

Fiume/ Rijeka



The quest of (national/imaginary) identity

Prof Raymond Saner, Zadar, 2010

Objective of this presentation

- ❖ Relations between Art and Politics can be ambiguous, resulting at times in constructive or destructive ends
- ❖ Should art be used for political goals? Should politics be used to achieve artistic success?
- ❖ When does a mix of both ends in narcissistic self aggrandisement or worse in tyranny and wanton violence?
- ❖ The Republic of Fiume was a unique moment in modern history where art & politics & creativity mixed with narcissism, early fascism, and early forms of ideological indoctrination of the masses.
- ❖ This presentation attempts to provide some answers to the above questions



...identity?



How Identity is linked to this place..



- **Possesion:** of the citizens of the freestate, of D'Annunzio, of fascist Italy, of communist Yougoslavia, and now of democratic Croatia.
- **Creations:** of the Freestate, of an Ideal-state of Poet/nationalist D'Annunzio, Province of Yugoslavia/Croatia/Istria, new free state dream of people living in exile
- **Choices:** to occupy/protect/invade/leave (and choose exile)
- **Values:** nationalist, fascist, communist, democratic-capitalist, Judeo-christian, humanist ???

Free state of Fiume

- ❖ 1719: Karl VI: declares free port (“**freestate**”)
- ❖ 1719- WW-I: autonomy, special status in Austria-Hungary
- ❖ 1818: destiny not clear
- ❖ 1919-1920: Gabriele D’Annunzio
- ❖ 1920-1924: **free state** of Fiume
- ❖ 1924: Annexed by fascist Italy
- ❖ 1947: part of republic of Yugoslavia
- ❖ Today: part of Croatia

Fiume-Rijeka History



- ❖ Ancient Times = Celts, Illyrians, Romans, Slaves, Germanics, others
- ❖ 5th century onwards, the town was ruled successively by the Ostrogoths, the Byzantines, the Lombards, the Avars, the Franks, the Croats and the Hungarians before coming under the control of the Austrian Habsburgs in 1466.



Republic of Venice: 697-1797





Fiume-Rijeka History



- ❖ Created as a free port in 1723, passed hands among the Habsburgs' Austrian, Croatian, and Hungarian possessions in 18th/19th Century until attached to Hungary for the third and last time in 1870.

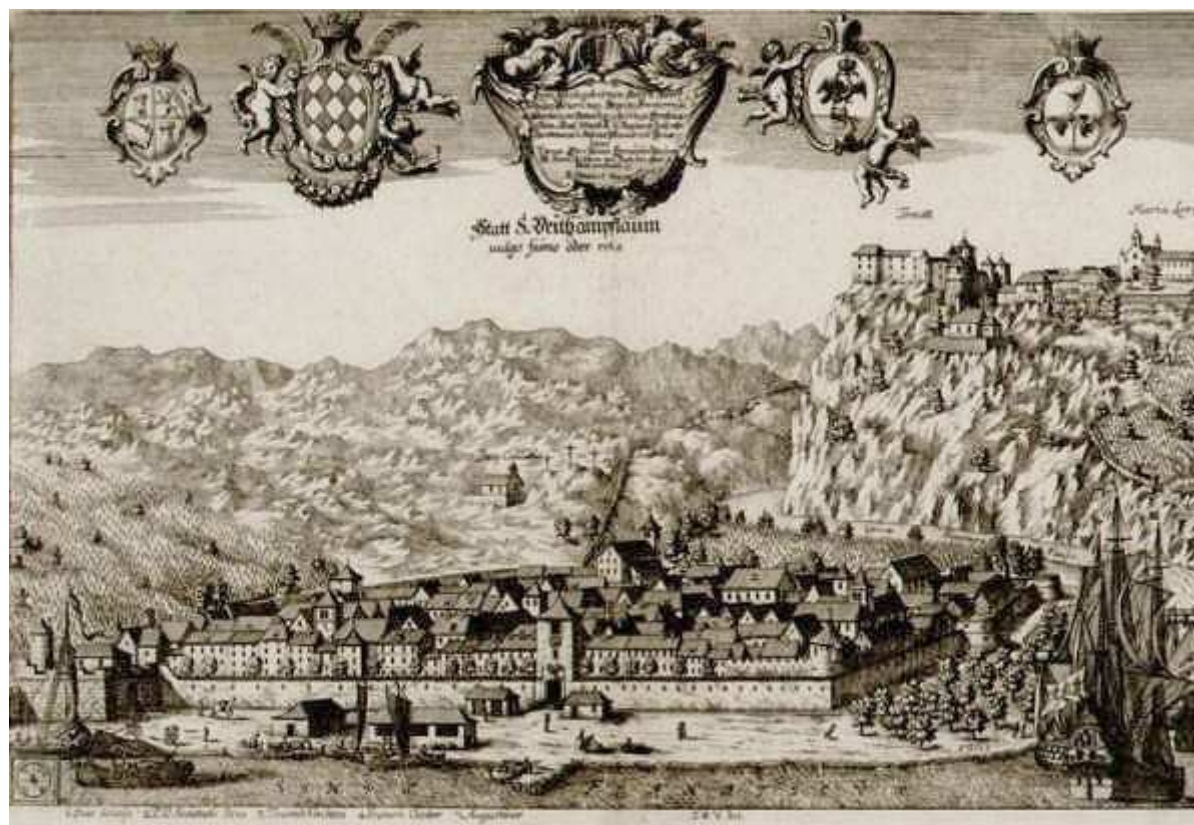
Although Croatia had constitutional autonomy within Hungary, the City was independent, governed (as a Corpus Separatum) directly from Budapest by an appointed governor, as Hungary's only international port.



1776: Fiume part of Hungary (Maria Theresa) 1868: Corpus Separatum (Hungary & Croatia deal)



18th century



- View of Fiume

Fiume-Rijeka History



- ❖ Fiume had significant naval base, and in mid-19th century became site of the Austro-Hungarian Naval Academy (K.u.K. Marine-Akademie), where the Austro-Hungarian Navy trained its officers.
- ❖ The population grew from only 21,000 in 1880 to 50,000 in 1910.
- ❖ The future mayor of NYC, Fiorello La Guardia, lived in the city at the turn of the 20th century, and reportedly even played football for the local sports club

Fiume-Rijeka History



- ❖ **The first European prototypes of a self-propelled torpedo, created by Giovanni Luppis, a retired naval engineer from Rijeka. The remains of this factory still exist, including a well-preserved launch ramp used for testing self-propelled torpedoes on which in 1866 the first torpedo was tested.**

Fiume-Rijeka 1945



- ❖ 1924-1945, rule by Fascist Italy meant oppression, violence, persecution of non-Italians and leftists (Slaves and Italians)
- ❖ 1945-1946, Yugoslave Partisans took control of Rijeka, revenge killings of Italians and Croate collaborators
- ❖ 58,000 of the 66,000 Italian speaking people living in Fiume left before arrival of the Yugoslav army.
- ❖ 1947, change in sovereignty to Yugoslavia.



WW-I Battles & Deaths

Verdun	French 371 000	German 337 000
Isonzo	Italian 300 000 of 600K	Austro- Hungarian 200 000 of 1.2 Mio





1918, troubled times...





19th century

- 19th Century inhabitants of Fiume: Croats, Italians, Slovenes, Hungarians and others.
- Nationality was defined by language
- Official languages: Hungarian, German. Letters: Italian.
- Families: Italian and Croatian dialects.
- **this multi-ethnic city created its own identity through its population mix (already in 18/19th century)**

1918-1920 Chaos



- **Local fights in Fiume between National Council (Italians) vs South Slave National Committee (Croats)**
- **Armed intervention by French, British and US forces**
- **US President W. Wilson suggests Fiume as seat of League of Nations**
- **Allied powers suggest Free State of Fiume, but no integration of Fiume into Italy**



End 1. World War



- **Tommyes in Fiume, 1918**
- **Stand guard outside the headquarters of the Inter-Allied Military Command**

1918-1920 Chaos (2)



- **Sept. 1919, D'Annunzio & consorts take over Fiume to force Kingdom of Italy to claim Fiume as part of Italy based on promises made by Allies to Italy to encourage it entering into WW-I.**
- **Nov. 1920, Treaty of Rapallo, Kingdom of Italy & Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes agree to recognise Fiume as fully independent state.**
- **Dec. 1920, D'Annunzio declares war on Italy, Italian army attacks, he leaves Fiume January 1921**



- **1863 – 1938**
- **« Dalmatian origin, perfumed poet prince, Fighter pilot, Italian futurist with ambivalent relations to Mussolini's fascist movement»**

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History of D'Annunzio's creation...

- In 12.9.1919 D'Annunzio, with 2500 « arditi » franc-tireurs, brings Fiume under his control.
- Starts as “commandante” an anarchic governance “regente”.
- Club Dada: speaks of this as a « mighty deed », a vanguard act
- In total lasts for 15 months
- A dominance, anticipating elements of fascism:
 - with the cult around his person
 - and his babylonian decadence.

Constitution of Fiume by



- D'Annunzio ignored the Treaty of Rapalloa and in his anger declared war on Italy itself.
- He then coauthored a constitution, the Charter of Carnaro, with national syndicalist Alceste de Ambris, the leader of a group of Italian seamen who had mutinied and then given their vessel to the service of D'Annunzio.

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Constitution of Fiume by



- De Ambris provided legal and political framework, to which d'Annunzio added his skills as a poet. The constitution established a corporatist state, with nine corporations to represent the different sectors of the economy (workers, employers, professionals), and a tenth (d'Annunzio's invention) to represent the "superior" human beings (heroes, poets, prophets, supermen).
- The *Cartarta* also declared that music was the fundamental principle of the state.

End of D. Annunzio's Fiume



- **surrendered the city in December 1920 after a bombardment of his headquarters by the Italian navy**
- **Left Fiume in January 1921**
- **Retired to Lake Garda where he died in 1938**



End of Fiume of Annunzio, Annunzio has to leave



- 30th January 1921: D'Annunzio is forced to leave Fiume.
- (in front, at the right hand side, on top of the car)



Villa at the lake Garda, where D'Annunzio lived afterwards





1920-1924 Free city/state of Fiume





Freestate of Fiume

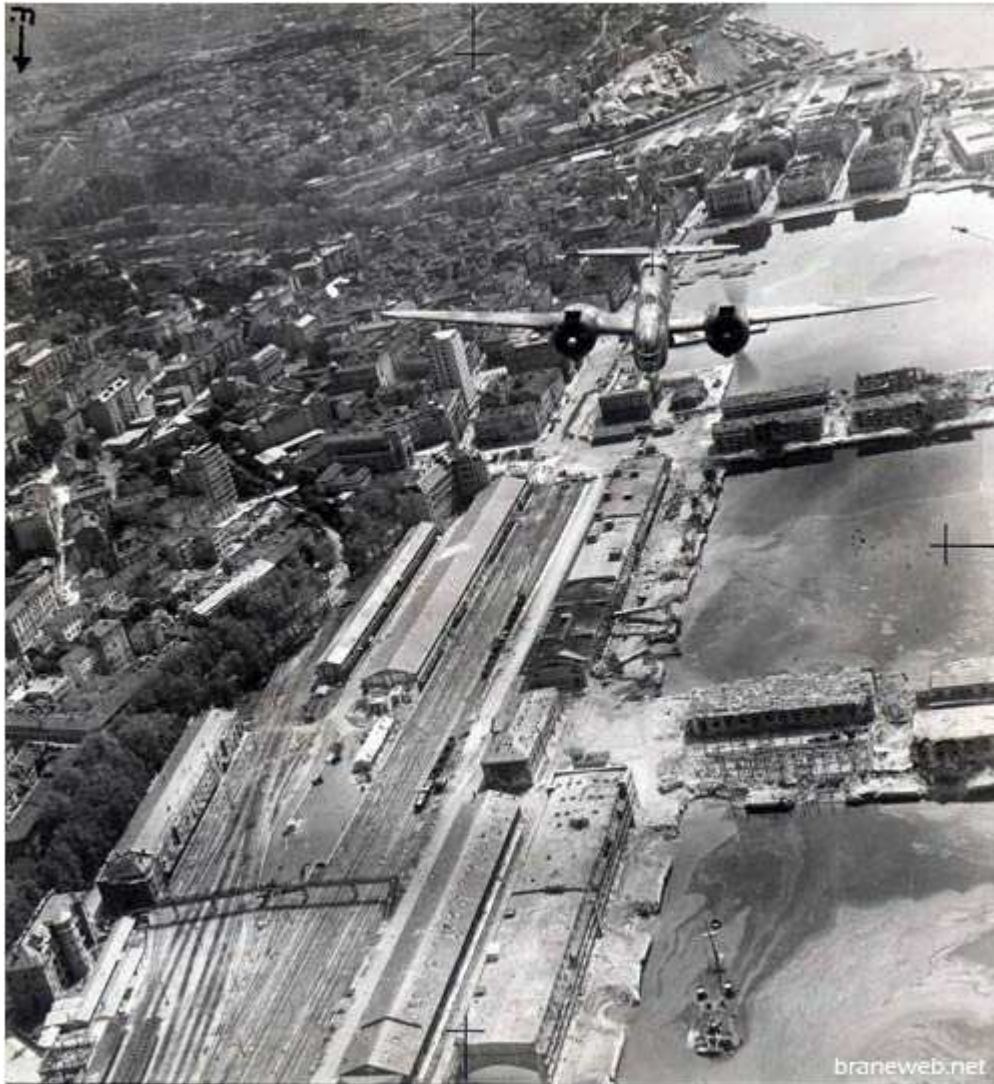
- **Official languages: Italian & Croatian**
- **Area: 28 km²**
- **Form of government: Republic**
- **Presidents:**
 - **1921-1922: Riccardo Zanella**
 - **1922: Giovanni Giuriati**
 - **1923-1924: Gaetano Giardino**
 - **1924- Annexation by Fascist Italy**



1924 - 1945 Annexed by facist Italy



World War Two



- 1945 Bombing of Fiume



- With the end of World War Two, **the fascist occupation ends.**
- The treaties of Paris hand Fiume over to the **Republic of Yugoslavia**



In: 1947 Rjika

- Name: Rjika=river (=Fiume), named after the short swift water-rich river Rjecina

• Postcard from 1965



Today: Rjeka (part of Croatia)



Gabriele D'Annunzio



**His life, thoughts, actions,
believes, deeds, legacy**



- 1920 stamp, with D'Annunzio on it

Turn of century symbolist-dandy-narcisist – fascist-anarchist politician/artist



- Italian poet, novelist and dramatist, military hero, and supporter of fascist political ideas. D'Annunzio combined in his work naturalism, symbolism, and erotic images, becoming the best interpreter of European Decadence in post-Risorgimento Italy. His love affairs, relationship with the world-famous actress Eleanora Duse, heroic adventures during World War I, and his occupation of Fiume in 1919 made him a legend in his own time.

Gabriele D'Annunzio the Politician



- In 1897, elected to Chamber of Deputies for 3 year term, aligning himself in the beginning with the extreme right but moving then to the left.
- He was defeated in the elections of 1900

Gabriele D'Annunzio the Artist



- He published his first poetry while still at school at the age of sixteen with a small volume of verses called *Primo Vere* (1879), inspired by Giosuè Carducci's *Odi barbare*
- In 1881, University of Rome La Sapienza, member of various literary groups, including *Cronaca Bizantina* and wrote articles and criticism for local newspapers, particularly *Fanfulla della Domenica*, *Capitan Francassa*, and *Cronaca Bizantina*.

Gabriele D'Annunzio the Artist



- (France, 1910-1914)
- *Le martyre de Saint Sébastien* (The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, 1911), a play that he wrote in verse for Ida Rubinstein (1885-1960), a female dancer. In the play, she played St. Sebastian. Claude Debussy wrote music score for the play.

Gabriele D'Annunzio the Artist



- In 1894, he wrote *Il trionfo della morte* (*The Triumph of Death*, portrait of his father)
- Followed by *Le vergini delle rocce* (1896) and *Il sogno di un mattino di primavera* (1897). In 1898, he wrote *Sogno di un pomeriggio d'autunno*, and *La città morta* (1898), written for Sarah Bernhardt.
- And several plays for Eleanora Duse: *La gioconda* (1899), and *Francesca da Rimini* (1901).



...sample of D'Annunzio's poetry

- **La pioggia nel pineto**
- **The Rain in the Pine Forest**



HAWAIIPICTURES.COM



Gabriele D'Annunzio the Lover



- In 1883 D'Annunzio married Maria H. di Gallese, a duke's daughter, they had three sons
- in 1886, liaison with the Countess Gravina Auguissola, daughter, marriage ended in 1891
- 1894, Gabriele began an affair with the famed actress Eleonora Duse which became a *cause célèbre*.
- And.....

Gabriele D'Annunzio the Soldier/Pilot



- 1915 enlisted with the cavalry before commanding a torpedo boat.
- Subsequently, fighter pilot, “war hero” when accidentally lost an eye during bad landing in 1916.
- August 9, 1918, commander of 87th fighter squadron "La Serenissima", organized one of the great feats of the war, leading nine planes in a 700 mile round trip to drop propaganda leaflets on Vienna. The leaflets were written by himself.



Controversial persona: D'Annunzio

- Annunzio is one of the most sparkling italian literati at the beginning of the 20th century
- Left an esthetical and political provoking œuvre
- He saw his closeness to fascism in a playful way: « Everything, that's good in fascism, is from me – his **aesthetics.** »

A ceremony in Fiume with D'Annunzio.



Questions asked by D'Annunzio



- In the play: « perhaps – perhaps not », Annunzio is asking questions:
 - About modern heroism.
 - At which point does art become political?
 - When does politics become art?
 - Is at the end, not everything a big, entire work of art?
- Tries to transform the reality of life into artistic material & art into a life-programme.
- War is the normal case, and only the fight gives life a sense.

His thoughts: forerunners of...



- « Courage, drive and determination are the keywords. A new type of man should be created: a technical-human mixed creature who governs absolutely competently over time and space. The aviator as the modern fighter, the new superman. »
- These are the forerunners of a vision of esthetical and political fascism.

His thoughts: forerunners of...



- Mussolini imitated and learned from d'Annunzio's method of government in Fiume - the economics of the corporate state, stage tricks, large emotive nationalistic public rituals, the Roman salute, rhetorical questions to the crowd, blackshirted followers, the *Arditi*, with their disciplined, bestial responses and strong-arm repression of dissent.



...forerunners of fascism.





Fascism

- Before WW-II, fascists across Europe considered they shared common philosophic tenets — the leader (commandante/duce), single-party state, social darwinism, élitism, yet each fascist government espoused a discrete variety of national fascism
- Facism: at final end, strong **national focus, no** multinational identity or cause like communism or catholicism

...historical embeddedness



- **D'Annunzio was result of the times-modernity, new nation Italy, WW-I, communism-socialism, anti-clerical, anti-monarchy, nationalist, adulation of heroism**
- **D'Annunzio is more than a caricature of a fascist spook, manipulator, etc, He was also accomplished poet, writer, cultured person.**
- **Links to Italian futurists, but against international reach, prefers nationalism and individualism**



...D'Annunzio & Mussolini

- lots of similarities (nationalism, heroicism) but also important differences
- 1. was against Italy joining Nazi Germany
- 2. suggested instead link with Allies (F,UK,USA)
- 3. never became member of PNF
- But...was role model for Mussolini who used his rituals/pathetic mannerism to take power and impose dictatorship



Personalities of Fiume Republic

http://www.reakt.org/fiume/pdf/007_publishing.pdf

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**F.T. Marinetti (right) and F. Vecchi in Fiume,
(October 1919)**



F.T. Marinetti (1876-1944)



“....they are nearly all monarchists and passéists, who do not want to understand or admit that their gesture has been a revolutionary one. They declare that they are not involved in politics! Some probably have regrets and want everything to find a quick and good ending, so that it will not inconvenience their career and they will get His Majesty’s approval!!!”

Marinetti established close contacts with Guido Keller, who explained to him his ‘task of overseeing what happens around D’Annunzio’.

Guido Keller (Left)



Fiume,
October 1919



Guido Keller

(1892-1929)



Giovanni Comisso (1895-1969)



Italian journalist and
novelist

In September 1919 he participated in the occupation of Fiume, edited with Guido Keller the magazine *Yoga*, advocating activism and libertarian ferment, anti-capitalism and antiparlamentarianism, and expressing contempt for the bourgeoisie, and the need for freedom from material impulses. Comisso's experience in Fiume provided the inspiration for his first novel, *Il porto dell'amore*, written in 1921 and published privately in 1924.



Ritualised Aesthetics –as form of governance



- ❖ Nightly fireworks displays, concerts and poetry readings given by wandering bohemians from all over the world
- ❖ Black shirted storm troopers conducting piracy off the local waters to support the government and seizing small islands offshore.
- ❖ Yoga meetings led by Guido Keller
- ❖ Mass rallies, parties, theater performances and poetry readings

Ritualised Aesthetics –as form of governance (2)



- ❖ “self-government” of soldiers and officers based on majority voting
- ❖ International Ligue of Fiume, solidarity with all oppressed peoples neglected by Veraille treaty, (Egyptians, Irish, Turks, Albanians, Indiens etc.
- ❖ Writing of republican constitution with leader of socialist party, continuous pamphlets, writings to futurists, dadists, and others spread around Europe



Yoga: Unione di spiriti liberi tendenti alla perfezione



- ❖ members were communists, anarchists, bolsheviks, socialists, bohemians, nihilists, nietzscheans, rosenkreuzers, rousseauist dreamers and utopian proudhonists.
- ❖ Open meeting ground for all rebellious spirits, tried to attract people by principle of diversity and vitalistic spontaneity
- ❖ Against bourgeois morality, rationality of thinking, discipline, work ethics, materialism, greed...



Yoga: Unione di spiriti liberi tendenti alla perfezione (2)



- ❖ the Unione Yoga entertained relations with Futurists all over Italy, Futurist-Communists in Turin, Dadaists in Zurich, Bopsheviks in Russia and Hungary
- ❖ Organised “People’s Academy” meetings with public debates on free love, abolition of money, destruction of prisons, beautification of cities etc.
- ❖ In contrast to anarchical Futurists, Yoga members emphasized Dionysian Individualism, originality of artist.

Yoga: Unione di spiriti liberi tendenti alla perfezione (3)



- ❖ Subversive tactics to overturn political system, replace the « democracy by numbers »+ with a communist reign of liberty based on syndical organization of producers
- ❖ A social revolution to go together with a political revolution and to produce a new concept of identity and individuality.
- ❖ Strong anti-capitalist, anti-industrialist, anti-city feeling, strong doses of mysticism, spiritualism, eastern mythology similar to Monte Verità community near Ascona, CH
- ❖ Leading motto: **MOVING, LIVING, DESTROYING, CREATING**



Monte Varità, Ascona, CH

Exploration and Experiment

Source:

http://www.fileane.com/laurie/laurie01/monte_verita.htm#historique

Monte Verità, Ascona, CH



- In 1900, Henry Oedenkoven, the 25-year-old son of a businessman from Antwerp, and his companion Ida Hofmann purchased a hill in Ascona which had been known as "Monescia" and established the "Co-operative vegetarian colony Monte Verità".
- The colony was established first on principles of primitive socialism, but later championed an individualistic vegetarianism and hosted the Monte Verità Sanatorium, a sun-bathing establishment.

Monte Verità, Ascona, CH (2)



- Anarchist physicist Raphael Friedeberg moved to Ascona in 1903, attracting many other anarchists to the area. Artists and other famous people attracted to this hill included
- Herman Hesse, Carl Jung, Erich Maria Remarque, Huga Ball, Else Lasker-Schüler, Stefan George, Isadora Duncan, Carl Eugen Keel, Paul Klee, Carlo Mense, Arnold Ehret, Rudolf Steiner, Mary Wigman, Max Picard, Ernst Toller, Henry van de Velde, Fanny zu Reventlow, Rudolf Laban, Frieda and Else von Richthofen, Otto Gross, Erich Mühsam, Karl Wilhelm Diefenbach, Walter Segal and Gustav Stresemann



**Monte Verità
Casa Andrea, Casa
Gentile, and Casa Anatta
(1905**

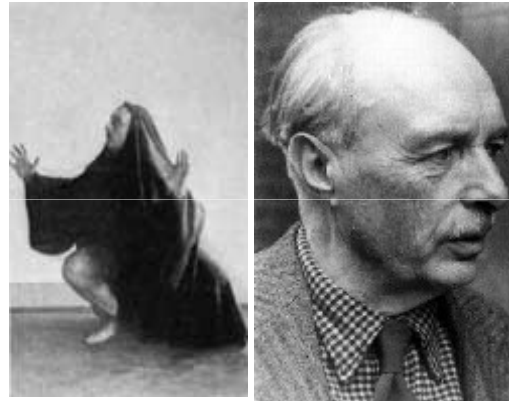


Build by Henri Oedenkoven





**Isadora Duncan,
Monte Verità
1903**



Rudolf von Laban "Der Mönch"



**Mary Wigmann,
"Hexentanz" 1914**





Mary Wigmann







Eric Mühsam (1878-1934)



Hermann HESSE (au centre) à Monte Verità





Otto GROSS
Psychoanalyst,
(1877 - 1920)



... end of Monte Verità



- From 1923 to 1926, Monte Verità was operated as a hotel by artists Werner Ackermann, Max Bethke and Hugo Wilkens, until it was acquired in 1926 by Baron Eduard von der Heydt.
- The following year, a new Bauhaus-style hotel was built by Emil Fahrenkamp. Eduard von der Heydt died in 1964, and the site became the property of the Canton of Ticino, CH.



Monte Verità & Fiume

- Guido Keller
- Eric Mühsam
- others had links to the Monte Verità movement through friends and colleagues



One place with so many identity projects on it...



Constructive Boundary Spanners and political entrepreneurs of same period



- **Alice de Gasperi (1881-1954)**
- Born near Trento, student activist for more autonomy of Italian speaking provinces of K+K A
- 1911-1917, MP-Reichstag, Vienna
- 1924, anti-fascist CDP,
- 1927-1928, emprisoned, safed by Vatican
- 1943, founder of Christian Democratic Party
- 1945, Prime Minister of Italy
- 1946, Gruber (A)- De Gasperi (I) agreement giving autonomy to German speaking Tyrol/Alto Adige
- 1949- 1954, co-founder of Council of Europe, Schuman Plan, European Defense Policy, EEC

Constructive Boundary Spanners and political entrepreneurs of same period(2)



• **Robert Schuman (1886-1963)**

- Born near Luxembourg, Lorraine (then German)
- Studies in Germany, elected to city council of Metz (then German)
- 1919, French citizen, speaks French with strong accent
- 1919, elected Député to French Parliament, Paris
- WW-II, anti-Nazi, prison 1940, escapes, résistance till end of WW-II
- 1947-1948, Prime Minister, French Government
- National French politician but also co-founder of Council of Europe, reconciliation with Germany (K. Adenauer), Schuman Plan, EEC.



Thank you!!

- **Let us built minds and lives that are like free-state....**
- **»Independent/interdependent »...**
- **Without having to make all of our ideas, wishes, fantasies become political reality!!!!!!**