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History 3801 – The Art & Craft of Being a Historian Pt.1

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FINAL ESSAY – The First Duce, Gabriele D’Annunzio

Dec.16 2021

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

### The First Duce

I am going to structure this essay very much like my final project. I am going to break the information down (roughly) into three sections. War and Peace, the city of Fiume and the factions, and Gabriele D’Annunzio. As this is historiography; this is what history has to say about the First Duce, not what I have to say about him, a challenge sometimes insurmountable. I cannot stay out of my history, although I will certainly try. I know I don’t have to clean that sentence up because this is my history. Another professor might misunderstand.

What I will say is that it impossible to touch his life without appropriating something of D’Annunzio. His women did so, all of Italy did so, Mussolini did so, so did my sister and so did I. I know for certain that he will shape my ideas and my thoughts; gifts through time directly from the poet.

D’Annunzio is responsible for starting certain trends that were appropriated by radicalized Italians. The outcome did not speak highly of Italy, nor of humanity. The tragedies would surpass the darkest imaginings of the poet’s worst nightmares. Even Dante, were he to witness the hell on earth born of the Roman HeroMan, might have to add a special place in the Inferno for fascists, ultra nationals and the men and women who allowed hatred to dictate. D’Annunzio’s preference was sensualism and hedonism, not the evils he would have a hand in unleashing, “the black shirt, Roman salute, demagogic

speechifying, choreographed street demonstrations.”<sup>1</sup> With a new leader, soon enough, “dictators, perhaps because they know themselves so well, have realized the power of history. Consequently, they have tried to rewrite, deny or destroy the past.”<sup>2</sup> The poet will be appropriated, mythologized, used as a tool for the propagandist. He will play a part in ‘the destiny and divine greatness’ of the Italian Nation.

I believe the character defect in D’Annunzio was his solipsism. He did not pledge allegiance to anyone but himself. His politics were maligned once anointed the “John the Baptist of Fascism” by Mussolini. For 75 years D’Annunzio would be judged by history as the progenitor of fascism, when in fact he was only the poster-boy. When he seized the city of Fiume and refused to give it back, this act did not speak of his politics, although his inflammatory rhetoric would suggest so. Fiume became a ‘pirate city’ only to keep the ‘Free city of Carnero’ out of enemy hands. By the end of D’Annunzio’s Fiuman adventure, everyone was his enemy. He would prove to be his own worst enemy. What remains fascinating about Fiume, is that D’Annunzio and his fellow crusaders led one of the few, if not the only, truly successful anarchist states in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### GABRIELE D’ANNUNZIO The Poet, The Soldier, The Womanizer

D’Annunzio was 52 years old when he conscripted. He was a decorated soldier, promoted to Arditi (Special Forces). He was a squadron leader of an air force unit. He joined the Marine corps, and (miraculously) blew up a torpedo boat with a speed boat. As a veteran and a celebrity, he placed himself in the army wherever suited his whims, he in submarines, at the front line, or leading his own squadron of fighter planes. He was fascinated with flight though never did learn to fly.<sup>3</sup> He fought valiantly. He ran into gunfire armed with a knife. And yet, “he was an author first and foremost, though never solely a man of letters. He wanted his words to spark uprisings and set nations ablaze. His most famous wartime

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<sup>1</sup> Phelan, Mark – “Prophet of the oppressed Nations: Gabriele D’Annunzio and the Irish Republic: 1919-1921” History Ireland, September/October vol.21 #5 p.45

<sup>2</sup> MacMillan, Margaret – “The Uses and Abuses of History” Viking 2008 p.21

<sup>3</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – “Gabriele D’Annunzio, Poet, Seducer and Preacher of War” Borzoi Books A.Knoff 2013 p.12

exploits were those occasions when he flew over Trieste or Vienna [his famous Fight over Vienna 1917], dropping not bombs (although he dropped those too), but pamphlets. For D'Annunzio, writing was a martial art."<sup>4</sup> His power over women was legendary, fluent in four languages, and his ability to speak in public remains unmatched, although his appropriators with their sheer sound and fury would see him outdone, in volume, venom and hatred.

WAR – PEACE  
TREATIES – London, Versailles, Rapallo

MacMillan's "The Uses and Abuses of History" warns of 'groupthink', stating "in reality, an examination of any group shows that identity is a process, not just a fixed thing. Groups define and redefine themselves over time and in response to internal developments. If you are oppressed or victimized [or the oppressor/ victimizer] that becomes a part of how you see yourself. Sometimes that leads to an unseemly competition for victimhood [or tyranny b].<sup>5</sup> This rings true of the plight of pre-war, at war and post-war Italy. Treaties: London (from neutral to aggressor), Versailles (aggressor to agitator), Rapallo (Italy's agitation ceded Fiume (redeemed) to Yugoslavia, but not for long).

This, after the industrial revolution was rapidly moving cities into metropolitan centres, marvelous industry, science, though "science without conscience is mere ruination of the soul"<sup>6</sup> and Marvel's Atomica would end four decades of continuous war, (take that Japan?, take that Japan?), leaving "a planetary death-race of 'the balance of terror' [post-scientific extremism that exiles from all reason], now engaging in a new type of competition that is equally insane [cold, Cold War]".<sup>7</sup> These statements imply that Carr's reasoning of worldview being an organic process, one thing emerging from the next, "our picture has been pre-selected or pre-determined for us [...] by the people [...] consciously or

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<sup>4</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – "Gabriele D'Annunzio" p.8

<sup>5</sup> MacMillan, Margaret – "The Uses and Abuses of History" p. 59

<sup>6</sup> Virilio, Paul – "The Information Bomb" Verso USA 2000 p.5

<sup>7</sup> Virilio, Paul – "The Information Bomb" Verso USA 2000 p.5

unconsciously imbued with a particular view”.<sup>8</sup> I say this in early defense of my subject, the poet Gabriele d’Annunzio. I must also add, for the sake of irony, “Wie es eigentlich gewesen [trans. Save us from the tired obligation of thinking for ourselves]”.<sup>9</sup> It is due to this tiresome obligation that d’Annunzio was able to urge his countrymen to join the fray, the war of attrition that would see the death of tens of millions in the first world war. World war on an industrial scale.

One of d’Annunzio’s contemporaries, Benedetto Croce, the great Italian philosopher/ historian said that all history was contemporary. “The context of aphorism: the practical requirements which underlie every historical judgement give to all history the character of contemporary history, because, however remote in time events thus recounted seem to be, the history in reality refers to present needs and present situations wherein those events vibrate”<sup>10</sup>. These events did vibrate. The pen was truly mightier than the sword. “The late 19<sup>th</sup> century was, after all, the moment of great triumph of the industrial revolution and all its accompanying dislocation. For the artists of the period [...] increasingly judged by his ‘marketability’. Artists became alienated from the process of modern culture, preferring to think of themselves as ‘men apart’. For some this separation was a purely intellectual act, while for others it took a more total form. For D’Annunzio, instead of ‘opting out’ of modern society, he undertook to change it”.<sup>11</sup>

These artists covered the political spectrum, Antonio Gramsci edited a popular futurist paper, seeing in 1915 a weekly circulation of 20000 copies (sitting far Left). Mussolini was editor of *Il Popolo*, what would become the leading fascist newspaper (on the far Right). Yet it was Gramsci who said that the only hygiene for the nation was war, “*Geurra sola igiene del mondo*”. The Italian government was strongly for neutrality in this global conflict. Yet the artists were continuous cause of conflagration. D’Annunzio was dubbed ‘the greatest Italian poet since Dante’ according to his readers. He had a world-wide cult following, his Italian fans were rabid. Fellow poet/ dramatist Marinetti competed with his friend

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<sup>8</sup> Carr, E.H. – “What is History” Cambridge University Press 1896 p.17

<sup>9</sup> Carr, E.H. – “What is History” p.9

<sup>10</sup> Croce, Benedetto – “History and the Study of Liberty” Eng. Translation 1941 p.19

<sup>11</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. “D’Annunzio, The First Duce”. Transaction Publishers John Hopkins University Press 2006 p.5

D'Annunzio. Published in 1906, "Les Dieux Sont Vont, D'Annunzio se Reste". Antonio Gramsci paid most dearly for his moment of fame, ending up with on trial with the Socialists. Ending up doing 20 years after Mussolini's 1922 March on Rome and imposition of dictatorial power. "And therefore 'content' and 'form' have a historical' meaning beside an aesthetic one. The last illness to attack the Italian people has been D'Annunzio".<sup>12</sup> You can't please everyone. Gramsci had a personal grudge with Rockstar poet D'Annunzio. The nation craved the poem, the readers were diligent, ideas spread like wildfires. The poem reflected the national soul, and would become very, very protective of itself. Ultra-poetic national Italia.

The power of the poem has certainly diminished over the last century. As for D'Annunzio, the public doted on him like a rock star. When he spoke, often to thousands, he barely rose his voice. One evening, just because he could, he incited a riot. The first man to infuse the secular into the non-secular, heretic as it may have been, it worked. "One evening in Rome in May 1915, D'Annunzio was chatting lightly in his hotel room with a couple of acquaintances [...] he stepped out onto his balcony to deliver one of his most incendiary speeches, urging the crowds beneath his window to transform themselves into a lynch mob. "If it is considered a crime to incite citizens to violence then I boast of committing that crime." Three paces and a windowpane separated the sphere in which he was an urban socialite and a man of letters from that in which he was a frenzied demagogue calling upon his countrymen to murder their elected representatives and to drench the soil of Europe with their blood."<sup>13</sup> This is a single demonstration of the power held by the poet. He was calling his people to join the war. "He was so effective as an orator that the Italian government, on more than one occasion, forbade him to speak in public, fearing the effect he might have on national politics. The Hapsburgs (of Austria) offered a special reward for the capture or murder of the poet."<sup>14</sup>

## IL FUTURO?

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<sup>12</sup> Gramsci, Antonio – "Selections from Cultural Writings" Haymarket Books USA 2012 p.204

<sup>13</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – "Gabriele D'Annunzio, Poet, Seducer and Preacher of War" Borzoi Books A.Knoff 2013 p.12

<sup>14</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. "D'Annunzio, The First Duce". Transaction Publishers John Hopkins University Press 2006 p.9

Currently in history (1915-1919), when everyone was asking, what about the future? Whoever defines the language of politics wields enormous power. “The Futurist Marinetti was by no means the only artist who longed for the violent destruction of comfortable bourgeois society and an end to what one called ‘the filthy rotten peach’. The poet Gabriele D’Annunzio [...] had a huge impact on the young across Europe with his exaltation of power, heroism, and violence. In 1912 he boasted [...] about the impact of his nationalist poem on ‘the tempest of blood and fire that passes over the Italian people’”.<sup>15</sup> He had “created a new form of discourse in which the two elements [religious and political spheres] were fused together in a kind of political passion play.”<sup>16</sup> As such, “he aimed to convince his audience, not only revealed the Italian spirit, but would fan this spirit over Italy.”<sup>17</sup> Italy got its war. The Orlando administration would make secret deals in the Treaty of London, which would run contrary to the Versailles Peace accords, which would lead to the Rapallo Treaty, which the poet would refute. As for making enemies of everyone, he would go to war with his own beloved Italy by refusing to sign.

Foreshadowing....

The siege of Fiume, infamously known as Bloody Christmas 1920.

#### FIUME & THE FACTIONS *Dulce e Decorum Es?*

The factions manufacturing the consent of the Italian people before, during and after the war are, “Il Comitato per le Rivendicazioni Nazionali, the Committee for Nations Claims, Dante Alighieri Association, Treviso-Trieste Association, the Veteran’s Association, the Fascists, the Futurists, the Nationalists, the Socialists, and, the Arditi.”<sup>18</sup> All stood in opposition to the Orlando government, and all were prepared to

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<sup>15</sup> MacMillan, Margaret – “Paris 1919, Six Months that Changed the World” Random House USA 2003 p.284

<sup>16</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. “D’Annunzio, The First Duce” p.10

<sup>17</sup> vanHout, Milou – “In Search of the nation in Fiume: Irredentism, Cultural Nationalism, Borderlands” European Studies Amsterdam Jan 2019 p.574

<sup>18</sup> Pizzi, Katia – “Italian Futurism and the Machine” Manchester University Press 2019 p.111

take matters into their own hands. Fiume was the centre of a serious diplomatic storm, “the conspiracy to take Fiume was one of the worst kept secrets of all time, and as for leadership, they tried Enrico Corradini, Luigi Federzoni, Benito Mussolini, and Peppino Garibaldi, but without success. They did not immediately turn to D’Annunzio as a potential leader, despite frequent linkage of his name to the Fiuman cause.”<sup>19</sup> It would seem the great poet would be the fifth choice to represent the many factions to seize Fiume.

The March on Fiume has many historical parallels to Garibaldi’s 1860 March of the Thousand. He marched a thousand men and restored the city of Venice to the King of Italy. This is the act the poet would imitate, and appropriate. What D’Annunzio had that Giuseppe Garibaldi did not, (he did match the flowing red robes and flair for the preposterously flamboyant) was a press office, which the poet immediately seized. Control of the press is a tactic Mussolini would appropriate after his March on Rome in 1922. Mussolini would control 85 % of Italian press within six months of seizing power. The tactic would become a common play for European dictators. “These truths notwithstanding, D’Annunzio never fully embraced the Mussolini dictatorship. For his part, the (second) Duce resented D’Annunzio as a potential rival. To prevent a public rift, Mussolini supplied D’Annunzio who had expensive tastes in art, prostitutes and narcotics [silencing his rivalry] with vast sums of money and other rewards.”<sup>20</sup>

Dictator to-do list: control the press, blame everything on the Jews then kill them, use the Roman Salute, use sacred images on tanks, uniforms, and household appliances, start a fascism for kids club, “yet these pronouncements were rhetorical and tactical rather than genuine.”<sup>21</sup>

“Dictators, perhaps because they know themselves so well, have actually realized the power of history. Consequently, they have tried to rewrite it, deny or destroy the past.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – “Gabriele D’Annunzio,” p.61

<sup>20</sup> Phelan, Mark – “Prophet of the oppressed Nations” p.45

<sup>21</sup> Phelan, Mark – “Prophet of the oppressed Nations” p.47

<sup>22</sup> MacMillan, Margaret – “The Uses and Abuses of History” Viking 2008 p.25

The so-called League of Nations would betray the Italian delegation for their participation in the war. 600 000 dead Italian boys and a post-war Italy would set the stage for the taking of Fiume. The political term would be annexation, but the city was stolen. D'Annunzio's March on Fiume and Gisuseppi's March of the Thousand, this would be appropriated, to serve his poetic glory and to his story.

Sept. 11 1919 D'Annunzio would steal the city of Fiume and declare it the "Free City of Fiume". For political legitimacy, deAmbris would draft a constitution, the Carta del Carnaro, Fiume would become The Regency of Carnaro, and D'Annunzio, the first Duce. On its national flag, "Dulce e Decorum Es? (Who Will Oppose Us?) D'Annunzian Fiume would was a land of Cockaigne; an extra-legitimate space where normal rules didn't apply."<sup>23</sup> Fiume, "Italy or death!". "Who would stop 30 or 40 thousand Free Italian citizens from undertaking the expedition in the old style, and go occupy Fiume? When 40 million Italians want to be united with Italy, who will oppose this union from taking place? Will America launch a military expedition to give Fiume back to Yugoslavia?"<sup>24</sup>

D'Annunzio was in pursuit of a higher truth, but "morality is what suffers most from the deviation of aesthetic practices, but such practices are also indispensable to the pursuit of truth."<sup>25</sup> In protest of the League of Nations, the Treaties of London and Versailles, Fiume represented "an anti-League of Nations, an alliance between Arabs, the Irish and Palestinian Jews [solidarity] to confront the colonial powers and 'new world' [authority]."<sup>26</sup> His fundamental tenet ran contrary to the fascist regime. Mussolini would appropriate D'Annunzio's methods. "Ultimately, his vision was that the new order would be based on qualities of heroism and genius, rather than the traditional criteria of wealth, heritage and power."<sup>27</sup> The Carta Del Carnaro, officially proclaimed Sept.8 1920 "attempted to politicize the 'festivity of the revolution', stating that culture served as an 'aroma against depravity', and a 'force against the malformation of society'. Wilson's words and American dollars only promised, [in the poet's

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<sup>23</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – "Gabriele D'Annunzio" p.4

<sup>24</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. "D'Annunzio, The First Duce" p.49

<sup>25</sup> Haskell, Thomas L. – "Objectivity is not Neutrality" p.132

<sup>26</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. "D'Annunzio, The First Duce" p.ix

<sup>27</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. "D'Annunzio, The First Duce" p.9

words] what Peace would be foisted on the Italians? Pax gallica? Pax Britannica? Pax stelligera? Miserere Nostri.....”<sup>28</sup>

“I know how to give my action the power of the symbol. One must make one’s life as one makes a work of art” – Gabriele D’Annunzio

“His gift for pleasing is diabolical” – Filippo Tommaso Marinetti

“I want to play the game not argue about the rules” -

FIUME – *irridente*  
The City of the Holocaust

The March on Fiume was, according to Ledeen, the worst kept secret in military history. “On September 12, 1919, Gabriele D’Annunzio (1863-1938) marched with three hundred irredentist supporters from Trieste to Fiume, where he declared himself Il Duce. Until the end of 1920, when shelling from the Roayl Italian Navy forced D’Annunzio to flee, he ruled as dictator of this Dalmatian port city.”<sup>29</sup> This is what is agreed upon by all of the historians I studied. The way he took the city, is entirely up to the narrative of respective historians. He stuffed a Porsche with a ridiculous amount of flowers, and the regiment holding the port city “these vaunted heroes of the great war had been told to fire on the poet if he refused to turn back from Fiume.”<sup>30</sup> And yet, “not a single shot was fired to stop his advance. A few words were spoken [between soldiers] calling to the poet’s attention what he already knew full well, that the march was an act of sedition.”<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, “the problem with this kind of extreme relativism is that it inevitably falls afoul of its own principles when they are applied to itself.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. “D’Annunzio, The First Duce” p.15

<sup>29</sup> Froehlich, Leopold – “A Poetic Regime, The fascist aesthetics of Gabriele D’Annunzio” [www.laphamsquarterly.org](http://www.laphamsquarterly.org). Wed July 19 2017 p.1

<sup>30</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. “D’Annunzio, The First Duce” p.66

<sup>31</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. “D’Annunzio, The First Duce” p.66

<sup>32</sup> Gramsci, Antonio – “Selections” p.231

The war was over, but peace did not bode well for the Italians, in D'Annunzio's own words, "This war is not a simple conflict of interests, which might be transient, sporadic or illusory, it is a struggle of races, a confrontation of irreconcilable powers, a trial of blood."<sup>33</sup> As mentioned, the poet's allegiance was to no one. His fantastic rhetoric had a fundamental concept; turning an average Italian man into an Italian Renaissance Hero. The war left 1 575 000 men armed, with no one left to fight.<sup>34</sup>

Soldiers returned at the end of the war to find Salinda's government had only broken promises for veterans. The *Cartero del Carnaro*, drafted by anarcho-syndicalist DeAmbris, a progressive document "complete with equality for women, total toleration of religion and atheism, a thoroughgoing system of social security, medical insurance, old-age care, in addition to a method of direct democracy [...] provided for a constant change in political leadership in order both to protect against an entrenched bureaucracy and to guarantee an infusion of new elements into the government of the city."<sup>35</sup> I love the image of the poet rolling into the city in a red sports car stuffed with flowers. The soldiers, with orders to shoot on sight, only fell in line and followed him into the city. He was met with wild applause, beautiful Italian women dressed in evening gowns holding Baretta 1915 rifles. Here persisted the daily balcony addresses, music as the language of politics, a city of pirates held by the Italian *arditi*. "The *Arditi* were potentially a menace to all existing political organizations."<sup>36</sup> The Special Forces. He who controlled the *Arditi* effectively controlled Italy. D'Annunzio was a decorated member of the Italian shock troops, and held their allegiance.

And yet, "by the time his occupation of Fiume came to an end, D'Annunzio's dream of an ideal society had deteriorated into a nightmare of ethnic conflict and ritualized violence. For over a year it suited none of the Great Powers to bestir themselves to eject him; but when eventually an Italian warship arrived in the harbour and bombarded his headquarters, he capitulated after five days of fighting. But for the duration of his command Fiume was precisely as he wanted it to be - the stage for an extraordinary

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<sup>33</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – "Gabriele D'Annunzio" p.44

<sup>34</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. "D'Annunzio, The First Duce" p.14

<sup>35</sup> Ledeen, Michael A. "D'Annunzio, The First Duce" p.x

<sup>36</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – "Gabriele D'Annunzio" p.60

real life drama with a cast of thousands and a world-wide audience, one in which some of the darkest themes of the next half century would be announced.”<sup>37</sup>

I’m going to have to kill my poet now. My paper is running too long. In short, Mussolini may have pushed him off a balcony and killed him. “D’Annunzio was never a part of fascism, he hated Hitler too. It is certainly true that his occupation of Fiume undermined the authority of Italy’s government. He inadvertently enabled Mussolini to seize power. Three years after Fiume both Mussolini and Hitler learned a great deal from D’Annunzio. The two decades following Italy’s annexation of the City of the Holocaust, to ignite another holocaust greater and more terrible than anyone can imagine.”<sup>38</sup>

“Mussolini appropriated memories of an emotive historical event, he had already evoked D’Annunzio’s march in his March on Rome in 1922) in three ways. First, by annexing Fiume to Italy. Second, by giving D’Annunzio’s Fiuman Revolution a central place in the genealogy of fascism in official fascist narratives. And third, by constructing a cult of hero worship around Gabriele D’Annunzio as *poeta-vate* (poet-prophet-laureate) of the fascist Italian nation state.”<sup>39</sup> Now to the propagandist, “a manipulation of symbols of which the listener is not conscious”.<sup>40</sup> As per the human condition so easily exploited by the propagandist, “hate, hunger and pride make better levels of propaganda than do love or impartiality”.<sup>41</sup> D’Annunzio is easily painted the villain. This is why he will become ‘unfashionable’ history for nearly eight decades. “History with a capital H called in [to create or] to fill a void. It restores a sense, not necessarily a divine being, but of something above and beyond human beings. It is our authority. It can vindicate us. It can judge us, and it can damn those who oppose us.”<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – “Gabriele D’Annunzio” p.5

<sup>38</sup> Hallet, Lucy-Hughes – “Gabriele D’Annunzio” p.5-7

<sup>39</sup> vanHout, Milou – “In Search of the nation in Fiume” p.666

<sup>40</sup> Ellul, J. “*Propaganda: The formation of men’s attitudes*” New York, NY. USA: Vintage Books, Random House 1962. p. 38

<sup>41</sup> Ellul, J. – “*Propaganda*” p.15

<sup>42</sup> MacMillan, Margaret – “The Uses/Abuses” p.24

Diminutive despot Napoleon Bonaparte once said, “To command you must first speak to the eyes”. This philosophy of dictatorships is the tyranny of the optics. According to Baudrillard, appropriation of a myth is as follows...

1. Sacramental Order
2. Order of Maleficence
3. Order of Sorcery
4. Appearance of a copy – the simulation of the myth
5. [Propoganda]

It took me a long time to understand what this meant. Taking a myth and making in your own involves complex manipulation. Such was the fate of the poet/ hero/ lover. Pushed off a balcony by a fascist yes-man, made to look like a drunken accident in 1922. His attempted murder/ martyrdom left his mythology stolen and completely appropriated. The stolen myth was of intrinsic necessity to serve what would happen in Europe following Fiume.

The martyr’s last words:

And I roll my head skyward

And utter a prayer for the soul of my killer.<sup>43</sup>

The martyr’s last words:

And I roll my head skyward

And curse my killer with every torment my Dante’s desire.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Land, Norman E. “Michelangelo, Giotto, and Murder” EIRC 32.2 (Winter 2006) 204-224.

<sup>44</sup> Matczuk, Paul – “Infinite Jest IV” 2021

I hope this paper says enough about what history says about the D. I tried to stay out of my history the best I could, I really did man. Truly. The history of history is history that takes history and makes history from made history. I get it, I just don't know if I pulled it off. Chi si appora a me? D'Annunzio died of a stroke in his place of exile, his strange *palazzo*. In 1924. The legacy of Fiume, Croatia doesn't want to remember, and Italy wants to forget. D'Annunzio seems to have lost his place in history.

*El Futuro?*

*Dulce e Decorum Es?*

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