Emanuele and Major Navale, on the orders of the S.I.M. service, Ciano and Anfuso and, in the shadows, Mussolini. The cost of the operation, 100 Italian submachine guns given to the French organization. The assassination of Rosselli is precisely contextualized by the situation created by the Italian emigration to the war in Spain."

particularly in respect to Rosselli's political campaigns against Fascisms in Spain. He privileges the narrative of the impact of Carlo's death on the larger macrohistoriography, rather than focusing on the impact to the smaller community of *fuoriusciti* in France, for example, or even smaller still, the circle of political leaders that was close to Carlo.

Vera Modigliani's description of the same event is somewhat similar—it was written retrospectively, and displays some knowledge of what actually happened rather than the utter confusion that would have existed in an authentic diary—but the tone is much more personal, leading with a clearly conveyed sense of anguish over the need to mourn yet another tragedy on June 10:

> Il 10 giugno è veramente una data fatale per l'antifascismo italiano: il 10 giugno '24 è stato ucciso Matteotti; nella notte fra il 10 e l'11 giugno '33 è morto Claudio Treves: il 10 giugno 1937 furono scoperti i cadaveri del fratelli Carlo e Nello Rosselli, assassinati a Bagnoles sur l'Orne.
>
> Ricordo che, avendo sentito mio marito rispondere angosciato a qualcuno che gli parlava al telefono, mi precipitai incontro a lui e mi sentii dare allora con voce strozzata quest'annunzio: "Hanno ucciso Carlo Rosselli! Pare che abbiano ucciso anche il fratello Nello che si trovava con lui!".
>
> Mio Dio! Quello che un minuto prima sarebbe parso impossibile, s'imponeva brutalmente come una realtà atroce: Rosselli era morto![70]

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[70] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 263. "June 10 is truly a fatal day for Italian antifascism: Matteotti was killed June 10, 1924; Claudio Treves died the evening of June 10/11 1933: June 10 1937 they found the bodies of Carlo and Nello Rosselli, assassinated in Bagnoles sur l'Orne.
I remember that, having heard my husband respond in anguish to someone speaking to him on the phone, I collapsed near him and heard the strangled announcement: "They killed Carlo Rosselli! It seems that they also killed his brother Nello who was with him!"

Already apparent in the choice of the date for this event, Vera continues with her more personal approach to historical events; rather than tying this description to June 9th—the date Garosci references in his account as the date of the assassination, and a date Vera would have known by the time of writing—Vera chooses to structure her telling of the assassination within the "diary entry" for June 10th, a date that has more personal history for the author. In keeping with this decision to link Carlo Rosselli's death to past days of mourning on June 10th, her description of the announcement of the murders is interspersed with vivid personal recollections: her husband on the phone, the tone of voice at the news, and the physicality of her worry upon hearing her husband's anguish in his voice. Her personal memory and sadness are interwoven with the with larger impact that Rosselli, Matteotti and Filippo Turati's deaths have had on the antifascist movement.

Modigliani goes on to describe the murder, and though she does not have quite the same level of logistical knowledge as Garosci, she does include vivid detail. Once again, the main focus is not on the historical facts, but rather on the man with whom Vera had shared a relationship:

> Li avevano colti a tradimento, i due fratelli! Tornavano dall'aver accompagnato alla stazione la moglie di Carlo, ch'era venuta a Parigi per poche ore, a solennizzare il compleanno del loro primo nato: Mirtillino. Tornavano attraverso la foresta, lieti, probabilmente, di quella comunione spirituale che la lontananza (Nello viveva in Italia) e le lunghe assenze non avevano diminuito.[71]

My God! That which a minute before had seemed impossible, forced itself to be an atrocious reality: Rosselli was dead!"

[71] Ibid., 264. "They had caught the two brothers by surprise! They were returning after taking Carlo's wife to the train station—she had come to Paris for a few hours to recognize the birthday

The inclusion of the family outing and the mention of Carlo's son's diminutive nickname both heighten the emotional tragedy of the murders, tapping into the profound sense of loss and anguish that those close to Rosselli felt after his murder. The speculation of the brothers' state of mind—irrelevant to Garosci's narrative and what he views as the significance of the Rossellis' deaths—highlights the brothers' relationship and increases the sense of loss for Carlo Rosselli the man, not just Rosselli the political leader. From Vera's standpoint, as a relatively apolitical *moglie di*, she knew him as a friend first, and an antifascist second; for her experience it was the impact of his death on those who survive him that had the most acute affect. The murder of the Rosselli brothers is ultimately important enough for both writers to address, but the significance and impact of Carlo's death takes on differing shades of importance based on the author's narrative choices to follow a larger European line of history, or a more intimate personal story.

Frequently, Vera's focus on historical deaths includes a memory of the women who were so often the survivors of their militant sons and husbands, and in this scene she includes Carlo's wife, Marion, and then the Rosselli's mother in her remembrance of the time.[72] Rather than focus on the political movement's loss, which was assuredly keenly felt by the *fuoriusciti*, she keeps the story filtered through her personal experience, which frequently took place in the domestic sphere:

> Vera "mater dolorosa" la mamma di Carlo e Nello Rosselli! (anche il figlio maggiore aveva perduto nella guerra del '14!) Ancor bella, delicata come un

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of their oldest son, Mirtillino. They were returning through the forest, happy, probably, from the spiritual communion that distance (Nello was living in Italy) and a long time apart had not diminished."

[72] Similar remembrances of the widows and daughters that survived are included in Modigliani's remembrances of Matteotti, Turati, and Treves's deaths.

> pastello nei capelli d'argento, negli occhi azzurri, esile e signorile, dinanzi a me evocava i suoi cari perduti: Nello, il fratello minore, tutto voleva fare quello che faceva Carlo, più intraprendente e più volontario; lo seguiva e diceva, in quello straparlar grazioso dei bimbi: "Anche me! Anche me!"
>
> Sì, povero Nello: "Anche me!" a domicilio coatto, (dove fu mandato dopo l'evasione del fratello da Lipari); "anche me!" nella morte atroce; "anche me!" in quel furgone automobile che vidi arrivare dinanzi alla casa di "Rue Notre Dame des Champs" dove Carlo abitava con la sua famiglia.[73]

As is common throughout the text, Vera Modigliani focuses on the physical attributes of Amelia Rosselli, almost as if *Esilio* were a narrative picture book of exile personalities.[74] Additionally, this description of Carlo and Nello's mother remembering them at their funeral makes up the "entry" that Vera Modigliani had in *Esilio* for Nello Rosselli.[75] He is described through his

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[73] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 266. "Carlo and Nello Rosselli's mother was a true 'Our Lady of Sorrows'! (her oldest child had also died in WWI!) Still beautiful, her silver hair and blue eyes as delicate as a pastel, slender and refined, she stood in front of me and remembered her lost sons: Nello, the younger brother, wanted to do everything that Carlo did; he followed him and said, in the adorable babble of little children: 'Me too! Me too!'
Yes, poor Nello: 'Me too!' in house arrest, (where he was sent after his brother escaped from Lipari); 'me too!' in his terrible death; 'me too!' into the hearse that I saw arrive in front of the house in 'Rue Notre Dame des Champs' where Carlo lived with his family."

[74] The abundance of physical descriptions of the antifascist *fuoriusciti* throughout *Esilio* in fact led to the *Fondazione Modigliani* printing a publication of portraits of key political figures from the time, with Modigliani's excerpts accompanying the images. See Vera Modigliani, *L'album dei volti e dei ricordi: l'esilio nei pensieri, immagini e ricordi di Vera Modigliani*, ed. Luisa Montevecchi and Viviana Simonelli (Roma: Editore Fondazione Modigliani, 1999).

[75] Throughout *Esilio* Modigliani keeps something of a running encyclopedia of the many notable people that she remembers in her book. Indicating their first introduction in the text by italicizing their name (i.e. "*Nello Rosselli*, anche lui di convinzioni profondamente antifasciste" [Ibid.]), *Esilio* functions in a small way as a "who's who" of the socialist antifascist movement abroad. The 1984 reprinting of *Esilio* even includes a useful seven-page "Indice dei nomi" to reference the entries.

mother's words, rather than through the articles he wrote or his actions in life.[76] Modigliani is consciously choosing to eschew the political narrative for a personal one, though given the celebrity status of the brothers even their private moments take on an element of the public.

Many historians have sought to create the seminal (and theoretically unbiased) historical account of this important period, but in a way that did not expose them as the authors of history. Garosci, for example, was an active enough antifascist that when he decided to write his *Storia dei fuorusciti*, he had to make the stylistic choice to either write from a first person perspective, evidencing his personal involvement in the historical narrative he was producing, or to refer to himself in the third person as he adopted the classical historian role of omniscient retrospective seer. Vera Modigliani chose the former approach, while Garosci chose the latter.

Vera Modigliani's account is more transparent in her personal involvement, as she is creating a historical narrative (generally considered a male domain, for the protagonists of history appear almost invariably to be men) within the style and traditions of a diary (frequently considered a typical mode of women's writing). She claims that she is writing a history/biography of her husband's activities, since he will never complete the task himself (indeed, he died shortly after the couple's return to Italy), but all of her stories of Giuseppe's political involvement are filtered through the lens of her experience, frequently shifting the focus on Giuseppe's socialist work to the periphery. The result is a broad and sweeping historical narrative that covers the same period as Garosci and others' historical texts, but that does so in a way that intertwines geopolitical history with the everyday. Naturally, the wives and secondary

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[76] For a well-developed collection of interdisciplinary studies on the Rosselli brothers' political, social and literary involvement during their lives and their influences after their deaths, see Alessandro Giacone and Eric Vial, eds., *I fratelli Rosselli: l'antifascimo e l'esilio*, 1[a] ed (Roma: Carocci, 2011).

characters that are often omitted from official historiographies find a place in *Esilio* that they would not find elsewhere. While Modigliani's narrative choices were out of step with the best practices of historiography writing at the time, what Vera ends up producing is something of a history by hindsight: a text that was not necessarily written with the intent to be a history, but that nonetheless serves as a historical interpretation of the events that led to the great antifascist emigration and antifascist activities abroad. As Vera struggles with her goal to push her narrative outward, attempting to stay on the political affairs and biography of her husband, she inevitably and repeatedly returns to her perspectives and her personal interpretations through which she communicates and interprets the political world in which she found herself. Modigliani was in a unique position where the political was, in fact, personal for her, and her narrative choices highlight the importance of the experience of the personal.

PRECARITÀ AS AN INSPIRATION FOR, AND A *LEITMOTIF* IN, *ESILIO*

A possible explanation for *Esilio*'s hybridity lies in Vera Modigliani's precarious experience as a *fuoriuscita*. Her compounded status as clandestine, Jewish, and woman meant that even despite her privileged position as an important politician's wife, she still could never be sure that she and her family were safe. The correlation between the Modiglianis' life uncertainty and *Esilio*'s textual hybridity is compelling, especially when compounded with the uncertainty that is evidenced in the text on a narratological level. The erratic adherence to the diary structure is one of the first indicators of Vera's precarious situation while writing *Esilio*. Additionally, through the use of prolepses to interrupt the chronological narrative, Vera frequently disturbs the diary illusion, alerting the reader to the author's protean reaction to past events. Informative footnotes that were added to the text prior to its publication in 1946 create further interference in the "of the moment" style, and indicate subsequent understanding achieved beyond the moment of

writing. In each of these examples, the precarious relationship between memory and writing challenges the simulacrum journal structure that Modigliani adopts, both confirming the inherent uncertainty that comes from reconstructing past memories, and highlighting the importance of Modigliani's choice to use a mode of writing that conveys immediacy and authenticity.

The diary structure is established early on in *Esilio*, both through the autobiographical pact previously discussed, and through the occasional use of formulaic dated headings throughout the manuscript. The first chapter, *Sotto il segno di Matteotti*, opens with a specific date at the top of the page: June 12, 1924. This is a date that has been recorded by historians, for even though Matteotti was abducted and murdered on June 10th, it was not until June 12th that Velia Matteotti alerted the public. As the chapter progresses, and Vera recalls the various events of that summer, the date markers disappear, and it becomes difficult to identify specifically when the narrative present is taking place. The first chapter starts from a specific point in history and then proceeds vaguely forward. The effect is a sense of the passage of time, but without clear indicators or reference points to distinguish one moment from the next; a feeling that was likely akin to Velia and Vera's experience as they waited for the authorities to make any progress. It is not until the end of the first chapter that a date reappears to introduce the closing scene: August 16th, the date Matteotti's body was finally found. The dates Modigliani decides to identify reference not just the relationship between written recollection and the historical existence of the events, but also their importance in Vera's memory. June 12th and August 16th bookend the first chapter and serve to anchor the beginning and end of the narrative concretely in a historical account, masking the inherent unreliability and uncertainty of writing about the past from personal memory after more than a decade has passed.

The importance of the passage of time in narrative has been of particular interest to numerous theorists, and one of Gérard Genette's contributions to the study is in the realm of narrative anachronies.[77] The prolepsis, which refers to narrative interventions that consist of evoking in advance an event that will take place later, are particularly prevalent in *Esilio*, and representative of another way that the diary structure is challenged. Given the historical and autobiographical nature of *Esilio*, these prolepses create a tension within the text, interrupting the memory of the past with an update of the reality of the future (which coincides with the moment of writing). For example, chapter four of *Parte Prima (verso l'esilio)* remembers Vera's involvement in the creation of the *Popote*; after her initial help in the early days in the kitchen Vera—who admitted to being less skilled in domestic arts—developed something of a reputation as a terrible cook. As she remembers the details surrounding what she considered to be an unfairly harsh judgment of her skills, she had to concede that there was a particularly unfortunate attempt at a fricassee that cemented her reputation as hopeless. The decidedly humorous and upbeat nature of this story is fitting with the optimism that surrounded the period in which the *Popote* was established, but is ultimately interrupted by a prolepsis as Vera remembers how Nullo Baldini, who was present for the fricassee disaster, never let her forget her failings in the kitchen. She interjects her memory of the happy time with a lament: "Caro Baldini! Come vorrei vederlo ancora sorridermi e ripetermi con quel suo accento romagnolo, come spesso faceva

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[77] "An anachrony can reach into the past or the future, either more or less far from the 'present' moment (that is, from the moment in the story when the narrative was interrupted to make room for the anachrony): this temporal distance we will name the anachrony's *reach*. The anachrony itself can also cover a duration of story that is more or less long: we will call this its *extent*." Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: an Essay in Method* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 48.

quando m'incontrava: 'Ah! quella fricassea! quella fricassea!'"[78] Vera had been describing the establishment of the *Popote* and her attempts to cook for her fellow *fuoriusciti* as if her recollection were relatively recent, a narrative immediacy reinforced by the journal-like structure of the chapter. The use of a prolepsis to anticipate a future in which she is unable to casually meet Baldini and speak with him interrupts the illusion of current optimism and shifts the focus to the melancholic reality of Vera's displacement far from her colleagues and from the comforting surroundings of the *Popote*. Here and elsewhere in *Esilio*—particularly during the first half the narrative, which tends to focus more on the hopeful period of activity in Paris—these prolepses serve as counterpoints to the more pessimistic realities of the time of writing in the 1940s, and reflect Modigliani's imbalanced emotional journey and the uncertainty she experienced during her "*esilio in esilio*" while writing about her past.

There is an even starker interruption that occurs throughout the text as Modigliani footnotes her story with updates of characters. Written and added in 1945, when *Esilio* went to print, these are the only "edits" made to the text after Modigliani wrote the final entry in 1944. Frequently, these footnotes alert the reader to the future death of an activist, as with the story of Bruno Buozzi. Buozzi is introduced early in the narrative, as he was one of the *fuoriusciti* who traveled to France in the first wave of political emigration in 1926. After introducing his ties to France, and subsequent arrest and deportation to Italy, a footnote reads: "Queste righe sono state scritte quando Buozzi era ancora vivo, ben vivo! Il 4 giugno 1944 doveva cadere, a pochi

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[78] Modigliani, *Esilio*, 1946, 59. "Dear Baldini! How I would like to see him smile at me again and—with that accent of his from Romagna—tell me, like he used to do when he would see me: 'Ah! that fricassee! that fricassee!'"

chilometri da Roma, vittima dei tedeschi e dei fascisti."[79] The choice to footnote this particular death can only be to quell any hopeful optimism that Buozzi survived, for *Esilio*'s narrative continues through October 1944, and Vera writes of learning of Buozzi's death towards the end of the book.

By 1944 Vera has started writing *Esilio* in true diary form; that is, she has completed her retrospective account and at this point the dates for the entries match not only the chronology of the narrative, but also the moment of writing. When she first wrote about Buozzi, likely some time in 1940 or 1941, he was still alive and the general optimism of the moment was only marred by the uncertainty of his capture and imprisonment. Despite the fact that Buozzi's death is included in *Esilio* as a terrible event towards the end of the war and the end of their exile, Modigliani decides to interrupt her more optimistic recollection with a footnote that alerts the reader to a death that would not happen for another twelve years. The intrusion of the future through these footnotes, like the prolepses, destabilizes the reader's ability to forget that *Esilio* is not an authentic travelogue, and serves as a reminder that Modigliani was writing her text in an uncertain and fearful environment.

Modigliani's decision to employ a simulacrum diary style succeeds in anchoring her memory of events in a fictional present, lending credibility and a sense of immediacy to her account. Despite this narrative structure, the inconsistent adherence to the journal form, coupled with the prolific use of prolepses and footnotes, interferes with the overall effect of the text as an authentic travelogue, making the reader aware that the happiness and security of this period was short-lived and illusory.

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[79] Ibid., 63. "These lines were written when Buozzi was alive, still very much alive! June 4, 1944 he fell, just a few kilometers from Rome, victim of the Germans and the Fascists."

CONCLUSION

Esilio demonstrates that Vera Modigliani was a multidimensional woman in the *fuoriusciti* community; she strongly self-identified as the wife of her more publicly prominent husband, but her life and actions were intertwined with those of the antifascist movement abroad. The plurality of Vera's identity is parallel to *Esilio*'s structure: simultaneously a fictional diary, a travelogue, a history, and a kind of biography—among the various classifications—*Esilio* is a hybrid text. Faced with the uncertainty of her future after the Nazi invasion, Vera needed a mode of writing of her own that would allow her to reconcile her traumatic and chaotic past in such a way that would allow her to begin to decipher the future, specifically "se sia lecito nutrire speranze."

Esilio represents an important contribution to the history of *fuoriuscitismo* as both a first person account and as a record of the time. Modigliani's dedication to the *Fondazione* after her husband's death provides further evidence of both her "strenuo lavoro per trasmettere la conoscenza, la documentazione, la memoria della lotta contro il fascismo," and her "singolare consapevolezza politica."[80] Vera Modigliani fully deserves to be placed in the canon of antifascist exile narrative, whose shape and meaning she enriched through her particular, nuanced perspective as a woman.

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[80] Alessandrone Perona, "Donne di frontiera," 160. "her strenuous work to pass down the awareness, the documentation, the memory of the fight against Fascism" and her "unique political awareness."

4. "*Non è veridico, ma vero*": Narrative Representation through Time in *Il paese in esilio* and *La gibigianna* by Maria Brandon Albini

Maria Brandon Albini's writing career began in Milan, where in 1936 she published her first novel entitled *Ragazze inquiete*. Shortly thereafter she chose to leave Milan for Paris in pursuit of personal and political freedom. Her work abroad at the *Voce degli italiani* allowed her to continue her writing career, and it was in response to the stories of the *fuoriusciti* whom she met and interviewed that she decided to begin another novel: *Il paese in esilio*. As she remembers in the novel's preface, "Continuai [a scrivere] anche oltre la necessità dettatami dal mio compito di redattrice-reporter, via via appassionandomi per quel mondo che andavo scoprendo: così nacque a poco a poco un libro documentario."[1] While the characters are inspired by real people and places—she states in the Preface that Part I is based on real people she met as a journalist interviewing Italian immigrant communities in Paris, and Part II is about on a couple that mirrors Brandon Albini's own marriage—they are represented in a structured novel, with carefully crafted plots, dialogue, and other narrative devices showing that Brandon Albini used her and others' experiences as inspiration for her fictional work.

Albini was in the process of correcting the first drafts for publication with *Nuove Edizioni di Capolago*—Ignazio Silone's publishing house in Switzerland—but the increasing uncertainty

[1] Preface to Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 5. "I continued [to write] beyond the requirements of my job as a editor-reporter, slowly becoming enamored with the world that I was discovering: and that is how, bit by bit, a documentary book was born."

throughout 1939 and the eventual fall of Paris to the Nazis in May of 1940 made it impossible to complete the project. Brandon Albini saved a copy of her novel, but *Il paese in esilio* would not be published as she had planned:

> la guerra del '39 e la necessità di esser prudente data la mia recente attività di giornalista antifascista e subito dopo di militante clandestina nella nascente Resistenza francese accanto al mio compagno francese, mi costrinsero ad abbandonare il mio scritto in un cassetto. La vita poi per troppi anni, velocemente passati, anche e soprattutto dopo il '45 mi spinse verso altre urgenti ed assorbenti attività.[2]

In reality, Brandon Albini would not return to the narrative until the 1970s: "Oggi, 1976–1977 tolgo questa testimonianza dal cassetto."[3] The final version of *Il paese in esilio* is, in fact, comprised of two parts: *Parigi, 1936–1939* (Part I) and *Nella Francia del sud, 1940–1943* (Part II). The novel is a unique combination of memory and experience comprised of Part I written in the late 1930s, and Part II written in the late 1970s. Both stories narrate the experiences of Italian and French antifascists as they navigate their surroundings first in Paris during the prewar years, and then in the Unoccupied zone in the south of France after the start of World War I.

It would, perhaps, be more precise to categorize Part I and Part II as two stories in a collection, rather than two parts of a single novel, given that they share no common protagonists or narrative threads. Indeed, read on their own, without any context of the author's life or the

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[2] Ibid. "the war in '39 and the need to be prudent given my recent activity as an antifascist journalist and, then, as a clandestine militant in the burgeoning French Resistance with my French partner, all forced me to abandon my writing in a drawer. Then the years of life flew by, particularly after '45, and I was pushed toward other urgent and consuming activities."

[3] Preface to ibid., 6. "Today, 1976–1977 I pull this testimonial out of the drawer."

period, the two stories appear unconnected. The characters, plot and geographical environment change completely from the first to the second part, to the extent that little more than the fact that they are included together in a single publication unites the two sections. On closer inspection, however, the two parts offer a comprehensive autobiographical narrative of Albini's experiences in France during that time, and the profound narrative division between them reinforces not only the chronological distance between their creation, but also the disruptive and destructive nature of the outbreak of war. The Germans' occupation of Paris and the subsequent start of World War II created a clear divide in Brandon Albini's life as a political exile: prior to the Fall of Paris and the beginning of the war, Brandon Albini had reveled in her newfound political freedom in France, after she was forced into the clandestine life of antifascist resistance. The two stories together reflect that change, and thus the novel can only be considered complete—a "libro documentario" as the author claims—when they are considered as a whole and in relation to each other. Either story on its own would provide only a partial reflection of Albini's experience as a *fuoriuscita*.

Presenting it as not "*veridico* ma *vero*," (not *truthful*, but the *truth*) Brandon Albini considered the final version of the novel to be a faithful account of the world she inhabited during her exile: "Tutto questo *Paese in esilio* non è un pezzo da museo, fu un mondo vivo, e oggi mi pare, rileggendolo, un film preso con metodi semplici, artigianali; i miei occhi di donna e di antifascista."[4] The author's insistence on her point of view being filtered through her "occhi di donna e di antifascista" is significant because the book functions as an autobiographical metaphor, a fictional novel that nonetheless communicates the environment and experiences of

[4] Ibid. "All of this *Paese in esilio* isn't a piece from a museum, it was a living world, and today, rereading it, it reminds me of a film made through simple, artisanal methods; my own eyes as a woman and an antifascist."

Brandon Albini's life in these two periods. Her insistence that the novel is *vero* highlights the importance she placed on making her fictionalized representation of the world around her reflect its authenticity.

This chapter addresses the ways Albini's lived experiences shaped her narrative choices throughout her text, and how her personalized variation of life writing reflects her autobiographical story. Albini's narrative choices result in a nuanced interpretation of the cultural realities of the period, an understanding of the specific ways in which the *fuoriusciti* developed their antifascist politics, the ways women exiles suffered differently from men, and how the passage of time influenced the memory of this period.

Given that the two stories in the novel were written in different decades and follow different stories lines, I will address them separately. Enough similarities in structure exist between the two stories' plots that it is possible to compare them to each other, but within the scope of this study it is the autobiographical aspects of each story, and how those stories of self-representation changed throughout the years, that is most relevant. I will address the ways in which Part I *Parigi, 1936–1939* functions as a "post-Bildungsroman," or rather as a follow up to Albini's first autobiographical novel of development, *Ragazze inquiete*. The author's focus on finding one's place in the world as an adult—with the accompanying fascination over the nuances and complications that come after one's initiation into adulthood—mirrored Albini's exhilarating experiences as a young woman finally able to pursue her intellectual and political liberty in France. That optimism is tempered, however, by the threat of looming war, and both the narrative and Albini's writing were abruptly interrupted by the occupation of France and the increased danger for the *fuoriusciti*. I will then analyze Part II *Nella Francia del sud, 1940–1943*, and the ways in which Albini's narrative choices are altered by her memories of her experiences

after the fall of Paris. Influenced both by the trauma of her clandestine activism living in unoccupied France during World War II, and by the Italian and French political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, Part II is notably more focused on the female protagonist's bodily experiences as a woman and the violence of the war. I argue that Part II functions as an addendum to her original story, completing the novel's representation of the experience of *fuoriusciti* in France. I will also reference Brandon Albini's collection of memories entitled *La gibigianna*, which was published shortly after *Il paese in esilio*.[5] By comparing *Il paese in esilio* with corresponding chapters in *La gibigianna*, I will demonstrate the reciprocal nature of remembering and narrating lived experiences, and how doing one can influence the other.

MARIA BRANDON ALBINI: "*UN'EMIGRATA IN PATRIA*"

A native of the Brianza region in Lombardy, Maria Brandon Albini was born in Robbiate on September 29, 1904. She was the oldest daughter of three children, and her parents came from traditional and well-off families. Her father's family had made its fortune as landowners, though he was the only one of seven children to go to school, and many of his siblings lost their inheritances after World War I. Her mother—sixteen years younger than her father—came from a petty bourgeoisie family and, unlike her husband, was a devout catholic. Maria's devoutly catholic and spinster aunt also lived with the family, and the two were particularly close throughout her childhood.[6]

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[5] Maria Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna* (Treviso: Matteo Editore, 1980).

[6] Ibid., 35–37.

In 1916 the family left their country estate to live in Milan, where Albini's father thought his children, in particular his son, would have access to better education and prospects.[7] While her family encouraged her brother's studies at the university—Franco Albini ultimately surpassed his engineer father's career and became a noted Neo-Rationalist architect—they held more traditional expectations for their eldest daughter, and the idea of continued education after her all-girls high school was anathema to them: "A diciassette anni per me la scuola era finita. Ero di famiglia agiata e si stimava inutile farmi proseguire gli studi e darmi una laurea. A che pro? per annoiare l'eventuale marito con una 'cultura da saccente?' […] Stare in casa e cercarlo, il marito, quella doveva essere secondo le regole secolari della buona borghesia il mio compito di *signorina*."[8] While she would not continue on to university, her high school teachers encouraged her writing and she pursued a continued autodidactic study of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Proust, among others.[9]

Writing became a way for Brandon Albini to express herself and engage in an intellectual debate despite her lack of formal university training. Her privileged background helped her connect with the antifascist intellectual-elite in Milan, and she subsequently became involved

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[7] Michele Ferri, "La Capitanata, la Puglia e il Mezzogiorno nell'opera di Maria Brandon Albini," *Atti–31° Convegno Nazionale sulla Preistoria—Protostoria—Storia della Daunia* 31 (2010): 308.

[8] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 72. "School finished for me at seventeen years old. I was from a well-off family and it seemed useless to have me pursue my studies and earn a degree. For what? To bore a future husband with a 'know-it-all attitude?' […] According to centuries-old rules of the proper bourgeoisie, my only task as a *young lady* was to stay at home and look for a husband."

[9] Maria Brandon Albini's teachers included Edoardo Persico, the well-know art critic and essayist, and Vincenzo Cento, the founder of Milan's *Accademia libera di cultura e arte*. Her continued relationship with these men—and others—helped introduce her to Milan's intellectual circles, and she was able to pursue a robust education outside of the academy. Ferri, "La Capitanata," 308.

with the young group of antifascist Milanese intellectuals that was beginning to form in response to ever-growing concern over fascist aggressions.[10] Brandon Albini published her own political commentary regularly, and developed a reputation as an outspoken antifascist. She went on to help run the magazine *Orpheus* with fellow members of the antifascist youth in Milan in the 1930s.

As her personal education and self-discovery progressed throughout the early years of Fascism's rise in Italy, one of Brandon Albini's aunts introduced her to the *Associazione femminile nazionale*, a Socialist society that worked to better the lives of children and mothers. Thanks to her involvement in this organization, Brandon Albini travelled to London in 1934 as an Italian delegate for an international cooperative conference. The freedom she experienced in Paris and London en route to the conference was exhilarating, and contrasted sharply with the ever-growing presence of Fascism in Milan, which made it difficult for her to continue to pursue her writing career. Brandon Albini quickly grew discouraged as she and her colleagues found it more and more difficult to meet and share ideas, so when she was invited to London again, this time for an education conference in 1936, she decided (at the age of 32) that she would remain in Paris on her return trip, rather than return to Milan.

In addition to writing for newspapers and magazines, Brandon Albini also wrote two novels before fleeing Italy: her first, *Ragazze inquiete*, was published in 1936, though only after some difficulty. As she remembered later in her collection of memories, *La gibigianna*, her novels were seen as subversive, despite their lacking specific political discourse.[11] At a

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[10] For an overview of the antifascist climate that developed early in Milan, particularly among the city's youth, see Giovanni Ferro, *Milano capitale dell'antifascismo* (Milano: Mursia, 1985).

[11] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*.

colleague's suggestion, she tried initially to publish with Mario Bonfantini, though she did not receive the reception she had hoped for:

> "Senta, mi disse, un libro così è troppo antifascista, per uscire da un editore qualsiasi".
>
> "Come! mi difesi io, non parlo neppure di politica!"
>
> "E' peggio che se ne parlasse. Vada da Corticelli, a Milano. E' un amico mio."[12]

Corticelli did, in fact, agree to publish both *Ragazze inquiete* and her second novel, *Terra nera*. Just as Bonfantini had warned, the novels' releases furthered Brandon Albini's reputation as an antifascist agitator. Her second novel in particular was the one she considered to be her truly antifascist work: "Quel libro era scritto nel vuoto; il rifiuto del fascismo colmava i silenzi che ero obbligata a lasciare tra una pagina e l'altra. […] Proprio per questo sentivo che i miei due volumi chiudevano la prima parte della mia vita."[13] By the time *Terra nera* was published in 1937, Brandon Albini had already exiled herself to Paris.

To support herself abroad she continued to publish in various newspapers and magazines (though to protect her family still in Milan—and likely also to fight against sexist assumptions—Albini chose to publish under the pseudonym Antonio Morreno). After about a year in Paris, she submitted a collection of political articles to *Voce degli Italiani*, and to her delight the articles were accepted and published. Somewhat surprisingly, however, the director Emilio Sereni also requested an in-person meeting with Morreno, and consequently discovered that the promising

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[12] Ibid., 113. "'Listen, he told me, a book like this is too antifascist to be published by just any publisher.' 'What! I defended myself, I don't even talk about politics!' 'That's even worse than if you did. Go to Corticelli, in Milan. He's a friend of mine.'"

[13] Ibid., 114. Both novels have long been out of print, and very few copies remain. See Maria Albini, *Ragazze inquiete: romanzo* (Milano: A. Corticelli, 1936); *Terra nera: romanzo* (Milano: A. Corticelli, 1937).

new journalist was Maria Albini. Sereni offered Albini/Moreno an ongoing job with *Voce degli Italiani*, and her regular assignment for the newspaper was to interview and report on the community of Italians that lived near Montmartre: *fuoriusciti* who had largely emigrated from Italy for financial reason. These interviews inspired Brandon Albini to begin what would become *Il paese in esilio*.

Her memories of her arrival in Paris, and the realization that she had made the choice to stay, created a lasting sense of freedom and possibility:

> Ecco, poi, i rapporti con le persone e prima di tutto con la città, in quel deserto mese di agosto. Scoprivo l'immagine di una Parigi sognata e amata entro i quadri di Utrillo, di Ségonzac, di Marquet. Talmente fedele, da non saper neanche se fosse vera. E gli essere umani: al loro contatto, sentivo il bisogno violento di liberarmi del passato, da quelle velleità, da quei tormenti, da quelle sterili pastoie che prima di esistere fuori e attorno a me, erano stati, potentissimi, entro di me; da quella rivolta passiva contro al mio ambiente e dalla repressa esasperazione che n'era la conseguenza e che aveva fatto di me un'emigrata in patria.[14]

Paris was a hub of intellectual freedom for Brandon Albini, and it was also where she met Pierre Brandon, a recent law graduate. Pierre worked organizing communist newspapers throughout France, and he traveled frequently. Brandon Albini took a job in Rouen to be a high school

[14] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 118. "Here, then, were the relationships with people and above all with the city, in that deserted month of August. In works by Utrillo, Ségonzac and Marquet I discovered the Paris that I had dreamed about and loved. I was so devoted to it that I didn't know if it was real. And the people: as soon as I made contact with them I felt the violent need to free myself of my past, of my desire, of my torments, of the sterile red tape that—before they existed around me—had been so strong inside me; to free myself of the passive revolt against my environment and the repressive exasperation that existed in consequence, and which had make me an immigrant in my own land."

teacher. Ultimately, the couple married in 1940 after a daring escape from Paris—no small task for Brandon Albini, whose status as an antifascist foreigner increased her risk of being caught by the Germans and sent to a concentration camp—and settled in Toulouse, where Pierre was tasked with organizing the Resistance for the *Front National de Libération*, leading a secret collective against the occupying forces. Brandon Albini received an Italian language and literature teaching position at the University of Toulouse, and quickly became her husband's partner in his covert operations. They purchased a small storefront to set up a vegetable stand as a cover for their covert operations, and the group published a few clandestine newspapers, including *La Marseillaise*.[15]

For the rest of the war Brandon Albini and her husband continued to organize against the Germans and the Fascists, luckily staying one step ahead of the police and avoiding capture. When the war ended, they chose to return to Paris, only to discover that their homes had been ransacked and all their possessions—furniture, photographs, manuscripts, etc.—had been stolen or destroyed.[16] Brandon Albini learned of Italy's liberation through letters from her brother, and returned to visit her family in 1945, roughly ten years after choosing her life as a *fuoriuscita*. In that decade much had changed in Italy, including the death of her dear friend and younger sister Carla. Brandon Albini ultimately chose to return to Paris and her husband, where she took up a teaching position at the Dante Alighieri school in Paris. Inspired by the strong cultural traditions that she had witnessed among the Italian *fuoriusciti* in Paris in the prewar years, Brandon Albini became a scholar of Italian culture, and developed a particular interest in southern Italy. She

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[15] Ferri, "La Capitanata," 310.

[16] Maria Brandon Albini, *De la terre de Lombardie à Montmartre* (Paris: Editions Entente, 1988).

continued to write throughout her life, publishing in French several cultural studies on the *Mezzogiorno*.[17]

Maria Brandon Albini lived to be 91, and passed away February 10, 1995.

A LIFE/NARRATIVE INTERRUPTED

Il paese in esilio is an exemplary work of exile literature: Part I was written during the author's time in France as a *fuoriuscita*, and Part II—written decades after the fact—produces a story that serves as a creative narrative continuation of that period of exile. The two parts are divided by the onset of World War II, and the interruption that the war causes creates a rift between them. The title of this section is both a reference to the fact that Part I of *Il paese in esilio* is heavily influenced by and reflective of Brandon Albini's own life—therefore it has some characteristics of a life narrative as Smith and Watson define the category—but it is also an acknowledgement of the fact that this is a fictionalized story of the lives of other people, therefore it is not autobiographical in the same way that Joyce Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere* and Vera Modigliani's *Esilio* are. The narrative rupture between the two parts corresponds to both Brandon Albini's own displacement from Paris to the south of France, and the chronological distance between writing Part I (1938) and Part II (1976–77).

Given that Part I and Part II of the novel have separate and unconnected plots, a brief overview of the *fabula* of Part I will aid the subsequent analysis. The first section of Part I opens

[17] Maria Brandon Albini, *La culture italienne; dix siècles de civilisation* (Paris: A. Bonne, 1950); *Calabre* (Paris: Arthaud, 1957); *Sicile secrète* (Paris: Horizons de France, 1960); *Naples et son univers* (Paris: Horizons de France, 1962); *Midi vivant: Peuple et culture en Italie du Sud* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963); *Le grand sud italien: Abruzzes, Pouilles, Calabre, Lucanie* (Paris: Hachette, 1971); *La Sicile et son univers* (Paris: Hachette, 1972); *Sardaigne sans cagoule* (Rodez; Paris: Editions Subervie, 1981); *Radioscopie de la culture italienne* (Paris: Ed. Entente, 1983).

in Montelupo, Tuscany, and follows the somewhat accidental *fuoriuscitismo* of Battista Ceceri, a Tuscan farmer who flees Italy not to escape Fascism, but to remove himself from any and all reminders of his recently deceased daughter. Haunted by the songs the girls in town sing, and even by the language that those around him speak, Battista decides that the only solace he will find will be outside of Italy where casual conversation will not trigger memories of his loving and loquacious daughter. Driven by this unrelenting desire to escape the pain of his memories, Battista applies repeatedly for a passport and permission to leave Italy, only to be denied by the fascist officials who are attempting to close the borders to the antifascist rebels' emigration. Battista ultimately succeeds in smuggling himself to Paris on a freight train in 1936, serendipitously choosing the one car that had specifically been marked by the Resistance to clandestinely transport an antifascist volunteer to Paris and then Spain to fight against Franco. Battista's traveling companion is immediately suspicious of Battista's lack of political knowledge and fervor, and assumes that he must be a (rather poor) Fascist spy. Both men arrive in Paris, though Battista's inability to speak French and his apolitical nature lead those he meets among the *fuoriusciti* to also assume that he is a Fascist informer. Alone in Paris, Battista eventually befriends young Vincenzino, the son of Donata, a recently widowed Italian woman. With Vincenzino's help, Battista slowly begins to create a space for himself within the community of Italian *fuoriusciti*, and before long he opens a *latteria* for the Italian laborers. Battista's relationship with Vincenzino brings him closer to the boy's mother Donata, and despite both adults' wariness of the other, the three form an adoptive family unit. The arrival of Giulio—the son of the *signore* from Battista's hometown in Tuscany and a young antifascist poet—completes the family unit as Giulio and Donata fall in love. By the story's end, Battista has discovered his political identity as an antifascist, and has moved past mourning for his

daughter. Donata and Giulio are expecting a child together, and a family has been created for all three exiles. The mood is far from content or triumphant, however, because the threat of war looms increasingly more threateningly over their prospects for a happy future together. In the final scene of Part I, the radio plays the same song that Battista's daughter used to sing, which had previously driven him to desperately flee Tuscany. This time, the familiar lyrics have no profound effect on Battista, though they serve as a bleak premonition of yet more death to come.

Il paese in esilio was born out of Brandon Albini's work with *Voce degli Italiani*, where her regular assignment for the newspaper was to interview and report on the Italians who lived near Montmartre. That community was predominantly made up of *fuoriusciti* who had emigrated from Italy largely out of financial need, following the *rivoli d'oro* in the hopes of escaping the poverty and misery of their hometowns. The task was far from easy:

> Dominati dal consolato italiano, sedotti dalle monache della Missione italiana, che distribuivano sorrisi, pacchetti di pasta, tessere del fascio, santini e oscure minacce, quei disgraziati si aprivano con mille cautele a noi antifascisti, se sapevamo conquistare la loro fiducia. Le prime volte ci andai con Marina Sereni; poi dovetti prender contatto con persone fidate e continuare da sola le mie ricerche. […] Parlavano gerghi per me incomprensibili, nati dalla fusione graduale di chiusissimi vernacoli meridionali con l'*argot* parigino più stretto.[18]

[18] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 129. "Controlled by the Italian consulate, seduced by the nuns from the Italian Mission who gave out smiles, pasta, Fascist IDs, holy pictures and obscure threats, those poor devils were extremely wary of us antifascists, and only opened up to us if we knew how to win over their trust. The first view times I went with Marina Sereni; then I needed to make contact with trusted people to continue my research on my own. […] They spoke jargons that I couldn't understand, born out of the gradual fusion of tiny local southern dialects and the strongest of French argots."

For Albini—who had struggled to reconcile her antifascist and Socialist politics with the fact that she was raised in a bourgeois family and had no personal contact or understanding of the realities of the working class—this introduction to the Italian *popolo* was fascinating: "ora lo trovavo [il popolo] in carne ed ossa a Parigi, ma come staccato dalla madre patria, cellula ignorata e spesso involuta."[19]

The novel's title is a reflection of Brandon Albini's growing understanding of the plight of the working-class, and specifically what it meant to be a *fuoriuscito* out of economic need: "Tali gruppi di italiani avevano conservato canzoni, costume, modi dialettali. Il 'paese' infatti per loro non era certo l'Italia, vista come 'il governo ladro che non si occupa mai di noialtri poveretti', ma un gruppetto di case, un villaggio lontano, in una remota e impervia campagna, o in cima ai monti, in fondo alla penisola."[20] This sense of collectivity is reflected in the choice of the title *Il paese in esilio* (rather than *Il cittadino in esilio*, for example). As Gabaccia has succinctly explained, the proverb "Tutto il mondo è paese" ("All the world is [a] village") was a common refrain, particularly in the migratory population of Italians post-unification. The use of the term "paese" communicates that "the world and the village are one," a sentiment expressed in this "folk statement of a diasporic view of life, appropriate to Italy's migratory peoples and to the village-based diasporas of Italy's mass migrations."[21] Indeed, the first story is something of a

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[19] Ibid."now I found it [the common people] in flesh and blood in Paris, but they were separated from my homeland, an ignored, and often unwanted, cell."

[20] Ibid. "Those groups of Italians had remembered their songs, costumes, turns of phrase in dialect. For them 'the country' certainly wasn't Italy, which was seen as the 'thief government that doesn't care about us poor people,' but instead it was a group of houses, a far-away village, in the remote and impervious countryside, or at the top of the mountains, at the end of the peninsula."

[21] Gabaccia's list at the beginning of the chapter of numerous dialect translations of this proverb further emphasizes the Italian universality of the sentiment. *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 174–75.

choral piece, with four main protagonists, all from profoundly different backgrounds, who share a profound sense of loneliness that ultimately brings them together in Paris. Rather than their different backgrounds dividing them, their shared experience as migrants in Paris helps them build a new community, one that is just as valid of a "paese" as that of their home.

If the Nazi invasion of Paris had not interrupted Brandon Albini's writing and publication of *Il paese in esilio*, this story would have been her third novel, and it is decidedly more mature and nuanced than her earlier work. Her first novel, *Ragazze inquiete*, is best described as an epistolary Bildungsroman, and she dedicated it to her parents as "il mio primogenito" ("my first born child"). The story follows young Ninni's personal developmental as she navigates her transition from schoolgirl to young woman and wife. Ninni's letters to and from her older cousin Ginevra—who created something of a scandal in the family when she moved away from home to pursue her literary career, with considerable success, and had a child with her lover out of wedlock—narrate her tumultuous transformation from an inquisitive girl to a sexually and intellectually curious young woman stifled by her family's traditional values. The novel is a fictionalized account of Brandon Albini's own struggles to reconcile her conservative upbringing with her desire for intellectual stimulation and personal liberty.[22] Together with *Terra nera*, these first two novels followed Brandon Albini's autobiographical protagonists' transition from childhood to womanhood, and their publications "chiudevano la prima parte della mia vita."[23] Had she been able to successfully publish *Il paese in esilio*, it would have been Brandon Albini's

[22] As a teenager, Brandon Albini kept up a correspondence with her real-life "liberated" cousin who lived in Geneva, where she was discovered to have had a child on her own. Brandon Albini remembers how her own long letters were received with little enthusiasm or encouragement, a much different response than her protagonist Ninni's continued correspondence with her cousin Ginevra. Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 76–80.

[23] Ibid., 114. "they closed the first part of my life."

first novel during the next phase of her life: a phase in which she has crossed the threshold into adulthood, but is still working to understand what her place in society would be.

Likely influenced by her work at the newspaper, Part I is very loosely structured as a series of exposés written by an omniscient narrator beginning on "August 2, 1936" and ending in "Parigi, 1938." The focalization—Gerard Genette's term for the perspective through which an author presents her narrative—shifts between the three adult protagonists, though Brandon Albini privileges Battista's perspective over the others'.[24] The novel evokes the day-to-day realities of the *fuoriusciti* through their experiences and relationships in Paris. Brandon Albini's assertion in the preface that the stories follow "alcune vicende a me note di due o tre personaggi reali" further reinforces the feeling that the novel is based on reality, even if she has taken creative license with the details of the protagonists' stories.[25] The result is that *Il paese in esilio* is something of a survey of the *fuoriusciti* in Paris in the 1930s and the various personal struggles that they faced.

Different from her first novel *Ragazze inquiete*—where Ninni's letters are full of frustration as she tries to understand how to live her life honestly as a member of a social class that feels fake and antiquated to her—*Il paese in esilio* offers up nuanced landscape of the society of *fuoriusciti* in France. The diversity of the protagonists reflects the varied backgrounds of the Italians who found themselves in Paris: Battista is a farmer from Tuscany, Donata is a poor Neapolitan girl who has been raised in Paris, and Giulio is a bourgeois antifascist poet. For Brandon Albini, the choice of characters reflects her own desire to understand what she

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[24] Genette, *Narrative discourse*, 188–89.

[25] Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 6. "a few experiences that I witnessed of two or three real people."

perceived to be the authentic Italian experience, that is the opposite of her own bourgeoisie adolescence.[26] Whereas in *Ragazze inquiete* her protagonist struggled to fulfill her desire for an "authentic" life, in *Il paese in esilio* the characters have no such difficulty because they already are a part of the "vero popolo."

One notable difference between Brandon Albini's first novel and this more mature story is the way the author blurs the distinctions between good/evil, true/false, and family/stranger that had felt so important to her in her youth. She thus creates a story that explores the gray zones of narrative binaries, resulting in a novel of discovery and finding one's place after having transitioned into adulthood. As her protagonists come together to support one another in their loneliness, and as Battista discovers his antifascist political identity, this post-Bildungsroman highlights the continued development that happens after coming of age.

The starkest example of Part I's blurred distinction between good and evil is the story's lack of Fascist characters that could fill the traditional antagonist role. Given Brandon Albini's relief upon her arrival to Paris to be able to profess her antifascism freely, this lack of an allegorical or real "Fascist foe" is somewhat surprising. Despite the fact that the protagonists all fall on an antifascist spectrum—Donata is the most religiously antifascist, Battista is the most passively antifascist—this story does not exclusively follow their political struggle. Indeed, the only fascist character of note in the novel is Donata's mother Giuseppina, a poor Neapolitan woman who moved to France in 1920. She had been seduced as a teenager, and when she became pregnant her brother killed her lover, leaving her to raise her daughter Donata alone. Her

[26] Brandon Albini reflects on her frustrated desire to engage with authentic Italians in the fight against Fascism in Milan, and the barriers her bourgeoisie status created both in her understanding of the world around her and in her expectations for change and revolution in the chapter "Polemiche e torri di avorio" in *La gibigianna*, 83–94.

community's unforgiving judgment became too much for the family to bear, and mother and daughter eventually leave Naples for Paris. Poor and alone in a foreign country, they struggled to make ends meet in their new surroundings. Not until Giuseppina finds a job as a seamstress making uniforms for the Fascist party youth group in Paris do the women finally begin to experience a better life abroad:

> Camicie nere, camicie bianche, giacchettine. Che cosa fossero i fascisti, Giuseppina Spedone che era arrivata a Parigi subito dopo il 1920, non lo sapeva; e sua figlia neppure. Ma alla scuola italiana installata da poco in una baracca grande, nuova, dalle pareti ornate dalle fotografie del re, della regina e del duce si cominciava a spiegare qualcosa ai bambini; Donata ci andava qualche volta, uscendo dalla scuola comunale francese. […] Anche lì, il maestro distribuiva pacchetti di fagioli secchi e di pasta e duecento grammi di zucchero una volta al mese ai ragazzi più assidui e che si erano iscritti al fascio.[27]

This explanation for how Giuseppina became Fascist, and how her daughter Donata started life as a Fascist, muddles the traditional presentation of a literary hero and foe. Rather than Giuseppina representing the hypocrisy and political opposition that Donata and her companions are fighting against, Giuseppina's tragic story of seduction is resolved by finally finding support among the Parisian *fuoriusciti* with, ironically, the help of the foreign Fascist office.

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[27] Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 63–64. "Black shirts, white shirts, tiny jackets. Giuseppina Spedone, who arrived in Paris just after 1920, had no idea what the Fascists were; neither did her daughter. But at the Italian school recently installed in a large, new bunkhouse that had walls ornamented with pictures of the King, Queen and the Duce, they began to explains things to the children; Donata went there sometimes, after her French public school. […] There too, once a month the teachers would pass out sacks of dried beans and pasta and half a pound of sugar to the students who were the most dedicated, and who had signed up with the Fascist party."

Rather than tell a story that can be considered an allegory of the fight between good and evil, Brandon Albini chooses to tell a story that grays out the clear-cut distinctions between the two categories. Consequently, characters who could be set up to be the heroes of the story do not have a great villain to fight against, and therefore never engage in something that can be considered a heroic—or even anti-heroic—act. Donata, Battista, and Giulio are all antifascists, though their self-awareness and dedication to the cause varies from character to character. Donata—whom Battista teases for her antifascist religious zeal—"converted" from her Fascist upbringing when she met her late-husband Francesco. The couple participated regularly in "attività di militanti antifascisti," though there is no particular action or plan in Part I that is integral to Donata's story. Giulio's antifascism is the direct cause of his emigration to France, but his engagement in the antifascist community is limited mostly to his poetry and relationship with Donata. Battista's story is the closest to self-discovery, for he eventually recognizes his moral sense of fairness to be latent antifascism; when he surprises Donata at the celebration for the victory at the Battle of Guadalajara, the two finally put aside their lingering distrust for each other.

The characters' identities as antifascists means that Fascism is an underlying common enemy throughout Part I, but the protagonists' real fight is the fight against isolation; it is a fight to create a sense of family, not against politics or ideology. Battista leaves Tuscany because he cannot bear the reminder of the companionship he had with his daughter while she was still alive; Donata struggles to provide for her family after the death of her husband; Giulio longs to return to his family in Italy but cannot—or will not—because of his father's Fascist connections. Fascism remains the looming evil driving their political actions, but the reality of the community is that in the 1930s there is very little Italian Fascist evil against which they directly focus their

attention. Without a villain, the story loses the traditional narrative binary of good v. evil. Whereas the protagonists' antifascism is an important part of their identities, this is not an antifascist novel per se, because their fight against Fascism is not the central conflict.

In Part I, when Battista arrives in Paris in September 1936, his new surroundings distract him from the painful memories of his deceased daughter, just as he had hoped they would: "—Sono a Parigi!—si diceva ogni tanto, con un risolino imbarazzato, e girava uno sguardo timido, come cercando un'approvazione."[28] The language differences distance him from the reminders of his daughter, though the similarity between French and Italian gloss some of the disorientation that he feels:

> si mise a osservar uno strillone che entrava con un pacco di giornali sotto al braccio: "*Achetez l'Humanité, organe du parti communiste français*". Pochi minuti dopo, ecco un altro strillone: "*Lisez le Populaire, journal du parti socialiste*". Comunista, socialista, ecco finalmente delle parole che capiva anche lui. Strano paese, la Francia; si vendeva tranquillamente roba di quel genere senza rischiar di finire subito in galera.[29]

This mention of political freedom is echoed in Brandon Albini's personal memory of her arrival in France, which she describes in *La Gibigianna*:

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[28] Ibid., 35. "—I'm in Paris!—he told himself every now and then, with a small embarrassed laugh, and timidly looking around as if seeking approval."

[29] Ibid., 34. "He watched a paperboy enter with a stack of newspapers under his arm: '*Achetez l'Humanité, organe du parti communiste français*.' A few minutes later, here's another paperboy: '*Lisez le Populaire, journal du parti socialiste*.' Communist, socialist, finally here are some words that he, too, understood. What a strange country, France; stuff like this being sold calmly without any risk of ending up in jail."

> Potevo leggere qualsiasi giornale e qualsiasi libro, senza temer di venir pedinata dalla polizia; potevo andare alle feste popolari e alle sfilate e, sbalordita, udir parlare in modo semplicissimo di cose ovvie, di quel che in Italia sonava scandalo e spesso prigione. Andavo dicendomi: "Ma dunque, ho sempre avuto ragione io, non sono una pazza, una squilibrata, perché sono antifascista!"[30]

That Battista—who has been an apolitical character in the novel to this point—has been disoriented and displaced in France until he recognizes the political parties in the newspaper tag lines is significant: not only does this foreshadow Battista's eventual self-discovery of his antifascist beliefs, but it also hearkens back to Brandon Albini's own exhilarating arrival in France, and the way her newfound freedom further confirmed the oppression she had felt in her homeland. Her protagonist's reasons for fleeing to France are much different than her own, but for both author and character France offers up a

While Part I celebrates this newfound sense of freedom and belonging, there is also an undercurrent of unease. As the years progress, the optimistic ability to reinvent oneself is increasingly replaced with a sense of foreboding, and the closing scene ends on the rather somber note of imminent war. While sitting with his newly adopted Italian family, Battista hears on the Tour Eiffel radio the song his daughter, Aldagisa, used to sing in Tuscany: "Rivo d'argento, rivo d'oro / l'amore è dolce solo quando è amaro. / E solo tu mi puoi levar la sete / e fosse pur con acqua avvelenata… / Tutte le sorgenti potranno inaridire / ma questo amore non potrà morire. /

[30] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 118. "I could read any newspaper and any book, without fear of being shadowed by the police; I could go to town festivals and demonstrations and, dumbfounded, hear obvious things said in simple ways, things that in Italy would smack of scandal and often prison. I went around telling myself: 'Well then, I was always right, I'm not crazy or unhinged because I'm antifascist!'"

Rivo d'argento, rivo d'oro / l'amore è dolce solo quando è amaro."[31] Whereas before the song was enough to send Battista into blind and furious depression, now as he sits with Vincenzino he listens "come se quel canto fosse un ultimo dono della sosta serena *che sta per finire*."[32]

While much of Part I had been the story of strangers coming together in their isolation abroad, the reappearance of Aldagisa's song hearkens back to the initial trauma of the beginning of the story. Much has changed, and the song does not have the same effect on Battista, but the implication is that the song—which had for so long been a reminder of death and pain—is now a portent of future struggles. Faced with the reality of the impending war, the song takes on a nostalgic quality, suggesting that the pain and suffering it represented will be replaced with more difficult challenges in the near future. The chapter closes with the marker "Parigi, 1938," shortly before Brandon Albini was forced to flee Paris and move to the south of France.

Had Part I been published before it became too risky, *Il paese in esilio* would have been a kind of continuation of *Ragazze inquiete* and *Terra nera*: after the previous autobiographical works, Brandon Albini chose to write a less overtly autobiographical narrative that was still heavily informed by her life and experiences. Part I of *Il paese in esilio* offers a broader perspective on society and individuals' place within it. But as Brandon Albini simultaneously discovered her role as an independent Italian woman in Paris and wrote about the *fuoriusciti* community inspired by the real-life people around her, her narrative and writing were abruptly interrupted by the onset of World War II. The life she had been leading, and the representation of

[31] Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 156–58. "River of silver, river of gold / love is sweet only when it is bitter. / And only you can quench my thirst / even if the water is poisoned… / All of the wells may go dry / but this love can never die. / River of silver, river of gold / love is sweet only when it is bitter.

[32] Ibid., 158. My emphasis. "as if that song were a last gift of the serene break *that was about to end*."

the world in her novel, were both abruptly halted, and any previously conceived conclusion was irrevocably changed by the political realities of wartime France. Unable to publish *Il paese in esilio* because of the war, Brandon Albini kept her copy of the manuscript, though she would not return to it until 1976.

GENDERED BODIES IN MEMORY

Part II of *Il paese in esilio* was written decades after the historical setting of the narrative, based on memories of Brandon Albini's time as a Resistance fighter in the south of France. By the time of publication in 1978, Brandon Albini had lived through several political movements, including French second-wave feminism and the Italian student protests (by the "'68 generation") and *anni di piombo* (Years of Lead) from the late sixties to the eighties.[33] The author's experiences throughout these important historical moments are implicit throughout the text, with Brandon Albini giving particular attention to her female protagonist's body stories, as well as an increased atmosphere of violence saturating the narrative. The addition of this second story constitutes an extensive self-revision: Part II—which Brandon Albini refers to in the novel's preface as "semplicemente la continuazione dei miei ricordi"—challenges the tempered optimism of Part I,

[33] Claudio Fogu's essay on the Italian political memory of Fascist history explains the evolution of Italy's remembrance and representation of the Fascist period. Specifically, Fogu argues that the prevalent tendency after the war was to gloss over the Fascist *venennio* in preference of remembering the Resistance *biennio*, thereby erasing the popularity and widespread acceptance of Fascism and focusing on the Italian Resistance against the Nazi-Fascist forces. As the '68 generation student protests began to challenge this interpretation, the violence of the Resistance and the Fascist period began to receive more and more attention, resulting in documentaries and historical inquiries that shifted the narrative of the Fascist period away from the redeeming qualities of the Resistance and towards a reckoning with the violence and oppression that surrounded Fascism. "*Italiani brava gente*: The Legacy of Fascist Historical Culture on Italian Politics of Memory," in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, ed. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, and Claudio Fogu (Duke University Press, 2006), 147–76.

and the pairing creates a more balanced recollection of both the horrors of war and the beauty of people coming together to support each other in their time of need.[34]

Had Brandon Albini published *Il paese in esilio* in 1939 when she intended too, it could have been considered an authentic representation of her milieu in France. However, after her experiences in the unoccupied zone during World War II and in the decades that followed, Brandon Albini's understanding of what it meant to be a woman in exile changed. Consequently, Part I only represented a part of what made up Brandon Albini's formative experience as a *fuoriuscita*. Since the two sections' plots are notably disparate, with none of the characters from Part I appearing in Part II and no real continuation or connection between the stories, the question then becomes: why add an additional story to what was, ostensibly, a completed novel? What compelled Brandon Albini to self-revise the overall message of *Il paese in esilio* with the addition of Part II, and how does the addition of the second story influence our interpretation of Part I?

The new story begins shortly after the chronological end of Part I, but focuses on new characters and a new story line. Rather, *Nella Francia del sud, 1940–1943* introduces Luigi and Jeanne, a young couple who met through their shared syndicalist work in Paris, but who were forced to flee to Toulouse after the Nazis occupied the north. Forced to take on service positions in a hotel despite their previous work as political activists, they both struggle with the uncertainty of living in unoccupied France at the mercy of the police. Jeanne worries for Luigi's safety, as he is still searching out his antifascist colleagues dispersed throughout the south of France. Additionally, his foreign status makes it impossible for him to claim legal residency or employment, increasing his vulnerability with the police. Luigi is ultimately forced to quit his

[34] Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 6. "a simple continuation of my memories."

job at the hotel for lack of valid working papers, and he begins to take various odd jobs around the city to make ends meet. Despite continued efforts, he is unable to reconnect with his Communist colleagues in the south of France. Jeanne becomes pregnant, and decides it is time to focus on survival rather than continued political activism. Luigi seems ready to give up his role in the Resistance as well, and dedicate himself to his growing family, but he is arrested over a trivial matter in the market, which leads to his imprisonment in a concentration camp. When he is able to escape, he can no longer return to Jeanne or Toulouse, and instead connects with the clandestine antifascists in Marseilles. He becomes the director of an antifascist newspaper—his previous profession in Paris—and throws himself into the work. It is not until he receives a telegram announcing the delivery of his son that he returns to Toulouse. Unfortunately, he arrives at his old apartment only in time to say good bye to Jeanne, who is dying from childbed fever; he is too late to meet his son who died from malnourishment just days before. Broken and numb from pain, Luigi throws himself back into his antifascist work, only to be imprisoned months before the war's end. Part II ends with Luigi being sent back to Italy after the Liberation, full of uncertainty over his future, but also primed to continue dedicating himself to "the cause," whatever that may be.

Given the profound differences between Part I and Part II, one compelling explanation for the addition of this new story is that when Brandon Albini returned to her novel in the 1970s and began to revise it for publication, Part I no longer sufficed to account for her memories and understanding of her experiences as a *fuoriuscita*. In light of her subsequent intellectual development and evolving political, cultural, and ideological context over four decades, the story of discovery and interconnectedness presented in Part I was only a partial representation of Brandon Albini's interpretation of the *fuoriuscita* experience. Indeed, in *La gibigianna*, Brandon

Albini reflects the profound difference between her memories of Paris from those early prewar years, and her reaction to Paris in the 1970s:

> Quella Parigi scoperta da me nel '36 si colora, oggi ancora, nel ricordo, di toni preziosi e incantati. La Parigi in cui vivo tuttora non è la stessa cosa. Era, a quei tempi, l'illuminazione della grazia, l'innamoramento, la scoperta della libertà. Alcune immagini si stagliano, ritte alle soglie di quegli anni.[35]

The difference between Brandon Albini's memories of Paris and her present relationship with the city strike a parallel to the differences between Part I and Part II. When she returned to *Il paese in esilio*, after having had to abandon "il mio scritto in un cassetto," she was returning to a text that had been written during the period of "l'illuminazione della grazia, l'innamoramento, la scoperta della libertà."[36] But by this point Brandon Albini had lived in France for nearly forty years; her memories of her experiences as a *fuoriuscita* (which was a very different experience than her subsequent status as an Italian émigré) were now influenced by all that had happened after that initial period of discovery and freedom. Part I was written during a time in her life when her view of Paris was fresh and new, Part II was instead the product of a worldview that had matured beyond that initial optimism.

Part II is more explicitly autobiographical, pulling from personal memories of her and her husband's time in the south of France (the same period Vera Modigliani called *esilio nell'esilio*). The overlap in the fictional narrative and Brandon Albini's personal history highlights the ways

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[35] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 117. "The Paris that I discovered in '36 still to this day embellishes my memories with precious and enchanted tones. The Paris in which I live now is not the same thing. It was, in those days, the illumination of grace, falling in love, discovering liberty. A few images stand out, erect at the threshold of those years."

[36] Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 5. "abandon my writing in a drawer."

in which Part II is a story based on Brandon Albini's most salient memories of her experience. For example, in *La gibigianna* an entire chapter is dedicated to Brandon Albini's memories of the period that is the inspiration for Part II.[37] In "Tolosa," she remembers the various jobs and activities she and Pierre took on in Toulouse to make ends meet, and to deflect attention away from Pierre's work establishing Resistance newspapers throughout the south of France. Some details, including working in a hotel and transporting vegetables from the country by bike, are direct parallels to Jeanne and Luigi's jobs in *Il paese in esilio*. Those memories, however, are also put into play in the text through the filter of historical context and prevailing societal discourses, meaning that intervening three decades have altered Brandon Albini's interpretation of the time.

Of particular interest is the way that Brandon Albini's addition of Part II updates Part I's presentation of the *fuoriuscita* experience, offering a more specific representation of the different challenges and dangers that existed for women and men. Similar in some ways to Joyce Lussu's self-revision process in *Fronti e frontiere*, reasons for the updated portrayal of women include the fact that Part II was written in France during the 1970s; Brandon Albini had been living in France for close to four decades, and had witnessed the rise of French feminist thought. The narrative therefore evokes memories of the 1940s, but through the filter of the author's experiences up through the 1970s. Differently from Part I's choral narrative, Part II is more focused on just one male and one female character. This reduction in protagonists allows Brandon Albini to focalize her narrative through Jeanne, and in turn give particular attention to

[37] *La gibigianna*, 150–64.

Jeanne's body stories.[38] These body stories—which emphasize the ways in which Jeanne was in double peril, both from the war and from the risks that are unique to women—create a representation of women that is different from that in Part I. While Luigi is at risk as a poor foreigner who has ties to the antifascist rebels, danger for him is ultimately political in nature. For Jeanne, the political perils of her ideas and actions are compounded by her body's inherent dangers: unsolicited attraction from men, pregnancy, and childbirth under duress. The exclusive focalization on the two characters allows Brandon Albini to highlight the ways in which Jeanne's experience as a woman created unique challenges and dangers, along with misconceptions, from which Luigi's male body protected him.

Brandon Albini's attention to Jeanne's body stories is also a reflection of self-awareness of her own conflicting relationship with femininity and womanhood. In *La gibigianna*, written around the same time as Part II, Brandon Albini frequently returns to the theme of gender expectations. The warring desires to grow up to be a beautiful and refined woman like her mother, while simultaneously being as daring and free as her brother, continued throughout adulthood: "io ero in parte ancora la Maria che si sentiva contenta quando zia Gingiulla le diceva, a sette anni 'Sei tanto femminile'; eppure ero anche quell'altra, che ruggiva di rabbia di dover, sul viale del giardino, far pipì accucciata per terra a non in piedi come un uomo libero."[39]

[38] The term "body story" comes from Davies's study of the influence of bodily experiences on memory in the workplace. She explains, "What I mean by body story is a narrative that related how female bodies (or male bodies) are constructed or understood in work situations." Here the concept of body story is not limited to just work situations, but rather encompasses the ways that Jeanne's bodily experiences are narrated both at work and in private. "Body Memories and Doing Gender: Remembering the Past and Interpreting the Present in Order to Change the Future," in *Time and Memory*, ed. Michael Crawford, Paul Harris, and Jo Alyson Parker (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 61.

[39] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 78. "I was partly still the Maria that felt happy when aunt Gingiulla told her, at seven years old 'You're so feminine'; and yet I was also that other Maria,

These two particular scenes from her childhood—Brandon Albini writes—stood out throughout her life as emblematic of the dueling identities she longed to act out:

> Queste due scene in apparente contrasto galleggiano ancora, nette, stagliate in piena luce in mezzo alla ovattata semicoscienza dei ricordi; divennero, nella mia formazione ulteriore, una specie di calamita per sentimenti ed energie spirituali di varia origine. Attorno a loro, si elaborarono tutte le forze di autodifesa dell'adolescente, il mio volermi credere insolente, fortissima, il contrasto tra gli atteggiamenti "virili", e un fondo, inconfessato desiderio di abbandono femmineo.[40]

By the 1970s Brandon Albini's had lived through decades of changing gender expectations in Italy and France, including the influential years of first and second wave French feminism. This self-awareness of these different influences in her own complicated relationship with femininity and expected gender roles is also evidenced by her desire to redress the missing element from her novel as she had written it in the 1930s by adding Part II.

One of Jeanne's first scenes in the story immediately highlights how her female body—a body that is not presented as overtly sexual, and which Jeanne does not generally consider beautiful or desirable—creates additional risk in her unstable environment:

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who roared with rage at having to pee crouched low to the ground on the grassy boulevard, and not standing up like a free man."

[40] Ibid., 37. "These two apparently contradictory scenes are still afloat, clear, standing out in full light among the cocooned semi-consciousness of memories; they became, in my later formative years, a kind of magnet for feelings and spiritual energy from various origins. All of my forces of adolescent self-defense formed around them: my desire to believe myself to be insolent, strong, the counter of 'virile' attitudes, and my deep, unconfessed desire for feminine abandon."

> — Avanti — disse la voce deferente del numero quindici. — Jeanne posò il vassoio del caffè sul comodino. Il numero quindi ebbe un risolino chioccio:
>
> — Mi rincresce di farmi servire da una signora come voi. Si capisce subito che non siete fatta per stare in questo albergo.
>
> Il vecchio ammiccava tra le palpebre gonfie, rosicchiate e cispose. Si avvicinò a Jeanne che girò attorno al letto, e corse verso la porta. Ma il vecchio l'aveva già chiusa con una spallata e aveva costretto Jeanne contro il muro. Dietro la testa, una schifosa testa di polipo della bocca ventosa, la parete pareva insopportabilmente leziosa, coi suoi fiorellini gialli e lo sfondo celeste. Jeanne ficcò un pugno in quella gelatina, lo affondò, poi ebbe l'impressione di ritirarlo a fatica, come se fosse impegolato. E uscì.[41]

Jeanne's unfamiliarity with maid work—her perceived status as "una signora"—marks her as an outsider at the hotel, where her position puts her in regular contact with wealthy guests. Whereas in Paris Jeanne was a confident and independent woman, the destabilizing factors of her displacement to Toulouse, compounded with the economic uncertainty that comes with having to take a job as a maid, increase her sense of uncertainty and fear. Jeanne's fear of rape and harm functions as a literary transposition of the inherent danger Brandon Albini experienced in occupied France.

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[41] Brandon Albini, *Il paese in esilio*, 197. "—Come in—said the deferential voice from number fifteen.—Jeanne put the coffee tray on the night stand. Number fifteen clucked out a laugh: —I regret being served by a lady such as yourself. You can see right away that you aren't made for this hotel. The old man winked his swollen eyelids, ragged and bleary-eyed. He drew near to Jeanne who circled the bed and ran to the door. But the old man had already shouldered it shut and pushed Jeanne against the wall. Behind his head, a disgusting octopus head with a suction cup mouth, the walls seemed unbearably simpering, with their small yellow flowers and a light blue background. Jeanne shoved a fist into the gelatinous mass and it sank in, then it felt like she was only able to pull it out with great effort, as if it were stuck. And she left."

Gone is Jeanne's hard-won safety as an independent woman, replaced instead with the malevolent objectification of the men around her. Even those men who do not attempt to rape her still subject her to their paternalistic gaze. The sense of continual objectification of her body is coupled with her reduced social status:

> Le occhiate degli uomini, allegre e provocanti, quando si posavano su di lei [Henriette], diventavano ostili, quasi minacciose, quando si rivolgevano a Jeanne.
>
> — Appena il tuo Luigi non ci vede, ti guardiamo come ci pare e piace; smorfiosa! Sei una serva anche tu, come noi. Ti immagini di essere una dama parigina? — dicevano le occhiate insolenti.[42]

Jeanne's bodily autonomy is taken away by the men's stares and can only be protected in the presence of Luigi, a necessity for a male protector that had not existed prior to Jeanne coming to Toulouse. The reality of Jeanne's decreased social status translates into increased male hostility; she is most vulnerable in her body at the time when her traditional defenses—status, economic independence, familiarity with her surroundings—have all been taken from her by the realities of war. Luigi has suffered a nearly identical loss, but the consequences of his new reality do not carry the same day-to-day risk of bodily harm.

The most gendered body story in Part II follows Jeanne's pregnancy and childbirth. Beyond the medical risks of having a child, the unplanned pregnancy creates unique problems for a couple in exile in 1941: "Se avessimo un bambino, noi due—pensò [Luigi]—sarebbe un bell'innesto. Un figlio? Che responsabilità! Sono un militante. Non posso, non debbo fondare

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[42] Ibid., 194–95. "The men's eyes, happy and provocative when they looked at her [Henriette], became hostile, almost threatening, when they looked at Jeanne. Their eyes said—As soon as Luigi can't see us, we'll look at you how we want and how we like; flirt! You're a servant like us. You think you're a Parisian lady?"

una famiglia."[43] For Luigi, the difficulty of having a child lies in the impossibility of continuing his activist lifestyle, while also supporting his family with his regular presence. It is a valid fear, and when Jeanne does become pregnant Luigi is forced to flee Toulouse to avoid capture by the police, leaving Jeanne to take care of herself for the majority of the pregnancy.

When Jeanne tells Luigi that she is pregnant, his fears remain despite her insistence that he should continue his work with the Resistance: "Guardò Jeanne e fu come se la scena che stavano vivendo perdesse i suoi nitidi contorni. Gli parve che il viso di lei si deformasse in un pianto disperato."[44] Luigi's thoughts and fears about childbirth remain external events and hypotheticals that will have an effect on his life but that do not represent particular danger to his person. For Jeanne, the experience is profoundly interconnected with her own experiences of self, a difference that Brandon Albini highlights through her focus on Jeanne's bodily experiences. From the baby's first kicks—"Jeanne sentiva dentro di sé come un frullo d'ali; era il quarto mese. […] Si sentiva felice, quasi onnipotente."[45]—to the start of her labor, Jeanne's narrative focuses on the bodily experience of her pregnancy:

> Le doglie avevano sorpreso Jeanne il 23 dicembre sera. Da parecchie settimane attendeva quel momento, fantasticandoci sopra, immaginandosi mille particolari,

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[43] In an interesting parallel, the peril of having a child during a war ultimately led to Joyce and Emilio Lussu deciding to terminate their first pregnancy, and event that became a profound personal story in many of her autobiographical narratives, but which was intentionally left out of her war memoir *Fronti e frontiere.* Ibid., 210. "'If we had a child, the two of us—[Luigi] thought—it would be an unwelcomed addition. A child? What a responsibility! I'm a militant. I can't, I mustn't start a family."

[44] Ibid., 236. "He looked at Jeanne and it was as if the scene he was living had lost its clear definition. It seemed to him that her face was contorting in a desperate scream."

[45] Ibid., 254. "Jeanne felt a flutter of wings inside her; it was the fourth month. […] She felt happy, almost omnipotent."

> la nascita, l'allattamento, poi l'arrivo di Luigi. Non voleva vedere le difficoltà.
>
> Quella sera, tutt'a un tratto, mentre stava cenando, sentì qualcosa scivolarle, umidiccio, lungo le cosce. —Ecco il sintomo indicato dal dottore: si sono rotte le acque.—[46]

While Jeanne reacts to the damp trickle of her water breaking calmly, when the actual contractions begin Jeanne's body is overwhelmed by the pain: "Ma appena sul pianerotto, un dolore improvviso le si abbarbicò alle reni."[47] Brandon Albini's specific attention to the physicality of Jeanne's labor continues the intimate description, reinforcing the perception that Jeanne's body exists as both a part of her, but also as a source of abuse:

> Poi Jeanne perse la coscienza del tempo; Secunda, la levatrice, Madame Lascat andavano e venivano. Tutta la sua attenzione era concentrata in quel punto della schiena dove le doglie a intervalli di qualche secondo, saettavano, sempre più fitte, come se una mano scotesse un tronco per farne cadere i frutti. La levatrice ritmava gli sforzi di Jeanne, stringendole la mano.[48]

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[46] Ibid., 268. "The contractions had surprised Jeanne the evening of December 23. For several weeks she had waited for that moment, imagining it and the thousands of details, the birth, breast feeding, and then Luigi's arrival. She didn't want to see any problems. That evening, all at once while she was having dinner, she felt something moist slide down her thighs. —Here's the symptom the doctor indicated: my water broke.—"

[47] Ibid. "As soon as she got to the landing, a sudden pain clung to her kidneys."

[48] Ibid., 268–69. "Then Jeanne lost track of time; Secunda, the midwife, Madame Lascat came and went. All of her attention was on that point in her back where the contractions struck, every few seconds, increasingly stronger, as if a hand was whacking the trunk of a tree to make the fruit fall down. The midwife kept time of Jeanne's pushes, squeezing her hand."

Once again, Jeanne's sense of time is distorted by her bodily experience and her focus narrows to where she is fully aware only of the specific points of pain or contact: the small of her back from where the contractions radiate out, and her hand held by the midwife.

Eventually the doctor is called because of the worry that Jeanne's labor is going on too long, and as exhaustion and pain threaten to make her lose consciousness, she fights to regain her senses:

> —Voglio rimaner sveglia, cosciente, capire come nasce il mio bambino—pensò Jeanne, impuntandosi. Scorse ancora una volta il profilo della donna come a traverso una lastra di vetro, poi, più niente. Una pietra le cadde sull'addome; si sentì urlare. —Mi fracassate la pancia.—Grida, torpore e oggetti, e la luce stessa svanirono in un silenzio vuoto. […] Ve lo abbiamo tirato fuori col forcipe —ammonì la levatrice.[49]

The violence of her delivery and the admonishment from the midwife distort the otherwise joyful occasion of the birth of her son. When she regains consciousness and takes stock of her body, "Jeanne si toccò il ventre; era vuoto, piatto, tutto bendato. Si sentì come saccheggiata; finita l'esistenza sotterranea e indolente, la fusione tra lei e il bimbo, la sua complicità di mamma-canguro."[50] The birth has left her body hollow and bandaged, damaged by the very process that she had longed for weeks to experience. While Brandon Albini has already foreshadowed that

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[49] Ibid., 270. "—I want to stay awake, aware, to understand how many baby is born—Jeanne thought, digging her heals in. She caught sight of the woman's profile again, as if through a plate of glass, and then nothing. A stone fell on her abdomen; she heard herself scream. —You're smashing my stomach.—Shouts, numbness, objects, even the light disappears into an empty silence. […] We had to pull him out with the forceps—the midwife scolded.

[50] Ibid., 270–71. "Jeanne touched her womb; it was empty, flat, completely bandaged. She felt ransacked; the hidden, indolent existence was over, the connection between her and the baby finished, along with her understanding of a mama kangaroo."

Jeanne will not survive, the focus on Jeanne's body story and the violence of her son's birth reinforce her vulnerability as a woman exiled from her home.

This more complex representation of a woman's identity and experiences differs from the framing of the novel's only other female protagonist, Donata in Part I. Much of Donata's development focuses on her transition from an unaware child to an engaged antifascist. Any commentary on her experiences as a woman—falling in love, being a daughter and mother, for example—is filtered first through her role as an antifascist activist. She is first introduced in the novel as a widowed mother, and becomes a daughter figure for Battista, but her actions and agency throughout the story revolve around her economic struggles and her relationship to the other protagonists. The character is presented as a dedicated antifascist whose experiences as a mother and daughter do not interfere with her political identity.

Jeanne instead, is a modern, independent and political woman, whose choices in life are guided in part by a desire to be self-reliant, partly in reaction to the unique threats that exist towards women and women's bodies:

> A sedici anni [Jeanne] aveva trovato un post di serva a Tréguier; nelle ore serali, seguì un corso di dattilografia e stenografia. Aveva rifiutato di sposare un marinaio dell'Ile Grande, Stéphane Bodeveur, che tra un viaggio e l'altro veniva a trovarla. […] A vent'anni era partita per Parigi dove si era impiegata in una ditta di tessuti. Ma anche lì, c'erano uomini che parevano occupati soltanto a sedurre le donne sole, a sorprendere le debolezze e a beffarsene subito dopo. Un po' per paura, un po' per angoscia, Jeanne si era lasciata sposare a ventidue anni dal suo capufficio, un brav'uomo un po' maturo che prometteva di "proteggerla" e di volerle bene. Ma il marito si stancò presto di quella donna cocciuta, silenziosa,

> frigida e melanconica per la quale l'amore fisico era un dovere insipido e pesante. Divorziò dopo un anno, risposandosi l'anno seguente con un'altra collega. Jeanne s'era promessa di "star in piedi da sola", di non domandare mai più aiuto a un uomo. […] Trovò un impiego al sindacato della C.G.T.: un nuovo mondo le si aprì, a poco a poco.[51]

Having grown up an orphan, Jeanne is motivated to educate herself and find a job after her friend Valérie—another orphan, and a minor—is removed from her foster home after becoming pregnant. The community shuns the girl, telling Jeanne to remember that "le ragazze madri sono come pecore rognose, qui da noi!"[52] For Jeanne, the experience served to fuel her desire for independence, a goal that is challenging to achieve because of the continued threat from the men around her. Only after divorcing herself from a loveless marriage is Jeanne able to truly pursue her life on her own terms, and live "solitaria e serena, tutta presa dalle lotte operaie strenue e difficili."[53]

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[51] Ibid., 208. "At sixteen years old [Jeanne] had found a job as a server in Tréguier; in the evenings she took a typing and stenography class. She had refused to marry a sailor from Ile Grande, Stéphane Bodeveur, who came to visit her between his trips. […] At twenty she had left for Paris where she found a job in a fabric company. But even there, there were men who only seemed to care about seducing the single women, only to be surprised by their weakness and ridicule them after. At twenty-two, a bit out of fear, a bit out of distress, Jeanne allowed herself to marry her boss, a good man a bit older who promised to 'protect her' and to love her. But her husband soon tired of his stubborn, silent, cold, and gloomy wife to whom physical love was a dull and difficult chore. They divorced after a year, and the following year he married a coworker. Jeanne promised herself to 'stay on her own two feet,' to never ask for help from a man again. […] She found a job at the C.G.T's labor union: a new world opened itself to her, slowly but surely.

[52] Ibid. "Single mothers are like mangy goats for us!"

[53] Ibid., 207. "alone and serene, caught up in the strenuous and difficult class struggles."

The tragic deaths of Jeanne and her baby symbolize the destructive nature of war, which interferes with a woman's natural ability to care for her child: when Jeanne's malnutrition stops her milk production, the doctor begins to prescribe a series of milks and milk substitutes (fresh, powdered, canned, condensed) in the hopes that the baby will take to them, if they can be found. Once again, Jeanne's peril in her exiled state—her displacement from her home and her job, which created safety and allowed her to provide for herself—is exacerbated by her womanhood, for rather than needing to care for herself, as she had strived to do for many years, she must also care for the baby. The circumstances are too challenging for her to succeed.

There is also a clue in the text that suggests that Jeanne and her son's tragic deaths are a reference to the real-life death of Brandon Albini's younger sister Carla. Throughout the story, Luigi and Jeanne refer to each other as "Ninin," a term of endearment explained to be from Luigi's childhood in Italy. As Brandon Albini remembers in *La gibigianna*, "Ninin" was the name of Carla's most beloved doll as a child. As Brandon Albini fondly recalls, the girls' father gave the doll to Carla one Christmas, and it quickly "divenne l'idolo della piccolina. Ci dormiva assieme, se lo portava a spasso nella carrozzina dalla quale aveva espulso tutte le bambole."[54] As Carla cared for the doll, she would pretend to nurse it, mimicking the action of offering it first one breast, then "la passava dall'altra parte, per dare al suo 'Ninin' la seconda mammella turgida di latte."[55]

Brandon Albini's sister, who was five years her junior, had died of heart disease in April 1943. It took some time for the news to reach Brandon Albini in France, and when it did it was a

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[54] Brandon Albini, *La gibigianna*, 39. "it became the young girl's idol. They slept together, she took it around with her in the carriage, from which all the other dolls had been removed."

[55] Ibid. "she passed it to the other side, to give her 'Ninin' the second breast swollen with milk."

devastating shock. Despite being incredibly close as children, the sisters had seen each other only occasionally after her move to Paris in 1938.[56] Had publication of *Il paese in esilio* not already been halted by the onset of the war and the Brandon Albinis' clandestine activities in the south of France, it is likely that this familial tragedy would have given the author pause before deciding to publish her life writing. Indeed, the death of Brandon Albini's sister during the war is one of the more devastating events for her, and likely a strong influence on the violent and tragic tone of Part II. For much of Part II Jeanne's character is largely autobiographical, and many of her experiences are inspired by the author's real-life activities, which Brandon Albini recounts in the first person in *La gibigianna*. The character Jeanne's death is a notable exception, and an irrevocable tragedy in Brandon Albini's novel, finally completing the narrative of the author's experiences as a *fuoriuscita*.

CONCLUSION

Brandon Albini's career as a writer began, in its most nascent form, when she was still a young girl in Robbiate: many of her fantastic and mythical memories in *La gibigianna* revolve around the intricate games she and her siblings would play on their property, invented with elaborate stories that the children would create based on the most recent news reports. Storytelling also functioned as a comfort for young Maria as she struggled to reconcile her childhood desires with reality. One such instance stands out in Brandon Albini's memory: the day of her first communion. The family was raised catholic at their mother's insistence, and her aunt Gingiulla was a devoutly religious woman. Brandon Albini describes the events of this important religious

[56] The chapter entitled "Amicizia" briefly reflects on the beginning of Carla and Maria's friendship during their teen years. Ibid., 80–82.

milestone in *La gibigianna*, and she remembers her anticipation and excitement leading up to the ceremony, for her aunt had described her first communion as "il più bel giorno della vita." She recalls fervently hoping to experience the connection with God that her aunt believed in, but between the day's constant rain and the rushed procession, it becomes clear that there would be no such epiphany:

> Appena smise di piovere, mi arrampicai in cima alla mia pianta preferita, mi sedetti davanti alla mia "bicocca da *Birichino di Papà*" (una specie di tavola fatta di due assi inchiodati, con uno scaffale sotto, opera mia e di Franco) e mi raccontai la storia di un "vero più bel giorno della mia vita", di una "vera prima comunione" con tanto di estasi mistiche e di rivelazioni paradisiache, insomma una favola bella quanto quella narratami da zia Gingiulla e dalla suora. Il ricordo della delusione fu così sepolto sotto alle fantasticherie, correzione ed evasione del fallimento di quella giornata, come una mano di calce nasconde le macchie di umido su di un muro. In realtà il ricordo pieno di amarezza tornò a galla più tardi.[57]

This memory of using narrative to ease the pain of a difficult experience was written in the late 1970s, shortly after Brandon Albini published *Il paese in esilio*. The memory—which stands out in the author's mind many decades after the fact—touches on the power of narrative to work

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[57] Ibid., 30–31. "As soon as it stopped raining I climbed to the top of my favorite plant, I sat in front of my 'Naughty Imp's hovel' (a type of table made from two boards nailed together, with a shelf below, that Franco and I had constructed) an I told myself the story of a 'true most beautiful day of my life,' of a 'true first communion' with a lot of mystic ecstasy and heavenly revelations, basically a fairy tale as beautiful as the one my aunt Gingiulla and the nuns told me. That was how I buried the memory of my delusion under fantasies, correction of and evasion from the failure of the day, the same way a layer of lime hides the water stains on a wall. In truth, the bitter memory resurfaced later."

through difficult experiences, but also reiterates how Brandon Albini would continue to turn to narrative and story telling throughout her life as a way to understand or better interpret the world around her. While storytelling's reprieve is short lived, the brief solace is welcomed and creates a space in which Brandon Albini is able to create alternative narratives. Her childhood desire for solace evolves to an adolescent exploration of coming-of-age (*Ragazze inquiete*) and, in *Il paese in esilio*, a self-reflective exploration of the world and community around her (Part I) and her own experience of traumatic events (Part II).

Il paese in esilio's unique path to publication makes it a text that is not only deeply influenced by the author's own experiences—and therefore uniquely representative of a *fuoriuscita*'s experience— but it is also a story that reflects the realities of war within the narrative. The onset of World War II literally divides Part I's focus on family, interconnectedness, and renewal, and replaces it with Part II's story of struggle and death. Forced to live apart from her family in exile, Brandon Albini lost the opportunity to say goodbye to her sister, whose death marked an indelible difference between Brandon Albini's pre- and post-war life. The two narratives together create a unique novel in two episodes that mimics the cyclical nature of death and renewal, but also demonstrates how war upends the cycle and creates a period of destruction out of sync with the natural order. Within each story life continues despite the surrounding death, but the two stories can never be connected to each other because they are divided by the terrible realities of war.

Brandon Albini and her husband did return to Paris after the end of the war, but they were never able to fully recover that which had been taken from them. Materially, Brandon Albini's connection to her past life was stolen: "tornammo a Parigi, senza soldi, senza, casa, malati dalle fatiche e dagli stenti. La Gestapo aveva, come dissi, portato via tutti i mobili di Pierre e anche

tutti i miei libri, i miei album di famiglia e i miei diari dai dieci anni in poi, insomma i cimeli dei miei ricordi dall'infanzia alla piena giovinezza."[58] Brandon Albini's separation from the past is reflected by the loss of her mementos, and when she returns to *Il paese in esilio*— a draft of a novel that served as a literary memento of her early life in Paris and had survived the destruction of the war—she fittingly chooses to amend her story of antifascist resistance. In the 1930s the freedom in France that allowed Battista's passive, apolitical resistance to coexist with Donata's religious antifascism represented a level of personal liberty that many felt was missing in Italy. After World War II and the postwar years, Brandon Albini's experience as a *fuoriuscita* had expanded to include the violence of war, and the uncertainty of clandestine life. After the delay in publishing, had Brandon Albini published the original draft of *Il paese in esilio*—that is, just Part I—it would have been a novel that only represented half of the world, or half of *il paese* that she experienced and discovered. While Part II is more similar to many other war memoirs and novels of the '60s and '70s that focus on the violence and atrocities of the Nazis and Fascists, Brandon Albini chose to also include her original novel of the pre-war period. In this way, Part II can be read as an implicit amendment to Part I, a continuation of memories as the author states in the preface, and a completion of sorts, but also a re-evaluation of a period marked by incredible changes of fortune.

The two stories together transfigure the violence and oppression of the Fascist *ventennio*: in Part I Brandon Albini counters the oppression and censorship she experienced in both bourgeoisie Milanese society and Fascist Italy with a story of self-discovery and

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[58] Ibid., 173. "We returned to Paris, without money, without a house, sick from our struggles and our effort. The Gestapo had, like I said, taken all of Pierre's furniture and also all of my books, my family photo albums, and my diaries form when I was ten years old on, so every memento of my memories from childhood to adolescence."

interconnectedness among a group of lonely *fuoriusciti*; in Part II she cathartically expunges the violence of Fascism, war, Nazism, and the death of her sister through a semi-autobiographical story. By amending her novel, Brandon Albini is able to convey the nuanced experience of the time: the work, the danger, the personal sacrifice, and the Resistance.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I have attempted to establish the preliminary framework for a typology of Italian women's exile literature in the Fascist period. Because of the autobiographical nature of the works taken into consideration, it would be difficult to contextualize the narratives taken into consideration here without a clear understanding the experiences of the *fuoriusciti* in France, and how their activities related back to the Fascist regime's actions and success. The historical overview I provide in Chapter 1 was therefore necessary to grasp the environment that served as the background for Lussu, Modigliani, and Brandon Albini's narratives, and informed their experiences.

For the authors in this study, the desire to explore and understand their place in society and, in turn, reaffirm and establish their identities within the larger Italian context is a driving factor throughout their life writing.[1] The authors' Italian identity—which was challenged when they left Italy and began to live their lives of exile in France—was recuperated (in Joyce Lussu's case), reinforced (in Vera Modigliani's case) or rediscovered (in Brandon Albini's case).

By first analyzing Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere*, I demonstrated the ways in which the author carefully constructed her exile narrative, reinterpreting her own experiences and shaping her identity through her narrative constructions. Lussu's *Fronti e frontiere* offers unique insight into the author's evolving sense of self, and her revisions to the text long after her exile ended reflect the interplay between memory and identity. Lussu's experience as a female agent of GL is

[1] In his article "Narrative Identity," Paul Ricoeur outlines the notion of an "identity to which a human being has access thanks to the mediation of the narrative function." "Narrative Identity," 73.

highly personal, and she employs her skill as a writer to present a specific version of her self to her reader. Yet *Fronti e frontiere* is an exemplary text of exile literature that highlights the author's belief that women and men are inherently equal. Unfortunately, Lussu's prolific career as a writer has been largely marginalized from literary and historical scholarship, and it is only recently that she has begun to receive the attention she deserves. I hope this dissertation will help to introduce Anglophone scholars to her important written and political work.

Vera Modigliani has also been largely forgotten, despite the initial popular success of *Esilio* and her continued involvement in socialist circles. While some scholars are dismissive of her more traditional approach to marriage and gender roles, I have argued that Modigliani's text should be read as an emerging feminist account for several reasons. Firstly, because Modigliani's *Esilio* is unusual in its approach to the events of the period, with the narrative told through the experiences and interpretation of a woman who lived through some of its historic events. Secondly, Modigliani gives space to the often-forgotten characters of this era—the wives, daughters, and sisters—interweaving them naturally into her narrative. While she assumes something of a modest tone in her memoirs (in contrast to Lussu's more assertive conviction that men and women are equal) her experiences during her exile are historically significant because of her documentarian position within the *fuoriuscito* community. Vera was present throughout Giuseppe's political activities, and she developed close relationships with many of the most prominent antifascists abroad; her collection of memories therefore offers a detailed "who's who" of the *fuoriusciti*. *Esilio* is an ambitious text that spans twenty years in one narrative, and her proximity to one of the most important antifascist political exile leaders adds an intimate perspective to the events of that era.

Finally, Maria Brandon Albini's novels, while focused on fictional characters and stories, are highly autobiographical and trace her personal development both politically and as an Italian woman. She is unique among the authors here in that she chose to remain in France after it became possible for her to return to Italy; her path therefore represents a somewhat fluid relationship with the state of exile, as she gradually transitioned from *fuoriuscita* to *émigrée*.

A few reoccurring characteristics stand out to suggest a possible typology of women's exile literature for this time. Specifically, the predominant use of life writing connects all three authors: Joyce Lussu carefully constructs the version of her life that she puts on display in *Fronti e frontiere*; Vera Modigliani creates the semblance of an exile diary; and Albini's fictional novel is highly influenced by her lived experiences.

Additionally, the three authors all chose to write narratives that exemplify the continuous interplay between the act of narration and memory, identity, and the passage of time. Their years in exile made up a profoundly important period in their lives, and their experiences as *fuoriuscite* become reoccurring themes in their writing. All three authors chose to address their experiences through writing either during or immediately after their exile, and significantly both Lussu and Brandon Albini returned to their wartime experiences much later in their literary careers. Indeed, Lussu's experience as a *fuoriuscita* became one of the predominant life stories throughout her *oeuvre*.

Lussu's revisions to her memoir reveal the ongoing narrative development of a life story through time, while Modigliani's blending of past and present reflection is problematized by the narrative reflections on her precarious situation. Modigliani navigates the tension between remembered narrative interpretation and contemporaneous narrative creation. Brandon Albini's

text—with the clear division between the stories and their disconnected plots—is possibly the most explicit in the way it reveals the influence of the passage of time on narrative and memory.

The etymological history of "narrative" encompasses both the act of telling and the act of knowing, because the act of narrating is the act of communicating a story, or a set of knowledge, to another person or group.[2] Many would argue that in order to tell a story, you must know it, but Modigliani's simulacrum diary demonstrates that telling or narrating can also facilitate understanding and knowing.

Lussu and Brandon Albini both knew their stories when they sat down to write them retrospectively, and it is important that they chose to tell them. Their contributions offer alternative interpretations of the experience of *fuoriuscitismo*, and add women's perspectives to the dominant discourse. Unfortunately, these texts have received little attention and recognition and the authors' decision to create a narrative space for themselves and their experiences has been challenged by the anonymity of time.

This study has focused on the writings of *fuoriuscite* who were predominantly located in France. Looking forward, there is still much work to be done on the writings of other Italian women who were exiled during the Fascist period. Patrizia Gabrielli's *Col freddo nel cuore* has extensively covered the letters and journals of the *fuoriusciti*, but the literary production of this varied and important group has yet to be explored.

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[2] Karen Davies notes that "The interconnected nature of narrative is present in its etymological roots: the word narrative comes from the Indo-European root 'gna,' which means both 'to tell' and 'to know.' In feminist terms, narrative provides the opportunity to tell 'another story'—a story that questions the 'master narrative.'" "Body Memories and Doing Gender," 57. Davies references Lewis P Hinchman and Sandra Hinchman, *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997).

Additionally, the *fuoriusciti* travelled extensively throughout the world, with communities throughout Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as in Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil. For example, Felicita Ferrero wrote extensively about her experiences in the Soviet Union, and her unique perspective on life as a Communist woman exile is rich with potential for academic investigation. Life writing is a predominant mode in her work as well, further confirming the importance of this mode of writing within the category of exile literature. An in depth study of the exile literature produced by women in these different localities could yield unique insights into the range of cultural identities of the *fuoriuscite* and the role of gendered perspectives in *fuoriusciti*'s writing.

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