

11

1. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo italiano**
 Atti del convegno di studi, Torino, 12-13 maggio 2011

2. **Presenze e assenze di Giuseppe Chiarini, un'indagine genealogica e critica**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Gardone Riviera, 5-6-7 settembre 2019.
 1-112 pagine, 2019, a cura di M. S. Pagan.

3. **Giuseppe Chiarini e Alessandro Di Biase**
 Convegno a cura di C. Di Biase.

4. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il "Novecento"**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 14-15 marzo 2012.

5. **Il "Novecento" di Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

6. **Il "Novecento" di Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

7. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

8. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

9. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

10. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

11. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

12. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

13. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

14. **Giuseppe Chiarini e il mondo di Biade**
 Atti del convegno internazionale di studi.

Fiume 1919-2019

Un centenario europeo tra identità, memorie e prospettive di ricerca

Atti del convegno internazionale di studi
 sull'Impresa fumana

Fondazione Il Vittoriale degli Italiani
Gardone Riviera, 5-6-7 settembre 2019

How to Survive in a Holocaust City: d'Annunzio and Fiume

Dominique Kirchner Reill

On June 8, 1919, on Pentecost, on the Judeo-Christian day of offering and the Christian day celebrating the Holy Spirit, Gabriele d'Annunzio penned some of his most famous words on what he thought Fiume signified: "Fiume appears today as the only living city, the only ardent city, the only city of soul, all air and fire, all pain and fury, all purification and decay: a holocaust, the most beautiful holocaust that has ever been offered in centuries to an insensible altar. Indeed," he wrote, "the correct name of the city is not Fiume but Holocaust: perfectly all-consumed by fire."¹ In this astounding mingling of Italian nationalism and religious revelry, d'Annunzio provoked many to listen and follow at the time of his writing. He knew how to get people's attention: he said and did what one shouldn't; he shocked, surprised, emotionalized, and destabilized. Since then, d'Annunzio's particularly unorthodox methods and means to create emotion around politics has fascinated and/or preoccupied an almost endless number of scholars.² Almost all agree that without d'Annunzio's over-the-top rhetoric (like "holocaust city") much of what happened in Fiume would not have taken place.

What wrenches the heart for any reader today when they see "holocaust city" is different from what would have jolted the attention of d'Annunzio's contemporary audience, however. The horrors of the systematic attempt to annihilate Europe's Jewish populations was not part of d'Annunzio's (or his followers') mindscape. He did not foretell that a little more than twenty years after he penned these words almost all of Fiume's Jewish community would be wiped out by the laws and terrors of anti-Semitism, with a higher percentage of Jewish Fiumians dying in Europe's camps than any

other part of Fascist Italy.³ No, instead, d'Annunzio utilized the shocking phrase of "holocaust city" because he saw Fiume as the embodiment of all-consuming acts of nationalist fervor – a destructive and regenerative national Italian Holy Spirit, so to speak – that he believed the entire city headily performed. Fiume was holocaust for d'Annunzio because the costs of the city's nationalism appeared so great: occupied by Inter-Allied forces, Fiume as a whole seemed to fight against Wilson's dictums in a way few other places in the world did or would. And with every day that passed since the end of World War I (and almost eight months of these days passed before d'Annunzio wrote these lines) the city became more isolated, poorer, and more desperate in its seemingly hopeless plight to annex itself to Italy. Holocaust in the d'Annunzian lexicon was a highly positive term, one he associated with selfless dedication for the Italian national cause, a self-immolation against a paper-pushing, compromising, corrupt, effeminate world. For d'Annunzio Fiume signified the joyous wonder of extreme, unbridled Italian nationalism.⁴

Interestingly enough, much of the historiography of immediate postwar Fiume replicates this vision of the city's importance in the wider narrative.⁵ Scholars of postwar Italy, proto-fascism, Adriatic regional politics, and even Europe's greater interwar consistency focus on how Fiume was a prime example, if not the original model, for how charismatic, veteran-obsessed nationalism could and would overrun Europe. Even the ever careful, the ever concerned, Giuseppe Parlato in his meticulous study of Fiume's economic and social history of the first half of the twentieth-century commented:

One can legitimately ask how the Fiumians, who had known a period of flourishing progress in the decades before the outbreak of war, could be at ease in a city where, between March 1920 and the "Christmas of Blood" you had to survive with 300 grams of bread per person per day, 300 grams of flour and sugar a month, a kilo of potatoes a week and 2.5 liters of [cooking] oil a month. And yet there was not even one insurrection ... against d'Annunzio who, in the final analysis, was the one really responsible for the situation.⁶

When Parlato tried to answer the "whys" of Fiumians' seemingly senseless willingness to suffer, to keep going, to push for annexation to Italy, he came to the same conclusion that d'Annunzio himself had made: it was "the myths of the nation" that metaphorically fed the Fiumians in their plight when there were not enough calories available to feed their stomachs. In Parlato's estimation, it was a holocaustesque commitment to Italian nationalism that kept the city in line, that kept the city calm. In this short contribution titled "How to Survive in a Holocaust City: d'Annunzio and Fiume," I propose a different answer to Parlato's dilemma by changing the historical lens with which to consider Fiume. In the few pages I have at my disposal here, I want to move our attention less on d'Annunzio's national holocaust and more on how such a supremely nationalist event could witness so little "immolation," so little violence, so little self-destruction, whether of Fiume's Italian selves or of its many local "others."

This contribution is short not just because of its length, but also because it serves as a preview of a much larger project I am in the process of finalizing while writing these words, a monograph titled *The Fiume Crisis: Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire*, forthcoming with Harvard University Press in 2020. In this book, I re-propose the history of Fiume not as the history of the beginning of much of what we associate with fascism, nor as one of the clearest examples of postwar paramilitary nationalism, but instead as an almost typical example of what happened throughout the ex-Habsburg Empire after World War I.⁷ As Ester Capuzzo has made clear within this forum as well as elsewhere, Fiume's years from 1918–1924 exhibit an era of transition where a structure of government changed slowly, all below the riotous flames of the Italian nationalist movement that captivated the attention of most of the world not living there.⁸

Through years of research primarily in the archives at the Vittoriale and the Croatian National Archive in Rijeka (as well as shorter trips to collections held in Rome, Berlin, Oxford, New York City, Washington, D.C., Zagreb, and Baltimore), I investigated how systems of money, law, citizenship, propaganda, and education kept Fiumians invested in the city they called home, all while the Empire that propelled, administered, and financed their umbrella infrastructures disappeared.⁹ As described in this forum and elsewhere by Giovanni Stelli, Fiume's semi-autonomous governmental and administrative norms were of supreme importance to Fiumians in approaching choices about what they wanted their future to be, how they experienced the idea and realities of "nation," and what sorts of networks were available to fight or endure the turbulent "holocaust years" of 1918–1921.¹⁰ In short, my forthcoming book, *The Fiume Crisis*, argues that the pre-existing structures of the Habsburg *corpus-separatum* city Stelli has described created the situation where much less violence – much less self-martyrdom or metaphorical self-immolation – occurred than one could or would expect if we followed d'Annunzio's assessment of Fiume.

So, let the preview begin. Let us leave to the side the d'Annunzian holocaust version of the story we know so well and move our gaze to what surviving meant in Fiume after World War I.

In Fiume, as was true everywhere else where World War I touched communities, the first issue involved in how to thrive and survive could be summed up with the problem of how to get food. We know that hunger beset almost all of Europe before and after 1918. Irish, Brits, Germans, French, Italians, Belgians, Austrians, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Romanians, Poles, Greeks, Turks, Syrians, Macedonians, Russians, Ukrainians: you name the population, anywhere the war was fought, almost everywhere (and especially in the urban centers), food provisioning was a crucial, highly sensitive, and highly regulated issue.¹¹

Fiume's hunger years were uneven. Sometimes immediately after the war there was almost no food to be found legally in the city-administered ration markets. Other times, especially whenever shipments from the Inter-Allied forces or the Red Cross were made available, food was relatively secure, though by no means as affordable nor

varied as in the prewar period, as Parlato's quote earlier makes clear.¹² Though Fiume was not a hunger hotspot of urban Europe like Vienna or Budapest, concern about supplies ran high, mostly because eating in a city like Fiume was dependent on outside sources. The city had little to no means of providing for its own food. A boom town which had grown 60% over the last 30 years, Fiume was a hub city, where train lines, roads, and shipping lines converged, with goods (and lots of food) moving in and out of its urban center with an ease that explains its rise.¹³ Fiume's special position as hub was not a natural consequence of free-market capitalism; it was a carefully engineered project by the Habsburg-Hungarian state. And as of autumn 1918, that state did not exist anymore. In the wake of the Habsburg Empire's dissolution, the greater region of Fiume's trade experienced years of communication chaos; trains stopped running, roads were closed by occupying forces, and maritime blockades were suffered.¹⁴ The extra-urban state that had so adroitly regulated Fiume's food supply before 1918 disappeared, so, how was the city to secure food? Throughout the period 1918–1921 Fiumians obsessed about their own insecurity in accessing the flour, sugar, meat, starches and vegetables on which so much of their diets depended. One man who understood perfectly the opportunities of this situation instead of just its challenges was Ivan Rošić. It is doubtful anyone today knows much about Rošić. He was not from Fiume, but instead from the Croatian village Škrljevo, 15 kilometers east of Fiume. He was not a politician, a statesman, an intellectual, an artist, a musician, or a labor organizer. Instead he was a 56-year-old inn-owner and agricultural supplier. Rošić might be unknown to people of today, but in immediate postwar Fiume he was known and perhaps known too well because on October 23, 1918 he contracted to sell three wagons of cabbage to the 35-year-old Fiume resident and "trader in comestibles," Slavko Ivančić. In exchange for 4,000 Austro-Hungarian crowns, Rošić promised to deliver three wagons of cabbage to Ivančić at the Fiume port the next day.¹⁵

Signing a contract to sell three wagons of cabbage does not seem like something that would make a man "known." If anything, such transactions happened daily in Fiume for at least half a century before, rendering this "event" seemingly meaningless in the larger narrative of why Fiume sustained so much peace while beset by d'Annunzian "holocaust" nationalism. However, this transaction proved far from mundane and its import is important. Rošić's cabbage contract with Ivančić unlocks a pivotal element of Fiume history because on the evening of October 23, 1918 the Habsburg-Hungarian state began to disintegrate around Fiume. Hungarian officials left their posts; armed forces deserted; metropole-instituted order no longer reigned. On October 24, 1918, Rošić sent an envoy to Fiume to return Ivančić his 4,000-crown deposit and inform him that, in light of political events, he could not deliver the cabbage as Croatian authorities had just "banned the export" of food to Fiume.¹⁶ All of a sudden, a contract between two ordinary men became a space where grand historical forces were part of their story.

Slavko Ivančić was in a pickle, so to speak, because he had not purchased three

wagons of cabbage for his own dietary benefits. Instead, he had already contracted out this shipment to other merchants within Fiume. With this contract unexpectedly dissolved, Ivančić, himself, was in breach of his own legal responsibilities. So, instead of just accepting the returned deposit, shrugging his shoulders, and returning to debating with friends at a café about what the fall of Hungary would mean for their world, Ivančić contacted his lawyer and decided to sue Rošić for breach of contract. A few days later, on November 1, 1918, Ivančić's lawyer filed the suit against Rošić in the Fiume courts.

A lawsuit filed on November 1, 1918 over the question of cabbage?! From everything we have learned about Fiume at this time, this humdrum act is just incredible. When we sift through the many histories of Fiume between October 23 and November 1, 1918, we are presented with stories of riots between local Hungarian police, Fiume locals, and Habsburg (mostly Croatian) soldiers. We remember the 50-year-old Fiume-born lawyer, publicist, and South Slav nationalist activist Rikard Lenac proclaiming himself *Veliki župan* (County Prefect) of a jointly administered Fiume and Sušak, where "Fellow Citizens!" were reassured in both Italian and Croatian that "[i]n the name of Zagreb's National Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs ... all citizens are guaranteed inviolable and honorable rights to personal freedom and property, without distinction of nationality."¹⁷ Our attention is then immediately pulled to 28-year-old Fiume-born lawyer Salvatore Bellasich who celebrated the election of 69-year-old local physician Antonio Grossich as president of Fiume's Italian National Council, rallying crowds with the words that the "Italian National Council of Fiume ... demands for itself the right to the self-determination of peoples. Basing itself on that right, the Italian National Council proclaims Fiume united to her Motherland, Italy ... [and] puts her decision under the protection of America, mother of liberty."¹⁸ And if that's not enough, the day before Ivančić's lawyer filed the cabbage suit against Rošić, we can imagine sitting in the hall where Fiume's Workers' Council rejected both self-proclaimed National Councils and called for a city-wide plebiscite, open to all men and women above the age of 18, of any nationality, who could prove city residency of at least one year.¹⁹ Amidst all this, which quite understandably we have considered overwhelming events that overtook life in the city of Fiume, these two men, Ivančić and Rošić, used the courts to sue each other over cabbage. I emphasize these two men, because it was not just Slavko Ivančić who sued. Ivan Rošić did, too, because, as it was so clear to him that the blocking of his cabbage shipment "was a matter of a force majeure,"²⁰ he decided Ivančić should be held financially accountable for bringing forward a frivolous suit.

The lawsuits between Ivančić and Rošić lasted until March 1920, when Ivančić won his claim by proving that Rošić had lied. It was not true that cabbage could not be transported to Fiume on October 24, 1918; it was not true that the Croatian authorities blocked all the food shipments. Instead, it was true that Rošić failed to obtain the certificate (which had always been necessary) to transport cabbage into the *corpus-separatum* city. Without the proper certificate, the head station-agent in Bakar

(12 km southeast of Fiume) refused to allow the cabbage to be transported. It was not the dissolution of Habsburg-Hungary that stalled the food. It was the continuation of Habsburg legal norms that did.

How did the Fiume courts decide Rošić lied and Ivančić's suit was valid? Here is probably the most fascinating part of the case: on December 13, 1918, Fiume authorities went to Bakar (Croatia) and took the testimony of the station agent to determine why the cabbage was blocked from Fiume. The station agent's testimony was taken in Croatian and the court documents provided the original language version as well as an Italian translation underneath. At the same time as Fiume's Italian National Council was declaring to all who would listen that the city was *italianissima* and that Croats were foreign, unnatural parts to the city, the nuts-and-bolts of city government traveled to Croatian towns and kept Croatian-language original testimonies front-and-center in their own court records.

The expert testimony of the Bakar station-agent definitely determined the outcome of the case. But the case did not end in December 1918, it continued with counter-suits and appeals until March 1920. For a year and a half – while National Councils vied for control of Fiume, Inter-Allied troops arrived, an Italian National Council worked tirelessly to Italianize the city, riots broke out between French and Italian agents, d'Annunzio and his legionnaires entered, Inter-Allied troops left, and the *modus vivendi* was tried and botched – all throughout this time these two men, Ivan Rošić and Slavko Ivančić, cycled through Fiume's courts to fight over a contract for three wagons of cabbage. What this means is immense precisely because it is so small. What it means is that under all the fanfare of Italian nationalism, the city itself – its lawyers, its court officials, its police force, its residents, and its non-residents – continued to participate in and uphold the Habsburg-Hungarian legal norms they had had from far before the war.

As Ester Capuzzo has made clear in this forum as well as elsewhere, the law books in Fiume changed constantly from 1918–1921. Some Italian legal codes were introduced, though not all. Even the names of the courts in Fiume changed, including the oaths of sovereignty the courts charged to uphold. So, for example, though the Ivančić-Rošić case used Habsburg-Hungarian legal practices in how it was processed, the names of the courts where these legal norms were brought forward changed constantly. When the case began in November 1918, it was under the jurisdiction of the “Court in Fiume,” just as it would have been in pre-1918 times. In April 1919, when further testimony was collected, it was held in the “royal (reg.) Court of Fiume,” with “royal” referring to the Italian monarchical state. When a first verdict was reached in July 1919, court documents had the heading “royal Court of Fiume” crossed out and substituted with “royal civil and penal Court of Fiume.” Below this heading was written “In the Name of His Majesty the King! Vittorio Emanuele III, for grace of God and the will of the Nation King of Italy!” even though as we all know Vittorio Emanuele III was not yet the king of this port town. Immediate postwar Fiume experienced shifts in its legal order, but only a little here and there, not everything,

and definitely not all at once. Though on the surface, the Ivančić-Rošić case experienced at least four different court systems, in practice only one was utilized: the Habsburg-Hungarian one with which it began.

Far from a holocaust city, what we see from the legal battles over cabbage is that Fiume's world from before survived much longer and stronger than a d'Annunzian lens would let us expect. For even in March 1920, when the case was finally definitively settled, the Hungarian system was still in action even though d'Annunzio had installed himself as *Comandante* almost within eyesight of the courthouse where Ivančić and Rošić battled out their claims.

This story is just a little preview of the kind of research and analysis that anchors my forthcoming book. Throughout its pages, there are hundreds of such stories where we see the interplay between what Fiume looks and sounds like on-the-ground compared with how it has been traditionally represented in the press and historiography to date. *The Fiume Crisis* argues that it is the little, small unknown experiences of surviving in postwar Fiume that explain as much, if not more, about why it lasted so long and killed so few.

To conclude, I would like to emulate Giovanni Stelli's method from his own contribution to this forum and provide a balance sheet of what this all means when put together. First, I hope I have shown that there is much that can be gained by changing or at least adding another “surviving” optic to how we understand the history of Fiume in the immediate postwar. We should be wary of trusting wholeheartedly how d'Annunzio and his legionnaires characterized the city. It is true that the “holocaust city” idea was an important one for explaining why so many Italians decided to leave Italy to join d'Annunzio, to risk everything to the Italian cause as it appeared Fiume was doing. The importance of how Fiume was represented as the premiere Italian nationalist city cannot be downplayed, for it explains what motivated many to participate in the history that we do know.

But there is also another history, one sharply made clear in Raoul Pupo's latest synthesis: the conclusion of the *Danuncijada* (as the Croatian novelist Viktor Car Emil so brilliantly termed it) was not heroic, was not adventurist, was not beyond history, it was “a bureaucratic conclusion ... D'Annunzio's pen would never have written.”²¹ Adding the banal, the undramatic, the very bureaucratic, the very little violence and very little blood front-and-center into the history of Fiume will help us understand more what happened and what did not. Inter-Allied military occupation definitely played a role in tamping down “excitable forces” in the first months after the war, but something else determined the stability of Fiume, especially once d'Annunzio and his legionnaires arrived: the continuation of pre-existing structures from before the war that still held authority. City administration was not perfect; corruption abounded, crime increased, and suits and counter-suits clogged the system. Nonetheless, the pre-existing structures of governing are a determinant part in understanding why the city's stance against Great-Power diplomacy could last so long, why so few died, and why Fiume was not a holocaust city but instead a surviving one.

Another important part of this contribution is to shift who the protagonists of the history of Fiume are. They were not all *italianissimi*; they were also not on-the-whole legionnaires. The people who most made, and were most affected by, the history of Fiume were those who participated in its fate since before the war rather than those who joined its narrative when d'Annunzio waxed fantastic about sacrifice, nation, and holocaust. We have numerous examples that show how those seen as “non-Italian” in Fiume were specifically pressured to leave. And we have paper trails throughout all the archives linked to the city that show many “non-Italians” were at an economic disadvantage throughout this period. Even the same cabbage-selling Slavko Ivančić, who won within Fiume’s courts, was told point blank by the head of Fiume’s Chamber of Commerce that anyone “who wrote their name in Croatian” would not obtain licenses to run future business ventures (“writing in Croatian” meant using the diacritic č and ć instead of “ich”).²² Nonetheless, most “non-Italians” did not leave and people like Ivančić struggled on to find a way to make money in the world they knew; Fiume was their home and leaving did not feel like a solution. “Non-Italians,” though maybe not cherished, still made up an important part of Fiume’s history. As Natka Badurina has so eloquently argued within this forum and elsewhere, there was a type of violence in Fiume that went beyond the calculations of blood and body count: Fiumians of different stripes – whether they identified as Croatian, Hungarian, Slovene, German, Orthodox, Jewish, Romanian, Polish, or what have you – were made to feel unwelcome, to live underground, to either “love it (Italy) or leave it (Fiume).” That being said, their presence within the city and its history remained.²³ The cabbage case discussed in this contribution is just one reminder of that: two men “who wrote their name in Croatian,” the 35-year-old Fiume-resident Slavko Ivančić and the 56-year-old non-Fiume resident Ivan Rošić, continued to use the city’s state structures during most of the period of Fiume’s crisis. The truth is Fiume was never *italianissima* and we need to make sure to not tell it as such. A praxis of living by all the city’s constituent parts continued, and we must remember that.

In conclusion, what this small contribution has tried to bring home is that we need to expand our vision of postwar Fiume. Alongside the analyses of legionnaires, d'Annunzio, Italian nationalism, proto-fascism, and all the fun (of cocaine, yoga, queer sexuality, and unrealized cosmopolitanism), we need to add the histories of cabbage markets, government structures, lived laws, and the before and the after of the Habsburg Empire.

¹ G. d'Annunzio, “Le Pentecoste d'Italia,” *L'Ida Nazionale*, June 9, 1919. Author's own translation.

² The scholarship on the importance of how d'Annunzio mixed nationalist, religious, and spiritualist tropes to promote his political vision of what Italy's postwar future should be has been widely discussed. The most influential of such works include (but are definitely not limited to): E. Gentile, *The Origins of Fascist Ideology, 1918-1925*, New York: Enigma Books, 2005; *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1996; L. Wittman, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Modern Mourning, and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011; F.A. Kittler, H.U. Gumbrecht, B. Siegert, *Der Dichter als Kommandant. D'Annunzio eroberet Fiume*, Munich: Fink, 1996; P. Ballinger, “La Pentecoste italiana. Accogliere il verbo della fede italiana; Lo sviluppo del rituale nazionalistico a Fiume, 1919-1921,” *Qualestoria*, 2, 2001.

³ Alongside the many memoirs that show how the Holocaust decimated Fiume's Jewish community, we are grateful for the truly thought-provoking new book on the experience of Fiume Jews in Fascist Italy: S. Simper, *Židovi u Rijeci i liburnijskoj Istri u svjetlu fašističkog antisemitizma (1938.-1943.)*, Zagreb: Židovska Vjerska Zajednica Bet Israel U Hrvatskoj, 2018.

⁴ For a fascinating new book critically analyzing why so many followed d'Annunzio to Fiume and what they thought their “national revolution” comprised, see M. Mondini, *Fiume 1919. Una guerra civile italiana*, Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2019.

⁵ The direct historiography of Fiume and its links to the birth of Italian fascism is enormous and is directly discussed by many of the other contributors of this volume. Here I would like to just note two of the newer non-Italian-focused works that replicate this emphasis that Fiume unlocks a larger understanding of how d'Annunzio's time in Fiume typified, if not invented, a whole new kind of charismatic, populist, paramilitary nationalism. R. Gerwarth, *The Vanquished. Why the First World War Failed to End*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016; P. Mishra, *Age of Anger. A History of the Present*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017. For a new Croatian monograph that synthesizes much of the history of postwar Fiume as one controlled by the politics of nationalism, but with the added perspective of what many of Fiume's non-Italian inhabitants experienced in such

a circumstance, see: T. Perinčić, *Rijeka ili smrt! (D'annunzijevo okupacija Rijeke 1919.-1921.) / Rijeka or Death! (D'Annunzio's Occupation of Rijeka, 1919-1921)*, Rijeka: Naklada Val d.d., 2020.

⁶ G. Parlato, *Mezzo secolo di Fiume. Economia e società a Fiume nella prima metà del Novecento*, Siena: Cantagalli, 2009, p. 14. Author's own translation.

⁷ There is a flood of new, important work coming out analyzing the post-Habsburg transition experience throughout all of Central and Eastern Europe. Of particular note, but in no way representative of the richness and breadth of this research, see the work of Gábor Egry as well as the talented group of junior scholars from all over Central Europe who are participating in the ERC Consolidator project NEPOSTRANS – Negotiating post-imperial transitions: from remobilization to nation-state consolidation (especially Elisabeth Said, Cody Inglis, Ivan Jeličić, Jernej Kosi, and Christopher Wendt). Emily Greble is also in the process of publishing a fascinating new book tracing how imperial transitions of Balkan Muslim communities shaped both those communities' possibilities as well as the states that would one day make up Yugoslavia. See also: P. Miller and C. Morelon, *Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2018; R. Pergher and M.M. Payk, *Beyond Versailles. Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and the Formation of New Politics after the Great War*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019. For an Italian-specific post-Habsburg perspective on the interwar years see the beautiful work by Dennison Rusinow, *Italy's Austrian Heritage*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. As well as the many new recent publications by Marco Bresciani, Maura Hametz, Borut Klajban, and Ester Capuzzo, among others.

⁸ Capuzzo's work analyzing how state transition affected the postwar experience includes: E. Capuzzo, *Dalla pertinenza austriaca alla cittadinanza italiana*, Atti dell'Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati VIII, vol. X, no. A, fasc. II (2010); Ead., *Dal nesso asburgico alla sovranità italiana. Legislazione e amministrazione a Trento e a Trieste (1918-1928)*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1992; Ead., *Dall'Austria all'Italia. Aspetti istituzionali e problemi normativi nella storia di una frontiera*, Quaderni di Clio, Rome: La Fenice, 1996; Ead., *Alla periferia dell'Impero. Terre italiane degli Asburgo tra storia e storiografia (XVIII-XX secolo)*, Quaderni di Clio, Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2009; Ead., “Fiume

tra storia e storiografia," *Clio*, XXXV, no. 4, 1999.

⁹ I must take a moment to thank with all my heart the work and care of the archival staff at the Vittoriale (primarily Alessandro Tonacci and Roberta Valbusa) and the Croatian National Archives in Rijeka (primarily Boris Zakošek and Mladen Urem). Without these four generous, brilliant souls none of my work would exist. I would also like to thank Emiliano Loria at the Archivio Museo Storico di Fiume della Società di Studi Fiumani, Federico Simonelli at the Vittoriale, and Tea Perinčić at the Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja in Rijeka for their willingness to supply additional assistance.

¹⁰ There has been much fascinating work published on the particularities of Fiume's autonomist heritage, much of it penned by Giovanni Stelli and which is highlighted in his latest volume: G. Stelli, *Storia di Fiume. Dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Pordenone: Edizioni biblioteca dell'immagine, 2017. The new work by Ivan Jeličić is also shifting historiographical attention back to the particulars of Fiume's modern, industrializing, port-city semi-autonomous experience, where he shows that political affiliations such as "socialist" incorporated varied and surprising national experiences before and after the war. Of particular note see: I. Jeličić, "Ekonomsko-socijalna struktura promicateljskog odbora riječkog Književnog kruga (Circolo letterario)," *Zbornik Kastavštine*, XXI (2017); Id., "The political elites in Fiume and its' challengers, 1918-1924," forthcoming; Id., "Sulle tracce di una biografia perduta: Samuele Mayländer," *Quaderni*, Centro di Ricerche storiche-Rovigno, 26, 2015; Id., "Uz stogodišnjicu riječkog Radničkog vijeća. Klasna alternativa nacionalnim državama na sutonu Monarhije," *Casopis za povijest Zapadne Hrvatske*, 12, 2017. Vanni D'Alessio has also recently published a beautiful piece on Fiume's legacy of autonomist particularity, especially as concerned language politics. See: V. D'Alessio, *Divided Legacies, Iconoclasm and Shared Cultures in Contested Rijeka/Fiume*, in *Borderlands of Memory. Adriatic and Central European Perspectives*, ed. Borut Klajban, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018.

¹¹ There are far too many works to cite here that deal with the importance of hunger management for post-World War One social, political, and cultural experiences throughout Europe and the Middle East. Of particular importance, however, is the new work being done by the Oxford-based Leverhulme-Trust funded project "Hunger Draws

the Map! Blockade and Food Shortages in Europe, 1914-1922," including scholars such as Mustafa Aksakal, Mary Cox, Joel Flores, John Horne, Friederike Kind-Kovács, Samuël Kruiuzinga, Claire Morelon, Eriks Jakobsons, Bertrand Patenaude, Sir Hew Strachan, and Nick Siekierski. Of great interest is Tara Zahra's forthcoming manuscript on Europe's anti-Globalist interwar period, where she shows how traumas around war and immediate postwar food shortages throughout Europe, including Italy, shaped much of the autarky-inspired, anti-internationalist thinking we usually have explained as being a natural product of nationalism. *Against the World: Deglobalization in Interwar Europe*, New York: W.W. Norton, forthcoming.

¹² See Parlato for an excellent discussion on the politics of food procurement. Cf. Parlato, *Mezzo secolo di Fiume* cit.

¹³ For an excellent new study on how Hungary engineered Fiume's rise, see: T. James Callaway, *Hungary at the Helm: Austria-Hungary's Global Integration during the Age of Empire*, New York: New York University, 2019.

¹⁴ Marco Bresciani is currently finishing a monograph studying how regional elites throughout the upper Adriatic region worked to re-install Habsburg communication networks after 1918.

¹⁵ November 9, 1918, 112 Gradjanski i Krivični predmeti 1918, 1157, Državni Arhiv u Rijeci.

¹⁶ November 9, 1918, 112 Gradjanski i Krivični predmeti 1918, 1157, Državni Arhiv u Rijeci.

¹⁷ Citation taken from Daniel Patafta, "Privremene vjude u Rijeci (listopad 1918. - siječanj 1924.)," *Casopis za suvremenu povijest*, 38, no. 1, 2006, p. 199. For more information on Lenac and his cultural ties to both Italian and Yugoslav-Croatian cultural worlds see the forthcoming article: Narka Badurina, "Kako pamtiti D'Annunzijevoj pohodu na Rijeku," br. 1-4, 2018.

¹⁸ Citation taken from Daniel Patafta, "Promjene u nacionalnoj strukturi stanovništva grada Rijeke od 1918. do 1924. godine," *Casopis za suvremenu povijest*, 36, no. 2, 2004, p. 687.

¹⁹ Jeličić, *Nell'ombra dell'autonomismo*, p. 282.

²⁰ November 9, 1918, 112 Gradjanski i Krivični predmeti 1918, 1157, Državni Arhiv u Rijeci.

²¹ V. Car Emin, *Danuncijada: Romansirana kronika riječke tragikomedije 1919-1921*, Zagreb: Zora Matica Hrvatska, 1977; R. Pupo, *Fiume città di passione*, Rome: Laterza, 2018, p. 146.

²² Archivio Fiumano del Vittoriale (AFV), Consiglio Nazionale Italiano di Fiume, March 12, 1919,

cass. 241-1919, prot. 1718. There are hundreds of reports within both the Vittoriale and the Rijeka archives showing the exclusionary attempts by both Fiume's Italian National Council and d'Annunzio's regime against "non-Italians" and people considered "political enemies." D'Annunzio's Command, however, seemed more geared to "nationalizing" the city regardless of citizenship status than Fiume officials, especially after the summer

anti-Slav riots in 1920, as can be seen here: AFV, Delegato degli Interni, July 18, 1920, cass. 41 Prot. 3597.

²³ Narka Badurina, "Gabriele d'Annunzio i dva suvremena umjetnička projekta," *Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne*, 16, 2019; Ead., "Kako pamtiti d'Annunzijevoj pohodu na Rijeku," br. 1-4, 2018; Ead., *D'Annunzio a Fiume: la violenza politica, l'etica e la storia* in this book.