edited by

Silvia Ross, Claire Honess

IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN TUSCANY

FIRENZE UNIVERSITY PRESS

STUDI E SAGGI

– 147 –

STUDI DI ITALIANISTICA MODERNA E CONTEMPORANEA
NEL MONDO ANGLOFONO

STUDIES IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY *ITALIANISTICA*
IN THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD

Titoli pubblicati / Published Titles

Francese J., *Leonardo Sciascia e la funzione sociale degli intellettuali*
Rosengarten F., *Through Partisan Eyes. My Friendships, Literary Education, and Political Encounters in Italy (1956-2013). With Sidelights on My Experiences in the United States, France, and the Soviet Union*
Ferrara M.E., *Il realismo teatrale nella narrativa del Novecento: Vittorini, Pasolini, Calvino*
Francese J., *Vincenzo Consolo: gli anni de «l'Unità» (1992-2012), ovvero la poetica della colpa-espiazione*
Bilenchi R., *The Conservatory of Santa Teresa*
Ross S. and Honess C. (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*

Identity and Conflict in Tuscany

edited by
Silvia Ross
Claire Honess

FIRENZE UNIVERSITY PRESS
2015

Identity and Conflict in Tuscany / edited by Claire Honess, Silvia Ross. – Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2015.
(Studi e saggi ; 147)

http://digital.casalini.it/9788866558620

ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print)
ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online PDF)
ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

Progetto grafico di Alberto Pizarro Fernández, Pagina Maestra snc

Peer Review Process
All publications are submitted to an external refereeing process under the responsibility of the FUP Editorial Board and the Scientific Committees of the individual series. The works published in the FUP catalogue are evaluated and approved by the Editorial Board of the publishing house. For a more detailed description of the refereeing process we refer to the official documents published on the website and in the online catalogue of the FUP (www.fupress.com).

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Università degli Studi di Firenze
Firenze University Press
Borgo Albizi, 28, 50122 Firenze, Italy
www.fupress.com
Printed in Italy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Publication of this volume of selected essays has been financed by the publications grant of the National University of Ireland and the Publication Fund of the College of Arts, Celtic Studies and Social Sciences, University College Cork, for which the editors are truly grateful. The forum within which this collection was initiated was an international, interdisciplinary conference held on 13 May 2013, at University College Cork, and the project has since developed into an international research network on the new field of "Tuscan Studies." Papers presented at the original conference were from a wide array of disciplines, including literature, history, film, music, art history, archival studies, and photography. The conference programme and abstracts can be accessed at: http://www.ucc.ie/en/italian/conferences/identityandconflictintuscany/. The editors also wish to acknowledge the support of the Strategic Research fund of the Office of the Vice-President for Research and Innovation, University College Cork, which provided generous support for the "Identity and Conflict in Tuscany" project and the development of the "Tuscan Studies" network; of the Department of Italian (UCC); of the Society for Italian Studies; and the School of Languages, Cultures and Societies (Leeds University). Without the support of these various bodies this project would not have reached fruition. Finally, the editors would like to express their gratitude to Dr Simone Lomartire for his timely and meticulous support, which has been greatly and to Joseph Francese, for his constant encouragement of the project.

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

INTRODUCTION: IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN TUSCANY

Silvia Ross and Claire Honess

Despite the prevailing image of Tuscany as the idealized cradle of the Renaissance, the region has also been characterized by a less positive portrayal: as the architectural and geographical embodiment of conflict and factionalism. Since the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Tuscan city states and their outlying territories have witnessed acute political clashes, such as those that characterized the reign of the Medici. Dante's *Commedia*, to mention the most notable example, provides the paradigmatic literary depiction of Florentine conflict, in the poet's insistence on the internecine clashes between Guelfs and Ghibellines, Blacks and Whites (see, for example, Honess, 2006), a trope on which generations of writers after him continue to capitalize, to a wide variety of ends.

In the last century, Tuscany experienced conflict on its terrain as a direct result of World War II, where battles between Allies and partisans and the forces of Nazi-Fascism were played out in Florence's neighborhoods, with the city occupied on its north side and liberated south of the Arno. Florence's spatial configuration as divided city thus resurfaces particularly strongly in this period, as films like Rossellini's *Paisà* have so aptly illustrated (see Marcus, 1999). Furthermore, demographic conflicts have characterized and still characterize Tuscan landscapes in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries: one need only think of the Roma camps on Florence's outskirts, or the Chinese community in Prato, to see that tensions between so-called autochthonous and non-autochthonous populations endure in Tuscany.

This interdisciplinary volume of essays is the result of a collaborative project which traces the concepts of identity and conflict in the regional space of Tuscany. It focuses on the period from the nineteenth century to the present, to illustrate the ways in which Tuscan conflicts emerge according to different modern and contemporary contexts, and the important role that identity formation plays in regional representations. The various contributions examine conflict in terms of outright war, but also as a form of struggle between different demographic groups or indeed conflict based on identity politics. In so doing, they also address key concepts relevant to society today: the interplay between conflict and identity and how clashes between opposing identities are negotiated and represented in the humanities. Finally, the volume analyzes the question of region within the

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

national and global contexts, using the renowned Region of Tuscany as a case study for a consideration of these questions. Thus, the collection represents a targeted exploration of the theme of identity and conflict in the context of Tuscan Studies, an exploration that is enriched by the diverse disciplinary perspectives (history, literature, linguistics) it encompasses.

Identity

The term identity has assumed ever-greater importance since the 1980s, with critical theorists devoting enormous attention to the question from a variety of perspectives (sociological, philosophical, political, literary etc.). While our understanding of identity has deepened and expanded greatly with these developments in critical thought, a result of this increased attention is that the term identity has proliferated in academic discourse to such an extent that at times it risks becoming an empty signifier. As Demmers puts it, "Identity is one of the most popular buzzwords of our times. It is one of those container concepts that everyone refers to" (2012: 19). That said, and despite the fact that the expression has become more and more difficult to define, critical theory has greatly enriched, not to say problematized, our conceptualization of identity. We now recognize that identity is not fixed but rather hybrid, to use Bhabha's term (2004). Furthermore, we know that an individual can inhabit multiple identities, none of which is necessarily exclusive of any of the others (Sen, 2006). More recently, theorists have also posited that identity is a process, something that can change continuously, both within an individual or within a group (Dhaliwal, cited by Nealon, 1998: 5).

Moreover, identity applies to a variety of categories, such as gender, sexuality, race, nationality, class, age, (dis)ability, language, religion, among others. Sen, for example, argues against the "solitarist" approach to human identity, which "sees human beings as members of exactly one group," noting that "a solitarist approach can be a good way of misunderstanding nearly everyone in the world. In our normal lives, we see ourselves as members of a variety of groups – we belong to all of them" (2006: xii). Thus, cognizant of the fact that identity cannot be locked down to one particular category, the essays in this collection examine identity from a multiplicity of perspectives. While some of the contributions concern a presumed regional (namely, Tuscan) or even local identity, others instead focus on how, for instance, gender identity, linguistic identity or ethnic and national identity are lived, embodied and enacted in the modern and contemporary Tuscan context.

However, theorists and critics have pointed out that this fascination with the concept of identity has not necessarily led to tangible benefits in terms of mutual understanding or improvement of circumstances, in particular for those deemed as Others. Nealon, for instance, takes issue with critical theory's positing identity as strictly connected to the concept of

difference and its reliance on otherness in order to define itself. According to Nealon, "this redescribed theoretical and practical realization of alterity's necessity is not only identity politics' success, but also paradoxically its failure: identity politics' *theoretical success* (the realization that difference grounds sameness) belies its inevitable *social or political failure*" (1998: 4). Moreover, Nealon asks, "why hasn't the postmodern realization of difference's necessity led to an increased social respect and tolerance?" (1998: 7).

Conflict

Nealon's question hits the nail on the head with regard to the ramifications of identity theory. Indeed, certain theories on conflict have analyzed the role played by identity – whether rigidly defined or invented – in cultural clashes, violence between groups and, in extreme cases, war. Sen observes that "violence is promoted by the cultivation of a sense of inevitability about some allegedly unique – often belligerent – identity that we are supposed to have and which apparently makes extensive demands on us […]. The imposition of an allegedly unique identity is often a crucial component of the 'martial art' of fomenting sectarian confrontation" (2006: xiii). What Sen is cautioning against here could be termed the reification of identity, that is, the "process during which a putative identity is turned into something hard, unchangeable and absolute" (Demmers, 2012: 27).

Arielli and Scotto, along similar lines, explain how cultures rely on difference in order to create cultural identity for political purposes:

> Lo scopo della creazione di identità consiste nel rispondere a questioni fondamentali come: «Chi siamo?» (come definire le persone che appartengono alla nazione), «Chi *non* siamo?» (chi è necessario escludere per non mettere a repentaglio l'identità nazionale), «Qual è il nostro territorio?», «Qual è il nostro nemico primario?» […] tutte questioni cariche di conseguenze politiche. La reazione ai processi di modernizzazione e globalizzazione (cioè all'assunzione dei modelli occidentali) ha risvegliato in più casi l'appello al recupero dei valori tradizionali di una cultura e al riacquisto di una identità politica e culturale unica, anche là dove prima non esisteva: nuove identità vengono create (o 'immaginate', inventate) come supporto etico e ideologico per le rivendicazioni di autonomia e indipendenza dagli influssi esterni (155).

The two Italian conflict theorists point out the mechanisms and dangers of constructed cultural identity, of its reification and invention for political purposes. Furthermore, conflict can be either overt, as is the case of violence between groups or organizations, leading even to outright war, or instead structural, as seen in the inequalities, prejudice and tensions experienced by ethnic Others.

Tuscany

Tuscany is by no means immune to the kinds of identity dynamics and conflict scenarios described above and can thus serve as a lens through which to examine these problematics. The region undoubtedly holds a special place in the Italian and foreign imaginary. As the birthplace of the *tre corone* – Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio –, and other major cultural figures of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Giotto; Brunelleschi; Lorenzo de' Medici; Poliziano; Botticelli; Leonardo; Machiavelli; Michelangelo; Galileo, and the list goes on), Tuscany has enjoyed an especially privileged position as an economic and cultural center.[1] This artistic and cultural inheritance in turn resulted in its linguistic dominance in terms of the standardization of the Italian idiom, and also led to its being the capital of the barely-unified Italian nation in the period 1865-70. For these and other reasons, it can be argued that Tuscany holds a metonymical function with respect to Italy as a nation: due to its cultural significance, this region can be seen as representative of the entire country.

Given its cultural, historical and artistic magnitude, Tuscany has also been a prime site for visitors for well over two centuries, starting in the days of the Grand Tour. In 2014, Florence in fact emerged as number one destination in the *Condé Nast* travel magazine survey of top destinations in the world.[2] In addition, Tuscany's renowned countryside and its agricultural practices such as those involved in the production of olive oil and wine, have contributed to its attractiveness for Italian and foreign visitors alike.

Alongside this glorious artistic and rural heritage and the inevitable influx of capital that is part and parcel of the region's success as a tourist destination,[3] Tuscany also encompasses other, less magnificent, sectors, such as its highly developed industry, including the steelworks in Piombino, the oil refineries in Livorno, and the leather factories of the Arno valley. Moreover, the non-Italians who arrive in Tuscany are not solely those on brief holidays or foreign university students on language courses, but increasingly include a wide range of nationalities who have settled in the area. The Anglo-American community in Florence for instance is long-standing and has been the subject of many stories, texts and films (e.g. *Stealing Beauty*, 1996; *Tea with Mussolini*, 1999). Recent changes in demography have seen Romanians, for example, settling in Tuscany and

[1] For more on Tuscany as privileged literary locus in modern and contemporary Italian and English-language writers, see Ross (2010).

[2] <http://www.cntraveler.com/galleries/2014-10-20/top-25-cities-in-the-world-readers-choice-awards-2014/25> (10/15).

[3] Both Verdicchio (2001) and D'Eramo (2014) have however flagged the museification of Tuscan cities and towns, a risk that is run by extremely popular heritage tourist destinations.

comprising the largest non-Italian group in the region,[4] and Chinese immigrants arriving in Florence, and especially Prato. Thus Tuscany, while symbolizing the glories of the past, of medieval and Renaissance culture, regularly encounters questions of identity and conflict in an all-too-contemporary context.

Tuscan identities, Tuscan conflicts

The essays in this volume seek to address the kinds of identity and conflict issues touched on above. Anne O'Connor's piece, which opens the collection, explores a literary representation of nineteenth-century struggles for Unification in a novel by Massimo d'Azeglio. O'Connor's essay examines how d'Azeglio attempted to use historical novels to advance the Italian national discourse during the nineteenth century. Specifically, it analyzes d'Azeglio's overlooked historical novel, *Niccolò de' Lapi* (1841), set in a turbulent and war-torn sixteenth-century Tuscany. D'Azeglio's decision to present an old story for a new people was both successful and pointed: it contained common Risorgimento narratives such as suffering, danger and repression and also an exaltation of individual and collective struggle in defense of the community. The novel aimed, through historical example, to convince its readers of the contemporary need for sacrifice, conflict and heroism. Thus O'Connor illustrates how d'Azeglio used the conflicts of sixteenth-century Tuscany in order to form the Italian national character and fulfill his notion of how Italians could be made.

Sharon Wood addresses the period shortly after Italian Unification and draws on the city of Florence as the setting for the feminist novel, *Avanti il divorzio* (1902), by Anna Franchi, in order to investigate gender conflict in Tuscany. *Avanti il divorzio*, a thinly fictionalized account of Franchi's own disastrous experience of marriage, was written within the space of two months in support of the latest (failed) attempt to bring divorce onto the statute books in Italy. While this text details the squalor of venereal disease, violence and coercion within the marital home, it also confronts the impact of rigid canonical and civil law on children as well as women. Conflict, and Anna's marital odyssey, with its devastating consequences are, in this text, painfully explored within the variegated context of Tuscany, intersecting with the spaces and places (natural, artistic, legal) of city, town and countryside. While natural landscapes may bring some comfort, the political histories of towns and their part in Risorgimento struggles intersect with Anna's own social and legal battles. Domestic and theatrical space offer alternative ways of constituting female identity, while scenes within two of the great churches of the Florentine past, Santa Croce and Santa Maria del Fiore, spaces which represent the high point

[4] See <http://www.comuni-italiani.it/09/statistiche/stranieri.html> (10/15).

of human aesthetic (rather than religious) endeavor, are the sites which witness the utter hypocrisy of a society in thrall to the vested interests of civil and canonical law.

The next essay, by Niamh Cullen, also concerns female identity, but in the post-war Tuscan rural context. Using material gathered from the Archivio Nazionale del Diario (Pieve Santo Stefano, Tuscany), this study uses the memoirs of ordinary Tuscan women to examine the experiences of coming-of-age in the 1950s and 1960s, when the so-called Economic Miracle was changing Italian society in rapid and far reaching ways. Rural Italians in particular experienced huge upheaval during this period as migration changed both individual lives and the landscapes and villages that were left behind by migrants. In the 1960s, tourism also began to transform rural Italy, including coastal Tuscany, rapidly opening up previously forgotten villages to visitors from Italy and abroad, commercialism and prosperity. Cullen's analysis focuses on one sample personal narrative: the diary of Laura Massini, born in the province of Grosseto in 1930, whose childhood was that of a typical struggling peasant family in late fascist and war-time Italy. Her adolescence and young adulthood saw her struggle to forge her life-path and identity as a woman, between poverty, some hints of 'modern' commercial culture, and family. After working as a seasonal migrant in Genoa in the early years of her marriage, she finally saw her own village transformed by tourism, reaching a standard of living unthinkable in her childhood. Paying particular attention to questions of subjectivity and memory, Cullen examines the meanings of place, gender and identity in such a life-narrative.

Francesca Biliotti and Silvia Calamai draw on primary sources of a different kind, to examine Tuscan linguistic identity and the related questions of conflict as experienced by individuals and groups in the Second World War and after. The authors draw on material collected under the auspices of the *Grammo-foni. Le soffitte della voce* project,[5] which aims to discover, digitize, catalogue, and partially transcribe oral documents (e.g. oral biographies, ethnotexts, linguistic questionnaires, and oral literature) collected in Tuscany (Calamai, 2012), a region as rich in sound documents (Andreini and Clemente, 2007) as it is in paper ones (Petrucci, 1994). For Biliotti and Calamai, sound archives function as an important (but neglected) resource for understanding the dynamics of identity and conflict in Tuscany, at least from the 1940s on, and their essay focuses on three case studies from the *Gra.fo* sound archives, each of which casts a different light on the dynamics of identity and conflict in Tuscany, and each of which refers to an archive which is particularly significant for such issues. Thus, the first example illustrates historical conflicts (specifically the relationships between British Prisoners of War and those who helped them in the area around Prato after the Armistice of September 1943); the

[5] *Gra.fo: Grammo-foni*: <http://grafo.sns.it/> (10/15).

second examines social conflict (specifically the experience of Aretine migrants to Switzerland, France, Germany, and Belgium in the second half of the twentieth century); while the third concerns linguistic conflict (in particular, the opposition between the Romagnol dialect and the dialect of Florence in the so-called Romagna Toscana).

Identity and alterity in the contemporary sphere come to the fore in Ross's study of the representation of the Roma community, located outside Florence, in Tabucchi's *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento: Vivere da Rom a Firenze* (1999). Tabucchi's short text, which combines personal reflection and reportage, contrasts Florence's reputation as the cradle of the Renaissance and its capitalization on this image for commercial purposes, with the plight of the marginalized Roma living in camps on Florence's outskirts. Drawing on theories of identity, alterity and violence and language, this essay examines how Tabucchi, while clearly attempting to champion the cause of the disenfranchised Roma, also in certain instances links them with images of abjection. Working with the notion of spaces of exclusion (Sibley, 1995; Cresswell, 2004) and ethnic alterity, Ross analyzes Tabucchi's depiction of the nomadic community and its neglect on the part of Florentine authorities, whereby this liminal space or becomes emblematic of ethnic and socio-economic oppression in this instance of systemic conflict in the Tuscan context. While attempting to dispel common misconceptions about Roma, Tabucchi indicts the rhetoric of Florence as Renaissance capital employed by politicians and the media and thus subverts the figure of the Medicean city. Nonetheless, Tabucchi on occasion resorts to generalizations about Florentine character and attitudes, despite his mindfully highlighting the local/outsider opposition common to anti-Roma propaganda and his awareness of the dangers of stereotyping. What is perhaps even more paradoxical is that proportionately more of Tabucchi's text is devoted to a condemnation of Florence's local government and its lavish spending on frivolous events, than on the actual Roma community itself or on facilitating the voice of its members. Thus, Ross posits that his text, despite its laudable aims, ultimately re-inscribes the Roma community as the subaltern.

Class conflict and the dynamic between humans and nature characterize Enrico Cesaretti's essay which examines Silvia Avallone's acclaimed *Acciaio* (2010), a novel which narrates the struggling friendship, complicated existence, and coming-of-age of Anna and Francesca, two teenage girls who live in a working class neighborhood in the industrial coastal town of Piombino, near the Lucchini steel plant where most of their blue-collar older friends and relatives work. It tells the stories of human bodies who grow, love, suffer, struggle and die, but also of nonhuman matter (iron, steel) that is created, transformed and then lives a parallel co-existence in the same environment (or, better, natural-cultural continuum). More in particular, as its title and plot suggest, the novel also deals with the close relationship and reciprocal interferences between human beings (their selves and bodies) and nonhuman matter, be it inorganic, like the iron

ore and the machines the workers use to produce steel, or organic, like the animals, plants and shells the girls find on a beach near the plant site. This chapter builds on some of the theoretical postulates and methodological insights provided by ecocriticism's recent "material turn," that is, focusing on the novel's representations of the encounters "between people-materialities and thing-materialities" (Bennett, 2010: x), of "a space in which the human actors are still there but […] inextricably entangled with the nonhuman" (Pickering, 1995: 26), and, in short, of a situation in which "bodies, substances […] organisms, landscapes" (Iovino and Oppermann, 2012: 450) are interlaced and collectively and "trans-corporeally" share agency (Alaimo, 2010: 9). Thus, its aim is to suggest that Avallone's novel not only presents a radically alternative vision of (at least a section of) Tuscany's famed Etruscan Coast, but also hints at the sort of posthuman political ecology that seems to regulate this particular landscape. Taking this unusual Tuscan territory as an example, Avallone's bioregional text provides a template for understanding ongoing dynamics in many other Piombinos, be they nearby in Tuscany (such as the Solvay soda-ash plant in Rosignano), elsewhere in Italy, or all around the globe.

Claire Buckley's essay on Marco De Franchi's crime novel, *La Carne e il Sangue* (2008), explores the fictionalized portrayal of another form of conflict, namely terrorism, in 1990s Tuscany. Buckley contends that militant women tend to be sensationalized or vilified by the media, frequently depicted as being doubly deviant; first, for committing a crime against the state, and, second, for having transgressed the boundaries of acceptable female behavior. Similarly, in literary portrayals of militant women, there is the tendency to emphasize *exceptionality*, rather than an attempt to examine whether the women may be rational actors. Marco De Franchi chooses an alternative approach in his text, focusing on *commonality*, rather than *exceptionality,* in his depiction of the terrorist, Lucia. Serena, a police investigator in charge of this case, continues to ponder what she would do if she were in Lucia's shoes. Lucia, wife to Stefano and loving mother to nine-year-old Valerio, works as a nurse in a hospital in Florence and appears to lead a 'normal' middle-class life. However, unbeknownst to both her husband and son, she is also an active member of a left-wing terrorist group, slipping into the role of "Federica," her alter ego, when called to action. While attempting to keep her two identities separate, a blurring of Lucia's two roles takes place. In her chapter, Buckley analyzes the character of Lucia, and examines her role as a liminal figure who navigates the space between woman and terrorist. Drawing on studies of women's participation in global violence, she enquires whether the author, in seeking out overlap, rather than difference, manages to undermine the reductive woman/terrorist dualism. Using spatial theory, she also examines the author's treatment of Tuscan places as a means of delineating his protagonist's psychological state.

The volume's final essay, by Giulia De Dominicis, concerns changing demographies and identity conflicts in the contemporary Tuscan sphere

as portrayed in recent literary texts which address the enormous socio-economic transformations underway in Prato and Forte dei Marmi. Prato, a city historically tied to the success of its textile sector – one of the largest and most famous in Europe but in crisis for at least ten years – finds itself having to face the explosion of a parallel and non-communicative network of companies (which specialize in fast fashion), founded and run by Chinese immigrants. This is a world unto itself, one which is averse to rules and immune to the effects of the recession, and for this reason has unleashed a lethal blow to the economy of Prato, to the point that many local businesses have had to close their factories. In the second example, Russian buyers have conquered Forte dei Marmi's property market, a trend which has provoked a price hike so sharp that more and more residents are abandoning their homes and moving to the outskirts. How is identity changing in these places? What are the responsibilities of the inhabitants? And what are their reactions to an us/them dynamic which from local *campanilismo* has shifted to a contrast between cultures? De Dominicis attempts to answer these questions through the works of two Italian writers who have experienced these changes directly and have become witnesses to them: Edoardo Nesi (Prato, 1964), author of *Storia della mia gente* (Bompiani 2010, Premio Strega 2011) and Fabio Genovesi (Forte dei Marmi, 1974), author of *Morte dei Marmi* (Laterza, 2012).

Taken as a whole, then, this volume presents and examines a series of identities based on region, nation, gender, language, and ethnicity, all within the historical context that ranges from an Italy undergoing Unification, to World War II, to the Economic Miracle, to present-day concerns such as changing demographies and shifting migratory patterns. The diverse studies that it contains depict Tuscan conflicts (both manifest and systemic) from a number of viewpoints, ranging from the historical, to the linguistic, to the literary, painting a Tuscany which is neither resort nor monument, but a varied, disputed, changing and developing region, open to a multitude of interpretations and approaches.

WAR, VIRTUE AND MOBILIZATION IN THE RISORGIMENTO: MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO'S *NICCOLÒ DE' LAPI*

Anne O'Connor

In 1841 Massimo d'Azeglio, the nineteenth-century politician, painter and novelist, published his second novel which was entitled *Niccolò de' Lapi*. In this classic Risorgimento tale, set in the sixteenth century, the author tells the story of the Lapi family during the turbulent years of 1527-1530 in Tuscany. The struggles that took place at this time in Tuscany, culminating in the famous siege of Florence in 1530, are for Massimo d'Azeglio a perfect launching pad for his ideas on virtue and duty; the qualities that he identifies in sixteenth-century Tuscans (and in particular the Lapi family) are presented as inspirational for subsequent generations of Italians in whom such qualities are deemed to be deficient. D'Azeglio deliberately set his novel in a time of war in the Tuscan region famed for its factionalism, in order to issue a rallying call to the nineteenth century for greater unity amongst Italians. The Tuscan location also allowed d'Azeglio to explore Tuscany's history of independence and defiance, exemplified by the sixteenth-century events, as a means of finding inspirational examples for later generations. *Niccolò de' Lapi* thus aimed to advance the Italian national discourse during the nineteenth century and the choice by d'Azeglio of his Tuscan topic was both successful and pointed: it contained common Risorgimento narratives such as suffering, danger and repression and also an exaltation of individual and collective struggle in defence of the community.[1] The novel sought, through the historical example of former events in Tuscany, to convince of the contemporary need for sacrifice, conflict and heroism.

Set in the years between 1527 and 1530, the work focuses mainly on the siege of Florence of 1530 when a small republican city and its Tuscan territories faced the mighty powers of Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII who wished to regain the city for the Medici. The story of the siege was a classic David and Goliath tale, and the defence of the city was of particular significance to nineteenth-century patriots as it involved a popular movement fighting against foreign forces faced with seemingly insurmountable difficulties. D'Azeglio's first novel, *Ettore Fi-*

[1] On key tropes of the Risorgimento novel, see Gigante and Vanden Berghe (2011).

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

eramosca (1833), had also been set in a time of war and had as its centerpiece a duel between Italian and French forces.[2] *Niccolò de' Lapi* develops on this form of narrative and rhetoric by using the historical example of previous battles to prepare Italians for future conflict during the Risorgimento. In contrast to *Ettore Fieramosca,* the second novel is much darker in its themes and dilemmas and delves more deeply and at length into the notion of sacrifice and death.[3] In particular, d'Azeglio highlights certain virtues and attributes which connect with key nineteenth century concepts in patriotic discourse: kinship, sanctity and honor (Banti, 2000). These concepts were central to the Risorgimento and through *Niccolò de' Lapi,* the author interweaves these nineteenth-century concerns into his narrative. Lucy Riall has observed that a "common theme of Risorgimento narratives and political rhetoric is suffering and danger – a hero betrayed, a virgin dishonored, a land oppressed by foreign tyranny – and with this threat comes an equal emphasis on the redemptive power of courage, rebellion and martyrdom" (Riall, 2007: 25). These concerns are incorporated by d'Azeglio into his novel, making it an archetype of Risorgimento fiction.

By setting his novel in war-torn Tuscany, d'Azeglio was able to privilege themes which would have a patriotic appeal – the defiant hero, the valiant struggle, the virtuous death. The iconography resounded with aspirations for a new Italy. It was important that d'Azeglio chose a story which was ultimately one of defeat (the Florentines lost the siege) as this echoed with nineteenth-century setbacks. Furthermore, the strengthened emotions surrounding defeat spoke to the nineteenth-century romantic sensibilities. Suffering, death and defeat had an iconographic potency which d'Azeglio harnessed for his novel. It is also significant that d'Azeglio wrote about war in his novel rather than other elements of Tuscany's history. The cultural/artistic story of the region is well known but for the nineteenth-century writer, the militaristic emphasis better reflected the endowments desired in Italians in the later century. This is best illustrated in the novel in the figure of Michelangelo who appears as a character in *Niccolò de' Lapi* not as an artist but instead as a military architectural strategist.

Setting the historical novel in a time of war served d'Azeglio's aim to stimulate participation and emulation in the nineteenth century and to create a canon of heroes and martyrs for that era. As Riall has noted "The association of national identity with war and masculine virility is not unusual […] the military provided a bridge between abstract public ideals of the nation, on the one hand, and models of personal behavior and gender roles, on the other" (Riall, 2012: 154). This can be clearly seen in d'Azeglio's

[2] Riall claims that d'Azeglio's first novel, *Ettore Fieramosca,* is one of the most emblematic of all Risorgimento stories (2008:168).

[3] De Sanctis in his commentary on the novel said of it, "Qui domina un'aria fosca, la quale fa contrasto a quella fresca e viva del primo romanzo" (1954: 303).

descriptions of two important characters in the novel: Francesco Ferruccio and Lamberto (de' Lapi). The latter, the adopted son of Niccolò, possesses we are told, every possible virtue, from physical prowess to exemplary moral fibre which had been combined with an excellent education in the Lapi household (d'Azeglio, 1895 (1841): 101).[4] Early in the story, Lamberto leaves Florence to become a soldier and the narrative follows him in his military exploits, from his initial escapades enrolling with Giovanni delle Bande Nere, to his participation in naval battles with Filippino Doria. These scenes are described with verve and at length by d'Azeglio.[5] Even though they do not directly relate to the historical events in Tuscany in 1530, Lamberto's military exploits before he returns to Florence for the siege are considered crucial to the novel. Through these descriptions, the author creates a character who can provide a model of personal behavior for nineteenth-century Italians; in Lamberto, d'Azeglio provides an example of the virtuous hero, one who is willing to risk his life, his love, everything for the cause in which he passionately believes.

Franceso Ferruccio fulfils a similar role in the novel: the famous captain of the Florentine troops who died in Gavinana near Pistoia during the siege is presented as the ultimate martyr and hero. In a classic case of the romantic interest in the dying hero, Ferruccio's death in the novel is both noble and defiant – the manner of his death is also a cause of anger and indignation, two powerful emotions to be drawn from the events of the siege. The affective dimension of the writing is not to be underestimated and Ferruccio's courage and valor made him a prototype which could be used for the benefit of nineteenth-century character formation (O'Connor, 2008: 57-63; Petrizzo, 2013). These literary prototypes of virile, noble men were important as they were designed to impact on the character of the nineteenth-century Italians. The well-used accusations of Italian indolence and degeneration in the nineteenth century (Patriarca, 2005, 2010), both amongst national and international commentators, made this a matter of some urgency for those who, like d'Azeglio, wished for a virile, virtuous Italian nation. The depiction of Lamberto and Ferruccio in the novel must therefore be seen as a pointed choice which aimed to enhance, through example, the national character.[6]

Whereas Ferruccio and Lamberto serve in particular in the novel to highlight the importance of military prowess and virtue, the main char-

[4] De Sanctis said of Lamberto, "[…] è ciò di più puro, di più nobile, di più grande può concepire un poeta volendo idealizzare un uomo" (1954: 304).

[5] Marshall claims that d'Azeglio is "at his best in depicting scenes of swift action" in his novels (1966: 67).

[6] Gigante has noted that "[…] d'Azeglio si cimenta nell'impresa romanzesca per una questione "d'onor nazionale," che appare intimamente legata non solo, sul piano dei contenuti, ai sentimenti cavallereschi di cui il suo romanzo è pieno […] ma all'idea di riforma del carattere degli Italiani, che è il *Leitmotiv* di molti suoi scritti pubblici e privati" (2011b: 91).

acter of the book, Niccolò, fulfils another function, namely the elaboration of the thematic of sacrifice and martyrdom. Niccolò loses four sons to the defence of Florence and is himself executed after all his attempts to fight for the Florentine Republic have failed. The novel opens and closes with a funeral; in the opening chapter of the book, Niccolò is described at the funeral of his second son:

> […] colla fronte alta, la faccia serena, e la mente tutta assorta in Dio, al quale offeriva non solo la vita di questi due figli, che teneva per martiri, ma quella degli altri ancor vivi, e la sua, purchè salvasse Firenze (d'Azeglio, 1895: 14).

When Niccolò is executed at the end of the novel he faces his death serenely and d'Azeglio draws heavily on the iconography of religious martyrdom to create a scene of pathos. Niccolò was a follower of Savonarola and throughout the novel, his devotion to his religion sustains his belief. There is a flowing of concepts in the book between the religious, military and domestic worlds and sacrifice is a key theme that emerges in all of these realms. Savonarola had sacrificed his life for his religion; the Lapi family will sacrifice everything in defence of the city; and finally, religion sustains the characters and provides them with the strength to continue their doomed resistance.[7]

The interrelationship of key Risorgimento concepts in the novel is also evident in the bonds displayed between family and patria. For the Lapi family, the patria is but an extension of the family and the bonds that tie families to each other such as love, shared experiences and kinship, extend to the wider horizon of the army. Domestic emotions are transferred to patriotic realm and throughout d'Azeglio's novel, he moves seamlessly between betrayal of the family and betrayal of the patria; threats to the family and threats to the patria. For the Lapi family, there is no distinction between the domestic and the national. Love spills and flows between the two. Suffering, danger, repression, sacrifice, conflict, heroism, exile are to be endured by soldiers and family members alike. After the death of his brother, Niccolò's youngest child, Bindo, a boy of 15, joins the defence of the city. In an emotionally-charged scene, Niccolò says to his son: "Ascoltami, Bindo! Sappi che d'or in poi questi (additando il capitano) è tuo padre. Questa (additando la bandiera) è casa tua. Costoro (additando i soldati) i tuoi fratelli" (d'Azeglio, 1895: 35).

The ties that would link Bindo to the Florentine army were the same ties that linked him to his family. This contrasts strongly with the mercenary model of military organisation (which was in fact very common in the period in which the novel was set). D'Azeglio chooses instead to focus on the volunteer who fights for a cause in which he believes and to which

[7] On martyrdom in the Risorgimento see Riall (2010: 255-87).

he is emotionally linked and this choice must be clearly seen in a nineteenth-century context.[8]

National mobilisation was a key element of the success of the Risorgimento and the ability to convince people to risk everything in the cause of Italian unity, to volunteer to fight for the Italian cause, was a central concern of nationalists. There have been wide-ranging discussions on how this national mobilisation was achieved but one of the most compelling arguments made recently has been that of Alberto Banti, who points to a Risorgimento canon that forms the "core of a 'national-patriotic' discourse" (Banti, 2000).[9] The historian argues that through key texts, a canon of deep images were created for the Italian people which ultimately helped in the national mobilisation (2000: 53). Banti has claimed that through people such as Manzoni, Guerrazzi, d'Azeglio and Hayez, both patriots and the wider reading public discovered a national community and a common past, with an appeal which was all the more potent because it was heard in novels, paintings and songs. For Banti there is a single continuum which ties the images, metaphors and narratives of these texts to the national-patriotic discourse of Risorgimento politics. The nation is a community established by the bonds of affection, nature, kinship and history. Opposing this view, Laven has argued that "[…] when popular insurrections broke out in 1848, those on the barricades were not prompted by reading Foscolo or looking at the canvases of Hayez, or even an artistic engagement with Dante" (Laven, 2006: 257). However, I would argue that d'Azeglio's novel does indeed pave the way for involvement in popular insurrection by providing examples, models of behavior and emotional tension. In *Niccolò de' Lapi*, d'Azeglio presents a family with a dilemma similar to that of nineteenth-century patriots: whether to risk everything for a cause in which they passionately believe or whether to save themselves. They choose the former option, and in exploring the emotional and personal impact of their actions, d'Azeglio shows his nineteenth-century readers how it was indeed possible to risk everything for a love of patria. The war is used to furnish examples of virile behavior, of sacrifice and of bravery, and the backdrop of the siege provides tension and an emotional setting where passions are increased and people's characters are put to the test. The novel gave examples, showed precedents, highlighted the passions and sacrifices of previous generations in the hope of galvanizing the emotions and character of nineteenth-century contemporaries. D'Azeglio emphasizes the redemptive power of sacrifice and although the novel is a tragedy, the didactic messages are none the weaker for this.

[8] On volunteering and the Risorgimento, see Cecchinato and Isnenghi (2007: 697-720).

[9] See also the subsequent reaction to his theories, especially the varied discussion contained in the special issue of *Nations and Nationalism*, 15 (3) 2009.

Niccolò de' Lapi thus highlights the emotions of the sixteenth century in order to provide the possibility for empathy and emulation; the author says in his introduction:

> […] non ebbi tuttavia per iscopo dipingere il quadro completo dell'Assedio del 1529-1530, ed il titolo stesso di questo racconto basta forse a mostrare che più degli eventi, mi sono proposto descrivere le passioni che in allora agitavano il popolo Fiorentino (d'Azeglio, 1895: 5).

These passions are regularly contrasted in the volume with the emasculation of contemporary Italians, their indolence and indifference:

> Tutto quanto si vorrebbe sapere sul fatto di quegli antichi uomini, che negli umori, nell'ire, nella fede, nei sacrifici e perfino nei delitti, mostrarono una ferrea natura tanto lontana della moderna fiacchezza? (1895: 6)

The desire to mobilize contemporaries is evidenced in the appeals for action in the novel and d'Azeglio contrasts the attitude of the sixteenth century to that of his own age:

> Il soffio avvelenato dell'indifferenza, del dubitare, ammesso come un principio, non aveva agghiacciato quei cuori, essi poteano palpitare liberi e sicuri, per quella fede che s'aveano scelta, poteano sagrificare tutto per seguirla e farle trionfare, potean dire […] colla fronte levata: "Noi crediamo che al mondo vi sian le cose più alte, più degne, più stimabili delle ricchezze, de' comodi, de' piaceri" senza il sospetto che l'ironia rispondesse alle loro parole, che il loro nobile sacrificio venisse accolto col sorriso dello scherno e della compassione.
> Fortuna per Lamberto di non esser nato 300 anni dopo, e per conseguenza di non aver avuto la tentazione d'imitare certi eroi che la letteratura moderna sembra offrirci quali modelli di fortezza, di pensar magnanimo e di ardito operare (1895: 205).

In contrast, d'Azeglio is writing a literature, which, taking advantage of the form of the historical novel, aims to include a contemporary message in a historical story. By focusing on the particular stories of war-torn sixteenth-century Tuscany, the author addresses contemporary issues such as a divided country and the need for action. In a region famed for internecine conflict, one of d'Azeglio's lead characters, Lamberto, enunciates the following plea for unity:

> Qual demonio dell'inferno ci saetta ne' cuori il suo veleno, che sempre tra noi ci abbiamo a lacerare! tra noi fratelli! Tra noi d'un istesso sangue, d'un'istessa lingua, d'un'istessa famiglia!… E una città coll'altra, o coll'armi, o colle frodi e co' maneggi, e sempre in ogni modo, pensare a nuocerci ed a rovinarci tra noi? (1895: 456).

The conflict in Tuscany and the siege of Florence, thus provided d'Azeglio with a vehicle to advance his formation of the Italian national character into a virile, united, mobilized people, passionate and emotionally involved in the fate of their patria.

It must be added at this point that, although d'Azeglio focuses much attention on the virile attributes of the lead characters, he does not ignore the role of women in support of the patria and national mobilisation. In keeping with many female typologies in the Risorgimento, d'Azeglio's novel features a loving mother nurturing a soldier, a loving wife encouraging her husband into battle, a wise mother teaching her son about virtue and duty, and a loyal daughter virtuous and supportive towards her father. D'Azeglio values the various roles that women played and he compares the sacrifices made by women for the cause of the patria to the men's sacrifices on the battlefield: "La patria ne' suoi pericoli assai chiede agli uomini, ma forse più talvolta alle donne. Agli uni il sangue e la vita propria, alle altre quella de' loro cari" (1895: 347).

Women are essential for d'Azeglio in linking love, sacrifice, honor and virtue and in providing emotional potency at key stages of the novel. From her deathbed, Nunziata writes to her son Lamberto, saying:

> Ora mi vien meno la vita: poche parole dunque. Tieni a mente, figliuolo, che il tuo primo debito è verso la tua patria: nell'amore di essa è racchiusa ogni virtù, che i virtuosi cittadini, e non altro fanno le città felici e potenti (1895: 203).

Nunziata had been willing to allow her only son Lamberto become a soldier despite the risks because she knew that it was a virtuous choice; her actions are as exemplary as those of her son. In the novel, women are also valued as teachers and moral guides for children, d'Azeglio addresses his female readers directly at one point and says:

> Se sapeste quanto stia in vostra mano il bene dell'umana società, che tutto è posto alla fine nel bene delle famiglie! Se sapeste quanto da voi dipenda far gli uomini generosi, arditi, amanti della patria, farli umani, operosi, sapienti, farli gentili e costumati (1895: 108).

As there is such a flow in the novel between the family and the military, the domestic role and behavior of women impacted not just on their families but also on society at large. Many studies of nationalism in recent years have pointed to the importance of family and the role of women in creating links to an idea of patria; research has revealed the impact of nationalism on the private realm and subsequently on gender delineations in society (Bonsanti, 2007). Women's involvement in nationalism has been seen to vary from the biological reproducers of the nation's children, to transmitters of national culture, to symbolic signifiers of national difference, to active, sometimes militant participants in national struggles (Yuval-Davis,

et al. 1989). D'Azeglio appears to tick all of these boxes in writing *Niccolò de' Lapi* which features women as mothers, teachers, exemplary figures, and even in one case, a soldier. The value he places in women (and their role in the nationalism) can be captured in his declaration:

> Ah care le mie donne! […] se sapeste quanto vi rende grandi, nobili, importanti ai miei occhi, l'incarico a voi commesso dalla provvidenza nel mondo! Se il vero bello, il vero grande, l'importante finalmente ha a misurarsi dall'utile e dalla virtù, chi potrà credersi più importante d'una buona moglie, d'una buona madre? […] Chi al par di voi è capace viver vita di sagrifici, immolarsi del tutto al bene, alla felicità della persona cui donaste il vostro amore? Gli atti di eroismo presso gli uomini sono sempre sostenuti dagli applausi e dalle lodi: per voi invece quanto può operar d'arduo e di grande la virtù in un cuor umano, resta il più delle volte ascoso ed obbliato tra le pareti domestiche. E se ciò non ostante siete virtuosi ed utili, qual gloria, qual merito maggiore! (1895: 107).

Women are thus key in *Niccolò de' Lapi* as conduits of nineteenth-century ideologies and as links between the domestic and the military, between the private and the public. Their actions in the novel cement the family as a central emotional yardstick for patriotism, especially in the challenging circumstances of sixteenth-century Tuscany.

D'Azeglio, who stated in his memoirs that he wrote his historical novels to instil virtue in Italians, clearly values this in both the domestic and military spheres. For Italy to be united in the nineteenth century, *all* of society has a role and an example of this involvement is, for d'Azeglio, to be found in sixteenth-century Tuscany:

> E cosa che stringe il cuore, veder tanta moltitudine di cittadini, insieme colle donne e persin co' fanciulli, risolver tutti con tanto ardire di volger il viso alla fortuna, affrontar con tanta prontezza d'animo i rischi d'una lotta cotanto impari, i disagi, la fame, le ferite, la morte, piuttosto che soffrire un'ingiustizia (1895: 54).

From the military hero, to the brave child, to the women of the city: for d'Azeglio, all are part of society and he presents them in his novel at a time of war and suffering, when their characters are tested to the extreme. In order to highlight the exemplary nature of the 'virtuous' characters, the author of *Niccolò de' Lapi* presents for each of them an 'evil' opposite where the lack of virtue has led to 'deformed' characters. Thus we meet with Malatesta, the leader of the Florentine troops who betrays the city and Troilo who tricks one of Niccolò's daughters into a sham marriage, abandons his 'wife' and son, and attempts to rape his 'wife's' sister. The extreme nature of these characters serves as a counterpoint to the virtue and honor of Lamberto and Ferruccio. Similarly with Niccolò's two daughters, one, Laudomia, is angelic in her virtue and flawless in her character; the

other, Lisa, foolishly falls for Troilo and sneaks away to marry him – she ends the novel by descending into insanity and disappearing into the hills of Tuscany forever. Such juxtapositions serve d'Azeglio's end of impacting on the Italian national character through models of behavior.

While a certain amount of attention has been paid to the thematic content of the Risorgimento novel, rarely is the reception and the impact of these examined. Different forms of media, many of which were interconnected, served to diffuse the themes advanced by d'Azeglio and encourage the discovery of a national community, even amongst a largely illiterate public. D'Azeglio was happy with the "esito prospero" of *Niccolò de' Lapi* (1891: 520) and the siege of Florence became a very popular theme in the nineteenth century.[10] D'Azeglio became involved in contemporary commemorations of the siege and specifically, was involved in the promotion of the cult of Francesco Ferruccio in this period. *Niccolò de' Lapi* proved to be a very successful novel, not quite matching the success of *Ettore Fieramosca*, but certainly nationally acclaimed.

D'Azeglio was aware of changing patterns of readership in Italy and particularly of the success of the historical novel in reaching out to an expanding reading public (d'Azeglio was, of course Alessandro Manzoni's son-in-law). In his memoirs, he speaks of how he abandoned a painting career in order to write his first historical novel, a move which was motivated by his desire to adopt the most effective means of communicating with the public.[11] Although literacy rates in Italy were in this period still low by European standards (Genovesi, 1998; Marchesini, 1991; Soldani and Turi, 1993), there was nonetheless a sense of a broadening readership: d'Azeglio at various points in the novel addresses his female readers and is at pains to point out the importance of having a wide cross-section of the Italian population read his oeuvre. Not all Italians would have been able to read his work, but the proportion that could access it was nonetheless increasing, particularly amongst the middle classes. D'Azeglio himself described how he wrote historical novels as part of a plan to impact on the character of Italians as part of a *national* literature and therefore a

[10] Two other novels were published on the topic in this period: Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi's *L'Assedio di Firenze* (1836) and Agostino Ademollo's *Marietta de' Ricci* (1840). Guerrazzi's *Assedio di Firenze* in particular enjoyed huge success and went through more than fifty editions between 1836 e 1916. (Scappaticci, 1978: 10) There were plays, operas, artwork, memorials, mementos, commemorations based on the siege which served to diffuse the central messages in the nineteenth-century appropriations of the event.

[11] "Un giorno, me ne ricordo come fosse ora, stavo terminando quel gruppo di cavalli azzuffati che sta nel mezzo; e mi venne considerato che, data l'importanza del fatto, e l'opportunità di rammentarlo per mettere un po'di foco in corpo agli Italiani, sarebbe riuscito molto meglio, e molto più efficace, raccontato che dipinto. Dunque raccontiamolo! Dissi. E come? Un poema? Che poema! Prosa, prosa, parlare per esser capito per le vie e per le piazze, e non in Elicona!" (1891:464).

wide reception of his work was important to him (1891: 483).[12] As Laven has pointed out, Italy still lacks a comprehensive study of readership patterns in the nineteenth century and therefore the popular dissemination of d'Azeglio's work is very important in gauging the book's impact: the operas and plays which were performed on the theme of the siege of the Florence diffused the book's central messages to a wider (and not necessarily literate) nineteenth-century audience. Furthermore, events such as d'Azeglio's erection of a lapid to Francesco Ferruccio drew greater attention of the public to the heroics of the siege. Felice Turotti wrote a book on the novel just after its publication and said that d'Azeglio's work "svegliò curiosità, e lo spaccio fattone prova che in Italia si legge, quando almeno la fama dello scrittore è giusta e meritata" (Turotti, 1842: 2). Commenting on d'Azeglio's second novel, Turotti said of the author: "egli imprese a descrivere un fatto non meno nazionale, ma più grande, meno fortunato ma più strepitoso, poichè non è una lotta combattuta fra pochi individui, ma è un esercito composto di varie genti, contro una città splendore d'Italia" (1842: 16). Through historical novels, d'Azeglio and other writers made nationalism respectable among the educated middle classes of Italy and these works were important tools in advancing the Italian national discourse throughout the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

In his memoirs, d'Azeglio had said that it was important to form Italians "che sappiano adempiere al loro dovere; quindi che si formino alti e forti caratteri" (1866)[13] and his novel *Niccolò de' Lapi* can be seen as an early attempt at this outcome. Through this work of historical fiction, he sought to highlight virtue in a previous generation, set against the backdrop of war and conflict. Ultimately the author aimed to use such examples (both positive and negative) in order to mobilize nineteenth-century Italians into action. In his novel he created an ancestry of sixteenth-century Italians who were noble, who had Italy's aims at heart and who were only thwarted by internal betrayal and the perfidious foreigner. D'Azeglio deliberately chose to write in the form of a historical novel because it was the most popular literary form of that decade, and by doing so he hoped to appeal to the people and to engage them in the cause. He attempted to translate elite aspirations into mass enthusiasm and claimed that, "La storia per un pezzo fu storia de' grandi; è tempo che diventi la storia di tut-

[12] For a recent discussion of the debate on d'Azeglio and "making Italians", see Gigante (2011a: 5-15) and Hom (2013: 1-16).

[13] Quotation is from the autograph version of the memoirs; the subsequent posthumous published version of d'Azeglio's memoirs contained an altered text; for the history of these alterations see Hom (2013: 1-16).

ti" (1891: 456). *Niccolo de' Lapi* was an attempt to show Italians their duty and how to act in a noble and virtuous manner. Through the example of characters and situations set in the conflicts of sixteenth-century Tuscany, d'Azeglio demonstrated his ideas on how to form the Italian national character and to "make" Italians.

INTERSECTIONS OF PLACE AND POLITICS: ANNA FRANCHI'S *AVANTI IL DIVORZIO* (1902)

Sharon Wood

"A chi soffre," the dedication of Anna Franchi's[1] *Avanti il divorzio* (1902), together with the preface by Agostino Berenini,[2] who was shortly to present yet another bill to the Italian parliament with the aim of enshrining divorce within the Italian legal code, reinforces the polemical intention of a work defined by its very title. The fictionalized autobiographical account of Anna Franchi's own marriage to Ettore Martini appeared at a time which was to prove something of a watershed in the long battle for legal divorce and equal rights for women in Italy, the apex of decades of efforts in the late nineteenth century obstructed by Church and reactionary vested interests. Berenini's effort was the last stand for the modernisation of family law and a movement which was subsequently to become relatively dormant until the radical social movements of the 1960s culminating in the wave of progressive legislation in the 1970s which saw divorce, the right to abortion, equal pay and equal rights over children finally on the statute books (Seymour, 2006: especially 35-58).

Franchi's novel, still relatively unknown, has been read as both personal memoir and campaigning text, a woman's revelation of the squalid misery of a catastrophic marriage as an adjunct to a social and political movement which sought to allay the disastrous consequences of rigid canon and civil law.[3] The name of the main protagonist, Anna Mirello, figures both the writer Anna Franchi and the political/ideological drive behind the text, a dyad which unites in the character both the journey of the writer herself and, intertwined with it, the journey of attempts made in the late nineteenth century to put divorce onto the statute books. Mark Seymour has

[1] Anna Franchi, Livorno 1867 – Milan 1954.

[2] Agostino Berenini, Professor of Law at Parma University and Deputy for the Socialist party between 1892 and 1921. The question of divorce was hotly debated at the end of Nineteenth century Italy: see, for example, *L'adulterio del marito, uguaglianza della donna. Divorzio*, by Adolfo De Foresta, procuratore generale for the Lucca Court of Appeal (Milan 1881) which demanded equal treatment for men and women, did not shy away from the question of 'sevizie e mali trattamenti', and advised against hasty or rash marriages.

[3] See Gragnani, 2008, Gragnani, 2011. For biographical details see Gigli, 2001. See also Noce, 1997.

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

noted that the dates of Anna Mirello's story correspond to key moments of attempted legislative reform (Seymour, 2006: 45). We might add the observation that Mirello is a simple anagram of Morelli and thus a gesture, conscious or otherwise, to the early efforts to challenge the key notion of the Italian nation state.

Published in 1902, a few years before Aleramo's[4] much better known *Una donna* (1906), *Avanti il divorzio* has only recently appeared in a new edition, while Aleramo's text has barely been out of print in over a century. Similarities between the two texts are striking: bright, strong, clever girls are married when barely themselves out of childhood; the romantic dream of love turns into brutal sexual initiation accompanied by venereal disease; the dream of loving harmony is displaced by brutality and violence; both women find themselves torn between their desire to escape and their love for their children; both observe with horror the social and legal hypocrisies and double standards by which the institution of marriage is maintained, vaunted and sanctified. Both texts seek to reveal the grim truth of unhappy marriage and the consequences for family life, and if Aleramo gestures to the unhappiness of men, too, in an indissoluble and unequal contract, Franchi is clearer on the implications for children, in terms of both law and psychology: the stigma of illegitimacy is little worse than the impact of dissent and discord on children who are seen, as is the wife, as the property of the husband/father with little account taken of their own best interests.

While both texts, reflecting the experiences of Franchi and Aleramo themselves, see their personal histories as symptomatic of a wider reality and base themselves on a reforming social and political platform, they also move beyond propaganda to reflect on the genesis of the woman writer: writing is one of the few ways of earning a living for bourgeois women, but it also becomes part of identity formation and affirmation in a period when marriage, and women's role in it, was so often co-opted for an idea of national identity based on orthodox Catholicism and social prejudice. Conflict within one marital home, exposed, revealed and refracted across the Tuscan region, becomes metonym for a broader and longer struggle for women's rights within the recently unified Italy, where a woman's identity – civic, artistic, legal, social – remained constrained and codified.

Avanti il divorzio leads the protagonist, Anna Mirello, from her comfortable home in Livorno through multiple spaces of Tuscan town and countryside and beyond, and she ends up, a published writer, in a re-constituted family in Florence, in a domestic serenity which is yet entirely at odds with the law. It is the reflection and refraction of Anna's anguished personal, marital and legal journey through across and within the multiple spaces of Tuscan house, town, city and countryside, the impact of a markedly more specific time, place and space on her narrative and literary

[4] Sibilla Aleramo, 1876-1960.

choices, that I propose to explore here. I also propose a dichotomy between the rhetorical strategies of Franchi's fictionalized account and the account she gives of her early life and marriage in her much later, and more muted, autobiography, *La mia vita* (1937). While the later text contextualizes the young woman's life within the Risorgimento struggles within Tuscany and Livorno in particular, thus historicising her compulsion to liberty, freedom and subjectivity, the barely fictionalized account, focussing on the urgencies of contemporary political imperative, displaces conflict and resolution into space rather than time, into geography rather than history.

La mia vita, published in 1937 and with a dedicatory letter to Norina Monico Biasoli which recollects the moment, November 1917, when Franchi's son was killed in war, seeks to recall the story of her beloved Livorno's contribution to the Risorgimento wars which by 1937 had already almost faded from memory. Anna recalls herself listening to tales of patriotic deeds and endeavors fuelled by the desire for 'Italy' and the desire for freedom from oppression. Of visitors to the house, she comments that

> Gli amici di casa mia erano vecchi, quando io, bimba non ancora decenne, ascoltavo le loro discussioni o i loro ricordi. Quasi che gli anni non fossero passati, ritornavano in ballo gli articoli del *Conciliatore*, la Grecia, la Polonia, i manifesti del Mazzini, l'Italia unita (1937: 17).

Listening to the stories of these "uomini livornesi, toscani, italiani" (1937: 18), who repeatedly recalled that "Nel '31 a Livorno si raccoglieva tutto il movimento politico dell'Italia centrale, o almeno nella Toscana" (1937: 31), "nella mia anima di bimba si formavano strane speranze, entusiasmi barocchi, tutto un balenar di gloriose avventure, quasi che mi si preparasse un destino di azione" (1937: 16). A reported conversation between Anna's father and the Florentine gardener, nicknamed Machiavelli, indicates a tension between a continuing regionalism and a Unification that has failed to fulfil hopes and aspirations.

> "Ma bravo Machiavelli!" gli diceva il babbo […]
> "*Che vuole*, sor Cesare, *e son fiorentino, guà! E per il gusto un si pole andà più in là*."
> "Ti sei però *inlivornestato* abbastanza. Se vai a Firenze ti prendono per un livornese di sicuro. Non si sa più che lingua parli."
> "E che fà! O fiorentino o livornese, *ormai semo tutti toscani*."
> "Italiani, vuoi dire."
> Quel "vuoi dire," dopo, ripensandoci nel tempo, mi parve un'amarezza (1937: 38-39).

Recalling the struggle for freedom in which her family was involved, Franchi has to remind herself that "non voglio scrivere una storia del Risorgimento in Toscana, e devo far forza a me stessa per limitarmi alle impressioni datemi dai miei vecchi amici […] Anche a loro *l'obbedisco* aveva strappato

lacrime rabbiose" (1937: 65). Thus Franchi links her own struggle for personal freedom and independence in an imperfect Italy with the cause of the Risorgimento; the legal code in place since 1865 is every bit as oppressive as the leaden hand of foreign domination over Livorno, Tuscany and Italy.

La mia vita, published almost forty years after the events recounted in *Avanti il divorzio,* is deeply reticent about her marriage, whether for reasons of decorum, weariness or, most probably, censorship. "Quante lacrime!" she comments, "ne ho tuttavia lo gola stretta. E nessuno deve sapere tutta la mia sofferenza. Ho amato l'uomo o l'artista? A sedici anni non si può distinguere" (1937: 87-88). Memories of her melancholic and anxious engagement are textually displaced and sublimated, and early signs of despair oddly give way to a recollection of the defence of Livorno in 1849.[5] As she left for her honeymoon, she recalls, "era la prima volta che partivo senza [i miei genitori], e partivo con un uomo, con un padrone, con un ignoto, infine" (1937: 115). The *Vita* declines marital detail, preferring to allude to "sofferenze insopportabili" (1937: 119), while observing that

> [a] tanta distanza non mi sentirei di fare il processo ai fatti dolorosa che pur tanto influirono sulla mia esistenza. Dal tradimento, dalle invidie, dalle calunnie, da tutte le passioni che mi hanno circondata, oppressa, avvilita, che mi hanno spinta a ribellioni che nell'età matura ho deplorate, mi è pur venuta una forza di reazione morale che ha finito per darmi pace (1937: 119).

Franchi's earlier text eschews the Risorgimento and memorial context of the later *Vita*, beginning instead with the "libertà, libertà divina, gioconda libertà non inceppata dagli obblighi imposti dall'educazione ad una giovanetta di buona famiglia" (1937: 53) of early holidays in the Tuscan countryside, starting point for the novel *Avanti il divorzio*. Anna is first presented to us as an eleven year old child on the bourgeois *villeggiatura*, roaming the hills around Casciana, the "bel paesino toscano situato sulle amene colline di Pisa" in the company of the rather less bold Icilio. In this *locus amoenus* Anna is free to pursue her "pazzesche corse pei campi e pei podei" (1902: 13) with her childhood friend, to mischievously steal a bunch of grapes from under the neighbor's nose, to explore the beauties and perils of the natural landscape. From the start she wishes to say things as they are: "ora racconteremo l'accaduto" (1902: 11) she declares to Icilio when they are confronted by their elders about an overturned cart: "tu t'impappini sempre per non dire le cose giuste" (1902: 12). "Dire le cose giuste" serves as an early example of Anna's (and Anna

[5] Franchi observes that "Di Livorno che, sola in Toscana, rifiutò la sottomissione ed ebbe la gloria di opporre cadaveri di eroi all'irruzione degli oppressori, varie storie trascurano far cenno, o narrano fli avvenimenti come ne danno notizia i documenti della reazione" (1937: 111).

Franchi's) realist poetics, a dual focus on both content and form reiterated over the course of the novel. From her father Anna inherits not only "amore delle lunghe corse pei boschi, degli aguati silenziosi all'aspetto di un uccelletto" but also the desire for travel, for daring, inculcated in her father as a young man "quando l'Italia non ospitava chi aveva idee di libertà" (1902: 14). From the outset the ideas of *libertà* and *nazione* are intertwined, if polemically, while the "Italia" of nature and art serve as chorus to the political affairs of men.

In Franchi's description, the hills and forests surrounding Casciana offer not a Romantic anthropomorphism but an inexhaustible permanence as the Tuscan landscape offers up pleasure, knowledge and solace:

> La foresta profonda, or cupa e fitta di quercie grandiose, or soleggiata come se un ricamo gaio, fatto di luce e di ombre vaghe e mobile riposasse sui muschi, il bisbigliare dei rivoletti, il fruscio delle lucertole, il canto spiegato degli uccelli che posando su i rami facevano cadere le foglie morte, davano ai due ragazzi delle gioie sempre nuove, delle sorprese sempre belle, dei godimenti sempre grandi. Ora era un musco mai veduto, ora un fiore più bello; talvolta erano discussioni gravi sul profumo di quel fiore, tal'altra erano aguati circospetti per far prigioniera una lucertola, o per prendere una libellula, oppure erano meraviglie per un insetto grazioso o per una foglia accesa di un più vivo color rosso. E sempre si animavano, andavano, tornavano, rifacevano la strada cento volte (1902: 14, 14-15).

Anna's early instinctive rejection of both Catholic dogma and Romantic dissolution of the self in the natural world, lead, over the course of the novel, to an articulated pantheism which refuses notions of divine intervention and punishment. Her rejection of the Catholic model of the family has deep roots in her understanding of the natural world: "Anna non credeva al soprannaturale […] se dai contadini udiva storie di miracoli, di visioni, di guarigioni impensate, un sorriso incredulo le errava sulla bocca un po' grande ma simpatica" (1902:18).

Back in Livorno, freedom gives way to the closed, restrictive world of the Italian bourgeois family and its shadow, a world of hypocrisy, falsity and deceit. If Anna "ricordava con rimpianto le corse folli giù per le viottole scoscese, libera da ogni vigilanza, inebriata dall'aria, dall'acre profumo della foresta, dalla libertà di muoversi a suo piacere" she is now "compressa tra le esigenze ed i pregiudizi del suo piccolo mondo borghese" (1902: 24). While in the bathing stations "si vive una vita di civetterie e di losche ricerche" (1902: 19), Anna feels only repulsion for the "volgarità" of her environment (1902: 20): "[e] uscita pura dalle istruttive lezioni delle compagne di scuola" (1902: 21). While she is deeply disgusted that religious dogma is imparted by a priest only too willing to ask leading questions under cover of the confessional. Music becomes a refuge, Anna becomes an expert pianist, and it is through music that she, "divenuta *un buon partito*"

following the death of an uncle, meets her future husband, Ettore Streno. Streno is described as a man able to "affascinare una creatura nuova alle cose d'amore" and "attrarre una donna sensuale per la tacita promessa di godimenti sapienti" (1902: 28); Anna grows up in an environment which fails to guide her to something other than "volgari piccinerie, […] basse passioncelle velate da convenienze stolide, […] commedie stomachevoli per giungere ad accaparrarsi un qualsiasi amatore da condurre davanti all'altare di Dio" (1902: 29). She too, "faceva all'amore" (1902: 27); despite misgivings, arguments and early requests for large sums of money from her future husband, she marries, vaguely hoping for the "dolcezze ignote" (1902: 37) of the marital bed.

The newlyweds spend their wedding night in a hotel in Pisa, before moving to Arezzo, the "piccola città toscana" (1902: 33) where Ettore has work teaching music. Each sight visited in Pisa becomes a moment of deferral of the inevitable, an expression of a will which is to be subordinate to another's:

> Volle salire sull'alta torre pendente, volle visitare la Chiesa dei Cavalieri, volle correre per la città in carrozza, animata da una gioia nuova, ridendo pazzamente di ogni nonnulla quasi dimenticando che quell'uomo era suo marito, il suo nuovo padrone […] Si soffermò per guardare il magico effetto dei lungarni pisani illuminati, della lunga fila di lampioni formante come una striscia luminosa, uguale ininterrotta, e che risplendevano nell'acqua a piccole macchie scintillanti (1902: 40).

The promising exterior is unmatched by the damp chill of the hotel room where the maid summoned to put the forgotten sheets on the bed has only a derisive smile for Anna. Anna's expectation of "il caldo di amore […] quel supremo godimento di cui le aveva fatto sognare, quella voluttà che egli diceva essere supremamente in lei" (1902: 42) is inevitably shattered: "la prese brutalmente" (1902: 42) and the gift of her wedding night is her first experience of venereal disease.

Thus begins married life for Anna Streno, who "avrebbe fatto qualunque cosa per sfuggire a quella porcheria, pur essendo certa di amare lo sposo con tutta la forza del suo intelletto" (1902: 43). While a few days in Camaldoli give her some pleasure, early married life in Arezzo sees Anna waiting up for Ettore to come home from his various lurid pleasures, while she wishes to avoid a row with her parents by letting him in to the house herself. As she waits at the window looking out for him, we see late night life in Arezzo: a drunk passes by; a few people struggle up the salita di Pieve on their way home; time passes slowly, marked by "quell'orologio così raro:" the Orologio di Piazza, in the bell tower of the Palazzo della Fraternità dei Laici in Piazza Vasari, which marks out the times of the moon, the days and the seasons, and Anna's own waiting. From her window she glimpses the tower of the Pieve, part of whose own history helps her pass the time:

> Pensò alla leggenda che diceva come appunto in quella chiesa si fosse fermata miracolosamente la testa di San Donato, il santo protettore. Rise anche della leggenda: il Santo era andato a rubare i fichi nell'orto delle monache di S. Maria, in Gradi; scoperto, era fuggito su per la Piaggia di Murello lasciando una pianella a piè dell'albero. La pianella si conserva nella chiesa delle monache. Giunto sul Prato, cadde, e la testa staccatasi dal busto, ruzzolò fino alla Pieve ove rimase. Il corpo è tuttavia adorato in Duomo (1902: 49).

In this "piccola città piena di sonno" (60) Anna passes the time reflecting upon the buildings and legends of the historical town in which she lives: Anna Franchi, it seems, has invented the legend of the figs,[6] but local folklore is deployed to measure the passing of time, both historical and personal: "Il campanile dalle cento buche sembrava enormemente più alto nella pallida luce della Luna nascente. Sonarono le dodici e tre quarti" (1902: 50). The somnolent city is doubly marked by silence and by suppressed violence. If the "morale di provincia" dictates that "la donna deve ad ogni costo rimanere onesta" (1902: 57), it takes little for rumors, "una voce vaga" (62) to circulate that Anna Streno allows herself to be courted. At the theater, "alcune signore, nel palco accanto, sorridevano" (1902: 64). The peaceful town becomes a hotbed of vicious gossip:

> L'orologio di Piazza aveva da poco battuto le dodici […] ma da una finestra vicina si udì un lieve susurro di voci, una risatina sommessa, delle frasi brevi […] tutto un chiacchierio di persone in aguato, nell'attesa di un fatto ormai accaduto. La spiavano (1902: 65).

A brief friendship with Gisleno Della Casa, who does little more than write her a letter, from his window which looks onto hers, provokes Ettore's rage and verbal abuse and hypocritically double-standard fury fuelled when Anna's mother ineffectually threatens him with a pair of scissors. While all know of Ettore's debauched lifestyle, he remains uncondemned, within his rights as man and husband, while "Anna Streno non fu più per la gente una donna onesta [...] le ciarle si propagarono, e fuori si disse che ella era fuggita di casa con un uomo e che il marito dopo molte preghiere dei genitori aveva perdonato [...] e che aveva lasciato la città perchè lo scandalo era stato enorme" (1902: 69). There is no defence against gossip and public opinion formed amidst hypocrisy. Fearing a duel, Ettore compels a move to Genova. Here he contracts syphilis, which he duly passes on to his wife: nonetheless his musical career becomes firmly established: their children are returned to Lucca with their grandmother, while Anna accompanies her husband on his work travels, "la guida sicura di suo marito, senza che niuno lo dubitasse" (1902: 85).

[6] See Elisabetta de Troja's edition (2012) , fn p. 98.

The theater thus becomes an additional space in which Anna both establishes herself and acquires a greater insight into her husband's dubious lifestyle. She learns to shake off unwanted admirers, and presents herself as uncorrupted by the gossip and mendacity of the theatrical environment: "girava pel palcoscenico del massimo teatro fiorentino chiusa nella pelliccia" (1902: 86). This is not a place for female solidarity or friendship: Anna "aborriva le chiacchiere mundane, i pettegolezzi, quelle ciarle inutile delle donne" (90), just as she abhors a system which would increase her husband's earnings if she would sleep with the producer. Theatrical space embodies and amplifes the economic and sexual relations of Italian bourgeois life beyond the stage:

> Nelle stagioni meno grandi, quando non cantavano delle celebrità, le scene erano più piccanti, più basse le invidie, più pungenti le vendetta […] si poteva concepire perfettamente quella grande menzogna che è la vita, e che il teatro rispecchia così bene […] Invidie più vaste, o più nascoste, falsità più larvate, guance meglio imbellettate, sconezze meno in vista, ma ovunque menzogna e menzogna (1902: 88, 91).

Ettore becomes employed at the Teatro Pagliano, now known as Teatro Verdi. His womanizing arouses Anna's jealousy: not sexually drawn to him, she nonetheless pronounces that she still loves him. From their home in via Ghibellina she tails him around the streets of Florence, suspicious of his feelings for the young actress Giuseppina, who lives in the Cure district. Anna follows her husband to the Cimitero degli Inglesi, down via di Pinti, viale Don Minzonim viale Principe Amedeo (the current viale Matteotti), to a corner of via Antonio Giacomini, where she finds him speaking to Giuseppina through her window. Thus the streets and avenues of Florence become witness and testament to her distress and to her solitude: "non aveva adesso altro bene che la libertà; la libertà di muoversi, di girare da un punto all'altro della città, sola, di viaggiare, sola" (1902: 103).

Following a miscarriage, Anna follows her husband to the medieval town of Cortona. In this "città nera, vecchia, dalle strade ripide a scaglioni, difficili alla salita," she tells us, "non precisava ancora le bellezze di quest'arte che spira dai vecchi muri come un profumo dolce e avvolgente" (1902: 104). Still more susceptible to natural than to artistic beauty, she contemplates "le grandiosità della natura" and understands the "linguaggio delle cose," arriving at the pantheism which Anna Franchi herself adopted, and which gives rise to her first poems in an image close to childbirth:

> […] dal giardino vedeva tutta la grande vallata che si svolgeva verde e spaziosa fino allo storico Trasimeno. Era un'onda di verde che parlava con mille soave susurri parole di alta poesia […] udiva salire a lei delle parole ignote, comprendeva per la prima volta quel linguaggio delle cose, tutto le si animò d'attorno […] furono canti, che il labbro muto diceva seguendo la volontà della mente; e le diceva a se stessa, al suo

> cuore, mentre lo sguardo si perdeva in quella grande pace ove l'azzurro infinito baciava l'ultima lieve sfumatura di verde, e rivedeva quelle immagini che il labbro muto ripeteva all'anima, per volontà della mente. Ma un giorno il labbro si schiuse, seguì col suono della voce le parole della mente, ed Anna, meravigliata, lieta, felice, scrisse la sua prima poesia (1902: 105).

The squalid and debt-ridden life she continues to experience with her husband during their months in Milan is counterbalanced by the rejuvenating and simple pleasure of life in the Lucca countryside where she visits her mother. While marking her difference from the Tuscan "contadini," she notes that "la vita semplice di quella gente non del tutto corrotta dai vizi della città, ingenuamente onesta, o ingenuamente colpevole, le piaceva" (1902: 106); the "forti impressioni di scenette campestri" suggest her own artistic manifesto, "quel piacere che si potrebbe paragonare all'artistico godimento procurato da un bel quadro ove sia resa la verità dell vita" (1902: 108).

The revelation of her own artistic expression only reinforces her own subjective and sexual desire, "lo struggimento di due braccia allacciate al suo collo, di una bocca calda sulle sue labbra" (1902: 117), a corporeal desire in lock step with her renewed admiration for art and aesthetic beauty:

> Firenze le parve una città diversa, la vide come se mai prima di allora vi avesse messo piede. Aveva gridi di ammirazione e di stupefazione l'anima sua, dinnanzi all'arte grande che, come soffio divino, illumina la superba città dei fiori […] D'un tratto, al suo sguardo attonito, all'anima sua risvegliata dal letargo, la grandiosità del passato sorse a destarle entusiasmi e godimenti […] spesso attraversando il quartiere d'oltrarno, volgendo lo sguardo affascinato alle torri ed ai palazzo sorti con l'arte sovrana dei secoli d'oro, ritrovando ad uno ad uno i ricordi di allora, le storie di amori, rimaste come una mesta poesia che oggi non sappiamo più, mormorava: *son sola* (1902: 117, 118).

Florence, witness to her marital jealousy and spousal infidelity, now becomes stage setting for new love, in a precise delineation of space, place and affect. Walking over Ponte Vecchio, up via dei Calzaioli and past the towers of via Por Maria, she meets Giorgio Morandi, already encountered at a dinner and marked out as less scurrilous than most of her husband's collaborators. Giorgio's qualities are aligned with those of the city in which their affair begins: he is "cortese come un cavaliere del passato […], un po' diverso dagli uomini moderni" (1902: 120). By tacit agreement they leave the crowded city center, walking down via dell'Oriuolo, via Pietra Piana, and towards Piazza Beccaria. When she meets his hired coach in via Mugnone, the coach driver is ordered to go to the Cascine, despite the heavy downpour, and it is in this liminal space of the city that their first illicit kiss takes place, a kiss in which "si dissolvevano ad uno ad uno i legami che la costringevano a quel brutto passato" (1902: 130). The Cascine, now a reg-

ular meeting place, "risplendevano di una luce primaverile; le alte quercie brillavano, scotendo allegramente le goccioline rimaste nel cavo delle foglie" (1902: 130) in an anthropomorphic image of renewal and transition. Their first sexual union takes place in his flat, where the room, curtains, bed covers and roses are virginal white, "la visione di un amore fatto non soltanto di passione e di desiderio, ma di rispetto e di fedeltà" (1902: 131). Florence, "la dolce Firenze così sempre guarnita di fiori, le parve un paradise: Firenze ed il suo Giorgio […] Il bello così unico di Firenze tutto cancellava, e più ancora la estasiava, poiche […] anche l'amore fedele, unico, vi ritrovava" (1902: 141, 142).

The social implications of the idyll with Giorgio come to the fore with her pregnancy and her refusal to name the child as Ettore's. Tensions mount as he accuses her mother of being a whore. The 1894 cholera in Livorno sets the scene for the moral squalor in which she, "una madre delittuosa" (1902: 154), about to give birth to a bastard child, finds herself. Her illicit pregnancy and the birth of a syphilitic child does not dissuade Ettore from claiming his marital rights: "'Ti voglio [...] lo voglio questo sudicio corpo che ha nutrito una bastarda [...] una bastarda che creperà marcia putrefatta [...] lo voglio'" (1902: 160) nor does he spare his own children: in Lucca, where she visits her mother and children, he fakes a suicide attempt, pointing a gun at his own head.

Begged by her mother to normalize her situation as far as possible, she returns with him to Florence. Here, within the context of one of the great monuments of the city, Santa Croce, he compels her to admit her wrongdoing before the same God whose law as interpreted by Catholic and national law codifies her enslavement. Not divine retribution, in which she does not believe, distresses her, but the abusive deployment of the highest endeavor of the human spirit to sanction her guilt:

> Un giorno in Santa Croce quel marito le aveva fatto fare un giuramento […] egli voleva testimone del suo fango anche il Dio degli altari […] In quell'ora, la grandiosa maestà del tempio aveva parlato alla sua mente più che alla sua anima…da tutti i sepolcri dei grandi pareva si sollevassero voci così soavi e dolci che Anna dimenticò perfino la causa per cui eravi stata trascinata. Quel giuramento, nella chiesa resa sacra dalla grandezza umana […] Quel giuramento strappatole dinanzi all'altare non le metteva quella paura che gli uomini hanno in un Dio vendicatore, di un Dio borghesemente puntiglioso, di un Dio così attento alle colpe umane, da sfogarsi in punizioni […] ella soffriva di aver giurato falso dinanzi a quella stupenda verità di rimembranze sublimi… come se fosse un'offesa alla stessa verità (1902: 163, 164).

Anna's tired observation that "per vivere rispettati occorre essere disonesti" which appears to her with "una disperante lucidità" (1902: 164) is futile in the face of law: sued by Ettore for adultery, "il fatto esiste" (1902: 165) as her lawyer reiterates. "Messa alla gogna, pubblicamente disprez-

zata" (1902: 164), Anna comments bitterly to her indifferent lawyer on women's roles within the matrimonial home: "'Che desidera di più, questa ridicola regina della casa, questa serva pal pagata, questa schiava della voluttà? Ha ragione avvocato. La donna non può ne' deve desiderare nulla di più'" (1902: 165). Ettore is triumphant: in return for him renouncing his right to force her to stay in the marital home, she will pay his debts, the children remain under his control, and will be placed in boarding school at his wife's expense.

The harrowing scene of the courtroom gives way to another space/place of judgement, the theater, as, in 1895, Anna's first play is performed: *Per amore*, under the pseudonym of Gina Rini. It is deemed a success, and "tutto un orizzonte di gioie nuovissime le si apriva davanti come una grande irradiazione di sole. Il lavoro. Il sommo bene dell'umanità, lo scopo santo la salvazione, il riposo" (1902: 173). Help to further her career, however, is offered only in return for sexual favors. By the following year, Anna has created a new space within Florence, a home for herself and Giorgio: "una casettina piccola piccola, un salottino tutto azzurro, tutto fiori, semplice e artistico, sola, col suo Giorgio, le pareva che finalmente, la vita, potesse avere anche per lei qualche sorriso" (1902: 176). But an earthquake (1895, rather than 1896 as Franchi states here) is a prelude to the next catastrophic blow: Ettore removes the children from their school and takes them to live with him and the prostitute with whom he cohabits. A second court case, in which not only Ettore but "avvocati, strozzini, procuratori, compratori" (1902: 192) all operate a legitimate financial extorsion, leads Anna back to court, in the Pretura di Firenze. While within the courtroom she is, finally defended by an able and ambitious lawyer and the case against her dismissed, the corridors outside teem with the undercurrent of Florentine life:

> Nel corridoio sudicio e stretto, accusati e testimoni di varie cause, aspettavano il loro turno. Una luce scialba, livida, cadeva […] Accusati e accusatori, amici e nemici, testimoni avversari, affollati in quella striscia di corridoio, si urtavano, si toccavano, si leggevano negli occhi l'odio feroce, si slanciavano sguardi di fiamma, quasi si volessero ridurre in cenere (1902: 193, 194).

A second visit to one of the major churches of Florence, this time Santa Maria del Fiore, underlines the hypocrisy of a legal code at one with Catholic hegemony in the area of family law. Entering the church at the end of a service, she recognizes a former acquaintance aware of her moral and financial position, who makes her an indecent proposition: "'E vede, se avesse volute […] una persona era pronta a darle una fortuna […] grande'" (1902: 197). Santa Croce and Santa Maria del Fiore, encompassing the city center of Florence, represent, oxymoronically, both the high point of human artistic achievement and low point of social mores, sanctioned by the institution of the Church.

Visits to her children in Livorno are supervised, and Anna remains adulterous, therefore culpable, in the eyes of the law; available, at a price, in the eyes of society. Anna makes a plea for a change in the law that will improve not only the lot of women, but by extension marital, family and social life: "sciogliete le anime umane dalla catena dell'indissolubile! Date loro la libertà dell'affetto, date loro la libertà dell'amore e l'amore assurgerà più dolce, più umano, più onesto" (1902: 216). Once more, domestic space becomes both refuge and model, and her study within it the Woolfian 'room of one's own' from which will emerge the fruits of the "lavoro" she so desires. "I suoi lavori erano talvolta taglienti, spesso anche un po' brutali, ma sempre veri" (1902: 213), she comments on her own production; "la sua mente serena non sapeva allettarsi di artifici; un'osservazione precisa, sicura, le dava sempre la percezione della verità e si studiava di renderla senza larvarla di inutili sdilinquimenti" (1902: 215). The "percezione della verità" begins with a depiction of her own study, overlooking Piazza Cavour (now Piazza della Libertà), which generates the novel which we may deduce to be that which we are reading:

> […] piccolo studietto, ove le pareti erano coperte di artistiche pitture, ed ove una larga libreria conteneva una buona raccolta di opere scelte. Semplice studietto, non lussuoso; lo scrittoio, la libreria, alcuni piccoli mobili in stile antico fiorentino del rinascimento, delle sedie Savonarola, dei torcieri sui quali stavano alcuni vasi di fiori. Una piccola lampada col paralume verde rischiarava debolmente la stanza. Sullo scrittoio si accumulavano le cartelle, piene di un carattere alto, forte, non bello, ma sicuro (1902: 220).

The final pages of novel underline the continuing damage and loss inflicted by rigid social and legal moral codes on all members of the family. The two elder sons, living with their father, write to her asking for money – a further form of extortion at Ettore's behest. Brief visits to the city of Rome and to the land and seascape of Livorno, once again conjoining the wonders of the natural world with those of human artistic ingenuity, provide small solace:

> Dall'alto del monte, sacro alla Vergine miracolosa, si vede tutta l'ampia marina che bagna quelle rive incantevoli su cui giace la graziosa città […] scintillavano i raggi sull'azzurro Tirreno, come diamanti rari, scintillava di gioia l'anima che assurgeva al godimento supremo delle bellezze uniche del creato: nessuna nube nel cielo di zaffiro, nessuna nube sull'orizzonte del suo pensiero (1902: 235).

The last page of the novel places Anna back in her study. Faced with a further rancorous note from Ettore threatening prison, and suggesting she commit suicide, she throws the letter aside, picking up in its place a newspaper with a favorable review of her first book.

Beneath the final lines of the text is the rubric *Firenze 15 settembre – 23 novembre*, an indication of the speed and sense of urgency with which the book was written. The dustjacket for the first edition of *Avanti il divorzio* was a shocking, scandalous red, as is the cover of the recent republication. Leone XIII's Encyclical *Arcanum divinae sapientiae* of 1880 had insisted that "resistere nel matrimonio è una nuova forma di santità laica che trova in perfetto accordo Stato e Chiesa;" a pamphlet written by Franchi, also published in 1902, entitled *Il divorzio e la donna,* states uncompromisingly that "la donna non comprende questo immane delitto del dovere e della rassegnazione cattolica."[7]

Divorce was not to become law in Italy for another seventy years: the final scene of the novel places Anna in a refuge/space that is scholarly, productive, domestic, and yet illicit. Thus Anna Mirello's struggle to find freedom, justice and equality intersects with the historical, rural, religious and artistic spaces of Tuscan city, town and countryside, while her newfound identity as woman writer becomes, even more than a site of self-expression, synonymous with an assertion of and demand for freedom and self-determination that is both private and public, individual and social.

[7] See de Troja, Introduction to *Avanti il divorzio* (2012).

TUSCAN SUBJECTIVITIES: NARRATING GENDER, IDENTITY AND FAMILY IN RURAL WOMEN'S MEMOIR FROM FASCISM TO THE POST-WAR ECONOMIC BOOM

Niamh Cullen

In 1988, 58-year-old Laura Massini began to write her memoir, submitting it to the Archivio Nazionale Diaristico in Pieve Santo Stefano, Tuscany, just over two years later. Hers is one of a sample set of over 150 first-person texts written by Italian men and women born between 1928 and 1945, who were coming of age in the 1950s and 1960s and thus experienced the social and cultural changes of the post-war economic miracle head on.[1] Laura was born to a peasant family in rural Tuscany and had left school by the age of nine; her background thus made her an unlikely autobiographer. While the archive collects and conserves texts from Italians of every region and social group, peasant women are the least well-represented group. Since rural women tended to leave school even earlier than rural men up to the 1950s, they were less likely to have a level of literacy sufficiently high to write a memoir or diary. However, the presence of the Archivio Nazionale del Diario in Tuscany, set up in 1984 by Saverio Tutino, along with related local initiatives such as the Libera Università dell'Autobiografia in nearby Anghiari, created a strong tradition of popular autobiography in Tuscany and the voices of Tuscan peasant women are better represented in the archive than those of other regions: of the sixteen texts by peasant women, seven are by Tuscan women. While peasant women very seldom kept diaries, the memoir is a much more popular tradition, since it can be completed at relative ease in later life. In some cases, the writers went back to school in later life, completing the elementary or middle school diploma, and wrote their memoirs as a result of their return to education.

Texts like Laura Massini's memoir (1988-90) provide us with an insight into the experience of ordinary rural Tuscan women at a time when peasant Italy was beginning to change beyond recognition, one that is

[1] This is a sample set that I have gathered in order to investigate how courtship and coming of age were experience and described by those growing up between the end of the war and the onset of the economic miracle. It is thus drawn from all those texts in the Archivio Nazionale Diaristico by Italians born between these dates and who mention their experiences of youth, coming of age, courtship and/or marriage.

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

very difficult to capture in other sources. Her memoir, fifty-nine pages long and handwritten, is by far the most detailed and complete of these first-person texts, recounting the story of her life from childhood until middle age. It gives the social historian a unique insight into how an ordinary, rural woman coming of age during a time when peasant society was being rapidly transformed by migration, mass culture and eventually tourism, negotiated her own identity – as a woman, a peasant, as Tuscan and Italian – and understood her own experiences. The patriarchal family was particularly important in Tuscan peasant society because of how agriculture was organized through the *mezzadria* system dominant in the region; however, as a result of first the war and then the economic boom, the family was under pressure, both from within and without, to change during the post-war decades. By examining in detail how Laura described and understood her relations with her family as she came of age, courted and married, this chapter will also provide insights into how familial authority was understood and negotiated at a time when the Tuscan family itself was undergoing transformation.

First person testimony and the historian

When examining first person texts of any kind, questions of truth, memory, objectivity and reliability come into play. The relationship between testimony and historical truth is one that many scholars have debated, particularly since Lejeune first theorized autobiography in his essay on the "autobiographical pact" (1975). In formulating the notion of a pact between author and readers of autobiography to accept the identification between author and narrator, he highlighted the tension between narration and experience, truth and memory intrinsic to such texts. Eakin, in discussing the controversial case of Guatemalan activist Rigoberta Menchú's now contested autobiography, argued that the value of testimony was as text rather than historical fact (2004: 28).

While social historians would claim that there is a definite historical as well as literary value to texts such as these, we must certainly pay close attention to their narrative, textual qualities. Evans draws attention to the way in which the very act of creating an autobiographical text gives a narrative coherence to the author's life story; the details recounted are thus mediated through both memory and narrative form (1999: 13-15). Writing about oral testimony, Portelli comments that "the importance of oral history may often lie not in its adherence to facts but in its divergences from them, where imagination, symbolism and desire break in" (1981: 100). Laura Massini's memoir is by and large written in a fairly matter-of-fact style; she includes no details which obviously stretch the reader's credulity. However, she did undoubtedly select, whether consciously or unconsciously, which details to include in her memoir and which ones to omit; which episodes to dwell on in detail and which ones to skim over.

The decisions she made when constructing her text tell us what she saw as important, worthy or interesting about her life.

In setting down their life histories in written form, the authors are always crafting and narrating a version of their own lives, rather than communicating any kind of objective truth about their experiences. However, the worth of first person writings lies precisely in their subjectivity.[2] In Portelli's words, life narratives such as these "tell us less about events than about their meaning" (1981: 99). The memoir of Laura Massini thus gives us a unique perspective on how social change might impact not just on material circumstances, but on a person's understanding of their life and their place in society. It also, crucially, allows us to trace her sense of her own agency in relation to the events of her life, something that would be difficult or impossible to reconstruct through other sources.[3]

Since this, as any autobiographical text, must be accepted to be a narrative constructed by the author, we must pay attention to both the limits and the possibilities of the form. Evans points out that autobiography is not simply a personal narrative, but is always mediated through the social constraints and conventions of the author's world (1999: 12). Autobiography is itself part of the "increasingly problematic negotiation of the boundaries between the public and the private" in modern society (Evans, 1999: 12). The texts gathered in the Archivio Nazionale Diaristico themselves straddle the borders of public and private. Some texts are intimate diaries, kept only for the authors themselves and later donated to the archives. Others, like that of Laura Massini, are memoirs that often recount a very personal life story, but are also crafted specifically to be deposited in a national archive. Decisions about what to recount and how to recount it, and crucially about what not to mention, may thus also be made with an unknown readership in mind. When examining the memoir in question, attention will be paid not just to the narrative details, but to the gaps, silences, emissions and digressions, which offer clues about how the self was edited for the written form.

Passerini's oral history of the Turin working class also teases out the wider social and cultural narratives that interviewees drew on in constructing their own identities and describing – in her case – political choices. Personal choices and expectations are always informed by broader narratives, whether political, social or cultural. Personal memoirs can thus also tell us how individual lives, experiences and identities are shaped by broader cultural forces, and how these broader currents of history have an impact on how ordinary people understood their own experiences. Nancy Chodorow's work offers a way of thinking about the self that draws on both psychoanalysis and the social sciences, arguing that the self is nei-

[2] Maynes, 1995: 5-6. See also Maynes, Pierce *et al*., 2008.

[3] Personal narratives "offer a methodologically privileged location from which to comprehend human agency:" Maynes, Pierce *et al*., 1981: 3.

ther purely the individual consciousness of psychoanalysis, nor the social construct of anthropology and sociology. First-person texts in fact highlight this complex interplay. Since such texts effectively mediate between the social and the personal, they offer unique insights into how identities – gender, national, regional or otherwise – are negotiated. Written retrospectively, Laura's life story is filtered through memory as well as through the perspective of her contemporary, older self who was living in a very different society to the one in which she grew up. Here what Maynes terms the "interplay between norms and experiences" comes into play; the repeated emphasis on scarcity, poverty and hard physical work in Laura's childhood and early adulthood, up to the mid-1960s, could be seen as a way of reinforcing how much her circumstances and her world had changed in that time (1995: 12). The text thus gives us a unique perspective on how social change might impact not just on material circumstances, but on a person's very understanding of their place in the world.

As a carefully constructed written document, the structure and style of the text itself bears some analysis. According to Portelli, the style of language used can be a valuable indicator of how the narrator feels about the events they describe; whether they are at ease or wish to distance themselves from the episodes they are recounting. Handwritten by the author in Italian, the memoir is largely crafted as a straightforward account of her life from childhood to middle age. However, at certain points, Laura also makes lengthy digressions, illustrating the non-linear nature of the account and of memory itself. Having left school at the age of eight or nine, her education was typical of a peasant girl growing up in the 1930s. As Portelli points out, orality and writing do not exist in completely separate spheres. Although literate, Laura would likely have been more familiar with oral than written culture, at least while growing up, and the non-linear structure of her text could be an indication of the oral culture she drew on in her daily life. Smith and Watson, in their work on women's autobiography, suggest that digression could also be a reflection of gender identity, suggesting a narrative and indeed a construction of self that is less definite, more fluid and fragmentary (1998: 10).

However, there are other recurring features of the text that link Laura much more firmly and tangibly to her Tuscan peasant upbringing. She worked constantly from the time she left school, first in the family home and as an agricultural worker and then by managing the family bar and restaurant; descriptions of her working life are thus frequent in the text. Her memoir is also loaded with details of the practicalities of ordinary rural life; they relate particularly to food, but also to clothing and other household necessities. This indicates her practical mind-set as well as the circumstance of her daily life, but at times it also seems as if the practical details of food, clothing and linens are also a matter of narrative strategy, acting as a substitute for confronting emotions or undertaking more personal reflections. In the following sections, this chapter will concentrate particularly on Laura's coming of age in post-war Italy and her ex-

perience of courtship and marriage. These events, while of great personal significance to Laura, also came at a time when rural Tuscan society was beginning a period of transition. Laura's choices and experiences regarding growing up, courtship and marriage can therefore reveal much about how ordinary rural life was experienced by young Tuscan women in this time of change. They also reveal how the younger generation of post-war Tuscans balanced familial expectations with new mores absorbed from mass culture, in their own choices and experiences.

Narrating her own life: Laura Massini

Laura was born at the height of fascist power in Italy, one of the youngest in a large family. She had three brothers and five sisters, while an older cousin also lived with the family. Sharing her early memories of Castiglione della Pescaia where she grew up, she describes a small village in the province of Grosseto with uneven paving stones and streetlamps with such feeble power that at night one could barely see. The family home was composed of five rooms; the kitchen, storeroom and three bedrooms which were shared by twelve people. Laura left school at about the age of nine, after finishing "terza elementare." This was usual for the children of peasant families, and particularly girls, in the 1930s (De Grazia, 1993: 122).[4] After this she began to help her mother with the household tasks; breaking firewood, washing clothes, baking bread. In her teenage years, she went to work as an agricultural laborer. Her father worked the land and she describes the family as being the poorest in the village, despite her father's hard work. In the late 1930s, he left to work in the new fascist colony of Abyssinia, hoping to make enough money to improve the family circumstances. He eventually returned home unsuccessful after several years with a mysterious illness from which he only gradually recovered, his inability to work making the family circumstances even more precarious. Laura's childhood and teenage years were thus marked by work, poverty, hardship and eventually the trauma of war and both German and Allied occupation. Her early life was lived out entirely in the limited context of her local surroundings; the family home, the village, the lands she and her family worked, and the sea. Her limited education and lack of opportunities to travel outside her village meant that her knowledge of Italy and the wider world would have been limited. However even her early life was affected by wider national currents, as evidenced by her father's emigra-

[4] This is also confirmed by my own reading of the first person texts of 81 women born between 1929 and 1945 held at the Archivio Nazionale del Diario. Of the sixteen women who described their background as peasant, eleven disclosed their education as elementary school or *terza elementare*. A further two had secondary school education but had completed their education much later in life.

tion to Abyssinia. This was the high point of fascist popularity; Italy had conquered an empire and even ordinary Italians like Laura's father – it was perceived by many – could enjoy better opportunities and "a place in the sun" (Duggan, 2012: 249-83). The war, too, saw both national and global forces at work in her village, while the economic miracle of the late 1950s and 1960s ended the rural isolation of her village, making it instead a coastal resort for holiday-makers. While Laura lived her entire life in the village, her identity was still bound up with the wider political, social and cultural currents that shaped late twentieth-century Italy and Europe.

Rural Tuscany in the post-war world

Laura's circumstances and life narrative must be understood in the broader context of mid-twentieth-century Tuscany and the Italian peasant world. Agriculture in Tuscany, as in much of northern and central Italy, was dominated by the *mezzadria* or sharecropping system up to the 1950s. Small farms were generally managed by large extended families tightly controlled by the *capoccia*, the male head of household. Half of the produce had to be given to the landlord and the tight patriarchal family structure, combined with the power of the landlord, meant that change was difficult. While the wife of the head of household managed the home, the younger daughters-in-law generally helped to work the land. These women had little independence, and always had to defer to the authority of the *capoccia*.[5] The experience of war, resistance and a strong rural left-wing activist movement in post-war Tuscany led to a new generation of peasants demanding reform of the *mezzadria* system in the late 1940s (Ginsborg, 2003: 106-10). Their campaigns were however ultimately largely unsuccessful and when peasants did gain the land in the 1950s, many found that they did not have the means to work it profitably. While the economic miracle of the late 1950s and early 1960s accelerated the migration process by providing better employment prospects in industry, there had already been a steady trickle of peasants moving away from the land from the early 1950s, just as Laura Massini was coming of age and establishing her family. As documented in Don Lorenzo Milani's *Esperienze Pastorali*, a study of the priest's rural Tuscan parish carried out in the early 1950s and in the recent work of Monica Pacini, such small-scale migration was common in Tuscany's share-cropping regions before the boom, with people mainly moving away from the extreme isolation and poverty of the mountains to the better land of the plains, as well as from the land to nearby villages and towns where local leather, cloth and food industries offered increasing employment (Milani, 1957: 303-40; Pacini, 2009: 59-96; Goretti, 2011).

[5] On the social and family structure of the *mezzadria* system, see Wilson, 2002: 7-29; Ginsborg, 2003: 23-28 and Goretti, 2011: 44-58.

However, Ginsborg notes that Tuscany followed its own distinct pattern of development during the economic miracle. While the number of sharecroppers in Italy fell dramatically from over two million in 1951 to less than 500,000 in 1971, confirming the picture of a mass exodus from the land, the region of Tuscany saw a slight population increase in this period in comparison to the rapid drop in population seen by the rural south and north-east (Ginsborg, 2003: 219, 233). Tuscan peasants generally migrated within their own region, fuelling the small-scale industrialization of what is commonly referred to as the Third Italy.[6] Family structure as well as local and regional identity thus remained important.

At the same time, the everyday cultural fabric of rural Tuscany was beginning to change, as peasants became better connected to the wider world.[7] The war brought the trauma of occupation and civil war, disrupting everyday life and family structures. As a result the younger generation of peasants coming of age after the war were more politicized and less inclined to accept the traditional patriarchal structures and economic injustices of the *mezzadria* way of life; however it was predominantly young men who took part in such organized protest (Goretti, 2011: 49-50).

As Laura's memoir testifies, the Allied occupation that followed also opened rural Tuscany up to a wider modern world. From encounters with multiracial soldiers to modern music and dancing, chewing gum and nylon stockings, the Allied forces who occupied Tuscany from the summer of 1944 broadened the horizons of the peasant world and paved the way for the consumer revolution of the late 1950s and 1960s (Gundle, 2000: 32-34; Pacini, 2009: 26-33). The post-war years also saw a flood of American films onto the Italian market, while cinemas expanded further into provincial Italy, so that those growing up in the late 1940s and 1950s like Laura, might not have to travel as far to go to the cinema and were thus able to see films more frequently (Forgacs and Gundle, 2007: 42-53). Goretti describes the impact of cinema on the post-war Tuscan countryside, with the very act of young peasants taking charge of their leisure time and income to go to the cinema, bringing change to the family and social structure of the countryside (2011: 52-54). New glossy magazines like *Grand Hotel*, *Sogno* and *Bolero*, aimed at a mass, largely female readership, were also on the market from the late 1940s, reaching a new readership of young rural and working-class women (Bravo, 2003: 77-81). The best-selling *Grand Hotel*, with its photo-stories, celebrity news and fashion pages brought a certain brand of consumer and style-driven modernity to rural Italians (Forgacs

[6] The term refers to the boom in small-scale industrialization, particularly in family run and artisan business, in central Italy, which began in the late 1950s and culmintated in the 1970s. Rather than fuelling the growth of large cities, this was a pattern of "diffused industrialization." See Ginsborg, 1990: 233-5.

[7] On the impact of mass culture on the countryside, see Forgacs and Gundle, 2007.

and Gundle, 2007: 39-40; Bravo, 2003; Cullen, 2014). While radio, cinema and magazines were present in the lives of Italians in the inter-war period, it was mainly those in the larger towns and cities who had regular access.[8] It was in the post-war period that modern mass culture began to extend to rural Italy on a large scale. As Laura and those of her generation were growing up, they were thus aware not only of their local and national roots, but of a popular modernity that had its capital in America.

Laura's own circumstances were not entirely typical of the Tuscan *mezzadria* culture. Her father appears to have belonged to the class of very small sharecroppers with less than three hectares of land who, according to Pacini, were quite common in Tuscany, as the text mentions him farming a small "pezzetto di terra" which the family owned outside the village (Pacini, 2009: 62). However it does not seem as if the family were able to make a living from this land, and his circumstances might also partly fit the description of a landless laborer. She describes the family as being very poor and we know that her father migrated in the 1930s as the family were unable to make ends meet; while small sharecroppers did often take on other work to supplement their income, this was usually local, temporary and seasonal, and happened more frequently in the post-war period as the local industries of the Third Italy were taking off. The fact that Laura's father migrated for a period of years rather than weeks, does not suggest a busy, working farm; she also describes working herself at a local *fattoria* for wages rather than on the family's own land. This might also explain why Laura's family did not follow the typical extended family structure of the *mezzadria*; she does not mention any in-laws living with the family and when she married she also went to live with her sister before setting up her own home, rather than with her husband's family. Neither, as both these details and Laura's knowledge of cinema and fashion suggest, was Castiglione della Pescaia the most isolated village. It was those in the mountains rather than the plains, with their more fertile land and expanding small-scale industries, who were the most isolated of the Tuscan peasantry, with post often not even being delivered to some villages in the early 1950s (Milani, 1957: 321-22). Laura's coastal village was also well placed to benefit from the growth of tourism in the 1960s.

Laura came of age in a society ravaged by war and marked by the scarcity of the post-war years; her teenage years corresponded to the late 1940s and she married in 1950. By the time her village had become a thriving coastal resort and a site of the mass leisure culture of the 1960s, she was already an adult woman in her 30s. However the world of her youth was also one that was undergoing a gradual transformation and opening up to other influences. While mass migration away from the land, television and the rise of consumer society brought an end to the *mezzadria*

[8] On mass culture in fascist Italy see Forgacs and Gundle, 2007, and de Berti and Piazzoni, 2009.

way of life in the 1960s, it is clear that rural Tuscany was beginning to change and to open up to other influences from the immediate post-war period onwards. Laura's world was one poised between the peasant culture of rural Tuscany and the rapidly modernising society of late twentieth Italy; she thus had to negotiate several very different cultures and mentalities in her own life. Her memoir allows us to explore the themes of gender, youth and coming of age in a very traditional rural society on the cusp of change.

Bikinis, beaches and dancing: Growing up in post-war Italy

Laura's childhood and young adulthood were characterized by poverty, hardship and constant work, punctuated by the experience of occupation and war. However the Allied occupation of 1945 and the post-war years also coincided with a greater opening-up of the Tuscan countryside, particularly to American culture. Like many others writing about the late 1940s, Laura describes how the presence of American troops disrupted local gender politics; girls often had flirtations or relationships with their benevolent occupiers, receiving goods like chocolate or cigarettes in exchange which were then sold on the black market.[9] Local men felt threatened by these new arrivals, with tensions heightened and brawls sometimes breaking out. Although Laura only experienced this from the margins as she was considered too young to be given such liberty by her parents, her adolescence was shaped by the awareness of unfamiliar things, people and ideas.

She was also quite aware of fashion and cinema, describing with pride the outfits and hairstyles that she and her friend wore to go dancing. She describes one occasion where she they went dancing wearing blue dresses that they had sewed themselves, describing their hairstyles in detail too; Laura wore her hair up in a style she called "all'impero," while her friend wore hers to the side. The admiration and appreciation they received from young men at the dance was remembered as a source of pride in the memoir. Their references for beauty and fashion were clearly drawn from cinema; Laura's friend was nicknamed Alida Valli, for her resemblance to the Italian film star, very popular in 1940s Italy and briefly in Hollywood in the 1940s and 1950s. Images of fashion and beauty from mass-culture were becoming more and more common in post-war rural Italy, through both films and *fotoromanzo* magazines like *Grand Hotel*, *Sogno* and *Bolero*. Their tastes in fashion and hairstyles also provide evidence for the pervasive influence of cinema and *fotoromanzo* magazines in post-war Italy. When it came to clothing and hairstyles there was of course no question of passive consumption of modern fashion; ready-to-wear fashion only began

[9] For a more detailed treatment of the complex interactions between Allied forces and the Italian people in 1943-1945, see Porzio, 2011.

to take hold in 1960s Italy, and in any case Laura had little access to shops or department stores in her village. Instead she sewed her clothes herself, as she did the bikini mentioned in the opening of this chapter, probably according to patterns found in magazines or pattern books and styles she saw on the big screen. Her relationship with mass culture was thus an active one involving dialogue and negotiation alongside consumption.[10]

The two-piece or bikini was becoming the symbol of modern femininity in the post-war period, as it represented both the healthy, sexual body and the growing phenomenon of mass leisure and tourism at the Italian seaside. In 1947 Laura herself was aware enough of fashion and mass culture to make her own two-piece swimming costume.

> A quel tempo solo quello era di bello: il mare!! […] Non sto a dirvi l'abbigliamento di mare che si aveva, le più volte facevamo il bagno in sottoveste; però arrivata all'età di 17 anni e vergognandomi di fare il bagno in quella maniera, presi un metro di stoffa a fiori e decisi di cucirmi un costume a due pezzi. Così indosso quel bel costume del mio cucito, feci un successone perché, modestia a parte, ero una bella ragazza di quelle acqua e sapone! (Massini, 1988-90: 23-4)

Swimming was of course a natural pursuit for young Italians living on the Tuscan coast, but the beach would also come to symbolize the wider changes in Italian society in the 1950s and 1960s as holidays and leisure time became increasingly affordable and the coast was transformed by tourism (Crainz, 2005: 143-44). Laura's hand-sewn bikini again illustrates her connection to the changing Italy of late 1940s and to new models of femininity.[11]

Even before the incursion of television in the years after 1954, new ideas of fashion and images of women were beginning to penetrate the Tuscan countryside, coloring Laura's own self-image as a "contadina" or as "campagnola:" "[…] Quando si entro in sala non vi dico le occhiate di compiacimento che i giovani […] ci lanciavano" (Massini, 1988-90: 27). The male gaze was important to female conceptions of their own appearance in the 1950s, as sources from both personal testimony and popular culture testify. This was the era of what has been termed the spectacularization of society, since mass culture – particularly magazines and cinema in the early 1950s – were reaching more people and playing a greater part in everyday life (Pinkus, 2003: 1-2; McLean Plunkett, 2009). Part of this impact was a greater focus on feminine beauty and appearance and an increased awareness of the photographic or cinematic gaze.

[10] For more information on how Italians accessed, consumed and negotiated mass culture before the 1960s, see Forgacs and Gundle, 2007.

[11] De Giorgio, 1992: 264-65. Bikinis featured widely in beauty contests and magazines in the post-war years, though not without controversy – see Gundle, 2007: 120-21; Bravo, 2003: 47.

This was also the era of the beauty contest; Miss Italia was just the most prestigious of a vast network of contests at every level from local to national, while Miss *Vie Nuove* was organized by the Italian Communist Party (Gundle, 2007: 117-41). Since they often offered a screen test as a prize, the contests reinforced the link between feminine beauty and the screen. Laura's friend had come second in a Miss Italia contest (probably one of the regional heats). Laura also reports in her memoir that while practising her diving skills at the beach one day, a passer-by took some photos of her and gave them to her: "foto che ancora conservo gelosamente" (Massini, 1988-90: 24). Her proud recollection of having her photograph taken by a stranger is not unusual; other diaries and memoirs of young women growing up in the late 1940s and early 1950s describe the same phenomenon.[12] Amateur photography became much more prolific in the post-war period, and the mobile photographer taking photos for a small fee on Italian beaches, was a recurring figure in popular fiction.[13] Laura's memoir shows how even growing up in rural Tuscany, she was very much part of a post-war culture that focused increasingly on mass media, technology and images of women.

She was however still a rural woman belonging to the poorer peasant class, and always remained aware of what this meant for her in a class-based society that was increasingly trying to distance itself from the peasant world. She describes her own appearance in these terms: "ed io invece benché avessi un comportamento campagnolo, facevo lo stesso girare la testa quando passavo per la strada" (Massini, 1988-90, 27). Even in her youthful pride in her appearance there was the caveat: 'despite' her peasant demeanor. Her social status also played a role in her first experience of courtship. She spent sixteen months together with her first love, but the relationship ended because of his parents' snobbery; he was a bank clerk and they did not want him to marry a peasant who was, again in Laura's words, "sia pure bella, ma sempre campagnola" (Massini, 1988-90, 25). Aware of her low social status in post-war Italy, Laura was resigned to the relationship ending. "Quindi io non ebbi più dubbi; sapevo che prima o poi sarebbe tutto finito e difatti così fu, quindi la mia vita dovette ricominciare tutto daccapo" (Massini, 1988-90, 25). Social historians, anthropologists and sociologists of Italy's post-war economic boom, have noted the deep shame that was felt by many rural Italians about being peasants.[14] It was felt particularly acutely as the boom began to transform society

[12] According to Caratozzolo (2006), amateur photography was a strong feature of the post-war period (15). References to male passers-by offering to take photographs of young women are also repeated in other diaries and memoirs of the period. This is again viewed positively by the writer. See for example: Rebecca, *La bambina e il camionista*, Archivio Nazionale del Diario.

[13] The mobile photographer is mentioned in several of the short stories from the 1950s in *Grand Hotel*. See for example Pozzi, 1955.

[14] See Milani, 1957: 303-42, Banfield, 1958: 59-62 and Cornelisen, 2001.

and communication links across rural Italy – through migration and the mass media, particularly television – improved. Crainz notes feelings of shame and envy described by peasants across Italy as other lifestyles were revealed to them by television, and the rapid and dramatic scale of migration away from the land is of course well documented (Crainz, 2005: 104-05). In Tuscany, migration away from the land was not as extreme a process as elsewhere. As a result of the historic small-scale urbanisation diffused across the region and the localized industrialization of the Third Italy, Tuscans were more likely to move to a nearby town or city rather than to the industrial north (Ginsborg, 2003: 219; 233). However, divisions between peasants and those who did not work the land were still acutely perceived at local level. Laura's break-up with her boyfriend and his parents' snobbery about her peasant background could be seen in the context of a society just beginning this process of rapid urbanisation with the conflicts and the heightened perceptions of class and rural and urban identities that it engendered.

Love, marriage and family

Laura herself, while aware of her standing in a changing post-war world, had no desire to leave the rural world. The way in which she recounted her courtship and marriage reveals how much she was rooted in Tuscan peasant culture and family structure, despite the hints of mass culture and modern fashion in her adolescence. Her courtship was in some ways quite 'modern'; she met her husband through a friend and the three used to go out dancing together. However although she chose her marriage partner herself, she described both the courtship and the decision to marry as being motivated primarily by pressure from her father and by the local rural custom of women marrying young. Laura describes the beginning of her first courtship with these words:

> Anche io mi innamorai di un giovane di cui non faccio il nome, desiderando di farmi una famiglia perché i miei genitori dicevano che alla mia età era ora di sistemarsi; in quanto a venti anni qui al mio paese era molto più difficile sposarsi (Massini, 1988-90, 25).

The ambivalence she herself felt is clear from the way her long sentences are structured; each clause is a statement that needs qualification. Laura uses similar language when describing the wedding day itself, indicating the strong role that familial obligation played in her decisions.

> Immaginate la contentezza come tutti i matrimoni del mondo, aspettavo quel giorno con piacere anche per sollevare i miei genitori dalla grande famiglia che avevano avuto, e così anche io, ultima di 5 femmine, per il mio babbo ero sistemata.

> Avevo sempre sentito dire in casa mia un proverbio un po' paesano e cioé chi á tante figlie le marita *chi ne ha una l'affoga* [exact wording unclear], cosa che oggi è tutto diverso (Massini, 1988-90: 31).[15]

Both her own sense of obligation and her father's relief at her marriage seem to dominate the account of her wedding. The importance of father and family in guiding such life decisions could reflect the patriarchal structure of the *mezzadria* family system dominant in central Italy, as described by Goretti (2011), Pacini (2009) and Wilson (2002), among others. The superficial trappings of modernity in her adolescence thus masked the local familial customs and obligations that guided the important decisions in her life.

The courtship is not described in much detail. When recounting how she met her husband, the emphasis is very much on her friendship with his sister, with whom she shared her youthful experiences of fashion and dancing. There is a long digression in the text after Laura introduces the relationship with her future husband, in which she discusses childhood memories of washing white linen at home with her mother before she abruptly returns to her previous subject. The lead-up to her wedding is dispensed with in a sentence; engaged at nineteen, Laura was married eight months later. Her description of the wedding day immediately follows. Here, it is the narrative structure of the text that points again to a possible ambivalence or a feeling of a lack of agency towards the events in Laura's life. This pressure to marry young in order to be "sistemata" or set up for life, would have been common enough in post-war rural Italy. The ideal of the companionate marriage based on love, affection and equal partnership was only becoming current in the 1950s and a survey carried out in the 1960s suggested that the idea of marriage for "sistemazione" rather than love was still more acceptable in rural Italy – where there was less choice of partners and work opportunities for women were more scarce leaving marriage as the only "career option" – than in the cities (Baglioni, 1962: 116-18). Fear of spinsterhood could also be strong, pushing girls towards early marriages.[16] Family pressure as we have seen, was particularly strong for Laura too.

This is not to suggest that she did not marry freely or out of love; nothing in her account directly alludes to this possibility. Although there are scant details of their courtship, Laura did make reference to their love for each other when writing of their marriage. The doll that her husband (who is never named) bought as a birthday present in their first year of marriage was an indication that "fin dal primo momento mi ha capito"

[15] The full proverb is as follows: "chi ne ha cento l'alloga, chi ne ha una l'affoga (delle figlie da maritare)." See Giusti and Capponi, 1871: 118.

[16] This can clearly be seen in letters to advice columns in popular magazines such as *Grand Hotel* and *Grazia*: Cullen, 2014. See also Wilson, 2002: 11-12.

and she was persuaded to migrate with him temporarily in 1955, leaving their daughter behind, because "l'amore per mio marito era forte" (Massini, 198-90: 29; 44). Indeed, it seems anachronistic to attempt to judge whether Laura married for love or out of obligation; her memoir shows that she understood marriage in different terms, and that both elements could complement rather than contradict each other. Langhamer (2013: 61-90) also suggests in her work on courtship in mid-century England that marriage was usually not a clear-cut choice between pragmatism or love; rather suitability could often suggest and encourage deeper emotions. The digression in Laura's text and repeated references to "sistemazione" could suggest a number of subtexts; the lack of any detailed description of her courtship or her feelings for her husband could simply indicate a reluctance to discuss such a private matter in writing. However, it could also point to a more complex and even unconscious reflection on gender and agency in the life of this rural Italian woman.

Laura's text only offers brief details of the wedding day itself, followed by an extremely rich and detailed picture of the practical work of setting up home as newlyweds. The bride and groom both wore blue in a simple church ceremony. There were no flowers or photographs and the only guests present were the witnesses and family; a simple lunch was served afterwards at her family home. The newlyweds had nowhere to live after the wedding; her husband's family apparently unwilling to support the couple financially as they expected.

In Tuscany the *mezzadria* family structure created a tradition whereby it was still quite usual for newly-weds to live with the husband's family, and this seemed to continue in post-war Italy both in urban and rural society. An examination of the first person texts in the Archivio Diaristico Nazionale indicates that while parents were more likely to have a strong role in the wedding arrangements, couples in northern and central Italy were more likely to live in the parental home after the marriage.[17] Laura's situation was thus slightly unusual. The couple were offered a room in Laura's older, married sister Denia's home as a temporary solution. The following day, Denia lent her 1000 lire so that the couple could set up their temporary home together and in her text Laura listed the essentials that she bought for the kitchen: 100 grams of oil, 200 grams of pasta and a half kilo of sugar. She also listed the items contained in her *corredo* or trousseau; a blue cotton bed cover, four sheets, four pillowcases, one dishcloth, six towels, two nightdresses, twelve nappies. A bed, along with some other furniture, was ordered from Grosseto by Laura's husband to furnish their first one-room home.

[17] In the memoir of Guerrini 1999 (Pieve Santo Stefano, 1934), going to live with her in-laws was accepted as the natural course after the wedding. Dei 2002 (Florence, 1930) also saw it as natural that she and her husband would live with his mother after the wedding.

Laura's emphasis in these passages is firmly on material goods and practicalities; food, linen, clothing, household items (Massini, 198-90: 31-34). There are no attempts to describe her feelings for her husband or their relationship as newlyweds. In some ways, these features of Laura's memoir are not surprising. In describing courtship in 1950s and 1960s Italy, men are much more likely to describe strong feelings of love and attraction for their partner, while women tend to focus on practical details or to describe their uncertainties.[18] The lack of emotion expressed in Laura's text could also relate to her upbringing and education. Although the memoir was written in Italian, it is probable that she spoke Tuscan dialect or vernacular in her daily life, coming into contact with formal Italian in school and through printed texts. We are reminded by Portelli to pay attention to a subject's command of language and the level of formality used; it may be that Laura did not feel comfortable discussing intimate details of her life in formal Italian (Portelli, 1981: 96-99). The constant refuge in descriptions of food, practical household details and work could also indicate her pragmatic, rural mind-set, connecting food particularly with home. However the gaps and silences in her texts, along with her lengthy digression, hint at what Laura chose not to include in her text. Chodorow argues that even unconscious emotion can inform our interactions with both people and objects in the world we live in; meaning can sometimes be transferred to unrelated objects and situations. Laura Massini's emotions about her wedding seem somehow encoded in the household details we are given as readers; the meticulously composed lists of food and linens in precise amounts possibly containing even a minor measure of disquiet (Chodorow, 1999: 21). Even in middle age, her sense of family may have been so strong that she was not willing to reflect on her own lack of agency on the occasion of her marriage.

Conclusion

Laura Massini wrote her memoir at the age of 58. She was suffering from ill health which she put down to over-work and took the opportunity to revisit her own personal history. At this point, she had been living in the village of Castiglione della Pescaia for almost sixty years, leaving only briefly as a young married woman. Even though Laura herself had seldom moved from home, the village she lived in by the mid-1960s had begun to transform around her. In the first few years of her marriage, Laura's husband was unable to find work after returning in ill health from the war. Unemployment among young men was extremely high in Castiglione della Pescaia and Laura described the air of desperation in the vil-

[18] Conclusion drawn from my research on sample set of 150 first person memoirs. This gendered divide in how courtship is remembered and described is not however exclusive to Italy: see Langhamer, 2013, and Szreter and Fisher, 2010.

lage in the early 1950s. In 1955 the continued lack of work in the village led some men, including her husband, to look for opportunities further afield in Genoa. The couple went together to work as domestic servants for a Genoese family and although Laura herself only lasted two weeks, her husband continued his seasonal migration to Genoa for several years. Meanwhile, she continued to work as an agricultural laborer in the village.

It was only in the late 1950s, when the village began to be transformed into a coastal tourist resort, that Laura's husband was able to return and find work with a wealthy Milanese family who had moved to the area. Laura went on to describe how their world changed around them, as the couple saw their own circumstances gradually improve. They were able to move to a better apartment in town and her husband could soon afford to buy a television so that, he reasoned, Laura and their daughter Ambra did not have to leave the house in the evenings. In 1968 Laura obtained her driving licence and bought a new Fiat 500. At this stage, the couple were already managing their own bar and restaurant. Material circumstances had improved greatly since Laura's own childhood. However, she and her husband worked continually to achieve this standard of living, and it was perhaps their daughter, Ambra, who benefited most: by continuing her education, she was given greater choices as a young adult.

The memoir allows us to chart how a rural woman born in 1930 made sense of the changing world of mid-twentieth-century Italy, from a childhood lived through Fascism and war to the prosperity and materialism of the boom years. Such a rich textual source allows us to explore not just Laura's account of her life, but to examine how the structure of the document and the vocabularies used, the gaps and silences as well as the detail, communicate the way in which this rural Tuscan woman understood her life. The memoir, and indeed the holdings of the Archivio Nazionale del Diario, offer particularly rich material for the exploration of gender and peasant identities in mid-twentieth-century Tuscany. The descriptions of Laura's adolescence reveal the extent to which mass culture was penetrating the countryside in the post-war years; however, it was the influence of family, tradition and local community that dominated her decisions about courtship and marriage. Even though Laura's family did not fully conform to the traditional *mezzadria* household structure, it is unsurprising in such a society that family remained the primary influence on her decisions. Young women such as Laura had to negotiate and balance these competing influences in making important life choices about courtship, marriage, family, migration and work. The passages relating to her marriage also illustrate best how her identity and life narrative were constructed in relation to both gender and place, as she drew on the materiality of her immediate surroundings – food, home, linens and furniture – to explain and describe her circumstances. Ultimately, Laura's identity as a woman and as a rural Tuscan in a changing society was firmly bound to and shaped by her sense of the place – its sights, sounds, smells and tastes – where she was born and made her life.

SOUND ARCHIVES AS RESOURCE FOR THE ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN TUSCANY

Silvia Calamai, Francesca Biliotti

Building an open sound archive of Tuscan voices: the Gra.fo project

Sound archives are an important (but neglected) resource for understanding the dynamics of identity and conflict in Tuscany, at least from the 1940s on.[1] It is no coincidence that the region is just as rich in sound documents (Andreini and Clemente, 2007) as it is – *mutatis mutandis* – in paper documents (Petrucci, 1994). Since 2003, specific contents of oral archives with high cultural value have become subject to the UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage. However, this type of safeguarding has proved to be problematic because of various issues concerning the conservation and accessibility of oral material. As far as conservation is concerned, the deterioration of the carriers and the obsolescence of the recording systems make it very difficult to play a recording collected some decades ago. As for oral archives' accessibility, private archives are often known and accessible only to the researcher(s) who collected them, while public archives – which should be totally accessible – are actually consulted only by small groups of scholars and suffer from a lack of communication between different academic fields.

These were the starting points for Gra.fo,[2] a two-year project jointly conducted by the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and the University of Siena (Regione Toscana PAR FAS 2007-13), aimed at preserving oral archives collected by professional scholars and ordinary people interested in dialects and ethnology. Its purposes were to discover, digitize, catalog, and partially transcribe oral documents (e.g. narratives, biographies, ethnotexts, linguistic questionnaires, folk songs, and oral literature) collected within the Tuscan territory. The creation of an archive incorporating the main oral archives of the region involved different, interconnected stages of work. It was necessary to lay the foundations for an interdisciplinary

[1] This work is supported by *Grammo-foni. Le soffitte della voce* (*Gra.fo*) Project (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa and Università degli Studi di Siena, Dipartimento di Scienze della formazione, scienze umane e della comunicazione interculturale). PAR FAS 2007-2013 Regione Toscana Linea di Azione 1.1.a.3.

[2] *Grammo-foni. Le soffitte della voce*: <http://grafo.sns.it/> (10/15).

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

dialogue between linguistics, anthropology, informatics, and archival science, following the example of the work done by the Phonothèque of the *Maison Méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme*[3] and the *Association française des détenteurs de documents audiovisuels et sonores*.

The first step consisted in making a census of the existing Tuscan sound archives. In order to do this, existing censuses (namely Barrera *et al.*, 1993; Benedetti, 2002; Andreini and Clemente, 2007) were used and integrated with information about oral archives collected for linguistic and dialectological purposes, such as the *Carta dei Dialetti Italiani* and *Atlante Lessicale Toscano*. Subsequently, a priority list was defined according to three main criteria: (i) relevance and antiquity of the materials (for older materials might witness disappeared or disappearing language varieties); (ii) state of preservation (priority should be given to those materials which look more damaged and whose content, therefore, is more likely to be lost in the near future); (iii) geographical representation (so that every area of Tuscany could be represented in the archive). Following this priority list, sound archives' owners were contacted and informed about the aims and organization of the project. Gra.fo staff then met those who accepted to join the project, in order to collect their materials. On those occasions, legal agreements for the temporary borrowing and the dissemination of the materials were signed by the two parties.

In addition, the owners of the archives with no proper bibliography or accompanying materials were interviewed so that they could explain the motivation and aims of their research. Indeed, unlike other kinds of materials, oral materials are often obscure: the motivation behind oral documents is often only known to the researcher(s) who collected them. Therefore, such interviews (called "Say something about your archive") are crucial, as they provide the key for interpreting and cataloguing the archive and offer the user an appropriate guide. Here are the questions the owners were asked:

1. How was your archive born?
2. What was the aim of the research?
3. What difficulties did you find during your research? In what conditions did you work? How did you find the speakers for your research?
4. Is there any publication or transcription of the recordings?
5. Did someone finance your research?
6. When was the last time you listened to the recordings?
7. What did you do to ensure the preservation of the recordings?

In some cases, the owners actively helped in the description of their own archives; in others, the cataloguing was directly taken care of by someone who had been active in collecting the recordings.

After obtaining the materials, each archive had to be given a name. According to the conventions established in Gra.fo, if an archive had a

[3] Aix-en-Provence: <http://phonotheque.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/> (10/15).

given name, that name was usually maintained (e.g. *Archivio "Cappelli di paglia"*). If not, private archives were normally named after the researchers who collected them (e.g. *Archivio "Roberta Beccari," Archivio "Benozzo Gianetti"*), while those belonging to an organization took the name of that organization (e.g. *Archivio "FLOG:" Federazione Lavoratori Officine Galileo*, *Archivio "ASMOS:" Archivio Storico del Movimento Operaio e Democratico Senese*). Archives resulting from important geo-linguistic enterprises took the name of those enterprises (e.g. *Archivio "Carta dei Dialetti Italiani," Archivio "Atlante Lessicale Toscano"*). Archival subsections (*fondi*) and their subsections (*serie*), which correspond to specific research projects, were usually named after the topic of the specific research (e.g. *Archivio "Dina Dini," fondo "Emigranti"*) or after the researcher(s) who carried out the investigation (e.g. *Archivio "FLOG," fondo "Andrea Grifoni," serie "Vita di Fabbrica"*).

Once the audio materials were gathered in the Gra.fo laboratory (hosted in the Linguistic Laboratory of the Scuola Normale Superiore), the conservation protocol took place. This protocol was inspired by well-established international guidelines (Schüller, 2005).[4] An open-source software system for the preservation and the cataloguing of sound archives was developed within the Gra.fo project (Bressan *et al.*, 2012). As for the cataloguing, the software system allowed the cataloguers to describe both the archives (and their subdivisions) and the single oral documents. In detail, the system provided:

- information about an archive – name, place of conservation, existence of the "Say something about your archive" interview, privacy restrictions, description, motivation of the research, date of admission in the project, owner.
- information about an individual oral document – title, content, date and place of collection, information about the researcher and the informant, information on the existence of bibliography and accompanying materials, classification of the document, aims of the individual recording, keywords.

Oral documents were catalogued according to the taxonomy proposed in Calamai (2012). In particular, four criteria were used for the classification of oral documents:

1. Type
   – controlled events (elicited by the researcher(s) and under their direct control, e.g. interviews, answers to linguistic questionnaires) vs. uncontrolled events (e.g. documents collected with the hidden recording modality, or recordings of folk performing arts events);

[4] For a detailed account of the conservation protocols in Gra.fo and of the technical equipment employed, see Bressan *et al.* (2012), Bressan and Canazza (2013), Calamai and Bertinetto (2014).

   - sung (e.g. lullabies, narrative songs, *ottava rima*) vs. spoken documents (e.g. interviews, narratives, ethno-texts, riddles);
   - formalized (e.g. lullabies, riddles, poems) vs. non-formalized (for spoken documents, e.g. interviews, ethno-texts) or improvised documents (for sung documents, e.g. narrative songs, *ottava rima*). This distinction implies the analysis of formal features such as rhythmic structure, forms of versification, and rhymes.
2. Topic – about 130 different topics were provided (agriculture, anarchism, animals, art, autobiographies, biographies, blacksmiths, carnival, cinema, clothing, coalmen, cutlers, dialects and language varieties, domestic activities, drug addiction, emigration, environment, exhibitions, family, fascism, fishing, folk dance, folk literature, folk medicine, folk music and songs, folk theater, folk traditions, food, games, handicraft, human body, immigration, legends, literature, local history, magic, material culture, museography, music festivals, Nazism, peasant culture, peasant traditions, political history, politics, post-war period, pre-industrial society, prostitution, racism, religion, religious feasts, rituals, school, sharecropping, theater, time, traditional family, traditional festivals, traditional food, traditional jobs, traditions, women's condition, women's history, work, First World War, Second World War, etc.). Only one topic per document was given, as the topic was somehow considered as a subtitle of the document. Other relevant topics were included in the keyword list.
3. Genre – about 40 different genres were provided (answer to linguistic questionnaire, autobiography, ethno-text, image/object description, interview, legend, lullaby, narrative song, poem, political song, prayer, proverb, reading, recipe, religious poetry, riddle, ritual, spontaneous conversation, tale, theater, tongue twister, etc.). Creating a fixed taxonomy for such an interdisciplinary project proved really difficult, since the available taxonomies were partial (i.e. they referred to a single field of study, such as linguistics, anthropology, oral history, ethnography) and often blurred the boundaries between genres and topics.
4. Language variety – about 30 different varieties were provided. According to the taxonomy proposed by Luciano Giannelli (Giannelli, 1998, 2000), Tuscan varieties were divided into urban varieties (Florence, Prato, Pistoia, Lucca, Massa, Pisa, Livorno, Arezzo, Siena, Grosseto), areas of influence (Florence, Pistoia, Lucca, Pisa, Livorno, Arezzo, Siena, Grosseto), areas of transition (Volterra, Massa, Piombino), and other minor varieties (e.g. the island of Elba). The sociolinguistic motivations for such a choice are twofold: a) cities are a vehicle for linguistic identity and usually influence the surrounding areas; b) Tuscany does not have a hegemonic center which can influence the whole territory of the region.[5]

[5] For a detailed account of these issues, see Agostiniani and Giannelli (1990) and Calamai (2011).

Oral documents need to be carefully interpreted in order to be understood (Simonetti, 2007), and any relevant note, drawing, or diary produced by the researcher before, during and after the data collection constitutes a precious resource for correctly interpreting the documents. For this reason, Gra.fo devoted great attention to the accompanying materials by digitizing them and making them available to the user together with the sound recordings, the catalog records, and where (if possible) the transcriptions of the documents. Accompanying materials were given in PDF format and were watermarked in order to avoid theft and improper use. Finally, oral documents that turned out to be interesting from a linguistic point of view (e.g. because they exhaustively exemplified a given variety, or witnessed a disappearing variety) were provided with orthographic (and sometimes also phonetic) transcriptions.

A web-portal[6] allows authorized users to search all the documents collected in Gra.fo via two distinct types of search: (i) linguistic area search (by clicking on the area of their interest on an interactive map, users can access the corresponding records), and (ii) content search (users can search by topic, genre, type of document, language variety, year and place of collection, city where the archive comes from). Authorized users can also download audio files (in MP3 format), transcriptions, and accompanying materials (in PDF format). In this way, Gra.fo offers to a broad public a huge quantity of oral texts which have been known, until now, to a very limited number of users.

Economic-historical, social and linguistic conflicts: three case studies

In the present section three case studies from Gra.fo sound archives are presented and discussed, each one showing a different perspective on the dynamics of identity and conflict in Tuscany, and each one referring to an archive which is particularly significant for such an issue:

- economic and historical conflicts (*Archivio "Angela Spinelli"* recounts the relationships between the Allied soldiers who escaped from the Prisoner of War camps after the armistice of 8 September 1943 and their helpers in the area around Prato);
- social conflicts (*Archivio "Dina Dini"* relates the experience of some inhabitants of Pieve Santo Stefano (Arezzo), who migrated to Switzerland, France, Germany, and Belgium in the second half of the twentieth century);
- linguistic conflicts (*Archivio "Alto Mugello"* expresses the opposition between the Romagnol dialect and the dialect of Florence in the so-called Romagna Toscana).

[6] <http://grafo.sns.it/> (10/15).

The three case studies offer interesting starting points for dealing both with the interplay between conflict and identity and with the representation of and negotiation between opposing identities. In particular, they provide first-hand documentation of the perception of the so-called ingroup (Tajfel, 1970, 1999) in different social and cultural contexts: from the impact of major historical events (a rural community's encounter with British soldiers in *Archivio "Angela Spinelli"*), to the experience of migrants who strive for acceptance outside their homeland and then have to face the trauma of homecoming (*Archivio "Dina Dini"*), to the microcosm where the "us vs. them" dynamic is conveyed by language and by meta-linguistic reflection (*Archivio "Alto Mugello"*).[7]

Historical conflicts: peasants vs. prisoners, peasants vs. factory workers: voices from Archivio "Angela Spinelli"

Archivio "Angela Spinelli" is an oral history archive collected at the beginning of the 1980s in Valbisenzio (Prato) by Angela Spinelli and Roger Absalom for the publication of the volume *Il distretto industriale (1943-1993)*, from the collection *Prato: storia di una città* (Absalom and Spinelli, 1998). Angela Spinelli moved to a small village in Valbisenzio and interviewed the rural population in order to shed some light on the cultural process which brought about a search for a new socio-political status in the post-war period, and subsequently led to a migration of the rural population towards the city. During her investigation, she constantly wrote records and notes, and drew the informants' family trees in order to understand the relations between the different families of the village and the reasons behind them. She also took note of the proverbs, religious ceremonies, objects of material culture, food, and illnesses mentioned and described by the informants (Spinelli, 1981, 1988).

The research showed that during the Second World War, while Prato was oppressed by bomb attacks, the evacuation of its citizens, unemployment, lack of raw materials, and starvation, the countryside was able to preserve its economic and social autonomy. Peasants had some food and, thanks to their centuries-old experience in hiding products from their

[7] In the following pages, the three case studies are presented with various extracts taken from the original interviews. Here is a list of the conventions used in transcription: interviewers are indicated by Int.; interviewees are indicated by their initials (e.g. N.C.); participants whose name is unknown are indicated by X.X.; parts omitted for privacy reasons are annotated (e.g. [name], [surname], [job]); parts which are not clearly understandable are substituted by [xxx]; emphasis is marked with *italics*; dialectal forms are annotated, where necessary, with the corresponding Italian forms. As for the prosodic domain, the transcription follows the conventions described in Giannelli (1988), Giannelli and Di Piazza (1995). The apostrophe – where it is not imposed by Italian orthographic rules – indicates the loss of a phone (e.g. 'l means il). Every extract is provided with a brief description of the main dialectal features contained within it.

landowners, knew how to save it from requisitions. For this reason, people turned to them for help and, for the first time in history, peasants experienced a position of superiority in the market, which made them aware of the possibility of acquiring a higher social status.

At the same time, the physical and psychological assistance given to the Allied soldiers who had escaped from the Prisoner of War camps after the Armistice (8 September 1943), the ability to hide and protect them thanks to self-help strategies, and the soldiers' total dependence on them, reinforced peasants' self- and class awareness. The following extract shows how the helper Mr. P.B. is moved by the memory of the affection between his family and the prisoners.

(1) Int.: E quando andarono via come vi salutarono, l'accompagnaste o?
P.B.: Ma guardi, quande gliandèttan via ci fecian piangere! E' ci feciano, ciabbracciònno, ci bacionno, di, di tutto un po', e' ci feciano. Si tenevano come, come se fossin di casa – ecco – si tenevano.[8]

Extract (2), from an interview with the helper Mrs. G.G., explains the motivation behind the peasants' choice to help the prisoners, especially when these were ill and needed special care.

(2) Int.: in che camera, in che camera lo mise?
G.G.: e, e, e
X.X.: [xxx]
G.G.: n, nella camera di' mi cognato, lì, di quello che era alla guera
Int.: eh
G.G.: e allora la mi socera, e i' mi socero glièran tanto boni dicea "Anch'io ho figlioli fra i' mondo"
Int.: perché tutt'e due erano, uno dispe, che poverino, un, tutt'e due, lei?
X.X.: Tutt'e tre!
Int.: Il su frate, tutt'e… tre erano 'n guerra!
G.G.: Sì! Eh, tutti in guerra!
Q.P.: Uno disperso 'n Russia, io 'n Francia e il mi fratello: [name] in Corsica
G.G.: eh, allora, i' mi socero disse "Io gliò pe i' mondo ' mi figlioli, se ci si trovassero i mi figlioli, un avrei piacere una famiglia gliavéssino: compassione di prèndemi questi figlioli?." Allora, e si misero, si messe ni' letto questo malato, e gli si chiama i' dottore

[8] Extracts 1-6 are examples of the so-called 'rustic' language variety of Prato (Giannelli 2000). As far as phonetics is concerned, note the -rr- made single (guera 'war', Inghiltera 'England') and the passage lC > rC (quarche 'some'). For nominal morphology, note the clitic pronouns e' (e' ci feciano 'they made us', e' disse 'said'3SG), vu 'you'3PL (vu lo lasciate 'you let' him'2PL), la (lei la gli dava 'she gave him'). As far as verbal morphology is concerned, several analogic forms are present (e.g. andettano and andonno 'went' 3PL, messe 'put'3SG, feceno 'did'3PL).

Shortly afterwards, the prisoner died. Mrs. G.G. describes the difficulties encountered in burying his body, but at the same time stresses the need and importance of that very last act of assistance ("Io un ho il coraggio, di portà via una creatura pe le strade"):

(3) G.G.: E quest'omo, e, e' peggiorava sempre, sempre, sempre, e il mi povero marito, di notte, gliandàva – stava a Cicignano, il dottore – gliandàva a prendere, questo dottore, pe curallo, ma non ci fu niente da fare, lui soffriva di cuore, e ci morì. Allora quest'altro prigioniero che c'era, [name], e' disse: "Come si fa? Ora se si va scoperti ci brucian la casa, v'amazzan tutti – disse chesto figliolo, dice – portamolo via!." E, e allora, i' babbo, e… e' disse, dice "No, no! Io – dice – non lo vo, un ho il coraggio, di portà via una creatura pe le strade – disse – vu lo lasciate qui, si va alla fattoria, e gli si dice perché ce glièanno mandati loro, e si dice a loro." E venne i' mi povero marito: alla fattoria, e disse "Di notte, vuol dire"
Int.: a Parugiano?
G.G.: Qui a Parugiano sì, di lassù venne quaggiù, "E di notte, vo' dire si farà 'n qualche modo di, potere: levallo di casa!." E quest'altro dicea "No, no, portamolo via, portamolo nelle strade, che quarcheduno lo ritroverà." E insomma i' mi povero marito venne giù, la mattina, quande gliarivò quaggiù c'er'i' fattore, piangeva!
Int.: Mh
G.G.: e dicea "Come fo ora, ditemi come fo a salvà: questa famiglia?" dice' i' fattore – gliavéa paura, eh!
Int.: Eh. Certo
G.G.: e' disse "Senti [name] icché tu fai, vien giù co le bestie – dice – si caric'il legname
Int.: mh
G.G.: e si fa, guarda se si fa una cassa, e di notte si pò…: seppellire in quarche posto, ci s'ha un po' di canneto, sotto la casa." E inf, e infatti i' mi marito la mattina, e' prende… le bestie, e vien giù alla fattoria e carica chesto legname, quande gliarivò pe istrada trovàa delle persone "Icché tu fa' [name] con codesto legname?." "E ciò il falegname a fà le finestre" gli diceva. E venner allora, di notte, i' falegname, i' do, i' fattore, i' sottofattore, i' guardia – insomma – 'n tutti fecero
[…][9]
G.G.: sì, e fecero la cassa
X.X.: ma un c'era anche quell'altro il fattore allora?
Q.P.: Eh ma, che venne a fà la cassa lassù glièra [surname] [name]
G.G.: e, ma, no no, un c'era lui
Int.: mi racconti [xxx]
G.G.: un c'era lui, glièra, glièra chesto fa, che era sottofattore allora –

[9] Four lines containing the repetition of names and surnames have been omitted.

insomma – e vennero, e fecen[10] la cassa […] e fecen la cassa, sicché, e messero, in cas,
Int.: come fecero a fà la cassa? Cioè co ' legni?
G.G.: No, tutte le tavole, in casa, [xxx]
Q.P.: in casa con le tavole, in casa nostra
Int.: segarono
G.G.: sì, con le seghe, co ' chiodi
[…]
G.G.: E allora – senta – a, alle quattro, e' c'erano a caccia co i' faro – sa – la notte tirava vento, un vento forte, e dissano "Come si fa? – per seppellillo, si facea ' giorno – e come si fa?," sotto casa c'è un po' di canneti un, o ripari – 'nsomma – c'è un po' di paro,[11] e andonno, fecian la buca, e prima di seppellillo, [name] – l'ha detto la lo conosceva
Int.: sì
G.G.: il [surname], e andò: a sparare, du' colpi per vedé se s'allontanavano con questo, pe andare a caccia. Sicché sparò, e andonno via, gliandònno via e 'n in que, quando non veddan più nessuno allora lesti, lesti, lesti presero questo: omo, e andonno a seppellillo, lì sotto a casa nostra. E indove l'avean seppellito dopo ci missero tutta la barca c'era le canne, la barca delle legne sopra che un vedessiro che lì c'era stato messo.

The motivations behind the peasants' choice to help the prisoners are stressed at various times ("la mamma non conosceva nemici"):

(4) Q.P.: ni' millenovecentoquarantatré in luglio, e… questi prigionieri alla mamma mia glia, perché lei la gli dava quando gliandàvan a lavorare, anche se non era: lecito, ma lei la gli dava sempre qualche cosa, o da mangiare, da bere
G.G.: sempre gli s'è dato
Q.P.: allora loro gliavévan portato diverse cose: tè, sapone da barba – insomma – piccole cose ma – 'nsomma – si vedeva che […] riconoscevano la dolcezza della mamma in pochi discorsi.
Int.: Infatti, infatti volevo sapere questo quando v'ho chiesto: "Ma come mai arrivarono qui?," evidentemente loro avevano capito che questa era una famiglia, non era
Q.P.: sì, avevan capito che la mi mamma – 'nsomma
Int.: eh, era la mamma!
G.G.: sì sì
Q.P.: non conosceva nemici
Int.: eh eh
Q.P.: eravamo davvero come, come dice i' Vangelo, tutti fratelli – ecco – questo, questo glielo posso dire

[10] Fecero.
[11] Riparo.

G.G.: sss, sì la diceva, ci volean, voleano i' tè
Q.P.:che la mi mamma la s'è comportata così
G.G.: sempre, sì sì
Q.P.: è bene che lo risappino 'n Inghiltera, 'n America, in Russia dappertutto!

Some passages explicitly deal with the identity of the foreigners, their physical appearance ("sembravano italiani") and their attempts to speak the language of the local community ("parlavano, s'arrangiavan parecchino sì"):

(5) Int.: come erano d'aspetto questi due? Fisicamente?
G.G.: Bravi, perbene glièrano
Int.: giovani, vecchi?
G.G.: Giovani
Int.: sembravano italiani o si vedeva che erano stranieri?
G.G.: No no, sembravano italiani
Int.: erano scuri un pochino – eh?
G.G.: No no, punto scuri, di carnagione come…
Int.: ma di capelli erano scuri o bio, o biondi?
G.G.: No, o, il po, quello morto glièra: castagno
Int.: eh
G.G.: e… [name] – ehm
Int.: [name]?
G.G.: [name]: moro, un po' più: sul moro
Int.: allora sembravano quasi italiani
G.G.: più italiano che… – sì
Int.: parlavano un po'
Q.P.: [xxx] stile all'europei, io ho visto le foto ma dalle foto
G.G.: mh. Sì, sì (*pausa*) – mah – parlare
Int.: parlavano italiano? [xxx]
G.G.: Sì, parlavano, s'arrangiavan parecchino sì

Archivio "Angela Spinelli" is a testimony not only to the encounter with the foreigner (the British soldiers), but also to the change from agricultural life, which was totally dependent on the quirks of weather ("pioveva: andavan a lavorare e a me mi toccava stà a casa"), to the easier way of life of a factory worker ("quando avevo fatto le ott'ore ero sempre libero"). The peasants' position of superiority in the market and their ability as helpers were the two catalyzing factors of the re-identification process undergone by the rural populations of the surroundings of Prato. Their will to climb the social ladder resulted in the abandoning of rural life: many peasant families moved to the city and started family businesses in the textile industry, repeating the self-help strategies that were part of their history and culture.

The perception of the privileges of working in a factory is clearly attested in (6): the small landowner-farmer-woodman, Mr. U.D.P., states

that, after working for eight hours in the factory, he was totally free and could, therefore, dedicate his time to other activities.

(6) Int.: Perché lei lo vedeva che in fabbrica stavano meglio i su compagni?
U.D.P.: Eh, e' guadagnavan… di più, pioveva: andavan lavorare e a me mi toccava stà a casa, e allora un riscotevo!
Int.: Mh.
U.D.P.: Era freddo, nevicava! Eh, o andare a mollassi e patì ' freddo o sennò, e allora mi venne l'idea – dice – d'andare: in fabbrica.
[…]
Int.: Come gli sembrò il lavoro 'n fabbrica rispetto a quello della terra, come ci andò – anche – in fabbrica, con che cuore – diciamo?
U.D.P.: Eh un cuore più tranquillo!
Int.: Mh.
U.D.P.: E tanto più allegro ero. (*pause*) E mi piaceva de, lavorare in fabbrica perché quando avevo fatto le ott'ore ero sempre libero, potevo fare… altre mi faccende, potevo fare quello che avevo in – mh… – di mio e, mi' lavori tra seguitare a tagliare ' boschi al, a ore, così

The conflicts of migration: voices from Archivio "Dina Dini"

Archivio "Dina Dini" is a composite archive collected by *Centro di Documentazione Storica della Civiltà Contadina "Dina Dini"* (Pieve Santo Stefano, Arezzo). Among other collections, it includes *Fondo "Emigranti,"* which contains interviews with inhabitants of Pieve Santo Stefano who emigrated to Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and France in the years 1955-1987.[12] The topics investigated in the research were the following:

1. the reasons for emigrating (mainly, the poor economic conditions in which the interviewees lived);
2. living and working conditions as migrants (which were positive for all the speakers, as they all had a better job, a better salary, and better health care than before);
3. social integration (language represented a serious problem at first, but most of the interviewees managed to overcome it after some time; while some were able to have friendly relationships with local people, others were in touch with other Italian immigrants only);

[12] Extracts 7-12 are uttered in the variety of Arezzo (Giannelli 2000). As far as phonetics is concerned, the so called 'raddoppiamento sintattico' is almost absent, while the degemination of CC in pretonic environment appears to be still at work (*alora* 'then', *de la* 'of the'). As for nominal morphology, note the pronouns *me*, *te* (instead of Italian *mi*, *ti*); as for verbal morphology, the suffix *–ono* (*vedevono* 'saw'3PL, *volevono* 'wanted'3PL) appears.

4. the reasons for repatriating (most of the speakers wanted their children to attend Italian schools; some were homesick; others had objective constraints);
5. personal opinions on integration dynamics and policies (according to many speakers the Italian government should establish some prerequisites for immigrants, namely a certificate of good health, pre-allocated job and accommodation).

In this case, conflict does not have a historical dimension; it rather emerges from migrants' individual experiences, such as the difficulty of being labelled as foreigners and the need to be twice as efficient and productive as the locals. The following extract from an interview with Mr. F.L., who emigrated in Switzerland in the years 1968-87, clearly shows that Italian immigrants were treated like second-class citizens:

(7) F.L.: Però, però la difficoltà peggior - eh - maggiore che un italiano che va in Svizzera sarà sempre calcolato: *uno straniero*. Questo: è la cosa principale, ci puoi stare anche cinquant'anni sei sempre uno straniero.
Int.: Se c'è da dàgli una batosta, i primi sono gli italiani
F.L.: e, e te lo fanno sempre pesare. Non sul lavoro, perché sul lavoro – come t'ho detto - uno se lo fa da sé.
Int.: Se uno te rende!
F.L.: Però… socialmente, ho visto anche mio fratello dato che andava a scuola, che faceva l'Università – no? – dato che era italiano, – eh -, per un i, per sfondare un italiano là deve rendere il doppio, di uno svizzero - capito? – perché a parità de: scelgono lo svizzero. Quello è chiaro. Eh! Gli svizzeri sono molto…
Int.: selettivi
F.L.: xenofobi, per quel, in quel senso lì - eh?

Yet, the same interview also attests the condition of the 'foreigner at home' ("come se fosse 'n'al, tornato 'n'altra volta 'no straniero"):

(8) Int.: Ascolta e…, perché dopo – quanti anni ci sei stato là, hai detto?
F.L.: Io diciannove anni
Int.: diciannove anni – ecco – hai deciso di piantare tutto e venir via, perché ormai avevi un lavoro, avevi un lavoro importante
F.L.: sì
Int.: stavi bene - eh? - hai detto
F.L.: Eh! E 'nfatti è stata…: una decisione n, *molto*…: complicata prènde-la perché là c'era 'l lavoro, si poteva fare quello che uno voleva, lavoravo io, la moglie, tutti, e, 'nvece a prènde 'na decisione, ritornare: in Italia, per, praticamente uno doveva ripartire: *da zero* – eh… - come, come se fosse 'n'al, tornato 'n'altra volta 'no straniero. Perché: a l'inizio è così, quan, dopo molti anni, che uno sta in un paese - eh, capito? - ci s'affeziona, come, uno ritornato in Italia deve, deve partì da zero, però

– dico – con un lavoro come, com'avevo – no? – così, abbastanza… – voglio dire – tecnologicamente avanzato così…, il mestiere di [job] quelo che avo[13] 'mparato là, e alora ero un po' forte

This double dimension of foreignness (feeling like a foreigner both when living as an immigrant in a foreign country and when returning to one's homeland) emerges in various interviews, as is shown in the following passage from an interview with Mrs. E.P., who emigrated to Switzerland in the years 1955-68 ("tante volte me so sentita più straniera in patria"). The woman also gives her opinion on the necessity of prerequisites for immigrants:

(9) E.P.: E vorrei, ad esempio vorrei dire questo: vorrei che l'emigranti che vengono in Italia, an, venissero con le stesse leggi, co i stessi modi come noi si poteva andare via.
Int.: Come voi andavate là, eh già!
E.P.: Eh! Sana e robusta costituzione, avere un controllo di visita, un passaporto e una casa dove andare pe, perché potessero vivere decentemente come se viveva noi
Int.: Chiaro, è chiaro.
E.P.: No come bestie.
Int.: Certo.
E.P.: Perché ad esempio, a l'estero, se vai con queste cose e fai il tuo lavoro e ti comporti civilmente, io penso che anche quelli come ' svizzeri che ci vedevono come 'l fumo a l'occhio specialmente 'l popolino, non i fabbricanti perché i maestri, i padroni de la fabbrica ci stimavano molto specialmente noi del centro Italia, domandavano sempre se c'era qualcuno se voleva andare, se voleva andare […] se Lei faceva 'l su lavoro, 'l su' dovere a l'estero era anche, come fossi stato a casa tua. Io non mi so' sentita mai, molto disagiata, a stare a l'estero, ecco. Mh, tante volte me so' sentita più straniera in patria, veramente quando so' tornata, per tante cose, per tante, tante cose. Gn'ho detto: passi da un medico che tu diventi matta per andà dallo specialista, che costa, io là, ero 'na pora emigrante eppure so', so' andata dai grandi specialisti che avevano studiato anche 'n America, col libretto de la mutua.

In (10), Mrs. E.P. openly admits her suffering ("quando so' tornata in Italia ho sofferto per, per riambientamme qui"):

(10) E.P.: Eh, la difficoltà maggiore è stato… per, per la lingua e anche le abitudini. Però… non è come adesso che l'emigranti sbarcano qui in Italia da tutte le parti senza – mh – nessuna… regola, là per andare…
Int.: avevate un contratto di lavoro già, cioè

[13] Avevo.

E.P.: sì, si partiva con il contratto di lavoro, contratto di lavoro de la ditta, il passaporto, a - mh… - a Chiasso ci facevono scendere tutti come…, come facevono 'na volta co, in tempo di guerra, e ci facevono la visita per avere… il resoconto de la sana e robusta costituzione
Int.: altrimenti indietro
E.P.: sennò ritorn, se s, tornava indietro – 'nsomma – e era essenziale avere queste tre cose: passaporto, permesso di soggiorno - eh - sana e robusta costituzione, e, avere un alloggio, perché non potevi andare se non avevi un alloggio. Già, alora c'era queste regole qui. E…, io mi so' trovata bene – mh – forse… quando so' tornata in Italia ho sofferto per, per riambientamme qui, perché là c'è un paese molto bene organizzato. S, l'italiano là… non è come qui che ognuno fa 'l su comodo, l'italiano là doveva spet, rispettare certe regole, se lavoravi e rispettavi certe regole tutti te volevono bene e te stimavano. E io avevo un lavoro che potevo dire che, di esser un'impiegata, e… tutti me rispettavano, me stimavano. Anche quando se faceva i calcoli del lavoro che s'era fatto – perché se lavorava a cottimo – e, ille, il nostro capo dice: "Ah, quando l'ha fatti la Frau [surname] – eh – sono a posto i conti!" (*laughs*).

Later on, she reaches the point of admitting that she regretted having returned home ("tanto me so' pentita"):

(11) E.P.: e a l'asilo parlavono 'l tedesco, però vedevo che non, alora io decisi – così – di mandare: [son's name], in Italia, a… cominciare, dico "Perché se comincia là, è 'no sbalestramento, non va bene comincia là, poi smette" – eh – lo mandai 'n Italia, a iniziare le elementari. Però io… non ce la facevo a stare senza [name]
Int.: quindi è per i figli – 'nsomma, ecco!
E.P.: Non ce la facevo a stare senza [name], poi dopo successo che, el mi socero stava male, la mi socera da sola 'n ce la faceva, la mia mamma me trovò questo [job]
Int.: (*laughs*)
E.P.: dice "Vieni…, vieni là, vieni là e… ritorna, ritorna, tanto ormai sei qua"
Int.: "C'è un lavoro," dice – vero?
E.P.: Sì, dice "'L lavoro c'è…, tu stai dietro al tu figliolo e nello stesso tempo – eh… – aiuti"
Int.: ma non s'è pentita - no? - di esser ritornata. No!
E.P.: Io lì per lì sì, tanto me so' pentita
Int.: ah, lì per lì sì – eh?
E.P.: Io, io là me sentivo co, come a casa mia, praticamente, perché forse, io, m'è sempre piaciuto la vita organizzata, precisa, là era proprio 'l mi mondo, 'nvece qua: è tutto diverso. È propio… una burograzia anche per qualsiasi cosa, 'nvece là era tutto più semplice, era 'na cosa semplicissima: vivere. E io me so' trovata molto bene perché avevo un lavoro che me piaceva, e 'l rispetto di…, di tutti… dove lavoravo, e… – mh – 'na casa decorosa che ci stavo molto bene e volentieri.

As in (10), where explicit reference is made to difficulties with the foreign language, in the following passage from an interview with Mrs. E.R., who emigrated to Switzerland from 1960 to 1968, language is described as an obstacle, which nonetheless she was able to overcome brilliantly:

(12) E.R.: alora sono [name, surname], moglie di [name, surname], abito a [address]. Ho… vissuto otto anni in Isvizzera, una bella esperienza, che in Italia non avevo niente 'nvece là ho conosciuto 'l benessere, mi sono sposata del sessanta, ho avuto un figlio [name] […], poi non sapevo parlare, me trovavo 'n po' a disagio, mio marito m'ha mandato a scuola ho imparato 'l tedesco, poi avevo tante amiche svizzere non, de l'italiane ne avevo poche, mio marito giocava al pallone, freguentavamo tutte le famiglie… svizzere, e così, ho passato una vita *bellissima* di otto anni.
Int.: Ascolti ma: perché a un certo punto ha lasciato l'Italia, e è andata in Isvizzera?
E.R.: Perché in Italia non avevo il lavoro.
Int.: Non è che già conosceva suo marito, eravate fidanzati quindi
E.R.: sì sì
Int.: ha voluto raggiungerlo
E.R.:sì – ah ecco – sì, sì, sì, sì. Ho lasciato l'Italia perché mio marito lavorava in Isvizzera e me sono sposata là.
Int.: La difficoltà maggiore appena: arrivata qual è stata?
E.R.: Era la lingua
Int.: ma eravate nella Svizzera tedesca o Svizzera italiana?
E.R.: Svizzera tedesca
Int.: tedesca, quindi è stato un po' duro - perciò - la lingua
E.R.: sì, sì
Int.: e come, e come faceva a farsi capire?
E.R.: Iiin un primo tempo, mandavono gli interpetri, ne la fabbrica, e dopo sono andata a scuola, ho imparato il puro tedesco loro passa, - mh - parlavon il dialetto però la professoressa m'aveva detto che io gni dovevo dire che parlavo solo tedesco e non dialetto, e così: dopo sono stata benissimo.

In recalling the fact, Mrs. E.R. associates the moment when she learned "il puro tedesco" with social recognition: "la professoressa m'aveva detto che io gni dovevo dire che parlavo solo tedesco e non dialetto, e così: dopo sono stata benissimo."

Living in a borderland: voices from Archivio "Alto Mugello"

Archivio "Alto Mugello," a linguistic archive collected in the 1970s in the municipality of Firenzuola (in the province of Florence, but on the Romagnol side of the Apennine Mountains), offers an interesting insight in the dynamics of linguistic identity and conflict. In most parts of Tus-

cany there is a particular configuration of the linguistic *repertoire* and the traditional opposition between standard language and dialects is lacking, since the Florentine dialect is at the origin of the Italian language (Calamai, 2011). Code-switching is totally absent from the linguistic production of Tuscan speakers apart from those areas where northern dialects are spoken, i.e. the whole province of Massa-Carrara and small villages of the Apennines. In the so-called Romagna Toscana the Romagnol varieties of certain places are threatened by the Florentine variety: two different linguistic systems co-exist and this evident linguistic attrition leads to a strong "us vs. them" opposition, language being one of the most powerful vehicles of identity. The archive contains interviews, spontaneous speech, and linguistic questionnaires collected with the aim of verifying the perception of the different linguistic areas of the territory.

The research shows that speakers are perfectly aware of the linguistic differences characterizing the varieties spoken in the different towns, even at very close distances. Fig. 1 is a map of the territory showing the linguistic areas perceived by the informants. In the map, the language varieties of the towns which are close to the administrative border between Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna are perceived as more Romagnol; the varieties of the area around the town of Firenzuola are perceived as more Tuscan, while the in-between area is characterized by a transition variety called 'balzerotto'.

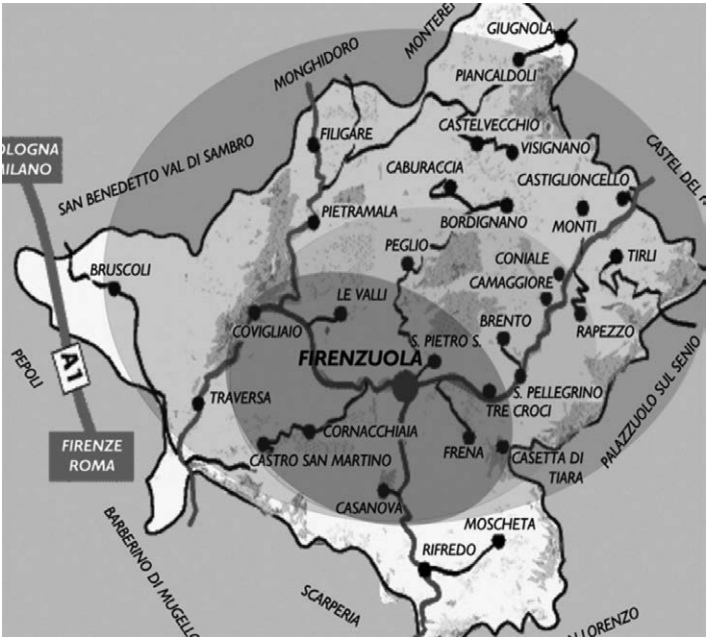

Fig. 1. The linguistic areas perceived in Firenzuola, from *Archivio "Alto Mugello"* (from Lepenne, 2011-12)

The following extract,[14] taken from a collective interview recorded in Coniale (located in the in-between area), attests how clearly non-linguists perceive the differences between the speech varieties spoken in the area. Identity is conveyed by language (Faloppa, 2012): boundaries between different linguistic varieties are expressed by phonetic (esp. prosodic) traits: "due chilometri cambia: la pronuncia," "Hanno una parlat più lunga," "A Palazzuolo tante cose tante cose ad esempio per dire l'olio lo, loro dicono l'uglie". The speakers are able to draw clear-cut borders identifying the locations where they believe different dialects exist ("da San Pellegrino alle Tre Croce, dopo c'è i toscani di là;" "nel Comune di Firenzuola parlano in modo diverso"). They live in a halfway area ("siamo in questo intervallo qui") speaking neither pure Tuscan nor authentic Romagnol ("non è proprio un rumagnolo […] non un rumagnol come a Imola").[15]

(13)R2: Ma odìo, è no dialet rumagnol ma è… un po' taié ecco, non è proprio un rumagnolo, siamo un po' *balzarut*
[…]
R1: da qui a andare San Pellegrino parlan di già differente.
Int.: Ah San Pellegrino
R2: parl, da San Pellegrino alle Tre Croce, dopo c'è i toscani di là.
Int.: Sì sì
R2: E noi siamo in questo intervallo qui, e parlen un po', el rumagnó – ecco – ma non un rumagnol come a Imola.
[…]
Int.: Ma appunto, siccome nel var, nel Comune di Firenzuola parlano in modo diverso.
R1: Firenzuola parlano già toscano eh […]
R2: Ma toscano *chiuso*!
[…]
R3: Ecco guardi, di qui e là quanto ci sarà, due chilometri cambia: la pronuncia.
R1: Cambiano di già la pr, la pr, la pronuncia anche stessa qui eh!
R3: Hanno una parlat più lunga
R2: perché ogni zona… ha un modo di parlare, de que alle Tre Crose c'è cinque chilometri
R1: ad esempio
R2: sé 'n altro mod de parlé, 'n altr mod
R3: la Casa di Tiara è tutta diversa cià 'n accento perché i cicchini lì
R2: eh c'è la diff,
R1: ma Palazzuolo, di qui a Palazzuolo per esempio

[14] The different interviewees, whose names are unknown, are indicated by R1, R2, R3.

[15] For a detailed account of the dialectal features of the Romagnol dialect, see Foresti (2010).

R2: se va a Palazzuolo essaiele.
R1: A Palazzuolo tante cose tante cose ad esempio per dire l'olio lo, loro dicono l'uglie
Int.: ah
R1: e noi si dice l'oglie.

As is stated in Preston (1989: xi), "impressions of language varieties exert creative forces on the shape of our linguistic competence," but also – we may add – on the shape of our social identity:

(14) R1: Ecco vede la differenza di San Pellegrino e qui loro, noi diciamo per dire "giù" come si dice noi "zò" per dire "giù" si dice "zò" loro dicono "zó"
R3: No [xxx]
Int.: Ah eh…
R1: "Zó" vero?
Int.: Perché sono di San Pellegrino.
R2: Eh sì "zó"
R3: Tutti dicono "zó" (*laughs*)
R2: Diventa "zó" e "zó"
R1: Eh sì, eh!
R2: Va via va poi si dice! … (*silence*)
Int.: Ma ci sono contatti tra qui e San Pellegrino?
R1: Sì…
R2: Le' però dì "zó" e dì "zó" per noi è uguale
R3: No, sa cos'è?
R2: Ecco, pe gnu ètri è importan!
R3: Solo che queste differenze si vedan noi ma loro non s'accorgan mica eh
R2: No, loro non so mica se le vedono, non le vedono mica
R3: Se non conoscano: i' dialetto non le vedon mica

Extract (14) also shows clearly how phonetic differences are relevant in shaping the identity of a small community: "pe gnu ètri è importan," states one informant, others restate the opposition between "us" ("queste differenze si vedan noi") and "them" ("loro non so mica se le vedono, non le vedono mica"), strengthening the sense of belonging to a language (a linguistic variety) and therefore to a community.

Conclusion

Saving sound archives from decay also means making them available to the scientific community so that they can be investigated by various disciplines and methodologies. Not only does the preservation of sound archives concern the safeguarding of endangered intangible cultural heri-

tage, it also offers a considerable quantity of documents, which are mostly unpublished, for linguistic, economic, social, political, historical, and cultural analysis. The extracts presented in this essay are just a small exemplification of the different possibilities of analysis offered by Gra.fo archives. Other kinds of research are possible, e.g. sociological (interviews with the workers of one of the most important factories of Florence in the 70s), linguistic (recordings of geo-linguistic enterprises such as *Carta dei Dialetti Italiani* and *Atlante Lessicale Toscano*), literary (*ottava rima* and its relation with the cultivated tradition), and much more.

First-hand documentation (interviews, life stories, ethno-texts, etc.) which is properly described, catalogued, listened to, and transcribed contributes, from different disciplinary perspectives, to substantiating the field of *Tuscan Studies*. In this respect, oral archives are not the product of a single discipline; instead they represent a fruitful meeting-point between different, even opposite, traditions. Tuscany is among the first regions in Italy to be provided with a center for the collection, conservation, high quality digitization of oral documents (Laboratory of Linguistics, Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa) and with an interdisciplinary research group (UNISI and SNS) able to bring voices from the past back to life.

ROMA ALTERITY IN FLORENCE: TABUCCHI'S *GLI ZINGARI E IL RINASCIMENTO* (1999)

Silvia Ross

This essay concentrates on the portrayal of the Roma community located outside Florence, positing that their situation is particularly representative of the complex dynamics of identity, alterity, and demographically-based conflict in the Tuscan context. The present analysis describes some of the typical mechanisms of exclusion and the cultural context affecting the Roma community in Tuscany, and concentrates on one particular text, Antonio Tabucchi's *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento: Vivere da Rom a Firenze*, which exemplifies the Roma's predicament, while at the same time reiterating, I contend, some of the dynamics of exclusion critiqued by the author himself.

In the text, which originally appeared in the German issue of *Lettre International* in December 1998 as *Die Roma und die Renaissance*, and subsequently was published with Feltrinelli in Italian in a short volume in 1999, Tabucchi combines personal reflection and reportage, and contrasts Florence's reputation as the cradle of the Renaissance and its capitalization on this image for commercial purposes, with the plight of the marginalized Roma living in camps on the city's outskirts. It consists of an indictment of the city council's marginalization of the Roma community and its denying them basic living conditions, while instead choosing to spend lavishly on events for an elite few. It is these basic injustices that drive Tabucchi to pen this pamphlet, as he teases out tensions that exemplify a Florence in conflict, through such contrasts as those between rich and poor, or between beauty and ugliness. These reflections on the plight of the Roma and Florence's indifference to their situation are sparked off by the visit of an old friend called Liuba, an anthropologist at an American university. Liuba wants to study the predicament of the Roma in Florence: so, Tabucchi offers to be her guide.

While attempting to dispel common misconceptions about the Roma, Tabucchi indicts the rhetoric of Florence as Renaissance capital employed by politicians and the media. Thus, he undermines the figure of the standard, more accepted image of the Medicean city. However, what is paradoxical and troubling is that proportionately a large section of *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento* is devoted to a (well-founded) condemnation of Florence's local government, but to the extent that the focus in the latter part of the text shifts away from the actual Roma community itself or the

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

facilitation of the voices of its members. Thus, I posit that *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento*, despite its author's laudable aims and its importance in denouncing the mistreatment of the Roma population, ultimately re-inscribes the Roma community as the subaltern. This is why I will focus on Tabucchi's rhetorical strategies in this text, in particular his emphasis on Florence's past and its relevance to the present, as well as his emphasis on the city council's spending on frivolous events while it neglects the disenfranchised on its margins. Before analyzing Tabucchi's text, I will first discuss alterity as a category and then outline the rhetoric of othering the Roma in general terms. I will then proceed to explore the Roma Other in relationship to spaces of exclusion within the work. I will conclude by contrasting Tabucchi's text with Soldini's documentary, based on *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento*, which explores the same issues via different strategies.

Critics such as for example Pia Schwarz Lausten, in her monograph *L'uomo inquieto. Identità e alterità nell'opera di Antonio Tabucchi* (2005), have analyzed Tabucchi's engagement with questions of Otherness on a broad scale and in a wide number of works. Some scholars have dealt specifically with his treatment of Roma in *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento*: Rita Wilson, in *Locating the Other: Antonio Tabucchi's Narratives of Cultural Identities* (2007), explores Tabucchi's representation of Roma not only in the novel *La testa perduta di Damasceno Monteiro* (1997), but also in *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento* and in the documentary by Soldini based on this short text, *Rom Tour* (1999). Situating the experience of the Roma within the context of migration to Italy in recent decades, Wilson posits that Tabucchi denounces the injustices against the Roma by depicting them as relegated to liminal spaces, typical of the marginalized 'threat' to the discourse of *italianità* or nation building in their troubling of borders. Wren-Owens, in her 2007 examination of Tabucchi's i*mpegno*, also pays attention to the question of liminal, marginal zones inhabited by Roma, viewing these spaces as reflective of the 'underworld' of recent migrants to Italy.

Perhaps most provocatively, Susanna Ferlito examines *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento* as a hybrid text, one that Tabucchi uses to depict the Other by interacting with the ethnographic mode. Ferlito argues that Tabucchi effectively dismantles one's preconceived notions of a picture-postcard Florence, and that in his focusing on Florence's past and the present of the Roma, he does not deny the Other coevalness, to use Fabian's term. She contends that "while he foregrounds many traditional and ethnographic techniques […] his text also draws attention to their failure in achieving their aim" (2005: 477). According to Ferlito, Tabucchi visibly places himself – rather than his friend Liuba, the academic anthropologist – in the role of the supposedly 'objective' ethnographer in order to problematize this very role and ultimately his text constitutes an interrogation of modes of representing alterity. I would argue, however, that Tabucchi's engagement with alterity and the structuring of his reportage reveal further and somewhat more complicated problematics inherent to the very representation of the Roma Other.

My purpose here is not to question Tabucchi's commitment, nor his attention to the question of the foreign Other, but rather to explore the ways in which he goes about depicting the Roma in Florence, and how the textual representation of alterity elicits some complex issues and perhaps some undesired outcomes. My engagement with this topic stems from my research on the representation of Tuscany in modern and contemporary literature, in particular how space is inflected in the text, above all in relation to alterity. Thus, because of its engagement with the Other in Florentine spaces, *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento* constitutes a fruitful work, or even case study, through which to explore these concepts. Tabucchi's reportage also provides a prime example of a population living in a context of systemic conflict: not one which derives from open violence or war in the present-day Tuscan environment, but rather is a result of structural inequalities between ethnicities and economic classes which persist in contemporary society.

My fascination with geographies of identity in literature stems from my own sense of cultural hybridity, but I have to recognize that my subject position with respect to the representation of the Roma is problematic, given my inhabiting a sphere of privilege and my lack of direct knowledge of the Roma community in Italy, or elsewhere, for that matter. Furthermore, it would be untenable, not to say inappropriate, for me to attempt to articulate the point of view of the Roma community or any individual within it. Therefore, the vexed question of the Other's self-representation remains. For these reasons, my focus in this essay is an analysis of the rhetoric and spatial representations employed by Tabucchi in his short reportage, in an attempt to contextualize the issues that arise in his short text.

The rhetoric of Othering: language, identity and the Roma

The Other as philosophical category has existed for centuries and, as theorists such as Simmel[1] have noted, the Other has formed an integral part of nation building, in that a discourse of citizen versus stranger was utilized to define those who belong and those who are perceived as outsiders, a concept Said developed further in his landmark *Orientalism* (1978):

> […] the development and maintenance of every culture require the existence of another, different and competing *alter ego*. The construction of identity – for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, is finally a construction in my opinion – involves the construction of opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us' (1979: 331-32).

[1] In his essay *The Stranger* of 1908, and Bauman after him, as Sigona notes (2002: 46-48).

Nealon, referring to William Connolly, also points out how identity formation requires difference:

> If we've learned anything at all from the so-called linguistic turn in the human sciences, we've learned that any state of sameness actually *requires* difference in order to structure itself. Identity is structured like a language: we can only recognize the so-called plenitude of a particular identity insofar as it differentiates itself from (and thereby necessarily contains a trace of) the ostensible nonplenitude of difference (1998: 4).

Moreover, the very concept of Alterity has been questioned; its legitimacy as a category of thought has been disputed for a variety of reasons, among them being that, despite identity politics' aims, the theorizing and recognition of the Other has not led to practical improvements or better relations. Indeed, theorists such as Nealon critique the lack of tolerance and understanding in today's society, despite postmodernity's development of the awareness of difference as a marker of identity (1998: 7). Postcolonial feminists such as Hooks, moreover, question the academy's employment of the discourse of Otherness and the resultant appropriation of the subaltern's voice on the part of the privileged elite.[2] Nonetheless, the usefulness of the category of the Other as a means of mindfully interpreting rhetoric which reveals dynamics of power and exclusion to me seems quite evident, and for this reason it is an important tool for an analysis of Tabucchi's representation of a group that has come to embody the very notion of alterity, the Roma.

The Roma as a group, due to their supposed nomadism, have been particularly subject to Othering. The stereotyping of the Roma, like any stereotype, is highly problematic, in that it generalizes about a population and ignores individual differences. Indeed, there is an inherent difficulty in defining just who the Roma are and what vocabulary to use to describe the population, as various terms exist: for example, *zingaro, gitano* and more recently, *nomade*.[3] Italy has opted in official language for the supposedly more neutral *nomade* which, however, in its generic nature, ignores

[2] See in particular Hook's "Marginality as a site of resistance" (1992), where she conceptualizes the marginalization of the subaltern as a space within which resistance can develop, and critiques the academy's use of the concept of the Other, a stance which essentially reinscribes the colonizer's appropriation and silencing of the subaltern's voice (342-43).

[3] The term *zingaro*, which probably derives from the Medieval Greek *Athinganoi*, meaning untouchable, was used for a sect, possibly originating from India, which spread from Anatolia from the 8th Century onwards (Faloppa, 2004: 156). It is thought that the group reached Eastern Europe in the 15th century, at which time other appellations emerged, among them *gitano* (*gypsy* in English), which alludes to a presumed Egyptian origin (Faloppa, 2004: 156).

the specificity of the Roma, and also labels the entire group as nomadic, when a significant portion hails from a situation of settlement.[4]

Other negative stereotypes have been used to label the population as a whole, for instance, that all Roma steal; that they are dirty or diseased. Nando Sigona also points out, in his theoretically informed and well-researched study, *Figli del ghetto. Gli italiani, i campi nomadi e l'invenzione degli zingari*, that the

> tendenza a negare le peculiarità e le differenze interne alla comunità zingara, "un mondo di mondi" l'ha chiamata Piasere (1999), si manifesta nelle leggi regionali anche nella mancata differenziazione tra Rom e Sinti di cittadinanza italiana e cittadini stranieri (2002: 120).

Indeed, such labels, whether they are positive or negative, are unsatisfactory, since they define identity in a manner that Amartya Sen describes as "solitarist." He explains: "underlying this line of thinking is the odd presumption that the people of the world can be categorized according to some *singular and overarching* system of partitioning. Civilizational or religious partitioning of the world yields a 'solitarist' approach to human identity, which sees human beings as members of exactly one group" (2007: xii). Clearly this "solitarist" view of identity, encapsulated in the generalization or stereotype, does an injustice to the multiple and changing identities that each one of us embodies and, in the worst cases, can contribute to a situation that leads to discrimination or overt persecution.

Spaces of exclusion: the Roma in the Florentine context

At the time of Sigona's book, which appeared in 2002, three years after Tabucchi's *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento*, there were about 120,000 Roma in Italy, of whom approximately 60-65% were Italian citizens (Sigona, 2002: 35, 66). He explains that roughly one third of Roma and Sinti, both Italian citizens and non-, live either in authorized or illegal camps, and are thus marginalized from mainstream society (Sigona, 2002: 36). This is indeed the case for Florence, where many Roma live in camps on the Tuscan capital's outskirts.

Tabucchi's text focuses on the situation in the Roma camps outside Florence and he describes this in the opening pages of *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento*. Citing a study entitled *L'altro diritto. Emarginazione, devianza, carcere*, authored by Political Science students at the Università di

[4] For official language, nomadism has been put forward as the main characteristic of Roma, as defined by legislation, but Sigona points out that this is not in fact the case, since Roma who have entered Italy as a result of recent conflict in the Balkans, for example, are coming from a situation of settlement (2002: 118).

Firenze, the provenance of the Roma in the different camps is explained in general terms (i.e. from Ex-Yugoslavia: 13), with the origins of the residents of the camp of Poderaccio 'basso', the so-called 'Campo Masini', identified as Kosovar and Macedonian (1999: 14-15). Tabucchi also clarifies that the residents of the Olmatello camp are primarily from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia. That said, relatively little attention is paid in the text to the Roma's individual or collective narratives of migration and culture of origin. He mentions, for instance, that one family, the Krasniches, is originally from Kosovo, but enters into limited detail as to what their circumstances were before moving to Italy (1999: 32-35). This lack of specificity with regard to the residents' history would seem though to erode the variety of experiences that exist within the Roma community living outside Florence, and contributes indirectly to their categorization as the Other, despite Tabucchi's good intentions.

The camps of il Poderaccio and l'Olmatello, along with the illegal clandestine settlements in the area of the Piagge and Brozzi, all located in the Florentine periphery, embody the Foucauldian notion of the heterotope, in that in Tabucchi's text they "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" (Foucault, 1996: 24). Tabucchi deliberately uses the term 'non luogo' to designate the zone in Florence's northern periphery which is the site of one of the camps, and Rita Wilson has rightly linked this term to Augé's renowned theories on non-places (2007: 62). Moreover, the Roma camps are what geographer David Sibley calls "spaces of exclusion;" and in his monograph, *Geographies of Exclusion* (1995), he illustrates how such spaces operate in tandem with a stereotyping of those who live there. The kinds of Otherness associated with inhabitants of these spaces of exclusion reveal an almost inevitable connection to the Kristevan notion of abjection, that is, "that unattainable desire to expel those things which threaten the boundary" (Sibley, 1995: 18). For this reason, in common parlance the Roma are associated with a discourse centered on hygiene and dirt, on purity and defilement, on health and disease, and their denigration of course opens the way to their persecution. In fact, Roma camps in Italy have been compared to Nazi concentration camps, both in terms of the ideology behind their existence and in their spatial configuration (Capussotti and Ellena, citing "European Roma Rights Center," 2003: 150; Sigona, 2002: 121).

The difficulty in countering this discourse of "purity/defilement" lies in the paradoxical situation that in many cases the Roma camps are not adequately provided with basic sanitation needs, for instance, washing facilities are unsatisfactory, the toilets communal, etc. Tabucchi describes an incident in one of the Florentine camps whereby the community's only water access is shut off by the *vigili urbani* when the temperatures in Florence in early August are soaring around 40 degrees Celsius. Tabucchi intervenes with the local authorities so as to have it reinstalled, but this takes

a couple of days. Immediately before this account, the author provides a biting parody of the city council's adoption of a discourse of hygiene, saying that the Renaissance city:

> […] che si era dichiarata così ospitale, non si è accorta che costoro esistono. Anzi, in realtà si è accorta (come poi dirò) che in questo luogo non ci sono le condizioni igieniche necessarie, e ha proceduto secondo una logica così cartesiana da sembrare lapalissiana. Invece di crearle, le condizioni igieniche, il che non rientra in questa logica, ha espresso l'intenzione di allontanare questi "abusivi," come ha dichiarato l'Assessore alla Sanità e alla Sicurezza Sociale, una persona evidentemente rispettosa dell'igiene (1999: 36-37).

Here Tabucchi points out the paradox of the general labelling of the Roma as defiled, whereby instead of remedying the situation by supplying the conditions to help them become 'clean', the city council instead threatens expulsion.

Tabucchi sheds light on the civic hypocrisy also when he constructs a sharp contrast between the beauty of the Florentine urban center, and the ugliness that is instead tolerated in order to cater to tourists' needs, for example the portable toilets set up in Piazza Santa Croce, the site of Stendhal's attack of nerves which forced him to leave the basilica and rest in the square outside, an episode which later resulted in the syndrome of a beauty overdose that was later to take his name.[5] As Tabucchi and Liuba have to walk around bins overflowing with rubbish, the narrator wryly remarks: "l'Azienda della Nettezza Urbana di questa città non ce la fa ad assicurare un'igiene ragionevole. Eppure l'Assessorato alla Sanità Sociale non se lo sognerebbe mai di evacuare questa sublime zona della città per carenze igieniche" (1999: 56). Clearly there is a double-standard as regards the Florentine City Council's tolerance of dirt, a tolerance that is based purely on social class and fuelling the local economy.

Florence's past, Florence's present

This powerful juxtaposition between Florence's beauty as a Renaissance city and its ill-treatment of a marginalized group such as the Roma underpins the text. Tabucchi utilizes the trope of linking the city to its illustrious past, only to subvert common assumptions about its glories of old. For example, he describes how the Medici family's reign was not the enlightened model most would think of, but rather a heavy-handed rule,

[5] I discuss the Stendhal syndrom and its ramifications in novel and film, in Chapter 4, "The Stendhal Syndrome or the Horror of Being Foreign in Florence" of my *Tuscan Spaces* (2010).

one which imposed high taxes and demonstrated an intolerance of those Others who might prove a threat to the family's stability:

> un equivoco ormai diffuso al quale l'opinione ricorrente non sfugge è che la Firenze della Signoria dei Medici, sotto la quale si è verificato in parte il meraviglioso Rinascimento italiano, sia qualcosa di analogo all'Atene di Pericle. La fioritura dell'Arte che si può ammirare sparsa in tutta la città e nei suoi più importanti musei, ha ovviamente favorito questo equivoco. […] Il compito che mi sono prefisso oggi è di smontare questo cliché attraverso una serie di informazioni storiche (1999: 16-17).

In order to dismantle the cliché of the 'enlightened' Medicean Florence, Tabucchi then draws on historical documents, *bandi* or edicts, produced in Florence between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, which already reveal strong prejudice against the Other, that is against such figures as beggars, vagabonds and, inevitably, the Roma (Tabucchi, 1999: 18-20).[6] For Tabucchi, this Florentine isolationism and diffidence of the mobile Other has remained essentially unchanged over the centuries:

> Firenze è notoriamente una città conservatrice. Senza timore di esagerare la si può definire tranquillamente una città reazionaria. Tale 'reazionarismo', più che di carattere ideologico è probabilmente di carattere culturale. Le radici medicee di cui si parlava prima possono essere certamente alla base di questo 'bagaglio genetico' (1999: 23-24).

Clearly Tabucchi is generalizing about the population of Florence based on what he knows about its historic roots, in this instance (and contrary to Ferlito's statements) practicing what Fabian, author of *Time and the Other,* would classify as the denial of coevalness, whereby a population (the Florentines, in this context) is relegated to a time other than that of the observer. That said, whether you agree or not with Tabucchi's characterization of Florence and the Florentines is not so much the point: what really matters is that via these rhetorical devices, his text focuses almost excessively on the city of Florence, while the presence of the Roma seems to recede. He is of course right to stress the local government's culpability in its treatment of the Roma, but the textual strategy adopted to do so, I would argue, is not necessarily the most successful.

This is because ultimately *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento* contains a thorny contradiction: while some of the text is devoted to the Roma camp and to their narrative, a large portion of it is excessively concerned with the denunciation of Florence, to the detriment of the Roma's cause. Ta-

[6] Of course Florence was not unique in its publishing these kinds of anti-Roma edicts, and Tim Cresswell has examined in *On the Move*, how sedentarist society regularly discriminates against populations perceived as mobile, in particular Gypsies (2006: 41-42).

bucchi certainly provides a powerful juxtaposition between the poverty and sub-standard living conditions in the Roma camps described in the earlier sections of the book on the one hand, and the ostentatious affluence endorsed by the city of Florence in its organization of frivolous, high-profile events on the other. In quoting newspaper articles published by the Florence issue of *La Repubblica*, and the local newspaper, *La Nazione*, Tabucchi highlights the city's prodigal spending on such events as the first *Biennale della Moda e del Cinema* in 1996 (where various movie stars from Hollywood and Italy are entertained), or a ball in the Palazzo Corsini for the rich and famous, who are showered with lavish gifts such as Swarovsky crystals (to the cost of 4 billion lire).

In fact, as soon as Tabucchi's narration of Cerim's tragic story – which I address below – concludes with the words "Fine della storia" (1999: 45), the text shifts to the series of newspaper excerpts, starting with a piece from *La Nazione* with the headline "L'EUFORIA DI SGARBI: GLI STILISTI SUPERANO L'ARTE. STRETTO ALLA BELLISSIMA ELEONORE, IL CRITICO S'INFIAMMA ED ELOGIA GLI ESTETI DEL TEMPO" (45). Thus, Tabucchi places to great effect the account of one Roma family's poverty and denial of civil rights directly against a headline concerning the ecstatic declarations on Florence's Biennale della Moda by the supposed expert art historian Vittorio Sgarbi, media darling of the Berlusconi era. This contrast, as Tabucchi has conceived it here and throughout the reportage, is indeed sickening and extremely persuasive in conveying his message to the reader that the local government's priorities are utterly wrong: the disenfranchised do not count, whereas the rich and famous should be catered for.

I agree with Tabucchi in his critique of Florence's City Council: it is indeed warranted and necessary. But what I take issue with is that in his devoting so much of the text to this particular polemic, he actually risks the complete erosion of the voice of the Other and re-inscribes himself as the voice of authority. In one telling instance, Tabucchi/the narrator encourages Cerim Krasnich, an adolescent boy whose family have fallen victim to prejudice leading to his brother's seemingly unjust incarceration, to tell his story. Cerim begins, but then is too sad to speak for more than a page-worth of narrative, saying, "io non ho più voglia di raccontare… E insomma mi sento anche un po' triste, vero Tabucchi che sono triste?" (1999: 37-38). So Cerim then hands over to Tabucchi/the narrator, who continues for him, in order to recount the story to Liuba and, indirectly, to the reader: "No, Cerim non ha proprio voglia di andare avanti. Non avrei più voglia neanch'io, per la verità. Ma Liuba è venuta apposta per sapere e io sono qui apposta per raccontare, perché io conosco le cose e questo è il mio compito" (1999: 42-43). Here we find one of the few instances in which the Other's voice is expressed in direct speech; nevertheless, Cerim's voice is (self-)silenced almost immediately and Tabucchi, while feeling compelled to communicate Cerim's story, uses his authority as writer to speak for the Roma Other.

Furthermore, while Florence's treatment of the Roma population is inexcusable, it is in fact indicative of the wider issue of local authorities having the responsibility of accommodating migrants when regional, national, and even European legislation regarding refugees is insufficient, with the result that the higher levels of government can exonerate themselves from the practicalities of finding shelter for refugees and asylum seekers and overlook the need for these migrant Others to build a sense of community.[7] This kind of discrimination obviously reflects the wider context, that of Fortress Europe. Yet the exclusions that affect refugees and asylum seekers from the developing world are applied to the Roma population, which has been in Europe for centuries. As Goldston remarks:

> Lacking a territory or government of their own and numbering only eight million to ten million, the Roma today are in many ways Europe's quintessential minority. Although they have lived in the region for 500 years, the Roma's history in Europe has been characterized by alienation, persecution, and flight (2002: 147).

The Roma and representation

So what are the solutions? In terms of the actuality of the plight of the Roma in Florence, there do not seem to be any vast improvements as of late. More recently the camps outside Florence have begun to be dismantled; take, for example, the complete destruction of the Roma camp outside Sesto Fiorentino in January 2010, without finding alternative accommodation for its inhabitants. These sorts of actions – at least to my knowledge – have not led to the provision of decent housing for all Roma, since they are forced to leave the camp and have no alternative shelter. Ideally, the abolition of camps, the implementation of proper domestic housing and the fostering of a sense of community rather than marginalization would most likely be a much more satisfactory solution. What is vital, however,

[7] Nando Sigona underscores in fact the lack of communication between the State and the Roma, pointing out how ultimately it is the local councils who come face to face with the Roma's need for assistance, while national authorities can wash their hands of them: "Rispetto al piano nazionale un altro aspetto mi sembra particolarmente importante: la mancanza di comunicazione tra i rom e lo Stato. Infatti, se le autorità locali sono più o meno costrette ad affrontare la questione rom – vista l'esistenza dei rom nel territorio e le frequenti lamentele da parte dei 'cittadini' – e devono quindi in qualche modo rispondere alla loro 'domanda' di assistenza, le autorità nazionali, invece, non hanno neanche questo tipo di obbligo. È dunque il livello locale, la città, lo spazio del confronto" (2002: 137). And quoting Gallissot: "è in città e nei quartieri che emerge con maggior forza questa demarcazione fra autoctoni e stranieri, che non appartiene alla città, ma alla definizione di nazione. La discriminazione nazionale si sovrappone allo zoning sociale urbano e lo penetra" (Gallissot 1988, in Sigona, 2002: 69).

is that the Roma in question should not only be consulted, but be playing an active part in how their needs and rights are met.

And what is the solution in representational terms? We are left with the aporia of how one should represent the Other, or if it is legitimate to attempt to represent the Other at all. While the Roma as Others are obviously constrained by the language and structures of the power under whose jurisdiction they find themselves, if they were to have access to the tools of communication, their needs and message would be expressed possibly in surprising and thought-provoking ways.[8]

By way of contrast, it is interesting to see instead how Silvio Soldini, in his 1999 Documentary, *Rom Tour*, directly derived from Tabucchi's text, handles the discourse of the Roma. *Rom Tour* is shot primarily in the camps (both recognized and unofficial), and it is the residents of the camps who speak for the most part, with some input from a local social worker, a priest, and even Tabucchi himself for a few brief minutes. While the Roma in the film are not directing the camera and controlling the camera eye, they are nonetheless the primary speakers in the film. The contrast between the untenable living conditions of the camps and Florence as a tourist destination is reiterated in the documentary, where shots of squalid conditions in the camp, with rudimentary living arrangements in some of the caravans, are set against shots of tour guides directing visitors' gazes to famed monuments in Florence's city center. Yet, while the basic juxtaposition of the beautiful Renaissance city with the appalling situation of the camps which underpins most of Tabucchi's book is employed to good effect in this film, too, it does not dominate: it is really the voices and faces of the Roma interviewees which draw the viewer's attention throughout.

Soldini is not the only one to strive for greater inclusion of the Roma voice in filmic, artistic or literary representation. Another short film/documentary, entitled *Romanes*, by Annja Krautgasser, actually ensures that the Roma youth in a camp outside Rome hold the camera and thus directly determine what the viewer will see. Another striking example of the creative enterprise including the Roma voice is the interactive, testimonial-based exhibition, "Call the Witness," at Venice's *Biennale* in 2011.[9] These films and installations, as well as others, constitute examples of recent endeavors to ensure that the voice of the subaltern is indeed expressed, rather than that of the Italian author who, however well-intentioned, takes it upon him or herself to articulate and represent textually the experience of the Other.

[8] Obviously the issue, in addition to reflecting the dynamics of power, is also a linguistic one, since the lack of knowledge of Italian on the part of some Roma constitutes a barrier for self-expression.

[9] For more information on the exhibition and the project itself, see http://www.callthewitness.net/ (12/15).

"A LIFE OF METAL:" AN ECOCRITICAL READING OF SILVIA AVALLONE'S *ACCIAIO* (2010)[1]

Enrico Cesaretti

> Alessio calpestava ortiche e resti di mattoni refrattari. Il metallo saturava il terreno e la sua pelle (Avallone, 2010: 24).
>
> And human metalworkers are themselves emergent effects of the vital materiality they work (Bennett, 2010: 60).

According to its official tourist website,[2] the section of Tuscan coast overlooking the Tyrrhenian Sea branded as 'Costa degli Etruschi' extends approximately one hundred kilometers, from Livorno in the North, to Piombino in the South. Directly to the west lie three of the islands forming the Tuscan Archipelago – Elba, Capraia and Gorgona. The other four – Pianosa, Giglio, Montecristo and Giannutri – are scattered a bit further south. To the East of the Costa degli Etruschi, in its adjacent hinterland, villages such as Bolgheri and Castagneto Carducci enhance the Etruscan aura of beauty, civilized refinement, layered history, culture and literariness. Besides Giosuè Carducci, the bard of unified Italy, who celebrated these places in his poetry in the late nineteenth century, Gabriele D'Annunzio spent at least some of his "vita inimitabile" in his cliff-side Villa Godilonda near Quercianella. A little later, yet another famous poet, Giorgio Caproni, wrote memorable lyrics about Livorno (his birthplace) and his beloved Tyrrhenian Sea. And, finally, in 1962 film director Dino Risi shot some crucial scenes of his classic *Il Sorpasso* on the coastal road near the fashionable and celebrity-friendly resort town of Castiglioncello.[3] Those whose interests veer more towards the gourmet than the literary and cinematic might also recall that one of the best red wines in the world (Sassicaia) is produced in this area, benefitting from the mild climate and the sea breezes.

Although far from being exhaustive, these kinds of cultural associations and representations of place have helped further boost the appeal of this geographic area. Perceived by the majority of Italians and foreigners alike, under the light of leisure, as an Arcadian, coveted tourist destina-

[1] The present contribution has appeared in *Ecozon@: European Journal of Literature, Culture and Environment* (5.2) 2014. 107-22.

[2] <http://www.costadeglietruschi.it/> (10/15).

[3] Actors Marcello Mastroianni, Alberto Sordi, and Paolo Panelli, and screenwriter Suso Cecchi D'Amico all owned villas and used to vacation here.

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

tion, the 'Costa degli Etruschi' is usually appreciated for its well-tended beaches, unpolluted sea, natural parks, archeological sites, gastronomic excellence, and, last but not least, progressive environmental policies.[4]

Of course, it goes without saying that this sort of Edenic, constructed perception is also substantially incomplete and in conflict with the real identity and more complex nature of this place.[5] For example, on any given day the air quality in Livorno's industrial harbor area is quite mephitic.[6] Tar, oil from ships, and plastic debris, from large bottles to microscopic spheres, gather in even the most secluded rocky coves and beaches. Vada's famous white beaches, with their Caribbean-like powder sand and eerie-looking turquoise waters, are actually the direct by-product of industrial toxic waste, loaded as they are with chemical compounds of ammonia, soda-ash, and mercury from the local site of the Belgian multinational corporation Solvay.[7] However, at a time when Italy as a whole is facing sky-rocketing unemployment rates and much larger economic and political problems, this sort of information, even on the rare occasions when it manages to reach a wider public, is generally considered as an annoying, yet mostly marginal, curiosity.[8] This said, a poignant look at and realistic representation of the southernmost point of this coastal area, Piombino

[4] I use the term progressive also to emphasize how Tuscany's environmental efforts and policies are presented by the media (rightly so, in many cases) as particularly advanced, if compared to those of other, euphemistically speaking, historically less environmentally engaged Italian regions (such as Campania). For example, in 2013, the international 'Programma Bandiera Blu'(<http://www.bandierablu.org/common/index.asp>; 10/15) which assigns a sought-after eco-label to coastal localities that promote a sustainable management of the environment, listed and rewarded with a 'blue flag' the following locations in the area: Livorno (Antignano and Quercianella), Rosignano Marittimo (Castiglioncello and Vada), Bibbona (Marina di Bibbona), Castagneto Carducci, Cecina, Piombino (Parco naturale della Sterpaia), San Vincenzo. This, of course, does not mean that the situation in Tuscany is ideal.

[5] Interestingly, Carducci in his poem "In riva al mare" – without any clear environmental concern in mind – already mentions the Tyrrhenian Sea's "sucide schiume," and its "immonde prede" hunted by a cetacean.

[6] See Barbaro and Maltagliati, <http://www.arpat.toscana.it/documentazione/report/indagine-sociale-sulle-maleodoranze-intorno-all2019area-picchianti-livorno-analisi-delle-schede-di-rilevazione> (10/15). More information may be found on the site of ARPAT (Agenzia regionale per la protezione ambientale della Toscana) <http://www.arpat.toscana.it/> (10/15).

[7] A recent book such as Bertrams, Coupain and Homburg, 2012, provides the reader with everything one may wish to possibly know about Solvay, its praiseworthy initiatives and innovative corporate policies, with the exception of any hint of the history of the effects that this 'family firm' has had for the past one hundred and fifty years (and continues to have) on the environment (on Rosignano Solvay and its nearby coastal areas as well).

[8] As I am writing this essay (Spring 2014), the Lucchini steel-plant in Piombino is (still) in trouble. Its workers are organizing strikes to protest against the potential sale of the factory to an Indian investment group.

and surroundings, is found in a fictional, contemporary literary work: Silvia Avallone's acclaimed first novel *Acciaio* (2010).[9] This novel problematizes the initial, idyllic picture I painted above, and simultaneously raises both local and wider, global environmental concerns.

Set in 2001, *Acciaio*'s main plot line tells the story of the struggling friendship, complicated existence, dreams, and coming of age of Anna and Francesca, two teenage girls who live in a working class neighborhood in the industrial section of Piombino. Most of their relatives and friends work in the nearby Lucchini steel plant. Both girls are in the process of exploring their sexual identity within a marginalized context, namely, the ghetto-like neighborhood near the steel plant which embodies class-based systemic conflict and social injustice. At the same time, as its title suggests, the novel also deals with the close relationship and reciprocal interferences between human beings (their own bodies and selves) and nonhuman matter, be it inorganic, like the iron ore and the machines the workers use to produce steel, the combination of concrete, asbestos and rust with which their tenement houses are built, or organic, like the animals, plants, algae and shells the girls find on their secret beach near the plant. This relationship and interference is both literal and symbolic. For instance, human beings may assume thing-like qualities, like Francesca's father who is significantly defined a "coso" after losing his finger; and objects, in turn, may display uncanny anthropomorphic and vital qualities, like the fused metal which is subtly assimilated into the flow of blood (23), or the blast furnace, Afo 4, that is described as a huge organism, animated twenty-four hours a day, that chews, digests and belches like a living thing (23).

By building on some of the theoretical postulates and methodological insights provided by ecocriticism's recent material turn, that is, by focusing on the novel's representations of the encounters between people and things, of a space in which the human protagonists are intimately entangled with nonhuman entities and, in short, of a situation in which bodies, machines, substances and landscapes are interlaced and collectively share agency, the aim of this essay is to suggest that Avallone's novel not only presents an alternative vision of (at least a section of) Tuscany's famed Etruscan Coast, but also illustrates the "complexity of levels, at once ecological, political […] artistic, cultural, that craft the life of this place" (Iovino, 2014: 98). I would like to argue that this text, by drawing attention to the mutual connections between organisms, ecosystems, and objects,

[9] Silvia Avallone was born in Biella in 1984. After graduating with a degree in Philosophy from the University of Bologna, she collaborated with *Il Corriere della Sera* and *Vanity Fair*. Her poetry and short fiction appeared in *Granta* and *Nuovi Argomenti*. The English translation of *Acciaio* came out in 2012 with a title, *Swimming to Elba*, which would seem to target the same kind of Anglo-American reader who loves Frances Mayes' 'Bella Tuscany' series of books (if so, these readers may not find exactly what they expected). A cinematic adaptation with the same title as the novel, *Acciaio* by Stefano Mordini, appeared in 2012.

and between the biological, social, and technological spheres, may go far beyond the main story of Anna, Francesca, the industrial area of Piombino and the Lucchini factory. Taking this fictional, unusual, but also very real Tuscan territory as an example, Avallone's novel provides a template with which to better understand similar, ongoing dynamics in many other coastal, rural, or urban Piombinos, be they nearby in Tuscany (the Solvay soda-ash plant in Rosignano comes again to mind), elsewhere in Italy, or anywhere around the globe.

Since it would be impossible (not to mention redundant) in this context to provide an exhaustive summary either of the philosophical genealogy or of the growing theories and scholarship on so-called new materialisms that, in recent years, have contributed to affecting, and greatly expanding the range of environmental studies beyond nature by giving shape to the ramification of material ecocriticism, I will limit my efforts here to sketching the underlying ideas and (more ecological) implications of this turn to materiality that are especially relevant to my discussion of *Acciaio*.

To limit the discussion to some of the scholars quoted so far (whose work I consider particularly inspiring for my discussion), one may thus point out that part of my title, "A Life of Metal," hints at the homonymous chapter in Jane Bennett's *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. The major claim of her book, which expands on a materialist tradition that follows the line "Democritus-Epicurus-Spinoza-Diderot-Deleuze more than Hegel-Marx-Adorno" (2010: xiii), is that, expectedly, there is an active vitality intrinsic to matter, that to separate what is "inert" from what is "vital" is more difficult than one thinks, and that the agencies of nonhuman materials and forces ("operating in nature, in the human body, and in human artifacts:" xvi) need to be considered to ultimately "counter the narcissism of humans in charge of the world" (xvi). The section of her book entitled "A Life of Metal," in particular, following insights by Deleuze and Guattari, convincingly questions a traditional "association of metal with passivity or a dead thingness" and observes that "it is metal that best reveals this quivering effervescence; it is metal, bursting with a life, that gives rise to "'the prodigious idea of Nonorganic Life'" (2010: 55). As the earlier quotes from the novel already suggest, this kind of observation seems to resonate quite well with some of the dynamics and situations described in *Acciaio*.

Bennett's positions on material agency and her ideas on a posthuman inseparability of human and nonhuman entities, themselves "'emergences' whose existence and meanings are strictly connected to the discursive dimensions with which they are entangled" (Iovino, 2012c: 135) are shared by a number of other scholars who (to simplify) generally agree in viewing the world as a place in which everything is intermeshed and interferes with everything else, and where, by extension, the primacy and centrality traditionally assigned to human beings and their discourse at the expense of other forms of life and/or things (i.e. the anthropo-logo-centric perspective) is radically questioned.

Thus, for example, when Pickering states that we all live in the "mangle of practice" and that "everyday life has this character of coping with material agency, agency that comes at us from outside the human realm and that cannot be reduced to anything within that realm," (1995: 6) he wishes to surpass the dichotomies society/nature, nature/culture and human/nonhuman. Similarly, and despite her different disciplinary angle and emphasis, when Alaimo introduces the notion of "trans-corporeality" to indicate "the extent to which the corporeal substance of the human is ultimately inseparable from 'the environment' […] the flow of substances […] between people, places and economic/political systems" (2010: 2-9), and views the self as "a process of interacting agencies rather than a fixed, immobile and self-referential identity" (quoted in Iovino, 2012c: 138), she shares an interest in moving beyond traditional juxtapositions of matter, agency and meaning.

The work of additional scholars (from Bruno Latour and Gregory Bateson to Karen Barad, and Rosi Braidotti) could certainly provide a more nuanced and detailed picture of the ramifications and consequences that this material turn has for ecocriticism. I want to emphasize two points for my limited purposes. First, that one of the main objectives of this interdisciplinary encounter is to re-think "the borders of the human, and [to develop] a more inclusive vision of the earthly dynamics" (Iovino, 2012c: 144). And, second, that within such a vision "there is […] a mutual porosity, an intra-action, between individuals and their landscapes" (Iovino, 2014: 105).[10] Thus the traditional conflicts between the animate and the inanimate, the natural and the artificial are attenuated and the lines between the different categories blurred.

From the material ecocritical perspective delineated above, *Acciaio*'s relevance seems thus to rest on its representation of various transformations of human and nonhuman bodies (be they those of the girls, the animals, the industrial products, or the land itself), on that of the interactions between these bodies and their environment, and on the mutual transformation of narrative, landscape and nonhuman subjects. While depicting an intimate connection between organisms, ecosystems and humanly-made substances, the novel ultimately also dramatizes the risky and potentially hazardous consequences that such a connection may entail. That is, it illustrates how difficult, if not impossible, it is to isolate the health or illness of geographic spaces from the health or illness of existential spaces. As the narrator asks: "Cosa significa crescere in un complesso di quattro casermoni, da cui piovono pezzi di balcone e di amianto, in un cortile dove i bambini giocano accanto a ragazzi che spacciano e vecchie che puzzano?" (Avallone, 2010: 32).

Avallone's novel seems to hint right from (and especially at) its inception at this intersection between the biological and the social, at the

[10] "Material ecocriticism relates therefore to landscapes as material narratives of a society's physical and cultural transformations" (Iovino, 2012a: 61).

mingling of bodies and world, at the "porous dimension in which bodies are absorbed by the world, and the world […] is absorbed by bodies" (Iovino, 2014: 107). The narration significantly opens with the image of Francesca's attractive and sexually maturing body observed by her dull father (Enrico) from a distance (the balcony of his tenement apartment), as, together with her best friend Anna, it moves on, and interacts with, Piombino's Via Stalingrado beach. There is no question that, despite its fatherly provenance, this still is a quintessential male gaze which, following an ancient and well-known trope, dissects and fragments her figure in detail, unavoidably objectifying her:

> Nel cerchio sfocato della lente la figura si muoveva appena, senza testa. Uno spicchio di pelle zoomata in controluce […] i muscoli tesi sopra il ginocchio, la curva del polpaccio […] una splendida chioma bionda […]. E le fossette sulle guance, e la fossa tra le scapole, e quella dell'ombelico, e tutto il resto (Avallone, 2010: 9).

Here, however, I wish to leave the rightful impulse to analyze this passage from a gender and/or feminist perspective to someone else and, instead, merely stress the literal meaning of the word 'object', that is, the 'thingness' of Francesca, her being immediately introduced as belonging to an apparently transitional ontological status, between whole and part, human and thing ("senza testa"). Shifting attention to the beach where she is frolicking, one may then observe that this is a place where, as expressions such as "la caviglia sporca di sabbia," "si iniettava dero un'onda," "pelle intarsiata di sale" (Avallone, 2010: 9-10) indicate, the sand, salt and water stick to, and mingle with her, but also where, at the same time and in a parallel dynamic, "la sabbia si mescolava alla ruggine e alle immondizie, in mezzo ci passavano gli scarichi, e ci andavano soltanto i delinquenti e i poveri cristi delle case popolari" (Avallone, 2010: 9-10). Despite the fact that access to this beach seems to be, with an ironical twist, limited by one's (low) socio-economic and (affirmative) penal status, all the substances at play cannot but actually intermingle, disregarding any real or constructed differences and hierarchies, any distinction between high or low. Thus, the sand becomes a part of Francesca's attractive, young body and, at the same time, actively mixes with the rust, the trash and the industrial waste.

This condition of material porosity may immediately raise some questions: first, what may the direct or indirect consequences of this situation be? Second, who could tell with absolute certainty that the sand (or any other human/nonhuman matter) coming from this degraded beach will not one day move around and risk contaminating with its disturbing, or potentially poisonous presence also the nearby, shimmering "spiagge bianche dell'isola d'Elba […] un paradiso impossibile. Il regno illibato dei milanesi, dei tedeschi, i turisti satinati in Cayenne nero e occhiali da sole" (Avallone, 2010: 17)? And, finally, who, and/or what, will be eventually *Swimming to Elba*, to refer to the astute and market-smart title translation

of *Acciaio* in English? Of course, the novel will eventually provide its answers to at least some of these queries, but from these initial pages it may already be possible to suggest that the scenario Avallone is depicting is one where there cannot be pure, clear-cut distinctions and solid boundaries between different bodies, or between inside and outside, where substances, be they organic or inorganic, natural or artificial, mix together and, in short, where human beings and human identities are always entangled, both with other subjects and other objects.

The narrative provides another, literal instance of the mutuality between the human and the nonhuman by reminding us that the large size and growth of Enrico's own body has been determined by external circumstances and materials: "Fin da bambino si era scolpito i muscoli a forza di zappare la terra. Si era fatto un gigante nei campi di pomodori, e poi spalando carbon coke" (Avallone, 2010: 11), before the following chapter takes us inside the perimeter of the Lucchini factory. In these artfully crafted pages, one finds even clearer kinds of corporeal and material entanglements. The opening scene in the factory chapter is of a fist-fight between Alessio (Anna's brother) and another, younger, factory worker guilty of having verbally disrespected Anna. It informs us right away not only of the inherent violence, energy and power this place cultivates and projects, but also that this place is one where distinctions between human and nonhuman, inert and living matter are particularly hard to make. Thus, in the same way in which inorganic substances, like the iron filings smearing the face and being swallowed by Alessio during his fight ("Il viso sporco di ghisa […] dovette ingoiare un bolo grosso così di saliva e limatura di ferro;" Avallone, 2010: 21-22) define and become an integral part of the human subject, organic matter is processed by the body of the plant, and ends up taking part in the creation of its final product.

Bennett's expression of "material vitality" (or "vital materiality;" 2010: 60), indicating "the elusive idea of a materiality that is *itself* heterogeneous, itself a differential of intensities, itself *a* life" (2010: 57), seems especially fitting in the context of the industrial factory plant and its various theriomorphic components, unfailingly described by Avallone as being an extended (or, to be precise, burgeoning) animated organism. A word like "secretion", more commonly associated with the physiological sphere, is used to depict the multiple, hybrid agencies involved in the production and coming into existence (or "birth") of steel: "L'acciaio non esiste in natura, non è una sostanza elementare. La secrezione di migliaia di braccia umane, contatori elettrici, bracci meccanici, e a volte la pelliccia di un gatto che ci finisce dentro" (Avallone, 2010: 21). Metal – continues Bennett – "is always metallurgical, always an alloy of the endeavors of many bodies, always something worked on by geological, biological, and often human agencies" (2010: 60). Multiple agencies and the secretions of many bodies are certainly involved here, to a point where both human and mechanical arms, electricity and even some occasional cat fur become the necessary ingredients to be mixed in and, in turn, swallowed up by the

ladles where the melting takes place. Such enormous containers are just the first, surreal inhabitants of this fantastic, trans-corporeal ecosystem:

> Un intero zoo: nel cielo svettavano torri merlate, gru di ogni genere e specie. Animali arrugginiti dalle teste cornute […].La melma densa e nera del metallo fuso ribolliva nelle siviere, barili panciuti trasportati dai treni siluro. Cisterne munite di ruote che assomigliavano a creature primordiali […]. Il metallo era ovunque, allo stato nascente. Ininterrotte cascate di acciaio e ghisa lucente e luce vischiosa. Torrenti, rapide, estuari di metallo fuso lungo gli argini delle colate e nelle ampolle dei barili […]. A ogni ora del giorno e della notte la materia veniva trasformata […]. Ti sentivi il sangue circolare a ritmo pazzesco, là in mezzo, dalle arterie ai capillari, e i muscoli aumentare in piccole fratture: retrocedevi allo stato animale. Alessio era piccolo e vivo in questo smisurato organismo (Avallone, 2010: 22-23).

The various references to, on the one hand, animals, streams, rapids and estuaries and, on the other, human arteries, capillaries and muscles make evident Avallone's wish to rhetorically correlate different bodies that are traditionally considered separate and, in turn, to analogically assimilate the artificial landscape of technology and the processes of industrial production to natural and physiological phenomena. As a matter of fact, the awe-inspiring energy, excitement and dangerous beauty that characterize this place may immediately evoke the aesthetic notion of the "technological sublime," perhaps in a peculiar postmodern (and posthuman) hybrid manifestation.[11] In other words, a manifestation where nature or, better yet, the language of nature, has not been completely displaced by (that of) the machine, but where it is still reappearing and exploited to convey a particularly striking experience. At the same time, however, Timothy Morton's reminder that "Nature as such appears when we lose it, and it's known as a loss" (2010: 133), may quickly make us realize that this resurfacing and discursive presence of nature is nothing but a spectral trace, a linguistic remnant and, as such, also the sign of an actual loss, an absence. And among the ramifications of this uncertain situation seem not only to be that one cannot again be sure of the location of borders, of the meaning of nature but, tangentially, also that "it is impossible to separate matters of social and environmental concern from discursive ones" (Iovino and Oppermann, 2012: 463).[12]

[11] On the technological sublime, see Slack and Wise, 2005. The authors observe how the machine has supplanted nature with "almost religious like reverence" (18).

[12] "Apparently, the very dynamics of environmental degradation lie not only in our social and economic practices and imperialist attitudes to nature, but in the structures of the discursive formations that have led to such destructive mechanisms in the first place" (Iovino and Oppermann, 2012: 464). In this light, the comparison the novel makes between a cascade of melted steel and one of water could contribute to conveying the former's apparent naturalness and, therefore, diminishing (or eliminating) the potential environmental concerns associated with it.

"Where does the body end and 'nonhuman nature' begin"? Stacy Alaimo asks in her *Bodily Natures* (2010: 11). The passage from *Acciaio* quoted above provides a potential answer to her question by implying that technology, animality, landscape and human identiity are all intermeshed. This particular human being, Alessio, like every other thing, is just a part of this more-than-human, immense organism. His substance is "inseparable from the environment" (Alaimo, 2010: 2), and his life and vitality are literally dependent on (and even enhanced by) those of the steel plant which, in turn, depends on him to function properly.[13]

Various instances of the "vibrancy" of matter and its transformations, of its "various degrees of agentic capacity" (Iovino and Oppermann, 2012: 461) seem thus to surface in these pages: "[Alessio] diede un'occhiata alla bionda del calendario Maxim. Perenne desiderio di scopare, là dentro. La reazione del corpo umano nel corpo titanico dell'industria: che non è una fabbrica, ma la materia che cambia forma" (Avallone, 2010: 23). If taken literally, these lines not only suggest, along with Bennett, that a factory and a human being are both bodies constituted by and manifesting merely different shapes and degrees of material animation, but also that it is through their respective agencies, their mutual intercourse, that a final production (be it industrial/inorganic, like steel, or biological/organic, like an actual "secretion") may be completed.[14] Significantly, although Alessio is aroused by looking at the image of a human (though virtual) pin-up blonde on a calendar (one of many hanging around the factory), the text seems to subtly suggest that the monstrous, nonhuman body of the plant blast furnace is the real (additional and/or involuntary) target of his physiological reaction since he is, after all, responsible for inseminating it so that it can deliver its final product: "La fecondazione assistita avveniva in un'ampolla alta come un grattacielo, l'urna rugginosa di Afo 4 che ha centinaia di braccia e pance, e un tricorno al posto della testa" (Avallone, 2010: 23).

In other words, the textual closeness between, on the one hand, Alessio's wish to fuck (Avallone 2010: 23), and, on the other, the action of 'artificial insemination' that sparks the creation of steel, can hardly be random. Not surprisingly, both Afo 4's (plus the rest of the machinery's) animal-like features and animated, "biological" behaviors, and Alessio's mixed, hybrid corporeality, are further underlined in the following paragraphs, together with a clear hint at the hazardous byproducts and catastrophic effects created by such an erotic human-machine intercourse:

[13] "Uno lo sa, lo dà per scontato, che dentro la Lucchini, nelle viscere, si muove la carne di gambe, braccia, teste umane" (Avallone, 2010: 86).

[14] Regarding secretions, the fact that, later on, the narrator will refer to the plant as "La giungla d'acciaio, lo stridore continuo, ruggiti, eiaculazioni di impianti" (Avallone, 2010: 337) seems again particularly revealing of a confusion between technology and biology. Mario Perniola's observations in his *The Sex Appeal of the Inorganic* may also come to mind here.

> Se la sentiva premere sulla nuca, la torre nera di Afo 4, il gigantesco ragno che digerisce, rimescola erutta […]. Fluorescenze azzurognole, nubi tossiche in quantità sufficiente ad ammorbare non solo la Val di Cornia, ma la Toscana intera […], tonnellate di metallo vorticavano come uccelli, nuvole gialle di carbonio, nere dalle bocche delle ciminiere. Si chiama ciclo continuo integrale. Alessio calpestava ortiche e mattoni refrattari. Il metallo saturava il terreno e la sua pelle […], il movimento elementare della macchina che è uguale alla vita (Avallone, 2010: 24-25).

What may first capture one's attention in this literal and metaphorical scenario of contamination is not only the intimacy of Alessio's and Afo 4's different, and yet physically proximate bodies, the indication of the various and ubiquitous embodiments of metal (and other materials) or, finally, the explicit analogy and direct attribution of life to the technological object. At another level, these lines potentially evoke also a monstrous/toxic birth[15] and, in turn, what Braidotti has "coded as *zoe* […] the non-human, vital [generative] force of Life […], the transversal force that cuts across and reconnects previously segregated species, categories and domains" (2013: 60) that implies an expanded (i.e. post-anthropocentric) notion of the relational self and, at the same time, also alludes to *Thanatos*, *zoe*'s complementary other side, the "death-bound or necro-political face of post-anthropocentrism" (2013: 118).[16]

Alessio's encounters with organic and inorganic corpses including, "il cadavere putrefatto di un topo," "le carcasse postume dei tre altoforni non ancora smantellati," followed by his view of the local population of resident cats "tutti malati, tutti bianchi e neri a forza di incrociarsi sempre tra loro," as he walks through the plant site towards its exit where "cominciavano i canneti, le paludi e tu potevi tirare un sospiro di sollievo" (Avallone, 2010: 24-26), may thus suggest again a context of extended,

[15] Del Principe's eco-gothic approach, also connected with questions of industrialization, comes to mind in this instance.

[16] Braidotti writes that "Life as *zoe* also encompasses what we call 'death'" (2013: 134). The objective of her "posthuman affirmative ethics" is to stress the positive, "productive aspect of the life-death continuum" and, "the politics of life itself as a relentlessly generative force including and going beyond death" (2013: 121). That is, from her posthuman, vitalist brand of materialism, "the emphasis on the impersonality of life is echoed by an analogous reflection on death," and the latter "could not be further removed from the notion of death as the inanimate and indifferent state of matter, the entropic state to which the body is supposed to "'return'" (2013: 131-137). It should be clarified that I am quoting Braidotti especially to underline that death (like life) "is not a human prerogative" and the proximity of human and nonhuman entities, but that, at least in the context of this novel, I am not able to individuate any of its "productive aspect[s"]. I tend to see more the negative, lethal effects of industrialized modernity on multiple subjects/objects.

transversal vulnerability, since a rat, the blast furnaces, a cat and, eventually, Alessio himself are all perishable objects. Just like life, death, destruction and illness are not the prerogative of just one thing. As Braidotti observes, "the body [any body] doubles up as the potential corpse it has always been" (2013: 119).

In the advanced capitalist dynamics which the surviving Lucchini plant still embodies, one where "l'Occidente […] riproduce il mondo e lo esporta" (Avallone, 2010: 25), vitality and decay, beginning and end coexist, and affect multiple corporealities. The apocalyptic landscape described in the novel, one where "Alcuni rami della fabbrica morivano, ciminiere e capannoni venivano fatti saltare con il tritolo," "gli operai […] si divertivano a cavalcare gli escavatori come tori, con le radioline portatili a palla e una pasticca di anfetamina sciolta sotto la lingua" (Avallone, 2010: 25), seems to perfectly capture the sort of complex dynamics and encompassing proximity between inorganic death and organic life (and vice-versa). Alessio's own absurd death at the end of the novel, in turn, further reminds us of the entanglements and environmental interconnections addressed so far. On the one hand, in fact, similar to a dismantled blast furnace he represents a human "carcassa postuma" (recalling one of Braidotti's "potential corpse[s]"), a disposable "ramo della fabbrica" and, on the other, as his own corporeality vanishes, he ultimately becomes indistinguishable from, and merged with, the posthuman body of the plant: "Alessio aveva […] cessato di essere un corpo, ed era diventato […] una pozza di sangue allargata tra i tondi, una polla abbacinante. Non Alessio. Un gatto" (Avallone, 2010: 341).

The novel's initial chapters are not the only sections that could benefit from a material ecocritical analysis. References to the dangerously attractive vibrancy of matter, and to the corporeal interchanges between "human bodies, non-human creatures, ecological systems, chemical agents, and other actors" (Alaimo, 2010: 2) recur in additional, significant moments in the narration. When, for example, Anna and Francesca hop on the scooters of their young suitors and ride to an abandoned, secluded area within the Lucchini plant, another "ramo morto della fabbrica [che] si era ridotto a una carcassa di ruggine […], [un] cimitero industriale" (Avallone, 2010: 64-65),[17] one immediately notes the juxtaposition between the burning desire and sexual vitality of the adolescents and the lifeless, scorching condition of the place. However, it does not take long to realize that the terms of such a juxtaposition can also be reversed, since multiple, active substances coming from the plant are entering and vitally affecting everyone's body, implicitly turning the four friends into additional, endangered appendixes of this hellish ecosystem:

[17] This is an important scene in the novel because it reveals Francesca's attraction and queer desire for Anna.

> Lo spolverino prodotto dal carbone te lo sentivi entrare nei polmoni appiccicarsi addosso, annerire la pelle […] il corpo batteva forte insieme ai metalli nei forni. Le barre, i blumi, le billette: insieme al cuore, le arterie, l'aorta […]. Il lamento rauco, perenne delle acciaierie, te lo sentivi vibrare nelle ossa […]. Il piombo, l'odore pesante del ferro bruciava i polmoni e le narici […] ti sentivi liquefare (Avallone, 2010: 64).

Once again, human and nonhuman matters intermesh in this environment up to a point in which substance-saturated human bodies, just like the metals involved in the production of steel, may literally liquefy. At that time, words like "dead" and "burning" could ideally describe both a few pieces of anthropomorphized broken machinery or, from a posthumous perspective, also those young, human bodies. Not surprisingly, Enrico's own body following his job-related accident, with his fractured ribs, vertebrae and shattered hand is not only broken (just like the excavator) and literally transformed into a useless thing ("Poi, non era più neanche un nome e cognome. *Coso*, era diventato" (Avallone, 2010: 248), but his amputated finger also directly mirrors a parallel, physical loss in the industrial body of the plant: "La flessione dell'acciaio sul mercato, nel giro di due decenni, aveva costretto a smantellare Afo 1, 2, e 3. Non c'erano più. Come il suo dito. Un buco enorme nel terreno saturo di veleno". As Enrico's finger vanishes, anticipating by synechdoche both the disappearance of the blast furnaces and of Alessio, he thus becomes "uno zero nel sistema depresso" (Avallone, 2010: 288) another discardable entity in this inhuman, market-driven space of corporeal confusion and contamination.

After having focused my analysis on the pages of *Acciaio* dedicated to the representation of the Lucchini factory and the individuation of some mutual interactions between the steel plant and the novel's main characters, I wish to move towards the conclusion of this essay by making a few observations on the girls' secret beach which is the apparent, natural opposite of the factory. I say apparent because, despite the obvious differences, there also is a certain similarity between these two crucial places in the narration, especially in terms of their both being sites where human and nonhuman elements coalesce, where equal importance is assigned both to subjects and objects, and, finally, where the vitality (and, by extension, the mortality) of matter is made evident. Animals, animate and inanimate things, "human actors and their words" (Iovino and Opperman, 2012: 469), waste products, debris and garbage, are all constitutive parts (also) of this ecosystem, and implicitly convey an essential continuity and mutuality between the industrial/technological and the supposedly natural. Thus, in the canebrake Francesca and Anna, significantly "emettendo risolini poco umani," become just "due escrescenze di quel luogo" (109), their sweat mixing with the sap from the vegetation, their soiled bodies merging with (and ontologically similar to) those of the insects, the algae, the shells, the cats, and all the other things, either alive or dead, that end up here:

> Sudore misto a linfa. La peluria delle piante pruriginava a contatto con la pelle. Sembrava di camminare nella lana […]. La spiaggia era un cumulo di alghe […]. I pescatori ci venivano a gettare le carcasse per non pagare la tassa dei rifiuti […] Posidonie brune a milioni, riversate dal mare tutte lì. Sulla riva si sfibravano in una mucillagine nera, una poltiglia che sapeva di pipì e di pane […]. Masticavano le alghe. Affondavano il muso nelle pellicce umide e ruvide dei gatti […]. Quel punto morto della costa era ridotto a un brodo primordiale di cose […], un mestolo, una piastrella di ceramica. [Francesca] Si chinava a scavare e gridava, se dissotterrava qualcosa di umano (Avallone, 2010: 109-11).

The ironic conflict emerging in these lines between the lifeless condition of this coastal area (a dead zone) and the fact that, at the same time, it also constitutes "un brodo primordiale" cannot be overlooked. Not only is this apparent necroregion[18] literally at odds with its definition as a primordial soup, that is, the hot, carbon-based solution that is allegedly at the origin of organic life on Earth but, in turn, such a life-giving substance is paradoxically constituted by human-made things and inorganic debris. In other words, these are objects which simultaneously suggest their condition as both dead and alive, or as Bennett puts it, which "at one moment disclos[e] themselves as dead stuff and at the next as live presence: junk, then claimant; inert matter, then live wire" (2010: 5).[19]

This condition seems to re-emerge also in a later, related passage. When, after her falling out with Francesca, Anna revisits the beach alone, and reminisces while gazing at the garbage deposited by the sea: "Cisterne vuote, assorbenti usati, bottiglie di plastica e di vetro […] Passava accanto ai cadaveri delle cose. C'erano cocci e cartoni di succo di frutta . C'erano posate e piatti di plastica sventrati. Le docce arrugginite lassù, e qui un secchiello rotto," this sight deeply affects her. This vision of desolation and abandon stirs her memory, increases her awareness of the effects this place has on her ("I luoghi ti impastano. I luoghi ti diventano estranei"), and, most significantly, makes her realize that there are "Le cose che ritornano e le cose che non possono tornare" (Avallone, 2010: 258-59), implicitly associating Francesca (and their interrupted friendship) with one of those moving things.

Once again, therefore, Bennett's observations that "a vital materiality can never really be thrown away, for it continues its activities even as dis-

[18] I am borrowing the concept of "necroregion" from Iovino, to indicate an extension of space (such as the canebrake but also the whole area of the Lucchini factory) which show evident signs of ecological and cultural abandon.

[19] In the section "Thing-Power I: Debris," Bennett describes a (rather similar) encounter she had "on a sunny Tuesday morning […] in the grate over the storm drain to the Chesapeake Bay," and writes: "Glove, pollen, rat, cap, stick […]. I caught a glimpse of an energetic vitality inside each of these things, things that I generally conceived as inert" (4-5).

carded or unwanted," and her affirmation that inanimate things have the "curious ability […] to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle" (2010: 6), would seem to aptly describe the kind of interactions between human and nonhuman entities mentioned above.

At this point, I should not need to stress either how Avallone's novel deeply understands the life and identity of this particular place; how it is informed by a marked sensibility to and awareness of the environmental, socio-economic, and political issues that characterize Piombino's industrial territory and its surroundings, or the extent to which the narration repeatedly alludes to the kind of coextensivity across bodies, and blurring between people, things and landscapes, which has been variously theorized by scholars of vital materialism and posthumanism. Therefore, I prefer to conclude by reflecting on a few of the larger ecological implications of this closeness and mutual relationship between organic and inorganic substances. The first is that, as the novel depicts some of the dynamics specific to the identity of this localized industrial Tuscan landscape, it also implicitly evokes comparable, global capitalist practices of advanced industrial production and consumption, and their real effects on other human/nonhuman bodies. And the second is that, while doing so, it reminds us of literature's power to provide readers with knowledge, awareness and "the critical instruments necessary to develop their own 'strategy of survival' both environmentally and politically" (Iovino, 2009: 343).

Iovino writes that a story may initiate the practice of "restoring the imagination of place" only when is "open," that is, when it shows "*awareness* (about values and critical issues), *projectuality* (vision of the future), and *empathy* (as a mutually enhancing dialectic amid different subjects)" (2012b: 107). Even though ecological questions may not be its most obvious or principal subject, *Acciaio* seems to be open in the way Iovino describes, and, as such, is also an example of what she calls "narrative reinhabitation;" that is, a narrative able to affect a taken-for-granted knowledge of the world (here, of *a* particular world), and with the ultimate potential to transform a (quasi) necroregion into an "evolutionary landscape" (Iovino, 2012b: 112).

In its final pages, the novel hints at how such an evolution may look in Piombino's industrial area, by alluding to some of the changes the Lucchini plant will likely undergo: "Cominciavano già a parlare di bonifica, di smantellamento. Convertire l'economia locale, puntare al turismo e al terziario […]. Come il Colosseo, come gli scafi arenati sulla spiaggia, anche l'altoforno, nel giro di un decennio, se lo sarebbero preso i gatti" (Avallone, 2010: 351).

We learned that the substances that constitute this place and those that make the humans who inhabit it are not that different: what happens to one may eventually happen to the other. It should not be surprising, therefore, that, in the end, Francesca, now described as "il più radioso fra gli elementi" (Avallone, 2010: 358), travels together with her best friend Anna from Piombino to Elba, symbolically taking the place and revers-

ing the trip of the iron ore that was once shipped from Elba's mines to Piombino's industries. If, on the one (optimistic) hand, this action could be a first step in the right direction towards such a (posthuman) form of restoration and reinhabitation, on the other (less so), it cannot but recall and, in turn, further unsettle the idyllic view of the Etruscan Coast I initially sketched. As the text re-imagines and re-draws the borders between these Arcadian and industrial spaces, it also reminds us that any landscape requires more complex and hybridized readings than those we are usually exposed to. The blue flag I mentioned at the beginning may now well show a hint of steel grey.

IN HER PLACE: SUBVERTING THE WOMAN/TERRORIST BINARY IN MARCO DE FRANCHI'S *LA CARNE E IL SANGUE*

Claire Buckley

> Gli estremi si fronteggiano, come al solito, e come al solito nessuno si accorge di quanto siano vicini, e grottescamente simili, gli uni agli altri
> (De Franchi, 2008: 260)

Women terrorists tend to be sensationalized or vilified by the media, frequently depicted as being doubly deviant;[1] first, for committing a crime against the state, and, second, for having transgressed the boundaries of acceptable female behavior. Though statistically the number of women involved in political violence is fewer than men, women do also communicate dissatisfaction with their political and social environment through the means of violence. While these women have been the subject of much media attention, their representation is often rife with oversimplified notions regarding the motivations for their involvement. In media discourse, deviant terrorist women are characterized as the exception to well-established gender norms and are punished both for the offence and the gender transgression involved (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2007: 9).

Similarly, in literary portrayals of women terrorists, there is a tendency to emphasize *exceptionality*, rather than an attempt to examine if the women may be rational actors. De Franchi chooses an alternative approach in his crime novel, *La carne e il sangue* (2008), focusing on *commonality*, rather than *exceptionality,* in his depiction of the militant woman, Lucia. Serena, a police detective in charge of this case, continues to ponder what she would do if she were in Lucia's place. Lucia, wife to Stefano and loving mother to 9-year-old Valerio, works as a nurse in a hospital in Florence and appears to lead a normal middle-class life. However, unknown to both her husband and son, she is also an active member of a left-wing terrorist group, slipping into the role of "Federica," her alter ego, when

[1] Lloyd examines the treatment of violent women by the criminal justice system and by society as a whole. While violent behavior in men is generally disapproved of and punished by society, it is not considered unnatural for a man to display aggressive tendencies. A woman who commits a violent act is seen as doubly deviant as she has, first, committed a criminal offence, but also because she has transgressed societal codes of behavior that insist that women are passive and nurturing. She notes, "It is 'inappropriate' women, who are not passive and conformist but wanton, combative and unconventional, who end up in prison" (Lloyd, 1995: xi).

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

called to action.[2] While she attempts to keep her two identities separate, a blurring of Lucia's two roles takes place. In this essay analyze the character of Lucia, and examine her role as a liminal figure who navigates the space between woman and terrorist. As militant women's roles tend to be particularly essentialized during periods of social unrest, I examine questions of identity and conflict within the context of the regional space of Tuscany, at a time when it was feared a wave of political violence was about to re-emerge. Using spatial theory, I examine the author's treatment of Tuscan space as a means of delineating his protagonist's psychological state. I explore how the protagonist negotiates space during the transition from mother to militant by considering the relationship between the body and public space. As sufferers of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder often perceive public space as threatening, I question whether Lucia's perception of the Tuscan *capoluogo* as forbidding is symptomatic of trauma resulting from her militant role.

The character of Lucia is actually based on a woman from Grosseto named Cinzia Banelli who was a member of the New Red Brigades from the late 80s until her capture in 2003. The Red Brigades for the Construction of the Combatant Communist Party (BR-PCC) assassinated professor Massimo D'Antona in 1999 and Professor Marco Biagi in 2002 due to their position as government economic consultants. Cinzia Banelli was implicated in the murder of Marco Biagi, assassinated outside his home due to his role as advisor to Silvio Berlusconi's government. While Cinzia Banelli did not pull the trigger, she did follow Marco Biagi on the night of his murder, communicating his whereabouts to the two New Red Brigade members who took his life. As the original Red Brigades had dissolved in the late 1980s, these new murders resulted in a wave of panic among the Italian public.[3] Fueled by media reports using sensationalist language, the Italian collectivity began to fear that a resurgence of violent political conflict was imminent. It should be noted that the author Marco De Franchi tells the story from the view of an insider, as he was chief police detective in charge of the investigation into the assassination of Marco Biagi. While in no way condoning or applauding the female character's acts of violence, the author attempts to re-humanize the figure of the militant woman.

[2] It should be noted that it was not unusual for members of the Red Brigades to have two separate identities. It was normal practice for members to adopt a *nom de guerre* to protect their real identity.

[3] Glynn describes the media's reporting of the murder of Massimo D'Antona in 1999 as "hysterical" as they dedicated a disproportionate amount of material to an apparently isolated event. Numerous articles were published outlining D'Antona's death as well as many others recalling the violent years of the *anni di piombo*. Glynn notes that journalists employed a "language of nightmare and haunting" in their articles which inferred that the political violence of the lead years was about to make a ghostly reappearance (2013: 178-9).

De Franchi subverts the woman/terrorist dichotomy in two ways. First, by depicting Lucia as a nuanced character who is unable to separate her roles as mother and militant. Trauma and memory play a part in her being unable to separate the two. As part of Lucia's initiation to the *Nuove brigate rosse* many years previously, Lucia was sent to observe an armed robbery that the militant group had planned. Sadly, the *esproprio* did not go as anticipated and a policewoman named Maria was brutally gunned down by four members of the militant organization. Though horrified by this event, Lucia was instructed by her comrade to watch the woman die. Many years later, the memory of this brutal murder continues to destabilize Lucia's family life. Second, De Franchi dismantles the woman/terrorist binary through the use of the female double, as the detective in charge of the case feels a strong affinity with the female terrorist. Rather than condemning Lucia, the detective Serena tries to understand her motives for joining the militant group. In fact, Serena discovers she has much in common with the woman she is attempting to arrest. Rather uncannily, Lucia and Serena share a common memory, a common trauma, where one of the women has witnessed the death of the other woman's sister. Lucia, for Serena, represents the return of the repressed, as the investigation forces her to work through the grief of her sister Maria's death, killed years before at the hands of the New Red Brigades, as well as Marco Biagi's death, which continues to haunt her.

De Franchi depicts the militant Lucia as a liminal figure or Derridean undecidable who disrupts existing gender norms by being involved in both roles. For Derrida, an undecidable is any element that disrupts a binary category. Rather than reversing the binary pair to favor mother over terrorist, the author uses overlap to demonstrate mutual contamination and deconstruct the hierarchical ordering. To deconstruct is to go beyond rigid conceptual opposites by recognizing that each apparently contrasting category contains a trace of the opposite category. While Lucia tries to keep her two roles separate, both her family life and terrorist life become permeated by each other.[4] She is criticized by her companions for being late for appointments and not showing up to pre-arranged

[4] After seeing Marco Biagi's dead body on the ground, Lucia struggles not to think about her husband Stefano and son Valerio. Though she wants to compartmentalize her militant and familial roles, she is unable to do so: "Una parte di lei pensa soltanto a questo, osservando l'immobilità ormai irreversibile di quel corpo scacciato sul selciato. Un'altra parte, in una zona adesso più piccola e meno illuminata, sta combattendo con irritazione altri pensieri: quello di Valerio e Stefano, per esempio. Della loro affettuosa e ingombrante presenza" (2008: 47). Another more light-hearted example is when Lucia is waiting to meet one of her *Nuove BR* comrades and begins to admire the latest steam irons on display in the shop window: "Si è dedicata all'osservazione delle vetrine. Strano, aspettare un compagno brigatista ammirando quella vaporella all'ultimo grido, che sarebbe *così utile* per le camicie di Stefano, *così comoda*. Strano, ma divertente, in fondo" (2008: 62).

activities. Lucia insists that she is completely dedicated to the cause but is occasionally forced to miss appointments for unavoidable family emergencies. While much of her difficulty in separating her two roles stems from the practicalities of trying to balance family life with a full-time job and her militant role,[5] the greatest obstacle to separating her two roles is due to a re-emergence of traumatic memory. As explained in Catanzaro's study of the Red Brigades, the repression of traumatic memory is common among Red Brigade members, something which becomes evident in their difficulty in speaking about their involvement in acts of violence (Catanzaro, 1991: 175).[6]

Similarly, while Lucia spends time with her husband and son, memories of her violent past suddenly erupt with such intensity that she is hurled back to the original site of trauma. The novel mimics the symptoms of a traumatic attack in that violent images of Lucia's militant past intrude increasingly in the narrative without being given meaning. According to Kaplan, traumatic attacks are characterized by visuality, bodily sensations and the absence of symbolization (2005). Descriptions of an apparently serene family life are abruptly interrupted by the corporeal memory of her involvement in Marco Biagi's murder in Bologna, a memory that she has tried to repress. On the day of his death, Lucia followed the professor as he cycled through the streets of Bologna, and communicated his whereabouts to her *compagni* who then shot him dead. On Christmas day, Lucia is in her warm house in Florence surrounded by family and friends. Though the atmosphere is festive and joyful, Lucia struggles to block the unrelenting memories of that terrible day:

> Lucia abbraccia Stefano e ride insieme a lui, la bocca piena, il cuore pieno, la mente altrove. Sempre più in un *altroquando,* ultimamente, come direbbe suo marito, divoratore di fantascienza di edicola. Però non oggi, per favore. Non qui, tra familiari e amici [...] Adesso infatti, improvvisamente, è freddo e si sta facendo buio. Un cielo cupo

[5] Lucia/Federica's dedication to the militant cause is questioned by her *compagni* as she frequently misses appointments due to family commitments. As this is seen as putting the organization's operations at risk, Lucia has to explain her situation to her comrades at an internal trial. After missing an important appointment, Lucia clarifies why she sometimes has difficulty in balancing her two roles: "Ho fatto tutto per essere puntuale all'appuntamento. Non ce l'ho fatta. Ci sono ragioni familiari che ti spiegherò, che spiegherò a tutti quanti […] io ho a volte impegni che non posso derogare. Dovrei dare spiegazioni, dovrei inventare scuse" (2008: 26).

[6] In his interviews with Red Brigade members, Catanzaro notices that they have great difficulty in articulating their own involvement in episodes of violence. Rather than giving complete accounts of these events, the BR members tend to gloss over the episodes by omitting significant details. This would indicate the presence of perpetrator trauma where the subject avoids confrontation with the distressing memory of having inflicted pain on another human being.

> spruzzato anche da qualche goccia di pioggia. [...] Residui di maltempo. E le luci delle auto che ti abbagliano impietose. Lucia sente il gelo del muro a cui è appoggiata. Non riesce a fermare un leggero tremito alle mani e il battere dei denti, non solo per colpa dell'aria gelida […] Marco Biagi pedala lentamente (De Franchi, 2008: 29-30).

The scene is both visual and visceral, closely mirroring the experiences of those who suffer from traumatic attacks. No explanation or symbolic meaning is ascribed to the image allowing the reader to experience the episode as a sufferer of trauma would. This dramatic scene is just one of a multitude of examples in the novel where Lucia's family life is interrupted by traumatic memories of the past. The other recurrent memory that assaults her daily is the horrific event that took place during her initiation into the New Red Brigades. Even today, Lucia wonders why she vividly remembers the *physical* sensations of that day. She remembers the cold under her jumper, the cold in her stomach, the cold air around her. For sufferers of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, flashbacks often emerge as a corporeal memory, a physical manifestation of a painful memory from the past (Etherington, 2003: 22). The most disconcerting aspect of these bodily memories is that they seem totally unrelated to what is happening in the present moment. By intersecting Lucia's family life with traumatic memories of her terrorist activities, De Franchi demonstrates the cross-contamination of the terrorist/woman binary.

As well as overlap, there are also traces of the uncanny and the *doppelganger* in the novel, which prove effective in dissolving any fixed assumptions that the reader may have regarding the female terrorist's identity. Freud's groundbreaking essay 'The Uncanny' is an investigation into darkness and is fundamentally concerned with the process of revelation, of bringing to light what was once concealed. For Freud, the *Unheimlich* is the return of the repressed and refers to a feeling of disconcertion when something long forgotten and repressed comes to light. A feeling of uncanniness is experienced when something once familiar now appears strange, leading the self to question how fixed one's identity really is (Royle, 2003: 108). Firmly committed to this process of revelation, Serena D'Amico is a police investigator who has dedicated her life to the cause of anti-terrorism. She has just moved to Florence as she is chief investigator on the Marco Biagi murder case. Her relationship with her partner Maurizio has just ended, as her dedication to her work in anti-terrorism leaves her no time for a personal life, thereby fitting the mould of the 'lone detective' stereotype (Burns, 2011: 31). Her task, in this case, is to investigate the murder of Professor Marco Biagi and to give a name and a face to the mysterious woman who goes under the *nom de guerre* Federica. What initially appears to be a straightforward case becomes an obsession for Serena as she comes to realize that she feels a strong affinity with this elusive character, later discovering that they have much in common. In opposition to her fellow police officers, Serena suspects

that terrorists are not the monsters they are commonly depicted as in the media. As the investigation continues, Serena makes the shocking discovery this woman witnessed her sister Maria's death at the hands of the New Red Brigades many years before. For Serena, the encounter with Lucia/Federica represents the return of the repressed. Though she had attempted to block out any emotion relating to her sister's death, this investigation forces Serena to confront the traumatic memory and come to terms with her grief.

Similarly to Lucia, Serena finds herself on the threshold of time and memory, as she, too, is living in a present that is dominated by traumatic memories of her past. For Serena, there are two memories from the past that emerge and disrupt her present day: one is the memory of her sister Maria's death, killed by the New Red Brigades many years before. The other is related to the investigation into Marco Biagi's death. As part of the investigation, Serena looks at CCTV footage of the professor walking through the train station minutes before he was killed. While watching the ghostly blurred images of the lone professor walking unknowingly to his death, Serena begins to shiver:

> Un Marco Biagi sfuocato, in bianco e nero, scende dal treno […] Intorno, uomini e donne in bianco e nero come lui, con occhi in bianco e nero, pensieri in bianco e nero. Questo Marco Biagi, sempre fuori fuoco, si incammina lungo la Galleria 2 Agosto, Stazione di Bologna. Gli scatti che lo inchiodano in quell'assenza di colori sembrano dedicati solamente a lui, tra la folla, quasi provenissero da telecamere dotate dal potere di prevedere il futuro e stabilire che soltanto quest'uomo grigio, dallo sguardo mite, meriti, al momento, il loro interesse. Perché fra un po' non sarà più […] Continua ad attraversare quello spazio digitale, a scatti, come un fantasma. (De Franchi, 2008: 70-71)

Serena registers the disembodied images as a traumatic memory, which returns to haunt her long after she has viewed the CCTV footage. Hermann (1992: 140) has written of the danger of trauma's contagion, of the traumatization of the ones who listen[7] or, in this case, of the ones who see. The uncanny reproduction of Marco Biagi's image through the cinematic medium of the CCTV camera becomes a vehicle for the contagion of trauma. By viewing the ghostly images day after day, Serena is vicariously or indirectly traumatized, yet this traumatizing episode invites her to confront, rather than repress, the memory of her sister's death.

The second memory that haunts Serena is more personal as it is directly related to her sister's death. Like Lucia's traumatic memory of the very same event, Serena experiences a strong corporeal memory of the cold

[7] Kaplan explores the traumatic impact of material of a distressing nature on readers and viewers. Kaplan argues that the reader or viewer of films of a traumatic nature may be vicariously traumatized (2005:39).

when she remembers the day her sister died. In keeping with the notion that traumatic recall can also take the form of cinematic flashbacks, Serena's vividly visual memory appears like the scene of a film, which then dissolves and disappears from the screen. Her sister Maria's body takes on the uncanny appearance of a broken doll lying discarded on the street:

> Serena guarda il suo corpo, ancora per terra, che sembra una bambola a cui hanno spezzato braccia e gambe […] ed è brutta sua sorella morta, bruttissima per quanto era bella prima, ed è difficile reprimere l'urlo che le nasce dentro, la paura, la rabbia, l'impotenza (De Franchi, 2008: 76).

The images of her sister Maria lying on the street and of Marco Biagi walking towards his death continue to burst into Serena's consciousness when she least expects it. The appearance of *revenants* from the past is an indication of 'melancholia' in the present, a sign that the grieving subject has not dealt with the loss of a loved one. Maria's death, a painful past event, is a memory that re-occurs in the present, through the police investigation into the BR-PCC's activities. This confrontation with her past forces Serena to go through the grieving process and eventually leads her to let her specters go.[8]

During the investigation[9] into Biagi's death, Serena reads letters written by a female Red Brigade member who was recently arrested by the police. Known to the police as a "brigatista irriducibile," Adriana[10] is believed to

[8] At the end of the novel, Serena is alone in her office in Florence trying to come to terms with the death of her partner, Andrea, who was killed by Lucia while following her through the center of Florence. Both Andrea and her sister Maria appear to Serena as ghostly figures: "La porta, dietro di lei, sbatte di nuovo. Ancora vento nella stanza […]. La voce di Andrea Maltese le raggiunge alle spalle, dolce e pacata come sempre. 'Non è colpa tua. Dico davvero, non se ne faccia un cruccio.' […]. Si volta. Ed eccolo lì, Andrea Maltese, che pare le sorrida ma forse è il riflesso del sole che muore sul suo volto di fantasma. Non è solo. C'è anche Maria. Ed è una sorpresa. Non aveva più pensato a lei. Non più, dopo che l'amore per Stefano aveva oscurato ogni cosa. Ma anche Maria non la guarda con rancore […]. 'Mi dispiace…' dice. […] Maria e Andrea scompaiono. Risucchiati" (2008: 263-264). For Derrida, it is important for grieving subjects to *speak* to the ghosts that haunt them, so that grief can be dealt with and the *revenants* released. In expressing her remorse at not having been a sufficiently good partner and sister, Serena releases her feelings of guilt and lets the specters go.

[9] It is interesting that the investigators track down Biagi's killers by analysing magnetic traces left on the phone cards used by the BR members while planning and executing Biagi's death. Like Derridean traces or ghosts, the BR members manifest themselves as presence yet also absence, though without a face or a voice, the magnetic traces eventually allow the ghosts to appear.

[10] For Lucia, Adriana is an inspirational model of a female revolutionary, as she manages to integrate her feminine and militant roles: "È che Adriana per lei è e sarà sempre l'incarnazione viva della rivoluzionaria cui lei semplicemente aspira. E poi arriva un gesto talmente grazioso e femminile e anche la militante combattente scompare, inghiottita dalla donna che la ospita" (2008: 42).

be the head of the *NBR* and has been on the run for a number of years. This fictional character, Adriana, is based on New Red Brigade member, Nadia Desdemona Lioce, who was arrested following a shoot-out on a train travelling from Rome to Florence in 2003. Both Nadia's comrade, Mario Galesi, and a police officer, Emanuele Petri, were killed. Lioce's arrest was significant in the Marco Biagi murder investigation as she was carrying documents, mobile phones and computers, all containing information vital to resolving the case. De Franchi's novel borrows much from actual events, depicting the fictional Adriana as carrying a bag containing the very same objects. In an attempt to understand the workings of the Tuscan section of the *Nuove Brigate Rosse*, Serena reads the documents and letters that were written by the militant group's leader:

> Si sorprende a intravedere squarci di umanità, ricordi veri, di carne e di sangue, che fanno sembrare la compagna Adriana uguale a tutti gli altri. Così tremendamente simili anche a noi. Ecco, è questo che la attanaglia, che la fa stare male. Adriana, è una brigatista e probabilmente anche un'assassina. Eppure ha provato e prova dolore. E forse compassione. E, ancora, è e resta indistinguibile da tanti di noi (De Franchi, 2008: 81).

Serena is surprised to find signs of real humanity making the woman seem the same as everyone else. She realizes that though Adriana is a terrorist and possibly a killer, she feels pain, like everyone else. Noticing the great interest Serena demonstrates in reading the letter, her partner Andrea teases her that she would like to actually be one of them and to see through their eyes. While Serena refutes this, she admits she suspects terrorists share many important personality traits with the police in charge of their capture.[11] In attempting to put a face to the elusive New Red Brigade member "Federica/Lucia," Serena meets with her fellow detectives to piece together a psychological profile of this woman. Serena comes to the conclusion that Federica is just like one of them, in fact, just like her.[12]

[11] Serena's partner Andrea suspects she would do anything to try to understand the militant men and women, suggesting she'd like to exchange places with them, just for a moment. Though she vehemently denies this, Serena does wonder if there really is any difference between the militants and the police officers that are on this case: "C'è anche qualcos'altro, pensa Serena, qualcosa che ha a che fare con la materia di cui sono fatti questi brigatisti e che sembra la stessa con cui sono fatti i poliziotti che danno loro la caccia. Sono davvero così diversi? Questa è la domanda che la tortura" (2008: 84).

[12] "'Io penso che si voglia dire che Federica non è proprio una teorica, ma piuttosto una pratica. Una che è entrata nelle Br sicuramente perché ci credeva, ma magari anche perché non ha avuto né abbastanza cultura né abbastanza coraggio per fare una scelta diversa. Insomma una che si fa trascinare…forse ammaliata da una figura di brigatista mitizzata più che pensata… io penso che Federica sia… come una di noi." Poi si è lasciata sfuggire: 'Si, come me…' Ma nessuno l'ha sentita" (2008: 88).

As the investigation progresses and the identity of the mysterious woman is nearing disclosure, Serena experiences sensations that occur when a person is about to meet their shadow. Serena begins to feel nauseous and full of anxiety before she first comes to see a picture of Federica/Lucia, her female double. A literary trope used in gothic literature when a character is about to confront their *doppelganger* is in the act of looking into a mirror. When Serena takes the lift up to the office where the photographs of the terrorists are displayed, the reflection of her face takes on a deathly pallor.[13] The time has come for her to confront the terrorists she has so greatly feared:

> I nomi dei militanti dell'ultima colonna delle Brigate Rosse si stanno componendo davanti ai loro occhi, giorno dopo giorno. Prodotti dalle analisi sfrontate e seducenti degli uomini di Bologna, arrivano momento dopo momento, le facce e i riscontri, i profili e gli indizi gravi. Eccoli, i terroristi. Eccole le Br che lei tanto ha temuto. Sono uomini e donne apparentemente normali. Spesso, poco più che ragazzi. Ma anche assassini (De Franchi, 2008: 119).

Like ghostly figures, the names of the New Red Brigade members appear seemingly out of nowhere day after day. Moment by moment, their faces, their profiles gradually emerge one by one. When Serena looks at the pictures of these young men and women, she is surprised to see that they all look strangely normal. Lucia's photograph stares at her from the wall. Gazing at her face, Serena tries to understand why Lucia has taken such a path. Though a visit to the suspect's house is not part of the official police investigation, Serena goes to Lucia's home. Filled with curiosity about how Lucia's husband could be totally unaware of his wife's terrorist activities, Serena decides to find out the truth. It should be noted that it was not unusual for New Red Brigade members to have families who were oblivious to the fact their loved ones were involved in terrorist activities. They often had husbands, wives, partners and parents who were completely in the dark regarding their loved ones' double lives. Adopting a false identity,[14] Serena finds herself in Lucia's sitting room chatting to

[13] "L'ascensore interno che conduce Serena al secondo piano vanta un vecchio specchio senza misericordia che le regala la solita immagine sbiadita, uno sguardo sconnesso, occhiaie incolori. Anche i capelli, riflessi in quella indemoniata superficie tragica, hanno perduto la vita e la fanno sembrare una morta con la testa in disordine" (De Franchi, 2008: 118).

[14] Without revealing her whereabouts to her colleagues, Serena goes to the swimming pool where Lucia's husband Stefano has taken Valerio for a swim. Later, Serena spots them on the side of the street as their scooter has broken down. Without thinking, Serena offers them a lift which results in her being invited to their home for a drink. When asked about her profession, Serena tells Stefano she is a kindergarten teacher.

the militant woman's husband and little boy. This is unusual as traditionally the darker side of the angel/monster dichotomy[15] threatens to enter the home of the angel. In this case, it is reversed with the 'angel' entering the home of the 'monster' without her knowledge. In fact, this kind of audacious behavior is out-of-character for Serena. Since encountering her double and the uncanny, Serena behaves in ways which previously would have been unthinkable for her. As the uncanny evokes feelings of uncertainty regarding one's identity, it results in Serena finding her sense of self strangely questionable (Royle, 2003: 1).[16] While in Lucia's home, Serena notices she has read many of the books that are on Lucia's overflowing bookshelf. She almost screams when she sees her favorite book, Buzzati's *Il Deserto dei Tartari,* lying tattered on the shelf.[17] Noticing Serena's interest, Stefano confirms that it is, in fact, his wife's most loved novel. Knowing that both of them were moved by the same words, for perhaps the same reasons, Serena comes to the conclusion that they are the same person: "Allora è vero, si ripete, che anche io sono un po' Federica. E come lei, anche io potrei ingannare quest'uomo innocente e buono e, anzi, lo sto facendo. E lo sto facendo così bene che davvero non

[15] Gilbert and Gubar examine the images of "angel" and "monster" in nineteenth century literature in *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, a hallmark of second-wave feminist criticism first published in 1979. They posit that all female characters in male-penned novels of this period could be classified as either angelic or monstrous; pure and submissive or rebellious and wild. The angel/monster binary was so pervasive in nineteenth century male-authored novels that few women writers were successful in going beyond this representation in their own writing. Gubar and Gilbert urge women writers to metaphorically kill both figures to allow for a more nuanced female character to emerge (2000: 17).

[16] Serena is initially depicted in the novel as a responsible, hard-working police investigator, who dedicates herself to her work so entirely that she has no energy left for a social life or a relationship. In her quest to discover more about Lucia, Serena takes such risks that she puts her professional life in jeopardy. By engaging in a relationship with the prime suspect's husband, Serena risks damaging the integrity of the case. As part of the investigation, the police put Stefano's mobile phone under 24-hour surveillance. Desperate to speak to Stefano, Serena still calls him, though aware that her colleagues would listen to the conversation. This kind of imprudent behavior is very unusual for the dutiful investigator. When Serena first goes to Stefano's house under false pretenses, she questions her motives for being there: "Di nuovo quel groviglio di apprensione nell'intestino. Di nuovo la vocina maledetta, che sembrava scomparsa: *cazzo fai?*" (2008: 148).

[17] "Quasi le sfugge un grido di meraviglia quando nota quel *Deserto dei Tartari,* deliziosamente fuori posto, così rovinosamente invecchiato da essere la testimonianza stropicciata ma evidente di una lettura mai esausta e ripetuta fino alla consunzione e dunque amata, sentitamente amata. 'Il preferito di mia moglie' conferma Stefano, notando il suo interesse. Ed è strano, perché quello è un libro che ha adorato anche lei, e la disturba, d'un tratto, pensare che sulle stesse parole, sulla stessa medesima meravigliosa sintassi, per ragioni simili se non identiche, abbia palpitato il cuore suo e quello di un'assassina di uomini" (2008: 147).

c'è più alcuna differenza, adesso, tra me e lei" (De Franchi, 2008: 147)[18]. While perhaps not quite as dramatic as when Catherine proclaims "I am Heathcliff" in Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, it is nevertheless an indication of the presence of the double. As in Catherine's experience, self-identity for Serena is not only affirmed through the mirroring of self in the other, but also through the self *being* the other.

According to Mazzoleni, a city, along with its architecture, is an extension of the body, a mode of self-expression for the inhabitants of that space (1993: 289). In literature, a character's narrated space becomes a symptomatic marker of his or her emotional state. More than a mere backdrop for the action of a story, the portrayal of place can reveal much about a character's sense of self. De Franchi explores the connection between emotion and place in the portrayal of his protagonist Lucia. Each time Lucia sheds her role as mother for that of terrorist, the city of Florence transforms before her eyes. Depicted in ominous tones, the Florentine cityscape and its inhabitants take on a menacing appearance, echoing the deep anxiety Lucia experiences in her role as militant, and perhaps also reflecting her perception of self as deviant. Lucia/Federica demonstrates how she has internalized societal views of militant women as deviant through her relationship to space.

When in the role of mother, the space around her is described as being leafy, sunny and pretty, indicating that she does not feel 'out of place' as a mother. However, in her role as militant woman, Lucia is aware she is crossing both moral and social boundaries and projects this perception of herself as deviant onto the physical environment she inhabits. This would relate to the concept of psycho-geography which, according to Debord, "is the point where psychology and geography collide, a means of exploring the behavioral impact of an urban place" (Coverly, 2007). Therefore, psycho-geography seeks to study the effect of the geographical environment on the emotions of individuals but it also focuses on how the individual's perception can have an effect on their external world. After kissing her husband goodbye, Lucia leaves her house as she has arranged to meet her fellow militant companions. As soon as she goes outside and psychologically dons her militant role, the physical environment around her begins to change. Each time she leaves her role as mother and wife to enter into the role of *terrorista*, the city around her changes along with her state of mind. The change happens gradually, like a snake that changes its skin, like a dream that begins in one place and ends in another: "Le cose *si trasformano*" (De Franchi, 2008: 19). It starts with the footpaths that take on the appearance of dark traps which

[18] Serena does, in fact, continue to deceive Lucia's husband Stefano, by having an affair with him as a way to find out further information about her female double and to discover whether Lucia did actually witness her sister Maria's death at the hands of the Red Brigades.

await her capture. The smooth facades of the Florentine *palazzi* become the high forbidding walls of a dark prison. Even the sun appears to loom down like a bad omen. The people are the last to change with their faces becoming distorted revealing themselves as masks hiding soulless androids underneath:

> Quelle facce, ora tristi ora felici, sempre un po' comiche e un po' assurde, che si deformano e si trasformano, si ripiegano su se stesse, fino a scoprire l'inganno a svelare il trucco dissimulato facendola rabbrividire. Automi senza anima, inconsapevoli eppure colpevoli. E lei vorrebbe quasi gridarglielo. Ma naturalmente non può. Si limita a osservarli con disprezzo. Le cose cambiano sempre, quando Lucia esce di casa e diventa quell'altra (De Franchi, 2008: 20).

As Lucia crosses the border from respectable citizen to deviant other, she sees a city that is turned inside-out, a comment on her having internalized the societal view of militant women as being out of place." As Balaev (2008: 163) notes in her article on trends in literary trauma theory, a traumatic experience can cause a reformulation of ones perception of self, but also a reformulation of the perception of the space that the individual inhabits.[19] Lucia's depiction of Florence as a dark, menacing city also brings to mind Defoe's image of a sinister, labyrinthine London in his *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), a fictional account of the spread of the bubonic plague of 1665 (Coverly, 2007). The narrator's ability to navigate the city of London becomes more and more difficult as the plague spreads through the city and the fear of contamination affects his perception of the city. As the narrator's fear increases, the once familiar topography of London becomes strange and threatening. London's urban landscape is subjectively reshaped through the perception of the narrator as he struggles with the effect of fear on his body and mind (Coverly, 2007). In sum, Lucia's perceptual world can be effectively read as a map, a geographical transcript of her emotional distress. As a result of trauma

[19] The menacing city Lucia perceives Florence to be has much in common with the image of the city found in cyber punk literature. In cyber punk, there is usually a system which dominates the lives of ordinary people, be it an oppressive government or a group of large corporations. This technological system expands into its human components through invasive modification of the human body until humans themselves become part of the machine. Cyberpunk fiction reminds us of the astounding rate of technological change in computing, surveillance and biotechnology. It also highlights the way these processes of change reshape the city space and urban life (Graham, 2004: 389). It is interesting Lucia shivers at the sight of androids that are part human, part machine as they too can be classified as Derridean undecidables who defy classification. While *La carne e il sangue* would not be classified as a cyberpunk novel, Lucia, in her role as political activist, shares attributes with classical cyberpunk characters who generally live on the edges of society and try to topple corrupt social orders.

and anxiety at her role as militant woman, Lucia perceives the Tuscan capital and its inhabitants as the invisible enemy.[20]

In accordance with Lucia's view of herself as abject when in her role as militant, the space she occupies when in this role is very revealing. The locations in which she meets her fellow New Red Brigade members are residual spaces on the outskirts of the city, forgotten places where those who are considered imperfect by mainstream society and by themselves are relegated. On one occasion she meets her *compagno* Mauro in a seedy bar, a desolate place that looks out onto a car park by a train station in the Florentine periphery. Two bare metal chairs sit outside the entrance of the dingy bar, completely empty except for a sleepy barman and a guy playing video poker. Located on the periphery of the city, the bleak bar is situated in a kind of interzone, a hinterland between the country and city. Lucia, in the guise of Federica, also inhabits a space of social and moral liminality, due to the opposing roles she occupies in being both mother and terrorist. As Sibley notes, those who pose a threat to dominant groups in society are considered polluting bodies and are therefore placed elsewhere (1995: 49).

As a militant Lucia perceives herself as an impure element to be removed from the purified space of the leafy Florentine suburbs. The story of the respectable mother and wife Lucia and her 'deviant' concealed double Federica goes beyond questions of individual identity and hints at a situation of social division within the city. De Franchi's portrayal of the Renaissance city perhaps hints that Florence has a two-fold nature. The grand *palazzi* and leafy suburbs are to be enjoyed by the middle-classes and tourists, all respectable citizens deserving of such beauty, while the bleak periphery becomes a space of abjection more suited to marginalized others. Lucia has clearly internalized the view of militant women as abject or polluting in her depiction of her physical environment when she meets with Roberto, a New Red Brigade member. As the police investigation into the murder of Marco Biagi intensifies, Lucia's anxiety increases which is reflected in her perception of space as both defiled and condemning:

> Una luce grigia si riflette nel fiume. Lungo gli argini, il movimento lento e sinuoso delle grosse nutrie. Il fango giallo e rosso di Firenze. Il fluire pigro delle onde e dei detriti. Memorie della città che fuggono

[20] De Franchi's science fiction novel, *Il giorno rubato* (2013), reminds the reader that our perception can profoundly change the way we view the world: "La consistenza di un fenomeno sta nella percezione di chi lo osserva" (2013: 298) going so far as to state that that perception is everything, as it clouds our vision as to what is real: "La percezione è tutto. La nostra descrizione del mondo, come diceva Castaneda, offusca la visione del vero" (130). One example from *Il giorno rubato* of where perception obscures reality is when the protagonist goes to meet a ghostly female figure in a Roman pub. The protagonist's version of events differs notably from the version given by a curious onlooker. While the protagonist Valerio believed he was sitting directly opposite the mysterious woman, the onlooker recalls how the woman had her back turned to him all evening while he continued to talk to her nervously (2013: 130).

> per sempre nei gorghi tiepidi. Solleva lo sguardo. La facciata austera ma bella della biblioteca nazionale incombe su di lei e sul fiume. Le grandi finestre che sembrano guardarla (110).

The large windows of the national library that seem to look accusingly at Lucia perhaps predict her fate as she subsequently commits a crime that leads to her arrest.

While Lucia/Federica is usually placed in peripheral spaces when in her terrorist role, on this occasion, she is positioned in the Florentine city center, which becomes the place in which she kills a man for the first time. No longer skulking in the dark shadows of the outskirts, Federica/Lucia is re-positioned in the center of the Renaissance city at the moment when her hidden double-life is about to be revealed. Though this visible exposure on the city's center stage results in her committing a crime which leads to her arrest, it is this unveiling that allows her two identities to merge. Well-known streets and piazzas are mentioned, serving as markers of the urban center's historic importance as a Renaissance city, and its present day significance as a vibrant tourist hub. Lucia walks past the elegant shop windows of Via dei Calzaiuoli, one of the busiest and most central streets of the Tuscan *capoluogo's* center. She arrives at Via dei Cimatori and waits for her BR comrade in the midst of tourists, who eat ice-cream while admiring the nearby cathedral and Piazza della Signoria. When Inspector Andrea Maltese follows Lucia through the bustling city center, he is unaware that this sublimely beautiful space will provide the spectacular backdrop for his death: "Di fronte, piazza della Repubblica, la splendida via degli Speziali e l'atelier vellutato dei Calzaiuoli. C'è molta gente. Fiorentini e turisti che si mescolano gli uni agli altri, chi per giri frettolosi, chi per lente passeggiate, chi per visite meravigliate" (De Franchi, 2008: 219). Once Lucia realizes that Andrea is about to arrest her, she takes out a gun and shoots him dead. To the horror of the on-looking tourists and *fiorentini,* the inspector drops to the ground, while Lucia makes her escape through the crowd.[21]

When the police finally have enough evidence to arrest Lucia, they wait outside her house at night. Knowing the police are close to her capture, Lucia surprisingly takes the risk of going home.[22] Though aware of

[21] It should be noted that this particularly dramatic, almost filmic, scene is entirely fictional, as Cinzia Banelli did *not* commit a murder in the Florentine city center or anywhere else.

[22] In the novel, Lucia's husband wakes up and finds her packing a bag about to leave both him and their little boy. This episode is reminiscent of a scene in Marco Tullio Giordana's film, *La meglio gioventù* (2003), where Giulia, a member of a left-wing militant group, leaves her partner Nicola and little girl in the middle of the night. Nicola surprises her when she is zipping up her suitcase and is about to leave. "Hai pensato a tua figlia?" he asks her. She just replies "Fammi passare" and rushes out of the door. There are other scenes in the film where it is evident Giulia struggles with combining motherhood and militancy. Nicola returns home from work to find

the serious ramifications involved, Lucia feels compelled to see her little boy one last time. As she watches him sleeping alongside his blue Pluto-shaped lamp and Spiderman poster, Lucia starts to cry:

> Lucia lo guarda e improvvisamente vorrebbe piangere, come non le capitava da anni. Le lacrime che le salgono agli occhi sono caldissime, quasi brucianti. E il battito nel petto è l'opera di un mantice, che la vorrebbe a terra, sottomessa. No, basta, per carità. Neanche un bacio a Valerio. Neppure una carezza. Andare via, adesso, subito. Non sono più la madre di questo capolavoro, anche se è pure per lui che sono quello che sono. Un'assassina (De Franchi, 2008: 246).

In fact, it is the interpenetration of her role as mother and terrorist that finally leads to Lucia's arrest. Rather than insisting on a separation of two opposed roles, Lucia states that it is because of her son that she is what she is. It is because of her child that she longs to change the world. Though her choices are undeniably questionable, Lucia's declaration does indicate agency and demonstrates that the motivations for her actions are *both* maternal and political. In fact, Glynn notes that many of the women who joined the Red Brigades during the '70s and early '80s decided to become involved in political militancy *because* of motherhood and cites Adriana Faranda who famously stated that she took up arms because of her child (2013: 192).

The novel ends in a courtroom where the New Red Brigades are being tried for their crimes. Serena finally sees her double Lucia in person, surrounded by her companions. Though Serena hopes to make eye contact with her, Lucia seems to stare through her and see nothing. While huddled together in their cages, one of the Red Brigade members comes to the microphone to ask if he can address the court. Using that strange bureaucratic form of Italian that Sciascia once said was "semplicemente, lapalissianamente, il linguaggio delle Brigate Rosse,"[23] the young man

Giulia in the midst of a meeting with her militant comrades. When Nicola makes it clear that he is opposed to her political activity, a comrade looks worryingly at Giulia's partner and daughter as they leave the house and says "Senti, Giulia…." Giulia replies "Lo so, è un problema che devo risolvere," indicating her willingness to choose militancy over her family. On another occasion she confesses to her friend, "Non sono brava a fare la mamma. Non sono capace".

[23] Antonello and O'Leary, in *Imagining Terrorism: The Rhetoric and Representation of Political Violence in Italy 1969-2009* (2009), explain that Sciascia's statement is not a mere tautology. When Sciascia suggested that the Italian language favored by the Red Brigade members in their documents and in their speech was simply "il linguaggio delle brigate rosse," he meant that their language no longer reached an audience. It had become a language that only spoke to Red Brigade members and did not communicate in any way to the Italian collectivity. According to Antonello and O'Leary, it had become "a language which at that point was only speaking to itself" (2009: 2).

begins to address the crowd. Though Serena and all the members of the courtroom had previously been so curious about the identity of the ghostly terrorists, now that the specters have become visible that curiosity disappears: "Nessuno, in realtà, vi bada più di tanto. È come se fossimo immunizzati. La banalità della rivoluzione è tutta lì, dentro quelle gabbie da scimmie, insieme alla loro pretesa di essere ascoltati e qualche volta capiti"[24] (De Franchi, 2008: 265). The courtroom's lack of interest in what the New Red Brigade members have to say demonstrates, I feel, that Italy is not yet ready to face the ghosts of its violent past. In fact, Derrida said that specters needed to be engaged with in order for them to be dispelled. For the courtroom to be immune to what the New Red Brigade members have to say, demonstrates a weariness with the militant group's logic and language,[25] as well as a refusal to return to the memories of an Italy marked by violent political conflict.

The physical survival of the now-captured New Red Brigade members, their imprisonment and their eventual re-insertion into Italian society are perhaps perceived as problematic for the Italian public, as they represent a traumatic past that the Italian collectivity has not yet overcome (Colleoni,

[24] This scene from the novel is has much in common with an article entitled "La tragica parodia" published by Francesco Merlo in *La Repubblica* (26/10/03). In this article, Merlo writes of the Italian public's refusal to engage with the New Red Brigade members who, he feels, try to portray their violent actions as honorable by borrowing the language of the original Red Brigades: "Sono scimmie di scimmie che cercano di nobilitare la banalità del male con le formulette rubate ai Moretti, ai Gallinari, ai Curcio, che le avevano essi stessi rubate al mondo eroico dei partigiani […]. Ebbene, in queste nuove Brigate Rosse non c'è più nulla di quella tragedia storica […]. Rimangono tuttavia quelle formulette 'mi dichiaro prigioniero politico' che sono le erbacce di un fiume carsico, la polvere di un vecchio monumento, le ultime tossine, la parodia appunto nella quale si rifugiano i nuovi terroristi."

[25] De Franchi pays particular emphasis to the bureaucratic language of the New Red Brigades, a language which, he infers, was utilized as a way to mask the horrific, violent nature of the militant group's activities. After Massimo D'Antona's death, a 28-page document was released claiming responsibility for the death, and also announcing that the Red Brigades were back. This militant group chose to give itself the rather loquacious title, *Brigate Rosse per la costruzione del partito comunista combattente*. With a tendency for wordiness, the New Red Brigades followed on the tradition of releasing lengthy comuniqués, written in perplexing political jargon now known as "brigatese." Amedeo Benedetti, in *Il linguaggio delle nuove Brigate Rosse,* examines the language used in the two comuniqués released following the deaths of D'Antona and Biagi. He also compares the documents to the comuniqués written by the original Brigate Rosse. He notes that the original BR documents contained shorter sentences, more facts and were, comparatively, more succinct. In Benedetti's analysis, the documents released by the New Red Brigades are excessively wordy, repetitive and difficult to understand. These documents were, therefore, wholly ineffective in attempting to promote the New Red Brigades' ideology.

2012: 426).[26] By depicting a scene where the members of the courtroom are unwilling to engage with the perpetrators of violence, De Franchi paints a society not yet fully ready to process the grief of the political violence of the 1970s and clearly reveals a culture still haunted by its violent past. However, through the characters of Serena and Lucia, De Franchi performs the difficult task of seeking justice for the victims while also humanizing the figure of the female terrorist. Through the use of space in the novel, De Franchi depicts the consequences of being labelled Other by society, and demonstrates the effects of perpetrator trauma on the individual's perception of place. Through the character of Lucia, De Franchi demonstrates that trauma can and does cause a reformulation of the perception of self, as well as a reformulation of the space that the individual inhabits. In conclusion, the simple story of two women on opposite sides of the woman/terrorist binary whose identities overlap, is an invitation, by the author, to deconstruct rigid pre-conceived notions regarding the identity of the terrorist woman. By positioning the reader as a witness to trauma in a safe yet effective way, I propose that De Franchi invites his readership to confront their own unresolved grief with regard to the political violence and conflict of the 1970s and 1980s.

[26] Colleoni examines a number of Italian novels for traces of a ghostly presence, left in the wake of the political violence of 1970s Italy. Drawing on Derridean theory, she notes that a nation can suffer from collective trauma if the grieving process has not been completed. This produces a kind of "haunting" in the collective memory which cannot be released until the specters are acknowledged. The novels Colleoni analyzes are *Tuo figlio* (2004) by Gian Mario Villalta, *Il segreto (*2003) by Geraldina Colotti, *La guerra di Nora* (2003) by Antonella Tavassi La Greca and *il sogno cattivo* (2006) by Francesca D'Aloya.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF PLACE, IDENTITY AND URBAN CONFLICTS IN PRATO AND FORTE DEI MARMI

Giulia De Dominicis

This essay examines the perception and the media representation of local identities in two Tuscan cities that apparently do not share many common features: Prato, an inland town, closely linked to the destiny of its industrial district; Forte dei Marmi, the main center of the Versilia coast and one of Italian tourism's icons.[1] Over the last few years, both have lived through and shared deep transformations due to the arrival of a foreign community that has managed to reach a position of economic advantage with respect to the local population. In Prato, the Chinese community, which started settling there in the early Nineties, has built a parallel rapid-growth textile industry, while many owners of traditional firms have been forced to close or sell their own businesses. In Forte dei Marmi, the dramatic rise of housing prices caused by constantly increasing investments by the new Russian elite has been provoking a continuous exodus towards neighboring areas.

The research presented here began by my noticing that in both cases many local and national newspaper articles had described the presence of the foreign community as an "invasion," or a "siege" on the local population. Then my attention was drawn to two recent books that tried to account for the social and economic changes occurring in Prato and Forte dei Marmi: *Storia della mia gente* (2010) by Edoardo Nesi, and *Morte dei Marmi* (2012) by Fabio Genovesi. Since the two authors mix fiction and truth, as is predictable in writings that are half novel and half essay, their opinions should have been considered warily, that is, as the expression of an extremely personal point of view. In actual fact, local and national newspapers have often mentioned Nesi and Genovesi as informed authorities on the textile district in Prato or the Russian presence in Forte dei Marmi respectively. In considering the influence exercised by these authors and their works, in this essay I make use of *Storia della mia gente* and *Morte dei Marmi*, in addition to a *corpus* of local, national and inter-

[1] This research was supported by a grant from the Department for Didactics and Research (DADR) at the Università per Stranieri di Siena: I am grateful to Giovanna Frosini and Pietro Cataldi. I thank Silvia Ross and Mark Chu for their useful suggestions.

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

national press articles, in order to examine the mediascape[2] of Prato and Forte dei Marmi, i.e. the media representations that have deeply influenced the perception of place identity.

Prato: a history in the name of the textile industry

Prato boasts a long tradition in textile production, with the earliest traces of the manufacturing process dating back to the twelfth century (Piattoli and Nuti, 1947: 1). The relationship between the city, its inhabitants and the textile industry became particularly close immediately after World War II, when the previous economic system, based on wool factories with a complete product line, evolved into a new one, founded on smaller, specialized firms. Local institutions played an important role in the creation of a modern industrial district, promoting cohesion and cooperation in the name of a common sense of belonging to the same productive system (Dei Ottati, 1993: 165-69).

The first Chinese immigrants arrived in Prato in the early 1990s, exactly when the knitwear production that had developed "especially during the 1970s" faced a shortage of "local homeworkers and subcontractors for the sewing of knitwear items" (Dei Ottati, 2014: 1251). The Chinese filled this gap, offering cost-competitive labor. In the subsequent years, the migration flow from China to Italy grew constantly. Nowadays, the Chinese community in Prato[3] is one of the most densely populated in Italy: in 2013 the Chinese registered as residents numbered 16182,[4] con-

[2] With the word "mediascape," I deliberately reference Appadurai's theory of global cultural processes (1996) and the set of terms he has employed "to stress different streams or flows along which cultural material may be seen to be moving across national boundaries" (1996: 45-46).

[3] The majority comes from the province of Zhejiang and especially from the city of Wenzhou, whose thriving economy is based on the presence of a commercial harbor and an industrial production that is specialized in many different branches – clothing and leather, among others (ICE Shanghai, 2012: 4-7; 28-29).

[4] See <http://statistica.comune.prato.it/?act=f&fid=6370> (10/15). This number gives us only a partial idea of the real size of the Chinese community, because it does not count the illegal immigrants, whose presence is very difficult to assess. The research for reliable data about undocumented migration is a difficult task: not only the "very nature of hidden and unrecorded process" (Fasani, 2009: 69), but also the various sources of information and the different levels of analysis (i.e. national vs. local) raise important methodological issues. When looking for a trustworthy estimate of Chinese illegal immigrants in Prato, it is very easy to find different data. According to Pieraccini, in 2010 they numbered approximately 30000 (2010: 105). Her estimate derived from the valuation of average workspaces, i.e. the average number of machines per workshop multiplied by the number of workshops. In her report for *The New York Times*, Rachel Donadio supplied different numbers: "According to the office of the mayor of Prato, there are 11500 legal Chinese immigrants, out of a total population of 187000. But the office estimates the city has

stituting 8,5% of the inhabitants of Prato (191,424 residents at the end of 2013).[5] From the beginning of the new century, some Chinese subcontractors started to open their own fast fashion firms[6] (Pieraccini, 2010: 6-11; Dei Ottati, 2014: 1253-59). At the beginning at least, the initiative of this growing group of Chinese entrepreneurs was overlooked by Italian executives, who were interested in the production of wool textiles rather than in knitwear. The ultimate end of the system of restrictions on textile and garment imports provided for by the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing[7] definitely contributed to the rapid expansion of Chinese businesses. These factories were finally free to import low-cost raw materials from China – with no economic advantage for Italian textile production – without losing the opportunity to sell finished products with the Made in Italy label.[8] In a matter of years, it has been possible to create business worth 1.8 billion euro.

According to Silvia Pieraccini (2010), the secret of this great success may lie in the fact that these firms seldom respect Italian laws. Rachel Donadio reports a common technique, employed "often with the aid of knowledgeable Italian tax consultants and lawyers," in order to avoid fiscal inspections: the owners "open a business, close it before the tax police can catch up, then reopen the same workspace with a new tax code number" (Donadio, 2010). However, as Dei Ottati argues (2014: 1259-1266), this informal economy, usually considered one of the main causes of Chinese success, "is likewise not a characteristic restricted to the Chinese businesses in Prato" (1260) and other reasons should be taken into consideration, such

an additional 25000 illegal immigrants, the majority of them Chinese" (Donadio 2010). A reliable reference about irregular and undocumented migration is the annual report by ISMU Foundation (Initiatives and Studies of Multiethnicity), but this report mainly collects data on a national scale. The account for 2012 presented the following data about the foreign presence in Italy: 4859000 residents, 245000 regular immigrants but not resident and 326000 irregular immigrants. Within this context, the province of Prato was highlighted as one of the areas with the maximum density of regular non-EU citizens (Blangiardo, 2013: 38-42). A less recent report by ISMU Foundation includes an estimate of irregular foreigners in Italy that takes into account the different nationalities of the immigrants: in 2009, the number of Chinese irregular immigrants in Italy (not only in Prato!) was calculated as being around 23000 units (ISMU, 2013).

[5] See <http://statistica.comune.prato.it/?act=f&fid=6370> (10/15).

[6] Fast fashion, or *pronto moda*, means "the production of clothing items with a fashion content, quick delivery and limited pricing" (Dei Ottati, 2014: 1260).

[7] The Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) established the gradual deregulation of textile trade between all the members of the World Trade Organization. The transition period stated by the ATC ended on 1 January, 2005 (Mazzeo, *et al.* 2004).

[8] According to the European Customs Code, "Goods the production of which involved more than one country or territory shall be deemed to originate in the country or territory where they underwent their last substantial transformations" (CDC 450/2008, art. 36).

as for instance the establishment of "a productive system whose competitiveness relies more on relations that bind together its businesses than on businesses themselves" (1264).

The "Chinese siege"

L'assedio cinese is the title of a long investigative report written by Silvia Pieraccini, journalist with *Il Sole 24 Ore*. The book, published in 2008, aims at shedding light on the low-cost clothing district in Prato. Since then, the image of the "Chinese siege" has become a popular refrain, often repeated in both local and national press. Although the evocative title conjures up the idea of a Chinese attack on Italian industry, Pieraccini's account attempts to go beyond this motto, revealing some contradictions in the Italian community that somehow helped the expansion of the parallel Chinese district. She not only underscores common illegal practices within the Chinese community, but she also gives visibility to the positive examples of those Chinese firms that grow their own businesses while respecting the Italian fiscal law system.

Another successful slogan about the Chinese presence in Prato identifies the Tuscan town as "a new Wenzhou," the city from which the majority of the Chinese community in Prato hails, as a couple of selected examples from the Italian and the international press illustrate: "Benvenuti a Prato, provincia di Wenzhou" (Rizzo, 2009); "Made in little Wenzhou, Italy" (Hooper, 2010). It is the foreign journalists, more than the Italian ones, who insist on highlighting the responsibilities of the Italian community, with a special focus on the negligence and the hypocrisy that in the end favored Chinese entrepreneurs. For instance, according to Donadio (2010), the weakness of Italian institutions and the typical tolerance towards breaking the rules were key factors for the development of illegal activities. Furthermore, she emphasizes how the inhabitants of Prato had been the first to profit from the arrival of Chinese immigrants, by renting them private apartments and industrial warehouses.[9]

Story of my people

In 2010 the recent history of the Prato textile district came to the attention of the public thanks to the book *Storia della mia gente* by Edoardo Nesi, who was born in Prato in 1964 and was former co-chief executive

[9] "Hypocrisy abounds. 'The people in Prato are ostriches,' said Patrizia Bardazzi, who with her husband has run a high-end clothing shop in downtown Prato for 40 years. 'I know people who rent space to the Chinese and then say, 'I don't come into the center because there are too many Chinese.' They rent out the space and take the money and go to Forte dei Marmi'" (Donadio, 2010).

of his family-run manufacturing business of fine woollens.[10] The writer recollects the crisis of the industrial district, starting from his personal experience within the firm his relatives sold in 2004. From the very first pages of the book, the author stresses the osmosis between the city and its secular textile tradition:

> E ora immaginate una città intera che si fonda sull'industria tessile, costellata di decine e decine di aziende come la nostra, tutte in continua crescita e tutte interconnesse in un sistema di lavoro follemente frammentato ma incredibilmente efficace, fatto di centinaia di microaziende spesso a conduzione famigliare che si occupano di una fase intermedia della lavorazione del prodotto, ognuna col suo nome, il suo orgoglio, il suo bilancio in utile (Nesi, 2010: 26-27).

The connection and mutual influence between the textile industry and the history of the town is so deep that every transformation in the local industrial economy immediately calls the city's identity into question. According to Nesi, this is what happened with the arrival of Chinese immigrants – perceived as new invaders – and with the beginning of their independent business activity. In fact, it is no longer possible to distinguish just whose city Prato is: "Sei tu in viaggio nella tua città, la città dei cinesi" (2010: 102).

From time to time, the author shares some self-critical considerations: on the lack of initiative of many Italian executives, who were convinced that their company would never be touched by a crisis; on the general suspicion towards the Chinese community and the concrete possibility that this diffidence could easily turn into racism. But generally speaking, Nesi represents the relationship between Italians and Chinese in terms of a continuous conflict with no solution on the horizon, while implicitly bringing the reader on the side of the narrator. As in common corporate storytelling strategies, where a brand constructs its own history by trying to build a connection with the collective memory of its target audience, in *Storia della mia gente* the author involves the reader in a coherent system of music and literary quotes that somehow identifies a group of people who share the same cultural references.[11] Throughout the book, Nesi builds a dialectic relationship between Us and Them. They are the Chinese immigrants, who are defined by their difference from the author and his preferred interlocutors, his readers:

[10] Nesi worked in his family-run business for 15 years. His first novels were published in the 1990s. In 2011 he won the Strega Prize for *Storia della mia gente*. Since 2009 Nesi has engaged in local and national political activities, as a council member for the Province of Prato until 2012, and then as a member of parliament since February 2013.

[11] Chiara Richelmi has already highlighted this kind of narrative strategy in her essay about Fabio Volo and the reasons for his success (Richelmi, 2011: 77).

> Ti chiedi cosa pensino di *noi* e della *nostra* vita e delle *nostre* leggi perché, certo, ai figli di quella Repubblica Popolare Cinese che fece bastonare a morte la sua migliore gioventù dai soldati analfabeti portati a Pechino in camion dalla Mongolia Inferiore deve apparir comico che in Italia la polizia bussi alla porta e stia ad aspettare che qualcuno apra (Nesi, 2010: 114, emphasis added).

The clash between the two sides shows its extreme and most frightening consequences in the chapter entitled *L'incubo*. The narrator recounts a recurring nightmare: an Italian man, about fifty years old, and recently dismissed within a redundancy scheme by the company where he used to work, queues in front of the payment machine of a gas station, together with a Chinese student. The former bends over to pick up a bill, the latter accidentally hurts the other man's hand with his shoe: what follows is an escalation of insults and then a fight that involves other customers in the queue, both Italian and Chinese.

> Eccolo, l'incubo. Prosegue con i cortei e le ronde e i vetri spaccati e i bastoni e le catene e i coltelli, e le case date al fuoco e l'odio. E la pazzia.
> Non è la mia città, voglio dirlo ancora.
> Ma è questo l'incubo (Nesi, 2010: 129).

Many elements in the story, even if presented as imaginary, mirror the worst popular instincts towards the Chinese community and constitute a kind of wink at every possible Italian reader, with no specific reference to Prato. First, the focus is not on the location, but on the young Chinese man: "sia chiaro, la scena dell'incubo non si svolge mai nella mia città: la città è sempre indistinta, però il ragazzo è sempre cinese" (Nesi, 2010: 122). Second, the personal story of Fabio, the Italian man, is common to many people touched by the profound national crisis: a distinguished man, devoted to his family and job, has to face the economic and psychological consequences of unemployment. Third, Fabio echoes one of the most common prejudices about Chinese people coming to Italy in order to start a new business: "*sono i cinesi che mi hanno rubato il lavoro*" (Nesi, 2010: 124, emphasis in the original). The narrator immediately balances this point of view[12] and tries to shift the responsibility from the Chinese people to the labour market and its rules or rather, its absence of rules:

> I cinesi che stanno in Cina – ecco, sì, di loro magari si può dire che abbiano *rubato* il lavoro di Fabio, se si può definire un furto la regola principe del nostro mondo impoverito, la sua nuova quintessenza, e cioè

[12] "Non è vero. Quel ragazzo cinese in particolare non ha rubato il lavoro a nessuno" (Nesi, 2010: 124).

> l'esaltazione e la protezione assoluta della mobilità del lavoro, l'unanime consenso a consentirgli di passare ogni frontiera per spostarsi dove costa di meno (Nesi, 2010: 125, emphasis in the original).

This final comment somehow reduces the impact of the imaginary fight, shifting the focus from the Chinese people *per sé* to the negative aspects of globalization. Nevertheless, in this chapter and throughout the book, the Chinese are represented as a separate group of people that does not belong to the audience, the collective that Nesi addresses with "we," "us," "ours":[13] the same community able to identify and share the cultural references mentioned above.

Forte dei Marmi

The origins of Forte dei Marmi date back to the first half of the sixteenth century, when the first road from the Apuan Alps to the coast was built in order to develop the marble trade (Giannelli, 1970: 26-27). The iconic Forte [fortress] was built in the second half of the eighteenth century, in obedience to the wishes of Pietro Leopoldo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Giannelli, 1970: 69-72). In the twentieth century, especially after World War II, Forte dei Marmi became the favorite holiday resort of aristocratic and bourgeois families from inland Tuscany and Northern Italy. Today the city is one of the most famous Italian summer destinations, frequented by many celebrities and, generally speaking, tourists: in 2014, the municipality registered more than 105,000 arrivals and over 398,000 presences.[14]

The data about local inhabitants do not return equally impressive results: from 2001 to 2012, the number of residents decreased from 8,448 to 7,619.[15] The problem behind this continuous exodus, mainly towards the nearest inland areas, is the extraordinary increase in cost of living and especially in housing prices. Many Italian journalists have pointed the finger

[13] In her recent essay on *Storia della mia gente*, Ross has already emphasized how Nesi's use of pronouns contributes to stress the opposition between natives and foreigners (Ross, 2014: 149). With regard to this strategy, Ross recalls Riggins' remarks about the relation of linguistic techniques to the expression of Self-identity and Otherness: "Expressions that are the most revealing of the boundaries separating Self and Other are *inclusive and exclusive pronouns and possessives* such as *we and they*, *us and them*, and *ours and theirs*" (Riggins, 1997: 8, emphasis in the original; Ross, 2014: 149).

[14] See Provincia di Lucca, <http://www.turismo.provincia.lucca.it/post.php?idart=34> (10/15).

[15] See the data provided every year by ISTAT, available at tuttitalia.it, <http://www.tuttitalia.it/toscana/77-forte-dei-marmi/statistiche/popolazione-andamento-demografico/> (10/15).

at wealthy Russians who bought villas, apartments, hotels or plots of land at staggering prices, thus provoking a dramatic rise in property values. According to the Italian Observatory[16] for the Real Estate Market, in the first semester of 2014, home values in the most exclusive area of Forte dei Marmi ranged from 5,300 to 16,000 euros per square meter.[17]

Versilia "by Russia"?

The impact of Russian tourism in Forte dei Marmi has been described with very similar words and images to the ones already discussed for Prato. In many newspaper reports, the city, together with its surroundings, metaphorically became a Russian district, as seen in the following press headlines: "Forte dei Marmi, provincia di Mosca e dintorni" (Gatti, 2008); "Se sul Forte batte bandiera russa" (Rigatelli, 2012); "Versilia 'by Russia'" (Borghini, 2012). The word "invasione" recurs so as to define the Russian presence on the Versilia coast: "l'invasione è inarrestabile" (Gatti, 2008); "l'invasione continuerà senza dubbio" (Adinolfi, 2012). Many descriptions of Russian people and their habits convey common stereotypes about the nouveau-riche and even spread popular rumors, like the episode of the Russian man who gave 4000 euro in cash to the owner of a scooter he bumped into, as immediate compensation. Russian investors are viewed as new *czars* (Gatti, 2008; Adinolfi, 2012), who exercise the power of money and never miss a chance to show off their wealth.

Living in a dead city: Morte dei Marmi

In 2012 the Italian writer Fabio Genovesi,[18] born in Forte dei Marmi, published *Morte dei Marmi:*[19] half fiction, half essay, this book is composed

[16] The Real Estate Market Observatory, associated with the Italian Revenue Agency, manages "the collection and processing of technical-economic information concerning the real estate quotations, the rental market, annuity rates." See <http://www.agenziaentrate.gov.it/wps/file/Nsilib/Nsi/Documentazione/Archivio/Book+della+Agenzia/Book+2013/Book_2013.pdf> (10/15).

[17] See <http://www.agenziaentrate.gov.it/wps/content/nsilib/nsi/documentazione/omi/banche+dati/quotazioni+immobiliari> (10/15).

[18] Fabio Genovesi (1974) contributes to different Italian newspapers and magazines including *La Repubblica*, *Il Tirreno*, *La Lettura* (the *Corriere della Sera* literary supplement) and *Vanity Fair* (Italy).

[19] The title plays on the words *morte* and *forte* that differ in only one letter. *Morte dei Marmi* was published in Laterza's Contromano [against the flow] series, "one of the more successful collections of contemporary writing in Italy" (Lee, 2012: 204). Launched in 2004, the series now includes more than eighty titles. According to Anna Gialluca, current editor of Contromano, "the collection represents a new genre, one that exists between fiction and non-fiction" (Lee,

of short chapters where the most significant places in Forte dei Marmi are connected to personal memories and considerations about the way the city has been changing over the last few years.

Genovesi never gives in to the temptation of a nostalgic report of the good old days. He rather focuses on all those idiosyncrasies and characteristics of the local inhabitants that really contributed – maybe even more than the arrival of the Russians – to the present situation. At the same time, he does not hide the serious problems affecting the survival of the city's traditional identity: among which are certainly the consequences of the distorted real estate market, but also the outlandish house renovations requested by new Russian owners, who do not seem particularly interested in respecting the original landscape and its harmony.

Throughout the text, Genovesi depicts a telling image of the authentic spirit of people born and raised in Forte dei Marmi: "Gente riottosa e greve, astiosa e maldisposta, un popolo che vive di turismo e insieme è il meno ospitale del pianeta" (Genovesi, 2012: 7). He also comments: "Io vivo a Forte dei Marmi, e non sono l'unico. Siamo pochi, è vero, ma duri e ignoranti" (Genovesi, 2012: 140). The peculiar personality of local inhabitants becomes the main topic in the chapter entitled *Fenici, assiri, babilonesi, fortemarmìni* (Genovesi, 2012: 67-75). Here the verb "to be" in the present, first-person plural form "siamo" and the personal pronoun "noi" recur like a kind of refrain, often in connection with the adjective "fortemarmìno" or a direct reference to Forte dei Marmi: "*Siamo* bagnini oppure giardinieri, elettricisti, idraulici e imbianchini, o comunque lavoriamo intorno alle case degli altri" (67); or "*a noi fortemarmìni* non ce ne frega nulla" (69); or "*per noi ragazzi del Forte* era davvero dura"[20] (72). The general idea the reader gets from all these hints is that being *fortemarmìno* means a lot in terms of local identity, insofar as this particular birthplace, i.e. Forte dei Marmi, has a strong imprint on its people. A kind of imprint that is not necessarily positive (as in the excerpts mentioned above: "Gente riottosa e greve, astiosa e maldisposta;" "Siamo […] duri e ignoranti") but definitely original, making people from Forte dei Marmi unique and different even when compared to people from neighboring towns.

At the same time, Genovesi represents the city of Forte dei Marmi and its inhabitants as two increasingly separate entities. According to the au-

2012: 205; see also Prudenzano, 2009 for the original text of the interview of Gialluca). As suggested by the title of the collection, Contromano, one of the primary common features is an original and non-conventional point of view in the description of contemporary reality. Many volumes of the series are dedicated to Italian cities. In these "narrazioni urbane" (Papotti, 2014: 42), the city, no matter what size or where it is located, becomes the protagonist and the author acts like an "insider-guide" (Lee, 2012: 205) who tries to discover and show the inner spirit of the place.

[20] Emphasis added in all these examples.

thor, nowadays the city is foreign to its own people. In order to pursue the tourists' wishes, Forte dei Marmi became a kind of non-place that the local population no longer recognizes anymore as its own birthplace: "Forte dei Marmi non ci vuole più. Ha cambiato stile di vita, frequenta luoghi diversi, gente di classe" (Genovesi, 2012: 49). In such a transformed context, only the silent presence of fishermen helps other people to remember the original identity of the city, which otherwise would be interchangeable with any other luxury resort: "Noi pescatori […] offriamo ai turisti un'opportunità ormai unica a Forte dei Marmi: rendersi conto che sono venuti in un posto di mare" (Genovesi, 2012: 99). In Genovesi's opinion, this gradual disengagement of the inhabitants from their own city has not a lot to do with Russian investments: the Russians arrived after Forte dei Marmi had already deceived its inhabitants, when "questo posto ha smesso di essere Forte dei Marmi, coi suoi pregi e i suoi difetti, e si è attrezzato per diventare Forte dei Marmi-Porto Cervo-Cortina" (Genovesi, 2012: 53).

The roots of this change need to be found elsewhere, in the local population's hostility towards strangers, where stranger means coming from Milan, Florence or even the nearest village. The inhabitants of Forte dei Marmi chose to give their city up to tourists: they preferred to accept the transformation of the city into "un contenitore neutro per sogni di altissimo livello" (Genovesi, 2012: 53) rather than face the tourists and try to meet their desires halfway.

As long as tourists booked hotels, apartments or houses solely for the vacation season, this silent agreement held quite well. Problems emerged however when a new kind of tourist arrived in Forte dei Marmi: people interested in buying, rather than renting, properties and willing to pay the highest prices. Many inhabitants opted to sell their own houses to get extraordinary and easy profit, without calculating the possible consequences (such as the dramatic increase in house prices, the wave of house renovations which are discordant with the traditional landscape and urban context). When the effects became evident, it was too late to go back, for once your own property is sold, then it is sold forever: "quando vendi, poi hai venduto per sempre" (Genovesi, 2012: 25-26). As in *Storia della mia gente*, the moment of selling up turns out to be the point of no return.

Conclusion

Bearing in mind that mass media play a leading role in defining and informing a place image, i.e. "the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a people have of a place" (Kotler, et al. 1993: 141), in this essay I have made use of media sources while paying attention to the point of view from which the complex transformations and reactions occurring in Prato and Forte dei Marmi were seen and represented.

Journalists necessarily squeeze their analysis in a restricted set of words, offering only a partial survey of the selected topic. On the other

hand, they boast an important advantage in terms of impact, accessibility and influence. In the selected press articles, the quest for powerful slogans and key-words (for instance, the recurring ideas of the "Eastern invasion" or the "siege") create impressive but simplified images that cannot truly account for situations that are constantly developing, as demonstrated by the election of Chinese entrepreneur Wang Liping as vicepresident of the Prato section of CNA (National Confederation of Craftsmanship and Small and Medium Enterprises) in 2012 (Reali, 2012); or by a recent report about the Russian presence in Tuscany, showing how Russians are now directing their investments towards inland areas, especially around Montecatini's thermal baths (Kington, 2014).

The perspective of a writer of fiction is admittedly more partial than that of a journalist, who purports to maintain a modicum of objectivity. This does not diminish the potential impact of the writer's texts as "complex cultural products which form part of the ways in which we talk about ourselves and meditate upon the fate of the peoples" (Westwood & Williams, 1997: 12). Both Genovesi and Nesi engage with the identity and conflict issues raised by the arrival of a foreign community in their cities, but the former proves to offer a more balanced, albeit personalized, description of what has happened, since in *Morte dei Marmi* the responsibilities of all those involved are better clarified. Nesi, who also tries in some passages to hint at the mistakes and the laziness of many Italian entrepreneurs, narrates the decline of the textile district from a perspective that does not take into account just how intertwined and inescapable the relations and contacts between the native inhabitants of Prato and the Chinese community in fact are. An obvious risk of this kind of approach, blended with a narrative strategy that brings the reader on the writer's side, is that the "story of my people" ends up being considered "everybody's story," when, in fact, it is only "somebody's story", as recalled by a letter to the editor of *La Nazione*, where the sender, Antonio di Furia, in his open message to Nesi, underlines how different the author's experience and background are in comparison with his: where the sender, Antonio di Furia, in his open message to Nesi, argues:

> […] se anch'io decidessi di scrivere un romanzo, sarebbe ambientato a Prato, come il tuo. […] Racconterei delle mie vacanze studio, non ad Harvard, ma in Irpinia, dai nonni. […] Io sono figlio di operai che hanno contribuito a rendere unica l'economia di questa città (Tedeschini 2011).

THE AUTHORS

Francesca Biliotti holds a Laurea in languages and intercultural communication from the Università degli Studi di Siena (2007), where she subsequently earned her Laurea specialistica in Language and Cultural Studies (2010), with a thesis on general linguistics. During her studies she spent nine months at the University of London Royal Holloway on an Erasmus scholarship. She was a research grant holder at the University of Siena (2011-2013), working on the cataloguing of sound documents within the Gra.fo project.

Claire Buckley is a Lecturer in Italian at the Dublin Institute of Technology and is a PhD candidate in the Department of Italian department in University College Cork. Her thesis title is *Wild Woman: Representations of Female 'Deviance' in Modern and Contemporary Italian Literature.* She has been teaching languages since 1995 and has worked at a number of institutions in Italy, Australia and Ireland. At DIT, she teaches Italian language, culture and current affairs.

Silvia Calamai is Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of Siena since 2008. She has held lectures and seminars as an invited speaker on experimental phonetics, sociolinguistics, and languages of the performing arts at the Universities of Pisa, Florence, Naples (Federico II), Modena and Reggio Emilia, Bologna (Forlì), Basel, Copenhagen, Salamanca, at the Accademia della Crusca and at the Scuola Normale Superiore. Her main research interests concern acoustical, articulatory, and perceptual phonetics, sound archives, sociophonetics, Italian dialectology, and linguistic geography. Her work has been published in various peer-reviewed journals, including *Italian Journal of Linguistics, Journal of Phonetics, Rivista Italiana di Linguistica e Dialettologia* , among others. In addition to over 80 scholarly contributions and a manual for university students (*Suoni e forme*, Rome 2008), she has written four books based on phonetic and dialectological fieldwork (*"Nel gergo nostro brutalissimo". La parlata di Travalle fra dialetto pratese e dialetto fiorentino*, Prato 2002; *"Una lingua vertadera". Profilo del dialetto di Sassetta*, Firenze 2003; *Il vocalismo tonico pisano e livornese. Aspetti storici, percettivi, acustici*, Alessandria, 2004; *Dalla terra al pane. Lessico e tradizioni nel territorio di Calenzano*, Calenzano, 2006).

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

Enrico Cesaretti is Associate Professor of Italian at UVA. His research to date has dealt primarily on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italian literature, and has focused primarily on Futurism and the avant garde period. His articles have appeared in *Italian Studies*, *Annali d'Italianistica*, *Modern Language Notes*, *Comparative Literature*, *Romance Studies*, *Ecozon@*, and *Symposium*, among others. He is the author of *Castelli di carta: retorica della dimora tra Scapigliatura e Surrealismo* (Longo, 2001), and *Fictions of Appetite: Alimentary Discourses in Italian Modernist Literature* (Peter Lang, 2013). He is currently interested in the application of ecocritical theories to the Italian context, and is working on two book projects: *Landscapes, Natures, Ecologies: Italy and the Environmental Humanities* (co-edited with S. Iovino and E. Past, and forthcoming with the University of Virginia Press), and a manuscript tentatively entitled *Telling Matters: Narratives of Human and Nonhuman Entanglements in Modern Italy*.

Niamh Cullen is Lecturer in Twentieth-Century History at the University of Southampton. The research for her chapter in this volume was completed under the auspices of an Irish Research Council CARA/ Marie Curie research fellowship, held at University College Dublin between 2011 and 2015. She was also a Visiting Fellow at the Università degli Studi di Milano from 2011 to 2013. Her publications include Piero Gobetti's *Turin: Modernity, Myth and Memory* (Peter Lang, 2011), as well as articles in *Modern Italy and Journal of Modern Italian Studies*. She is currently completing a social history of love and marriage in post-1945 Italy, drawing on both popular culture and life-writing sources.

Giulia De Dominicis has a Laurea Specialistica in Modern Philology from the Università di Pavia, Collegio Ghislieri (2010), from which she also holds a Laurea in Lettere Moderne (2008). She was an Erasmus scholarship recipient in 2009/2010, at the University of Cambridge, St. John's College. She completed a Ph.D. in Italian linguistics at the Università per Stranieri di Siena. Her primary research interests concern the history of the Italian language; hagiographical texts; migration literature and the the theme of identity in contemporary Italian literature.

Claire Honess graduated in 1989 with a degree in Italian and French from the University of Reading. She then went on to do a PhD on the image of the city in Dante's writing, and Dante is still her main area of research interest. Her book, *From Florence to the Heavenly City: The Poetry of Citizenship in Dante*, appeared in 2006; she has a continuing interest in medieval political poetry and, in particular, in the way in which Dante uses political ideas and imagery. She has recently translated four of Dante's Latin letters on political themes into English. She is currently professor of Italian Studies and Dean of Postgraduate Research Studies at the University of Leeds, and Chair of the Society for Italian Studies of the UK and Ireland.

Anne O'Connor is a lecturer in Italian Studies at National University of Ireland, Galway. A graduate of University College Cork, Johns Hopkins University and the University of Birmingham, she specializes in nineteenth century Italian literature and history. She has published numerous articles and a book on the culture of memory in nineteenth-century Florence (*Firenze: La città e la memoria nell'Ottocento*, Firenze, Città di Vita, 2008). Her recent publications include articles on Garibaldi; Dante memorials in the nineteenth century; and Alessandro Gavazzi. She has co-edited the volume *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (UCD Press, 2013).

Silvia Ross is Senior Lecturer in Italian at University College Cork and was Associate Dean and Head of the Graduate School of the College of Arts, Celtic Studies and Social Sciences from Jan 2011 to Sept 2013. Her research concentrates on the representation of central Italy in modern and contemporary literature, the subject of her monograph, *Tuscan Spaces: Literary Constructions of Place* (University of Toronto Press, 2010). She has published in a number of scholarly journals such as *Studies in Travel Writing, Italian Studies*, *Annali d'italianistica, Italian Culture* and *The Italianist* and has co-edited the volumes *Gendered Contexts: New Perspectives in Italian Cultural Studies* (1996) and *Mediterranean Travels: Writing Self and Other from the Ancient World to Contemporary Society* (Legenda, 2011).

Sharon Wood is Professor in Italian at the University of Leicester where she was also Director of Italian Studies. Her research interests include modern narrative and theater, Women's intellectual history in late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth century Italy; translation studies. She is the author of *Italian women's writing 1860-1994* (London 1995) and co-editor of the *Cambridge History of Women's Writing in Italy* (Cambridge 2000) as well as further books on Elsa Morante and Grazia Deledda. Her Translations from Italian include texts by Romana Petri, Susanna Tamaro and Primo Levi. Her translation of Dacia Maraini's *Hurried Steps* (*Passi Affrettati*) continues to be performed by New Shoes Theater Company, directed by Niki Kaye.

WORKS CITED

Absalom, R. and Spinelli A. 1998. Contadini e gli ex prigionieri anglosassoni a Prato nella Seconda Guerra Mondiale. In: G. Becattini, eds. *Prato Storia di una città. Il modello pratese (1943 – ad oggi)*. Florence: Le Monnier IV, pp. 43-81.

Adinolfi, G. 2012. Forte dei Marmi parla russo. *Lettera 43* [online] 6 August. Available at: <http://www.lettera43.it/economia/affari/forte-dei-marmi-parla-russo_4367560094.htm> (10/15).

Agostiniani, L. and Giannelli, L. 1990. Considerazioni per un analisi del parlato toscano, in L'italiano regionale. In: M.A. Cortelazzo and A.M. Mioni, eds. *Atti del XVIII congresso internazionale di studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana*, Padova-Vicenza, 14-16.IX.1984. Rome: Bulzoni, pp. 219-237.

Alaimo S. 2010. *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Aleramo, S. 1906. *Una donna*. Rome: STEN.

Andreini, A. and Clemente, P. eds. 2007. *I custodi delle voci. Archivi orali in Toscana: primo censimento*. Florence: Regione Toscana.

Antonello, P. and O'Leary, A. 2009. eds. *Imagining Terrorism: The Rhetoric and Representation of Political Violence in Italy 1969-2009*. London: Legenda

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at large. Cultural dimensions of globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arielli, E. and Scotto, G. *Conflitti e mediazione*. Milan: Mondadori, 2003.

Avallone, S. 2010. *Acciaio*. Milan: Rizzoli.

Avallone, S. 2012. *Swimming to Elba*. Translated by Antony Shugaar. New York: Penguin Books.

Baglioni, G. 1962. *I giovani nella società industriale. Ricerca sociologica condotta in una zona dell'Italia del nord*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.

Balaev, M. 2008. Trends in Literary Trauma Theory. *Mosaic* 41(2): 149-166.

Banfield, E. 1958. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: Free Press.

Banti, A.M. 2000. *La nazione del Risorgimento: Parentela, santità e onore alle origini del Risorgimento*. Torino: Einaudi.

Barrera G., Martini, A. and Mulè, A. eds. 1993. *Fonti orali. Censimento degli istituti di conservazione*. Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici.

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

Benedetti, A. 2002a. *Gli archivi sonori: fonoteche, nastroteche e biblioteche musicali in Italia*. Genoa: Erga.
Benedetti, A. 2002b. *Il linguaggio delle nuove Brigate Rosse: Frasario, scelte stilistiche e analisi comparativa delle rivendicazioni dei delitti D'Antona e Biagi*. Genoa: Erga.
Bennett, J. 2010. *Vibrant Matter. A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Bertrams, K., Coupain, N. and Homburg, E. 2012. *Solvay: History of a Multinational Family Firm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Bhabha, H.K. 2004. *The location of culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
Blangiardo, G.C. 2013. Gli aspetti statistici. In: Fondazione ISMU, *Diciottesimo Rapporto sulle Migrazioni 2012*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, pp. 37-54.
Bonsanti, M. 2007. Amore familiare, amore romantico e amor di patria. In: A. Banti and P. Ginsborg, eds. *Storia d'Italia*. Torino: Einaudi, pp. 127-152.
Borghini, L. 2012. Sono i russi a salvare la "snob" Forte dei Marmi dalla crisi, *Linkiesta* [online] 17 August. Available at: <http://www.linkiesta.it/forte-dei-marmi> (10/15).
Braidotti, R. 2013. *The Posthuman*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bravo, A. 2003. *Il fotoromanzo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
Bressan, F. and Canazza, S. 2013. A Systemic Approach to the Preservation of Audio Documents: Methodology and Software Tools. *Journal of Electrical and Computer Engineering*, vol. 2013, Article ID 489515, 21 pages, doi: 10.1155/2013/489515, <http://www.hindawi.com/journals/jece/2013/489515/> (10/15).
Bressan, F., Bertinetto, P.M., Bertini, C., Bertoncin, C., Biliotti, F., Calamai, S., Canazza, S. and Nocchi, N. 2012. Un ambiente informatico per il controllo dei processi relativi alla conservazione attiva in un archivio digitale di corpora vocali. In: M. Falcone and A. Paoloni, eds. *La voce nelle applicazioni*. VIII Convegno Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana Scienze della Voce. Rome: Bulzoni, pp. 199-214.
Burns, J. 2011. Founding Fathers: Giorgio Scerbanenco. G. Pieri ed. *Italian Crime Fiction*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 27-47.

Calamai, S. 2011. Toscana. In R. Simone ed. *Enciclopedia dell'Italiano*. Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, vol II, pp. 1506-1509, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dialetti-toscani_%28Enciclopedia_dell%27Italiano%29/> (10/15).
Calamai, S. 2012. Ordinare archivi sonori: il progetto Gra.fo. *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 35: 135-164.
Calamai, S. and Bertinetto P.M. 2014. *Le soffitte della voce. Il progetto Grammo-foni*. Manziana: Vecchiarelli.
Call the Witness. 2011. Roma Pavilion. 54th International Art Exhibition, La Biennale di Venezia, <http://www.callthewitness.net/> (05/15).

Capussotti, E. and Ellena, L. 2003. The Way of Oblivion: Refugees in Italy. *Feminist Review,* 73: 148-52.
Caratozzolo, V. C. 2006. *Irene Brin. Italian Style in Fashion*. Venice: Marsilio.
Carducci, G. 1905. *Poesie di Giosuè Carducci*. Bologna: Zanichelli.
Caruth, C. 1996. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, History.* Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press.
Catanzaro, R. 1991. Subjective Experience and Objective Reality: An Account in the Words of its Protagonists. *The Red Brigades and Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy,* Ed. Raimondo Catanzaro. London:Pinter,
CDC 450/2008: Regolamento (CE) n. 450/2008 del Parlamento Europeo e del Consiglio del 23 aprile 2008 che istituisce il Codice Doganale Comunitario (Codice doganale aggiornato). In: *Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea* [online] 4 June. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:145:0001:0064:IT:PDF> (10/15).
Cecchinato, E., and Isnenghi, M. 2007. La nazione volontaria. In: A. Banti and P. Ginsborg, eds. *Storia d'Italia.* Torino: Einaudi, pp. 697-720.
Chodorow, N. 1999. *The Power of Feelings*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Colleoni, F. 2012. Spettri della violenza politica: gli anni settanta in alcuni romanzi del nuovo millenio. *Enthymema,* 7: 425-42
Cornelisen, A. 2001. *Women of the Shadows. Wives and Mothers of Southern Italy.* South Royalton, VT: Steerforth Press.
Coverley, M. 2007. *Psychogeography.* Kindle file: Pocket Essentials.
Crainz, G. 2005. *Storia del miracolo italiano*. Rome: Donzelli.
Cresswell, T. 2004. *Place: a short introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell,
Cresswell, T. 2006. *On the Move*. New York/London: Routledge.
Cullen, N. 2014. Changing Emotional Landscapes? *Grand Hotel* and Representations of Love and Courtship in 1950s Italy. *Cultural and Social History.* 11(2): 285-306.

d'Azeglio, M. 1866. *I miei ricordi*, Raccolta Azegliana, F.000001, B.0572, Carta 1-12, Archivio dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento.
d'Azeglio, M. 1891. *I miei ricordi*. Firenze: Barbera.
d'Azeglio, M. 1895. *Niccolò de' Lapi*. (1841) Firenze: Successori Le Monnier.
de Berti, R. and Piazzoni, I. eds. 2009. *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra.* Milan: Cisalpino.
D'Eramo, M. 2014. Unescocide. *New Left Review.* 88 (2014) 47-53.
De Foresta, A. 1881. *L'adulterio del marito, uguaglianza della donna. Divorzio.* Milan: Treves.
De Franchi, M. 2008. *La carne e il sangue.* Siena: Barbera.
De Franchi, M. 2013 *Il giorno rubato.* Rome: La Lepre Edizioni.
de Giorgio, M. 1992. *Le Italiane dall'Unità ad oggi*. Rome: Laterza.
De Grazia, V. 1993. *How Fascism Ruled Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dei, A.M. 1986. *Graffitti*. MP/03. Archivio nazionale diaristico.
Dei Ottati, G. 1993. Metamorfosi di un'industria localizzata: la nascita del distretto industriale pratese. In: R. Leonardi and R.Y. Nannetti, eds. *Lo sviluppo regionale nell'economia europea integrata. Il caso toscano*. Venezia: Marsilio, pp. 151-81.
Dei Ottati, G. 2014. A transnational fast fashion industrial district: an analysis of the Chinese businesses in Prato. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 38: 1247-1274.
Demmers, J. *Theories of Violent Conflict*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.
Derrida, J. 1994. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*. London: Routledge.
de Sanctis, F. 1954. *Opere complete*. F. Catalano, ed. Vol. 7. Bari: Laterza.
Donadio, R. 2010. Chinese Remake the 'Made in Italy' Fashion Label. *The New York Times* [online] 12 September. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/13/world/europe/13prato.html?pagewanted=all> (10/15).
Duggan, C. 2012. *Fascist Voices: An Intimate History of Mussolini's Italy*. London: Bodley Head.

Eakin, P.J. ed. 2004. *The Ethics of Life Writing*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
Etherington, K. 2003. *Trauma, the Body, and Transformation: a Narrative Inquiry*. London: Jessica Kingsly Publishers.
Evans, M. 1999. *Missing persons. The Impossibility of Auto/biography*. London: Routledge.

Fabian, J. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Faloppa, F. 2004. *Parole contro. La rappresentazione del "diverso" nella lingua italiana e nei dialetti*. Milano: Garzanti.
Faloppa, F. 2012. Identità e alterità nella lingua italiana. Alcuni appunti a margine del centocinquantesimo anniversario dell'Unità d'Italia. In: M. Brera and C. Pirozzi, eds. *Lingua e identità: a 150 anni dall'unità d'Italia*. Cesati: Florence, pp. 199-222.
Fasani, F. 2009. Undocumented migration in Italy – A country report, CLANDESTINO project – Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends Across Europe, European Commission [online]. Available at: <http://clandestino.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/clandestino_report_italy_final_3.pdf> (10/15).
Ferlito, S. 2005. Between Fiction and Ethnography: Tabucchi's *Gli zingari e il Rinascimento: Vivere da Rom a Firenze*. *Forum Italicum*. 39(2): 461-80.
Forgacs, D. and Gundle, S. 2007. *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Foucault, M. 1986. Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics*. 16(1): 22-27.
Franchi, A. 1902. *Avanti il divorzio*. Florence: Sandron.

Franchi, A. 1940. *La mia vita*. Milan: Garzanti.
Franchi, A. 2012. *Avanti il divorzio*. De Troja, E. ed. Florence: Sandron.

Gatti, F. 2008. A Forte dei Marmi comandano i russi, *L'Espresso* [online], 26 August. Available at: <http://espresso.repubblica.it/dettaglio/a-forte-dei-marmi-comandano-i-russi/2038486> (10/15).
Genovesi, F. 2012. *Morte dei Marmi*, Rome-Bari: Laterza.
Genovesi, G. 1998. *Storia della scuola in Italia dal Settecento a oggi*. Bari: Laterza.
Giannelli, G. 1970. *La bibbia del Forte dei Marmi*, Rome: Versilia oggi.
Giannelli, L. and Di Piazza, V. 1995, L'orale scritto. Una proposta metodologica per l'edizione dei documenti orali del fondo Roberto Ferretti. In: *Fiabe, leggende, storie di paura… la narrativa orale nel fondo Roberto Ferretti*. Atti del Convegno, Grosseto 18-19.XII.1992, Quaderni dell'Archivio delle Tradizioni Popolari della Maremma Grossetana, 2, pp. 51-71.
Giannelli, L. 1988. Introduzione alla lettura. Il testo come documento di lingua: problemi di rappresentazione e appunti di lavoro. In: V. Di Piazza and V. Mugnaini, eds., *Io so' nata a Santa Lucia*. Castelfiorentino: Società storica della Valdelsa, pp. 43-62.
Giannelli, L. 1998. Italienisch: Areallinguistik VI Toskana. In: G. Holtus, M. Metzeltin and C. Schmitt, eds. *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik IV: Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch. Italiano, corso, sardo*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 594-606.
Giannelli, L. 2000 1976. *Toscana*, Pisa: Pacini.
Gigante, C. 2011a. 'Fatta l'Italia, facciamo gli Italiani'. Appunti su una massima da restituire a d'Azeglio. *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani*, 26 (2): 5-15.
Gigante, C. 2011b. La costruzione di un'identità storica: Massimo d'Azeglio dall'Ettore Fieramosca al Niccolò de' Lapi. In: C. Gigante, and D. Vanden Berghe, eds. *Il romanzo del Risorgimento*. PIE: Peter Lang, pp. 85-108.
Gigante, C., and Vanden Berghe, D. 2011. *Il romanzo del Risorgimento*. PIE: Peter Lang.
Gigli, L. 2001. La passione politica di una scrittrice. Appunti per una biografia di Anna Franchi. In P. Gabrielli, ed. *Vivere da protagoniste*. Florence: Carocci. pp. 83-105.
Gilbert, S. M. and Gubar, S. 2000. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Ginsborg, P. 1990. *A History of Contemporary Italy, 1943-1988*. London: Penguin.
Giusti, G. and Capponi, G., eds. 1871. *Raccolta di proverbi toscani*. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier.
Glynn, R. 2013. *Women, Terrorism and Trauma in Italian Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Goldston, J.A. 2002. Roma Rights. Roma Wrongs. *Foreign Affairs*, 81(2): 146-62.
Goretti, L. 2011. «Un posto che gl'andava a morire». Genere e generazioni nella fine della mezzadria in Toscana. *Zapruder*, 26: 44-58.
Gragnani, C. 2008. *Avanti il divorzio* e *La mia vita*: Anna Franchi tra autobiografia e autofinzione. in *Mnemosyne* 1: 127-38.
Gragnani, C. 2011. Un io titanico per «un'umile verità»: Ideologia e disegno letterario in *Avanti il divorzio* di Anna Franchi. In O. Frau and C. Gragnani, eds. *Sottoboschi letterari*. Florence: Firenze University Press. pp. 85-113.
Graham, S. 2004. *The Cybercities Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.
Guerrini, M. *I miei ricordi – 6 gennaio 1999*, MP/T2.
Gundle, S. 2000. *Between Hollywood and Moscow: Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press.
Gundle, S. 2007. *Bellissima. Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Hermann, J. 1992. *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York: BasicBooks.
Hom, S.M. 2013. On the Origins of Making Italy: Massimo d'Azeglio and 'Fatta l'Italia, bisogna fare gli Italiani'. *Italian Culture* 31 (1): 1-16.
Honess, C.E. 2006. *From Florence to the Heavenly City: The Poetry of Citizenship in Dante*. Oxford: Legenda.
Hooks, B. 1992. Marginality as a site of resistance. In: R. Ferguson. M. Gever, T.T. Minh-ha and C. West, eds. *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 341-44.
Hooper, J. 2010. Made in little Wenzhou, Italy: the latest label from Tuscany, *The Guardian* [online], 17 November. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/nov/17/made-in-little-wenzhou-italy> (10/15).

ICE Shanghai, 2012. *Profilo economico provincia Zhejiang*, Italian Trade Commission, Shanghai Office. Available at: <http://www.ice.gov.it/paesi/asia/cina/Profilo_economico_Zhejiang%202012.pdf> (10/15).
Iovino, S. 2009. Naples 2008, or, the Waste Land: Trash, Citizenship, and an Ethic of Narration. *Neohelicon* 36/2: 335-46.
Iovino, S. and Oppermann, S. 2012, Theorizing Material Ecocriticism: A Diptych. *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment*. 19.3, 448-75.
Iovino, S. 2012a. Material Ecocriticism. Matter, Text, and Posthuman Ethics. In: *Literature, Ecology, Ethics*. Timo Müller and Michael Sauter eds. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 51-68.
Iovino, S. 2012b. Restoring the Imagination of Place: Narrative Reinhabitation and the Po Valle. In: T. Lynch. Glotfelty C., and Ambruster, K. eds. *The Bioregional Imagination. Literature, Ecology and Place*. Athens and London: The Univerity of Georgia Press, 100-17.

Iovino, S. 2012c. Steps to a Material Ecocriticism: The Recent Literature About the New Materialisms and Its Implications for Ecocritical Theory. *Ecozon@*. 3.2: 134-145.
Iovino, S. 2014. Bodies of Naples: Stories, Matter, and the Landscapes of Porosity. *Material Ecocriticism*. Ed. S. Iovino and S. Oppermann. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 97-113.
ISMU, 2013. *Stima delle presenze irregolari. Vari anni*. Available at: <http://www.ismu.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/STIME-ISMU-IRREGOLARI_magg-2013_el.pdf> (10/15).

Kaplan, A.E. 2005. *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Kington, T. 2014. Why Chiantishire has become Ruscany, *The Observer* [online], 20 September. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/20/russian-buyers-turn-chiantishire-into-ruscany> (10/15).
Kotler, P. and Haider, D.H. and Rein, I. 1993. *Marketing Places. Attracting Investment, Industry, and Tourism to Cities, States and Nations*. New York: The Free Press.
Krautgasser, A. 2009. *Romanes*. Austria.

La meglio gioventù. 2003. Directed by M. Tullio Giordana. [DVD] Milan: RAI Radiotelevisone italiana.
Langhamer, C. 2013. *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Laven, D. 2006. Italy: The Idea of the Nation in the Risorgimento and Liberal Eras. In: T. Hewitson and M. Baycroft, eds.*What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 255-71.
Lee, J. 2012. Alternative urban journeys: Italian travel writing and the Contromano series. *Studies in Travel Writing*, 16(2): 203-214.
Lejeune, P. 1975. *Le parte autobiographique*. Paris: Seuil.
Lepenne, E. 2011-12. *La percezione dei confini linguistici nella Romagna Toscana*, Master Thesis in Linguistics, University of Siena.
Lloyd, A. 1995. *Doubly Deviant, Doubly Deviant: Society's Treatment of Violent Women*. London: Penguin Books.

Marchesini, D. 1991. L'analfabetismo femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento: caratteristiche e dinamiche. In: S. Soldani, ed. *L'educazione delle donne. Scuole e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, pp. 37-56.
Marcus, M. 1999. A Corridor with a View: Florence through the Eyes of Rossellini. *Forum Italicum*, 33(1): 161-68.
Marshall, R. 1966. *Massimo d'Azeglio: an artist in politics, 1798-1866*. London: Oxford University Press.
Massini, L. 1988-90. 'Domani è un altro giorno': MP/91. Archivio nazionale diaristico.

Maynes, M.J. 1995. *Taking the Hard Road. Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialisation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Maynes, M. J., Pierce, J.L. *et al.* 2008. *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Mazzeo, E., Gioffré, C., Armenise, M., Proietti, A. and Mosca, R. 2004. *La liberalizzazione del tessile/abbigliamento: impatti e strategie. Il commercio mondiale di tessili e abbigliamento, alla vigilia della completa abolizione del sistema di quote*, ICE Area Studi, Ricerche e Statistiche [online]. Available at: <http://www.ice.gov.it/statistiche/pdf/2004-12_Nota_Multifibre.pdf> (10/15).
Mazzoleni, D. 1993. The City and the Imaginary. *Space and Place. Theories of Identity and Location*. In E. Carter, J. Donald and J. Squires, eds. London: Lawrence. 285-302.
McLean Plunkett, S. 2009. *Anatomy of the Spectacular Woman: A Cultural History of Women in Italy 1948-1965*. PhD diss., University of New York at Buffalo.
Merlo, F. 2003. La tragica parodia. *la Repubblica* [online] 26. 2003. Available at: <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2003/10/26/la-tragica-parodia.html> (10/15).
Milani, Don L. 1957. *Esperienze pastorali*. Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina.
Morton, T. 2010. *The Ecological Thought*. Cambridge. Harvard University Press.

Nealon, J.T. 1998. *Alterity Politics: Ethics and Performative Subjectivity*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.
Nesi, E. 2010. *Storia della mia gente*. Milano: Bompiani.
Nesi, E. 2013. *Story of my people*, trans. by A. Shugaar. New York: Other Press.
Noce, T. 1997. Il fondo Anna Franchi della Biblioteca Labronica di Livorno. *Quaderni della Labronica*. 73.

O'Connor, A. 2008. *Florence: City and Memory in the nineteenth century*. Florence: Città di Vita.

Pacini, M. 2009. *Donne al lavoro nella Terza Italia: San Miniato dalla ricostruzione alla società dei servizi*. Pisa: ETS.
Papotti, D. 2014. Racconti di città: strategie di interpretazione urbana nella collana «Contromano». In: D. Papotti and F. Tomasi, eds. *La geografia del racconto. Sguardi interdisciplinari sul paesaggio urbano nella narrativa italiana contemporanea*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, pp. 35-57.
Passerini, L. 1984. *Torino operaia e fascismo: una storia orale*. Rome: Laterza.

Patriarca, S. 2005. Indolence and regeneration: tropes and tensions of Risorgimento patriotism. *The American Historical Review* 110 (2): 380-408.

Patriarca, S. 2010. *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perniola, M. 2004. *The Sex Appeal of the Inorganic. Philosophies of Desire in the Modern World*. New York: Continuum.

Petrizzo, A. 2013. 'The Garibaldi of the sixteenth century'. Francesco Ferrucci and the heroes of the Risorgimento. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 18 (2): 145-156.

Petrucci, L. 1994. Il problema delle Origini e i più antichi testi italiani. In L. Serianni and P. Trifone, eds. *Storia della Lingua italiana*. Turin: Einaudi, III, pp. 5-73.

Piattoli, R. and Nuti, R. eds. 1947. *Statuti dell'Arte della Lana di Prato (secoli XIV-XVIII)*. Firenze: Giuntina.

Pickering, A. 1995. *The Mangle of Practice: Time, Agency, and Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pickering, Andrew. 1995. *The Mangle of Practice: Time, Agency, and Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pieraccini, S. 2010. *L'assedio cinese. Il distretto senza regole degli abiti low cost di Prato*, 2nd ed. Milano: Gruppo 24 Ore.

Pinkus, K. 2003. *The Montesi Scandal The Death of Wilma Montesi and the Birth of the Paparazzi in Fellini's Rome*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Portelli, A. 1981. The Peculiarities of Oral History. *History Workshop Journal* 12(1): 96-107.

Porzio, M. 2011. *Arrivano gli Alleati! Amori e violenze nell'Italia liberate*. Rome: Laterza.

Pozzi, C. 1955. Fili d'oro. *Grand Hotel*. 26 March 1955.

Preston, D.R. 1989. *Perceptual dialectology. Non linguists' views of areal linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Prudenzano, A. 2009. Contromano, è nato un nuovo genere: intervista alla direttrice della collana Laterza. *Affaritaliani.it* [online] 16 July. Available at: <http://www.affaritaliani.it/culturaspettacoli/contromano_nato_nuovo_genere090709.html> (10/15).

Reali, I. 2012. Un cinese ai vertici di Cna, Liping vice presidente, *Il Tirreno* [online], 8 July. Available at: <http://iltirreno.gelocal.it/prato/cronaca/2012/07/08/news/un-cinese-ai-vertici-di-cna-liping-vice-presidente-1.5378567> (10/15).

Rebecca, L. 1946-1954. *La bambina e il camionista*, DP/96. Archivio Nazionale del Diario.

Residenti stranieri per nazionalità. 2012. <http://www.comuni-italiani.it/09/statistiche/stranieri.html> (10/15).

Riall, L. 2007. *Garibaldi: invention of a hero*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Riall, L. 2008. The politics of Italian Romanticism. Mazzini's making of nationalist culture. In: C. Bayley and E. Biagini, eds. *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalization of Democratic Nationalism, 1805-2005*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 167-86.
Riall, L. 2010. Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy. *The Journal of Modern History* 82 (2): 255-287.
Riall, L. 2012. Men at war: Masculinity and military ideas in the Risorgimento. In: S. Patriarca and L. Riall, eds. *The Risorgimento revisited: Nationalism and Culture in 19th-century Italy*, London: Palgrave, pp. 152-70.
Richelmi, C. 2011. I voli di Volo. *Tirature*, *L'Italia del dopobenessere*, 2011: 74-82.
Rigatelli, F. 2012. Se sul Forte batte bandiera russa, *La Stampa* [online] 31 July. Available at: <http://www.lastampa.it/2012/07/31/societa/se-sul-forte-batte-bandiera-russa-VLkNmY7Cpi2rsPDOsNmnDK/pagina.html> (10/15).
Riggins, S.H. 1997. The Rhetoric of Othering. In: S. H. Riggins, ed. *The language and politics of exclusion: Others in discourse*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE, pp. 1-30.
Rizzo, S. 2009. Prato, sfila la bandiera da un chilometro. In marcia contro la sindrome cinese, *Corriere della Sera* [online] 1 March. Available at: <http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2009/marzo/01/Prato_sfila_bandiera_chilometro_marcia_co_8_090301122.shtml> (10/15).
Ross, S. 2010. *Tuscan Spaces: Literary Constructions of Place*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Ross, S. 2014. Globalizzazione e alterità. I cinesi di Edoardo Nesi. *Narrativa*, 35/36: 143-55.
Royle, N. 2003. *The Uncanny*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Said, E. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.
Scappaticci, T. 1978. *Un intellettuale dell'Ottocento romantico, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi: il pubblico, l'ideologia, la poetica*. Ravenna: Longo.
Schüller, D. ed. 2005. *IASA-TC 03, The Safeguarding of the Audio Heritage: Ethics, principles and preservation strategy*, web edition.
Schwarz Lausten, P. 2005. *L'uomo inquieto. Identità e alterità nell'opera di Antonio Tabucchi*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
Sen, A. 2007. *Identity and Violence: the Illusion of Destiny*. London: Penguin.
Seymour, M. 2006. *Debating divorce in Italy: Marriage and the making of modern Italy 1860-1974*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Sibley, D. 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London and New York: Routledge.
Sigona, N. 2002. *Figli del ghetto. Gli italiani, i campi nomadi e l'invenzione degli zingari*. Civezzano: Nonluoghi.
Simonetti, V. 2007 Il Censimento nell'analisi archivistica e alcune considerazioni sulle fonti orali. In: A. Andreini and P. Clemente eds. *I*

custodi delle voci. Archivi orali in Toscana: primo censimento. Florence: Regione Toscana, pp. 271-281.
Sjoberg, L. and Gentry, C.E. 2007. *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*. London and New York: Zed Books.
Slack J.D. and Wise J.M., 2005. *Culture and Technology: A Primer*. New York: Peter Lang.
Smith, S. and Watson, J. eds. 1998. *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Soldani, S. and Turi, G. 1993. *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
Soldini, S. 1999. *Rom Tour*. Switzerland.
Somigli, L. 2011. The Mysteries of Bologna: On Some Trends of the Contemporary Giallo. *Italian Crime Fiction*. Ed. Giuliana Pieri. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 73-88.
Spinelli, A. 1981. Le comunità contadine del pratese nella lotta di liberazione e nell'assistenza ai prigionieri britannici evasi 1943-45. Fonti orali e ricerca storica nell'indagine su una classe subalterna. *Argomenti storici*, 8: 1-27.
Spinelli, A. 1988. Archivio sonoro delle comunità contadine dell'Alta Val Bisenzio. *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, 48 (1-2): 232-238.
Szreter, S. and Fisher, K. 2010. *Sex before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tabucchi, A. 1999. *Gli Zingari e il Rinascimento. Vivere da Roma a Firenze*. Milan: Feltrinelli.
Tajfel, H. 1970. Experiments in intergroup discrimination. *Scientific American*, 223: 96-102
Tajfel, H. 1999. *Gruppi Umani e Categorie Sociali*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
Tedeschini, M. 2011. Il declino di Prato visto da un figlio di papà e da un figlio di operai, *La Nazione* [online] 28 July. Available at: <http://www.lanazione.it/cronaca/2011/07/28/552092-declino_prato_visto_figlio_papa_figlio_operai.shtml> (10/15).
Turotti, F. 1842. *Intorno a Niccolò de' Lapi: ovvero, I Palleschi ei Piagnoni di Massimo d'Azeglio*. Tipi di Santo Bravetta.

Verdicchio, P. 2001. Renaissanceland: Virtual Cities and Historical Space. In I. Marchegiani Jones and T. Haeussler, eds. *The Poetics of Place: Florence Imagined*. Florence: Olschki, 195-202.

Westwood, S. and Williams, J. 1997. Imagining Cities. In: S. Westwood and J. Williams, eds. *Imagining Cities. Scripts, Signs, Memory*. London-NewYork: Routledge, pp. 1-15.
Willson, P. 2002. *Peasant Women and Politics in Fascist Italy: The Massaie rurali*. London: Routledge.
Willson, P. 2010. *Women in Twentieth Century Italy*. London: Palgrave.

Wilson, R. 2007. Locating the Other: Antonio Tabucchi's Narratives of Cultural Identities. *Culture, Theory & Critique*. 48(1): 51-69.
Wren-Owens, E. 2007. *Postmodern Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Yuval-Davis, N., Anthias, F. and Campling, J. 1989. *Woman, nation, state*. London: Macmillan.

INDEX OF NAMES

Claire Honess, Silvia Ross (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*, ISBN 978-88-6655-861-3 (print), ISBN 978-88-6655-862-0 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-863-7 (online EPUB)

STUDI E SAGGI
Titoli Pubblicati

ARCHITETTURA, STORIA DELL'ARTE E ARCHEOLOGIA

Bartoli M.T., Lusoli M. (a cura di), *Le teorie, le tecniche, i repertori figurativi nella prospettiva d'architettura tra il '400 e il '700. Dall'acquisizione alla lettura del dato*

Benelli E., *Archetipi e citazioni nel fashion design*

Benzi S., Bertuzzi L., *Il Palagio di Parte Guelfa a Firenze. Documenti, immagini e percorsi multimediali*

Biagini C. (a cura di), *L'Ospedale degli Infermi di Faenza. Studi per una lettura tipomorfologica dell'edilizia ospedaliera storica*

Bologna A., *Pier Luigi Nervi negli Stati Uniti 1952-1979.* Master Builder of the Modern Age

Eccheli M.G., Pireddu A. (a cura di), *Oltre l'Apocalisse. Arte, Architettura, Abbandono*

Fischer von Erlach J.B., *Progetto di un'architettura istorica / Entwurff einer Historischen Architectur*, traduzione e cura di G. Rakowitz

Frati M., *"De bonis lapidibus conciis": la costruzione di Firenze ai tempi di Arnolfo di Cambio. Strumenti, tecniche e maestranze nei cantieri fra XIII e XIV secolo*

Gregotti V., *Una lezione di architettura. Rappresentazione, globalizzazione, interdisciplinarità*

Gulli R., *Figure.* Ars *e* ratio *nel progetto di architettura*

Maggiora G., *Sulla retorica dell'architettura*

Mantese E. (a cura di), *House and Site. Rudofsky, Lewerentz, Zanuso, Sert, Rainer*

Mazza B., *Le Corbusier e la fotografia. La vérité blanche*

Mazzoni S. (a cura di), *Studi di Archeologia del Vicino Oriente. Scritti degli allievi fiorentini per Paolo Emilio Pecorella*

Messina M.G., *Paul Gauguin. Un esotismo controverso*

Pireddu A., *In abstracto. Sull'architettura di Giuseppe Terragni*

Pireddu A., *The Solitude of Places. Journeys and Architecture on the Edges*

Rakowitz G., *Tradizione Traduzione Tradimento in Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*

Tonelli M.C., *Industrial design: latitudine e longitudine*

CULTURAL STUDIES

Candotti M.P., *Interprétations du discours métalinguistique. La fortune du sūtra A 1.1.68 chez Patañjali et Bhartṛhari*

Nesti A., *Per una mappa delle religioni mondiali*

Nesti A., *Qual è la religione degli italiani? Religioni civili, mondo cattolico, ateismo devoto, fede, laicità*

Pedone V., *A Journey to the West. Observations on the Chinese Migration to Italy*

Pedone V., *Perspectives on East Asia*

Rigopoulos A., *The Mahānubhāvs*

Squarcini F. (a cura di), *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia*

Vanoli A., *Il mondo musulmano e i volti della guerra. Conflitti, politica e comunicazione nella storia dell'islam*

DIRITTO

Allegretti U., *Democrazia partecipativa. Esperienze e prospettive in Italia e in Europa*

Cingari F. (a cura di), *Corruzione: strategie di contrasto (legge 190/2012)*

Curreri S., *Democrazia e rappresentanza politica. Dal divieto di mandato al mandato di partito*

Curreri S., *Partiti e gruppi parlamentari nell'ordinamento spagnolo*

Federico V., Fusaro C. (a cura di), *Constitutionalism and Democratic Transitions. Lessons from South Africa*

Fiorita N., *L'Islam spiegato ai miei studenti. Otto lezioni su Islam e diritto*

Fiorita N., *L'Islam spiegato ai miei studenti. Undici lezioni sul diritto islamico*
Fossum J.E., Menéndez A.J., *La peculiare costituzione dell'Unione Europea*
Gregorio M., *Le dottrine costituzionali del partito politico. L'Italia liberale*
Palazzo F., Bartoli R. (a cura di), *La mediazione penale nel diritto italiano e internazionale*
Ragno F., *Il rispetto del principio di pari opportunità. L'annullamento della composizione delle giunte regionali e degli enti locali*
Sorace D. (a cura di), *Discipine processuali differenziate nei diritti amministrativi europei*
Trocker N., De Luca A. (a cura di), *La mediazione civile alla luce della direttiva 2008/52/CE*
Urso E., *La mediazione familiare. Modelli, principi, obiettivi*
Urso E., *Le ragioni degli altri. Mediazione e famiglia tra conflitto e dialogo. Una prospettiva comparatistica e interdisciplinare*

ECONOMIA
Bardazzi R. (edited by), *Economic multisectoral modelling between past and future. A tribute to Maurizio Grassini and a selection of his writings*
Bardazzi R., Ghezzi L. (edited by), *Macroeconomic modelling for policy analysis*
Ciappei C. (a cura di), *La valorizzazione economica delle tipicità rurali tra localismo e globalizzazione*
Ciappei C., Citti P., Bacci N., Campatelli G., *La metodologia Sei Sigma nei servizi. Un'applicazione ai modelli di gestione finanziaria*
Ciappei C., Sani A., *Strategie di internazionalizzazione e grande distribuzione nel settore dell'abbigliamento. Focus sulla realtà fiorentina*
Garofalo G. (a cura di), *Capitalismo distrettuale, localismi d'impresa, globalizzazione*
Laureti T., *L'efficienza rispetto alla frontiera delle possibilità produttive. Modelli teorici ed analisi empiriche*
Lazzeretti L. (a cura di), *Art Cities, Cultural Districts and Museums. An Economic and Managerial Study of the Culture Sector in Florence*
Lazzeretti L. (a cura di), *I sistemi museali in Toscana. Primi risultati di una ricerca sul campo*
Lazzeretti L., Cinti T., *La valorizzazione economica del patrimonio artistico delle città d'arte. Il restauro artistico a Firenze*
Lazzeretti L., *Nascita ed evoluzione del distretto orafo di Arezzo, 1947-2001. Primo studio in una prospettiva ecology based*
Meade S. Douglas (edited by), *In Quest of the Craft. Economic Modeling for the 21st Century*
Simoni C., *Approccio strategico alla produzione. Oltre la produzione snella*
Simoni C., *Mastering the Dynamics of Apparel Innovation*

FILOSOFIA
Baldi M., Desideri F. (a cura di), *Paul Celan. La poesia come frontiera filosofica*
Barale A., *La malinconia dell'immagine. Rappresentazione e significato in Walter Benjamin e Aby Warburg*
Berni S., Fadini U., *Linee di fuga. Nietzsche, Foucault, Deleuze*
Borsari A., *Schopenhauer educatore? Storia e crisi di un'idea tra filosofia morale, estetica e antropologia*
Brunkhorst H., *Habermas*
Cambi F., *Pensiero e tempo. Ricerche sullo storicismo critico: figure, modelli, attualità*
Cambi F., Mari G. (a cura di), *Giulio Preti: intellettuale critico e filosofo attuale*
Casalini B., Cini L., *Giustizia, uguaglianza e differenza. Una guida alla lettura della filosofia politica contemporanea*
Desideri F., Matteucci G. (a cura di), *Dall'oggetto estetico all'oggetto artistico*
Desideri F., Matteucci G. (a cura di), *Estetiche della percezione*
Di Stasio M., *Alvin Plantinga: conoscenza religiosa e naturalizzazione epistemologica*
Giovagnoli R., *Autonomy: a Matter of Content*

Honneth A., *Capitalismo e riconoscimento*
Mindus P., *Cittadini e no: Forme e funzioni dell'inclusione e dell'esclusione*
Sandrini M.G., *La filosofia di R. Carnap tra empirismo e trascendentalismo. (In appendice: R. Carnap Sugli enunciati protocollari, Traduzione e commento di E. Palombi)*
Solinas M., *Psiche: Platone e Freud. Desiderio, sogno, mania, eros*
Trentin B., *La Città del lavoro. Sinistra e crisi del fordismo*, a cura di Iginio Ariemma
Valle G., *La vita individuale. L'estetica sociologica di Georg Simmel*

LETTERATURA, FILOLOGIA E LINGUISTICA
Bastianini G., Lapini W., Tulli M., *Harmonia. Scritti di filologia classica in onore di Angelo Casanova*
Bilenchi R., *The Conservatory of Santa Teresa*
Bresciani Califano M., *Piccole zone di simmetria. Scrittori del Novecento*
Dei L. (a cura di), *Voci dal mondo per Primo Levi. In memoria, per la memoria*
Ferrara M.E., *Il realismo teatrale nella narrativa del Novecento: Vittorini, Pasolini, Calvino*
Filipa L.V., *Altri orientalismi. L'India a Firenze 1860-1900*
Francese J., *Leonardo Sciascia e la funzione sociale degli intellettuali*
Francese J., *Vincenzo Consolo: gli anni de «l'Unità» (1992-2012), ovvero la poetica della colpa-espiazione*
Franchini S., *Diventare grandi con il «Pioniere» (1950-1962). Politica, progetti di vita e identità di genere nella piccola posta di un giornalino di sinistra*
Francovich Onesti N., *I nomi degli Ostrogoti*
Frau O., Gragnani C., *Sottoboschi letterari. Sei* case studies *fra Otto e Novecento. Mara Antelling, Emma Boghen Conigliani, Evelyn, Anna Franchi, Jolanda, Flavia Steno*
Frosini G., Zamponi S. (a cura di), *Intorno a Boccaccio / Boccaccio e dintorni*
Galigani G., *Salomè, mostruosa fanciulla*
Gori B., *La grammatica dei clitici portoghesi. Aspetti sincronici e diacronici*
Guerrini M., Mari G. (a cura di), *Via verde e via d'oro. Le politiche open access dell'Università di Firenze*
Keidan A., Alfieri L. (a cura di), *Deissi, riferimento, metafora*
Lopez Cruz H., *America Latina aportes lexicos al italiano contemporaneo*
Mario A., *Italo Calvino. Quale* autore *laggiù attende la fine?*
Masciandaro F., *The Stranger as Friend: The Poetics of Friendship in Homer, Dante, and Boccaccio*
Nosilia V., Prandoni M. (a cura di), *Trame controluce. Il patriarca 'protestante' Cirillo Loukaris / Backlighting Plots. The 'Protestant' Patriarch Cyril Loukaris*
Pestelli C., *Carlo Antici e l'ideologia della Restaurazione in Italia*
Rosengarten F., *Through Partisan Eyes.. My Friendships, Literary Education, and Political Encounters in Italy (1956-2013). With Sidelights on My Experiences in the United States, France, and the Soviet Union*
Ross S., Honess C. (edited by), *Identity and Conflict in Tuscany*
Totaro L., *Ragioni d'amore. Le donne nel Decameron*

PEDAGOGIA
Mariani A. (a cura di), *L'orientamento e la formazione degli insegnanti del futuro*

POLITICA
Caruso S., Homo oeconomicus. *Paradigma, critiche, revisioni*
Corsi C. (a cura di), *Felicità e benessere. Una ricognizione critica*
De Boni C., *Descrivere il futuro. Scienza e utopia in Francia nell'età del positivismo*
De Boni C. (a cura di), *Lo stato sociale nel pensiero politico contemporaneo. 1. L'Ottocento*
De Boni C., *Lo stato sociale nel pensiero politico contemporaneo. Il Novecento. Parte prima: da inizio secolo alla seconda guerra mondiale*

De Boni C. (a cura di), *Lo stato sociale nel pensiero politico contemporaneo. Il Novecento. Parte seconda: dal dopoguerra a oggi*
Gramolati A., Mari G. (a cura di), *Bruno Trentin. Lavoro, libertà, conoscenza*
Gramolati A., Mari G. (a cura di), *Il lavoro dopo il Novecento: da produttori ad attori sociali. La Città del lavoro di Bruno Trentin per un'«altra sinistra»*
Guderzo, Massimiliano; Bosco, Andrea (a cura di), *A Monetary Hope for Europe. The Euro and the Struggle for the Creation of a New Global Currency*
Ricciuti R., Renda F., *Tra economia e politica: l'internazionalizzazione di Finmeccanica, Eni ed Enel*
Spini D., Fontanella M. (a cura di), *Sognare la politica da Roosevelt a Obama. Il futuro dell'America nella comunicazione politica dei* democrats
Tonini A., Simoni M. (a cura di), *Realtà e memoria di una disfatta. Il Medio Oriente dopo la guerra dei Sei Giorni*
Zolo D., *Tramonto globale. La fame, il patibolo, la guerra*

PSICOLOGIA
Aprile L. (a cura di), *Psicologia dello sviluppo cognitivo-linguistico: tra teoria e intervento*
Barni C., Galli G., *La verifica di una psicoterapia cognitivo-costruttivista sui generis*
Luccio R., Salvadori E., Bachmann C., *La verifica della significatività dell'ipotesi nulla in psicologia*

SOCIOLOGIA
Alacevich F., *Promuovere il dialogo sociale. Le conseguenze dell'Europa sulla regolazione del lavoro*
Battiston S., Mascitelli B., *Il voto italiano all'estero. Riflessioni, esperienze e risultati di un'indagine in Australia*
Becucci S., Garosi E., *Corpi globali. La prostituzione in Italia*
Bettin Lattes G., *Giovani Jeunes Jovenes. Rapporto di ricerca sulle nuove generazioni e la politica nell'Europa del sud*
Bettin Lattes G. (a cura di), *Per leggere la società*
Bettin Lattes G., Turi P. (a cura di), *La sociologia di Luciano Cavalli*
Burroni L., Piselli F., Ramella F., Trigilia C., *Città metropolitane e politiche urbane*
Catarsi E. (a cura di), *Autobiografie scolastiche e scelta universitaria*
Leonardi L. (a cura di), *Opening the European Box. Towards a New Sociology of Europe*
Nuvolati G., *Mobilità quotidiana e complessità urbana*
Nuvolati G., *L'interpretazione dei luoghi. Flânerie come esperienza di vita*
Ramella F., Trigilia C. (a cura di), *Reti sociali e innovazione. I sistemi locali dell'informatica*
Rondinone A., *Donne mancanti. Un'analisi geografica del disequilibrio di genere in India*

STORIA E SOCIOLOGIA DELLA SCIENZA
Angotti F., Pelosi G., Soldani S. (a cura di), *Alle radici della moderna ingegneria. Competenze e opportunità nella Firenze dell'Ottocento*
Cabras P.L., Chiti S., Lippi D. (a cura di), *Joseph Guillaume Desmaisons Dupallans. La Francia alla ricerca del modello e l'Italia dei manicomi nel 1840*
Cartocci A., *La matematica degli Egizi. I papiri matematici del Medio Regno*
Fontani M., Orna M.V., Costa M., *Chimica e chimici a Firenze. Dall'ultimo dei Medici al Padre del Centro Europeo di Risonanze Magnetiche*
Guatelli F. (a cura di), *Scienza e opinione pubblica. Una relazione da ridefinire*
Massai V., *Angelo Gatti (1724-1798)*
Meurig T.J., *Michael Faraday. La storia romantica di un genio*
Schettino V., *Scienza e arte. Chimica, arti figurative e letteratura*

STUDI DI BIOETICA

Baldini G. (a cura di), *Persona e famiglia nell'era del biodiritto. Verso un diritto comune europeo per la bioetica*
Baldini G., Soldano M. (a cura di), *Nascere e morire: quando decido io? Italia ed Europa a confronto*
Baldini G., Soldano M. (a cura di), *Tecnologie riproduttive e tutela della persona. Verso un comune diritto europeo per la bioetica*
Bucelli A. (a cura di), *Produrre uomini. Procreazione assistita: un'indagine multidisciplinare*
Costa G., *Scelte procreative e responsabilità. Genetica, giustizia, obblighi verso le generazioni future*
Galletti M., Zullo S. (a cura di), *La vita prima della fine. Lo stato vegetativo tra etica, religione e diritto*
Mannaioni P.F., Mannaioni G., Masini E. (a cura di), *Club drugs. Cosa sono e cosa fanno*

PALEONTOLOGIA, SCIENZE NATURALI
Sánchez-Villagra Marcelo R., *Embrioni nel tempo profondo. Il registro paleontologico dell'evoluzione biologica*