The Moving Image and Historical Amnesia:

Trieste, Italian Cinema and the Creative Remediation

of Silenced History

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Abstract

The thesis presents a case of silenced history and its mediation in the film form. It is composed of three sections: a history of the Italian cinema and television production that portrayed Trieste and its history between 1909 and 2010; the exploration of the key theories, archival research, and previous film productions that influenced the development process of three films presenting the author's creative practice, here included; and the critical reflection on the creative practice, in a dialogue with the research in the history of Italian cinema and relevant key theories.

The same set of questions is applied to the analysed newsreels, films and television shows, and more specifically to their content, to bring to the surface the projected history they provided in place of events that have been silenced since 1918. These comprise the policies of persecution and forced italianisation of half million Slavs between 1918 and 1945, and the existence of a vast network of Italian concentration camps. The creative practice mediates this excluded content and explores the articulation of history, memory and postmemory through the personal history of the author. The development process is analysed in relation to the Holocaust film and previous relevant essay films. The resulted investigation of the key questions through creative practice is expressed in the classic film form, the epistemological interrogation and the ontological exploration through the essay film form.

The thesis also offers a new reading of the phenomenon of proto-fascism and the expression of Italian nationalism in Trieste, Italy, in that the juxtaposition of data collected through archival research to the national narratives employed in Italian cinema and television allows for a conceptual reinterpretation of the relevance of the moving image in the construction and silencing of Italian history.

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Acknowledgment

Author's Declaration

I declare that all the work in this thesis is my own, unless otherwise cited. I can also confirm that this work had been submitted only to the University of York, for the award of PhD.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The Construction of Memory in Film

> As applied to those born later, the attempt to recognise and work through the aftermath of historical trauma is not a marker of identificatory, surrogate victimage, a purely psychological and therapeutic exercise, or a pretext for an ecstatic or effervescent rhetoric of the sublime. It is rather a self-critical process bound up with critical thought and practice having social and political import (LaCapra, 2004, p. 131).

Questions and Propositions

Trieste and the north-eastern part of present day Italy is known to the British public through the work of Jan Morris, who served there as a soldier at the end of the Second World War. In her book, *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere* (2002), Morris depicts the city as primarily a Jewish port on the basis that Jews "were prominent here as nowhere else in the empire" (Morris, 2002, p. 90), which introduces the role of the local Jewish community to help the Jews of central Europe to escape into Palestine in the 1930s. The endeavour made Trieste famous as the "Port of Zion" (ibid., 2002, p. 91), but Trieste was a multi-ethnic Austrian port from 1382 to 1918, before being annexed by Italy after the end of the First World War. Therefore, it would have been difficult to advocate the territory's homogeneous human geography, in that cultural and social affiliation varied within the three major ethnic groups, the Austrian, the Slovenian and the Italian.

However, between 1918 and 1943 the fascist regime forcefully italianised, exiled or imprisoned the indigenous Slav population of the area (Ebner, 2011, pp. 189-191 and pp. 260-261; Kersevan, 2008), which number was larger than in Ljubljana, their capital. The arrival of the Italian troops put in motion a process that would affect half million people. A documentation of these events is held in

the European archives, among others in the United Nations Archives (Reel 38. Folders 15928 and 15930). Subsequently, between 1943 and 1945, the city was annexed to the Greater Germany and at the end of the Second World War, it was managed by an Anglo-American government. Since 1954 and until the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe in the 1990s, Trieste was reinstated as an Italian city located on the Iron Curtain that divided Europe, as captured in Figure 1 (Bowman, 1982, p. vi) which depicts the changes in boundaries in the area.
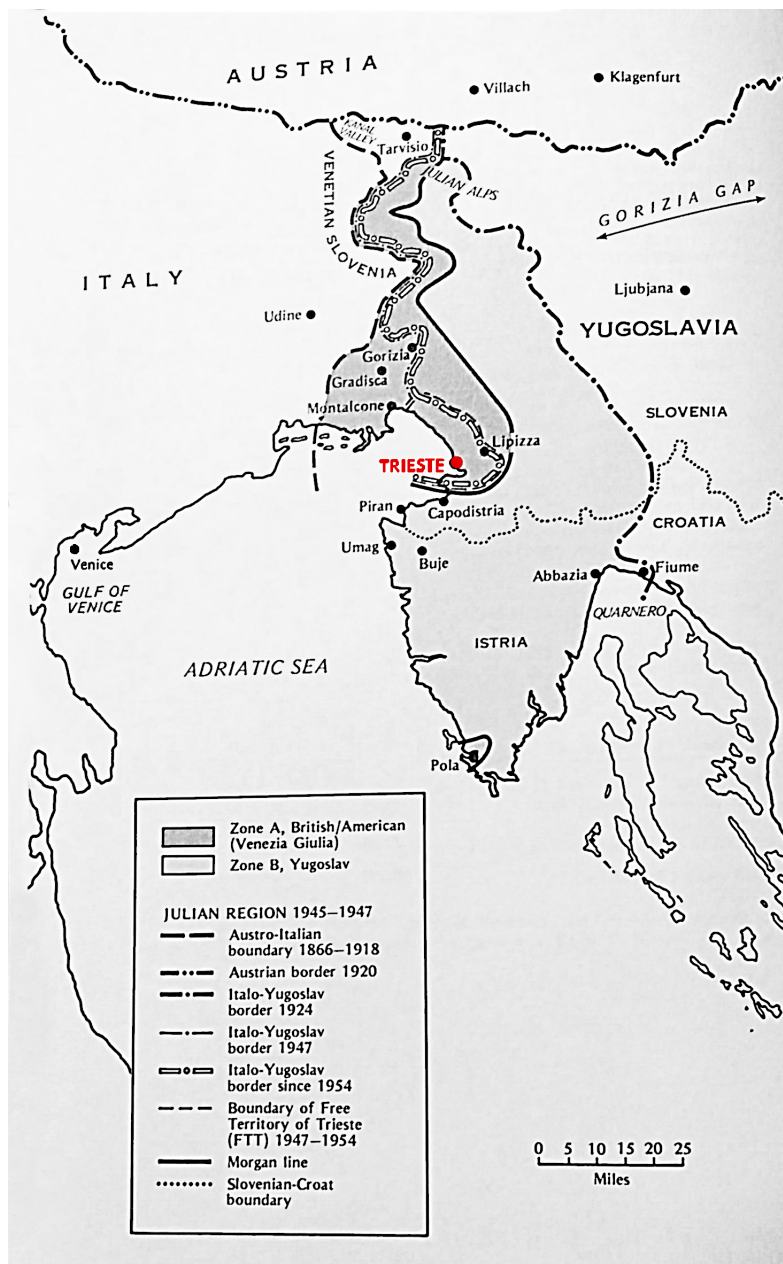
Figure 1: Julian Region 1945-1947.
Image within the book by Alfred Connor Bowman, 1982, p.vi.

This complex history has influenced the cultural and political trajectories that have come to characterise Trieste's identity. The dominant narrative being that of an Italian city, certain events became inscribed into the heritage of the city while others were omitted. Therefore, history in Trieste can be interpreted as a contested one, with the Italian hegemony challenged by an alternative Slavic perspective submitted to the archive and private memory.

This project of research emerged out of my personal and professional experience. Living a childhood on the Iron Curtain, between Trieste (Italy) and Yugoslavia, I was exposed to a clash of contesting political ideas, historical narratives and personal accounts that became central to me as an individual. Somewhere in the early stage of my life, as I listened to stories about my family's experience of the Second World War, I developed a sense of responsibility toward the preservation of memory that did not find a voice in Italian media. This tension was embedded in my personal background, both Slavic and Italian, and became urgently relevant since the *Ten-Day War*, which made Slovenia a nation-state (25 June 1991) and opened the possibility for a new contextualisation of the history and identity of Trieste.

The mechanisms of memory's repression and the disavowal that I experienced as a student about the teaching of history in the Italian educational system, elicited an intense curiosity in the archive, and produced "vertiginous intrusions" (Knittel, 2015, p. 9) of the past in the present. To be followed by moments of sudden awareness that everything familiar to me as an Italian in Trieste was the product of fiction. Grounded in my experience of the historical uncanny, I am intrigued about how much of my perception of the past is the product of postmemory (Hirsch, 2012), in that my parents' memories constitute my inherited historical narrative. Consequently, I want to unpack the status of my knowledge and confront it with archival data and what has been already done in the field of memory and film studies. The choice of film, as the principal focus of both my critical interrogation and my creative practice, is guided by the assumption that memory today derives much of its existence from visual media, and technologies. Cinema alongside photography is constitutive of memory, and a source of images that populate both the external world and people's mind

(Deleuze, 1986, pp. 25-32). I suggest that postmemory rises from the negotiation between this network of public images and the local, private, understanding of the past elicited by family history. The case of Trieste is therefore especially appropriate, as memory and postmemory here form through two contrasting sets of perceptions of the past.

Being a filmmaker, to me film represents both my métier and one of the most important artefacts in the creation of collective memory today. Therefore, I will investigate if and how the moving image had a pivotal relevance in the determination of Trieste's identity. I argue it had and to test this proposition, I will start with an enquiry into how cinema has represented Trieste. This is a study that will look at Italian cinema from the border, in that it looks at the construction in film of an image of the annexed territories to Italy in 1918, which bordered Yugoslavia and today Slovenia. The analysis will cover key Italian and foreign fiction films but also newsreels with direct relevance to the historical and social context of the city: from the mythical past, as in *Guglielmo Oberdan* (Ghione, 1915); the fascist reading of the annexation of Trieste to Italy, as in *Camicia Nera/Black Shirt* (Forzano, 1933); the liberation from the Axis in 1945, as in *Trieste mia!* (Costa, 1951); to the post war settlement and the emergence of the Cold War, as in *Cuori senza Frontiere/The White Line* (Zampa, 1950) and Il *Cuore nel Pozzo/The Heart in the Well* (Alberto Negrin, 2005). Subsequently, I will investigate if and how the annexation of Trieste to Italy has become a founding myth of the Italian Republic. I argue it did and to test my second proposition, I intend to analyse its relevance in films representing the Italian unification, and its role in the current Italian historical discourse in the media. I want to explore what film shows us, what it excludes, and what this might indicate because of cinema's salient role in the way the past is constructed and understood. To test the relationship between the visual rendering of history and its sources, I will enter the archive and confront its content, which will also permit me to reflect on my inherited family's narrative.

The interdisciplinary investigation will allow me to explore if different forms of filmmaking mediate the gap between history, memory, and postmemory at different cognitive levels. And If there are cinematic forms that better serve the

translation of the silenced history of the indigenous Slav population of Trieste in film. I argue that there might be a film form which better serves my subject matter. To test this third proposition, I will investigate current practices in filmmaking, and engage in the creative process of filmmaking. Thus, by making work (films) that engages with the issues in a different way to counter the current representation, I hope to understand what film can tell about working through the aftermath of historical trauma. I believe that the analysis of what postmemory is and how it matters goes beyond the ability to come to grips with what the nature of the experience is. It has another dimension, in that it plays a role in the establishment of political identity. It is the political argument that has made memory such an important issue in Trieste, as there is a wider historical and political question here. Thus, my question of individual memory becomes one of how we process who people were in the past.

Through the combined findings, I intend to investigate if there is a distinction between the management of historical discourses and the making of postmemory in film. My fourth proposition is that if there is a distinction, this is predicated within a dialogue between processes of *Erlebnis*, "lived moment/inner impressions", and *Erfahrung*, "experience/externalisation of impressions" (Benjamin, 1939/2007, pp. 155-194) in the media.

The result of this doctoral work will add to the understanding of how Italian cinema has contributed to the creation of the myth of Trieste as a homogenous Italian city, and how both silenced history and postmemory can be expressed through moving images.

The Scholarly Context: Relevant Theoretical Literature

Memory, time and the past are thematic threads that recur in film across the international scene. Cinema's properties make the medium an ideal vessel for staging a moment in time visually with an immediacy difficult to obtain in other media. For this reason, film has been employed and studied as a vehicle for national propaganda during conflicts and for the construction of collective memory in post-war periods. At the same time, the dominance of the moving

images as a manifestation of the past during the twentieth century prompts the evaluation of its impact on historical amnesia.

In accordance with the disciplinary approach of this project, the work of a range of thinkers is foundational for the understanding of current explorations of personal and public practices of memorialisation, in that they represent the 20th century's turn from a focus on social history to cultural history. In cinema studies this translated into the debate on authorial agency and culturally inherited forms of discourse. Interpretative keys derived from cultural studies are also applied to the aesthetic expressions of postmemory, in that they explore the dissonance between media constructed narratives and personal memories and histories. Postmemory is a term Marianne Hirsch (2008; 2012) adopted in her study of aesthetic accounts of historical violence, and its intergenerational transmission. As she stated in her speech at the Institute for Cultural Inquiry, Berlin (24 May 2017):

> my goal has been to think about how the retrospective glance of trauma might be expanded and redirected to open more multiple, alternate temporalities that might be more porous, more present and future oriented, and that also might galvanize the sense of urgency about the need for change. And about the means to activate it (Hirsch, 2017).

To put into context the implications of this angle of inquiry, which empowers aesthetic encounters as spaces for envisioning multiple temporalities and promoting social change, it is important to trace the networks of research that brought to the fore the study of memory in relation to history, and its representation in film. This area of investigation, which evolved across disciplines, intersects the tension between private and public histories, and between lived experience and the afterlife of memory as archival traces, sites of collective memory, and media constructed outlets.

Arguably, the *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Halbwachs, 1925) constitutes the first study focused solely on the relationship between history, memory, and society. In this work, Maurice Halbwachs introduced an integrated

perspective to the study of history, memory, and identity, which delineated their intertwined social qualities. It proposed an idea of a public and private memory that is linked to the recovery of time by reconstructing it anew within collective representations. A student of Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), who established the field of sociology, Halbwachs expanded on the idea of totemism as established in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Durkheim, 1912). Halbwachs included commemorative events, which he saw as reminders of what he called the *collective memory* (Halbwachs, 1950) and suggested that they were important to reinforce autobiographical memories, which otherwise would fade with time. Accordingly, within the overarching social structure, commemorative events morph private memory into collective memory by mechanisms of reconfiguration of the past into patterns. Memory becomes a social, political and cultural action that operates as a "gradually formalised agreement to transmit the meaning of intensely shared events in a way that does not have to be individually struggled for" (Hartman, 1994, p. 15). Halbwachs places collective memory at the very core of historical transmission, and defines it as depending on the interpretation of the group to gain meaning and be preserved. Accordingly, the mediation of certain memories in film helps communities to address specific agendas better than others, to endorse cultural qualifiers, and to obscure unsavoury events.[1] By interrelating past and present, individual and collective memory, Halbwachs launched a generative methodology.

In the 1970s the work of *Annales d'histoire économique at sociale* (Annales School), established in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre (Coser, 1992, p. 11), seemed to elaborate on Halbwachs' theory. Pierre Nova claimed that collective memories are interpretations of the past but become detached from it, in that they are the result of a selection that deliberately eliminates some events from any representations, and in modern times invented specific traditions to cement

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[1] This cluster of issues has been addressed in mass communication studies on individualism and social engagement by John Gillis, who focused on memory, history and national identity (1994); Barbie Zelizer; who looked at journalists as interpretative communities (1993), and Robert N. Bellah, who coined the term memory communities (1985, pp. 152-155).

the idea of the nation-state. Accordingly, the elites of a community draw on fictional elements to produce simulations of natural memory to support a specific political narrative and enforce collective amnesia (Nora, 1996). Today, sociologists see Halbwachs' work on memory as a foundation of their discipline, and cultural theorists see his understanding of instrumental presentism in the creation of history as a major inspiration (Apfelbaum, 2010, p. 78).

The determination of the mechanics of social memory entails the consideration of what history and collective memory leave out of any commemorative events and receive no media attention, which in this doctoral work I will indicate as silenced history. For Walter Benjamin, "every image of the past that is not recognised by the present as one of its own concerns, threatens to disappear irretrievably" (1940/2007, p. 255). Benjamin offered a radical contribution to the study of the relationship between memory and narrative. In 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire' (1939/2007), Benjamin makes the difference between voluntary memory, associated with intentional conservation, and involuntary memory, associated with evocation. *Erlebnis*, as the human experience of life, is linked to voluntary memory; and *Erfahrung*, as the experience that enters tradition, is associated with involuntary memory. To Benjamin, the experience of time that is possible through involuntary memory is not the one we identify with but the one that will be transmitted within a tradition. Hence, in 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' (1940/2007, pp. 253-64), he concluded that history is grounded in the present and it is impossible to restore the experience of the past. However, the past can be found through the analysis of present images: "the historical index of the images does not simply say that they belong to a specific time, it says above all that they only enter into legibility at a specific time" (Benjamin, 1989, p. 50). Hence, for Benjamin, the images of the present can be used to right injustices of the past, as the past becomes whatever societies decide accordingly to the struggle of memory among individuals, a position that resonates with Hirsch's work on the aesthetic representations of traumatic past as the sites able to activate the need for change.

The relationship between the writing of history and fiction is explored in the work of philosopher Roland Barthes and historian Hayden White. Their

theories elucidate the retrospective endeavour of historical accounts, their link to narrative theory, and their correlation to collective memory. Barthes, in 'Le Discours de l'Histoire' in *The Rustle of Language* (1967/1989), pointed at the relationship between the impersonal style of the historical narrative and its ability to divert the reader's attention from the limitations of the perspective presented (Wexler, 1970, pp. 145-55; Barthes, 1989, p. 139), in that the effect of reality (*effet de reel*) is a key problem in historical writing, which proposes an unproblematic realism that is only a persuasive device. The issue was already present in 'To Write: An Intransitive Verb?' in *The Rustle of Language*, where he considered historical narratives as elaborations of data into a web of projected discourses affected by the ideology of the referent (Barthes, 1989, pp. 11-21). Barthes radicalised his position in *S/Z* (1970), where he debunked the idea of an established overall system of meaning out of which all narratives are created; and established the importance of the reader in the creation of meaning. A direct example of the application of this idea on cinema is found in 'The Romans in Film' *in Mythologies* (Barthes, 1973, pp. 26-28), where he analyses the film *Julius Caesar* (Mankiewicz, 1953) and the ambiguity of the visual sign and meaning, in that the use of visual signs to make the historical world more explicit (the association of the fringe and sweat to Roman-ness and thought) "reveals a degraded spectacle, which is equally afraid of simple reality and of total artifice" (Barthes, 1973, p. 28).

Barthes' objection to the possibility of objectivity, or truly scientific method in the writing of history, finds a similar concern in Hayden White, who explored how literary writing influences historical writing. In *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, White revolutionised the way we conceive of the historical narrative, in that he proposed a poetic of history as an answer to what it means to think historically (1973, p. 1). White argued that "the value attached to narrativity in the representation of real events arises out of a desire to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure

of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary" (1980, p. 23).[2] He also pointed out that transforming archival data into the historical narrative is a subjective act (1987). In 1988, Robert Rosenstone published *History in Images/History in words: Reflections on the possibility of really putting history onto film* (1988, pp. 1173-1185), which advocated the power of film in portraying history. In response, White published 'Historiography and Historiophoty' in *The American Historical Review* and suggested the distinction between historiography and *historiophoty*. The latter is the "representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse" (1988, p. 1193). This was an important step toward the recognition of film as a historiographical medium and generated a debate. Rosenstone contested the view that historical films are mere entertainment in *History on Film/Film on History* and brought attention to the rethinking of the archive through film images (2006, p. 23). His work resonates with Adam Lowenstein's *Shocking Representations* (2005), which examined films that enact historical trauma and demonstrated the power of cinema in achieving affective and critical narratives. In this book, Lowenstein offered a critical analysis of the ethical position of safeguarduarding the survivors by treating their experience as unrepresentable, the applied interpretation of Jean-François Lyotard's concept of *differend* (Lyotard, 1988, p. 13). Lowenstein appreciated how Lyotard does not prescribe silence as the only means of respecting the survivors but advocated a re-examination of the "challenge of finding new idioms for that experience" (2005, p. 5), which is found in some horror films that employ allegory in an attempt to provoke shock and open the texture of history to unexpected recognition of relations between past and present. One example is *Blood of the Beasts* (Georges Franju, 1949), which juxtaposes the serenity of Paris countryside to the horror of the slaughterhouse nearby in an attempt to break the French process of anesthetising the historical trauma of the Holocaust.

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[2] I read this as *story*, as with narrative in the context of screenwriting and filmmaking we refer to the visual and aural mediation of a story, which can be performed in an array of forms and styles.

As a philosopher interested in the power of the moving image, Gilles Deleuze echoes similar preoccupations to Halbwachs' study in the dialectical relationship between individual activity and sociohistorical dimensions, and arguably Benjamin's drive to document and explore new ways for recollecting the past. With the concept of movement-image, which reflects the idea of history dominant in cinema before the Second World War when time was perceived as linear and universal, Deleuze referred to a perception of history allowing for events to present themselves as a connection between a situation and the action that followed, where "the side of the right and true" (Deleuze, 1983, p. 85) would prevail. On the other hand, with the concept of time-image, Deleuze addressed the perception of time and space as discontinuity and heterogeneity, a response to the crisis of the action-image in a post-war world that experienced lack of continuity and unity. The time-image, also called *temporal structure*, "goes beyond the purely empirical succession of time, past-present-future" (1989, p. xii). Revelatory of the dimension where personal memory and the impression of experienced time manifest, the shift of attention from movement-action to time-image allows for cinematic visions of individual struggles that try to make sense of experience. In Deleuze's words: "situations which we no longer know how to react to, in spaces which we no longer know how to describe" (1989, p. xi). Accordingly, in this language of personalised time perception, the "sheets of past coexist in a non-chronological order" (1989, p. xii), and cinema makes visible relationships of time in ways that only the cinematographic image can grasp: the relationship between inner time and the world, identity and history, thought and its continuous becoming. The time-image relates directly to the relation between perception and action, in that it focuses on what is between them, which is memory (Bergson, 2004). Memory contains all the understanding (experience) provided by the past that can be useful to help action in the present. By recollecting the past, we can enter and retrieve our experience and take decisions in the present, literally to act in the present. The closest way to reside in our past is in inhabiting our past experiences, which happens in dreams. Film can enter this level of temporal experience, and with the time-image it shows the interval in time

in its value as duration of experience, which varies because a moment can be as important as one year.

Memory, experience and the concept of duration and becoming are further explored by Deleuze and Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980/87). These concepts resonate with Ricoeur's concept of narrative *emplotment* in *Time and Narrative* (1984/1990) that describes the process by which the different elements of a situation are organised into an imaginative order. For Ricoeur, this process has a mediating function, in that it gives meaning to individual experiences within a larger network. Accordingly, emplotment allows a narrative able to express human experience and its composite temporal frameworks, where the discordant elements are re-described and inserted in an internal coherence. These networks of concepts and theories constitute a formative theoretical background to the exploration and study of postmemory.

Cultural studies, as applied to history and memory in film, emerged following the changing paradigms that animated some of the most influential journals, like the *New Left Review and Cahiers du Cinéma*. The *New Left Review* emerged to disseminate work of neo-marxist philosophy and Critical Theory (Frankfurt School, and especially Antonio Gramsci). The journal gathered contributions on the issues of different relations to time and experience and debated on questions of racial, ethnic and class exclusion. It engendered a rethinking of what constitutes culture, history, and identity. Close to this milieu, Raymond Williams employed an analysis based on Critical Theory and explored culture as part of the production processes in a class-based society, where the marginalised appears as silenced (Williams, 1958; 1961). It is in Williams' use of Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony and his establishment of the concepts of *residual*, *emergent* and *dominant* cultural powers (2009, pp. 121-127) that cultural materialism meets Halbwachs' integrated perspective on history, culture, and identity. Williams explored the topic from a different angle but like previously mentioned theorists, he analysed the processes being employed by power structures to validate or inscribe certain values on cultural practices. In relation to cinema and the media, in 'On High and Popular Culture' (1974), Williams states:

We shall not now understand any popular culture unless we study, for example, the press, the cinema, broadcasting, and sport. Indeed, the movement toward versions of universalism is much more evident in these spheres than in those of traditional philosophy and arts. Yet it is becoming universal only in the sense that it is widely exported from a few powerful centers, within radically unequal terms of exchange. What has been called, for broadcasting, the 'global village' will be neither founded nor governed by all its putative inhabitants. Rather in hitherto unimaginable terms, the use of powerful new media will enable a few to speak to and apparently for the many, and, unless powerful safeguards are constructed, to drive out of competition the more varied and authentic voices that are the true discourse of any society and of humanity (*The New Republic*, 22 November 1974).

In the United States, the revival of marxist theory in the study of literature and the media was championed by Fredric Jameson. He applied Critical Theory (Frankfurt School) in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981), in that he established the importance of political and economic history for the reading of any literary works. Under the moto *always historicize* (1981), Jameson borrowed from Williams' work in cultural studies, in that he reads the aesthetic practice as an arena of artistic choices within the unconscious framework guiding them. In 1984, Jameson published *Postmodernism, or, the cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* in the *New Left Review* (July-August 1984, I/146, pp. 59-92), which broadened his attention from literature to culture, and criticised the postmodern merging of all discourse as the expression of corporate capitalism. He discussed this phenomenon with the study of film, visual arts, and architecture.[3]

One core issue for the study of history and memory as mediated in film, however, manifested in the work of Jameson already in 1977. In the afterword to

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[3] Jameson's work is directly liked to Adorno's and Horkheimer's critique of the culture industry.

Aesthetics and Politics, Jameson stated that political history and literary history experience a certain return of the repressed: "Nowhere had this return of the repressed been more dramatic than in the aesthetic conflict between Realism and Modernism, whose navigation and renegotiation is still unavoidable for us today" (p. 196). This issue re-emerged in *The Antinomies of Realism* (2013), in that realism is debated against the background of a mature postmodernism. Within postmodernism, the tension toward realism becomes a desire, a sense of anticipation and the knowledge of impossibility, as we can never grasp it. As Jameson (ibid., p. 1) puts it:

> It is as though the object of our meditation began to wobble, and the attention to it to slip insensibly away from it in two opposite directions, so that at length we find we are thinking, not about realism, but about its emergence; not about the thing itself, but about its dissolution.

This desire for a realism impossible to reach manifests itself in the exploration of personal history and the memory of Czernowitz, a place that does not longer exist, in *Ghosts of Home* (Hirsch and Spitzer, 2011). Comparably to Jameson's concept, Hirsch's desire for realism reveals a parallel to Lacan's *object petit a* (1978, p. 112), in that it indicates an object of desire that is constantly searched and never possessed. The preoccupation with the nature of realism is part of Jameson's most recent work on supplements to the six volumes project *The Poetics of Social Forms*, which "provides a general history of aesthetic forms, at the same time seeking to show how this history can be read in tandem with a history of social and economic formations", as Sara Danius puts it in *About Fredric R. Jameson* (2008, Holberg Prize Online).

Williams' and Jameson's work on culture and its practices resonates with interdisciplinary research in memory studies and postcolonial theory, where not only unevenness of distribution but a process of imposition of alien forms of cultural selection are explored (Dayan, 1974). The attention to the work of Antonio Gramsci offered the basis for the reconfiguration of the concept of historiography, as traceable in the work on orientalism by Edward Said, subaltern studies by

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and the process of identity building in colonial settings by Frantz Fanon. The opening to the voice of the subaltern signs an important moment toward the recognition of alternative versions of history and memory, in that it opened the way for alternative memories and histories within Western culture itself. The personal memory of obscured unsavoury events, within postcolonial studies and war studies, elicited attention in psychoanalysis, literary studies and history. Arguably, this development allowed for an enhanced visibility of liminal voices, in that it explored a variety of neglected historical events, and their recollection in memory and postmemory.

The critical perspective of the French film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* shifted from a Catholic-idealist position to a marxist-leninist view under the social uprising of the late 1960s, and hosted debates on the theory of authorship, history in film, popular memory and the application of psychoanalysis to cinema theory. A 1974 interview in the journal with Michel Foucault reveals his point of view on films like *Lacombe Lucien* (Luis Malle, 1974), *Il Portiere di Notte/The Night Porter* (Liliana Cavani, 1974), *Les Chinois a Paris/Chinese in Paris* (Jean Yanne, 1974), and *Le Trio inferna/The Infernal Trio* (Francis Girod, 1974), which interpreted French history of the Second World War:

> I think the whole effort has tended towards a re-coding of popular memory which exists but has no way of formally expressing itself. People are shown not what they have been but what they must remember they have been. Since memory is an important factor in the struggle (indeed, it's within a kind of conscious dynamic of history that struggles develop), if you hold people's memory, you hold their dynamism. And you also hold their experience, their knowledge of previous struggles (Wilson and Reynaud, 2000, p. 162).

It is Foucault's work that established the study of the structural processes of knowledge in history (Foucault, 1970).[4] In his work, the historical inquiry becomes the rewriting of intellectual history and the analysis of discursive practices (Foucault, 1972, pp. 40-63). These practices change with time and reveal how our knowledge of the past has been constructed. Inclusion and exclusion from public knowledge and representation depend on the modes of knowledge's organisation, which raises issues on the ideas it frames and about those it excludes (Foucault, 1970, pp. xx-xxi, p. 236, pp. 311-18). Foucault's theory and methodology found a dialogue with film studies. Deleuze mentions a fundamental paradox in Foucault's method, which nonetheless is supporting his work on a formal level: "the language coagulates around a corpus only in order to facilitate the distribution or dispersion of statement and to stand as the rule for a family that is naturally dispersed" (Deleuze, 2006, p. 17). This description can be applied to several aesthetic mediations of postmemory, in that as Deleuze argues about Foucault's work, the realism of the expression is achieved by an uncanny meeting of fictional and real:

> he has never written anything but fiction for, as we have seen, statements resemble dreams and are transformed as in a kaleidoscope, depending on the corpus in question and the diagonal line being followed. But in another sense, he can also claim that he has written only what is real, and used what is real, for everything is real in the statement, and all reality in it is openly on display (ibid.).

Within the development of the post-structuralist vision, in that scholars focus more on the relationship between human beings and the practice of making and reproducing meaning, the ideas and the practices of history itself are requested to acknowledge their historicity. *Cahiers du Cinéma* played an important role in the exploration of politics of historical representation in film, and its impact on the formation of subjectivity. The work on this area of research is

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[4] See also the speeches: Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur? / What is an Author (1969), as a response to Barthes, R. (1967). The death of the Author; Language, Counter-Memory, Practice (1977).

fundamental to the understanding of my methodology, in that the mapping and the analysis of a century of Italian cinema will reveal the role of cinema in the establishment of collective history in Italy. Also, it will constitute the basis for an articulated understanding of the challenges and issues the filmmaker faces today, when constructing the history and translating the memory and postmemory of the indigenous Slav population of the north-eastern part of present day Italy in film.

As early as 1969 in *Cahiers*, Jean-Pierre Oudart introduced the Lacanian concept of *suture* (Croombs, 2011; Miller, 1978, pp. 24-34; Oudart, 1969, p. 45), and advocated a revision of what constitutes the author in cinema. [5] By substituting to the concept of biographical auteur the idea of a set of structures functioning as an auteur, the focus shifts to the study of *auteur structuralism* (Sayad, 2013, p. xix). Accordingly, this movement reads the concept of suture as key to the power of film in society, in that the spectator seemed to form an imaginary relationship with the film, a filmic exchange of questions and answers, where meaning is established and grounded. The debate on how suture works in film saw the development of opposed theories: for social scientists Daniel Dayan and Oudart the system of suture is the expression of filmic discourse as language, supported by an overarching grammatical structure (i.e., cinematic codes) (Oudart, 1977; Dayan, 1974). Relevant to this theory is the physical space absent from the shot, as it is in this absence that the spectator produces a fantasy that fills it in and creates meaning: "he senses the space he cannot see, after the initial experience of jouissance of the image, hidden by the camera, and wonders, in retrospect, why such a framing was used" (Oudart, 1977, p. 41). Hence, for a moment the spectator becomes aware of the process of production, but awareness dissolves into closure when the next shot answers the question (McGowan, 2007, p. 233). According to Dayan, however, the meaning is deferred and operates retroactively in a remodelling of memory (1974, pp. 22-31). This

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[5] The psychological concept of suture is found in Lacan's notion of subject formation. It is related to the mirror-stage, in that it is the point when the self-image of the child, supported through maternal identification, is disrupted by the intrusion of language, as the result of the child's meeting with the paternal. The concept of suture was introduced by Lacan in *La Suture (elements de la logique du significant)*. 24 February 1965, in Miller, J. A. (1966).

hypothesis supports Dayan and Oudart's interest in revealing the ideological forces that influence the practices of cinema. Stephen Heath (1981) disagreed with the linguistic definition of suture and advocated the unique quality of the moving image, which conveys meaning not in a literal or logical way but in a connotative and emotive manner.

Issues of representation, identity and suture are also explored in the work of Dominick LaCapra, who elaborates on the concepts of *Erlebnis*, as the human experience of life linked to voluntary memory; and *Erfahrung*, as the experience that enters tradition associated with involuntary memory and public memorialisation. In *History in Transit* (2004) LaCapra considers the dismissive attitude of historians toward postmemory and the intergenerational transmission of trauma. He sees this attitude, based on the traditional viewing of memory as opposed to history, as limiting because it does not allow for the exploration of testimony in its specific relation to experience, as distinguished from the events (2004, p. 109). His work on the concepts of *acting out* and *working through* defines the value of testimony, which makes truth claims about one's memory of the experience and, more tenuously, about events (ibid., p. 131). On the contrary, LaCapra (ibid., p. 132) argues:

> History makes truth claims about events, their interpretation or explanation, and, more tenuously, about experience. […] Indeed, in trying to account for or evoke experience, history must turn to testimony, oral reports, inferences from documents such as diaries and memoirs, and a carefully framed and qualified reading of fiction and art.

This approach to the exploration of memory and postmemory, and their representation, resonates with the work of Deleuze on the power of the time-image, which returns in the mediation of postmemory in film.

The interdisciplinary approach to the study of trauma and memory allows for a set of challenges to the concept of history, which are found in the work of Cathy Caruth. She mapped a morphology of the experience of trauma and its belated impact, in that she elaborated an idea of history no longer based on a

model of linear experience and reference. Through the concept of trauma, she proposed a new understanding of what permits history to form where there is no immediate understanding of the events. A position that in *Unclaimed Experience – Trauma, Narrative and History*, Caruth (1996, p. 19) encapsulates:

> For history to be a history of trauma means that it is referential precisely to the extent that it is not fully perceived as it occurs, or to put it somewhat differently, that a history can be grasped only in the very inaccessibility of its occurrence.[6]

In Caruth's words, however, the social element of history and memory of trauma continues to be relevant, as "we could say that the traumatic nature of history means that events are only historical to the extent that they implicate others" (ibid., p. 20).

The trajectories and resonance delineated in this literary review cohere into the current interdisciplinary studies of the moving image and the mediation of memory and postmemory. If cinema's properties make it the ideal medium for any attempts to make historical events and marginalised experiences public knowledge, historians continue to criticise filmmakers for not being able to represent a historical event in its comprehensiveness. Similarly, filmmakers criticise historians for not understanding that film can bring attention to a subject but the form is unable to hold its audience if producing a long, detailed, and complicate perspective of a topic (Toplin, 1988, p. 1213). However, films like *Radio Bikini* (Robert Stone, 1987), about the nuclear weapons tests at Bikini Atoll in 1946, established the possibility of presenting an event and eliciting critical thinking through film alone. Without the use of a narrator, the film is a montage of original film footage, clips from broadcasts, newsreels, and interviews of veterans and the Atoll's inhabitants. The film functions as a self-reflective text, in that it displays the

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[6] See also, Caruth, C. (1995). *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*; (2013). *Literature in the Ashes of History*; (2014). *Listening to Trauma: Conversations with Leaders in the Theory and Treatment of Catastrophic Experience.*

power of the media in priming the news, and the silencing of the tragic consequences of the test on both sides. It is in works like this one that the moving image demonstrates how the film makes sense of historical events mirroring "situations which we no longer know how to react to, in spaces which we no longer know how to describe" (Deleuze, 1989, p. xi). Postmemory rests within this arena.

Methodology

Orthodox academic research and creative practice articulate different discursive moments and relational experiences. Practice as Research (PaR), and Practice-led Research (Smith and Dean, 2009; Sullivan, 2005) are both implemented in a very wide range of disciplines. In this thesis, the methodological route takes the investigation from personal experience to archive and to film production through the exploration of prior film methodologies, as key in the elaboration of novel forms of mediation of history, memory, and postmemory. The research in practice arises out of and engages with the archival research and the formal research in the history of Italian cinema, and relevant newsreels, in that I engage in the textual analysis of several key films. This critical interrogation enables me to trace the trajectory of key themes within the history of Italian cinema, and to demonstrate the use of historical locations as repositories of meaning mediated in film, a discourse that influenced the creation of and relation between the Italian collective memory and the Slovenian collective memory in Trieste. Also, as a way of navigating this important theoretical territory, I am going to look at the moving image as the most important form of communication in the creation of popular memory, which plays a salient role in the way history and memory are constructed. Because of the personal connection with the archival material, the films I produced through the creative practice constitute an exercise in the mediation of silenced history and a developing engagement with the translation of postmemory.

The research in the archive was designed to explore the sources and test my personal knowledge. Thus, I could position the level of my understanding of the past on a spectrum that grades the knowledge of the history of the indigenous

Slavs in the north-eastern part of present day Italy across a continuum, which goes from a complete lack of to some knowledge of the silenced events. To expand my knowledge of the silenced events, I have drawn upon archival material accessed from diverse sources. In London, I accessed the archives of the *Wiener Library* and the *United Nations Archives*. In Italy, I accessed the holding of the *Archivio Storico Istituto Luce* (Luce Archives), the *Cineteca del Friuli*, the *Narodna in Študijska Knjižnica* (The Slovenian National and Study Library), particularly the archives in its historical and ethnological department in Trieste and the Kinoatelje, in Gorizia. In addition, the archives of the newspaper *Il Piccolo*, Trieste, and *La Stampa*, Torino. Important documents were also located in Slovenia, at the *Slovenska Kinoteka* (Slovenian Film Archives), the *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum) and the *Narodni Muzej Slovenije* (Slovenian National Museum) in Ljubljana. Relevant articles were found in the archives of *The Manchester Guardian*, UK; and the *Betfor Association* (British Element Triest Force), UK. Additional information was obtained from the *British Pathé film Archive*, UK; *The Marshall Plan Film Archive* and the *CIA records – National Archives* - US. Of the films produced in Italy between 1909 and 2010, 41 represent Trieste. Of the Italian Cinecitta's newsreels reporting about or from Trieste, 365 were news reports (Cinegiornali), 83 documentaries, and 57 reportage (Repertori). The international newsreels are from a variety of sources, including 63 from *British Pathé* and *Marshall Plan Filmography* (MPF) newsreels.

The collected material indicated the need to understand the reason behind the lack of representation in the Italian media of the history of the indigenous Slavs of Italy and the evident dominance of the Italian nationalistic historical discourse. The analysis of how cinema represented Trieste, in Italian cinema and foreign newsreels, revealed the necessity to re-organise the archival material accordingly to the evolution of media discourses over time. The content analysis of the newsreels and the films dictated their organisation into categories, of which the most important examples are analysed. The ideological patterns these films reveal suggested the importance of Trieste as a founding myth to the Italian Republic, and this continues to be supported by the media but it is based on revelatory fictional elements. This research aimed also to determine the relevance of Trieste

in the construction of the Italian collective memory, as visible in its representation in the media, on the sites of public memory, and through the vectors of memory consolidated on the territory.

This investigative trajectory made me aware of the rich material present in the archives of the former Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. However, I limited my focus to the media produced in what used to be identified as the Western Bloc (1945-1991), as it constituted the economic and cultural space in which Italy collocated itself, where its identity was projected and influenced by the political processes at play during the Second World War and until the end of the Cold War. Also, in the Slovenian archive in Trieste, I was confronted with the richness of the Slavic cultural outputs in Trieste, which surpassed by a wide margin any preliminary understandings of its volume or importance to the city's history and culture.

Within the creative process, I studied and tested different forms of filmmaking and their power to mediate history and memory, with a specific attention on valuable techniques applicable to the translation of postmemory. The aim was to explore the distinction between the management of historical discourses and the making of postmemory, as a revelatory and priming event in the dissemination of silenced history and as a personal confrontation with the past able to open new arenas of discourse on memorialization. The process entailed a dialogue with diverse forms for the expression of thought on memory and postmemory. Books like *The War After: Living with the Holocaust* (Anne Karpf, 1997), *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Marianne Hirsch, 2004), and *After Such Knowledge* (Eva Hoffman, 2004), permitted me to find a literary language to express postmemory. Theory encountered in *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Dominick LaCapra, 1998) and *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (LaCapra, 2004), but also in *Unclaimed Experience* (Cathy Caruth, 1996), guided my process of epistemological investigation, in that they allowed me to see my need to address the historical moment before the traumatic interruption that severed my family's history. Additionaly, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* (Annette Kuhn, 2002) offered a good reference to the study of the film *The Stories We Tell* (Polley,

2012), in that Kuhn's reading of photos as pointing always to something else, which escapes us, constituted a key to reading the moving image as employed in Polley's film, and ultimately in my own work. Furthermore, and similarly to Polley's, my work looked at what happens when we take absences, silences and uncertain evidence, and we investigate the traces of the past. What became apparent is the struggle of meaning over the past that continues in the present (Kuhn, 2002, pp. 15-18). Hence, the need to return over and over to the traces of the past to define it, and in the case of my work to seek the recognition of silenced history and its impact on the present.

Building on the tradition of autobiographical films and auto-ethnographic forms of filmmaking, I drew from the theory of Humphreys and Watson on forms of ethnographic writing (2009), and I took as examples the documentary film *History and Memory: For Akiko and Takashige* (Rea Tajiri, 1991) for Tajiri's strong use of archival findings and memory of pain one has not witnessed. Similarly, the documentary *The Alcohol Years* (Carol Morley, 2000), for Morley's use of herself through forms of absence, and *My Private Life* (Jill Daniels, 2014), for Daniels' use of multiple voices and the exploration of memory. The Holocaust documentary played a role, as my references to filmmaking as a vessel for the investigation of traumatic history was also guided by tradition: *Night and Fog* (Alain Resnais, 1956) and *Shoah* (Claude Lanzmann, 1985) were instrumental in the understanding of absence and loss as the driving force behind impressive examples of enquiry, testimony and the need to understand the unreacheable past, not simply know it. Less obvious influences are found in the Soviet footage reproduced in *The Unseen Holocaust of WWII* (Mike Ibeji, 2014), which casts questions on the predominantly camps based narrative of the Holocaust.

In my creative practice, I applied the methodology of the action research cycle (Robson, 2002), in that I planned, acted, observed and reflected on the process and the consequences of my practice, then I planned further action and repeated the cycle. The cycles were dictated by the collection of unstructured data, qualitative and quantitative analysis, and the extensive archival work I wanted to translate through film. Process and finding, in their expressive impossibilities, confronted me and challenged the basis of my work on film. The

first attempt at the mediation of the material in film was expressed in the creation of a three-act short film, *Behind the Book* (2015), following the classic linear dramatic structure, which advances the story with the introduction of an inciting incident, the progress to a middle point revealing the complexity of the situation, the creation of a climax forcing the protagonist to change her strategy of action, and the presentation of a resolution. In contrast, the subsequent two short films explored the value of narrative fragmentation and the division of the films into separate parts, which allowed me to give voice to different levels of investigation, aimed to the expression of the multiple layers of meaning the material evoked. The films addressed the process and value of filmmaking for the revelation of silenced history and the personal negotiation of postmemory. The second short film, *Lunch with Family* (2016), was designed to explore how an epistemological investigation might reveal the impact of loss on the formation of identity. While the third film, *San Sabba* (2016), was designed to explore how an ontological approach might reveal the issues at stake in the narration of who were the people in the past, and the postmemory discourse the mediation entails.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises a conventional academic dissertation alongside a portfolio of creative work and a critical reflection on my creative practice.

This chapter, *Introduction: The Construction of Memory in Film*, is followed by chapter two, *The Moving Image and Historical Amnesia in Trieste: Archival Research*, which introduces the historical context of the cultural shift that transformed Trieste from a multi-ethnic and multicultural city to an Italian enclave, where homogeneity and italianity were introduced and maintained from above by the establishment of a fascist government. Through the analysis of representative moving images, I discuss the construction of a trajectory that linked the history of the Italian Risorgimento with the fascist's struggle to make the territory, Italy, Italian. Through the analysis of newsreels, I explore the use of Cold War narratives to insert Trieste in the international political panorama, and I trace the use of all the above in the creation of the Italian collective memory from 1975.

The chapter juxtaposes newsreels and films, often as celebratory campaigns for the allegedly intrinsic italianity of the city, and the archival sources revealing the government's policies to solve the Slavic problem in the area between 1909 and 2010.

These dates have a wider significance: 1909 is the year of production of the oldest surviving footage shot by a filmmaker from Trieste: *Ljubljana o Slavnostni dnevi slovenskega delavskega pevskega društva Slavec v Ljubljani (Ljubljana, on the celebration of the labour choral society in Ljubljana)*, an actuality made by Salvatore Spina (Kosanović, 1995, p. 125). In the same year, Italian films were first shown in Trieste and an Italian group, the *Sursum Corda* (Papa, 2007, pp. 43-60), promoted the annexation of the city to Italy and assaulted Slavs with exemption from unpleasant consequences (Apih, 1988, p. 92). [7] 2010 on the other hand, is the year when the Presidents of Italy, Slovenia and Croatia gathered in Trieste for the *Concerto dell'Amicizia* (Friendship Concert, 12 July 2010), to promote reconciliation between countries that had experienced a long history of confrontation. The conclusion of the chapter establishes the presence of a case of silenced history, supported by the collusion of the media in concealing the policies and events endured by the indigenous Slavs from 1918 to 1945. The impact of this memory event on the local population can not be downplayed, as in Trieste alone the Slovenian population measured by the census of 1910 comprised 56,916 men of voting age, against only 33,846 in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia (Stranj, 1992, p. 66) - the number Slovenian population in Italy amounted to one third of the Slovenians anywhere in the world at the time.

Chapter three, *The Construction of Memory in Film: Form and Discourse*, explores the use of film in the mediation of history with the analysis of two feature films *Cuori senza Frontiere/The While Line* (Luigi Zampa, 1950), and *Cuore nel Pozzo/The Heart in the Well* (Alberto Negrin, 2005). It considers the mediation of the Holocaust on film, discusses the essay film, a hybrid documentary form, and compares this with the classic film structure to explore how the essay film form

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[7] *Sursum Corda*, the irredentist group, initially known as *battaglione studentesco* was founded in 1906 in Milan and trained in the art of war in the weekends.

can be used in the documentation and mediation of difficult topics. Alexander Kluge's *Brutalität in Stein/Brutality in Stone* (1961), Alain Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1956) and Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985) are analysed as fundamental examples of works that both established and challenged the norms of the Holocaust's narrative paradigm. The value of this tradition is confronted in the final part of the chapter, where I consider the trajectory of my research and the different approaches the mediation of a silenced history and postmemory entails.

Chapter four, *The Films: Hypothesis and Creative Decisions*, introduces the creative practice dimension of this project and the process of action-research-cycle (Robson, 2002) I applied. The expressive impossibilities I nurtured, as the arena of dialogue with the archival material and my personal story are the motor of this process. Relevant contemporary examples of creative practice are considered, while the chapter maps the trajectories in the development, production and post-production of my films, *Behind the Book* (2015), *Lunch with Family* (2016) and *San Sabba* (2016). The films are available on DVD and online (on Vimeo), as indicated in the chapter.

Chapter five, *Critical Reflections and Conclusions: An Ontological Interrogation*, filters the creative process, and revisits its meaning in the dialogue between historical research, silenced history and collective memory. It reviews the findings and returns to the discourse on the difference between the management of historical discourse and the creation of postmemory, in that I reflect on how the relation between the concepts of *Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung* adds to the discourse. I close the chapter by looking at the reception of the films, and their values as outlets in a process of personal research, interrogation, and negotiation of meaning in postmemory. This permits me to put into evidence the value of my intervention, as the result of my creative practice, its impact, and the scope of possible future research.

CHAPTER 2

The Moving Image and Historical Amnesia in Trieste: Archival Research

> Fiction and history react constantly to one another, and it is impossible to study the second if the first is ignored (Sorlin, 2001, p. 38)

> Trieste is full of (cinemas), and they are full to overflowing half a dozen times a night with people who come to see what they have seen over and over again (Stanislaus Joyce).[8]

Introduction

The news that shocked Trieste during the spring of 2010 was the shortlisting of *Trst je naš!* (Trieste is Ours) (Žiga Virc, 2009) at the *37th Annual Student Academy Awards*, also known as the student Oscars. This short film was Virc's ironic take on the Slovenian traumatic memory of failing to obtain the city of Trieste at the end of the Second World War. The plot follows the adventures of a father who tries to transmit his memory and values to his daughter. In his effort, he joins a group of Slovenians who re-enact the battle for the city of Trieste. *Trst je naš!* earned a lot of media attention after the Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini protested against it in the Italian Parliament and argued that the film offended the Italian collective memory. In Ljubljana, Virc declared that the film was only an attempt to reveal the different meanings memory can have to different generations.[9] In Trieste, the polemic against the film started before its release in November 2009

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[8] From the unpublished diaries of Stanislaus Joyce, known as *Triestine Book of Days* (1907-1909). McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa.

[9] Personal interview with the author (26 May 2013). Ljubljana, Slovenia.

and revealed the absolute refusal of the Italian media to consider the existence of a legitimate Slovenian memory of trauma related to the city of Trieste. The protagonist of the film was described as "an isolated man, who lives out of time, who has problems with the wife, the daughter, the police and the past" (*Il Piccolo*, 29 October 2009).[10] However, as I discovered, documents in the United Nations Archives support the hypothesis of an early Slovenian memory concerning life in Trieste, the traumatic events this ethnic group suffered, and the sense of definitive loss the return of Trieste to Italy in 1945 symbolised (United Nations Archives Reel 38, folders 15925-15929; Čermelj 1936). Hence, the absolute dominance of the Italian nationalistic discourse in the media, and the declared outrage at the use of film to offer a Slovenian perspective on the history of Trieste, seemed indicatory of a tension worthy of investigating. What is more, this case makes evident the power of film to intervene in discourse in both constructing, and in this case challenging, understandings of history and identity.

Irredentism and Nationalist Narratives

Before the First World War, film had already established a significant presence in Austrian Trieste. People had access to a wide range of cinema made by pioneers in both Europe and America. In 1909, films produced in Italy started to be screened in the city's cinemas, by which time Trieste had become the centre for the distribution of both films and associated projection technology in the north-east of present day Italy, as well as in Slovenia and Croatia (Kosanović, 1995, p. 133). But the way in which the city and its inhabitants were to be represented in the cinema was to have a profound impact on the construction and wider understanding of Trieste's identity.

From a very early point, cinema played a key role in the promotion of Italian nationalism. Initially, the principal sources of feature film scripts came from

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[10] "La storia di un uomo isolato che vive fuori dal tempo, che ha problem con la moglie, con la figlia, con la polizia, con il passato". In Editorial, '*Trst je naš, è polemica per il film sloveno*', *Il Piccolo* [Online], 29 October 2009.

pre-existing literary texts, as in the first Italian blockbusters *Quo Vadis* (Guazzoni, 1912) and *Cabiria* (Pastrone, 1914). The impact of these films on the Triestiners is difficult to imagine. Before the city was annexed by Italy, the population spoke 17 languages with a predominance of German, Slovenian and Italian (Tobin, 1832, pp. 149-50). The social hierarchy, however, promoted identification with the Italian culture and as people climbed to a higher social status, they would gradually come to use Italian as the *lingua franca* of wealth and power (Carmichael, 1995, p. 11; Apih, 1988, p. 15). Accordingly, as early as 1848, the image of Trieste as an urban dwelling where the Italian population was differentiated from the Slavic population, which was kept out of the centre of the city and in the hinterland by prescriptive laws, was already in place (Paton, 1862, p. 411). This division created tensions between the two ethnicities: the Slavs urged for more social mobility, and the Italians resisted any changes. Since 1908, the *Sursum Corda*, an Italian group of students that promoted the annexation of Trieste to Italy (Papa, 2007, pp. 43-60) started to assault Slavs from different social classes (Apih, 1966, p. 92).[11] By 1911, when 25% of the population of the municipality of Trieste spoke Slovenian (Stranj, Klemenčič, and Majovski, 1999), the demonisation of the word *Slav* served as a negative against which to measure positive German and Italian cultural characteristics (Wolff, 1994, p. 312).

Within this milieu of cultural confrontation, one of the most significant cinematic depictions of Trieste is the newsreel that reported the arrival of the remains of Franz Ferdinand, Royal Prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his wife Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg (1 July 1914). Assassinated in Sarajevo (28 June 1914), the royal bodies travelled back to Trieste on the battleship *Viribus Unitis*, built in Trieste, before being transported by train to Vienna. The French company *Pathé Frères* sent cameramen in Trieste from its foreign office in Vienna and filmed the event under the title of *Die Einholung der Leichname Sr. k.u.k. Hoheit des*

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[11] *Sursum Corda*, from the Latin for 'lift up your hearts', was initially known as *battaglione studentesco* (student's battalion). It was founded in 1906 in Milan and trained in the art of war in the weekends. Of note is also that in 1867, the Austrian and Hungarian Monarchy granted equal rights to the ethnic groups within its territory; this provoked the first clashes between Italians and Slavs.

Erzherzog – Thronfolger und Gemahlin (The Collection of the Royal Body of the Archduke and Successor to the Throne and Spouse). Captured in the opening sequence of this actuality, the cultural diversity and multi-ethnicity of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire are suggested by juxtaposing shots of Muslims at the mosque in Sarajevo, with the romantic Schloss Miramar (Miramar Castle in Trieste), an Austrian symbol, followed by the arrival in the port of Trieste, as captured in Figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.
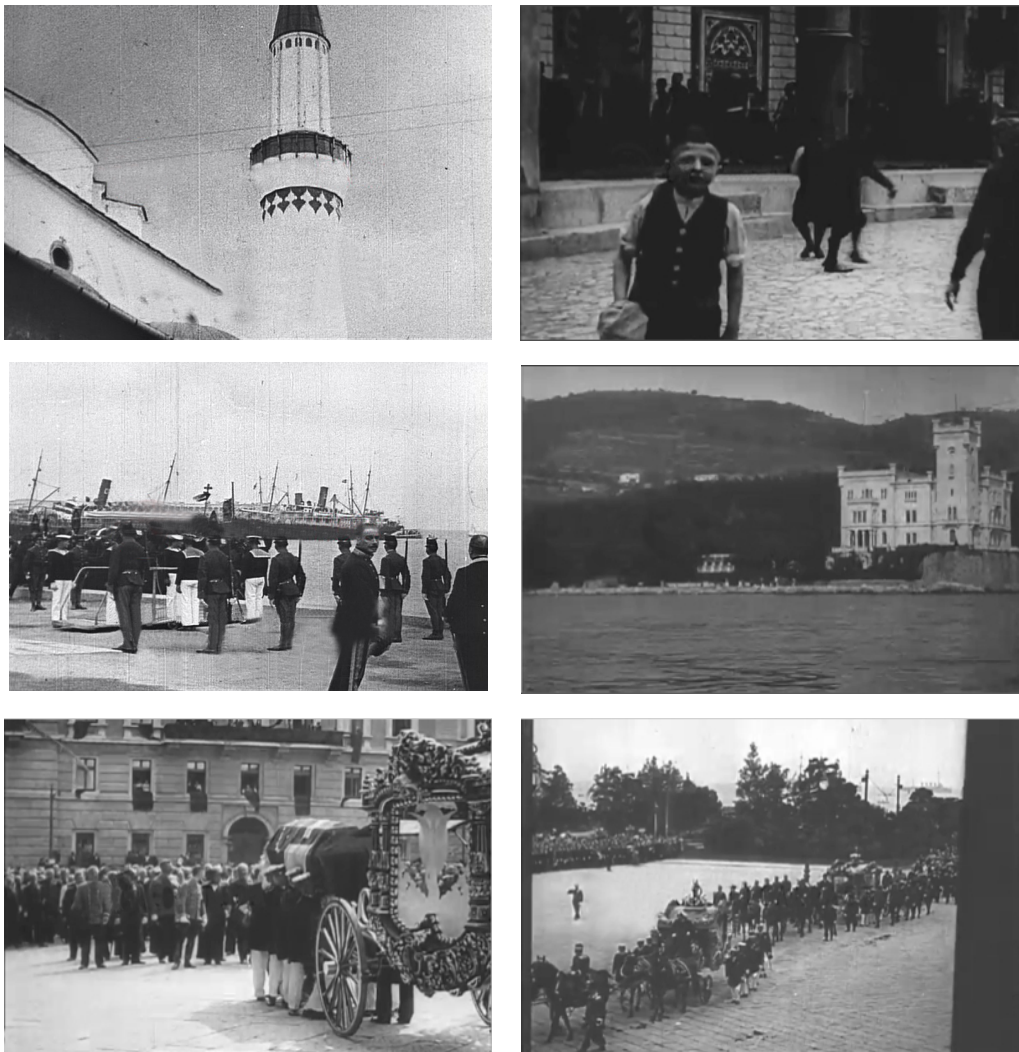
Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: Stills from the Newsreel *Die Einholung der Leichname Sr. k.u.k. Hoheit des Erzherzog – Thronfolger und Gemahlin* (1 July 1914), Pathe Freres, 1914.

The arrival of the royal coffins in Trieste is illustrated by titles in German, as the camera captures Trieste's seashore, seamen carrying the coffins to the pier, the priests and the officers saluting. The procession's sequence offers images of

sombre dignitaries, who lead the population behind the carriages, and black flags displayed at the palaces' windows. Trieste's identity is addressed directly in the newsreel; the port of an ethnically mixed Empire, it speaks German and stands as the gate to a whole empire in mourning. The participation of the inhabitants, the identification with a sense of place defined by the importance the city held as the port of the Austrian Empire is hard to deny, as also testified by photos taken simultaneously to the filming of the parade that can be viewed at the *Narodna in Študijska Knjižnica* (The Slovenian National and Study Library) in Trieste, Italy.

In stark contrast, only one year later Trieste was being presented as *Italianissima* (Intrinsically Italian) in Emilio Ghione's feature film, *Guglielmo Oberdan, il martire di Trieste* (William Oberdan, martyr from Trieste) (1915).[12] *Guglielmo Oberdan* represents the first significant cinematic example of how the Italian nationalist movement sought to mediate the historical representation of Trieste. Produced entirely in Rome by Tiber Film (Cardillo, 1987, p. 212), the film advocates a centralised cultural idealism and the ineluctability of Trieste's annexation to the Italian fatherland. The film focuses on the last months in the life of Guglielmo Oberdan, a member of the Italian irredentist movement who deserted the Austrian army and plotted to assassinate Emperor Franz Joseph in 1882.[13] Indicative of how in "choosing our past, we choose a present; and vice versa" (White, 2010, p. 135), in 1915 Oberdan is portrayed as an Italian hero who tries to kill a tyrant. Ghione infers Oberdan's Italianity and conforms the story to the bourgeois melodrama, despite the fact that Oberdan was baptised as Viljem Oberdank and his mother was a poor Slovenian maid (Pahor, 2010, p. 7). The life and beliefs of Oberdan stand in for the entire population of Trieste and act like a metonymic device through which Ghione reduces Trieste to a longing Italian mass.

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[12] 1915 saw the release of two additional films promoting the Italian aims on the city: *Trieste - I vendicatori di Oberdan* (Trieste or the avengers of Oberdan) (Enzo Longhi), and *A Trieste – Vincere o Morire* (To Trieste – to win or to die!) (Armando Brunero).

[13] The Emperor would visit in Trieste to unveil the statue commemorating the city's 500-anniversary of annexation to Austria. The monument was dismantled in 1919.

Oberdan follows the model of Italian late romanticism, expressed in cinema primarily as melodrama (Bayman, 2015, p. 79). It relies heavily on imagery of longing, suffering and despair, where the devoted mother (played by Ida Carloni Talli) is a protagonist as much as Alberto Collo's Oberdan. An overt expression of the Italian irredentist movement's ideas, the film contextualises the Italian national struggle and offers an example of a patriotic film that promotes the annexation of Trieste to Italy. With this film, Ghione mirrors the tone introduced by the historical novel *I Promessi Sposi* (The Betrothed) (Alessandro Manzoni, 1827), which aligned the Italian project of unification with the European struggle against the Imperialism of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire (Sorlin, 2001, pp. 44-48). [14] The film draws on the conversation of the Italian irredentist movement with an audience familiar with their propaganda: Art Nouveau postcards of Italian knights crowned as liberators – an example is captured in Figure 8, *Trento e Trieste incoronano l'esercito Italiano liberatore* (Trento and Trieste crown the Liberating Italian Army) (Giannino Castiglioni, 1915), where the Italian knight scares away the Austrian eagle, and the title states: "God give Italy to the Italians".

Figure 8: Trento e Trieste incoronano l'esercito Italiano liberatore, Giannino Castiglioni, 1915.

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[14] Set in northern Italy in 1628, when the region was under Spanish rule, the novel mirrors the Austrian domination of Venetian areas since 1797.

And also, *Trieste* (Tito Corbella, 1915), captured in Figure 9, which depicts Trieste in chains awaiting her liberation.

Figure 9: *Trieste,* Tito Corbella, 1915.

Oberdan's opening image of the dead hero, as captured in Figure 10, establishes its link to the Romantic portrait, as one can notice by comparing it with the portrait of Alexander von Humboldt by Julius Friedrich Antonio Schrader (1859), as captured in Figure 11. The film then transports the story back into the past. The hero escapes from an Austrian prison in Trieste and reaches his mother, who calls him to free the fatherland, as captured in Figures 12 and 13. In line with the tradition of Italian melodrama, the relationship between mother and son functions to compress the geographic distance and express emotional excess, notably during the intercutting between Oberdan in Rome, but also in Trieste where he is arrested. In Rome, the collective support to the national cause is presented both by a welcoming intellectual community and by a rally of peasants, who call for Trieste's annexation to Italy, as captured in Figure 14. Finally, as the Italian *brothers* in Rome follow Oberdan's trial, he assumes the stature of the national hero. The film concludes with a highly symbolic montage: to the image of the (Austrian) gallows on fire follows the image of the Italian flag flapping in the wind, as captured in Figures 15, 16, and 17.

Figure 10: Opening image of *Guglielmo Oberdan, il martire di Trieste* (William Oberdan, martyr from Trieste)*,* Emilio Ghione, 1915.
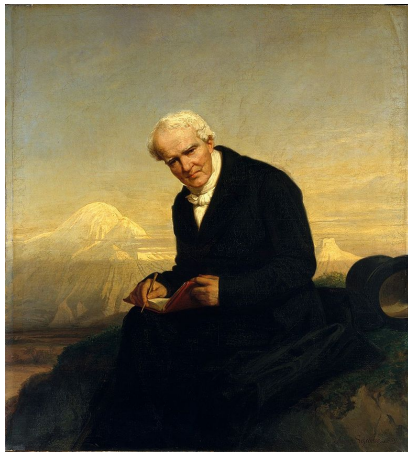
Figure 11: *Baron Alexander von Humboldt* by German Romantic painter Julius Friedrich Antonio Schrader (1859), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figs. 12, 13: Oberdan and his Mother. Stills from *Guglielmo Oberdan, il martire di Trieste*, Emilio Ghione, 1915.

Figs. 14, 15: Support to the hero in Rome. Stills from *Guglielmo Oberdan, il martire di Trieste*, Emilio Ghione, 1915.
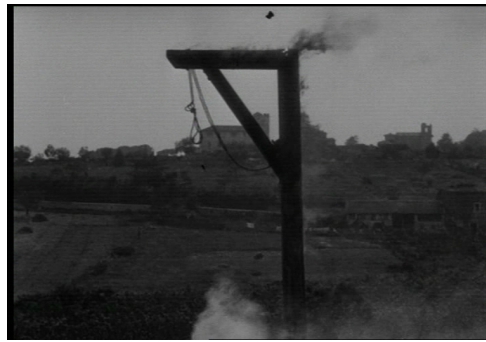
Figs. 16, 17: Oberdan becomes a martyr. Stills from *Guglielmo Oberdan, il martire di Trieste*, Emilio Ghione, 1915.

Three years later, the Italian navy filmed its arrival in Trieste (3 November 1918) in the newsreel *4 November 1918: La Vittoria* (4 November 1918: The Victory). The footage conveys a sense of anticipation created by the images of the navy at sea, as captured in Figures 18, 19, 20, and 21 (from the TV show *La Grande Guerra*, RAI 3, 5 November 2011). The attention is fixed on the seamen looking at the shore. On Trieste's marina, a group of Italians await them. The point being made is that *liberated Trieste* was finally Italian – as stated by the image of the Italian flag displayed at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of San Giusto (Saint Justus).

Figs. 18, 19, 20, 21: The arrival of the Italian navy in Trieste. Stills from *4 November 1918: La Vittoria,* La Grande storia, RAI 3, 5 November 2011.

To appreciate the importance of these films as early examples of how the moving image contributed to the determination of a sense of destiny and identity in the Italian elite of Trieste, we need to consider them as part of a wider political agenda. They mediate the nationalistic discourse that found its initial voice in the futurism of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944), which influenced the framing of Trieste's role within the fascist political framework. The reaction to a series of changes in technology and culture that from around 1880 to the outbreak of the First World War created a new way of experiencing time and space, the cultural movement of Futurism in Trieste found its expression in two different stages. Initially, the desire to see Trieste annexed to Italy determined the political orientation of the Italian Futurism (Goriely, 1967, p. 153). Refused as an artistic form of expression in 1908, when Marinetti presented his poems at the Theatre Filarmonica in Trieste, in 1909 the *Manifesto Futurista* appeared first in Trieste's newspaper, *Il Piccolo della Sera* (10 February 1909). [15] The manifesto drew consensus for its political drive not its artistic ideas (Marri, *Il Piccolo*, 16 December 2009, online). In 1910, at the Theatre Rossetti in Trieste, Armando Mazza, Aldo Palazzeschi and Marinetti gave a speech, *Discorso ai Triestini* (Speech to the Triestiners). In this speech, published as *Rapporto sulla vittoria del Futurismo a Trieste* (Report on the Victory of Futurism in Trieste) in the *Incendiario* (Arsonist) (Palazzeschi, 1910, p. 12), Marinetti defines Trieste as the "rossa polveriera d'Italia" (red powder keg of Italy) (ibid., p. 9) and continues:

> Finally, Trieste! A bursting of fiery screams, a bright surge of hurrah! All our friends came and waited for us. A hundred passionate hands reached out to us…a hundred intoxicated and intoxicating glances looked, feverish, among us for the unique, invisible God: the exultant Italian flag! (ibid., p. 10).[16]

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[15] Later, it will appear in the French *Le Figarò* (20 February 1909).

[16] Translated by the author from the Italian: "Finalmente, Trieste! Un crepitare di grida infiammate, un lampeggiante scoppiare di urrah! Tutti I nostril amici son

The one hundred friends were the Italian intellectuals, members of the Italian irredentist movement of Trieste, who followed the futurist movement from the pages of *Poesia*, the literary journal the futurists founded in 1905 (ibid., p. 28).[17] Through the years and until the outbreak of the First World War, the Italian cultural circles of Trieste continued to embrace the futurist idea of annexation of Trieste to Italy but refused the new aesthetics in favour of the Italian classic tradition (Tiddia, 2005). More than an aesthetic movement, however, the Futurists organised politically and translated in action what Marinetti declared as the driving force of the movement: "hate of the past" (Palazzeschi, 1910, p. 12). Benito Mussolini and Filippo Tommaso Marinetti held their first joint meeting in 1915 (Jensen, 1995, p. 37). Subsequently, the *Fasci politici futuristi* were absorbed into Mussolini's *Fasci Italiani di Combattimento* (1919), later Partito Nazionale Fascista (Fascist National Party) in 1921. After the conflict, what is left of Futurism in Trieste is absorbed in the fascist iconography of political power. However, the aesthetic experimentation it suggested can be found in different voices, and with different interpretation, in artists belonging to both the Italian and the Slav cultural circles. Many of these young indigenous Slav intellectuals by 1927 would have emigrated to Ljubljana and Belgrade to escape the Italian persecution.

The importance of the chronology that follows lies in its relation to the translation of the futurist idea into proto-Fascism in Trieste, where the rejection of any multi-ethnicity was justified by the Italian nationalist ideal, which informed the production of the Italian films portraying Trieste. The irredentist-nationalist ideological frame prepared and subsequently prompted the action of Mussolini's Camicie Nere (Black Shirts), whose punitive missions against the native 350,000 Slovenians and 200,000 Croatians (Kalc, 2005, p. 58) of the north-eastern part of

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venuti ad aspettarci. Cento mani appassionate si tendon verso di noi…cento sguardi ebbri e inebrianti cercano febbrilmente fra noi l'unico dio invisibile: l'esaltante vessillo italiano!" (Palazzeschi, 1910, p. 10)

[17] The irredentists in Trieste, and Italy (from irredento = not redeemed/freed) advocated the annexation of Trieste to Italy.

present day Italy became frequent after 1918, as did the exile of Slav intellectuals to penal houses. Internment was documented, as captured in Figure 22 and Figure 23: the two faces of a photo that testifies to the exile of Slovenians to Oristano, Sardinia (1919). The photo is available at the *Narodna in Študijska Knjižnica* (The Slovenian National and Study Library) in Trieste, Italy.

Figs. 22, 23: Slovenians from Trieste exiled to Oristano, Sardinia, 26 September 1919, *Narodna in Študijska Knjižnica*, Trieste.

Acts of public violence intensified in April 1920 (Hametz, 2005, pp. 20-22) when Slav shops, clubs, houses were attacked. They culminated with the *Narodni Dom* (National Hall) of the Slovenians being burnt down, and the attack of cultural clubs, shops, schools, private homes (13 July 1920), in an attempt to delete the symbols of the Slav political, cultural and economic raising power in Trieste. The periodical *Idea Nazionale* applauded the action and Mussolini validated the violence with his personal statement (20 September 1920) in a speech given in Pula, today in Croatia:

> When dealing with such a race as Slavic - inferior and barbarian - we must not pursue the carrot, but the stick policy. We should not be afraid of new victims. The Italian border should run across the Brenner Pass, Monte Nevoso and the Dinaric Alps. I would say we can easily sacrifice 500,000 barbaric Slavs for 50,000 Italians. (Sestani, 2012, pp. 12-13; Pirjevec, 2008, p. 27).

On the same day, in the Theatre Rossetti in Trieste, Mussolini would define the Slavs as "tribes more or less barking incomprehensible tongues" (Verginella, 2011, pp. 30-49). By the end of 1920, only Italian language telegrams could be sent from

Trieste. In 1921, there were 14,756 members of the fascist party in the city, representing more than 18% of the overall membership of the movement (Bosworth, 2006, pp. 153-159). In the Italian general election of the same year in Trieste, the Blocco Nazionale (National Bloc) formed by liberal nationalists and fascists defeated the Slav socialist forces that had joined the Italian communist party (Cattaruzza, 2003, p. 177). Consequently, when Mussolini gained political power in Italy in 1922 Fascism had already triumphed in Trieste (Vinci, 1998, p. 100; Forgacs, 1986). The fascist government subsequently enforced the italianisation of half million indigenous Slavs in its newly acquired territory (Smith, 1997, pp. 359-374). In Trieste, some 31 Slav newspapers, 400 sport and cultural clubs, 300 Slav cooperatives with 125,000 members, Slovenian schools, banks, shops, surgeries, were closed. This provoked an exodus of more than 100,000 Slavs (Purini, 2010, p. 10), as indicated by the *Sveza jugoslovanskih emigratov iz Julijske krajine* (Union of the Yugoslavian emigrated from the Julian March) at the *Manjšinski inštitut* (Institute for the Minorities), which opened in Ljubljana in 1925. From 1929, trials against Slav terrorists were held by the *Tribunale speciale per la sicurezza della Stato* (Special Tribunal for the Security of the State). Between 1927 and 1943 it held 131 trials against 544 Slavs (Verginella, 2011, pp. 19-33). The clash between classes and cultures the city witnessed are symbolised in two photographs from 1920 in public domain, where a barely hidden "W Lenin" (Viva Lenin/long live Lenin) in the Slovenian district of Saint James in Trieste contrasts with the fascist muskets (Ernè, 2012, pp. 117-118), as captured in Figure 24 and Figure 25.

Figure 24: Saint James in Trieste (1920). Image within the book by Claudio Ernè, *Francesco Penco Fotografo*, 2012, p. 117.

Figure 25: Fascist Group in Trieste. Image within the book by Claudio Ernè, *Francesco Penco Fotografo*, 2012, p. 118.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Italian feature films, documentaries and newsreels of the fascist period served to reinforce the image of Trieste as an ethnically and culturally homogenous city. The newsreels offered a unique sense of immediacy to the news, but they also disguised the cultural modelling the media practised, which was changing audiences' sense of realism (Hay, 1987, p. 206). As Lando Ferretti, Minister of press and propaganda, pointed out: "documentary film provided the ideal venue for writing a new national storia (story), or history" (Lasansky, 2004, p. 99), and like the newspapers, the moving image illustrated the fascist regime's daily labour, "creating and maintaining consensus around it" (Ottaviani, 2007, p. 14). The Ministero della Cultura Popolare (MCP) (Ministry of Popular Culture) served Fascism in exerting control over the media (Cannistraro, 1975) and in spreading its propaganda. Thus, it ensured that between the First World War and the Second World War every cinematic representation of Trieste would be essentially "fascist in the manner and to the extent that the state's intervention into cultural affairs regulated processes of reading" (Ricci, 2008, p. 7). Equally, LUCE, L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa (The Cinematographic Educative Union) formed in 1924, promoted the regime via the *Cinegiornale Luce*. These actualities and documentary images "constantly referred to a meta-community that could be authenticated only on film" (Hay, 1987, p. 207) because the medium validated the existence of a national spirit through the creation of popular myths. In this wide extension of state power over cultural production, LUCE would be the primary player in the creation of Trieste's *Italianissima*

(intrinsically Italian) cultural identity.

In the newly acquired territories, Fascism relied on the newsreels to project an image of progress, emphasising how the nation was being modernised by policies of *bonifica* (reclamation) of unhealthy territories (Bondanella, 2009, p. 24). From 1922, Trieste was subjected to a similar process, however, this was a bonifica *umana* (human reclamation). Already in 1919, the newspaper *La Nazione* reported that in Trieste the Slavic problem was *grave* (severe) (Hametz, 2005, p. 122). After 1920, when the socialists erected barricades in the Slovenian working-class neighbourhood of Saint James, the association between Slav ethnicity and Communism became an accepted trope (Verginella, 2011, pp. 19-33; Hametz, 2005, p. 123) and intensified the problem. As a reaction, Mussolini decided to redesign Trieste and its image, and emphasise the city *intrinsically* Italian identity. Italian social and natural scientists were mobilised to redesign the population (Israel and Nastasi, 1998; Maiocchi, 1999).

Between 1922 and 1945, Trieste appears in the Italian newsreels when government officials are celebrated and when the italianity of the city is promoted by linking it to the ancient Roman past. Examples of such films include the 1929 Giornale Luce newsreel *Turati visita la Milizia Triestina e rivista delle Organizzazioni Giovanili Marinare* (Turati reviews the Triestine Police and the Clubs of the Young Seamen) (Giornale Luce A0380 - 07/1929) and *Un grande teatro romano* (A big Roman Theatre) (Giornale Luce B1300, 1938). In the first example, the central sequence focuses on the troops' delight in listening to a fascist politician, Augusto Turati, as captured in Figure 26 and Figure 27. The sequence is nothing less than a validation of the work done by the local authorities in reclaiming the italianity of Trieste, where the narrative amplifies a sense of collective harmony that overshadows the state of terror the indigenous Slavs were experiencing (Hancic and Podbersic, 2008, pp. 39-60). In the second example, which celebrates the recent discovery in the city centre of a theatre from the era of Emperor Trajan (98-117 AD), the newsreel moves from scenes of collective labour, as a few men pull some cables to move a column, to images of carved seats and Roman statues. The commentary presents the finding as proof of the natural culture of the city and uses the camera to suggest plenitude when the theatre is

small and does not belong to any complex of Roman antiquities.

Other newsreels present the city as a meeting point for the Axis forces, typically being welcomed by an exultant crowd, as in *Campionati di Nuoto e di Pallanuoto nella piscine del Bagno Ausonia* (Swimming and Water Polo Championship at the Ausonia seaside resort) (Giornale Luce B1571 - 23/08/1939), which covered the festive atmosphere at the games between the fascist police and the German assault squads. Additionally, other newsreels display the investment of the fascist regime in the established tradition of shipbuilding of Trieste. For example, in 1930, Giornale Luce A0567 - 04/1930 portrays the launch of the battle cruiser *Fiume*, as captured in Figure 28 and Figure 29. Characteristically, the footage offers the image of a worker delivering the iconic fascist hail salute. As the ship slides in the water, the sequence infers a sense of technical achievement and social unity with intercuts between the jubilant crowd and officials.

Figs. 26, 27: Turati speaks to the troops. Stills from *Turati visita la Milizia Triestina e rivista delle organizzazioni giovanili marinare*, Giornale Luce A0380 - 07/1929, Luce Archive, Rome.

Figs. 28, 29: Fascist Hail salute and the launch of the ship Fiume. Stills from *A Trieste il varo dell'incrociatore Fiume*, Giornale Luce A0567 - 04/1930, Luce Archive, Rome.

Collectively these newsreels demonstrate how the image of Trieste was constructed in line with the promotion of Italian nationalism by the state and its institutions. However, the shift in the understanding of Trieste's historical past, from cultural diversity to homogeneity, wasn't simply the result of the fascist instrumentalist approach to the organisation of mass consent, as suggested by Cannistraro (1975) and Malatesta (1982). The anti-Slavism of the Italian elite influenced the urban policies in Trieste during the whole 19th century, in that until 1904 when the Narodni Dom was built, no Slovenian cultural institution could open in the centre of Trieste. A policy that kept the Slav indigenous population firmly settled on the outskirts of the city, and in its hinterland the Carso (the Karst area) (Kalc, 2005, p. 60). Consequently, in Trieste the nationalistic discourse had grown out of an already present philosophy, which repudiated the Slav presence. Its specificity gave voice to proto-fascist ideas, a phenomenon known as the *Fascism of the Border*, which supported and enhanced the scope of the fascist national campaign of cultural reclamation and gave voice to its xenophobic aspect. Simultaneously, one third of the entire Slovenian population was struggling in a newly imposed order, which deleted systematically the Slavic presence and culture from the annexed territories to Italy. In Trieste, the Slovenians lost their jobs, properties and an entire network of cultural activities centred on the use of their language. In 1927, when every Slav institution, club and cultural organization were finally prohibited, the Slovenians ceased to be visible. The poems of Srečno Kosovel (1904-1926) are illustrative of the period, in that they express the zeitgeist of an era of existential and physical torment, uncertainty and determination to survive. Kosovel's translation of the Slovenian trauma would give the courage to write to others, like Boris Pahor (1913) and Alojz Rebula (1924), who were compulsory educated in the Italian language and had to learn their mother tongue as adults.

Cinema played its part in the concealment of the consequences the Slav indigenous population suffered after the annexation in 1918. The qualities of the fascist system enabled the government to exercise vigilance, and to prevent any "intercourse between the intelligentsia and the people, keeping the people

uninformed" (Pavese, 1961, p. 320). The opponents of this arrangement were forced to choose between silence, imprisonment, exile or death, because of the continuous purging of the cultural field. As they vanished from public view, reality was filled with images of the new era, and the development of commercialised recreational habits allowed for the establishment of the regime's own version of popular culture (de Grazia, 1981). The convergence of these strategies facilitated the mediation in film of a set of national mythologies, where stories from the Italian struggle for unity, the Risorgimento, were employed to indicate the value of the fascist regime. One example is provided by *Un Balilla del'48* (Balilla of 1948) (Paradisi, 1927), where the story of the boy Balilla, who joins the Anti-Austrian riots of 1746 in Genova, resonated with the work of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (an Italian fascist youth organisation), which fostered the Italian irredentist ideals among new generations. Other films presented the Risorgimento as a political event that Fascism was completing. In *Grido dell'Aquila* (The scream of the Eagle) (Volpe, 1923), Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) becomes the alter ego of Mussolini; while in *Mille in 1860* (Thousand in 1860) (Blasetti, 1934) the Expedition of the Thousand led by Garibaldi becomes the historical precedent to the March to Rome, a Fascist coup d'état led by Mussolini.[18]

Very few feature film productions were made in Trieste during the 1920s and those that were - including *Il biricchino di Trieste* (The teaser from Trieste) (Traversa, 1920), *Deus Judicat* (Marsani, 1920), and *Die Dame und Ihr Chauffeur* (The lady and her chauffeur) (Noa, 1928) – are unfortunately lost. Productions resumed in the 1930s under the influence of *Verismo*, which constituted the springboard for an aesthetic shift from D'Annunzio's themes of "racism, nationalism, colonialism, anti-democracy, and imperialism" (Landy, 2000, p. 310; Becker, 1994, p. 211) to the celebration of fascist normality (Carsten, 1982, p. 62).[19]

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[18] The Expedition of the Thousand (1860) was the event of the Italian Risorgimento that permitted the unification of Italy in 1861. Benito Mussolini led the March to Rome (22-29 October 1922) and declared that his party was to rule Italy, when his blackshirts had already taken all strategic points of the country.

[19] The first Italian exponent of *Verismo* was Luigi Capuana. Giovanni Verga followed.

In *Camicia Nera* (Black Shirt) (Forzano, 1933), a hybrid between a melodrama and a documentary, the story illustrates the heroic fascist re-organisation of the Italian nation saved from socialist/communist strikes by the protection of authority, in the figures of the fascist priest and the fascist soldier (who wore the black shirt). The rhetoric of national heroism is expressed in the film by rapid montages of factual images and superimposed titles, where Trieste is a symbol of national pride. Several sequences propose images of the Italo-Austrian front between 1914 -1918 (Ibid., 20:36-21:00; 22:47-23:15; 24:52-25:05; 25:48-26:13; 29:20-31:00). Location after location, we approch Trieste, symbolised by the name *Carso* (Karst), and the names of Slovenian villages, e.g., Podgora, as captured in Figure 30 and Figure 31. Finally, the call: "Ragazzi, ci si rivede o a Trieste, o in Paradiso!" (Boys, we see each other either in Trieste or in Heaven!) (29:46-29:50) introduces the ingress of the Italian troops in Trieste (1918). Follow images of Trieste, and the Castle of Miramar, united to Italy by new roads, while a clear indicator of direction makes it easy to associate the pictures with the city, as captured in Figure 32 and Figure 33.

Figs. 30, 31: Locations near Trieste. Stills from the film *Camicia Nera*, Giovacchino Forzano, 1933.

Figs. 32, 33: The Castle of Miramar and the road to Trieste. Stills from the film *Camicia Nera*, Giovacchino Forzano, 1933.

Uomini sul Fondo/S.O.S. Submarine (De Robertis, 1941) and *Alfa Tau* (De Robertis, 1942), both filmed in Trieste and produced by Scalera, a company specialising in propaganda and war films, are precursors of the Italian Neorealism movement that emerged after the war (Ventura, 2008, p. 32). *Uomini sul Fondo* merges drama and documentary style in its exploration of the events following the collision of an Italian A-103 submarine with a surface vessel. The damaged submarine sinks to the bottom and one brave man loses his life to save his comrades. *Alfa-Tau,* on the other hand, attempts to deviate from the fascist discourse and announces its different orientation in the opening:

> In this story, all the elements correspond to a 'historical Verismo and of location'. The humble seaman who is the protagonist has really lived the episode that now he re-lives in the film. Equally, the roles these men have in the film are the one they really have in real life.

While the review *Film senza attori* (Film without actors) aligned the film with precedents like *Nanook of the North* (Flaherty, 1922), *Alfa Tau* retains the fascist rhetoric of proclaimed sacrifice for the fatherland, and identification with a racial specification (ibid). In *Uomini sul Fondo*, the problem of Trieste's identity is absent. Two decades of acculturation to the Italian culture and political repression had apparently succeeded in rendering Trieste and the annexed territories Italian. Simultaneously, in 1942 the Italian fascist government has Ljubljana uncircled by a barbed wire fence to prevent the communication of the inhabitans with the partisans of Tito.[20] The city witnessed the deportation of 7.5% of its population to the Italian concentration camps (Burgwyn, 2004).

The clash between acculturation and resistance would influence Trieste's projection and understanding of itself, as well as the kind of social, political and class conflicts the population would be ready to partake in during the decades ahead.

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[20] Partisan: a participant in a voluntary resistance movement against the Axis.

Cold War Narratives

The allied victory in 1945 that brought the Second World War to an end, and the subsequent onset of the Cold War, was marked in Trieste by a new phase of turbulence and contestation that also featured prominently in film. The city found itself re-located on the Iron Curtain and administrated by an Anglo-American government. Within this new geopolitical alignment, and as the urgency of an anti-communist alliances arose, Italian anti-Slavism and criminal fascist policies were soon forgotten. This new state of affairs, however, was the result of a previous process of confrontation between allies fuelled by opposing ideological grounds.

In 1941, Britain looked to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as an ally. When Italy and Germany invaded it, British newspapers reported the Slovenian resistance against the Axis (*Manchester Guardian,* 31 March 1941, p. 5) and the Italian policy of deporting Ljubljana's male population (*Manchester Guardian,* 25 August 1942, p. 2). They also demonstrated knowledge of the persecution the Slovenians had suffered at the hand of the Italians since 1918, and documented the partition of Slovenia between Italy, Germany and Hungary (*Manchester Guardian,* 22 August 1942, p. 6), as captured in Figure 34 (Jozo Tomasevich, 1975, p.90).

The attitude changed markedly following the Armistice of Cassabile (3 September 1943), agreed between the Kingdom of Italy and the Anglo-Americans for the Allies (McGaw-Smyth, 1948, pp. 12-35). In the early hours of the Armistice, the *Narodnooslobodilačka vojska (NOV)* (People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia) commanded by Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980) attacked Italian and German garrisons in Trieste, after they had already liberated large areas of Yugoslavia (von Weichs zu Glon, 1943). Britain subsequently became wary of the strong Slav-communist presence in the heart of Europe and any forms of help from the British for the Yugoslav partisans only began to arrive in 1944 (Davidson, 1946, pp. 10-21). The tragic complexity of the situation in the territory can be better understood if we consider that in Slovenia a large percentage of the population was convinced of Britain intention to liberate Trieste and Slovenia in 1944, after Tito met Churchill in Naples (Corsellis & Ferrar, 2006). Meanwhile, the Axis continued the anti-fascist

repression, and perfected the Italian plan to clean the area from the Slavs and to populate it with Arian families, Italians and Germans (Ferenc, 1997; Repe, 1994).
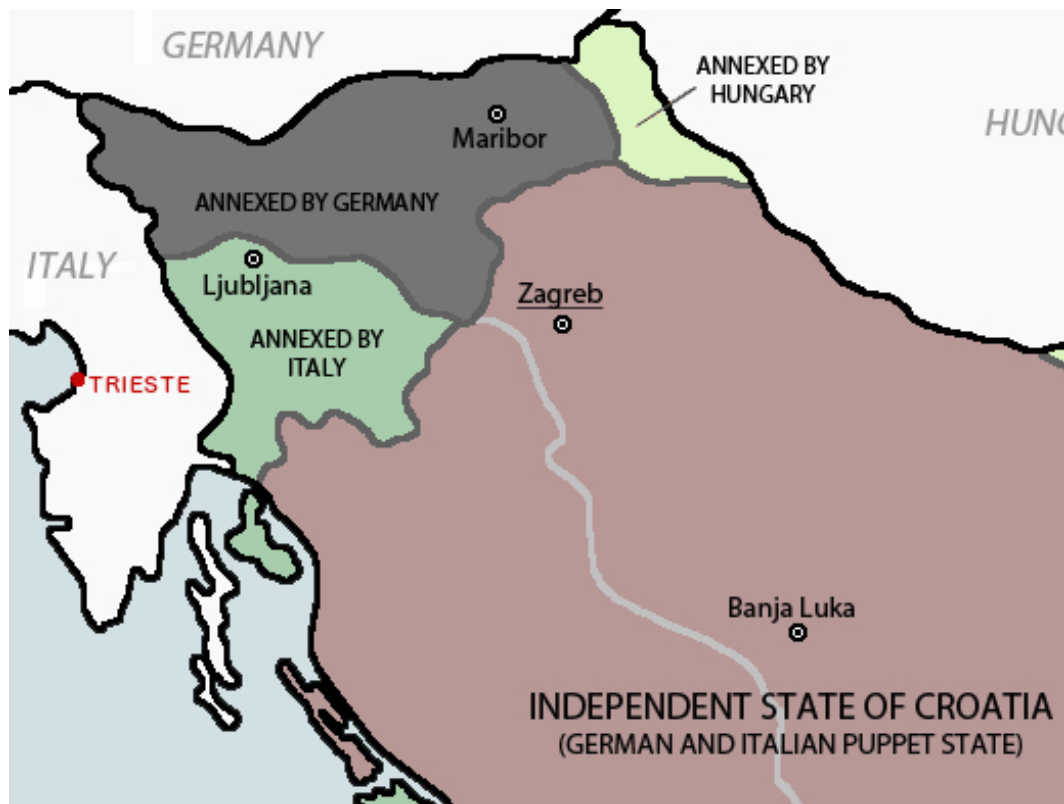
Figure 34: Axis occupation of Yugoslavia 1941-43: Partition of 1941.
Image within the book by Jozo Tomasevich, 1975.

The Road to Trieste (Cox, 1947) is one among many books that have been written about the Anglo-American race to reach Trieste before the communists of Tito, who at that point were still allies. It describes clearly the sense of urgency and the horror at the idea of a communist victory. The Yugoslav 4th Army and the Slovenian 9th Corps, however, liberated Trieste from the Axis forces (1 May 1945) and forestalled the arrival of the Anglo-Americans by one day. The Yugoslavs invited the Anglo-Americans to enter the city as allies (Sluga, 2001, pp. 83-85; Maserati, 1966, pp. 44-47). According to historian Ennio Maserati, however, the Yugoslav presence in Trieste saw an immediate attempt to disqualify its administration (1966, p. 119). This is evident in the papers of Sylvia Sprigge, a journalist who followed the British advance. In Trieste Diary, she compares the Yugoslav presence to a plot "in the mould of October 1917, inspired by similar

Bolshevik, Slav tendencies" (Sprigge, 1945, pp. 160-161). When Trieste passed to Anglo-American administration (12 June 1945), the Italian historians started to remember the period (1 May 1945 – 12 June 1945) as the '40 Days'. A time characterised by partisan violence, arrests and execution of fascists and collaborationists (Stranj, 1992; Maserati, 1966, p. 78; Harris, 1957, p. 344; Cermelj, 1945). What is little known, however, is that simultaneously the Anglo-Americans ran missions to hide criminals of war and collaborationists, some of whom were subsequently hired in anti-communist espionage as disclosed in the Consolidated Intelligence Report - Public Record Office, FO371/46651 C7747, 24.10.45; 371/55114 C4187, 11.04.46 (Dorril, 2002, pp. 329-354).

The consolidation of such Cold War narratives came to dominate the mediation of Trieste's history in Italian cinema and television shows for the decades to come. In the process, the moving image added to the creation of a set of manifest assumptions on the reality of warfare in the region through the assembling of images which drew a direct link between Trieste's irredentist past and its renewed status as a city under siege. From 1945 to 1954, when Trieste was reunited with Italy, the Anglophone newsreels came to play a major role in shaping the narrative discourse of Trieste's history. Managed by the Allied Military Government (AMGOT and later AGM), the city witnessed different phases of political and cultural intervention, which were presented in films and pamphlets.

However, earlier on we find images that tell another story. The British newsreel presenting the arrival of the Allied British troops in Trieste (2 May 1945), *Taking of Trieste* (British Pathé), is unique. It captures their welcome in Tržič/Falkenberg/Monfalcone, 32 Km from Trieste, where people displayed not only a variety of Allied flags but also, significantly, Tito's image. The film also shows the Yugoslav and New Zealand units fraternising in front of the tribunal in Trieste, where they united to apprehend the German SS barricaded in the building. The portrait of Tito is recognisable in the crowd, as captured in Figure 35. In Figure 36, a New Zealander holds the Yugoslav flag with a Yugoslav soldier.

Figs. 35, 36: The portrait of Tito and the Yugoslav flag. Allies fraternising in Trieste. Stills from *Taking of Trieste*, British Pathé, 1945.

The Weekly Review No. 206 (1945), The *Division in Italy – Danger in Trieste* filmed by The New Zealand National Film Unit, follows the lead of the previous newsreel but injects a sense of anxiety in the title. It offers a candid report on local people calling for the annexation of the area to Yugoslavia but maintains a positive tone and gives importance to the meeting between Major General Petar Drapsin, commander of the Yugoslav Army, and General Bernard Freyberg, commander of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, as captured in Figure 37 and Figure 38.

Figure 37: The meeting of the Allies: Yugoslav troops salute General Bernard Freyberg. Still from *The Division in Italy - Danger in Trieste*, Weekly Review 206, 1945.

Figure 38: General Bernard Freyberg and Major General Petar Drapšin in Monfalcone, near Trieste, 4 May 1945.

The message here is still one of unity in the face of the defeated enemy, the Axis, rather than of ideological division. The subsequent representations of Trieste's history would serve to negate the evidence these newsreels offer.

But by 1946 the official narrative had changed, with British and American newsreels reinforcing the idea of a delayed liberation completed with the taking over of the city by the Anglo-Americans (12 June 1945). In *April in Three Cities* (British Pathé, 1946), images of Italian and Yugoslav factions clashing in Trieste are juxtaposed with exterior shots of the League of Nations in Geneva, where the future of Trieste would be discussed in the months to come. In this newsreel, the British forces are identified as peacekeepers in a city where "peace seems far away" (00:36). The narrator continues: "Italian demonstrators demand that the town should not make part of Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia" (00:44), and "Rioting Italians plus anti-British propaganda blast from Tito make Trieste a powder keg" (00:46). In contemporaneous American newsreels, the political situation in Trieste is exploited to illustrate the confrontation between the opposed political blocs, East and West. In *Italians, Yugoslavs in conflict over treaty for Italy* (*Movietone News*, 09/19/1946) for example, the two nations are positioned in relationship to the post-war rising tension between the Soviet Union and America (01:29). The narrative depicts the presence of Italy at the peace conference in Paris, where it "pleads against the claims of Yugoslavia" (01:40). Meanwhile, Marshall Tito is in Moscow (01:58), where Vyacheslav M. Molotov, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, supports his claims over Trieste.

In 1947, an attempt to solve the problem of Trieste resulted in the United Nations creating the Territorio Libero di Trieste (TLT)/Free Territory of Trieste (FTT), which divided the region into two zones: Zone A settled under the administration of the United Kingdom and the United States, and Zone B, under Yugoslavia, as captured in Figure 39.

Figure 39: Map of Free Territory of Trieste 1947-1954, Arlon Stok, 2013.

British Pathé documented the process of creation of the FTT/TLT in *Demarcation Line with Yugoslavia* (1946), and *New Italian-Yugoslav Border* (1947). These newsreels mark the moment when the Allied government intensified its activities to construct the idea of a peaceful and flourishing post-war period (Sluga, 2001, p. 142). As an immediate benefit, the occupied zone of Trieste became one of the most important ports of transit for the Marshall Plan aid to post-war Europe. Tensions, however, did not subside, and grievances for the outcome of the war continued to be visible, even if not represented in film. Photographer David Seymour documented the actual division that existed in the territory; his images present walls displaying the slogans: "We want freedom, help us join Yugoslavia", and "We want freedom – We want Yugoslavia", typically in areas inhabited by the small middle class or the working class, as captured in Figure 40 and Figure 41. Other photos show Trieste's port and the US aid en route to Austria, or the checking points on the Iron Curtain, as captured in Figure 42 and

Figure 43. Within this political geography, the British newsreel *Aspects & Boundaries of Trieste* (British Pathé, 12/04/1948) pictures life in the FTT/TLT with refreshing unadorned realism. The relevance is given to the physical division imposed by the Iron Curtain and its effects on the inhabitants, who are shown trying to resume their routines while watched by vigilant border officers.

Figs. 40, 41: We want freedom we want Yugolavia, the Ben Shneiderman Collection, D. Seymour. ITALY. Trieste 1947. Photo 40, Ref.: No. 2011.76.42. Photo 41, Ref. SED1947006W214 (NYC131484), Magnum.

Figs. 42, 43: A check point and guard on the Iron Curtain, *Aspects & Bounderies of Trieste*, British Pathé, 1948.

Confirming the overriding influence of geopolitics, the tone in western newsreels began to mellow after the Tito-Stalin split of 1948, when Tito claimed his right to follow an independent and nationalist road to socialism. In *1st Pictures of Tito's Yugoslavia* (Warner Pathé News, 1949), the Yugoslav leader is pictured as a new ally, one whose army has been transformed from a guerilla formation that fought against the Axis to a modern force able to face the Soviet Union. To complete the inferred reference to the new political alignment, Tito's army parades in front of allied flags, and the commentator proclaims that in Belgrade

the portraits of Stalin are no longer visible. One year later, in the newsreel *Post-WWII – 1950, Yugoslavia: US Foreign Aid* (R2/2 250081-17), Yugoslavia is described as a strong country standing "between Eastern totalitarianism and Western Democracy" (05:32). Communication with the West is resumed, most symbolically by the Orient Express train that links Paris to Athens, via Trieste and Belgrade "joining the free countries of the Eastern Mediterranean to those of the West; an unbroken line of independent States" (00:52).

The Soviet-Yugoslav dispute had a profound psychological impact in Trieste. Until 1948 there had been a clear division between the *free countries* in the West and the Russia's *satellites* in the East. The city had found itself in a strategic position, a neutral zone at the gate to the communist east, where the Allied aid had given rise to an economic boom that Italy would experience only later in the 1950s and the 1960s. Consequently, when Yugoslavia accepted Allied aid and formed an independent socialist country, Trieste suddenly sat on a less strategic border. Representative of this change is the American newsreel *Three Cities* (MSA film sections, Paris, for Washington, 1952), where Trieste is reduced to yet another city on the Iron Curtain, similar to Naousa (Greece) and Berlin (Germany). The film adopts a simplified Cold War narrative, and Trieste's social reality is displayed as an example of successful American economic intervention. The images show Yugoslavs routinely crossing the border to sell their crops in town, where they share in the advantages of the free market, while the repaired railway reconnects Trieste to the rest of Europe.

The Italian reaction to this political détente was strong. It included riots against the Anglo-American administration, which were organised in Italy and executed in Trieste, and gradually became more and more violent. In October 1953, when the Allies expressed the wish to pass the administration of Zone A of FTT/TLT to Italy and Tito objected, the situation escalated. Both countries sent fresh troops to the border, and the media made the most of the protest in Belgrade. The foreign journalists reporting from Belgrade, however, failed to recognise the link of this manifestation of public grievance to the recent Italian history. *Yugoslavs in fierce protest over Trieste* (Warner Pathé, 16/10/1953) implicitly supports the Italian cause and is openly critical of the Yugoslav reaction.

The images show people displaying placards stating "Trst ne damo, Trst je naš!" (We do not give Triest, Triest is ours!), as captured in Figure 44 and Figure 45. A cry of rage against the downplayed importance of the Yugoslav liberation of Trieste, and Slavic struggle.

Figs. 44, 45: We do not give Triest, Triest is ours! Stills from *Yugoslavs in fierce protest*, Warner Pathé, 1948.

Between Italy and Yugoslavia there was no dialogue on these points, neither was it fostered by the Anglo-American government holding the city. Hence, the Italian newsreels can be better understood if we read them as the expression of a discourse that pictures Trieste as once again divided from the fatherland, and drew on the traditional Italian irredentist values, which during the fascist era had transformed the annexation of Trieste into a founding myth of the regime. For example, the newsreel of *La Settimana Incom/Weekly Incom, A Trieste* (Luce archive: Incom 00007 - 01/04/1946) opens with "Trieste is our" (00:06), reminiscent of the Italian songs sang during World War I. It links the images of Italian flags with the memory of the arrival of the Italian navy in 1918 and reads the response of the people as proof of the intrinsic Italianity of the city. The message contrasted the city's newly acquired position as the capital of an independent, multiethnic territory (TLT/FTT), and promoted hyper-nationalism. Accordingly, and in direct contrast to the British Pathé newsreel on the creation of the FTT/TLT, *Demarcation Line with Yugoslavia* (1946), the Italian *Si tracciano i confini di Trieste* (The tracing of the border in Trieste) (Luce – Incom 01160 - 21/10/1954), proposes a climate of fear, where the commonly called *white line*

between Zone A, annexed to Italy, and Zone B of the FTT/TLT administered by Yugoslavia, threatens the future of the population. Adding to the discourse is *Martiri Italiani: Le Foibe del Carso* (Italian Martyrs: The Pits in the Karst) (Luce archive: Incom 00013 – 24/05/1946), where images of the police clearing corpses from a pit in the Carso (Karst) near Trieste is linked to the alleged mass killing of Italians perpetrated by the Slavs. The newsreel portrays the Italians as peaceful and proposes the myth of the *good Italian*: "Italy knows not to have deserved these additional killing, which goes to add to a war the country did not want" (00:20).

The underlying tone is iterated in newsreels reporting on the events that took place in November 1953. A summary of the incidents will permit a better understanding of the newsreels. In the occasion of the anniversary of the annexation of Trieste to Italy in 1918 (3 November 1953), Mayor Gianni Bartoli raised the Italian flag on Trieste's city hall, against the rules of the TLT/FTT, which had its own flag. The Anglo-American administration intervened and took the flag down. On the following day, the crowd coming back from the First World War memorial in Redipuglia waved several Italian flags. The Triestine Civil Police intervened, and violent clashes followed. The students proclaimed a general strike (5 November 1953), and when a British officer was assailed, the Police chased the students into the church of San Antonio (Saint Anthony). After the incidents, the church required a re-consecration. The event was attended by hundreds of citizens and elicited a new outbreak of violence when the police opened fire on the crowd. The day after, Italian people attacked several Anglo-American services and set on fire the office of the *Independent Party of the Free Julian State*, which displayed the TLT/FTT flag. Images documenting the attack, recorded by the American intelligence office in Trieste, are captured in Figure 46.

Figure 46: FTT, Independent Party of the Free Julian State attacked by Italian rioters. Photos filled under *Rioters at Work*, ROM 1011665. CIA, New York Bureau, 1953.

The Italian newsreel version of the events, *Lutto italiano per Trieste* (Italian mourning for Trieste) (13/11/1953 – M118), opens with the mayor of Trieste, Gianni Bartoli, embracing the Italian Minister Giuseppe Pella at the First World War Sacrario Militare di Redipuglia (Redipuglia Memorial), built in 1938 during the fascist epoch. The reporter addresses the British responsibility for the violence that would follow. Images of the wounded in hospital are intercut with those of the flowers left in the central square, where the troops' orders are recalled: "Venne dato l'ordine di sparare in aria una valsa d'avvertimento" (the order was given to shoot a warning shot) (00:20:02). Finally, we follow the funerals of the six victims, and conclude with a request of investigation of the events.

The Italian discourse becomes revelatory if juxtaposed to a German newsreel, which presents the same news. In *Ruhelose Welt* (Restless World) (Welt im Bild – Die Allianz Wochenshau 72/1953 - 11.11.1953) the title of the newsreel is superimposed on footage that retains a comic side and was censored from the Italian version. One scene shows a cameraman laughing at the reaction of the police; another depicts an Italian waving his hand in front of his forehead, a local mannerism to tell somebody he is crazy. The officer understands and appears clearly shocked at the lack of respect, as captured in Figure 47 and Figure 48.

Figs. 47, 48: The comedic aspect of riots. Stills from *Ruhelose Welt*, Welt im Bild – Die Alleanz Wochenshou 72/1953, Trieste 11 November 1953.

In contrast to the overt display of national contempt towards the foreign occupation of Trieste in the Italian newsreel, the Anglo-American newsreels focused on the Italian extremists from outside Trieste who incited the violence - as in the film *Trieste Riots* (British Pathé, 12/11/1953) - and neglected to explain how the riots were sparked by the Italian-Triestine intention to display the Italian flag. The collection of footage indicates the progressive focus of the Western Allies on two intertwining discourses that create a complex but compact cognitive environment of manifest assumptions, which support the Italian claims over Trieste. On the one side, the management of the territory by the British does not appear very different than any other colonised area, where the authorities express simultaneously contempt and surprise at the events they witness. The American position adds an ideological simplification that works as a deterrent to any alternative narrative. On the other side, the Italian position, which identified Trieste as the Italian city under foreign occupation, links the present to the past,

and to the identity the Italian irredentists inscribed to the city first, and the fascist era corroborated. Both narratives, despite their differences, supported Italy in securing the recovery of the city and the dispelling of any internationalism – as promoted by the *Independent Party of the Free Julian State* set on fire during the riots (October 1953). Perceived as a correct end to an unbearable injustice, the official return of Trieste to Italy (26 October 1954) offered the occasion for cinematic portraits of a jubilant city, which remembers its place in the Italian Risorgimento. In the newsreel *Trieste vestita di tricolori saluta il ritorno dei nostri soldati* (Trieste dressed in the Italian flags salutes the return of our soldiers) (Luce – Incom 01165 del 03/11/1954) the emphasis is on the Italian troops, who enter the city and pay homage to the statue commemorating the First World War heroes, a gesture that linked the irredentist past with the present and projected it as part of the Italian historical geography into the future.

Cinema added to the construction of the Cold War narrative. The relocation of Trieste on the Iron Curtain stimulated the production of several feature films, which are here introduced following a categorisation that covers the period between 1945 and 1975, in its most relevant moments, and introduces the analysis of the neorealist film *Cuori senza Frontiere/The White Line* (Luigi Zampa, 1950) and the recent production of Il *Cuore nel Pozzo/The Heart in the Well* (Alberto Negrin, 2005) covered in chapter three.

Some of the most famous features set in Trieste were inspired by the politics and intrigues of the Cold War. They depicted the world of international spies and employed melodramatic elements. These include *La Ragazza di Trieste/The Girl from Trieste* (Bernard Borderie, 1951), the American film *Corriere Diplomatico/Diplomatic Courier* (Henry Hathway, 1952) and the television production *Il Mondo Trema/Black Box Affair* (Marcello Giorciolini, 1966). Among the British productions, *Tickets to Trieste* (James Mac Taggart, 1961), a BBC TV series written by Troy Kennedy Martin, testifies to the international interest in the city. While *La Mano dello Straniero/The Stranger's Hand* (Mario Soldati, 1954), offers one of the most convincing pieces of anti-communist propaganda. Written in the form of novella first and then co-produced by Graham Greene, the film alludes to Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia, Trieste, and the barbarism of the communist

methods. It also comments on the territory passing from Habsburg to Italian rule in 1918, the italianisation of the Slavic inhabitants, and the Nazi occupation, but only to uphold the idea of a Yugoslav program of ethnic cleansing of the Italians living in the former Italian territories.

Of the patriotic productions that tackle themes related to the Italian Irredentism, examples include *Trieste mia!* (My Trieste!) (Mario Costa, 1951), *La Campana di San Giusto* (The Bell of Saint Just) (Mario Amendola and Ruggero Macchi, 1954), *Guai ai Vinti* (Troubles to the Defeated) (Raffaello Matarazzo, 1954); while there are also a series of films based on the lives of Italian writers from Trieste or their literary works, shory documentaries about the Italian writers Italo Svevo (1861-1928) and Umberto Saba (1883-1957), and fictions like *Senilitá* (Senility) (Mauro Bolognini, 1962). Moreover, there are a few productions that relate to the experiences of the city under Fascism or the Anglo-American administration (1947-1954) and the Free Territory of Trieste (1947-1977). These films inhabit in a variety of ways the narrative of the invaded city and introduce the climate of imminent danger later associated with the Iron Curtain. Examples include *Clandestino a Trieste/Fugitive in Trieste* (Guido Salvini, 1951), *Trieste cantico d'amore/Trieste love song* (Max Calindri, 1954), *Ombre su Trieste/Shadows on Trieste* (Nerino Florio Bianchi, 1954), and *Una Rolls Royce Gialla* (The Yellow Rolls Royce) (Anthony Asquith, 1964).

Particularly interesting in this context is the film *Trieste mia!* (Costa, 1951). Set during the transition between the German and Yugoslav administrations (September 1943 - May 1945), in this film the author embraces the tradition of the romantic Italian irredentist film, re-inventing it by employing singing as an intrinsically Italian characteristic. The protagonists are two Italian soldiers, Luciano and Alberto, who are sent to serve in Trieste in 1943. Alberto, played by Ermanno Randi, is transformed by the experience into a patriot, supported by the Triestiner Luciano, played by the Italian singer of the period Luciano Tajoli, who functions as the chorus in classic theatre. Tajoli performs several patriotic songs, which guide the audience in reading the narrative. The opening song, *Fantasia Triestina* (Triestine Fantasy), sets the tone of the film by referring to the Italian arrival in 1918, and by deliberately invoking a second liberation: "The bells of Trieste, the

bells of Trieste sing all with passion, Oh Trieste of my heart. They will come to free you!" Aligned with the historical discourse of *Guglielmo Oberdan* (Ghione, 1915) and proficient in the language of melodrama, in this film Costa elicited affect by an excess of meaning, the "veneration of past heroic figures and overvaluation of past events" (Landy, 1996, p. 111). Thus, when the two men pass by the First World War *Sacrario Militare di Redipuglia (Redipuglia Memorial)*, they are left speechless, as captured in Figure 49 – the site is recognisable in the contemporary picture of the location in Figure 50. The cemetery's relationship to the present is inferred, as Trieste is under foreign rule. The protagonist, alongside the audience, is therefore reminising the national significance inscribed to the Italian irredentist struggle during the fascist era and now projecting into the future.

Figure 49: Sacrario Militare di Redipuglia.
Still from *Trieste Mia!* Mario Costa, 1951.

Figure 50: Sacrario Militare di Redipuglia, 2014.

The film returns to this location in the finale, where Alberto dies after he has freed Anna from the Slav-communist clutch. The symbolic meaning of the location is capitalized on in one of the several film's posters, of clear nationalistic tone, as captured in Figure 51.

Figure 51: Poster 144370, *Trieste Mia*, Granata-Vigo, 1951.

Similarly, the use of a Slav-communist as the villain, the Slovenian Karl, played by Mirko Ellis, works as a metonymic device through which the danger of Trieste being annexed by Yugoslavia is given a specific connotation. In the film, Karl commits treachery, obsessed over Anna. The moral positioning of the characters is clear and when the city is liberated by the Yugoslavs, Alberto gives voice to the Italian feelings by referring to them as *sciavi*, the derogatory Triestine term for Slovenians. Symbolically collocated in place of Trieste, Alberto and Karl's love interest, Anna (played by Milly Vitale) elicits irredentist feelings. The Slav-communist threat is capitalized upon in a poster, as captured in Figure 52, which presents a frightened Anna, who holds onto the Italian flag wrapped around Trieste's medieval weapon, a spearhead attached to a long pole, while in the hands a soldier of the Yugoslav army, Karl. The film ends with Luciano singing and repeating the words "they will come to free you, my Trieste". The collegial cry expressed in music works as a space of signification outside language where affect and meaning merge: Trieste shall be united to Italy, as it was in 1918.

Figure 52: Poster 31303, *Trieste Mia*, Granata-Vigo, 1951.

Inserted in the Italian collective imaginary as the vindicated city, Trieste continued to be promoted in the media as an inherently Italian city that was liberated in 1918 and reunited with Italy in 1954. Its strategic position on the Iron Curtain offered dramatic urgency to the narrative of the liberation, which was reduced to a race for Trieste where the Americans saved the city from the communists. The trope of the city-gate to the Slav world supported this scenario as a familiar narrative archetype to inhabit with new meanings in cinema and television. The poignancy of this narrative and the level of collusion between politics, cinema and television it implied, can be appreciated if we consider that between 1945 and 1948 film censorship was loosened in Italy. This created a brief period of freedom which could have made public some of the irrefutable evidences of fascist anti-Slavism and requested a public debate on the discriminatory policies of the fascist era, including acknowledgement of the forced italianisation of half a million people and the existence of the Italian concentration camps for Slavs. Instead, the orthodoxy of one version of history was channelled into specific narratives able to fit into the evolving Italian socio-political environment and to gain value as a cultural currency.

The Italian Collective Memory since 1975

Italian cinema since 1975 has promoted the organisation of public memory through the repetition of established readings of the national character and history. The films avoid any references to pre-war fascist society and suggest that the Italians had been the victims both of their own government and the Germans. A brief review of these productions will explore the cultural powers at play in silencing the history of the indigenous Slavs in Trieste.

In 1960, after *The Diary of Anne Frank* (Stevens, 1959) won three Academy Awards, Italian filmmakers noticed the rise in popularity of the Holocaust film. An isolated case, *Kapò* (Pontecorvo, 1960) follows the story of a Jewish girl who changes identity to survive in a concentration camp but dies after she helps some inmates to escape. The film was nominated for the Academy Award as Best Foreign Language Film and is a classic of the early Holocaust film tradition. Other productions in the 1960s, however, continued to advocate the idea that the Italians had been both casual fascists and anti-fascists, as in *La Marcia su Roma* (March on Rome) (Risi, 1962), where the men become first black shirts and then proto-partisans. A position developed from the ideology of the 1950s, when Luigi Zampa's films argued that the Italians during the war had been simply selfish, cowardly and opportunistic. In the 1970s, however, Italian cinema approached different views of the Second World War. A fundamental step towards a possible new narrative archetype was made when the audience was confronted with images of Italian police arresting Jews in *Il Giardino dei Finzi-Contini/The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* (De Sica, 1970), the murder of anti-fascists in *The Conformist* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1970), and the massacres of helpless peasants in *Novecento/1900* (Bertolucci, 1976). Of great significance is *Cristo si e' fermato a Eboli/Christ stopped at Eboli* (Carlo Levi, 1945), adapted by Francesco Rosi in 1979. The film narrates the experience of exile of Carlo Levi in southern Italy (1935-6) but avoids any reference to the penal houses located in the south and the thousands of exiled Slavs, anti-fascists, interned in them.

During the 1970s, Italian filmmakers also looked inwards, exploring personal memory and trauma, as in *Il Portiere di Notte/The Night Porter* (Cavani, 1974). In these films, however, Fascism is depicted as petty, fundamentally corrupted and proud of an empty rhetoric that hid poverty, deprivation and violence. In *La Villeggiatura/Black Holiday* (Leto, 1973) the fascist protagonist becomes a liberal bureaucrat, and in *Salo' o le 120 Giornate di Sodoma/ Salo' or the 120 Days of Sodom* (Pasolini, 1975) a torturer. Influenced by the established popularity of the Holocaust film, Italian productions translated themes related to Italian anti-semitism but did not address any topics related to Italian anti-Slavism.

Relevant to Trieste's history and identity because of its intertextuality, *Una Giornata Particolare/A Special Day* (Ettore Scola, 1977) can be considered as the last film to seriously explore the popular support of Fascism in Italy. Set in Rome, the film presents archival footage of Hitler's visit to Rome in 1938, where he is welcomed by the cheering people, and sanctions the union between "due razze create per intendersi/two races made to understand each other" (06:28). The sound of the radio broadcast reporting on the political events pervades the private story we witness and reminds to the audience of the links between the military parade and the values of the Italian Irredentism. The film dramatizes the level of infiltration of the domestic space fascist politics achieved (in the character of Signora Cecilia played by Sophia Loren), and indicates the presence of a certain consciousness rising on a private level (in the character of homosexual Gabriele, played by Marcello Mastroianni), who by the end of the film is exiled (Marcus, 2002, pp. 94-111).

For Trieste's Slav indigenous population, the Italian cinema of the 1970s constitutes another example of lost chances to address the ghosts of the past. Preoccupied with the post-1968 rising political consciousness of millions of industrial workers supporting the Italian economic miracle, the social unrest, and the dawn of the *Strategy of Tension,* Italian cinema addressed present problems

by looking to the past. [21] But in so doing, it explored issues related to trauma and violence between classes in a strictly Italian society, where other ethnicities are invisible. Locally, in the areas of Trieste inhabited by the indigenous Slavs, people returned to speaking Slovenian and were considered appendices of the communist world. Seeking the demise of their political and cultural identity, the State established settlements accommodating Italian refugees in the Slovenian villages. This policy, felt as an unjustified expropriation of territory by the Slovenian community of Trieste, created grievances and numerous moments of political tension between the two ethnicities (Jogan, 1991, pp. 14-15).

By 1983, Italian society began to experience the neoliberal shift, which promoted a new translation of the Italian "civic religion of the Resistance" (Lichtner, 2013, p. 171) and the first deliberate attempts to rehabilitate Fascism. While previously the memory of the Resistance was mediated through ideas of community and commitment, in both communist and catholic narratives, the postmodern reading reduced history to the actions of the individual, which included a sense of melodramatic predestination. This is apparent in films like *Claretta* (Squitieri, 1984) and *Vincere/To Win* (Bellocchio, 2009), focused on the lives of Mussolini's mistress and wife. The early 1990s would accommodate the historical revisionism apt to negate the existence of any Italian war crimes, known as negationism (Meusburger, Hefferman, and Wunder, 2011, p. 125; Kersevan, 2008). It was promoted by Silvio Berlusconi's party, Forza Italia, and his allies, Lega Nord (Northern League) and Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance). Berlusconi's political victory in 1994 signed the appointment of neo-fascist elements in key executive and administrative positions. The new political atmosphere advocated an equation between the fascist and communist crimes and continued to promote a historical narrative that precluded any discourse on the Italian policies against the Slavs. In cinema, the self-consolatory myth of the *good Italian* continued to be propagated and it is difficult to deny its longevity, which has influenced also

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[21] Strategy of Tension (1969-1974): A political strategy involving the use of right-wing extremists, aiming at provoking an authoritarian shift by inducing the population to believe that terroristic attacks were part of a communist insurgency.

foreign productions, as is the case of John Madden's *Captain Corelli's Mandolin* (2001).

Italian productions set in Trieste between 1975 and 2010 are scarce. Of note are, *Va dove ti porta il cuore/Follow your Heart* (Comencini, 1996) that tells the story of an Italian grandmother and offers a reflection on the social conflicts of the 20th century, and Il *Cuore nel Pozzo/The Heart in the Well* (Negrin, 2005), narrating the killing of Italians by the Yugoslavs at the end of the Second World War, which I will analyse in the next chapter. Documentary film continued to reinforce the dominant perspective, for example *Combat Film* (RAI – Bramante, 1994), and notably the films sponsored by the Press Office of the Regional Executive Council in Trieste. Examples include *La città invisibile – frammenti di Trieste romana/The invisible city – fragments of Roman Trieste* (Ufficio stampa produzioni televisive Regione Friuli Venezia-Giulia - 2013). Also, short films supporting history lessons offered by Italian academics at the Theatre Verdi in Trieste, for example *1914-1918 Guerra – nove lezioni sulla grande Guerra raccontano Trieste, l'Italia and L'Europa* (1914-1918 – new lessons on the Great War narrate Trieste, Italy and Europe) (2013/ 2014 - First Edition and 2014/2015 - Second Edition), and *Trieste: un ring sull'Adriatico/Trieste: a ring on the Adriatic* (Renzo Carbonera 2009), which depicts the history of the city as a dispute between the West and the East. Similarly, *Trieste sotto – 1943-1954: La Storia Tragica e Straordinaria di una Citta' in Prima Linea/ Trieste Under – 1943-1945: The Tragic and Extraordinary Story of a City at the Front* (Maranzana, 2003) focuses on the multiple foreign military occupations the city witnessed.

Conclusion: A Case of Silenced History

Since 1945 Italy has remained entranced by its myth of victimhood, which continues to be iterated in cinema and television. There is no allocated space for a critical understanding of the past. Ken Kirby was the first to produce a documentary, *Fascist Legacy*, (BBC 2 – Timewatch 1989), detailing Italian crimes of war in the Balkans and in Africa, and exposing the Allies' involvement in the cover-up (Pedaliu, 2004, pp. 503-529). The documentary provoked furious

complaints and was never broadcast in Italy. Any historical investigation into the subject matter, as Angelo Del Boca's and Filippo Focardi's, has been obstructed (Carroll, 2001). In 2012, Bruno Vespa's TV show *Porta a Porta* (Door to Door) (RAI 1, 13 February 2012) showed a photograph depicting Italian troops killing Slovenian civilians but Vespa suggested the image illustrated the partisans of Tito killing innocent Italians. Historian Alessandra Kersevan, a guest on the show, objected the narrative but the televised version was not corrected. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia protested but no Italian investigation was opened. This state of affairs is particularly poignant as it explicitly reveals an intention to ignore indisputable documents and photographs in sealed archives, to the benefit of a tradition based on historical fiction. In 2014, Trieste's town council approved the laying of a commemorative plaque (21 July) celebrating the 12 June 1945 as *liberation day* in Trieste. The action sought to erase the memory of the Yugoslav Army's liberation (1 May 1945), its agreement for the management of Trieste by a body of Anglo-American forces, and subsequent departure from Trieste (12 June 1945). Simultaneously, it poses questions on the cultural framework, historical narrative, and Italian collective memory in place, which accepted and supported such a discourse of Western rather than Slavic liberation.

CHAPTER 3

The Construction of Memory in Film: Form and Discourse

The historian's primary task is to restore to society the History which the institutional apparatuses have dispossessed it of. To question society, to begin to listen to it – to my mind, this is the primary duty of the historian. Instead of settling simply for using the archives, it is equally important to create them and to contribute to their setting up: to make films about and to ask questions of those who have never had the right to speak and be a witness (Marc Ferro, *Cahiers du cinema 257*, May-June 1975/2000, p. 196).

A Descartes of today would already have shut himself up in his bedroom with his 16-mm camera and some film and would be writing his philosophy on film: for his *Discours de la Méthode* would today be of such a kind that only the cinema could express it satisfactory (Astruc, 1948/1999).

Introduction

Cinema has always been preoccupied with history and memory, as the medium promises the possibility to recreate images of the past, and travel through mental images with a montage. In this chapter, it is impossible to present an exhaustive and complete analysis of the construction of memory in film, as it would defy the purpose of this work. I will, therefore, analyse some key examples of Italian cinema, consider the mediation of the Holocaust on film and relate it to the translation of the silencing of history in Italian cinema. Then, I will move onto a consideration of the essay film form. The debate generated in these sections, and their relation to the previous chapter, will underpin the creative process.

The analysis of Italian cinema so far has brought to light the cultural prominence of the annexation of Trieste to Italy in 1918. The archival research also revealed that the construction of memory in Italy drew from a discourse not dissimilar to other histories of colonial intervention, in that the north-eastern periphery of Italy entered a relationship with the central government in Rome based on the racist assumptions of colonial logics. Italy based its politics in the new territories on two imperialistic elements: on the support of the Italian middle and upper class in Trieste, and the systematic italianisation of the indigenous Slav population, which entailed the oppression of any form of resistance. The Slav element, the *other*, was perceived as an inferior without culture, history, or memory because identified as belonging to the working class, which provided both the condition for the massive policy of forced italianisation and the genocidal violence that followed (UNWCC, 1943-1948 – Reel 38). To this perception was added the belief that the working class was vulnerable to being converted to the communist cause en-masse.

It is in one of the diaries left by Umberto Tommasini, *L'Anarchico Triestino* (the anarchic Triestiner) (1984), that I found an interesting insight into the life of the working class in Trieste between 1896 and 1945. The collection of memories narrates the experience of Umberto, as a young boy observing the struggle of his father to build a library out of tattered books and fight the principle malady of the working class, ignorance. When the boy finds work in Trieste, after the annexation to Italy, he witnesses the destruction of the social and educational activities for the working class established by the Austrian-Hungarian government. This is followed by the systematic aggression of children and parents participating in the excursions organised by the cooperatives of workers, and the campaign of terror launched against the large Slav working-class district of Saint James (Tommasini, 1984, pp. 196-260) in Trieste. These stories, however, are unheard of in Italian cinema. The choice of protagonists in the neorealist films, particularly if set in the Free Territory of Trieste, is indicative of the historical elements that entered the Italian collective memory and of those that were silenced. The films reinforce the division between the Italian element, represented as belonging to the educated middle or lower middle class of Christian tradition, and the Slav element,

represented as belonging to a peripheral socialist-communist working class without God.

Film Language and the Mediation of History

In the first neorealist attempt to narrate a story based on issues linked to the Free Territory of Trieste, *La cittá dolente/City of pain* (Mario Bonnard, 1949)*,* the drama is driven by the inability of a middle-class family to adjust to changes imposed by politics. Set in Pola (today Pula in Croatia), a city in Istria that lodged part of the Italian fascist naval fleet between 1918-1945, it explores the tense relationship between the Italians living in the city and the Yugoslavs authorities. The film opens with factual footage displaying the imposing Roman vestiges in the Adriatic port of Pola, where "everything is typically Italian" (02:35). Hence, the signs of the Latin past seem to add to the Venetian vestiges, and the city's cemetery *remembers* the dead that brought to Italy the territory from which today it is banished. The commentator then recounts the decision taken in Paris to *kill* Pola by giving it to the Yugoslav communist administration, which is illustrated with extracts from newsreel footage of people leaving the city. The film thus becomes emblematic of what would be labelled the Italian exodus from Istria, presented as the outcome of the Yugoslav policies. More importantly, however, the film presents the middle class as Italian and Catholic, and the working class as mostly Slav and communist. The film language supports a discourse by which the popular memory is channelled in what Foucault in the 1970s would call the "recoding of popular memory" (*Cahiers du cinema 257*, May-June 1975/2000, p. 162). There is no social mobility in this society, and as the embodiment of the oppressor the Yugoslavs communists, and the working class by extension, are removed from any alternative memories such as the association with the Christian religion, their contribution to the fight against the Axis, or an agency in the political compaign to protect basic human rights historically expressed in the form of strikes.

In the substantial body of scholarly research engaging with Neorealism (Restivo, 2002; Landy, 2000, 1994; Bondanella, 1990; Marcus, 1986; Brunetta, 1979; Spinazzola, 1974) there is a tendency to skirt over the fact that several key

figures in the movement - among them Roberto Rossellini, Vittorio De Sica, Luigi Zampa, Lucchino Visconti and Cesare Zavattini – initially established themselves during the fascist period. The work of Mario Bonnard presents an interesting case study here. One of the first Italian *divo* (star) of the Italian cinema, Bonnard directed his first silent film in 1917, *Treno di Lusso* (First Class Train) and after the First World War explored the German mountaineer genre, e.g. *Der Sohn der weißen Berge/I Cavalieri della Montagna* (Bonnard and Trenker, 1930). In the 1940s, Bonnard directed *Campo de' Fiori/The Peddler and the Lady* (1943) and *Avanti c'e' posto/Before the Postman* (1942), co-written by Cesare Zavattini, films that narrated the comedic predicaments of working-class protagonists. In Bonnard's films, however, there is no sympathetic exploration of working-class life: we enter a society untouched by war and in which the desire to advance one's social status is mocked. The representatives of the emergence of realism, and forerunners of Neorealism, these films are influenced by the genre of the *Telefoni Bianchi* (*white phone* films inspired by the American comedies of 1930s) that portrayed the working class and lower middle class' attempts to climb the social ladder.[22]

As an earlier reaction to fascist cinema, which conveyed nationalism via the utilisation of historical allegory and spectacle (Reich and Garofalo, 2002; Gori, 1988; Hay 1987; Mancini, 1985), Neorealism certainly provided a space for the representation of the subaltern (Landy, 2000, pp. 13-17) and other marginalised histories. However, this new orientation also offered the unifying elements/language for the creation of a post-war vision of the Italian nation (ibid., p. 161). Symbolic stories synthesised the life of the whole Italian population into the struggle to survive, rendered through narratives of ellipsis and synthesis.[23] A

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[22] The first example of which is *Gli uomini che mascalzoni/What Scoundrels Men Are!* (Mario Camerini, 1932).

[23] The battles Italians fought to survive the post-war condition and preserve their cultural environment is portrayed in many neorealist films, from Luchino Visconti's *Ossessione* (1943), *La terra trema* (1948), to Vittorio De Sica's *I bambini ci guardano* (1944), *Sciuscià* (1946), and *Ladri di biciclette* (1948), or Luigi Zampa's *Vivere in pace* (1947), Giuseppe De Santis' *Caccia tragica* (1947), Alberto

key example of this is provided by *Paisà* (Roberto Rossellini, 1946), which comprises six episodic and self-contained stories of collaboration between the Anglo-American allies and the Italians during the liberation campaign. The narrative rhetoric presents these episodes as minor stories within an inferred collective effort, which continues to exist in the gaps between episodes. Through these ellipses and synthesis, Rossellini suggests an Italian universal intent, advocates the myth of the *good Italian*, forgets the alliance with Germany, the Anti-Slavism, and Anti-Semitism, and favours a vision of common suffering (Sinclair, 1988, pp. 39-55; Guarner, 1970, p. 23; Bazin, 1967, p. 97). Consequently, in contrast to the proclaimed novelty of the movement, this re-coding of the Italian experience during the war has points of similarity with the fascist propaganda of national unity, which hid diversity, oppression, and dissent to create a homogeneous cognitive environment shared by the Italian population.

These authors did not break with tradition. Their gaze on Italian society travelled from the middle class to the working class. Their glance, however, continues to be shaped by a bourgeois tradition that favoured the cinema of national reconstruction, based on newly found national commonalities. The remarkable technical and artistic qualities of their work supported no pioneering of new social ideas or engagement with the subject behind the camera, which is central to cinema, as Cesare Zavattini proclaimed in *Cinema Italiano Domani* (1950). The result was the creation of a new *moral poetry* (Marcus, 1986), which looked at and narrated the nation's problems through very specific archetypes of lifestyles that drew from precedents like the work of Mario Camerini and Alessandro Blasetti (Landy, 2000, p. 15; Bondanella, 1990, pp. 14-15; Lizzani, 1979, p. 22; Hay, 1987).

The only neorealist production to narrate a story set in Trieste's Zone A, *Cuori senza Frontiere/The While Line* (Luigi Zampa, 1950), explores the creation of the Free Territory of Trieste from the point of view of farm owners who see their property divided between Zone A and Zone B. Luigi Zampa started his career as a

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Lattuada's *Il Mulino del Po* (1949), and Roberto Rosellini's *Roma, città aperta* (1945), *Paisà* (1946).

cinematographer for the Italian army in the 1930s, produced romantic comedies in the early 1940s, and is remembered as one of the first neorealist filmmakers because of his studies of the middle class and the wartime experience. In *Cuori senza Frontiere/The White Line*, produced by Carlo Ponti for Lux Roma, Zampa proposes a hybrid of social satire and melodrama, which narrates the story of a group of children that challenges the established authority, and presents points of similarity with *Sciuscià/Shoeshine* (De Sica, 1946) in the use of children as protagonists. In *Cuori senza Frontiere*, the children hide one of the poles that divide their village in an attempt to reconstitute the lost unity. The film opens similarly to *City of Pain* (Bonnard, 1949) with a narrator introducing the universe we enter. A group of boys is presented by commenting on the quality of the sled each of them owns. For the protagonist, Pasqualino Sebastian - played by Enzo Staiola who played Bruno in *Bicycle Thieves* – things are difficult. The son of a farmer, his sled has no wheels. Gaspare, the shepherd's son, drags it, symbolically indicating their relationship and social position. This order is broken when a foreigner committee (representing the Allies) imposes territorial division on the village, and the white line is drawn, as captured in Figure 53 and Figure 54.

Figs. 53, 54: The tracing of the border, stills from the film *Cuori senza Frontiere,* Luigi Zampa, 1950.

The story follows the predicament of Pasqualino's father, Giovanni Sebastian, who attempts to keep his field in one country, and the romance between Slovenian Stefano (Erno Crisa), the mechanic, and Italian Donata Sebastian (Gina Lollobrigida), Giovanni's daughter. It invests in clarifying the differences dividing catholics and communists, which cause problems due to their clashing lifestyles, and portrays the authorities' inability to understand people, as

demonstrated by the Italian committee investigating the division of Giovanni's field. The occasion is mediated throughout comic relief, which reveals the presence of an established link between heroism and Italian Irredentism. The Italian committee asks for a photo of Giovanni's family, but the Sebastians look like unidentified peasants. Thus, Giovanni is asked to wear his father's Italian First World War helmet. The family is *politicised* and elevated to the status of lower middle class by the display of a tangible symbol connecting the present to the Italian irredentist campaign for the annexation of the territory in 1918, as captured in Figure 55.

Figure 55: The Sebastians in the photo for the Italian newspaper, still from the film *Cuori senza Frontiere,* Luigi Zampa, 1950.

The gap between diverse perceptions of the situation, locally and in Rome, reveals its poisoning effects when Sebastian's case is resolved by the order to transfer the family to an Italian displaced-person camp. The family is shocked and prefers to flee to Yugoslavia with Stefano's help than to abandon their land. The sequences depicting life in Yugoslavia offer further examples of different cultural habits. Thus, the education of children is juxtaposed. The children in Italy follow the catechism, the children in Yugoslavia watch films about the partisan fighters and their war against the Axis. Furthermore, when the Sebastian family is given a free house where to lodge in Yugoslavia, it is also asked to offer voluntary work to rebuild the country, a suggestion that is not welcome by the Sebastians.

Thus, the film employs two registers of signification to establish the innocence of the Italian population in front of political decisions it cannot influence. First, it shows the two political systems as fundamentally different and fostering confrontational feelings. Second, it exposes the respective systems' similarities as they impose decisions taken by distant establishments. Accordingly, the Yugoslav committee also takes a picture of the Sebastians. Comparable to the previous occasion, the photo is staged only this time it is the grandmother's Dominican rosary that needs to be hidden to make her look properly communist.

In *Cuori senza Frontiere* (Zampa, 1950), the director takes a step further to establish the Italians' good nature. In Giovanni's words, Slav Stefano has been "per casa" (one of the house) (44:03) and considered part of the family. The use of the nationalistic discourse here implies the lack of animosity among the ethnically mixed population. The young man is familiar with the Italian way of life. Being a Slav that does not speak Slovenian or Croatian in the film, however, Stefano is an italianised Slav. A detail recognisable only by those who knew/know the history of the indigenous Slav in the area, it resonates with Stefano's decision to cross the white line into Yugoslavia and join his people. Set in the Slovenian villages of Repentabor/Monrupino and Križ/Santa Croce, the film does not use the Slovenian language or comment on the community's history. The political orientation of this film is never clearer than during the Catholic procession when the supposedly traditional outfit worn by the Italian women is the local traditional outfit of the Slovenian women, as captured in Figure 56 (juxtaposed to current events when the Slovenian traditional outfit is worn, as captured and Figure 57 and Figure 58). Such details are important as they show how Italian filmmakers could gloss over the Italian history of anti-Slavism and forced italianisation of the local population. In 1950, American journalist Bosley Crowther reviewed *Anni Difficili/Difficult years* (Zampa, 1950) and noticed Zampa's ability to undermine any ideas of possible collusion between the Italians and the fascist authorities:

> The impulse of Italy's filmmakers to help purge that nation's troubled soul of the guilt of supporting Fascism has been evident in many of their post-war films. [...] The Blackshirts and the plainly alien Nazis have been the

notable villains in their films. The heroes —the champions of freedom—
have been the ordinary Italian Joes (*The Screen Review*, 22 August 1950,
online).

Figure 56: Slovenians as Italians, still from the film
Cuori senza Frontiere, Luigi Zampa, 1950.

Figs. 57, 58: *Kraska Ohcet* (Karst Slovenian Wedding), Repentabor – Trieste, 26
August 2007.

In *Cuori senza Frontiere*, the establishment of the Italians' lack of
responsibility is reinforced by several additional sequences, which set up the tragic
ending, where Donata chooses an Italian soldier over Stefano, and her brother
dies. The imposed new border invites Pasqualino to break the rules and unite a
group of children divided by it, his friends. Together, they attempt unsuccessfully
to burn a demarcation pole, which ends up in the ravine. The day after, when news
of the missing pole reaches the Yugoslavs, and an ultimatum is set for the night,
the children meet to decide what to do. They confront each other on the white
line. The Italian-Catholic children wear angels' outfits and the Yugoslavs-

communist children wear Tito's partisan uniforms. The comic relief offered by the scene is superficial as the mise-en-scene underlines the naïve nature of the population, subjected to wearing imposed uniforms and held responsible for decisions made by the very forces that they try to oppose. As foreshadowed, the political crisis escalates, and in the evening Pasqualino is caught in the crossfire between the Italian and Yugoslav factions while trying to retrieve the pole. The event stops the confrontation, and the border is left open: the village is reunited one last time for Pasqualino, who is dying. Finally, the family takes him to the hospital, but in Italy. Stefano is left behind, and Donata embraces a new life with the Italian soldier, Domenico. As a neorealist film, *Cuori senza Frontiere* performs poorly, in that it reinforces the nationalistic discourse while the subject matter could have served to reveal the fascist persecution against the Slavic indigenous population and break new ground.

In 2005, this discourse found a new embodiment in the Italian TV mini-series *Il Cuore nel Pozzo/The Heart in the Well* (Alberto Negrin). The production of the film was announced in the most prestigious Italian newspapers, proclaiming the long-awaited narration of a forgotten tragedy (*Corriere della Sera*, 12 July 2004; *La Stampa*, 15 July 2004; *Panorama*, 22 July 2004). The TV series was produced by RAI (Italian National Broadcasting) to explain the Istrian-Italian diaspora from Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste (TLT) administered by Yugoslavia. Today, the Italian diaspora from Istria is part of the Italian collective imaginary of martyrdom at the hands of the Yugoslav communists, which adds to the memorialization of the Italian participation in the Second World War as heroes fighting both the German invasion and the Yugoslav communist threat to invade. However, if we analyse the archival sources, or read the official Italo-Slovenian academic research *Relazioni Italo-Slovene 1880-1956 – relazione della Commissione storico-culturale italo-slovena (Report on the Italo-Slovenian Relations 1880-1956: Report of the Italo-Slovenian Historic and Cultural Committee)* (Premik, 2004), the findings of which were refused by the Berlusconi Government in 2000, we discover that clashes between Italians and Yugoslavs happened mostly in 1943, when Italy surrendered and Tito's partisans tried to liberate Trieste's territory. In 1945, the area saw cases of private revenge, but most

of the people that were declared dead had been arrested or killed for being engaged in the persecution of civilians and freedom fighters. Also, academic research has revealed that most people who left the territory were seeking a better economic situation and took advantage of the benefits offered by the Italian State to the refugees (Purini, 2010).

Il Cuore nel Pozzo (Negrin 2005) focuses on the story of the pits (foibe) that were used by Italians, Germans, and Yugoslavs to dispose of corpses on different occasions. In 1943, the Axis had already capitalized on the bodies found in the pits to dominate the territory as peacekeepers. In 1945, other bodies retrieved from the pits where used by the Allies to disqualify the strong Yugoslav-communist campaign for the liberation of Trieste, perceived as a menace to Europe. By 1954, however, the story of the pits elapsed, in that they could not enter in the Italian national historiography because related to the fascist crimes, as fascists had also used them to bury people. The topic continued to be discussed in nationalistic circles (Pirjevec, 2009, pp. 151-177) and has been used as a politicised discourse from the 1960s, supported by the anti-communist philosophy *stay-behind* (Operation Gladio) promoted during the Cold War (Vulliamy, 1990, p. 12). By the early 1990s, the story added to the case made by the Italian State to regain the properties of Italian people who between 1945 and 1975 left the villages now in Slovenia or Croatia. The phenomenon of the Italian diaspora that started in 1945, however, has a different and deeply rooted origin that can be understood only if we consider the settlement of Italian immigrants in the territory during the period between 1918 and 1945, along with the forced italianisation of almost half a million indigenous Slavs, and the deportation of entire Slav villages in Italian concentration camps first, and German later. It is the absence of any reference to these events that makes *Il Cuore nel Pozzo* relevant, as the series is based on at best a historically partial and reduced account, which reveals the level of political acculturation the Italian historical collective memory has been subjected to.

The TV series is set in April 1945 in the Axis-occupied areas of present day Istria (now partitioned between Slovenia and Croatia), close to the north-eastern border to Italy (Trieste), where Tito's Yugoslav partisans are gaining ground, and the resident Italians begin to feel afraid. In the series, the fear suffered by the

Italians is directly related to the conflict created by ethnic and cultural diversity, in that the Slavs are communists and the Italians are Catholics. This conflict drives the story, and it is symbolised by the grievance between Giulia, an Italian from Southern Italy, and Novak, a Slav partisan leader. Giulia has a son with Novak, but she refuses to let him see the child. Novak continues to look for his son, and by following him, we witness the alleged ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Yugoslavs in 1945. The end of the story transforms Novak into what he is accused of being from the very beginning: a violent and sanguinary man without God. This is narrated from the point of view of Francesco, a child who records his memories in a diary given to him by his mother, Marta. The partisans killed her and tossed her body into a pit. The series offers a narrative of extreme violence that draws attention to the figure of the victimised mother, a tradition already in place in *Oberdan* (Ghione, 1915). The portrayed women are all mothers: Italian mothers in the characters of Giulia and Marta, or maternal surrogates, in the character of Slav Anja who works for an Italian priest, Don Bruno, and takes care of Italian orphans. Giulia, Novak's love interest, prefers death to a life with a Slav. Anja is raped by a Yugoslav officer and contemplates suicide before Ettore, who saves her and the children. The message here is essentially political: the Italian woman kills herself as a future with a communist-Slav would have been against her beliefs, while the Slav woman, who rejects her ethnic identity and the communist creed, speaks Italian, and adopts the Italian way of life, is saved by the manifestation of Christian love.

The contrast between a clear evil and a clear good is blunt. It feeds into sensationalism when images of the Italians rounded up by the Yugoslavs recall similar scenes in films depicting the selection of Jews by the Nazis, as in *Night and Fog* (Resnais, 1956), archival footage (13:27). The reference is evident when the people are loaded on several trucks, inferring to the transfer of a high number of Italians, and the children are divided from the adults, as captured in Figure 59 and Figure 60. The visual rendering of emotional states is not only organised dramatically but also focused on emotive expressions like crying and struggling, as captured in Figure 61 and Figure 62. The music enhances the spectacle and underlines the polarity between extreme evil, as symbolised by the communist

partisans of Tito, and extreme good, as symbolised by the Christian and peaceful domestic life of the Italian population attacked by the Slavs.

Figs. 59-62: Italians gathered by the Yugoslavs, stills from the film *Il Cuore nel Pozzo,* Alberto Negrin, 2005.

In this Italian reading of the border to the Slav world, the established narrative supports the traditional characterisation of the clash between the Italian and the Slavic element, where the Italians are good people, fundamentally uninterested in war but obliged to defend themselves. The film was produced to support the establishment of the *Day of Remembrance* (Law n. 92, 2004), in honour of the Italian exodus from Istria in 1945. It was promoted by the centre-right government as early as 2001 (parliamentary act n. 1874, IV legislation) with documentation that praises the actions of the fascist squads on the territory. The pits, in their symbolic connotation and nationalistic value, have been analysed and identified as a metonymic device able to link isolated events to images of Christian martyrdom (Verginella, 2010, p. 71; Ballinger, 2010). Moreover, as Pamela Ballinger demonstrated, the end of the Cold War allowed for the remediation of the event as a genocide (2010, pp. 212-213) committed by the communists, a thesis that implies the exclusion of all the non-Italian people killed in the pits (Cogoy and Accati, 2010, pp. 18-19).

Seventeen million Italians watched this TV series when it was first broadcast (6 - 7 February 2005). Its popularity poses questions on the ossification of narrative tropes that came to represent Trieste's history in cinema. Moreover, it questions the possibility to find a film form able to reveal this process of historical silencing of the past, and fully explore the predicament of the:

> paralyzed, effaced, or deadened, those whom violence has treated in their lives as though they were already *dead*, those who have been made (in life) without expression, without a voice and without a face have become – much like dead – the historically (and philosophically) expressionless (das Ausdrucklose) (Felman, 2002, pp. 22-23).

Which is how Shoshana Felman, theorist of testimony, completed Walter Benjamin's observation from *The Storyteller* (1936/2007), in that Benjamin reveals how the essence of oppression and traumatisation resides in the silence about it, and how this silence is also something that resists the master (Felman, 2002, p. 22).

The Holocaust as Narrative Paradigm

In the post-war period, films mediating the Holocaust seem to have opened cinema to visions and ideas of the silenced, as demonstrated by *Nuit et Brouillard/Night and Fog* (Alain Resnais, 1956), and *Brutalität in Stein/Brutality in Stone* (Alexander Kluge and Peter Schamoni, 1960). There is also a vast array of documentation and literature on Holocaust representation, which is often clustered in thematic studies that cover a range of media and discuss the issues of representing genocide. The two main areas of study are the Holocaust testimony, which analyses the difficulties of writing and filming the unspeakable, trauma and loss (LaCapra, 2001; Caruth, 1995; Friedländer, 1992), and the cultural response to testimony and the Holocaust survivor (Wieviorka, 2006; Flanzbaum, 1999). The study of Holocaust memorials and museums has added to the field and focusses

on the interactions between artists and the commissioning of memorial sites of memory and collective memory.[24]

The study of Holocaust representation is inseparable from the study of archival material, and the photos that document the atrocities. The debate about the photographic material centred on the ethics of taking photos and viewing them (Sontag, 2004; Butler, 1999/2016), the objectification of the victims as distant props of an unimaginable past impossible to really see, and the study of postmemory (Hirsch, 1997, 2009, 2012; Struk, 2004; Liss, 1998). The mediation of the Holocaust in film spans a spectrum that goes from the fictional translation of personal stories of *Schindler's List* (Spielberg, 1993), to the complex construction of the past in the documentary/essay film *Shoah* (Lanzmann, 1985). These two poles of narrative construction answer, in the latter, the need to simplify and impose a coherent narrative to a wide catastrophe, and in the former the need to convey the sense of the real magnitude of the event and produce awareness (Bathrick, 2008; Liebman, 2007; Baron, 2005; Lang, 2005; Loshitsky, 1997). Non-fiction representations usually draw on the original footage, as films about the war crimes committed by the Axis circulated relatively early and in the form of newsreels. Thus *Otomstim! /We Shall Be Avenged!* (1942), a Russian two-reel film that takes its title from a document the Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov published on war crimes (6 January 1942) (Felman, 2002, p. 113) was included in the first documentation in which the Allies refer to the systematic murder of Jewish civilians (Sorokina, 2005, p. 829), making the moving image an important part of the Holocaust documentation.

The Shoah was translated into films produced relatively early after the end of the Second World War, and these films retain a pregnant promise to instruct on

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[24] I will here refer to the *Endlösung der Judenfrage* (Final solution of the Jewish Question) (Wannsee, 1942) as Holocaust because it has become the standard name for the phenomenon in literary and film studies. However, as the term Holocaust is in use also to indicate the killing of other groups of people, where the terminology requests a higher level of specificity, I will use the term Shoah, as שואה in Hebrew, for the genocide of the Jews.

how to translate on film genocide in time of war. Ernst van Alphen debates how re-enactment and imaginative art can be successful in presenting, analysing and working through memories of traumatic past in *Caught by History: Holocaust Effects in Contemporary Art, Literature, and Theory* (1998), and makes an important point:

> For me the place the Holocaust occupied in that story did not make sense, or not enough sense: there was much more to say about the Holocaust than was possible in terms of the meanings provided by the framework of war on which it depends to be 'explained'. So, for me, in my refusal of this framework, the images and stories of the Holocaust remained isolated fragments. They did not join with other war episodes to form a continuous story-line, but represented discrete events foreign to a constructed world that seems too coherent and understandable (Van Alphen, 1998, p. 2)[25]

There is probably no more effective documentary than Alain Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1956) to evoke Van Alphen's feeling. Resnais' second person narrative explores the difficulty of mediating the Holocaust, and through the essay film form "connects the living to the dead, past to present, here and there in order to shock us out of comforting dichotomies that keep the past over there" (Pollock and Silverman, 2011, p. 2). The voice-over written by a former inmate, Jean Cayrol, does not allow for any congenial remoteness of the events from everyday life:

> A concentration camp is built the way a stadium or a hotel is built, with contractors, estimates, competitive bids, and, no doubt, a bribe or two. No specific style. That's left to the imagination. Alpine style, garage style, Japanese style, no style. Architects calmly design the gates meant to be passed through only once. Meanwhile, Burger, a German worker, Stern, a Jewish student in Amsterdam, Schmulski, a merchant in Krakow, and

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[25] By Van Alphen, see also: *Armando: Shaping Memory* and *Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self.*

Annette, a schoolgirl in Bordeaux, go about their daily lives, not knowing a place is being prepared for them 1,000 kilometres from their town. One day, their quarters are ready. All that's missing is them (02:30).

The images of the newly opened space of detention are followed by images of the inmates before they are transformed into the faceless mass immortalised in the photos of atrocities. These are people with lives and hopes for the future. They reveal their personalities by the way they dress, the way they move, smile and talk, help each other or frown at the camera; by their evident preoccupation and the way they express it before boarding the boxcars. These faces are not numbers. But suddenly the sealed and bolted trains declare the discrepancy of knowledge between those who have boarded and those who have escorted them. The travellers' humanity vanishes the moment the boxcars are sealed and the number of the people inside them is marked on the doors.

The juxtaposition of contemporary images of the train tracks, where nothing reminds us of the people, establishes the gap between what once happened and our knowledge of it. However, Resnais solves the impossibility of mediating the experience of arrival in the camp with a montage of black and white footage depicting specific corners at the site. These would become symbolic of the Holocaust (e.g. the gate with the slogan 'Arbeit Macht Frei') and their importance is underlined by the urgency of the dramatic music that precedes them, one of the most evocative narrative techniques in the film. Where words and images do not reach, the alarming music might suggest. Then, the close-up of two wide-open eyes shocks us: "at the first sight of the camp, it is another planet" (06:18). We are absorbed by the predicament reflected in those eyes, and the bewildering idea of being trapped into a dehumanising environment, under a hierarchy created to shame, humiliate, enslave, torture, and kill. Yet, for the audience there is no hope of grasping the reality of the camp, and so the film resorts to the listing of the conditions the inmates suffered, drawing on survivors' testimonies. Everything suggests the state of constant fear and pain people would experience but "no description, no image can reveal their true scope" (07:40). To this knowledge is added the indifference of nature: "an indifferent autumn sky" (08:45), which is

symbolic of time and the attitude of people untouched by this history of struggle and death.

Inspired by *Night and Fog*, the short film *Brutalität in Stein/Brutality in Stone* (Kluge and Schamoni, 1960) juxtaposes images of abandoned Nazi buildings, examples of Hitler's architectural vision, with archived sound from the Nazi era, and a voice over. Similarly to *Night and Fog*, this short essay film introduces a sense of horror through the use of dramatic music, but employs the testimony of the commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Franz Ferdinand Höss (Nuremberg Trial, 15 April 1946), on the routine and methods of extermination in the camp to establish the association between the architectural style we observe and the action of the government advocating it. The film uses speeches by Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Hess about the use of slave labour; thus, the vestiges of the new imposing buildings, every chiselled stone and aligned series of colonnades, seem to resonate with the memory of an era of brutality against fellow human beings. The short essay film seems to ponder on the need to consider history from a different point of entrance than the images of the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime. And it is the documentary *Shoah* (Lanzmann, 1985), that will offer the study of genocide in film in its most complete form, especially and because of its refusal to show images of atrocities, as to know what happened requires more than being committed to memory through photos of corpses, and to understand what happened is impossible. As Lanzmann explains in *Hier ist kein Warum/Here there is no Why*: "Perhaps the question needs only to be asked in its simplest form: Why did they kill the Jews? Its obscenity is instantly glaring. There is indeed an absolute obscenity in the project of understanding" (Liebman, 2007, pp. 51-52).

Shoah (1985), a documentary that narrates through interviews with witnesses, took Lanzmann five and half years to edit. The absence of commentary and the cyclical return to witnesses and places function as a repetitive questioning of the audience's knowledge about the Shoah. This is the real power of the film, as "the film is made so that the people continue to work at it – during the screening, but also afterward" (ibid., 2007, p. 48). The rationale behind the creation of *Shoah* reveals how the Holocaust today has attained the dimensions of a mythical tale, as it puts into question our knowledge of the unknowable, fuzzy,

vague, stereotyped (ibid., 2007, p. 35), and the systematic representation of the Holocaust in film. Thus, the film creates a counter-myth: it refuses to commemorate the Shoah and investigates it as a finite phenomenon because "scars are still so freshly and vividly inscribed in certain places and in the conscience of some people that it reveals itself in a hallucinating timelessness" (ibid., 2007, p. 35). Therefore, the extermination of the Jews in *Shoah* is not explainable as the consequence of psychological, sociological, economic, religious reasons that permitted it, as this is an inadequate strategy to talk about it. On the contrary, the documentary focuses on the reality of extermination and on the "blindness that made that death possible" (ibid., 2007, p. 34). This ontological endeavour permits Lanzmann to present in the film what philosopher Emil Fackenheim stated: "for us, the murdered Jews of Europe are not merely the past, they are the presence of an absence" (ibid., 2007, p. 33).

Interesting in this context is the critique by Lanzmann of the high profile American TV mini-series *Holocaust* directed by Marvin J. Chomsky (1978), in which he accused the production of representing the Holocaust by adopting the classic dramatic structure of the American drama in order to elicit an emotional response from the audience, thus oversimplifying an event that is simply not representable (Lanzmann, 1979, pp. 137-43). In Lanzmann's view, the TV series presented a Jewish family as assimilated to render visible their humanity. Thus, every trace of otherness was erased. This choice perpetrated a lie and was inherently racist, contrary to German philosopher Günter Anders' idea that the narrative vindicated the victims, as it represented them as people, not as numbers (Anders, 2014, p. 19). Moreover, Lanzmann underlined how:

> In *Holocaust*, people await death gravely and with dignity, as good form prescribes. In real life, things were different. After years of ghetto confinement, terror, humiliation, and hunger the people who lined up in rows of five were driven by whips and bludgeons and knocked against each other as they entered the death chambers: they had neither the leisure nor the composure to die nobly. To show what really happened would have

been unendurable. At least, it would have precluded conscience-salving 'identification' (Liebman, 2007, p. 30).

This is a comment that reveals the problem of combining the representation of this reality with the needs of dramatic structure and audience satisfaction. This is an idea I will return to in the discussion of my creative practice in relation to the attempted genocide of the Slavs in Italy.

In the vocabulary of the Holocaust's representation, Lanzmann's point of view on the un-representability of the Shoah has entered the cannon with key concepts like the notions of 'making memory', 'official memories', 'the uncanny' and 'absence' (Jordan, 2006; Till, 2005; Young, 2000, 1993, 1988). Cinema, however, was also instrumental in the establishment of a set of tropes for the representation of the Holocaust which drew on early literary works like the publication of Anne Frank's diary (1947) or Elie Wiesel's *Night* (1956). These tropes standardised the representation of terror and violence against innocents and formalised the expression of the aberrant crime. Thus, the emaciated bodies revealed in the newsreels, the barbed wire and box cars, became universal symbols for the genocidal imaginary and the frame through which other genocides are understood (Guerin and Hallas, 2007, pp. 82-97).

The consequences of this established relationship between the images of the Holocaust and the manifestation of genocide are far reaching. In the Western mind, each new scenario of pervasive violence against civilians is weighted against the Holocaust, which resonates as the embodiment of genocide and how genocide can be imagined (Strathern and Stewart, 2006:2). This is a complex process of signification. In the media, iconography of the perpetrators and the persecuted often bears similarities to the representation in Steven Spielberg's 1993 feature film, *Schindler's List*, where violence, humiliation, deportation, and ghettoization is used to summarise the typical Holocaust experience (Loshitzky, 1997, p. 4). This borrowing of stereotypes testifies to the power of cinema, in that *Schindler's List* reinforced the 'Holocaust experience' by the reconstruction of moments and details that are inferred through the familiarity of the audience with perpetrators' profiling that appeared in the news. Hence, as Christopher Classen demonstrates,

Schindler's List as a film is in conversation with a set of images of the Holocaust and "recalls associations, myths, and metanarratives that relate to the extermination of the Jews in the broadest sense" (2009. p. 90). Accordingly, the use of these stereotypes can be applied to other examples of mass violence and trigger recognition because:

> their associations are put into the context of the narrative, thus helping to stage those images of the film that could not be made available by documentary material that had been passed down. In doing so the film uses the collective memory (of images) that it helps to consolidate and rewrite at the same time (ibid., p. 91).

In this narrative, the perpetrators are the embodiment of evil, often faceless and void of psychological complexity (Montgomery, 1995, p. 81). These tropes can be found in films that mediate other genocides, among others *Ararat* (Atom Egoyan, 2002), on the Armenian genocide in Turkey, *The Killing Fields* (Roland Joffé, 1984), on the civil war in Cambodia, and *The Perfect Circle* (Ademir Kenović, 1997), on the war in Bosnia. In these films the perpetrators of torture, rape, and killing follow orders, remain inexplicable, illogical and remote. In contrast, their victims are portrayed as helpless, innocent, and unable to imagine what awaits them. This passivity is supported by the depictions of humiliation, ghettoization and an inexorable destiny of brief survival and final death. Against this prevailing dynamic are juxtaposed a few courageous individuals who can endure, react and survive. After the events, these survivors often bide in silence, which is broken by a final testimony. The trope is employed in the character depicting the life of the painter Arshile Gorky in *Ararat* (Egoyan, 2003), and the character of Joe in *Shooting Dogs* (Michael Caton-Jones, 2005). Acts of resistance, when considered, are depicted as exceptional and translated in film with a high moral tone, which underlines the extraordinary courage, endurance and determination of the characters, as in *Defiance* (Zwick, 2009), based on the book *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans* (Nechama Tec, 2008) narrating the events that took place during the occupation of Belarus by Nazi Germany. The film, however, received contrasting reviews. As

Kamil Tchorek reported in *The Times*, the film's "still, muscle-bound" approach (31 December 2008, online) seemed to imply that if other Jews had been as tough as the Bielskis, more would have survived. The answer of the director is indicative of the constrictions imposed on him by the traditional binary representational trope, which he tried to break:

> The Bielskis weren't saints. They were flawed heroes, which is what makes them so real and so fascinating. They faced any number of difficult moral dilemmas that the movie seeks to dramatize: does one have to become a monster to fight monsters? Does one have to sacrifice his humanity to save humanity? (Tchorek, 2008, online).

The association between monstrosity and evil returns in films narrating the subsequent trials of the perpetrators. Of the films and reels documenting the trials of Nazis, both the Nuremberg trial and the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem in 1961 have assumed a mythical quality. In this context, the representation of Eichmann in Hannah Arendt's work is indicative of a change in perspective, as it objects to the idea of the *monster* (Arendt, 1963). Her harrowing debate on the nature of evil is dramatized in the film *Hannah Arendt* (Margarethe von Trotta, 2012):

> I wrote no defence of Eichmann, but I did try to reconcile the shocking mediocrity of the man with his staggering deeds. […] Eichmann utterly surrendered that single most defining human quality, that of being able to think. And consequently, he was no longer capable of making moral judgment. This inability to think creates the possibility for many ordinary men to commit deeds on a gigantic scale, the like which one had never seen before (1:32:00).

Through this angle of enquiry, Arendt could illustrate how the routine of bureaucracy enables the average person to be complicit in a genocide (Arendt 1963). Her reasoning, however, is linked to her work *The Origins of Totalitarism*

(1951), where she sets the possibility of the Holocaust within the logic of colonial imperialism.

In exploring the points of contact between the above and possible mediations of memory of the Italian attempt to erase the Slavs, Arendt's work became particularly important because it represents one of the early studies that established how "early Holocaust memory emerged in dialogue with the dynamic transformations and multifaceted struggles that define the era of decolonization" (Rothberg, 2009, p. 7), as the period between 1945 and 1965 witnessed both the rise of consciousness of the Shoah and the political independence of the subjects of European colonialism.

In cinema, this is represented in *Chronique D'Un Été/Chronicle of a Summer* (Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin, 1961), which features the testimony of a survivor of the Shoah and juxtaposes it to images of race, colonial war and the anticolonial movement in France. The first example of cinéma verité, *Chronicle of a Summer* employs documentary technique to reflect on the links between the Shoah and the Algerian war, events that appear related because generated from the same ideology of racism:

> It is the Holocaust that takes over midway through the film. I've watched the movie many times over the years and am still jolted by that shift. During a discussion organised at an outdoor café at an anthropological museum, the lead interviewer, Marceline, a woman in her early thirties, is shown to have a number tattooed on her arm. That number becomes a subject of discussion among the film's participants, several of whom – two young African men – were unaware of its connection to concentration camps, to the persecution of Jews, and to the Holocaust. There follows a scene – a moment of reality theatre, so to speak – in which Marceline walks through the Place de la Concorde and Les Halles while speaking into a concealed microphone, an anguished, fragmented monologue of memories regarding the shattering of her family during the war, the death of her father in Auschwitz, and her return to Paris after her liberation (Brody, 2018).

The intension here is not to minimise the gravity of the Shoah, and the Holocaust, but to note how these events were initiated by policies nurtured by a racist, imperial philosophy enabling the deletion of the *other* because considered inferior. In Italy, this relation is confirmed in the attempted genocide of the indigenous Slavs between 2018 and 1945. Accordingly, Italian collective memory does not conceptualise or analyse the Italian genocide policies against the Slavs, and the dynamics of its intensification during the period of German occupation of northern Italy (1943-45) as a reaction against the Slav resistance. But rather, the Shoah merges with a different genocidal policy and serves a game of competitive memory where the German element is the culprit, and the Italian element the victim.

However, documents that I found in the United Nations Archive during the development of my creative practice, demonstrate that there were a few official publications, which displayed highly confidential documents, and established the case of an Italian genocidal programme against the Slovenians and the Croats, (1918-1945) (Škerl, 1945; YIO, 1945; RYGID 1945; IIPE: 1945; Čermelj, 1936/1945; INPE, 1954).[26] It started with the first expropriations of houses, shops, offices, schools, clubs and changes of names in 1918, intensified under the lead of Italo Sauro, Italian Counsellor of State and Mussolini's Personal Adviser on the Slav problem, and continued with the transfer of population, destruction of villages, internment until 1943, and after in conjunction with the German occupation until 1945 (INPE, Italo Sauro Archive, 3141-XXI). The documents demonstrate how in the annexed territories, Italy conceived of the Slav element within the logic of imperialistic attitudes and allowed for forms of overlapping violence (racial, cultural and political). The films I have considered earlier in this chapter demonstrate how the tropes established by the Holocaust narrative allow for the concealment of a policy of racial discrimination, persecution, and genocide that

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[26] YIO, Yugoslav Information Office (1945); RYGID, Royal Yugoslav Government Information Department (1945); IIPE, Institute for International Politics and Economics (1954); INPE, Institute for International Politics and Economics.

spanned several decades. This policy had a human cost, and a cultural and economic impact that affected multiple generations through the Second World War, the Cold War and into the 1990s. Indeed, Italy approved a law for the protection of the indigenous minorities only in 2001.

The Essay Film Form and the Construction of Memory

My exploration of the Holocaust film revealed the essay film to be a form that has been productively employed to debate ideas, personal experiences and the reckoning with the past. In 1940, the first discussion of the essay film appeared in *Der Filmessay, eine neue form del Dokumentarfilm*, (Hans Richter, 1940/1977, pp. 195-8), where the essay film is conceived as a form able to create images of concepts and mental processes. In 1948, Alexandre Astruc defined the form calling it *camera-pen*, in *Naissance d'une nouvelle avant-garde: la camera-stylo*, *L'Ecran Français*, and the essay film appears as the form able to serve instances of subjective cinema. In the 1950s, the essay film becomes the film of tomorrow (Truffaut, 1957, p. 4) with the work of filmmakers and intellectuals politically engaged in the mediation of non-fiction.[27] In *Statues Also Die* (1953), Alain Resnais and Chris Marker introduce a cinema of dialogue with the audience, of juxtaposition and analysis of different memories of the same past, which embodies the idea of *image-temps* (time-image) (Deleuze, 1989/2017), and where the clash between cultures allows for a narrative of pensive questioning on the impact of colonialism. Resnais' work establishes the presence of a second dimension in film, where image and sound enter into "internal relations which means that the whole image had to be read, no less than seen, readable as well as visible" (Deleuze, 1989/2017, p. 23). This mechanism of internal dialogue between narrative techniques is mastered in Alain Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1956), as

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[27] Examples include: *Venom and Eternity* (Franju 1951), *Statues Also Die* (Resnais, 1953), *Toute le mémoire du monde* (Resnais, 1956), *Dimarche à Pekin* (Marker, 1956), *Lettre de Sibérie* (Marker, 1957), *Diary of a Pregnant Woman* (Warda, 1958), *Testament of Orpheus* (Cocteau, 1959). For earlier examples see: Rascaroli, L. (2017, p. 3).

analysed in the previous section, in that the documentary goes against the straightforward documentary history film form, which was mostly predicated on expository and poetic modes.[28]

The idea of thinking through film about the past is also found in fiction and it retains the essayistic in the use of the eye of the camera, which questions the character's thoughts and leaves the answer to the audience. In 1959, Resnais explored the memory of the past in *Hiroshima Mon Amour*, which juxtaposes different memories and perspectives on the Second World War. In the film, the repetition of the same memory as viewed from the point of view of a Japanese man and a French woman explores the way they think, the driving forces behind their actions, revealing how "Resnais conceives of cinema not as an instrument for representing reality but as the best way of approaching the way the mind functions" (Ishaghpour, 1982, p. 182). This exploration continues in *L'Année dernière à Marienbad/ Last Year in Marienbad* (Resnais, 1961), where temporal and spatial relationships between the characters are questioned and the film form allows for the theme of memory and time to be explored. The exploration continues in *Je t'aime, je t'aime/I love you, I love you* (Resnais, 1968), in which experience and memory appear as subjective against the vast background, the actual, which is always objective. The result is a cyclical investigation of the past, in that experience is fragmented, continuously reconstructed to explain the past, and the protagonist is locked in it.

What is important here, is that the essayistic in these films introduces the possibility to create a cinema of *in-between* images and sounds, which is indicative of something else that is not there; nonetheless, it is present. As Laura Rascaroli suggests "studying these in-between spaces is key if we wish to move beyond logocentrism and to understand how the essay film thinks – because its thinking capitalizes on discontinuity" (2017, p. 8). It is this focus on discontinuity, as a characteristic of the *image-temps* (Deleuze, 1983), that is pregnant of promise for the translation of silenced history and postmemory in film.

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[28] See: *Night Mail* (Wright and Watt, 1936); *Housing Problems* (Elton, Anstey, Taylor, Grierson, 1935); *Rain* (Ivens, 1929).

In my review of Italian cinema, and through the exegesis of relevant films mediating Trieste's history and identity, it became apparent how these films have been predicated on the concept of the *image-mouvement* (Image-movement) (Deleuze, 1983). From *Guglielmo Oberdan* (Ghione, 1915) to Cuori senza Frontiere (Zampa, 1950) and *Il Cuore nel Pozzo* (Negrin 2005), history is narrated as a linear story. The narrative techniques are simple: the close-ups show us what the protagonist feels, the medium shots show us what the characters do, and the wide shots introduce the location and time-frame. In these films storytelling is expository. We follow a narration in third person, where characters and situations are agents of action, in that there is no space for the characters to stop their flow within the urgency of the narrated events, break the texture of the ideological and teleological construct the film is an expression of, and function as a gate to the second level of signification and of questioning of reality. In these films the meaning of the mediated events is locked: the annexation of Trieste to Italy is a founding myth of the Italian Republic, in that cinema built a lineage that links the Italian campaign for the occupation of Trieste to the fascist revolution, and the exodus of the Italian population from Yugoslavia in 1945. The enemy remains the same, the Slav, but the nuances and the feelings the term invokes increased in intensity and gravity. In 1918, the Slavs were a mass of illiterates dangerously lured by the promises of socialism and communist; by 2005, they were communist murderers guilty of genocide. As demonstrated in the previous sections, when translating stories set in Trieste Neorealism did not embrace the opportunity to question history or memory, not even in the form of a documentary.

A point of contact between the essayistic and Neorealism, however, was possible and it is visible in the less political films. An analysis of *Viaggio in Italia/Voyage to Italy* (Rossellini, 1954), which in 1955 Jacques Rivette compared to an essay film in *Cahiers du cinéma* (Rosenbaum, 1977, pp. 54-64), illustrates how Neorealism constitutes a significant lost possibility for the translation of less savoury Italian history in film and the opening of a process of public reckoning with it. In this film, Rossellini allows for the perception of a situation and a narration that is "never an evident [apparent] given of images" (Deleuze, 1989/2017, p. 27). Thus, the protagonist, a bourgeois woman travelling to Naples, reveals her

everyday manufacturing of meaning through a juxtaposition of images that breaks the texture of the plot, indicates the insistence of more meaning than what is expressed. It opens for the audience a space of reflexivity that follows from the woman's ability to see the situation she is in, and her inability to act upon it, as if "haunted by a question to which (she) cannot reply" (ibid., p. 181). The film demonstrates how also in fiction, and not only in the essay film as the most representative form of the *image-temps*, the audience can be allowed to move from an act of perception to an act of assumption elicited by the interstices between the constitutive elements of the moving image:

> Given one image, another image had to be chosen which will induce an interstice between the two. This is not an operation of association, but of differentiation, as mathematicians say, or of disappearance, as physicists say: given one potential, another one has to be chosen, not any whatever, but in such a way that a difference of potential is established between the two, which will be productive of a third or of something new (ibid., p. 185).

This juxtaposition produces a 'cinema of between':

> between two images, which does away with all cinema of the ONE. It is the method of AND, 'this and then that', which does away with all the cinema of Being = is. Between two actions, between two affections, between two perceptions, between two visual images, between two sound images, between the sound and the visual: make the indiscernible, that is the frontier, visible. (ibid., p. 185).

This intention of getting out of the chain of association that cinema produces and to look at the void the image seems to cross, puts into question the automatism of the narrative in cinema and ultimately, the construction of meaning. Within this context, there are two tropes of the essay film that might serve well the translation of the silenced history and memory of the indigenous Slav population of Italy into film: the use of the epistolary tradition and the framing of images into

a dissociative discourse, which elicit a self-referential questioning because the object of the essay film is perpetually elusive and continuously looked for.

As Harun Farocki argued, "discourses are a form of narration" (Farocki, 2004, p. 313). In the essay film, discourse is often associated with the voice-over, in that the form is linked to the subjectivity of the filmmaker who addresses the audience. Mostly in the form of the letter, but also as a travelogue, Chris Marker's work is epistolary in *Lettre de Sibérie/Letter from Siberia* (1958), *Sans Soleil* (1983), *Le Tombeau d'Alexandre/The last Bolshevik* (1992), and *Level Five* (1997). The voice-over in his work, however, is not imposing a narrative structure as a separate layer from the images, it works in between them, and within them. It is lyrical and it forms discourse by opening a private space, an intimate corner of personal meaning, which is shared and produced, simultaneously, with the audience. This quality is found in the epistolary films of several diasporic filmmakers, as in the work of Atom Egoyan (*Diaspora*, 2001; *A Portrait of Arshile*, 1995; *Open House*, 1982), where he relocates and reiterate events, places, and memory to find coherence (Cockburn, 2015; Tschofen and Burwell, 2007); and Hamid Naficy (*Arabs in America*, producer, 1981; *Ellis Island: A commune*, director, 1969), who explores the concept of identity and puts into question what it means to situate accent in cinema, in instances where provenience and class are simultaneously local and global, and signify both on the condition of exile, diaspora and de-territorialized ethnic existence, where the subjects feel alienated from the environment they live in (Naficy, 2001). And it is the desire to bridge the distance inflicted by loss that elicits the research for a shared moment, generative of meaning, in film.

Particularly relevant in this context is *Lettres de Panduranga/Letters from Panduranga* (Nguyen Trinh Thi, 2015), which employs the epistolary form to comment on relations of colonisation and silencing of indigenous voices in Vietnam. The film reproduces the opening of *Letter from Siberia* (Marker, 1958), but the distant land is nothing more than a nameless sea where a single small boat tries to find its way toward an unidentified destination. Echoing Marker's work, this essay film approaches the landscape as a place between history and myth, where the opening image juxtaposes an image of solitude to the verbal indication

of an attractive experience of exploration, and the sense of fragility experienced by the population that has been silenced, disposed and erased is palpable. The essay explores the topic through the discussion of the art of the portrait, where the tropes and the subject matters speak of the difference between the projected idea of a country and the reality of the territory the filmmaker encounters. Framing in this context is predicated as a critique against Western colonial discourse, and an attempt to make visible the silenced. The struggle of making visible the invisible is an operation that characterises the essayistic in film, as it is a practice that is both literal and conceptual. As Jean-Luc Nancy demonstrated, the essayistic operates by "dividing up and sharing out" (2005, p. 105). This operation is visible in Chris Marker's *La Jetée* (1962), where memory is triggered by photographic images that are treated as archival material and framed both by a principle of narrative interest, where the director suggests what the audience needs to pay attention to, and in a montage that offers a sense of rhythm and expectation that construct the impression of a vibrant narrative. The narrative, however, is open to a continue reframing, which in the essay film is at the essence of the form: "reframing visually advances the argument that history is not a product, an absolute truth enshrined in libraries and archives, but rather an on-going critical encounter between the past and the present. That encounter, moreover, is not passive or accidental; it is rhetorical" (Lancioni, 1996, p. 398).

The constant reframing at work in the essay film, in its verbal and visual articulations and intertwining production of meaning, is again especially visible in Lanzmann's *Shoah*, where history and memory are constantly observed, questions, juxtaposed to the sudden opening of meaning that grows out of uncomfortable moments of silence.

Conclusion: Historical Amnesia and its Possible Narratives

This chapter draws from diverse theoretical traditions and my formal research to establish the presence of a case of historical amnesia in the Italian collective memory. It demonstrates how Italian cinema had the means to mediate the Italian history of anti-Slavism but elected not to do so. It also established the presence of

a body of documents about the Italian genocide policy, which intended first to forcefully Italianise the indigenous Slavs in the territories annexed in 1918 (half million people), and later to clear the annexed areas from the presence of the Slavs and colonise them with Aryan families of Italian origins. The memory of the intention and events that followed has been silenced in the act of cooperation between the government and the Italian media, which continues to influence the mediation of Italian history into the present.

The construction of memory in film since the inception of cinema followed the evolution of narrative techniques employed by different traditions. In Europe, the difference between the *image-mouvement* and *image-temps* is indicative of a shift in sensibility and the opening of a different relationship between reality and time, history and memory, memorialisation and experience, which found an expression in film. The reckoning with the most shattering and shocking event of the 20th century, the Holocaust, found a voice in the new form of the essay film and can be linked to the expression of political and cultural investigation of imperialism, which is arguably responsible for the enforcement of genocide policies. Related to the ideology of imperialism is the development of colonialism. I argue that in 1918, the annexation of Trieste to the Reign of Italy was followed by the implementation of policies of *internal* colonial imperialism supported by economic and cultural powers resident within the city of Trieste, in that the indigenous Slav population was not only refused access to forms of public visibility, but was deprived of economic, cultural and political agency while forced into a process of italianisation. This process was confronted with the resistance of a part of the population, to which followed a policy of genocide implemented with the intensification of violence, repression, internment, and suppression. The results endangered the identity and the heritage of the indigenous Slav population and promoted the acceptance of the Italian language, culture and life style.

CHAPTER 4

The Films: Hypothesis and Creative Decisions

How much more ambivalent is this curiosity of children of Holocaust survivors, exiled from a world that has ceased to exist, that has been violently erased. Theirs is a different desire, at once more powerful and more conflicted: the need not just to fell and to know, but also to re-member, re-build, to re-incarnate, to replace, and to repair. (Hirsch 1997, p. 244)

Images such as the one frequently reproduced on official posters advertising the Giorno del Ricordo, which depict a little girl holding a suitcase: a prime example of how those who wishes to promote the memory of the foibe tap into the familiar iconography of the persecution of the Jews during the Holocaust in order to align the victims of the foibe with those of the Nazis. Nor is this comparison always merely implicit: some of the fiercest proponents of the memory of the foibe have explicitly referred to it as the Italian Holocaust (Knittel, 2015, p. 179).

Introduction

Currently, memory studies witness the rise of interest in multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009; Wood, 1999), post memory (Hiltunen and Sääskilahti, 2017; Assmann, 2015), and perpetrator memory (Pettitt, 2017). These developments nourish the debates related to cultures, identities and histories of a world that has become global. Postmemory, as the memory of the second generation after the Second World War, which Marianne Hirsch (1997; 2012) employs to foreground family lineages in the transmission of cultural memory, is compelled to enter a dialogue with these emergent frames of memory studies. Similarly, the emotional and conceptual framework underpinning Hirsch's concept of postmemory finds

equivalents in the artistic expressions of second generations belonging to histories of genocide that are unlike the Shoah, or the Holocaust, and in exilic cinema (Emberley, 2014; Naficy, 2001). What is important here, however, is the connection of postmemory to post memory, in that it articulates a tension between the assumptions about history that condition the current reading of specific historical events, as for example the rendering of Trieste's history in Italian cinema, and the works in postmemory that revisit history and memory as an intervention against the contemporary amnesia of past events.

So far, this project has demonstrated that film has supported a specific representation of Italian history, which continues to influence Italian cinema productions and broadcasts. The most famous example being the case of anchor-man Bruno Vespa's performance on the RAI show *Porta a Porta* (RAI, 13/02/2012), when he exhibited a photo of Italian soldiers executing Slav citizens, as captured in Figure 63, and presented as the proof of Tito's atrocities against the Italians in 1945. [29]

Figure 63: Italian troops execute Slav citizens, Dane, Loška Dolina, Slovenia, 31 July 1942.

This work has also demonstrated that the struggle for the annexation of Trieste to Italy has entered the Italian collective memory as a founding myth of the Italian Republic, which underpins the ideological discourse of films like *Il Cuore nel Pozzo*

[29] Dane, Loška Dolina, Slovenia, 31 July 1942. The Italian troops executed Franc Žnidaršič, Janez Kranjc, Franc Škerbec, Feliks Žnidaršič, Edvard Škerbec.

(Negrin, 2005). The idea has been developed by the media during the fascist era, supported during the Cold war, and mythologised with a linkage to the liberation of Europe from the Nazi menace in recent years. Italy continues to iterate narratives of national heroism against both the nazis and the communist threats. One example of this historical discourse, as embedded in the territory, is the inauguration of the plaque commemorating the Liberation of Trieste from the Axis as if it occured with the start of the Anglo-American administration (12 June 1945). The public display of this monument contradicts directly the historical truth, as the city was liberated by the Yugoslav and Slovenian army (1 May 1945).

In this chapter, I analyse how my creative practice has complemented, stimulated and offered answers to my academic research, resulting in the production of three short films: *Behind the Book* (2015), *Lunch with Family* (2016) and *San Sabba* (2016). The study of previous film productions demonstrates that different forms of filmmaking mediate the gap between history and memory at different cognitive levels. Firstly, documentary and fiction set up different expectations and predicate their claim to truth in different ways. Secondly, within these broad categories there are different productions which operate on different modes and tropes, enabling different narratives and dialogues with the audience, which today are informed by digital technologies and convergence. Working in digital formats, from the very beginning I considered how current globalising processes have redefined "spaces of memory and the composition of memory communities" (Assmann, 2015, p. 1). Also, how this could impact the understanding of silenced history in a transnational world where history film engenders a circulation of cultural memory that is consumed by third and fourth generations after the war (ibid, p. 1). Consequently, to reach a larger audience, I decided to develop my creative work in English and where I would use other languages, to subtitle the sequences.

Considering ways to produce films that would be understood by an international audience, I developed these as a response to different issues. Firstly, the discovery of a deep private connection to the silenced history I investigated, which confirmed Hirsch's idea that the effect of silenced history is reflected in the lives of the families that were affected by it. Secondly, the aim to appraise the

creation of autoethnographic work against the background of the grand narrative of Italian history, and in doing so position myself at the cross-road between counter-history and microhistory. Of the four forms of ethnographic writing identified by Humphreys and Watson: "the plain, the enhanced, the semi-fictionalised and the fictionalised" (2009, p. 4), I intended to explore the enhanced and the semifictionalised, as I did not intend to create films aimed at the pure entertainment of the audience but I was aware of the necessity to add to the narrative some fictional elements to aid the translation of silenced history in the visual medium. This strategy aimed to open the debate on the specific silenced history I investigated to an international audience. Thirdly, the intention to keep my work on postmemory in a dialogue with what post memory entails, as currently we face the disappearance of any physical embodiments of experiences of the Shoah, the Holocaust, and the attempted genocide of the Slavs in Italy:

> What had been embodied by the survivors and to some extent prolonged by the second generation in the era of 'postmemory' will have to be created anew in the era of 'post memory'. This means that the link to this event will have to be reconstructed without the help of an indexical 'umbilical cord' (Hirsch, 2008, p. 111)

The question, which Hirsch addressed to the Holocaust scholars, is how to frame a transmission change and to effectively face the growing temporal distance from the historical events and the survivors, who today are rapidly diminishing in number. A problem that appears especially urgent because next to the historic sites, the media will define the frame of transmission (Kobrynskyy and Bayer, 2015). The same urgent question is addressed to the transmission of the silenced history of the indigenous Slav in Italy (1918-1945). The difference, however, lays in the absence of a familiar landscape of iconography related to the attempted genocide of the Slavs in Italy which is not acknowledged by the Italian government. This absence is generative of an impasse between the established narrative tropes employed to translate the embodiment of the western idea of genocide, the Holocaust, and the necessity to established the valence and the modes of

representation of an event that happened simultaneously to the Holocaust but retains an independent foundation. This problem resonates with Raymond Williams' work, in that the example reflects the tendency towards versions of universalism that are exported from the few apparently speaking for the many and drive out of competition more varied narratives (1974). Simultaneously, it calls into question the tropes by which postmemory can be expressed, in that Ricoeur's idea of *emplotment* is not far behind any processing of postmemory, as the narrative expressing human experience and its temporal frameworks implies the re-description of discordant elements into an internal coherence where history answers questions grounded in the present (Benjamin, 1940/2007). Moreover, the tension towards realism needs to be negotiated as a desire for an understanding of the past that we can never grasp (Jameson, 2013).

Thus, my attempts to reveal the silenced history of the indigenous Slav in Trieste through creative practice will imply a dialogue both with the archival material I found, my own experience of discovery of this material, and the text of the film. I will try to open the space in-between images, and in so doing pose questions about the distance of the present from the past, history, memory and postmemory from a specific point of view, my own situatedness. This process, will imply a reckoning with two overlapping genocides, of the Slavs and the Jews, which shared partially in their timing and the collusion of the Nazis with the Italian fascists, but are essentially different.

Film as Research in Postmemory

The archival and creative investigations outlined in the previous sections added to the development of three investigative trajectories which guided my creative practice. The first investigative trajectory drew from previous examples to develop a clear historical narrative from the findings of my archival research: the mapping of the history of the indigenous Slav of the annexed territories to Italy in 1918, the exploration of the events that had been silenced, and the juxtaposition of these events to the established historical narrative in place in Italy. As an answer to the

need to reveal the silenced events to an audience, the way in which the films would process the archival material constituted a question from the very beginning, in that it would also comment on the version of history reflected in the Italian cinema and television productions I studied. During this process, in reconstructing history through photos, documents and films, I discovered that starting in 1918, generation after generation, people had experienced life in Trieste and the north-eastern territories annexed in 1918 on often opposed standpoints. Thus, the way Italian media had translated history was the symptom of a tension in action, which sprang from the lack of public recognition of a cultural and attempted physical genocide of the indigenous Slavs (Guerrazzi, 2013), and was maintained by the Italian attempt to silence history for the foreseeable future. This made me realise that the documents in the archives constituted not only a source of counter-history but testified to the presence of a founding trauma of an ethnic minority that bears a fraught heritage. This means that in Trieste when we speak of experience and memory, politics are never far behind. Italians and Slavs have both internalised the past as a discourse on memory that influences their present and future choices.

The second investigative trajectory was born out of my personal connection to the silenced history I unearthed. This trajectory was driven by my personal reckoning with the past, in that I interwove the fragmentary notions of history I had inherited through the stories my parents narrated, as witnesses of events or bearers of memory, with the newly acquired knowledge I gained through my archival research. Accordingly, as in my teens I had struggled with inherited memories because they dominated my existence and displaced the importance of the events in my own life in my parents' eyes, in the present the newly acquired knowledge confronted me with additional questions on memory and postmemory. Within this cognitive horizon, the forced italianisation of the indigenous Slavs of the annexed territory in 1918 fell into a wider history of imperial violence toward the *other*. Thus, when I discovered that one of the most prominent Slovenian intellectuals in Trieste, Vladimir Turina, belonged to my father's family, I processed the discovery of his interment in an Italian penal house

in the 1930s within a wider reading of persecution and domestic cultural colonialism.

The impact of this discovery on my identity and reckoning with my parents' silence, however, convinced me that the creative production of a narrative of general nationalistic revisionism was an insufficient solution for the translation of the relationship between silenced history and postmemory, as its articulation was intergenerational and personal. Consequently, the second trajectory developed into an intention to produce films as the expression of postmemory in relation to scattered and fragmented knowledge, the effect of time and the resonance of the after effects of loss. This resonated within the experience of the Slovenian community of Trieste, as their founding trauma became mine, and the dialogue that followed impacted my understanding of the importance of transmission. A process that aligns itself with the attempt to understand the present by looking at its troubled relationship with an historical trauma that was a source of identity both for those who lived through it, and in different ways for those born into its aftermath.

Looking for specific examples of Slovenian postmemory in film I found a few recent documentaries, which are indicative of an increasing interest in the period 1918-1954. *Streli v Bazovici/Gunshots in Bazovica* (Tugo Štiglic, 2011) employs interviews with historians, family members, and re-enactment, to compose a portrayal of the first Slovenian men sentenced to death by the Italian Special Tribunals in Trieste, in 1930. *Alexandrinke* (Metod Pevec, 2011) sheds light on the female emigration that started in the 1920s, when the Slovenian women would go to work in Alexandria (Egypt) as wet nurses and nannies, due to the Italian policy of forced assimilation that induced a widespread unemployment and poverty in the Slovenian areas annexed to Italy. *Moja Meja/My border* (Nadja Velušček and Anja Medved, 2002) offers a collage of testimonies on the impact of the *white line* from the Slovenian perspective. Additionally, I considered recent examples of films thinking about postmemory of mass violence generated by totalitarian regimes and imperial programmes of mass deportation, incarceration and genocide within Europe, specifically films about the Holocaust and films about the Stalinist era. The films of Marceline Loridan-Ivens and Robert Thalheim are

representative of the contemporary attempt to look at how future generations will be able to relate to the Shoah in ethical ways. *Le Petite Prairie aux Bouleaux/The Birch-Tree Meadow* (Loridan-Ivens, 2003), is an evocative, intimate film narrating the meeting between a holocaust survivor, Myriam, and the grandson of a SS officer, Oskar, at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The film follows Myriam, who while reminiscing of the past enters the camp from a secondary gate and walks into the unkempt building where she was detained. When she meets Oskar, she becomes one with the archaeology of the Shoah that the place embodies. Her attempts to recognise the original morphology of the camp meets his attempt to negotiate his father's role. The joint effort predicated on a spirit of human sympathy, however, fails when they realise that there is no possible common history of the Holocaust for them: she is the bearer of a memory he will never be able to enter. *Am Ende kommen Touristen/And Along Come* Tourists (Thalheim, 2007) tells the story of a young German man who spent one year of civilian service at the German Auschwitz concentration camp. There he discovered the absolute solitude of an elderly camp survivor living there. The film offers an insightful mediation of the German attempt to bridge the distance between the past and the present, to engage with a dark chapter of European history and to keep alive the dialogue between Holocaust survivors and new generations. It reveals the nuances of an impossible task, which needs to be constantly attempted: to make understandable the individual experience of millions of people, who suffered and died in the extermination camp of Auschwitz as a faceless mass. *I was a Child of Holocaust Survivors* (Ann Marie Fleming, 2010) is among the most powerful representations of postmemory. The film is the adaptation of Bernice Eisenstein's illustrated book (2007). Fleming translated the drawings into an animation to represent the network of relationships postmemory invests the bearer with, and the impact it can have on children. The plasticity of the form, enhancing Eisenstein's drawings, allows for the audience to enter the child's mind and to explore the representation of Bernice's feelings, while humour helps her to probe the taboos around second-hand trauma. Additionally, I found that some examples of Eastern European fictions written by Jewish survivors offer stunning works on memory: *Obchod na korze/The Shop on Main Street* (Jan Kadár and Elmar Klos,

1965), which employs surrealism to narrate how the Slovak people welcomed the arrival of the Nazis. *Pasazenka/Passenger* (Andrzej Munk, 1963), which portrays the persistence of memory of mass murder during a banal day at work, when flashbacks take the protagonist to the camp where the Polish survivor was interned. The memories, however, are fully unleashed only when the protagonist recognises one of her captors on a passenger ship. Also, *The Pawnbroker* (Sidney Lumet, 1964), which evokes parallels between violence and surviving techniques in the concentration camp and urban New York through the memories of a survivor's and his reaction to American poverty.

The unresolved past that crosses generation in families affected by Stalin's regime, and their experience in Soviet labour camps, is represented in *Memories Denied* by Estonian director Imbl Paju (2005). It translates the impact the silencing of violent personal memories can have after sixty years. In this essay film, Paju employs archival material and interviews to narrate the history of the Soviet invasion of Estonia in 1940 (06:20), followed by the German invasion in 1941, when the area had become the front between the German and the Russian army, and finally in 1944 the return of the Soviet regime. The policy of deportation that followed was the answer to the presence of *unsuitable elements* and the resistance against the annexation of Estonia to the Soviet Union. Paju interweaves history with her memories as a child of unsuitable elements and the footage of her mother, reminiscent of her time in the labour camp. Paju focuses the film on her mother's "suffering in remembrance", which penetrated her subconscious (03:40). The mother, who with her silences and her broken sentences continues to be fearful of the consequences speaking of memory could bring, shed a light on the difficulties of healing from the wounds of silence imposed by fear.

In looking for a film grammar able to portray both unknown historical events and postmemory, I found especially useful Sarah Polley's *The Stories We Tell* (2012), which resonates with the work of Annette Kuhn in the book *Family Secrets* (2002), in that Kuhn's reading of photos as pointing always to something else that escapes us, constituted a key both to a reading of Polley's film and my own experience of family's history. The idea of photos pointing to something else that we can never grasp prompted the analysis of autobiographical and

autoethnographic filmmaking, which included Rea Tajiri's *History and Memory: For Akiko and Takashige* (1991). From Tajiri's strong use of archival finding and memory of pain one has not witnessed, I considered the use of authorial absence from the composition of the shot as a powerful narrative technique able to symbolise my relation to a history I did not witness but had populated my life from its conception. Jill Daniels's *My Private Life* (2014), constituted a useful example of the use of multiple voices and the exploration of memory; while *Not Reconciled* (Daniels, 2009), offered an example of playful use of narrative techniques to express issues of memory and postmemory related to the ruins of Belchite in Northern Spain, where ghosts of killed people await the discovery of their unmarked graves.

This second trajectory was the recipient of a continuous labouring, made of research and personal questioning, that supported the development of screen ideas reclaiming history and transforming it "into a more or less enabling basis of life in the present" (LaCapra, 2004, p. 57), which I aimed to achieve through the prism of postmemory as

> I was writing out of a very particular location and a subject position I had never before seen as my own, that of the daughter of survivors – not camp survivors, to be sure, but survivors of persecution, ghettoization, and displacement. I was writing as someone who had inherited the legacy of a distant and incomprehensible past that I was only just beginning to be ready to study and to try to understand from a larger historical and generational perspective (Hirsch, 2012, pp. 13-14).

However, if for Hirsch at stake was a memory that was at the very same time perpetuated and eroded (Hirsch, 2008, p. 104), in my case the concept of postmemory allowed me to find the platform for the discussion of an historical trauma that in Trieste, and Italy, is not publically acknowledged, yet. The issue of acknowledgment continued to be the core of the matter, as the indirect knowledge of the silenced events that the 'second generation' (ibid., p. 106), the third in the case of the Slavs of Trieste, remembers by means of photos, stories

and behaviours among which they grew up, has become the ground for political identity. It is in this context that, also on a personal level, the archive became not only a gate to the past but an anchor, as it constituted "the most direct form of contact with reality as at least its traces and material residues" (LaCapra, 2004, p. 24). Thus, I felt it was important to offer a testimony of my story, as self-implication in my object of research.

The third investigative trajectory is found in the process of researching form and allowing postmemory to emerge through the creative practice itself. The scrutiny of form, however, predicated the entire research process, as in the analysis of Italian cinema and television productions one of the components I studied was the relationship between theme, story, protagonists, story structure and visualisation. This revealed the employment of screenwriting principles to support ideology and discourse, which created a set of archetypes that were iterated and became part of the local *natural memory* able to enforce collective amnesia. This process relegated the indigenous Slovenian *Erlebnis*, the experience of life, into silence and promoted an *Erfahrung*, the experience that enters tradition, which not only supported the Italian historical discourse but jeopardised the Slovenian identity by hindering its visibility and transmission on the territory. Consequently, the analysis of Italian films depicting Trieste and its history revealed that form in Italy is ideology, in that the use of melodrama (*Guglielmo Oberdan*, 1915; *Camicia Nera*, 1933; *Cuori senza Frontiere*, 1950; *Trieste Mia!,* 1951; *Il Cuore nel Pozzo*, 2005) predicated history as a tragedy in which the protagonists express their feelings in excess because of the righteousness of their claim, and the villains are stock characters of recurrent Slav characteristics, as defined in the Italian collective memory. A narrative tradition that merges with expression of the myth of the border to the Slav world, the irredentist mottos, the founding myth of the annexation of Trieste as the completion of the Italian national struggle, the reclaiming of the territory predicated in the fascist era, the Cold War narratives, which are channelled today into the cultural bias against the Eastern Europeans (the Slavs) at large.

The challenge was to find the narrative techniques able to translate silenced history as personal and collective and demonstrate that by focusing on

providing a reading of history that is simultaneously counter-history and personal history, it is possible to apply concepts of imaginative and illustrative creative practice to intervene in the present. And to give agency to the repressed (here understood as the voice of the subaltern and the traces of the residual), without juxtaposing to the Italian tradition yet another nationalistic narrative. Accordingly, the form of my creative projects developed both as a response to and the thinking-through of the research questions, which became intrinsically related to my bond to the phantom of a past community, as defined by Marianne Hirsch:

> Postmemory's connection to the past is mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation. To grow up with overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic fragments of events that still defy narrative reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present. This is, I believe, the structure of postmemory and the process of its generation (2012, p. 5)

The entire process benefitted from a process of feedback loops with the findings displayed in the chapters on Italian cinema; the discovery of my family's history as processed simultaneously to the analysis of relevant previous narratives in film, and the process of creation involved in the production of my films.

Production Questions and the Scripts

The process of writing the screenplays for what would become three films: *Behind the Book* (2015), *Lunch with Family* (2016) and *San Sabba* (2016), started simultaneously with my research into Italian cinema and my archival research. Therefore, the act of writing the screenplay was also understood as a form of research. It was stimulated by the gathering of footage in Trieste, which occurred

progressively during each field trip. Via camera and microphone, I registered my discoveries in the archive and my reactions, and filming became a probing, as watching the footage often revealed unnoticed details in documents, photos and locations. The study of Italian cinema production between 1909 and 2010 stimulated a process of accumulation of knowledge and reading of footage that raised questions about received narratives of the past, orthodox forms of narration, film techniques, grammar, languages, and the classic narrative structure. Most importantly, the process raised questions of my screenwriting practice, as screenwriting as a method to expand academic research does not have the collaborative qualities of screenwriting for the industry and as Baker defines, it offers "the distinct vision of a single writer-researcher" (2013, p. 4), whose self-reflexive research inform the writing more than the expectations of a commercial demand.

My production processes addressed the following issues: given the historical discourse in films about Trieste where the Italian identity of the city has been established in contrast to everything Slav, and unsavoury events have been withheld from public memory; how could I translate silenced history in film to establish its legitimate place in the Italian collective memory? Given the questions of memory and postmemory cast by the findings in the archive, where I discovered unknown history directly related to my family; which narrative techniques would allow me to narrate multiple layers of meaning, as silenced history has an impact on subsequent generations of people? And how could I position myself in relation to history and memory, as who is doing the telling constitutes an important element in my research? Given the influences from other film productions and theories from trauma studies, Holocaust studies and postcolonial studies, would this lead to understanding that historical discourse in film is different than postmemory discourse?

Possible stories and narratives coalesced in the idea for the first film, *Behind the Book*, which was initially envisaged as a documentary. The question reproduced on the film's poster, "how much truth can you handle?", as captured in Figure 64 (Turina, 2015), encapsulated the tension between established historical narratives underpinning the Italian identity and a past that if

acknowledged would challenge them. It also reflected the experience on which the film was based.
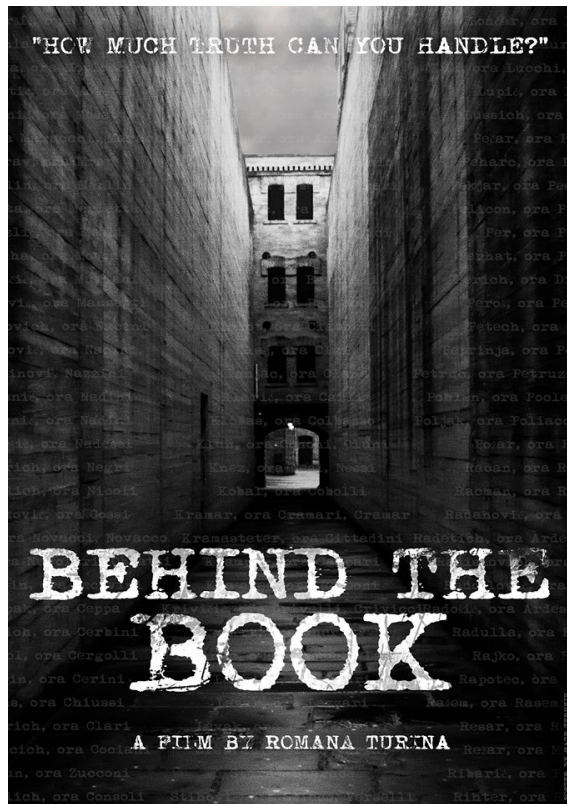
Figure 64: Poster for *Behind the Book,* Romana Turina, 2015.

In 2010, years before I discovered the large Turina Archive at the Department of Historical and Ethnological studies of the Narodna in Študijska Knjižnica Trstu (the Slovenian National Library in Trieste), I had met a former inmate of the Risiera di San Sabba, Marino Palcich. Between 2010 and 2012 he used to visit the site every Sunday and tell his story to the visitors, competing for the attention of people with the local tour guides. This behaviour, indicating a discrepancy between the narrative in display at the museum and the experience of the survivor, had stirred my research. I wanted to revisit this encounter and open a debate on silenced history and places of memorialisation in Trieste. I had identified the Risiera di San Sabba, an Axis concentration camp in Trieste operating between 1943 and 1945, as the most evident example of the historical discourse shaping the narrative of the city, in that the exhibition underplayed the use of the camp as a base for anti-partisan combat between 1943-1945 and mirrored the

historical discourse found in the Nazis camps of central and eastern Europe. During my repeated visits to the site, I had the chance to investigate what the place meant both for the people working in it, and the people visiting it. My interest in the development of a documentary that narrated multiple kinds of relationship with the Risiera di San Sabba furthered when Marino and I met again, in January 2013, and he agreed to work with me.

Palcich had been interned in the Risiera for five months in 1944 with other *Kinderbanditen* (children-bandits), youngsters helping the anti-fascists. During that period, he was employed both as slave labour in the camp and as a human shield during the Axis missions against the partisans (Maranzana, 2004). His experience was of a camp that was used as a transit for the Jewish people sent to the camps in the East, and a detention, torture and killing site for anti-fascists, partisans, and their families. Offering a view on the camp from the inside, Marino initially agreed to being interviewed on camera in the Risiera and to engaging in a debate with the people working in the Museum of the Risiera di San Sabba on the high number of Slavs who had died there as political prisoners (anti-fascists) or hostages, in retaliation for aiding communist partisans. I hoped this exchange would reveal how the privileging of certain accounts of history entailed the silencing of other perspectives, which are not represented in any Italian media. Furthermore, the absence of an Italian film on the Risiera di San Sabba added to the appeal of constructing a documentary able to tell Marino's story, and to comment on the proximity of this camp to civilian life, which would continue undisturbed outside the walls of what was known between 1943 and 1945 like the 'German barracks', or one of the many 'Police Depot' in Trieste.[30]

The development of this first film proved difficult and required changes in form and story at multiple stages. When Marino entered the archive with me, my relationship to the film changed. The recuperative naming at stake in the observation of photographs made me toil with the idea of including images of unknown people and massacres in the documentary. Marino objected to the idea, and I found his position controversial because in the case of the silenced history

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[30] Interview with Marino Palcich, January 2013. Author's archive.

of the indigenous Slavs in Italy, it equated to the iteration of silence on what had happened. Simultaneously, however, Marino's recognition of some people in the photos, and objection to their use as a source of spectacle in film, confirmed how the horrific dehumanisation the images pronounce should not be softened by voice-over or any music. This sudden vicarious vicinity to the victim made me see how the photo made for an obscene portrayal (Liss, 1998, pp. 5-6), as they were the result of crimes to which those victims, who had become people through the words of Marino, were subjected. Their use in the film would have iterated the view of those people as corpses and continue to define them as objects of our gaze not as people. It is in this context that Lanzmann's work became a point of reference for the narration of genocide, as the debate on the use of photos generated questions about notions of realism, and when Marino suggested watching *Ostatni Etap/The Last Stage* (Wanda Jakubowska, 1948), as the only film that portrayed the fear he felt in the camp, I was confronted with a notion of realism driven by the personal experience suffered by the filmmaker, who witnessed the narrated events, which I could not offer. Simultaneously, the debate made me question the possibility of portraying silenced history through a linear narrative. I especially questioned the impact of the present tense of narration or its cinematic equivalent, the rules of dramatization and the relatively omniscient point of view presented in the Italian neorealist films, which all distract the audience's attention from the writer's own narrative agency to offer a view on reality that seems almost observational. Issues of agency also brought to light the risk of portraying Marino's testimony as the archetypal experience in the Risiera di San Sabba. This was problematic on multiple levels. First, it would give to the documentary the impression of bridging the epistemological gap between the witness and the audience about the past, as if by watching this one film we could enter all the truth about San Sabba. Second, due to Marino's biographical authority, it could be felt like a possible blueprint for subsequent productions, offering codified tropes of representation that could ossify the depiction of characters, place and relationships.

While working with Marino on possible sequences that would introduce the events through interviews, as in *Shoah* (Lanzmann, 1985), I was suddenly

refused permission to film in the camp and no explanation was offered. While forced to abandon my original project, Marino continued to fascinate me. Consequently, I developed the idea for a documentary which would debate all the above and consider also the tropes already in place in the representation of acts of persecution during the Second World War in Italy. As demonstrated in this doctoral work, the representation of violence during the Second World War in Italian cinema tend to follow the Holocaust narrative and is immediately recognisable as German (nazi) or Yugoslav (communist) rather than Italian. The iterated narratives serve well the Italian *negationism*, as they inform the Italian collective memory on the policies of persecution and isolation against certain categories of citizens but not others. The return of this fascist ideology and related violence has been signalled in recent newspaper articles (Saviano, 2018). Also, the iterated narratives influence the current hierarchy of evil that populates the media representation of the past, exercising a consistent acculturation both in Italy and in Europe. This seemed to be a very strong point to make in a documentary that would have been both unearthing events kept silenced in Italy and exploring the socio-cultural consequences of silencing unsavoury history. When I presented the idea to Palcich, however, he decided to withdraw from the project as in his opinion there was no point to it if we were not allowed to film in the Risiera.

I then decided to translate my experience in a fiction. The question, "how much truth can you handle?" (Turina, 2015) continued to elicit my attention and I started to build a story from there. Drawing from the resources available at the University of York, I translated my experience in a story mirroring my meeting with Marino, which would question matters of representation of history in the media. The story was written in accordance with the classic three act structure, presented one protagonist and one antagonist. I favoured simplicity over complexity, and I chose to hire professional actors to deliver the performance. [31] This simple orchestration of the means of production, permitted me to focus on the creation

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[31] Audrey Woodhouse played the show's presenter, Richard Easterbrook played Marino, and Jasmine Rose Burridge played Edda.

of complex characters, who embody two contrasting memory discourses, the Italian and the Slovenian. The idea was to observe an exceptional event in the lives of two people, which challenges the provisional knowledge they have of the past and debunks the sense of continuity that memory offers. The meeting of these two people would also reveal the characteristics of the Italian cultural heritage concerning Trieste, in an exercise presenting similarities to films like *Ils Sont Partout/The Jews* (Yvan Attal, 2016), where ordinary people in ordinary situations reveal extraordinary insights into French anti-Semitism.

Thinking of which kind of character would be the most vulnerable if invested with the truth about a past that challenges thier identity, the character of Edda was born out of the need of the story, which I set in a TV studio that I could access at the Department of Theatre, Film and Television of the University of York. In creating Edda, I drew from discussions with Italian friends, who held a fearful opposition to the scrutiny of Italian history and found hard to accept that Italy withheld a conspicuous part of Trieste's history. Thus, I centred the story on a young historian, Edda Brown, who is invited to present her book about her grandfather's heroic deeds during the Second World War on a live daytime magazine show, Behind the Book. Marino Novak, a survivor of the Risiera di San Sabba concentration camp in Trieste, where Edda's grandfather was interned, is also a guest on the show. The meeting between the two opens the arena for the discovery of a very different historical narrative in which, rather than being a hero who saved innocents from the gas chamber, Edda's grandfather is identified by Novak as having worked for the Axis powers.

I developed the screenplay following a screenwriting process of rewriting that adjusted the story to the discovery of new material, as historians who engage with the pre-photographic past and the absence of surviving testimony are forced to do (Bell, 2011, p. 10). The development of the story and the characters, which found their inception when I first met Marino, was entirely based on historical documents and personal discussions with Slovenian and Italian friends, as I wanted this film to be as close as possible to a re-enactment of an event that could have happened. However, while "re-enactment risks implying greater truth-value for the re-created event than it deserved" (Nichols 1991, p. 176), I wanted to argue

that fiction can represent the past by making a series of assumptions. The character arc of Marino Novak was influenced by the discovery that the myth of silence about trauma, a trope that in the first draft of the screenplay I had borrowed from Holocaust studies, did not entirely apply to the Slovenian community in Trieste. This discovery prompted additional research in the archive, as certain families had been silent (as I would discover of my own), but in others there had been a gathering of documents and collections of photographs to pass down to the next generations as a testimony of the past. Between those who had remained silent, most notoriously the Slovenian writer Giani Stuparich who was interned in the Risiera di San Sabba, and those who documented their experience, like Slovenian writer Boris Pahor, lies a vast spectrum of personal experiences and decisions. [32] In the final script for *Behind the Book*, I decided to collocate my characters within this spectrum with Marino, who represented the active memory I encountered in the Slovenian archive, and Edda, who represented those who had predicated their life on a fictional account of the past transmitted by their parents. Consequently, the final film focuses on the moment when Edda realises how a story that has completely marked her life had been in fact a fictional account. In meeting Novak, she becomes un-done by the revelation of a past she had no access to.

The understanding gained in the development and production of *Behind the Book* made me realise that the story's structure I had chosen did not fit the subject matter. The story had revealed the presence of a gap, a silenced experience happened in the past that had influenced both Marino and Edda's lives. The film, however, had neither offered the space for the exploration of Marino's experience, as a survivor of a deleted world, nor Edda's experience, as a descendant confronted with a past she had no knowledge of. In this, *Behind the Book* indicated the possibility of a relationship of discovery between Marino and

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[32] Stuparich was interned in the Risiera di San Sabba in 1944 with his mother Gisella, and his wife, Elody Oblath (Jewish). He did not write or talked about it. Boris Pahor, a Slovenian from Trieste, documented his experience and published in Germany and France since the 1950s, before being published in Italy in the 2000s.

Edda that could be developed into a feature film. Most importantly, however, it revealed the moment in time I needed to explore on film, if I wanted to talk about silenced history, collective memory and postmemory in Trieste: the crossing of the threshold that divides a life of certainties in a known past from a life of wondering about the trajectory our lives could have taken if in the past an unknown event did not disrupt its continuity within a community.

The development of the second script, *Lunch with Family* (2016), was influenced by the discovery of Vladimir Turina's archive and my investigation of his connection to my father's family. Vladimir Turina (1908-1986) was a Slovenian anti-fascist born in Italy, who was arrested in 1936 for having distributed with Stanko Sosič and Roman Pahor, parcels containing "clothing, provisions, and juvenile literature at the doors and windows of poor Slovenian children in the environs of Trieste" (Čermelj, 1945, p. 173) on Christmas Eve 1935. He was sent to the penal colony on the Island of Ponza, South Italy, and returned to Trieste after the end of the Second World War. The discovery in the archive felt especially uncanny because a former British serviceman had previously questioned me about Vladimir in 2008, when I first looked for veterans who served in Trieste between 1945 and 1954. At that time, I had no indication of our kinship and did not investigate any further. When I resumed my contact with the British Element Force in Trieste (BETFOR), nobody seemed to have met Vladimir or recall my informant, Mr. Denis Daniel Harnetty, who had served in Trieste from 1945-1946 (4th Queens Own Hussars). [33] Sadly, it transpired that Harnetty had died in 2009. Thus, I had nothing but the newly discovered archival material in a language I hardly understood, Slovenian.

This investigation interlinked with the stage in my research when I looked for some form of resistance and subaltern agency in retaining the traces of the past within the Slovenian community through the decades. It led me to the analysis of the historical space of the subaltern in hegemonic societies (Gramsci, 2003, pp. 52-120; Bhabha, 1994; Williams, 1958/1990, 1977, 1975, 1966; Spivak,

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[33] BETFOR [Online]. Available at: http://www.milhist.net/betfor/members.html [Accessed 5 October 2016].

1985; Hoggart, 1976), and to the discovery of the essay film form, as debated in previous sections.

The development of *Behind the Book* (2015) had constituted my point of entrance into possible ways of contemplating the generational structure of memory and how it continues to inflect who we are. Hence, through the writing of a screenplay for *Lunch with Family* (2016) as an essay film, of which here is reproduced the poster in Figure 65 (Turina, 2016), I wanted to form ideas on how to include aspects of historical and geographical information into the script, and how to produce new knowledge of the relationship between history, trauma, memory and postmemory in Trieste. This resulted in a practice that solved narrative problems through the act of writing and creating, simultaneously. This originated a cyclical loop of feedbacks that produced the narrative solutions I implemented in the final version of the film.
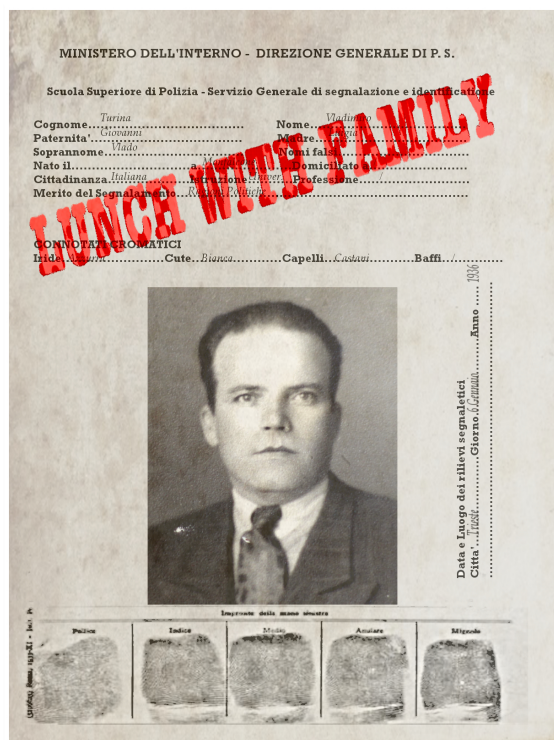
Figure 65: Poster for *Lunch with Family,* Romana Turina, 2016.

I approached the development of this film drawing from some sequences filmed in Trieste, which recorded my reactions to the finding of documents and photos concerning Vladimir's life. Discrepancy and diversity characterised the

subject matter of the film, which wanted to reveal an alternative historical timeline, the silenced one, through an investigation of Vladimir's connection to me. The task was difficult, especially because of the confusion created by the indiscriminate use of images of killing by the Italian media advocating the ferocity of the Slavs during the past decades. It compelled me to be particularly precise about the content, sources and context of the photos I decided to use in the film, as far from being a window into the past, they often do not hold a fixed meaning. Thus, I had to define the indexicality of the archival material I continued to discover against the grain of the Italian traditional reading of the Slav culture in Trieste - which included the reading of the newly discovered family's records.

The process, and matters of clarity, led to the construction of two story lines that would merge in the end of the film: a historical counter-narrative supported by images of long buried documents and photos, and the narration of my own experience of discovery through different personas. In line with the essay film tropes, meaning would be inferred by the juxtaposition of the images to the voice-over, as the experience I wanted the audience to have was one of dialogue with my cognitive toiling, focused on reconstructing the silenced past. This strategy would permit me to offer a view of my personal journey *from within* (Cutler & Klotman, 1999, pp. xvii-xxix): a close-up, a first-person narrative enabling multiple layers of meaning. I hoped that the experience of watching me, while I tried to understand how the Slovenians in Trieste occupied a subaltern position between 1918 and 1945, how the absence of official recognition of the Italian anti-Slavs policies affected my family, and how the discovery influenced the construction of my own identity, would offer to the audience a window into a reality they might never encounter. Most of all, I hoped that such a close reading of family history would aid the translation of silenced history in film and make remote events interesting and revelatory.

In *Lunch with Family*, however, there was one aspect of the experience that needed additional translation if the audience were to access it: my mental process of reckoning with my shifting identity. To express this, I considered the use of animation and I built a physical representation of my relationship with postmemory in a miniature of a white room, a visual solution that I will analyse in

detail in the next section. While thinking about animation and continuing to build the miniature, I allowed for the screenplay to morph into multiple versions, according to priorities dictated by my newly discovered relation to the indigenous Slavs of Trieste. This methodology permitted me to draw on emerging pockets of relevance that continued to surface and changed my way of thinking about the impact of silenced history. For example, while one of the most striking experiences of working in an archive is the ability to discover a world we did not know existed, but also to look at photos of people in retrospective with the knowledge of what has followed, in my case this encounter became personal. In the case of children's photos of the Slovenian schools closed during the fascist era and the few taken during secret schooling, the images testify both to a will to give to the children an education and a sense of continuity. The gaze of these children confronted me, as they look confident towards a future they were ultimately not allowed to have. And the pictures became suddenly unbearable when I found Vladimir among these children. Eventually, I was to learn that Vladimir was a cousin of my father. This translated in the first scripted pages of the possible animated documentary, as I felt that animation could help me in portraying states of mind and emotions difficult to represent in live-action sequences (Honess Roe, 2013, 2011; Wells, 2002, 1997).

The animated sequences were set within the white room, which represented the only space in which the personal loss became negotiable, as therein rested the key to unclaimed existential possibilities open to the future. From the very first attempt at writing the animated sequence, however, the action in the white room was predicated on the re-enactment of moments captured only in life writing, and if it allowed for the disclosure of my family's predicament, as the lives of the people portrayed were always threatened by the forced silencing of history, the animation started to take over. Thus, if initially the script was about silenced history, and my quest in understanding who Vladimir Turina was constituted also a narrative device able to disseminate historical information, in writing each animated scene, I was writing *myself* as an embodied protagonist of the story (the animated puppet). At this stage, the film continued to be about history, but mostly, it was about receiving a silenced history and dealing with it

when it obliterates your identity, as the examples of early copies of the screenplay for the animation demonstrate, as captured in Figure 66 and Figure 67. The final decision to remove the animation brought the script to balance and focused it on revealing silenced history through the archival finding. Also, it allowed for Vladimir's story to become the link between the lost past and my re-defined identity.
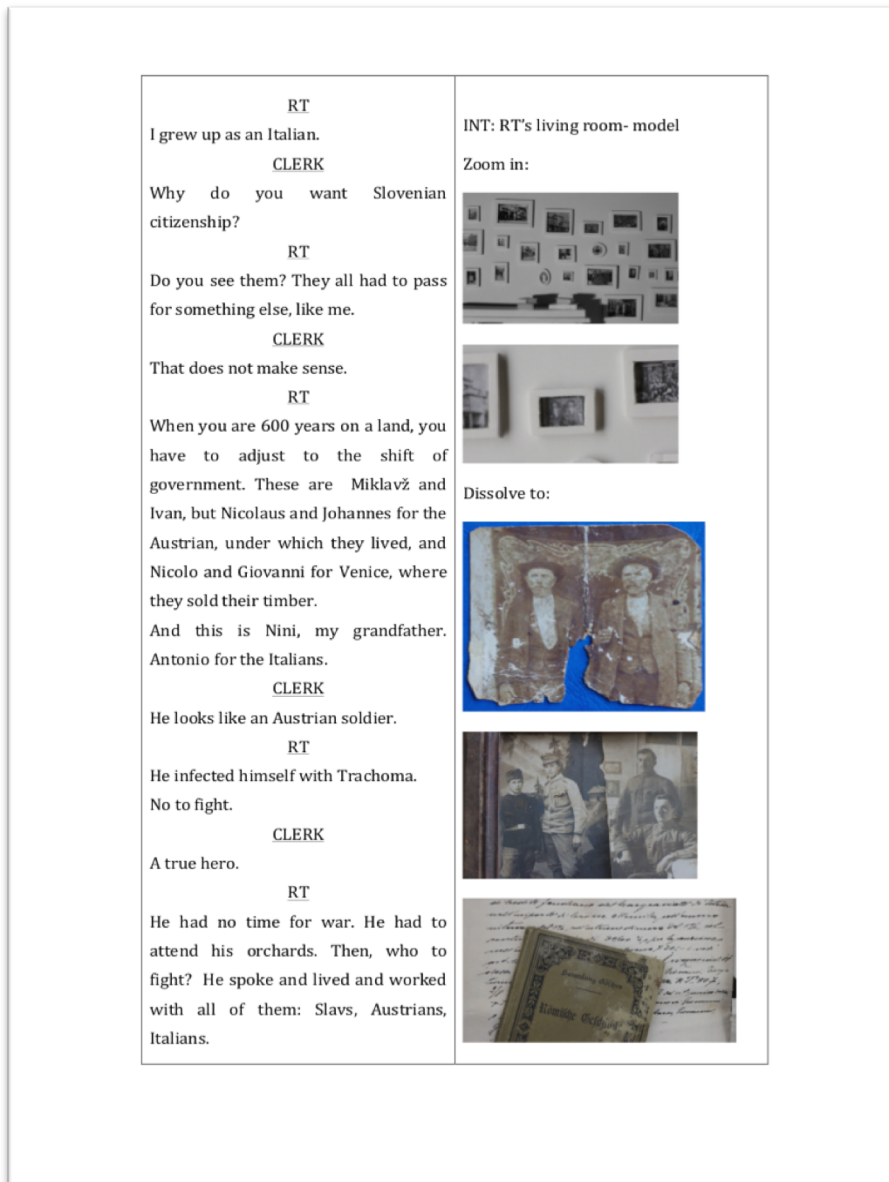
Figure 66: Example of early scenes for *Lunch with Family,* Romana Turina, 2016.

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1       INT. WHITE ROOM - DAY                              1

        ANIMATED

        Early morning. RT on the sofa, she closes the empty book and
        looks at the wall above the fireplace.

                            RT(V.O.)
                Every morning the frames take a new
                position as if leading a life on
                their own. There! You see?

        Close up of family's photo.

                            RT(V.O.)
                They move their lips! They try to
                tell me something. Can you read
                their lips? I cant.

        Pool focus from one face in the photo to the other.

                            RT (V.O.)
                It is not their fault. I am the one
                born too late. When everything had
                already happened and sedimented
                into the past.

        The image of Nicolaus and Johannes.

                            RT (V.O.)
                600 years and everything that is
                left is the archive. Mute papers in
                place of flesh and blood, desire...

        Pool back to the whole wall above the fireplace.

                            RT (V.O.)
                How can I really know who they
                were? How did they sound? How did
                they walk, smile, love? IF only I
                could find the key to the words in
                these mute books, faces,
                relationships. If only I would know
                why to be among them feels like
                home.

2       INT. RT FLAT - DAY                                 2

        ANIMATED

        The table covered with documents. RT asleep at the table. RT
        wakes up.


                                              (CONTINUED)
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Figure 67: Example of early scenes for *Lunch with Family,* Romana Turina, 2016.

The process by which the film was created, however, merged writing and editing. In allowing the telling of silenced history through archival material, I permitted it to influence the content of the sequence and to dictate its rhythm. This process mirrored both the tension towards clarity and the lack of linearity present in my life. Long monologues in voice-over appeared on the page and recorded my feeling of being disjointed, of being forced to look at the consequences of an Italian history made by a parade of fictions: a political amnesia created by Fascism and subsequently maintained by an anti-communist

democracy.[34] As a result, the final voice-over emerged very slowly, and the process elicited a considerable personal investment. A reflection about my findings, and the way Italian media conditioned assumptions about history to support conformity to a specific historical discourse, the voice-over changed at each polishing of sequences, at each adding of archival material to better reveal the history of the indigenous Slovenian of Italy, and at each new still taken from the animation that found its way into the film. As I will analyse in the next section, the result amounted to a film that presents a substantial amount of archival material and to the use of text on screen to put the material into context.

Consequently, in *Lunch with Family* I continued to address my first production question - how to translate silenced history in film - and tackled matters related to narrative techniques able to narrate multiple layers of meaning related to different cognitive processes. I also looked at how the historical discourse in film differs from my postmemory discourse through the positioning of my agency in relation to history and memory. This is particularly visible in the unveiling of a memory that returned to me in the final stages of editing and concludes the film. The simplicity of a lost memory, but ingrained in my brain, reveals how not only silenced history is detrimental to the life of people, but people contribute to the silencing by removing painful knowledge to try to fit into the society they must inhabit. The descendants are left with this feeling, and they struggle yet again to feel adequate. Thus, similarly to Polley's *Stories We Tell* (2012), this film is a journey of discovery of my family's secrets, which surprised me, changed me, and puts me on a rather different trajectory in life.

My satisfaction with *Lunch with Family* as a creative process encouraged me to use the form of the essay film again in the production of my third film, *San Sabba* (2016). This turns the attention back towards the construction of history as a narrative in the Municipal Museum of the Risiera di San Sabba, to reveal how the making of history is a cultural practice (Munslow, 2006, p. 17) informing concepts of heritage. The site drew my attention from the very beginning of my

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[34] The leading political party in Italy from 1944 to 1994 was Democrazia Cristiana (Christian Democracy).

research and influenced the writing of *Behind the Book* (2015). Now I wanted to go back and look at its rebranding by the subsequent political powers ruling in the city and its changing meaning through history, as it would shed a light on the perseverance of silence in Trieste. The place began life as an Austrian rice mill before becoming an Italian police garrison, a Nazi/Axis police detention centre and concentration-extermination camp, an Anglo-American refugee camp and finally an Italian museum commemorating the Holocaust. The significance of the site, however, resides in its symbolic meaning as the embodiment of a structural discourse of historical amnesia.

The above established three investigative trajectories determined the relevant objectives of this project. First, I wanted to determine how the archival material demonstrated that the Risiera di San Sabba was primarily an anti-partisan combat depot and secondarily a site where the Jewish population of the area, and the Balkans, would transit in their journey to other extermination camps. Second, I wanted to show the dissonance between the characteristics of the historical events and the perception of them created by the stories I heard as a child; and third, I wanted to use visual narrative techniques able to express the gap between the first and the second cognitive horizons to explore how we envisage who/what people were in the past. To translate the history of the Risiera di San Sabba, firstly I focused on the recuperation of the faces and the names of the victims. Secondly, I explored the history of the people who managed the Risiera between 1943 and 1945, who in 1943 left behind the extermination camps in Poland (Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor) and moved to the north-eastern part of Italy annexed to the Greater Germany. My last visit to the Museum of the Risiera di San Sabba, in 2016, had revealed the extent to which the new exhibition continued to affiliate the site to the Holocaust narrative, which was supported by extracts from the film *Shoah* (Lanzmann, 1985) and the display of the iconic inmate's uniform the media associate with the wider concentration camp experience in Europe, even if in the Risiera the prisoners did not wear uniforms or were tattooed, as captured in Figure 68. In Lanzmann's work, there is no mention of the Risiera di San Sabba; however, when he interviews Franz Süchomel, SS in Treblinka, tries to interview Josef Oberhauser, SS officer in Belzec, and debates the Holocaust with several other

interviewees, they often speak about SS that were all working in the Risiera during the last two years of the Second World War. Unfortunately, I was not able to access Lanzamann's filmed interviews at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, as they became available on site only from July 2016, but they could retain information on the Risiera that were of not relevance to Lanzmann's project.

Figure 68: Promoting the Holocaust narrative in the Museum of
San Sabba, Trieste. Still from the film *Lunch with Family*, Romana Turina, 2016.

The study of *Shoah* led me to an analysis of the *concentrationary cinema*, as Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman (2014) define their work on *Night and Fog* (Resnais, 1956). Concentrationary is here the key term, as indicating the system of camps where starvation and violence "eroded brain functions, organs and hearing and worse: the starving organism consumes its own organs to maintain life to the bitter end" (Pollock and Silverman, 2014, p. 27). This systematic erosion of human life that resulted in the creation of living corpses named in Nazi slang *Muselmänner* is a reality that did not completely apply to the Risiera di San Sabba camp (Yad Vashem, Resource Center). [35] Thus, from the very beginning I was determined to debate the validity of the exhibition in the Risiera di San Sabba, in that it drew on the Holocaust narrative and focused predominantly on the narration of the camp's function in gathering and deporting the Jewish population. A decision this, that guaranteed the exclusion from public memory of the Italian

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[35] Muselmänner (Muslims) were called the inmates that showed severe physical weakness and rested in a position similar to the Muslims during prayers.

contribution to this mission, and the site's most important purpose, anti-partisan combat.

The exhibition mentioned the Italian policy of persecution, exile and capital punishment against the indigenous Slavs rebelling against Fascism. The historical narrative, however, minimised the event and avoided any reference to the impact of the anti-partisan combat in the daily routine of the Risiera. Hence, the use of extracts from *Shoah* (Lanzmann, 1985) on the site constituted yet another narrative technique used to legitimise a mediation of history that intended to focus on one historical reading. One that silenced the details that would not fit within this narrative. Additionally, the exhibition gave relevance to the building of the museum, which defaced the aspect of the camp, as an act of artistic intervention of the architect Romano Boico (1901-1985) following the example of the Memorial to Mauthausen-Gusen I (1967) (Bonfanti and Porta, 1973).

For *San Sabba*, of which here is reproduced the poster in Figure 69 (Turina, 2016), I never wrote an orthodox screenplay. My dialogue with the material happened in the editing room. To the hours of footage that I had filmed in Trieste through the years of research, I started adding images documenting the violence inflicted on the political prisoners, partisans, and hostages interned in the Risiera as collected by Albin Bubnič (1915-1978), a journalist working for the Slovenian newspaper *Primorski Dnevnik*, who was interned in Mauthausen and after the liberation gathered information on the Rižarna (Risiera di San Sabba). This writing through editing, permitted me to test the capacity of the archival material to tell the story of the Risiera, while I considered the relationship between the anti-partisan activity exercised before and after the arrival of the Germans in 1943.

Within this canvas of references, I started to experiment with a braided narrative and realised that a personal link to the site would have added subtext. Reminiscent of the stories my mother used to tell me about the Rišarna when I was a child, I obtained her permission to *write her* into the film. In 1955, my mother lodged in the concentration camp of the Risiera di San Sabba, which the Anglo-American had opened as a Refugee Camp for people emigrating from Yugoslavia. She had rarely mentioned the detail before, used as she was to narrate the stories of the freedom fighters her family helped. She had, however, started

talking about it when I worked on *Lunch with Family*. In listening to her re-elaboration of the experience, and how she had tried to pass on the experience of her family to me, I understood the impact of those stories in my understanding of the site. This generated a process of reflection on the connection between her story, my reading of the past and my expression of postmemory, which influenced the project.

Figure 69: Poster for *San Sabba,* Romana Turina, 2016.

To translate the warmth and softness of her narration, I decided to work with dolls and to create an animation, which I will analyse in the next section. The animated sequences would have revealed how traumatic events I had not witnessed had assumed the shape of personal memories due to both my mother's narration and my recent discovery of their impact on my family. An impact I had perceived before I learned any history, present as it was in the emotional toll the people I grew up among had been paying during their entire lives. Hence, if the sequences supporting the historical discourse would have established the legitimacy of the events I narrated, due to the exhibition of artefacts (documents and photos), postmemory would have emerged through the process of taking history apart, of opening it and implementing narrative techniques able to generate questions on cognitive processes, meaning, and survival mechanisms.

Meanwhile, news of a monument erected in Trieste (September 2016) reached me. In the Park of Remembrance, a new plaque announced that the liberation of Trieste happened at the hands of the Anglo-American forces (12 June 1945). The severity of this action, which cancelled the memory of the liberation of Trieste by the Yugoslav troops (1 May 1945), compelled me to display more archival material in *San Sabba.* The problem lay in the necessity to establish silenced history not only as a relevant memory event but to re-insert the silenced events into public knowledge. In this case, the narration of the Risiera's original purpose not only was necessary but would constitute an act of resistance to an ongoing process of erosion of the indigenous Slavs' history in Trieste.

Thus, I went back to the archive to find the documents that would establish unequivocally the original purpose of the site. This second stage of archival research situated the importance of the Museum of the Risiera di San Sabba in the wider context of concentrationary history of Europe. The function of the Museum of the Risiera is particularly important, as in Italy the "Italian concentration camp system" (Colotti, 2001, p. 227), a galaxy of 49 camps that covered each region and different purposes including the deportation of Slavs, is not memorialised. To find documents related to the camp, and the German mission in Trieste, I spent time exploring the archives of the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, the Imperial War Museum, the British National Archives and the British Library. This resulted in the recovery of unexpected documents: early official publications of the United Nations, which displayed highly confidential documents and established the case of an Italian genocidal programme against the Slovens and the Croats (Čermelj, 1936/1945; Škerl, 1945; YIO, 1945; RYGID, 1945; INPE, 1954). The documents testify to the logic of imperialism and overlapping violence (racial, cultural and political) that was established in Trieste and annexed territory from 1918, which continued with the German invasion and annexation to the Greater Germany in 1943.

With the documents found in Berlin, I created the last section of the film *San Sabba* (2016), where I trace how the staff of the Risiera started their careers with operation *T4* in Germany, continued with *Aktion Reinhardt* (Operation Reinhardt) in Poland, and concluded in Trieste *(Aktion R1),* where the Germans helped the Italians in what was considered a perilous theatre of war because of the anti-

partisan combat against the Slavs (1943-1945). [36] This information was also corroborated by relevant references to Odilo Globočnik, Higher SS and Police Leader in Trieste between 1943 and 1945, in an interview recorded by Gitta Sereny with Franz Stangl (1970), commandant of Treblinka. Following the uprising of Treblinka (2 August 1943) Stangl was transferred to Trieste (Sereny, 1995, p. 249) where he assisted Globočnik in the organisation of the campaign against the partisans and the exploitation and transfer of the local Jews (idib., p. 261). The crude depiction of persecution found in the documents and images collected in the United Nations Archive was vitally important, as this understanding amounted to the acquiescence in the suffering inflicted in the Risiera di San Sabba and became a key element I wished to foreground in the film. This breakthrough also added to the debate on how the Holocaust narrative aided the current exhibition in minimising the significance of the camp for the anti-partisan combat. Thus, once more ignoring or excluding the experience of the Slavs in Trieste, as most of the anti-fascist partisans were of Slav ethnicity. Also, it added to the understanding of how the Italian government continues to support a systematic attempt to expunge this history from the historical accounts.

The discovery of new material subjected my screen idea to a substantial revision, in that I added the German point of view on the Risiera di San Sabba. The material made the film stronger, as the film is now able to demonstrate how the anti-partisan missions led by the Italo-German troops only intensified policies already in place during the fascist era. This timeline is the fabric against which the more than 300 testimonies offered during the Risiera di San Sabba trial (1976) find the historical background to make sense. In this context, the insertion of my relationship to the site aided my attempt to cover the entire spectrum of what postmemory might relate to in this case: the still images of the animation testifying to the naïve storytelling of children, the revelation of the documents and photos of the victims held in the archives. The footage recording the new exhibition failing

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[36] Aktion T4 was promoted by Reich Health Leader Leonardo Conti. It implemented the forced euthanasia of selected layers of German population. Aktion Reinhardt implemented a program of mass murder of Jews, Poles and other Slavs in Poland (in the camps of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec, among others).

to indicate the site's purpose in the antipartisans' Italo-German combat, the German documents offering an overview of Globočnik's mission. Finally, the reiterated exclusion from the Italian public memorials of any link to the Italian policies against the indigenous Slavs.

This creative process, which resulted in two complete screenplays and three produced films, revolutionised my understanding of the screenplay as object. From the classic screenplay for *Behind the Book*, which was conceived as a blueprint enabling production processes, to the development of the essay film *Lunch with Family*, I developed an understanding of the screenplay form that bordered Claudia Sternberg's definition of it as *literature in flux* (1997, p. 28), as the screenplay is in constant change and dialogue with the writer. *San Sabba*, brought this dialogue to the editing room, where the writing of the voice-over constituted one of the narrative techniques enabling me to express my screen idea, which continued to evolve and change through the juxtaposition of visual and aural material, and expressed the process of thinking through images and sound. It is therefore important to understand how the process of editing amounted to an act of writing with sounds and images, where footage continued to be filmed and edited according to the questions prompted by the most recently found archival images.

Visual Language and Sound Solutions

As introduced in the previous section, the thinking-through of the research questions in my creative practice implied the identification of visual and aural solutions enabling a stronger rendering of the dramatic questions in the narrative. The overarching story, however, here is the evolving relationship between the author and the narrative techniques facilitating the translation of silenced history in film. Thus, this section will explore how and where within the films the employed visual and aural techniques helped the thinking process behind the production of the films to such an extent that they became part of the final version of these films.

The idea underpinning *Behind the Book* resided in the opening of Marino's world to Edda, who encounters the bearer of a knowledge and understanding of the past she can never have. From the very beginning, in writing the script, I struggled to find visual and aural solutions able to express Marino's emotional connection with the past, which populates his daily experience. This was an essential requirement, as if the difference between Marino's state of mind and Edda's was not clear from the very beginning their meeting would not have appeared as a clash of opposite understandings of history to the degree I desired. Thus, because of the limitation of the production, and my decision not to use explanatory flashbacks in the film, I decided to employ the storytelling power of sound in contrast to the power of visual storytelling, and I introduced the audience to the voices Marino could hear in his head. These are whispers of people who were tortured in the Risiera di San Sabba, which the audience hears as soon as the first image fades in. The decision to use sound instead of images to evoke Marino's memory underlined the invisibility of the history he is the bearer of, and juxtaposes the emotions elicited by memory to the immediacy of the present, enhanced by the location the story take place in, a TV studio where the visual is predominant and the weekly routine expends and soon forgets each story. To enhance the veracity of the voices, I recorded extracts from interviews with survivors of the Risiera in different languages, and then blended them with English translations to be understood by the audience. The voices are complemented by the appearance of Slav names expunged from the lists of people who saw their name changed into an Italian one by the fascist regime in the 1920s and 1930s. Later, when Marino confronts Edda's version of history, and tries not to reveal on camera the role played by Edda's grandfather in the Risiera, the voices return to him and envelop the aural space of the film, claiming attention. This helps the narrative to produce a caesura, and marks the most important moment in the film, after which Edda and Marino recognise their common ground, as they both are the victims of a man who betrayed them. The film concludes with the indication of a possible dialogue that might happen off camera.

Behind the Book does not offer an array of innovative solutions for the translation of silenced history, on the contrary the visual language employed in

the film follows the standard grammar of film, with wide shots introducing the scene and close-ups intended to put into evidence the feelings of the characters, and to produce a sense of intimacy. The brief sequences of archival images and the cards that constitute a prologue to the action and an epilogue to its end, introduce a literary element to the structure of the film that was meant to function as a direct message to the audience. The sequences were inserted in postproduction, to complete a film based on 20-page script that was reduced to 11 pages. The decision to cut the filmed material was based on the re-definition of the story, which in the editing room coalesced around the impact of silence in the lives of both characters, specifically the moment in which Edda understands Marino is telling her the truth. This brought into evidence the impossibility to render in the space of a short film the process of reckoning and recognition the meeting between Marino and Edda would have generated. I preferred, therefore, to give a hint of the common ground found by the characters, initiated by the intimate dialogue on the sofa – which happens off-camera - and confirmed by the human contact Edda makes by touching Marino's hand. Thus, symbolically, the film aimed to function similarly to the photos I had studied in the archive, which indicated the presence of something else off camera, important but outside of the frame.

Lunch with Family employed an array of solutions and found in the voice-over the narrative device able to unite the narrative and simultaneously break it due to the use of three languages (Italian, Slovenian, and English). The effect was enhanced with the use of different embodiments of the author (an Italian journalist, an English Scholar, and myself as a depository of inherited history). These narrative techniques functioned as channels of signification, and points of entrance into the narrative choices I imployed to mediate some elements of the public, the private and the personal processes of reckoning with the findings of my archival research. Accordingly, I decided to employ a visual grammar predicated on the expectations of the investigative genre. The relationship between the archival material I discovered and the personal journey of discovery was, therefore, enhanced by sequences filmed on location, on the train, and interviews. On this grid, I inserted historical information and images of historical relevance,

which are subtitled to aid the contextualisation of the material. The intention being to use voice-over, images and text simultaneously, and render the acquisition of the whole picture rather laborious, as the complexity of the past is not representable in a linear story. Thus, if the visual and aural narrative techniques employed in *Lunch with Family* aimed to make evident the inner teleological drive of the epistemological investigation through film, it also wanted to open the visual space and show the process of postmemory in action. Visually, the generative force of postmemory is symbolised in the miniature of a white room, which is the expression of my personal relationship with inherited trauma and a newly discovered family history.

Thinking of visual solutions to express mental states and emotions, after discovering the history of Vladimir Turina, I decided to create the miniature to mirror a virtual room in my mind, which is filled with white books whose pages remain empty because I will never be able to inhabit it with the Erlebnis of the inherited past, as captured in Figure 70 and Figure 71.
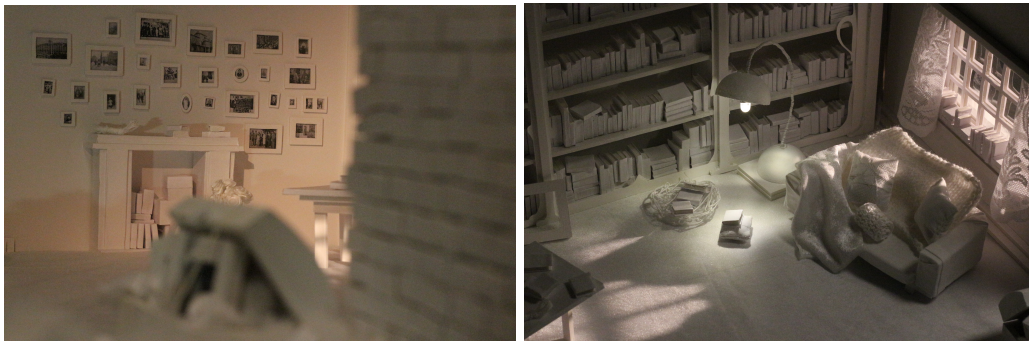
Figs. 70, 71: The White Room, stills from *Lunch with Family*, Romana Turina, 2016.

The process of making the room, helped me in processing my position within the history I discovered, the silenced history I had inherited, and the lack of acknowledgment of the attempted genocide of the Slavs of Italy. I took distance from my story by projecting my emotions on an animated character, which could express what I did not want to personally. It was in this context that I started thinking about an animated representation of my changing relationship with the past. Within the white room, I planned to take the form of a woman looking at the mute pictures of ancestors, framed above the fireplace, and trying to read the

empty books crowding the bookcase. The animation was envisioned as a subplot, to be played in intervals of episodic and self-contained sequences, where the family members in the photos would whisper life stories, of which the woman would struggle to make sense. Climax and resolution in the film was to be found within the internal relation between the animated scenes and the different voiceovers revealing the autoethnographic nature of the film.

The creation of this visual prop for *Lunch with Family*, made me realise how the essay films that I had studied, when they engage with personal memory and history are often predicated on the understanding that "memory makes us" (Radstone and Hodgkin, 2003, p. 2), and therefore explore the way authors remember and inhabit their cultural inheritance. Animation is often employed to express how the author finds meaning in individual memories within a collective context. The relationship to a group provides the framework into which "remembrances are woven" (Whitehead, 2009, p. 126), and often layered in the form of animation created in conjunction, or drawn on top, of archival material. For example, *Learned by Heart* (Marjut Rimminen, 2007) evokes the past combining the music that populated the author's childhood with the animation of old photographs. This permits her to link the memories of her life to those of the women of her parents' generation and to comment on her own life. The result is a film that embraces nostalgia and reconstructs a continuity of individual and collective memory. Within the frame of Holocaust studies, animation aids films exploring the oscillation between continuity and rupture with the past, inherited trauma and identity. *The Last Flight of Petr Ginz* (Sandra Dicksons and Churchill Roberts, 2013), however, employs animation to offer a very subjective perspective about history, and to celebrate the life of a teenager who by the age of sixteen had produced five novels, a diary about the Nazi occupation of Prague, an underground magazine, and had walked to the gas chambers at Auschwitz. The film invites us to ponder on our knowledge of the Holocaust, its representation, and Petr's fear of forgetting the feelings he felt when witnessing the decadence of society into inhumanity. The presence of extracts from his work, the autobiographical tone and the animation facilitate a reconfiguration of the past from the bottom up that seemed appropriate to my own project. *I was a Child of*

Holocaust Survivors (Ann Marie Fleming, 2010) attempts something similar but confronts the issue of postmemory, as analysed above. What is important in *I was a Child of Holocaust Survivors*, however, is that the animation reflected on the Shoah through the experience of people who know what it means to identify oneself with an event through the experience of others (Dallian, 2010). In *Lunch with Family*, however, the animation was predicated on the understanding that since a lack of memory made me, to find meaning in individual memories within a collective context of cultural inheritance was fundamentally impossible. Yet, this was exactly what I seemed to be doing with the sequences narrating the silenced history of the Slovenians through Vladimir's story. Could I debunk this perception using animation?

I filmed the first frames in stop-animation in December 2015. This exercise demonstrated that the room and the moving puppet were utterly powerful. However, it elicited the development of an independent strand of story. The personal narrative had become overly relevant, at the expense of the silenced history that I wanted to make visible. I could debunk the idea of a direct link between my identity and Vladimir's but this would have make a different film. Thus, I decided not to use the animation and to subject the narrative to jarring voids of narrative, which if successful would allow for the return to the white room as a symbol of the unshakeable feeling of loss present in my life and in the Slovenian community of Trieste. The deletion of the animation confronted me with the creative decision of removing my physical presence from the film, where my voice and my hands are the only physical manifestation of my existence. This creative decision enhanced the role of the archival material and focused the film on the history that preceded me, as inherited history is what makes postmemory possible. Hence, the still frames from the animation that found their way into the final film were instrumental in expressing inner processes of reckoning with the past and its impact on my identity.

Editing and postproduction, when I recorded the voice-over and polished it, opened an additional stage in the research, in that the demands of the narrative structure asked for a form of resolution to the dilemma and the questions asked by the narrator. Questioning the reasons behind my creative decisions, observing

the impact of the white room on the overarching structure of the film, made me discover that the film was as much a dialogue with myself as was it with history. When I recalled the memory that concludes the film, of feeling Slovenian in an Italian kindergarten and being happy to pass for an Italian, I recorded additional voice-over and added the final part of the film which originally did not intend to portray in detail the way in which my father would dismiss my research, then reveal Vladimir's exact link to the family, and finally question the importance of my research. This layer of information, which was put together with the use of archival material belonging to my family and voice-over, built up the tension to the final revelation of the film, where I recall I knew I was more Slav than Italian and I repressed the memory of it to fit into a society that had no place for the Slavs. The decision to insert this memory was predicated on the initial idea to make my process of research as transparent as possible on film; however, it was also dictated by the expectation of the investigative genre where a final revelation might change the meaning of an entire sequence of actions. I hoped this revelation would cast a new light on the entire film, and the dependence of meaning, identity and the making of postmemory on the specifics of social and historical conditions.

Visually, *San Sabba* underwent a similar process to the one implemented during the production of *Lunch with Family*. The archival material was presented in its indexical characteristics, as traces left behind by complex political, social and cultural processes, but the images translating personal experiences aimed to convey the warm immediacy of life. Initially, also in this case, I employed animation. The stories I wanted to represent with the animation reflected the memory of an educational device, storytelling, which introduced me to a very specific slice of history that was considered an unthinkable topic of discussion when children were present: the cruelty of Fascism and the anti-fascist struggle in the annexed territory to Italy between 1918 and 1945. I hoped the archival material and animated sequences would clash in their stark differences and open a space for reflection on postmemory.

In the case of *San Sabba*, however, the animation offered an overly abstract and sweet rendering of the past and did not allow for the archival and live-action sequences to hold the attention of the audience there where it was

needed the most, the debate of the archival material demonstrating that the primarily purpose of the camp was anti-partisan combat. As I analysed in the previous section, a process of reflection determined a set of creative choices that made of *San Sabba* a soberer and more political film. In the final version of the film, some frames of the animation are edited in sequences that link the historical narrative to processes of personal reflection on how history entered my life. They indicate the gap between the indexicality of the archival material, whose truth is evasive and un-filmable, and the childish colours of my reckoning with that past, which presuppose each other and here constitutes the fabric of postmemory.

As visible, some images from the animation evoke the tropes of the Holocaust narrative, as captured in Figure 72 and Figure 73, for example in the characterization of a child's coat that presents yellow stars as buttons and the image of the child once freed from the camp. This resemblance comments on the influence of cinema, which had educated me on the look of the Second World War. Also, it indicates my difficulty in representing these victims, who hold no place in the Italian collective memory as they have been withheld from media attention in Italy.

Figure 72: A child in the forest, still from *San Sabba*, Romana Turina, 2016.

Extract from Animation
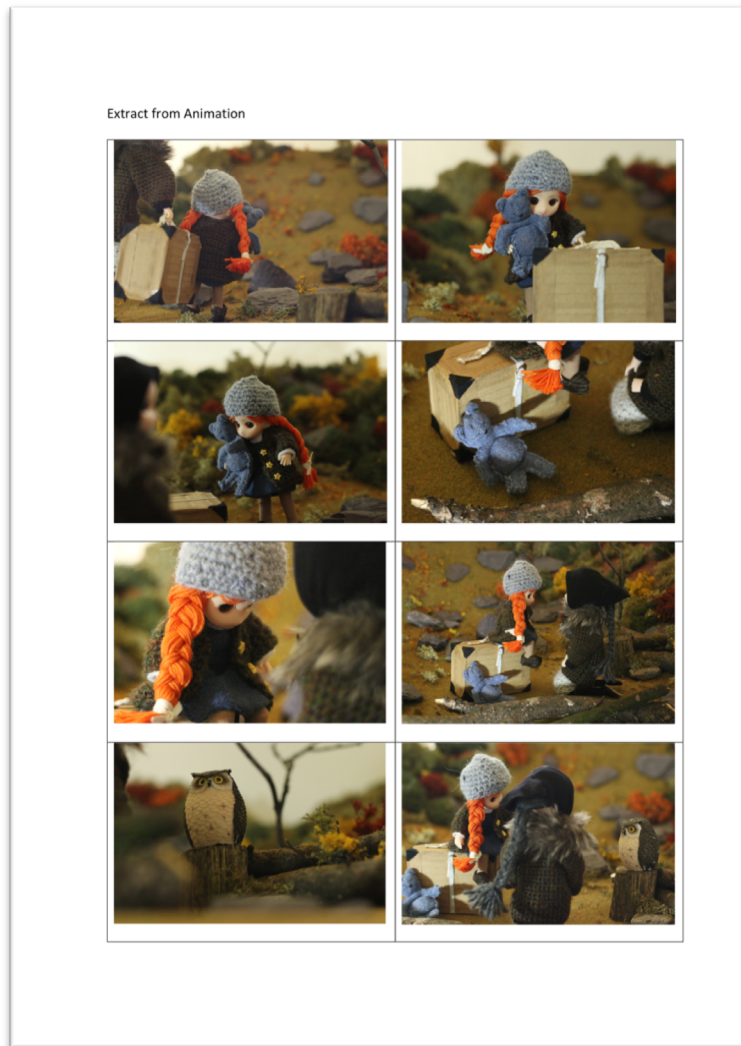
Figure 73: Animation sequence for *San Sabba*, stills, Romana Turina, 2016.

Structurally, the insertion of the stills from the animation proved surprisingly useful, as the images were remarkably soft but would not take away too much attention from the harsh reality of a concentration camp in which people were killed and cremated daily. Thus, their presence in the film contributed to personalise a narrative that ultimately opens the discourse of postmemory from the private to the universal. A narrative that invites the audience to consider how the camp hosts the memories of people that experienced it as a concentration camp, a torture and killing centre, a refugee camp, and a museum, but also how today the site is nothing more than an anonymous building among supermarkets.

The same visual and aural techniques applied in *Lunch with Family*: voice-over, stills from animation, archival photos, footage filmed on location, and subtitles adding additional context to each sequence, in *San Sabba* are employed to reflect on the ontology of a place, and the way we process who people were in the past. Postmemory in this case enters the film as an unresolved knot of questions, which expose the historical discourse in action at the Museum of the Risiera di San Sabba where the purpose of the building is simplified, concealed behind the vast network of references offered by the Holocaust narrative that dominate our Western understanding of evil in the 20th Century. Symbolic of the stories that enter our psyche in childhood, the opening image of the film is repeated in the end. Water, a river, the neutral beauty of a forest is what the film returns to, as postmemory can never do anything else but vicariously try to understand the stream of experiences of the ancestors and reflect our relationship to them in the present.

Conclusion: To Gauge Temporal Distance and Affect

The interlinking of my research on the representation of Trieste in film and television between 1909 and 2010 with my archival research, permitted me to explore the importance of film as the repository for the mediation of history and memory. Thus, in my creative practice the formal research entered into a dialogue with the process of writing, directing, and editing, which aimed at determining how the moving image addresses the absence of public acknowledgement of silenced history, and expresses postmemory. As described in the previous section, I followed a process that has been defined as an action research cycle (Robson, 2002). The process is especially visible in the making of the two essay films, *Lunch with Family* and *San Sabba*. In the essayistic personal film, which I explored in previous sections, I found a language enabling a generative reflection on the use of archived photos as a rhetorical gesture that brings to evidence their double register: their indexicality and their inherent weakness, as a mediated factuality. And it is in the dialogue between a repressive tradition and the documents left behind by the indigenous Slav population of Trieste, that I understood how the

mediation of silenced history is directly affected by the presence of sufficient archival material establishing its legitimacy as an event in the historical continuum of a nation, especially when no living witness is available. This chapter introduced my creative practice and demonstrated how it dwelled and explored this impasse in communication by focusing on the gap between my understanding of history and the one forever buried with the photographed people I faced in the archive. This led to the use of family's history to bring to light an ontological problem related to the way we process who were the people in past, and the tropes we use to recuperate the experience of traumatic past.

The presented process of research through creative practice led to the recovery of historical material that is visible only in the films, and to a period of reflection that I will illustrate in the next chapter. To better understand it, please watch the films on the included DVD, or follow one of these links:

Behind the Book

https://vimeo.com/141881380

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I4ocKqfeA3M

Lunch with Family

https://vimeo.com/171320249

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9xhY6JBr4mI

San Sabba

https://vimeo.com/188841154

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XdnqPWv1So0

CHAPTER 5

Critical Reflections and Conclusions: An Ontological Interrogation

I could not recall the original order of the pictures. The frames had taken new positions, as if leading a life on their own. Looking into their faces, I could perceive their lips were moving but I could not read them. Only imagine what they were telling me. My identity seemed to reorganise itself. I tried to capture it, picture it, from my own point of view. The one born too late, when everything had already happened, had already sedimented into the past. But the rings of my construction continued to break down, they continued to claim attention, refusing to offer any security. And as the dead looked at me, toiling, the pages remained tattered, loose. It translated into an endless struggle to patch names and faces together. Decoding the past took me into the night. It surprised me at dawn. I had no final answers (*Lunch with Family,* Turina, 2016).

Cinema alongside photography is constitutive of memory and a source of images that populate both the external world and people's mind (Deleuze 1986, p. 206).

Working Through: Negotiating Identity and Loss in Film

The relationship between creative practice and theory is not an easy one. Within this project, I have indicated how *Lunch with Family* produces an epistemological investigation, while *San Sabba* focuses on an ontological question. Ontology reveals the way we understand the nature of reality and looks at what we believe is real, in that only what we can believe as real can constitute the focus of our research. Epistemology is concerned with theories of knowledge, which are based

on forms of investigation to understand how we come to know what we know. The relation between the two is important because the way we gather knowledge of and around a subject inevitably informs the way we think and what we believe about it (Batty and Kerrigan, 2018, p. 93). In this project, I started from a network of references that mirrored and informed the way I thought of and conducted both my research and my creative practice. Hence, I worked as a constructionist, as I accept reality as independent from my knowledge. However, I also believe that I can know reality only through my understanding of it, which amounts to the construction of it through my ability to grasp it by investigating it. Accordingly, the films I wrote and produced express this methodological perspective, one which is auto-ethnographic and justifies the use of the creative practice to allow the researcher, in addition to being the author, to be both inside the research, as an object of that research, and outside of it, as the observer of a process of research. This oscillation between theory and practice permitted me to highlight the historical and cultural aspects of my own life and heritage against the "cultural whole" (Baszanger and Dodier, 2004, p. 13) represented by the place Trieste occupies in the Italian collective memory, as portrayed in Italian popular media. I also used the making of film as an act of writing ethnography in film, which I envisioned as presupposed by the theory developed by Humphreys and Watson (2009). They identify four forms of ethnographic writing: "the plain, the enhanced, the semi-fictionalised and the fictionalised" (ibid., p. 4), which can also be applied to forms of ethnographic filmmaking. Thus, the first film I produced, *Behind the Book* (2015), represents a semi-fictionalised form of auto-ethnography, in that the rendition of the characters is accurate accordingly to the reproduction of a set of contrasting characteristics in characters that embody them (ibid., p. 50). The film could be considered fiction if the intention of the filmmaker was to create a narrative that entertains (ibid., p. 42). This is an important distinction, as accordingly to Kirin Narayan (1999) there are four practices that have emerged as points of discrimination between the two: "(1) disclosure of process, (2) generalisation, (3) the use of subjectivity, and (4) accountability" (ibid., p. 139). Accordingly, *Lunch with Family* (2016) and *San Sabba* (2016) belong to the category of enhanced ethnographic writing, as the author is embedded in the

narrative as a character but also as a narrator observing the events displayed in the film. This form employs narrative techniques found in creative writing, which can vary from the employment of dialogue and descriptive scenes to the staging of elaborated mise-en-scene.

Lunch with Family and *San Sabba*, two essay films, are the expression of postmemory, in that they acknowledge the influence of silenced history on my identity. They explore and disclose matters of process, subjectivity, and accountability in the translation of postmemory in a specific case of silenced history. The experimental process, conducted as a theoretical and pragmatic debate on what can be transmitted to the audience of the impact silenced history has in the life of a descendant of persecuted people, is generative of new knowledge through the experience of watching the films and in the concenptual propositions the films introduce. The audience is guided to learn about the events that have been silenced, and to consider how "local and collective practices of nation-building, supported by prevalent social norms as they are articulated by both public policy, dominant media, and the strategies of war" (Butler, 1999/2016, p. xxiv) determine what a society might come to accept as radically ungrievable because considered from the start as other, therefore redundant. Hence, the research would be incomplete without the films, which are the new insights that manifested as traditional research met creative practice. Hence, if the archival research constituted a necessary phase of the research, which enabled the understanding of the silenced events I wanted to translate in film, the practice was driving the research in that the research was designed and structured around the needs of the filmmaker committed to the creation of new work. The concurrence of the two processes demonstrates how the dialogue between the discovery of the past and the study of acts of translation of historical traces into film is characteristic of creative practice, as applied in the academic environment.

Consequently, in my essay films content meets form through constructionism, as I applied my knowledge of creative theories to a practicioner

based enquiry.[37] This manifested in a braided structure that in both films became evident during the editing process and was influenced by the study of the essay film form. The films present two narrative lines, one drawing from the personal experience of the author and the second one from the findings of the archival research, which allowed for an opening of spaces where the lyrical voice-over would put into question the teleological quality of the narrative. Hence, the structure allowed for the articulation of meaning derived through juxtaposition, disjunction, and contradiction, principles that have been recently explored by Laura Rascaroli in *How the Essay Film Thinks* (2017, pp. 7-12). The films established internal connections between narrative techniques (visual and aural) and opened spaces of resonance between a phenomenon of historical amnesia and the emergence of postmemory, as an indication of an existential space of neither/nor, of contradictions, and in-betweens.

Stylistically, the films translate amnesia and loss in fades to black and gaps in continuity of the story, which are symbolic of the temporal and cognitive distance separating the film-maker from her ancestors. Similarly, the indexicality of photos in the films is read as a presence in absentia, which eludes the possibility of understanding the past. Thus, loss is rendered as a memory event of presence *in remembrance* of people deleted from history, which is here recognisable in the tropes of the encounter between the past and the situatedness of the person looking for answers in the archive. Hence, the epistemological angle adopted in *Lunch with Family* represents the first stage of reflection on the phenomenology of historical amnesia in Trieste. *San Sabba* deepens the interrogation and considers how the point of view of a Slav camp survivor, a Jewish camp survivor, or an East-European refugee, to be understood (even if only partially) involves an ontological shift imposed by the way they might look at the past, and the meaning they give to the site itself. The sense of place, then, becomes an in-between able to host multiple views on experiences, memories, and postmemories, which escapes the simplicity of a singular linear continuum. This translation of silenced

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[37] A process also described by Susan Kerrigan in Crotty's *Social Research Process* (Kerrigan, 2019, in press). Private conversation with Professor Craig Batty (2018).

history in film, therefore, positions itself outside the polarity of the political debate in Trieste, where the Italian and the Slav positions retain an antagonistic quality, in that nationality here is perceived as an enriching core of cultural qualities removed from the implications associated with the idea of nationalism. This resonates with Slavoj Žižek's concept of *parallax view* (2006) and is found in the meaning of the word *meja* (border) in Slovenian, as the territory in the middle that accommodates diversity - and encapsulates the multidimensionality of Trieste's history, collective memories, and postmemory.

Thus, through these films the audience can find an alternative point of entry into the orthodox research presented in this project, the analysis of Italian cinema and television production, and can appreciate how the two sections and methodological approaches – film history and film-making - coalesce to reveal the tension between the two divergent collective memories that frame the history and identity of Trieste. What is also important here, however, is the academic setting that allowed for the story and the form of the essay films to remain open, suspended and responsive of additional material able to answer the research questions, which would be impossible in a commercial production. Accordingly, in this project film was used "to 'do' the work of research, evoking ideas and theories through sensations, evocations and experiences" (Batty and Kerrigan, 2018, p. 79). Also, the act of writing a screenplay, editing together filmed material, photos, and documents, enabled research in a way that is not possible in a traditional academic approach. I, therefore, argue that in this specific case, the films might embody the findings more profoundly than a traditional research paper (Baker, 2013; Beattie 2013; Taylor 2015), without failing to offer the audience an experience that puts the individual into a dialogue with the research itself.

The overall theme of the films, being the permanence in memory of silenced history and the world created by the large Slav community in a Trieste that does not exist anymore, mirrors Hirsch's work in the book *Ghosts of Home* (2011). However, while the book appears as an exhaustive examination of the afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish memory, the films I made are the beginning of a conversation on the legacy of Trieste in Slovenian memory. Moreover, the films constitute an act of political investigation which poses questions and indicates the

need for the acknowledgment of the past in the present, which places my research in the field of postmemory, but on the opposite end of a continuum where Marianne Hirsch's work marks the other end. While she works on the manifestation of postmemory about an admitted act of genocide (the Shoah), I explore an attempted genocide that has not been acknowledged by the perpetrators. Thus, the choice to focus on microhistory as a strategy for the narration of silenced history, and postmemory, was determined not only by the archival material I found but also by the level and quality of political activism with which I was ready to engage.

The films have been to date well received. Described as an original example of auto-ethnocentric creative practice (Turina, *Screenworks*, 8.1), they have been screened at festivals and presented at conferences and workshops on creative practice. Of relevance was the inclusion of the films in the collections of the Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica (National and University Library of Slovenia), Ljubljana; the shortlisting of *Lunch with Family* at the AHRC Research on Film Awards 2016, London; of *San Sabba* at the Hollywood International Independent Documentary Awards 2018, Los Angeles; and the dissemination of my work via an interview with the Slovenian National Radio (Mojca Delač, 9 April, 2018), which focused on issues of Slovenian heritage and introduced the concept of postmemory to the public. The screening of the films at the University of Sheffield, University of Saint Andrew, Cork University College, and Birkbeck – London University, provoked generative discussions and the development of a network of academic contacts that resulted in the institution of a Research Group on the Essay Film Form within the British Association of Film, Television and Screen Studies (BAFTSS). This process of dissemination led to the publication of a series of chapters, and articles that contribute to the current research on silenced history and postmemory, to the study of creative practice, and to additional reflection on the value of the moving image in academia. *Re-Making the Northeast: Trieste in Italian Cinema and the Re-mediation of Silenced History*, appeared in the collection of essays *Mapping Cinematic Norths: International Interpretations in Film and Television* (Dobson and Rayner, 2016); *Narrative Experiences of History and Complex Systems* appeared in the collection of essays *Narrating Complexity*

(Stepney and Walsh, 2019, in press); *Screenwriting Animation in the Essay Film: The Challenges Presented by Silenced History* appeared in the *Journal of Screenwriting, Special Issue on Animation* (Wells and Pallant, 2018, in press), and *Lunch with Family* appeared in the online peer review journal *Screenworks* (Vol 8.1).

Conclusions

This doctoral thesis analyses the pragmatic and symbolic meaning inscribed to one city, Trieste, in Italian cinema and television between 1909 and 2010. It draws from extensive archival research, in public and private archives, and the creative practice that represents a thinking-through of the research questions. These were: had the moving image a pivotal relevance in the determination of Trieste's identity? Has the annexation of Trieste to Italy become a founding myth of the Italian Republic, as represented in Italian cinema? Do different forms of filmmaking mediate the gap between history, memory, and postmemory at different cognitive levels? If so, are there cinematic forms that better serve my specific investigation? Is the question of postmemory predicated as a dialogue between processes of Erlebnis and Erfahrung? If so, is there a distinction between the management/manipulation of historical discourses and the making or evolution of postmemory in the media? The personal connections found during the archival research makes of this doctoral work also an exercise in the expression of postmemory, which for me was a process of personal discovery, reconnection, and recovery of family history. At the same time, it constituted an exploration of inherited historical knowledge and ideas of home (Heimat), as I continue to oscillate between feeling at home and feeling in hostile territory when in Trieste.

The orthodox academic research enabled me to determine that the moving image had a pivotal relevance in the determination of Trieste's identity and to trace how the annexation of Trieste to Italy became a founding myth of the Italian Republic, which is perpetuated in Italian cinema. The salient role of cinema as a form of communication enabling the creation of popular memory, which influenced the way collective memory and history are created, is demonstrated

through the analysis of different forms of filmmaking. I argue that a clear ideological lineage can be drawn from the inception of the Italian irredentist idea and its representation in films like *Guglielmo Oberdan, il martire di Trieste* (Ghione, 1915), through the mediation of Fascism as the ideology able to honour the ideals of the Rinascimento, which found in Trieste the cradle of proto-fascists ideas. This is represented in Giornale Luce newsreels and films like *Camicia Nera* (Forzano, 1933), which reminded the audience how in 1918 the Italian soldiers would call: "Ragazzi, ci si rivede o a Trieste, o in Paradiso!" (Boys, we see each other either in Trieste or in Heaven!) (29:46-29:50). The lineage continues with post-war films dramatising the Italian loss of territories gained during the First World War, which are dismissive of any reference to the Italian policies against the Slavs, or the presence of Slav traditions and cultures, as in *Trieste Mia!* (Costa, 1951) and *Cuori senza Frontiere* (Zampa, 1950). Currently, the tradition continues in broadcasts and films exalting a sense of victimhood in the Italians, like *Il Cuore nel Pozzo* (Negrin, 2005), which draw from, add to, and support the network of Italian First and Second World War memorials in place in the territory.

These films highlight the presence of a phenomenon of historical amnesia in Italian cinema, which predicates the treatment of the history and cultural identity of Trieste in film. The city continues to be portrayed as intrinsically Italian, on the border with the Slav world, and as generative of a set of assumptions about the Italian experience of the Second World War. This state of affairs justifies in the Italians of Trieste a permanent feeling of contempt towards the surviving indigenous Slav population, who perceives the law for the protection of the minorities in Italy (2001) as nothing more than a legal remedy. A resolution to the tension between official history and silenced history present on the territory could be attempted through a process of official re-visitation of the Italian history of persecution and attempted genocide against the indigenous Slavs, which I have documented in this doctoral thesis. But as discussed in previous sections, this is to date unlikely.

The discovery of archival material on the indigenous Slav population annexed to Italy, which in part re-wrote the history of my family, prompted the analysis of films able to mediate the gap between history, memory, and

postmemory. The study of a representative number of films in the continuum between the fictional representation of difficult history and the non-fictional treatment of difficult history, allowed me to explore and present how different forms of filmmaking mediate the gap between history, memory, and postmemory at different cognitive levels. Thus, I argued that if documentary and drama support the recognition of ideas and events, they also propose and inform of their cultural value within the collective memory, supporting the familiarisation with terminology and discourse. Within the documentary form, however, the essay film challenges the audience and elicits reflection and reordering of ideas. These qualities promote the analysis of discourse, the recognition of unstated ideas, and the distinction between associations determined by an event that makes them happen and chronological processes of other kinds. Thus, the study of the essay film form offers the tropes to reveal and comment on the ambiguity of symbolism in Italian cinema, which promotes confusion of meaning by conflating "segmental claims with a wider political morality" (Horowitz, 2000, p. 218), as debated for *Trieste Mia!* (Costa, 1951).

In my creative practice, I chose to explore the expression of postmemory in the essay film form because the coalescing of non-fictional and fictional narrative techniques opens the image to multiple layers of signification and accommodated well the personal rendering of my inherited uprooted world. Thinking my research questions through film-making permitted me to explore how the mediation of silenced history in film constitutes a platform for the revelation of the mechanism behind the personal negotiation of postmemory, how an epistemological investigation can reveal the impact of loss on the formation of identity, and how the way we determine what people were in the past is influenced by re-descriptions of discordant elements into a coherent narrative where the collective memory can find answers to questions that are grounded in the present (Benjamin, 1940/2007).

The creative practice also deepened my understanding of how the question of postmemory can be predicated as a dialogue between processes of *Erlebnis* (the living experience) and *Erfahrung* (the processes of public memorialization). That postmemory is the symptom of a deeper connection with

the inherited history one has not experienced is of course demonstrated by the numerous accounts of second generation witnesses of the Shoah in literature and film. In the case of the Slav postmemory in Trieste, however, the understanding was elaborated both through the study of the relationship between silenced history and memory (as acts of testimony), and the study of the Italian collective memory (as the mediation of the past in the Italian media) and postmemory (as the scrutiny and questioning of the past by the descendants of persecuted people). The difference between the personal sphere and the public sphere is crucial here, in that it holds the distinction between the management/manipulation of historical discourses and the making of postmemory in the media. To date, postmemory as an experience is perceived as individual, personal, private, in that it emerges within the process of reflection related to the memories passed down from the previous generation, who experienced the events. Within this relational investigation, the inherited past is an agent of change that is traceable in the lives of the descendants. Thus, the past, in this case, projects the lasting effects of its traumatic quality, with which the descendent reconciles individually. This process, on a personal level, belongs to the sphere of the Erlebnis, as lived experience. The reduction of this process into a mediated narrative, however, enters the field of the Erfahrung, as a public memory that might/will be transmitted as history. On this level, the management of postmemory might resemble the management of historical discourses and becomes vulnerable to the need of offering definitive answers to questions grounded in the present. The key element here is the intent, in that postmemory is grounded in a questioning of history, a tension between the imagination of possibilities, the desire for realism and an understanding of the past that is unreachable, not the determination of exclusive and prescriptive models of experience that negates others. Hence, historical discourse and postmemory function in onthologicaly different ways.

It appears therefore that the qualities of the creative practice discussed above, as grounded in the revelation of process, subjectivity and accountability, mediates in film the questioning that postmemory implies. This questoning is not teleological but open to an extant interrogation that does not consider closure as

reacheable, even if desired. The topic, however, requests additional research, as the scope of this doctoral work and its intention could offer only an initial investigation of the subject matter.

This project offered also the arena for an investigation of the characteristics and requirements of creative practice in academia. The auto-ethnographic and historical research, as stimulated, supported and translated in images during the development, filming, and post-production of three films, demonstrated how the creative practice enabled this project to reach beyond the description of what has been silenced by the Italian media. It identified the constraints and affordances of the moving image in mediating silenced history, and postmemory, in narratives that locate themselves in a political sphere responsive to the binary opositions present in Trieste, but do not align with their confrontational tradition. In this context, the historical research in Italian film and television production, and the discussions of systems of relevant theoretical and creative references that accompany the creative work, is important to me. They ensure that the work can be understood and contextualised by those with a limited knowledge of the material. The dialogue between the different components of this thesis makes the methodology transparent, and the relevance of the moving image as the location of research explicit. This is particularly important here, as an exercise in the study and the mediation of silenced history would leave any researcher's work vulnerable to interpretation and questioning.

To recapitulate, this doctoral work demonstrates that the moving image had a pivotal relevance in the determination of Trieste's identity and supported a process of silencing of the past of the indigenous Slav population in Italy between 1909 and 2010. The annexation of Trieste to Italy is a founding myth of the Italian Republic, as represented in Italian cinema. The research also demonstrates that different forms of filmmaking mediate the gap between history, memory, and postmemory at different cognitive levels, and the essay film form better served the specifics of my creative practice as an investigation through the making of films on postmemory. In this work, I also investigated if the question of postmemory is predicated on a dialogue between processes of Erlebnis and Erfahrung. There are elements in this research that confirm the proposition, but additional research is

required. Similarly, there are elements in this research that confirm how there is a distinction between the management/manipulation of historical discourses and the making or evolution of postmemory. But the findings, however, are not sufficient in themselves and further research is needed to develop this line of enquiry.

Appendix 1: Filmography

Films and TV Shows:

A Grin without a Cat (Marker, 1977). Ivry-sur-Seine: Iskra Film, France.

A Trieste – Vincere o Morire (Brunero, 1915). Rome: Brunestelli, Italy.

Alexandrinke (Metod Pevec, 2011). Ljubliana: Vertigo, Slovenia.

Alfa Tau (De Robertis, 1942). Rome: Scalera Film, Italy. [Online]. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xqpvP4-rlSo [Accessed 7 January 2015].

Am Ende kommen Touristen (Thalheim, 2007). Berlin: 23/5 Filmproduktion GmbH, Germany.

L'Année dernière à Marienbad (Resnais, 1961). Co-production. Paris: Compagnie Cinématographique du Nord and Argos Films, France.

Anni Difficili (Zampa, 1948). Rome: Briguglio Films, Italy.

A Portrait of Arshile (Egoyan, 1995). Montreal: Alliance Atlantis-Communications, Canada.

Arabs in America (Wolfe, 1981). Los Angeles: Office of Instructional Development (OID), United States of America.

Ararat (Egoyan, 2002). Montreal: Alliance Atlantis-Communications, Canada.

Avanti c'è Posto (Bonnard, 1942). Rome: Società Italiana Cines, Italy.

Behind the Book (Turina, 2015). York: PrintingPress, United Kingdom.

Brutalität in Stein (Kluge and Schamoni, 1961). München: Dieter Lemmel Kurzfilmproduktion, Germany.

Cabiria (Pastrone, 1914). Turin: Itala Film, Italy.

Caccia tragica (De Santis, 1947). Rome: Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia (ANPI) and Dante Film, Italy.

Clandestino a Trieste (Salvini, 1951). New York: Astor Pictures Corporation, United States of America.

Claretta (Squitieri, 1984). Rome: RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, Italy.

Camicia Nera (Forzano, 1933). Rome: Istituto Luce, Italy.

Campo de'Fiori (Bonnard, 1943). Rome: Società Italiana Cines, Italy.

Canne al Vento (RAI - Landi, 1958). Rome: RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, Italy.

Captain Corelli's Mandolin (Madden, 2001). Los Angeles: Universal Pictures, United States of America.

Combat Film (Bramante, 1994). Trieste: RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, Italy.

Concerto dell'Amicizia (Friendship Concert, 12 July 2010) [Online]. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nOND4vwKFfc [Accessed: 2 June 2014].

Cristo si è fermato a Eboli (Rosi, 1979). Rome: RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, Italy.

Chronique D'Un Été (Rouch and Morin, 1961). Paris: Argos Films, France.

Cuba Si! (Marker, 1961). Paris: Films de la Pleiade, France.

Cuori senza Frontiere (Zampa, 1950). Rome: Lux Film, Italy.

Der Sohn der weißen Berger (Bonnard and Trenker, 1930). Turin: Itala Film, Italy.

Defiance (Zwick, 2008). Los Angeles: Paramount Vantage, United States of America.

Description of a Struggle (Marker, 1960). Haifa: Van Leer Productions, Israel.

Deus Judicat (Marsani, 1920). Turin: Marsani Film, Italy.

Diary of a Pregnant Woman (Warda, 1958). Paris: Ciné-Tamaris, France.

Diaspora (Egoyan 2001). Montreal: Alliance Atlantis-Communications, Canada.

Dimarche à Pekin (Marker, 1956). Paris: Pavox Film, France.

Diplomatic Courier (Hathway, 1952). Los Angeles: Twentieth CenturyFox, United States of America.

Die Dame und Ihr Chaufeur (Noa, 1928). Vienna: Noa-Film GMbH, Austria.

Ellis Island: A commune (Naficy, 1969). Los Angeles: UCLA Theatre Arts, United States of America.

Fascist Legacy (Kirby, 1989). London: BBC, United Kingdom. BBC [Online]. Available at: http://bufvc.ac.uk/dvdfind/index.php/title/7493 [Accessed 15 May 2016].

Gli uomini che mascalzoni (Camerini, 1932). Rome: Società Italiana Cines, Italy.

Guai ai vinti (Matarazzo, 1954). Rome: G.E.S.I. Cinematografica, Italy.

Guglielmo Oberdan, il Martire di Trieste (Ghione, 1915). Rome: Tiber Film, Italy.

Hannah Arendt (von Trotta, 2012). Köln: Heimatfilm, Germany.

Hiroshima Mon Amour (Resnais, 1959). Paris: Argos Film, France.

History and Memory: For Akiko and Takashige (Tajiri, 1991). New York: Women make Movies, United States of America.

Holocaust (Chomsky, 1978). New York: Titus Productions Inc., United States of America.

Housing Problems (Elton, Anstey, Taylor, Grierson, 1935). London: British Commercial Gas Association, United Kingdom.

I bambini ci guardano (De Sica, 1944). Rome: Scalera Film. Italy.

I was a Child of Holocaust Survivors (Ann Marie Fleming, 2010). Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, Canada.

Il Biricchino di Trieste (Traversa, 1920). Rome: Traversa Film, Italy.

Il Cuore nel Pozzo (Negrin, 2005). Rome: RAI Fiction, Italy.

Il mulino del Po (Lattuada, 1949). Rome: Lux Film, Italy.

Ils Sont Partout (Attal, 2016). Paris: La Petite Reine and Films Sous Influence, France.

Kapò (Pontecorvo, 1960). Rome: Vides Cinematografica, Italy.

La Città Dolente (Bonnard, 1948). Rome: Scalera Film, Italy. [Online]. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBqTTYJ8h0U [Accessed 5 June 2016].

Ladri di Biciclette (De Sica, 1948). Rome: Produzioni De Sica, Italy.

La campana di San Giusto (Amendola - Macchi, 1954). Rome: Glomer Film, Italy.

La Classe Operaia va in Paradiso (Petri, 1971). Rome: Euro international film (EIA), Italy.

La cittá invisibile – frammenti di Trieste romana (RAI, 2013). Trieste: Comune di Trieste, Italy. [Online]. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nj1K-oRdkw. [Accessed 10 September

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La forza del passato (Pierpaolo Gay, 2002). Rome: Albachiara and Istituto Luce, Italy.

La Jetée (Marker, 1962). Paris: Argos Films, France.

La mano dello straniero (Soldati, 1953). Co-production. Rome: Milo Film and Rizzoli Film, Italy. London: Peter Moore & John Stafford, United Kingdom.

La Marcia su Roma (Risi, 1962). Rome: Mario Cecchi Gori, Italy.

La petite prairie aux bouleaux (Loridan-Ivens 2003). Paris: Capi Films, France.

La ragazza di Trieste (Borderie, 1951). Rome: Fono, Italy.

La terra trema (Visconti, 1948). Rome: AR.TE.AS Film, Italy.

Le Tombeau d'Alexandre (Marker, 1992). Paris: Les Films de L'Astrophore, France.

La Villeggiatura (Leto, 1973). Rome: Natascia Film, Italy.

Learned by Heart (Rimminen, 2007). Helsinki: Soundsgood Prodcutions, Finland.

Le cinque giornate di Milano (Lizzani, 2004). Rome: RAI Fiction, Italy.

Le testaement d'Orphée, ou ne me demandez pas pourquoi! (Cocteau, 1959). Paris: Les Editions Cinégraphiques, France.

Lettre de Sibérie (Marker, 1957). Paris: Argos Film, France.

Lettres de Panduranga (Nguyen, 2015). Hanoi: DocLab, Vietnam.

Level Five (Marker, 1997). Paris: Les Films de l'Astrophore, France.

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Memories Denied (Paju 2005). Tallin: Allfilm and FantasiaFilmi Oy, Estonia.

Mille in 1860 (Blasetti 1934). Rome: Società Italiana Cines, Italy.

Moja Meja (Nadja Velušček and Anja Medved, 2002). Co- production. Gorizia: Kinoatelje, Slovenia. Trieste: RAI Friuli Venezia Giulia, Italy.

Morte a Venezia (Visconti, 1970). Rome: Alfa Cinematografica, Italy.

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Ombre su Trieste (Bianchi, 1952). Rome: Ariston Film, Italy.

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Paisà (Rossellini, 1946). Rome: Organizzazione Film Internazionali (OFI), Italy.

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Streli v Bazovici (Štiglic, 2011). Novo Mesto: Studios Vrtinec, Slovenia.

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The Killing Fields (Joffé, 1984). London: Goldcrest Films International, United Kingdom.

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Barrandov, Czech Republic.

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Tickets to Trieste (Taggart, 1961). London: British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), United Kingdom.

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