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## **The Ends of an Empire: Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini's *Il cavallo Tripoli* and Joseph Roth's *Radetzky***

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THE ENDS OF AN EMPIRE:  
PIER ANTONIO QUARANTOTTI GAMBINI'S *IL CAVALLO*  
*TRIPOLI* AND JOSEPH ROTH'S *RADETZKYMARSCH*

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*Saskia Elizabeth Ziolkowski*

ABSTRACT

Italian Triestine literature tends to be seen as somewhat foreign to the Italian literary tradition and linguistically outside of Austrian (or Austro-Hungarian) literature. Instead of leaving it as “neither nor,” viewing it as “both and” can help shape the critical view of the Italian literary landscape, as well as add to the picture of Austro-Hungarian literature. Joseph Roth's *Radetzky marsch* (*Radetzky March*) and Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini's novel *Il cavallo Tripoli* (*The Horse Tripoli*) depict the experience of loss brought on by the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in similar ways, although they do so from different linguistic and national sides. However, the writings of the Italian author are generally categorized as representing a pro-Italian perspective and those of the Austrian as pro-Austro-Hungarian. This article argues that their novels provide a more nuanced portrayal of the world and identities than just their nationalities or political views do. Because of assumptions about the authors, the complexity of the novels' representations of layered linguistic and cultural interactions have often been missed, especially those of *Il cavallo Tripoli*. This comparison provides a case of how engaging Austro-Hungarian work can benefit the critical understanding of Italian literature.

KEYWORDS: Trieste, Italian literature, comparative literature, Austria-Hungary, Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini, Joseph Roth, nostalgia

Joseph Roth (Brody, Austria-Hungary, 1894–Paris, France, 1939) and Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini (Pisino d'Istria, Austria-Hungary,

1910–Venice, Italy, 1965) were born at opposite edges of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and their works have been characterized as depicting the collapsed empire from opposing viewpoints. Critics have often described Roth's *Radetzky* (*Radetzky March*) as a nostalgic, admiring portrayal of Austria-Hungary and Quarantotti Gambini's *Il cavallo Tripoli* (*The Horse Tripoli*) as a strongly pro-Italian, and therefore anti-Austrian, one. While it may at first glance seem perverse to compare Roth, who suffered from the anti-Semitism of the early twentieth century, and an Italian author accused of being an anti-Semitic Fascist, this article argues that an examination of their portrayals of cultural transition reveals similar senses of ambivalence about many aspects of the empire. Although critics have more recently highlighted the complexity of Roth's novel, studies continue to focus on the pro-Italian nature of *Il cavallo Tripoli*. By comparing Quarantotti Gambini's novel with *Radetzky*, I examine how both novels manifest ambiguity in their depictions of familial, linguistic, ethnic, and national identity and invite a consideration of what the loss of these facets of identity entails.

### *Austria-Hungary, Shifting Boundaries, and National Identity*

Modern Italian and Austrian authors are generally viewed as either belonging to distinct groups divided linguistically or as part of broader movements, like modernism, along with writers from other nations. By focusing on the similarities between Quarantotti Gambini's and Roth's representations of transition, this article brings together works from different language families that are, however, rooted in the historical reality of the multilingual Austro-Hungarian Empire, contributing to criticism that broadens and questions what is meant by "Italian" and "Austrian."<sup>1</sup> Like recent work on "Italy from without," this article "seeks to balance the existing, traditionally Italo-centric approach with a new internationalist frame that brings into view new dimensions of the Italian experience."<sup>2</sup> Although Austro-Italian encounters shaped the development of modern Italian literature and culture, the more common concentration on the French-Italian relationship has largely overshadowed Austro-Italian connections.<sup>3</sup> Recent efforts to examine Italian culture from the perspective of Mediterranean studies have led to a further occlusion of the significant relationships between Italy and German-speaking countries to the north.<sup>4</sup> While focusing on a different geographic configuration from Mediterranean studies, an Italo-Austrian investigation also explores fruitful exchanges within a region, not a nation.

German scholars have also tended to ignore this Italian connection, despite the long-standing focus of attention on Italy as a place of discovery for German authors from Goethe to Sebald. While debates about the European Union, globalization, and transnationalism have increased the attention paid to multiethnic Austria-Hungary, the recently coined “Global Austria” and other similar critical configurations generally look east rather than south.<sup>5</sup> Overall, the increased attention to more expansive understandings of Italian and Austrian notwithstanding, the Italian-Austrian terrain remains underexplored, particularly in literary studies, since authors tend to be divided into distinct groups, such as Jewish, German, Italian, Viennese, Eastern European, or Triestine. By concentrating on the less explored connections between Austria and Italy, this article contributes to works that provide a fuller picture of Austria-Hungary and its legacy.<sup>6</sup>

Quarantotti Gambini’s *Il cavallo Tripoli* focuses on the life of young Paolo de Brionesi Amidei in 1918. In the course of the novel, Paolo, who goes to school in the Austro-Hungarian port of Trieste and spends his summers in nearby Austro-Hungarian Istria, makes friends, longs for a horse of his own, and witnesses the long-awaited arrival of the Italians who claim Trieste and Istria as their own after the empire’s dissolution. Covering a much longer period of time, from 1859 to 1916, Roth’s *Radetzky* also explores the period of transition at the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As J. M. Coetzee succinctly describes the plot of *Radetzky*, it follows “the fortunes of three generations of the Trotta family, servants of the crown: the first Trotta a simple soldier elevated to the minor nobility for an act of heroism; the second a high provincial administrator; the third an army officer whose life dissolves into futility as the Habsburg mystique loses its hold on him, and who perishes without issue in the war.”<sup>7</sup>

Roth’s novel is perhaps most famous for the moving nostalgia it evokes for “Habsburg mystique.” Triestine author and scholar Claudio Magris offers an important analysis of the Habsburg myth in *Il mito asburgico nella letteratura austriaca moderna* (*The Habsburg Myth in Modern Austrian Literature*). He points to three primary Austrian characteristics that contribute to this myth and, therefore, differentiate Austrian literature: a bureaucratic mentality, a sensual and pleasure-seeking hedonism, and supra-nationality.<sup>8</sup> Magris bases part of his thesis on the attraction that the empire continued to have for its former subjects and how the fictions of Austrian authors, such as Roth, Musil, and Werfel, re-create versions of their lost world. Austro-Hungarian nostalgia has been distinguished as unique because of the multinationality of the empire, which contrasts with understandings of nostalgia that look to the past for homogeneity.<sup>9</sup>

This article argues that *Il cavallo Tripoli*, like *Radetzkmarsch*, evokes nostalgia for the empire's multinationality and that Quarantotti Gambini offers an example of an author who can be read as both Italian and Austrian. Particularly since Quarantotti Gambini is less familiar to most readers, I want to situate the authors historically before examining *Il cavallo Tripoli* and *Radetzkmarsch* together. Sometimes referred to as Triestine, sometimes as Istrian, Quarantotti Gambini's variable classification is due to his literature, his personal history, and the connections between Trieste and Istria. Because he was only eight when the empire fell, Quarantotti Gambini, unlike the more famous Triestine author Italo Svevo (1861–1928), is not referred to as “Austrian” or “Austro-Hungarian.” Despite being Italian almost his entire life and remaining pro-Italian politically (he wanted Trieste and Istria, the majority of which is now located in Croatia, to be party of Italy), Quarantotti Gambini felt a deep connection to his Austro-Hungarian roots. Citing Roth as an exemplary model of “Danubian” writing, Quarantotti Gambini mentions the importance influence Danubian culture had on him:<sup>10</sup> “Direi [. . .] che in me si debba vedere, anche per il fatto che mi sono formato in parte entro il clima austriaco, serio, elevato e amabile, e in parte entro quello italiano, uno scrittore che impersona la transizione tra l’uno e l’altro di questi due momenti” (Since I was shaped in part under the Austrian climate—serious, elevated, and friendly—and in part under the Italian one, I would say [. . .] that one must see me as a writer who personifies the transition between one and the other of these two moments).<sup>11</sup> Despite Quarantotti Gambini's official support of Italy, he describes Austria using only positive adjectives, “serio, elevato e amabile,” and emphasizes his role as a mediator between Austrian and Italian cultures. Seeing Austria and Italy as equally significant for his development as an author, he underscores his role as a hybrid figure.

Trieste had been part of the empire from the fourteenth century until its dissolution and had a great deal in common with the other Austro-Hungarian cities.<sup>12</sup> Critics have explored the complex cultural background of Trieste—Mittleuropean, Mediterranean, Central European, Austria-Hungary's *Zugang zum Mittelmeer*, and Italy's *porta orientale*—from various perspectives, anthropological, cultural, historical, and creative. The number of titles on Trieste that contain the word “identity” or “border” suggests why Trieste has gained increasing attention in the twenty-first century, including works such as Katia Pizzi's *A City in Search of an Author: The Literary Identity of Trieste* (2001), Glenda Sluga's *The Problem of Trieste and Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe* (2001), Pamela Ballinger's *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (2003), and Charles Klopp's edited volume *Bele Antiche Storie: Writing*

*Borders and the Instability of Identity—Trieste, 1719–2007* (2008). Trieste is a prime example of multiculturalism and exchange, suffering and benefiting from its geographical and cultural inclusion in diverse figurations.<sup>13</sup>

Given the attention Trieste's Austro-Hungarian cultural background has received, the relative lack of literary studies exploring German-language Austrian and Italian Triestine authors together is surprising.<sup>14</sup> Even Trieste's most famous authors, Umberto Saba and Italo Svevo, the latter of whom is repeatedly referred to as Mitteleuropean, are not often compared to Austrian authors in detail.<sup>15</sup> As can be seen by the title of Jan Morris's popular work *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere* (2001), the cosmopolitanism of the city has been a reason for its isolation: "The geography of Trieste today can be seen as a complex *geography of absence*."<sup>16</sup> More than "nowhere," Trieste occupies a crucial place in the intellectual passage between Austria and Italy, not just geographically as the most important Austro-Hungarian port, but also culturally. Due to the novel's geographic setting, literary influences, content, and style, Quarantotti Gambini's *Il cavallo Tripoli* can be read as part of the cultural bridge that connects Austria with Italy.

Although "possibly the most renowned and best-selling author of the Istrian world,"<sup>17</sup> Quarantotti Gambini has been the focus of few studies, in part due to his frequent categorization as an Italian Istrian author, a geographical description even more isolating than "Triestine." Quarantotti Gambini grew up in Samedella, Istria, which was Austro-Hungarian until 1918, when it was "redeemed," as the Triestine *irredentisti* would express it, and became Italian. The area was then part of Yugoslavia from the end of World War II until after Quarantotti Gambini's death, and is now Slovene.<sup>18</sup> Nearby Trieste became Italian in 1918, like Istria, and, unlike Istria, again in 1954, the year that marked the end of the Free Territory of Trieste, which had been under American and British Rule as a result of World War II territory disputes. Quarantotti Gambini regarded 1918, when his novel is set, and 1954, the year he began writing *Il cavallo Tripoli*, as the most significant periods of his life.<sup>19</sup> Because of his personal experiences during the tumultuous years around World War II, Quarantotti Gambini felt he could not return to live in Trieste even after 1954. As the director of Trieste's library, Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis, during the 1940s Quarantotti Gambini was accused of maintaining Fascist, and therefore anti-Semitic, regulations. Despite his denial of the charges and the support of prominent Triestines, including his part-Jewish friend and famous poet Umberto Saba, Quarantotti Gambini was removed from his position and left the city. Even though no longer an inhabitant of Trieste and Istria, Quarantotti Gambini continued to describe the city and region in his literature and articles.

In a series of essays about the changes of 1954 titled *Primavera a Trieste* (*Spring in Trieste*), Quarantotti Gambini comments on the feelings of joy experienced when Trieste was returned to Italy, but also, not surprisingly, distinguishes it from the joy of 1918, lamenting for instance that Istria did not become Italian again.<sup>20</sup> Quarantotti Gambini interprets the Triestines' euphoria in 1954 as related more to a desire to forget the past than to a sense of hope for the future.<sup>21</sup> Emphasizing that national sentiments are not immediately altered when governments redraw boundaries, the author notes that the Triestines know from the past that becoming officially part of a country represents just the beginning of the process: "Trieste non pensa che, grazie al memorandum d'intesa e all'arrivo delle truppe italiane, tutto sia stato risolto; come si mostra di credere a Londra e a Washington: no, Trieste sa che qualcosa di molta difficile (di ben piú difficile che non si ritenga a Roma) incomincia proprio adesso" (Trieste does not think that, thanks to the accord memorandum and the arrival of the Italian troops, everything is resolved, as they seem to believe in London and Washington: no, Trieste knows that something much more difficult [certainly more difficult than they believe in Rome] begins right now).<sup>22</sup> While the governments of England, the United States, and even Italy may believe Trieste is now Italian, in Quarantotti Gambini's opinion only an outsider, someone from a capital city as opposed to a peripheral one, could think that the change from one political situation to another could be simple. As mentioned, the Istrian author did not directly take part in Trieste's later re-acculturation process, since he spent the last twenty years of his life in Venice, bitter about the accusations aimed at him.<sup>23</sup>

Quarantotti Gambini characterized former Austro-Hungarian citizens, who had desired to be officially Italian, as having been more positive about the prospect of becoming Italian than they were when they actually became Italian citizens.<sup>24</sup> The Istrian author had imagined an Italian nationalism that would allow space for other parts of his identity: "Proprio quel modo di essere e di pensare che poteva fare di me un cittadino normale in un'ipotetica Italia un po' nordica e molto europea (quell'Italia per cui i Giuliani sospiravano ai tempi della loro soggezione all'impero austro-ungarico, senza rendersi conto ch'essa, in realtà, non esisteva), mi mette fuori fase tra la maggior parte dei nostri connazionali" (That very way of being and thinking that would have made me a normal citizen in a hypothetical, slightly northern and very European Italy [that Italy which the Giuliani hoped for during the time of their subjection to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, without realizing that it, in reality, did not exist] made me out of step among the majority of our compatriots).<sup>25</sup> Quarantotti Gambini had

envisaged an idealized, sort of “Austro-Hungarian,” Italy. In retrospect, the Austro-Hungarian Empire offered a different sort of “imagined community” in which there was more space for ambiguities.<sup>26</sup> *Il cavallo Tripoli* in part explores this desire for a dreamed-of Italy, as well as its impossibility. The emphasis on the positive aspects of multinationality was not the reaction of all former Austro-Hungarian citizens to the complexity of the empire. Trieste, in fact, became one of the most adamantly Fascist cities in Italy, and these *fascisti di confine* (border fascists) fought for more Adriatic land. Hannah Arendt has remarked on the pronounced nationalism of members who lived in Austro-Hungarian land, particularly that of the Austro-Germans. Arendt observed that inhabiting disputed territories, as Roth and Quarantotti Gambini did, aggravated this tendency: “Living in territories where frontiers were not time-honored but had changed numerous times, their dreams of expansion were unlimited although clashing with one another.”<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to this intense borderland nationalism, Roth, like Quarantotti Gambini, felt citizens were more constricted to certain parts of their identity after the war and was understandably unable to come to terms with nationalism, especially as it took shape in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>28</sup> As Tonkin puts it, “For Roth, the privilege of one element of identity—the national—over all others lay at the root of all postwar problems.”<sup>29</sup> Roth came from Brody, which after 1918 was incorporated into Poland and is now in Ukraine. After the dissolution of the empire, the author applied for Austrian citizenship, which he received just before it became nearly impossible for Jews from territories other than Austria “proper” to do so, but he referred to Austria-Hungary as the only homeland he had ever had, a place that problematically existed only in the past.<sup>30</sup> Roth left German-speaking countries because of anti-Semitism and moved to France, where he died.

While Quarantotti Gambini’s response to the complexity of Austria-Hungary has been somewhat ignored, Roth’s has been emphasized, particularly in discussions of his Jewishness.<sup>31</sup> Especially as anti-Semitism grew more prominent in German-speaking countries, Roth increasingly regarded the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a political formation that had protected the Jews and allowed a citizen to be both Jewish and German.<sup>32</sup> Roth even worked to have Otto von Habsburg reinstated as the leader of Austria in the 1930s. Several studies concentrate on how the time period in which *Radetzky* was written, 1930–1932, shaped the novel, arguing that without the growth of National Socialism and anti-Semitism, Roth would never have offered such a positive portrayal of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>33</sup> *Radetzky* presents a world that is more complicated than

the reality allowed by the national formations of the early twentieth century, and perhaps more complicated than any allowed by reality.

In contrast to other groups' increasingly political connection to their nationality, many Austrians' conceived of their "Germanness" in primarily cultural and literary terms. Le Rider has argued that "the Austrian artist or writer had to compensate for Germany's 'outward' success as a great power—her military victories, the evident solidity of her *Reich* and the prestige of her *Kultur*—by turning inwards."<sup>34</sup> The potential names discussed after World War I to describe contemporary Austria, such as Ostalpenlande and Deutsch-Österreich, reveal the confusion of what German-language Austria was exactly.<sup>35</sup> Participating in an Austro-German cultural scene was a way for German-language speakers of Austria-Hungary to connect to their background and, after the war, a way to connect to their past.<sup>36</sup> Literature as a form of cultural participation has been given as a reason both for the large number of Austrian writers in the *fin de siècle*, as well as the large percentage of Jewish writers among them.<sup>37</sup>

For Roth, whose *Radetzkmarsch* was composed in eleven different locations, literature may be his most stable home.<sup>38</sup> Many Austro-Hungarian authors, such as Rilke, Kafka, and Roth, identified more strongly with being an author than with any of their shifting and problematic ethnic or national identities. Quarantotti Gambini can be included in this grouping, since he also felt that his homeland had been broken apart and so he dwelled in literature on a place he could no longer physically inhabit.<sup>39</sup> Concentrating on German-Jewish writers, Vivian Liska's *When Kafka Says We: Uncommon Communities in German-Jewish Literature* examines how "these authors' marginal positions generates unconventional literary approaches toward communities and selves and the relationship between them."<sup>40</sup> The complexity of community is also a central theme for other authors, such as Quarantotti Gambini who, while not Jewish, wrote from contested borderlands and drew on their multilayered backgrounds.<sup>41</sup> In a reflection on the significance of Istria in Eugenio Montale's "Dora Markus," Thomas Harrison describes how homeland often remains a dream for inhabitants of contested borderlands: "If the meaning of the homeland is especially charged among people who inhabit areas like the Adriatic and the Balkans, it is because they do not feel that they fully belong where they live, believing that space to be *outside* what they think a true home should be. For such bi- and tri-cultural subjects the homeland is more of a *desideratum*—a desired idea—than a referential reality."<sup>42</sup> Quarantotti Gambini's and Roth's literature expresses this desire for a homeland that remains unreachable.

The authors' focus on recreating Austria-Hungary in their literature seemed to intensify as time passed. Immediately after World War I, Roth wrote about soldiers returning from the war, but, as time progressed, he set several of his fictional works, such as *Radetzky*, in an earlier time. Shortly before his death, Roth returned to the Trotta family with *Die Kapuzinergruft* (*The Emperor's Tomb*). Quarantotti Gambini's *Il cavallo Tripoli* is part of a planned, but unfinished, series of works following Paolo, that was to be titled *Gli anni ciechi* (*The Blind Years*) and has been published in its partial form.<sup>43</sup> Quarantotti Gambini did not write the series in chronological order but jumped around between periods of Paolo's life, moving to Paolo's earlier pre-war years after having written about Paolo's later life.<sup>44</sup> These moves back in time point to the perhaps even growing importance the years before the war had for both Quarantotti Gambini and Roth.<sup>45</sup>

Although written over twenty years apart and years after the empire's dissolution, *Radetzky* (1932) and *Il cavallo Tripoli* (1956) were composed during vexed times that reminded the authors of the earlier transitions surrounding the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Roth and Quarantotti Gambini experienced the dissolution of Austria-Hungary as a fundamental moment of change, historically and personally.<sup>46</sup> The nostalgia in *Radetzky* and *Il cavallo Tripoli* evoke both transformed homelands and childhoods.<sup>47</sup> For Roth, the special quality people often associate with childhood is also associated with the historical events of the empire, regardless of what the reality had been.<sup>48</sup> He admits that his reflections on the Habsburg monarchy differs from his remembered experience of it: "Und weil der Tod des Kaisers meiner Kindheit genauso wie dem Vaterland ein Ende gemacht hatte, betrauerte ich den Kaiser und das Vaterland wie meine Kindheit" (And because the death of the Kaiser ended my childhood, just as it ended my Fatherland, I mourned the Kaiser and my Fatherland, as I mourned my childhood).<sup>49</sup> Quarantotti Gambini similarly describes the impact of witnessing the events surrounding World War I as a child and its lasting influence on him as an author.<sup>50</sup> A focus on the ends of the empire in these authors' novels reveals analogous senses of nostalgia for the imagined community of Austria-Hungary.

### *Multinationalism and Multilingualism in Il cavallo Tripoli*

Although one line of criticism still argues that, "on the whole the novel glorifies the Habsburg days,"<sup>51</sup> *Radetzky* has increasingly been seen

as a novel too complex to define as simply pro- or anti-Austro-Hungarian. Roth's work, while nostalgic, is not uncritical of the empire, even though he supported it politically. While critics have increasingly recognized the discrepancies between Roth's political positions and his literary expressions in *Radetzky*, the same cannot be said of Quarantotti Gambini, whose political views have obscured much of his novel's complex portrayal of Austria-Hungary. Before comparing Quarantotti Gambini and Roth in more detail, this section calls attention to the significance of Austrians in *Il cavallo Tripoli* to establish Quarantotti's relevance to the tradition of Austro-Hungarian nostalgia. Through a discussion of the multilingualism of both works, I will also underline the complexity of Roth's representation of Austria-Hungary.

In a letter to his younger friend Quarantotti Gambini, the Triestine author Saba comments on how the variation between the two primary mother figures of *Il cavallo Tripoli* reveal the characteristics that distinguish Germans from Italians more generally: "indirettamente (di scorcio), la madre di Ghesa e quella di Paolo significano le barbarie di una razza e la gentilezza di un'altra" (indirectly [subtly], the mother of Ghesa and that of Paolo signify the cruelty of one race and the gentleness of the other).<sup>52</sup> Katia Pizzi has more recently examined how the differences between the young protagonist's mother and his friend's German mother are representative of an Italo-centrism that she considers pervasive in the novel: "An implicit Italo-centrism is upheld throughout, to the point of extolling Italian matriarchal virtues, incarnated by Paolo's mother, in sharp contrast with her German counterpart, 'Frau Mutter,' who, conversely, stands for sterility, cruelty, coldness, with intimations of sexual perversion."<sup>53</sup> A different view of the representation of nationalities emerges from an analysis of the novel's men. Though many men are not at home but off fighting, Paolo has notable interactions with both Hans, an Austro-Hungarian soldier who speaks accented Italian as well as German, and Tomaso, an Italian lawyer and the brother of the Austrian official (the captain) occupying Paolo's house. These characters play important roles in the work's plot and reveal the overlooked "Austrianness" of *Il cavallo Tripoli*.

In a novel that has been characterized as Italo-centric, Hans offers an example of a sympathetic, supranational Austrian, the type of figure that is the focus of numerous nostalgic Austro-Hungarian works, like Roth's. Paolo is drawn to Hans, though he wishes he were not.<sup>54</sup> Despite Paolo's concern, his good, Italian mother, as emphasized by Saba and Pizzi, does not find Paolo's interest in Hans problematic.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, although officially the Italians' enemy, Hans bears them no ill will: "[Degli italiani Hans] parlava (e ciò lasciò Paolo muto e felice) non come di nemici ma come di camerati;

come di camerati che combattessero, chi sa perché, dall'altra parte; quasi che austriaci o italiani fossero tutt'uno: soldati, e nient'altro" (16) (Hans spoke of the Italians [and this left Paolo mute and happy] not as enemies but as comrades, as comrades who were fighting, who knows why, on the other side, almost as if the Austrians and Italians were one: soldiers, and nothing else). Even though his silence reveals Paolo's surprise that Hans does not view Italians and Austrians as natural antagonists, but rather as "camerati," Paolo appreciates the fact that Hans does not distinguish absolutely between them. When Paolo, hoping it will help him obtain a horse, tries to inspire Hans to fight the Italians, Hans again displays his temperate and open nature: "Se taliano no sparare, ustriaco no sparare. Paolo tentava di animarlo, di accenderlo. Niente: Hans lo guardava con gli occhi stupiti, carezzando sempre il cagnolino, e pareva anche divertito. — Bono italiano, bono ustriaco, ripeteva" (65) (If Talian no shoot, Ustrian no shoot. Paolo tried to animate him, to incite him. Without result: Hans looked at him with astonishment, continuing to caress the puppy, and he even seemed amused. 'Goot Italian, goot Ustrian,' he repeated). Exaggeratedly sympathetic, Hans pets a dog and claims that everyone is "bono," good. Paolo's concept of fervent nationalism stands in stark contrast with Hans's seemingly bizarre desire not to consider nationality or ethnicity as the most significant factors for one's identity. Hans opens Paolo's eyes to different, and more temperate, ideas about nationality and personal alliances, which are considered fundamental parts of Austro-Hungarian nostalgia.<sup>56</sup>

Quarantotti Gambini could easily have concentrated on only the Italian reactions to the end of the empire, but he instead depicts the Italians learning of the empire's dissolution through Hans's reaction: "Paolo guardò Hans. Egli aveva gli occhi — quei suoi chiari, forti occhi azzurri — spalancati e fermi; e a un tratto Paolo vide tremolare e offuscarsi; gli si riempivano di lacrime. — Österreich kaput! — tutti lo sentirono esclamare. Si era appoggiato con la schiena al pilone; e così rilassato, senza quella sua aria lieta e gagliarda, non pareva più lui" (200) (Paolo looked at Hans. His eyes—those strong, clear, blue eyes—were wide-open and motionless, and all of a sudden Paolo saw them quiver and grow dim, they filled with tears, "Österreich kaputt!" everyone heard him exclaim. He was leaning with his back against the pillar, and relaxed in this way, without his cheerful and vigorous air, he no longer seemed himself). The narrator highlights Paolo's admiration for the Austrian's physical appearance to emphasize his loss. While this moment should be joyous for "Italian" Paolo (protagonist of an "Italian" novel), *Il cavallo Tripoli* suggests that the dissolution of the empire also entails a loss of attractive, cheerful, and vigorous elements for Paolo's community. Lucia,

with whom the Austrian has flirted, is more concerned about Hans than she is about what the empire's end means for her.<sup>57</sup> Her personal feelings supersede her political ties. The novel portrays Hans's departure negatively rather than triumphantly.

In contrast to attractive and playful Hans, Paolo sees the Italian lawyer Tomaso in several unflattering situations. At one point the inebriated lawyer angrily yells at a pig, pretending it is his Austrian brother, vomits (an event described in great detail), and then asks, "Che cosa siamo, se non siamo italiani?" (132–33) (What are we, if we aren't Italian?). The placement of the sentiments of Paolo's mother and other more positive figures in the mouth of a drunk, reveal that the narrative is not merely dedicated to portraying pro-Italian feeling as noble. Rather, the various alliances of Tomaso's family complicate Paolo's attempts to comprehend how nationality works: "Se il capitano e l'avvocato erano fratelli, come mai l'uno era da sempre austriaco e l'altro da sempre italiano?" (57) (If the captain [an ardent Austro-Hungarian supporter] and the lawyer were brothers, how come one has always been Austrian and the other has always been Italian?). Struggling to understand how these two brothers hold opposite views and belong to different groups, Paolo grapples with the idea that nationality could be a matter of choice, rather than predetermined. Paolo's innocent confusion about this family's allegiances highlights the stress that the change in a political state can have, not only on a community but also on a small family unit. The tension between blood and cultural bonds reveals the problems inherent in making a border area become part of a nation.

Paolo had learned that nationality is *da sempre*, something permanent and uniform among family members, but the lawyer and captain complicate his perception: "Guardava quel pezzo d'uomo con curiosità nuova, non soltanto perché era il padre di Ghesa e il marito della capitana, ma anche perché, pur essendo austriacante, e amico dell'imperatore che gli aveva mandato un telegramma, era fratello di un italiano: era fratello dell'avvocato, che voleva gridare viva Garibaldi" (71) (He watched the figure of that man with new curiosity, not only because he was Ghesa's father and the husband of the captain, but also because, even though he was Austrian, and a friend of the Emperor had sent him a telegram, he was the brother of an Italian: he was the brother of the lawyer who wanted to yell viva Garibaldi). Because he believed that these political figures belonged to distinct spheres, the connection between the two brothers, the emperor, and Garibaldi shocks Paolo. In addition, Paolo later finds out that the brothers' mother is Slavic, which he finds even more confusing. The novel portrays the three major ethnicities that have fought for control of Trieste and Istria in the twentieth

century as united in this one family, blurring nationality by emphasizing other affiliations.

Initially, Paolo also has difficulty distinguishing between class and ethnicity or nationality. The novel calls attention to the artifice required to create national feeling through its exploration of Paolo's constant bewilderment about the members of his community and their relationship to him. He originally thought of himself as part of a social class, rather than part of a nation: "Italiani non siamo soltanto noi? — Noi? — ripeté la mamma. — Noi chi? Cosa vuoi dire? — Noi . . . — riprese Paolo come a fatica. — Noi che siamo . . . — e di nuovo esitò. — Noi che abbiamo le campagne e le case, — riuscì a dire infine. — Noi, i padroni" (23) ("We aren't the only Italians?"—"We?" repeated his mother, "Who is we? What are you trying to say?" "We . . ." repeated Paolo as if he were tired. "We . . ." and again he hesitated. "We who own the land and the houses," he was finally able to say. "We, the owners."). Paolo wants all of the members of a lower class to be part of a national group of which he is not a part: "Non sono slavi, i contadini? Perché non sono slavi? Italiani sono noi!" (24) (Aren't the peasants Slavic? Why aren't they Slavic? We are Italian!). Giorgio Baroni calls attention to how this class/nation confusion causes Paolo to align himself, unknowingly, with the Austrians, a group that is supposed to be his enemy.<sup>58</sup> Paolo cannot understand that his new "we" does not include all the other "padroni," but rather people with whom he has never felt a strong affinity.<sup>59</sup> Paolo's connection to other Italians, despite their shared language, is not natural and he has to be educated about with whom he is supposed to identify.

The novel also portrays the artifice required to reshape language use in multilingual areas that were in the process of becoming nationalized. *Il cavallo Tripoli* expresses the complexity of communication by commenting on the different languages characters employ (Italian, Triestine, French, and German) and including snatches of Hans's accented Italian, bits of German, and confused linguistic exchanges. Paolo learns that his German-language friends will be in danger since the Italians are coming. He thinks that if they speak Italian they will be safe and tells them this. Paula, whose name doubles Paolo's but in German, responds to his suggestion, "Io già fare questo, e Edith fare anche. Tutti fare questo. Ordinato signora giorni fa. *Immer italiensich sprechen, nur italienisch*" (198) (I does this already and Edith too. Everyone do this ordered a couple of days ago. *Immer italianisch sprechen, nur italienisch*). Paula's use of the German, after broken Italian, to agree that she will "always speak Italian, just Italian," is not only amusing, but also suggests the problems with a government forcing identity changes. In contrast to the more accepting multilingualism of Austria-Hungary,

communication becomes problematic because of the total identification of one language with an emerging political body.

*Radetzkmarsch*, like *Il cavallo Tripoli*, draws attention to language, including individual words used, accents, and changes in language use. Although often described as a nostalgic representation of Austria-Hungary, *Radetzkmarsch* also reveals that there is a linguistic loss involved in adherence to the empire. After the emperor ennobles Joseph Trotta, Trotta's father, stops speaking Slovenian to him: "Ich gratulier' dir!" sagte der Vater mit gewöhnlicher Stimme, im harten Deutsch der Armee-Slawen. Er ließ die Konsonanten wie Gewitter hervorbrechen und beschwerte die Endsilben mit kleinen Gewichten. Vor fünf Jahren noch hatte er zu seinem Sohn slowenisch gesprochen, obwohl der Junge nur ein paar Worte verstand und nicht ein einziges selbst hervorbrachte"<sup>60</sup> ("Congratulations!" said the father, in his usual voice, in the stiff German spoken among army Slavs. The consonants growled like minor thunder, and the endings of words had little weights pulling them down. Just five years ago, he had spoken Slovenian to his son, even though the lad understood only a few words of it, and didn't speak any himself").<sup>61</sup> The fact that the father communicates in German symbolizes the son's changed position.

Trotta has lost part of his identity. The description of the father and son's first interaction post-ennoblement continues: "Heute aber mochte dem Alten der Gebrauch seiner Muttersprache von dem so weit durch die Gnade des Schicksals und des Kaisers entrückten Sohn als eine gewagte Zutraullichkeit erscheinen, während der Hauptmann auf die Lippen des Vaters achtete, um den ersten slowenischen Laut zu begrüßen, wie etwas vertraut Fernes und verloren Heimisches" (7) ("But today the use of his mother tongue would have seemed like an undue intimacy with a son who, by the grace of fate and the Emperor, had moved so far; meanwhile, the Captain never took his eyes off his father's lips, poised to greet the first sound of Slovenian as something familiarly distant and a piece of lost home") (8). Joseph Trotta's imperial connections are now a more significant part of his identity than his Slovenian roots or family. The son longs for a sign that he is still somehow connected to his Slovenian past, but his father does not think he can be so close to Austro-Hungarian officials and Slovenian at the same time. The barrier between generations, between father and son, has become insurmountable because of the son's dedication to his fatherland. As in *Il cavallo Tripoli*, political ties disrupt, instead of uniting, families.

After this scene, Joseph leaves his father, whom he will not see again alive. Joseph is provided with a title that marks him as from a place while simultaneously distancing him from it: Joseph Trotta, now *von Sipolje*, feels

he can no longer remain at Sipolje. Being closely tied to a political body, even one as diverse as Austria-Hungary, which allowed for a certain range of choices about identity, entails a sacrifice. The story of the Trottas, who essentially die off when the empire ends, reveals the impact that associating completely with a political body can have, particularly if this political body promotes monolingualism. While Trotta longs to reconnect or connect with his past, his new importance as a distinguished member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire denies him the possibility of doing so. For the figures living near borders or in times of transition, all identity entails a simultaneous exclusion of other parts of their identity. This scene exemplifies Roth's ability to evoke nostalgia for the Austro-Hungarian Empire while also revealing its complex problems.

Although *Radetzky* expresses nostalgia for Austria-Hungary, it is unclear if this permissive, multilingual place ever existed, since the novel begins by already portraying nostalgia for it, not describing it. Since Captain Trotta's grandson is even more connected to the empire, not only is Slovenian lost to him, but even his German suffers, leaving him with just Austrian officialese (Roth 323; 285). Because of his linguistic restrictions and his correspondingly underdeveloped sense of self, Carl Joseph lacks the ability to express himself fully: "Aber in seinem kargen Wortschatz fanden sich keine Ausdrücke für Reue, Wehmut und Sehnsucht" (351) ("But in his sparse vocabulary, there were no words for remorse, yearning and wistfulness") (310). When Carl Joseph experiences emotion outside of his "mother language," that of the army, he remains speechless, literally without words. The novel portrays how complete dedication to the empire limits potential expression. In *Radetzky* attempting to keep an empire alive, as in *Il cavallo Tripoli* aiding a nation to grow, requires relinquishing parts of one's identity.

### *Imperial and National Stories*

*Radetzky* and *Il cavallo Tripoli* depict how believing completely in a political formation requires believing in constructed narratives. Idealized homelands, whether Italy or Austria-Hungary, may only exist in fiction, and both *Radetzky* and *Il cavallo Tripoli* describe the personal confusion that the discovery of a beloved nation's or empire's falsehoods can provoke. Forced to confront the distortions of the empire's self-mythologizing, Joseph Trotta experiences a rupture between what he has been brought up to believe

and a more complex truth. *Radetzky marsch* opens with Trotta's actions on the battlefield, which win him his title and the Order of Maria Theresa. Trotta notices that the emperor, in the process of surveying the battlefield, was put in danger by his own men's carelessness. They offer him binoculars, which alert the enemy to the fact that there is someone of importance present on the field. Trotta runs to pull the emperor off of his horse to protect him from enemy fire, the emperor falls off his horse, and a bullet injures Trotta. Trotta later reads the official version of these events in his son's history book and finds that it has been completely altered (9; 10). The battle and Trotta's role in it have been changed in innumerable ways. Everything is made grander and older—guns are replaced with lances, the emperor's passive watching is replaced with his action on the battlefield, and Trotta's action is made more forceful, as well as less embarrassing to the emperor and army. The mistake of the monarch's own men is completely erased from history and Trotta's post-battle ennoblement is not mentioned. The monarchy's tendency to historicize the recent past is further emphasized when, later in the novel, officials remember the battle as having taken place not in 1859, but in the sixteenth century (357; 315).

Trotta is enraged by the lies that Austro-Hungarian children are being taught, but he cannot find anyone who shares his outrage, since he is a rare subject who believed completely in his empire and is referred to as "Joseph Trotta, Ritter von Sipolje, des Ritters der Wahrheit" (12) ("knight of truth") (12), suggesting that belief in the need for official truth is as ridiculous as the quests of Don Quixote, another knight who attempted to follow unrealizable and anachronistic standards.<sup>62</sup> Finally, after a meeting with Emperor Franz Joseph, the only solution that Trotta and imperial officials both find acceptable is to remove the story, and therefore Trotta, from official history. The amount of falsity that is accepted by everyone in his beloved empire astounds Trotta: "Vertrieben war er aus dem Paradies der einfachen Gläubigkeit an Kaiser und Tugend, Wahrheit und Recht, und gefesselt in Dulden und Schweigen, mochte er wohl erkennen, daß die Schlauheit den Bestand der Welt sicherte, die Kraft der Gesetze und den Glanz der Majestäten" (14) ("He had been expelled from the paradise of a simple faith in Emperor and virtue, truth and justice, and, trapped in silent suffering, he could see that it was guile that underwrote the world, the might of the law, and the greatness of crowned heath") (13). The novel's characterization of Trotta's complete faith in the emperor as existing in a "paradise of simple faith" reveals that the narrator does not find this faith realistic. Despite the narrative's playful tone and subtle irony, the experience changes Trotta's path, perception, and character. He leaves the army and, later, dissuades his son from joining it.<sup>63</sup>

Although he and his family all remain officially connected to the empire, after this incident Joseph is distanced from everything, including his fatherland and father.

Paolo similarly discovers the questionable nature of the tales he has been taught about his desired homeland. The narrator of *Il cavallo Tripoli* refers to the long awaited arrival of the Italians as a fable: “Ella tornò a raccontargli quello ch’egli udiva da anni, da sempre, e che stava diventando ormai una fiaba, l’unica fiaba vera: tra poco sarebbero giunti gli italiani, ch’erano persona come si deve, — ella aggiunse questa volta” (196) (She then began to tell him that which he had been hearing for years, forever, and which was by now becoming a fairy tale, the only true fairy tale: that soon they would be united with the Italians, who were good people, she added this time). Paolo’s mother romanticizes the future with a story she has been telling Paolo his whole life. While part of this fairy tale turns out to be true, the Italians do arrive, other elements of the tale are more suspect.

In an attempt to clarify who the Italians are exactly, an issue that continues to confound Paolo, the mother explains that Italians are “la gente piú civile del mondo, e gentili e coraggiosi e leali. — E noi — la interruppe Paolo — non siamo gente perbene, e gentili e coraggiosi e leali? — Siamo anche noi italiani” (196) (the most kind, courageous, and loyal people of the world. “And us?” Paolo interrupted, “Aren’t we good people, and kind, courageous, and loyal?” “We’re Italian, too”). Using his mother’s definition, Paolo attempts to differentiate between Italians and Slavs, as well as Italians and Austrians, but the narration throws this distinction into doubt both because it is simplified information presented to a child and also because of Paolo’s own, innocent reaction to his mother’s formulation: “Egli non si capacitava, però, di una cosa: come mai gli italiani potevano essere coraggiosi se erano civili? Proprio in quel momento la mamma gli domandò: — Sai cosa vuol dire civili? — Sì, — egli affrettò a rispondere, — è civile chi non è militare” (196) (He didn’t understand, however, one thing—how could the Italians be courageous if they were civil? At that very moment his mother asked him, “Do you know what civil means?” “Yes,” he hurried to respond, “one is civil if he isn’t in the army”). Paolo’s understanding of his mother’s description of Italians appears to conflict with her story, that the Italians, soldiers, were coming. Paolo’s response plays with the multiple connotations of *civile* which means civil (as in a civilian) and courteous, as well as suggesting the impossibility of remaining *civile*, in any sense of the word, when building a nation.

Paolo’s experience in a multicultural Austro-Hungarian environment prevents him from believing some of what the adults around him expect him to believe. The rise of nationalism and its contrast to Austria-Hungary’s

multinationality contributed to a skepticism that David Luft views as particular to Austrian writers.<sup>64</sup> *Il cavallo Tripoli* expresses a similar skepticism by contrasting the desired hopes of the adults for what the nation of Italy will be like and Paolo's naïve understanding of the situation. *Radetzky* and *Il cavallo Tripoli* point to the danger of a desired homeland's stories, since the discovery that they are not entirely true leads to disappointment. In the novel that follows *Il cavallo Tripoli* in Quarantotti Gambini's planned cycle, Paolo again discovers proof that his mother's description of Italians was not completely accurate and wonders, "Sono tutti così, e non gentili, coraggiosi e leali come mi diceva un tempo la mamma?" (Are they all like this and not kind, courageous, and loyal as my mother used to tell me?).<sup>65</sup> Though Paolo encounters a more complicated truth in a later novel, it is one of which the reader is already aware of when reading *Il cavallo Tripoli*—not only because Paolo's version of the world is the simpler one of a child, but also because of the reader's historical knowledge.

While representations of stories in both novels reveal the obvious mythmaking that is involved in supporting any kind of political organization, the attention to fictions also points to the works' own fictiveness. The mythologizing character of these fables asks the reader to question and engage the representations in the novels themselves. As Margarete Johanna Landwehr has argued for Roth, "the first chapter depicts the aesthetic retelling of the Kaiser's (fictional) rescue and questions the reliability of historical narrative. . . . The embellished schoolbook version of Franz Joseph's rescue serves as a paradigm for the novel itself."<sup>66</sup> Both novels highlight the fact that they are portrayals of a historical period and that one's understanding of history necessarily reshapes any depiction of history. The skepticism expressed by the narrators in terms of the aforementioned stories suggests how the readers should engage the novels themselves. The next two sections explore how different understandings of history influence interpretations of *Il cavallo Tripoli* and *Radetzky*.

### *Nostalgic Titles: Tripoli and the Radetzky March*

While neither Italy's campaign in Tripoli nor Radetzky's long career are directly referred to in Quarantotti Gambini's *Il cavallo Tripoli* and Roth's *Radetzky*, the novels' titles evoke a series of events that occur before the time in which the works are set. The reader's knowledge of what occurs after 1918 in Europe adds to an understanding of the symbolism and emotional

charge of the titles, which would have been immediately recognizable when the works were first published. These titles point to a more complex relationship to history than titles often do. Gerard Genette analyzed the importance of titles for all works, “for if the text is an object to be read, the title (like, moreover, the name of the author) is an object to be circulated—or, if you prefer, a subject of conversation.”<sup>67</sup> The titles of *Radetzkymarsch* and *Il cavallo Tripoli* also reference subjects of past conversations. In addition to suggesting important events not portrayed in novels, the titles refer to events within the works and have personal meanings for the protagonists. The significance of the titles is further emphasized due to the prominent repetition of “cavallo Tripoli” and “Radetzky March” in *Il cavallo Tripoli* and *Radetzkymarsch*, respectively.

In 1911 Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire and, with the first military use of airplanes, bombed Tripoli.<sup>68</sup> Italy’s occupation of Tripoli “inaugurated a new era of Italian colonial optimism.”<sup>69</sup> Italy nominally controlled the city until 1943; in October 1937 Mussolini rode a white horse into Tripoli to demonstrate his country’s dominance. Libya was the last of Fascist Italy’s African empire that the Italians lost, and its loss was presented as symbolic from the moment it happened, as in the triumphant perspective of a February 1943 piece in *Time*:

There was a glamour about Tripoli. It was ancient Oea under Phoenician traders 1,000 years before Christ was born. It was a Roman colony after the fall of Carthage. It was the seat of Barbary coast pirates who waged a losing war against the U.S. Navy in the early 1800s. Since 1912, when the Italians wrested it from Turkish rule, it had bolstered the Italian ego. Since 1933, when Mussolini began exploiting its riches, it had inflated Italian pride. Losing it was a shock.<sup>70</sup>

Tripoli recalls not only the beginning of Italy’s colonization, but also its end and the transformation of the nation’s “colonial optimism” from 1911 to 1945.

Paolo desires a horse, which is white like the one Mussolini rode into Tripoli and which Paolo has named Tripoli. He imagines different spaces with the help of the horse, with whom he would literally rise above everyone: “In cima al monte, che si chiamava San Marco, su quegli ultimi prati intorno alla vetta, e poi là sul cocuzzolo, salendo, galoppando, salendo ancora, e poi guardando da ogni parte sulla terra e sul mare, sempre in sella a Tripoli, si sarebbe sentito ben piú di Ghesa e del capitano: piú dell’imperatore, piú di chiunque. In sella a Tripoli!” (77) (On the mountaintop, that was called

San Marco, above those last fields around the peak, and then there on the summit, climbing, galloping, still climbing, and then looking down on all the earth and sea, always from Tripoli's saddle, he would have felt greater than Ghesa and the captain: greater than the emperor, greater than anyone. From Tripoli's saddle!).<sup>71</sup> Tripoli is tied to Paolo's developing sense of nationalism, moving from overcoming his young Austrian friend, to an Austrian official, to the emperor himself. If this moment were taken out of context, it would seem to fit perfectly the Italo-centric reading of the novel, but Tripoli also reveals a great deal about Paolo's complicated sense of being Italian, something which is in flux for the young protagonist. What is more important to Paolo, being Italian or having a horse, varies throughout the novel. At times obsessed with the horse to a point of forgetting everything else, including family, national loyalty, and friendship, Paolo sometimes even wishes the war would continue, that his father would stay in battle and the Austrians in power, because he believes that with the disappearance of the Austrians his horse will also be taken from him. Ironically, given the significance of the name Tripoli, for Paolo to be with the horse Tripoli, the Austrians must remain in power. At the same time, Paolo paradoxically wishes to use Tripoli to overcome Austrians.

As in Paolo's dream of flight, Tripoli is central to Paolo's imagination. At the end of the novel, Paolo frees the recently obtained horse to ensure that no one else will take possession of him and that Paolo will always be able to ride him in his imagination: "Ma infine — guardando una nuvola bianca che si muoveva nell'azzurro, perdendosi in essa e cercando una forma in quel suo continuo variare — tornò a consolarlo e a esaltarlo il pensiero che Tripoli, dovunque fosse, chiunque lo avesse, sarebbe rimasto per sempre suo" (242) (But ultimately, watching a white cloud that moved across the sky, losing himself in it and looking for a form in that continuous variation, the thought that Tripoli, no matter where he was and no matter who had him, would remain his forever, consoled and thrilled him). If he had not released Tripoli, the Italians perhaps would have taken the horse. Having released Tripoli, Paolo can continue to pretend to overcome the Italians' enemies. Tripoli's absence ensures the continuance of Paolo's creativity, which highlights the connection between imagination and a loss of homeland.

Like the meanings of Tripoli for a reader of Quarantotti Gambini, the meanings of the Radetzky March in *Radetzky* are multiple: they relate to the history of the musical piece's composition, its role in the novel, and what the Radetzky March means historically. In 1848 Johann Strauss Sr. composed the Radetzky March, honoring the Austrian military leader Joseph Radetzky von Radetz, who is best known for his successful

campaigns in northern Italy, where he also then served as governor. Two years after Radetzky's governorship in Lombardy-Veneto ended, Italy became a nation, gained control of this territory, and the Habsburgs' Italian presence was greatly diminished. After the empire's dissolution, the late 1840s and 1850s can be seen as marking the beginning of the end of Austria-Hungary, as the Italian national movement was just the beginning of national movements that helped bring about the Austro-Hungarian Empire's dissolution. Radetzky's success in Italy historically marks more Austria-Hungary's last successes, its "last hurrah,"<sup>72</sup> than a continuing triumph or resurgence in power. The rise of nationalism, intrinsically related to the fall of the empire, led not only to the independence of Italy and Serbia, but also to the growing popularity of National Socialism, which Roth witnessed and saw partially as a result of the break-up of the empire. As Malcolm Spencer points out, "The book's title is conspicuously ironic. Roth's novels could not be more different in mood from Johann Strauß's cheerful and naïve march, written to celebrate an Austrian victory."<sup>73</sup> The understanding of the musical piece itself underwent a transformation after the fall of the empire, with more emphasis on Strauss Sr.'s imperialist sympathies after the war.<sup>74</sup>

Like Tripoli for Paolo, listening to the Radetzky March for Carl Joseph becomes an imaginative opportunity: "within the novel the march is a cue for childhood nostalgia."<sup>75</sup> During Corpus Christi in Vienna, as a disillusioned adult, the Radetzky March still has a powerful effect on the protagonist: "In Carl Joseph standen die alten kindischen und heldischen Träume auf, die ihn zu Hause, in den Ferien auf dem väterlichen Balkon, bei den Klängen des Radetzky-marches erfüllt und beglückt hatten" (237) ("Carl Joseph relived his boyhood dreams of heroism, as he had thrilled listening to the Radetzky March in the holidays at home on his father's balcony" (210). Austria, youthful hopes, and imagination converge and come back to life when listening to the Radetzky March: "Daheim, in der mährischen Bezirkshauptstadt W., war vielleicht noch Österreich. Jeden Sonntag spielte die Kapelle Herrn Nechwals den Radetzky-marsch. Einmal in der Woche, am Sonntag, war Österreich" (372) ("Home—the Moravian district town of W.: that might still be Austria. Every Sunday, Herr Nechwal's band played the Radetzky March. Once a week, on a Sunday, Austria still existed" (327). This imagined homeland continues on through music and art's inspirational power: the song is Austria-Hungary. In *Radetzky-marsch* and *Il cavallo Tripoli* art and imagination are the only places where the desired homelands can exist. The novels express nostalgia for these dreams of homelands and the improbability of the dreams at the same time.

*The Specters of the Future*

More so than with many other works, an analysis of *Radetzkymarsch* can depend on a reader's perception of history; as Philip Manger has summarized, "those who mourn for the Habsburg will, through Roth's depiction, experience nostalgia for the Habsburg norms, whereas the critically dissociated reader will devote more attention to Roth's social criticism."<sup>76</sup> Many readers have ignored parts of the novel in order to make sense of it.<sup>77</sup> Both novels encourage readers to engage the historical contexts of the time of the novel's composition to interpret both the titles and the narratives, which call attention to extra-narrative time. Underscoring how the process of remembering in Austria-Hungary contrasts with the contemporary need to look ahead, the narrator of *Radetzkymarsch* directly alludes to historical events that happen years after the novel's time frame:<sup>78</sup> "So war es damals! Alles, was wuchs, brauchte viel Zeit zum Wachsen; und alles, was unterging, brauchte lange Zeit, um vergessen zu werden. Aber alles, was einmal vorhanden gewesen war, hatte seine Spuren hinterlassen, und man lebte dazumal von den Erinnerungen, wie man heutzutage lebt von der Fähigkeit, schnell und nachdrücklich zu vergessen" (136–37) ("That's how it was then! Everything that grew took long to grow; and everything that ended took a long time to be forgotten. Everything that existed left behind traces of itself, and people then lived by their memories, just as we nowadays live by our capacity to forget, quickly and comprehensively" (120). The time of the novel, as contrasted with the narrator's time, allowed the past to be commemorated. Nation building demands forgetting, just as keeping the empire alive demanded a critical attachment to traditional history and forgetting all else.

The text makes clear that it is written after World War I, encouraging readers to engage the historical contexts of the time of the novel's composition to interpret the narrative: "Damals, vor dem großen Kriege, da sich sie Begebenheiten zutrugen, von denen auf diesen Blättern berichtet wird, war es noch nicht gleichgültig, ob ein Mensch lebte oder starb" (136) ("In the years before the Great War, at the time the events chronicled in these pages took place, it was not yet a matter of indifference whether a man lived or died") (120). While this comment is one critics use in support of the argument that *Radetzkymarsch* depicts Austria-Hungary as an almost perfect place,<sup>79</sup> its representation is more complicated, but certainly invites comparisons with contemporary times. The text's many "damals" ("back then" or "at that time") highlight these moments that call out for reflection. *Radetzkymarsch's* proleptic glances engage the reader in a game of divergences that creates instability.<sup>80</sup> The novel does not propose

Austria-Hungary as perfect, but rather as an ambivalently nostalgic point of contrast to contemporary times.<sup>81</sup>

While the narrator's comments in *Radetzkmarsch* make clear that it is written after World War I and should be engaged with events outside the novel, *Il cavallo Tripoli* leaves more up to the reader. The end of Quarantotti Gambini's work is an example of how some of the novel's suggestive meanings can be missed when history is ignored. Paolo's entire family has been involved in promoting the Italian cause. The last two pages of the novel describe the excitement of the Italians in the area at the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The end of the war affects Paolo positively on a personal level, as it signifies the return of many of his favorite family members. While triumphant, the novel's conclusion also hints at a darker and more complicated future: "Vide laggiú, [ . . . ] una bandiera bianca rossa e blu. — Che bandiera è quella, lí abbasso? — la indicò al papa, e dovette gridare per farsi sentire oltre la sirena e oltre il rombo delle campane. — Quale? Ah! — si rabbuiò il babbo" (242) (He saw down below, [ . . . ] a white, red, and blue flag. "Whose flag is that, down there?" showing it to his father, he had to yell to make himself heard over the siren and over the noise of the bells. "What flag? Ah!"). His parents are initially too busy celebrating to notice the competing cultural displays that Paolo perceives.

Even when his parents finally respond to Paolo, their explanation is partial: "Anche la mamma si volse e la faccia le si oscurò. Stettero a guardare tutti e due da quella parte, parlandosi tra loro e scuotendo il capo. — Che bandiera è? — cominciò a saltellare Paolo guardandoli in viso. — Slava, — disse il papà e non aggiunse altro" (242) (His mother also turned and her expression darkened. They both stood there looking down, talking among themselves and shaking their heads. "Whose flag is it?" Paolo began jumping up and down looking at their faces. "Slav," said the father and he did not add anything else). Paolo senses that there is more to the scene than the Italian celebration in which he participates, but neither Paolo's parents, nor the narrator, directly comment on the significance of the Slavic flag. The meaning of the flag, which is so opaque to the young protagonist, is clear to any reader familiar with the area's historical development after 1918. Tension between Italians and Slavs will lead to deaths and boundary disputes for decades to come.<sup>82</sup> Istria is in fact destined to become "slava," Yugoslavian (and then Slovene and Croatian). The impact of the events of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s—anti-Semitism, Fascism, the concentration camp Risiera di San Sabba, Tito's takeover, the *foibe*, the loss of territory—on Trieste casts a shadow over this celebratory moment. The parents' ominous reactions to the flag point to the difficulties of the Italian nationalization of the region.

Paolo's confusion in the last scene of *Il cavallo Tripoli* invites speculation on the moment's symbolism and its relationship to history.

The nostalgia in Quarantotti Gambini's works can be partially interpreted as one for a time when it was still possible to hope for a future that did not include all the terrible events the author and others of his generation witnessed and suffered. Quarantotti Gambini's work evokes a kind of nostalgia for this period, which Pizzi characterizes as particularly nostalgic: "1918 also marked in Trieste a peak of nostalgia for Italy as an idealized motherland."<sup>83</sup> Svetlana Boym's *The Future of Nostalgia* has called attention to this side of nostalgia, noting that nostalgia "is not always for the *ancien regime* or fallen empire but also for the unrealized dreams of the past and visions of the future that have become obsolete."<sup>84</sup> Roth's work, meanwhile, depicts a past that historicized itself and, instead of moving forward, overemphasized commemoration. James Wood describes Roth's novels as "elegies for an *original* feeling of elegy."<sup>85</sup> Since nostalgia already involves emphasizing the tension between two temporal frames, the evocations of nostalgia for nostalgia establishes an even more complex contrast between several time periods in *Il cavallo Tripoli* and *Radetzkyarsch*. The authors' homelands and hopes for these homelands have changed and their novels evoke nostalgia for a different time of hope.

The complexities of Quarantotti Gambini's work are easily overlooked if his novel is considered as merely representative of the author's political views or his later national identity. While not the masterpiece *Radetzkyarsch* is, Quarantotti Gambini's work deserves more attention than it has received. *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Novel* lists Quarantotti Gambini among the most important Italian writers who hail from Trieste, and Saba characterized Quarantotti Gambini as "il piú luminoso e complesso" (most luminous and complex) of Italy's young narrators,<sup>86</sup> but Quarantotti Gambini remains a relatively obscure author.<sup>87</sup> Considering him in connection with an Austro-Hungarian tradition contributes to a fuller, more interesting picture of his work. Italian Triestine literature tends to be seen as somewhat foreign to the Italian literary tradition and linguistically outside of Austrian (or Austro-Hungarian) literature. Instead of leaving it as "neither nor," viewing it as "both and" can help shape the critical view of the Italian literary landscape, as well as add to the picture of Austro-Hungarian literature. This reading of *Il cavallo Tripoli* offers one example of the benefit of reading Italian literature written by authors born in Austria-Hungary as both Italian and Austro-Hungarian. Attention is often paid to Roth's connection to other Jewish authors, Austro-Hungarian and German, but, as made clear

for instance in Johann Georg Lughofer and Mira Miladinović Zalaznik's *Joseph Roth: Europäisch-jüdischer Schriftsteller und österreichischer Universalist* (*Joseph Roth: European-Jewish Writer and Austrian Universalist*),<sup>88</sup> Roth's broader Austro-Hungarian heritage, which connects him to Quarantotti Gambini, is also crucial for understanding the author. The national divisions and historical events that caused so much upheaval for Quarantotti Gambini and Roth personally continue to contribute to reasons why authors like them are not studied together. The connections between these two authors' works are of interest not as proof of what they believed, but for the complexity of how they represented the experience of the ends of the empire, a complexity sometimes missed because of assumptions about the authors' beliefs.

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### Notes

1. World War I and the growing animosity between Italy and Austria obscured some existing literary relations that have yet to be explored. For instance, Peter Demetz provides an interesting example of the often unnoted connections between German- and Italian-language literatures with the Triestine Theodor Däubler. Peter Demetz, *Italian Futurism and the German Literary Avant-Garde* (London: Institute of Germanic Studies, University of London, 1987), 6.

2. Giuseppe Gazzola, "Italy from Without: An Introduction," *Forum Italicum* 47, no. 2 (2013): 243.

3. Twentieth-century Italians often looked outside their literary world to Paris and French writers and, since Italian sections are often housed with other Romance languages, disciplinary boundaries tend to reify this association between French and Italian literatures.

4. For the growing role importance of Mediterranean studies for Italian, see the increase in Italian articles in *Mediterranean Studies*.

5. A work that does call attention to Italy and Austria-Hungary's relationship is Dominique Kirchner Reill's *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), which emphasizes the importance of the multinational Austria-Hungary in a discussion on nineteenth-century nationalism and pluralism. For a recent, important exploration of how the contested area of Istria helps understand the context and poetry of a more canonical author (Montale), see Thomas Harrison, "Istrian Italy and the Homeland: The Lessons of Poetry," *Forum Italicum* 47, no. 2 (2013): 324–35.

6. The influence of Austrian philosophers, psychologists, and theorists on Italian writers has been an area of exploration. Alberto Cavaglion, *Otto Weininger in Italia* (Rome: Carucci, 1982); Michel David, *La psicoanalisi nella cultura italiana* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1970); and *Freud and Italian Culture*, ed. Pierluigi Barrotta, Laura Lepschy, with Emma Bond (Oxford, UK: Peter Lang, 2009), for instance, offer significant analyses of the influence of Weininger and Freud on Italian literature and thought.

7. J. M. Coetzee, "Emperor of Nostalgia," *New York Review of Books* (28 Feb. 2002), 3. Roth was part of a generation of former Austro-Hungarian subjects in whom part of the empire lived on, even after its dissolution.

8. Claudio Magris, *Il mito absburgico nella letteratura austriaca moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 1963), 15–23.

9. See Malcolm Spencer, *In the Shadow of Empire: Austrian Experiences of Modernity in the Writings of Musil, Roth, and Bachmann* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2008), 7.

10. For a comprehensive history of Roth's Italian reception see Gunnhild Schneider-Paccanelli, *Die Aufnahme der Werke Joseph Roths in Italien (von 1928 bis 1989)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996).

11. Quarantotti Gambini, *Il poeta innamorato* (Pordenone: Edizioni Studio Tesi, 1984), 168.

12. Enzo Bettiza, *Mito e realtà di Trieste* (Milan: All'insegna del pesce d'oro, 1966), 44.

13. "It should therefore be no source of wonder that in the post-modern cultural phase, places of exchange find themselves at the centre of a renewed anthropological, critical and artistic interest." Maurizio Ascari and Adriana Corrado "Introduction," in *Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines* (New York: Rodopi, 2006), 13.

14. For a few notable exceptions, all engaging Svevo, see Peter E. Bondanella, "Franz Kafka and Italo Svevo," *Comparative Literature Symposium* 4 (1971): 17–34; Elizabeth Castex, "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Frau: Zur Problematik des Frauenbildes in Italo Svevos *La coscienza di Zeno* und Robert Musils *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*," in *Robert Musil: Incontri italo-austriaci nel primo centenario della nascita* (Vienna: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1980), 31–50; Elizabeth Mahler-Schächter, "Svevo e Schnitzler: Affinità culturali," in *Italo Svevo: Scrittore europeo*, ed. N. Cacciaglia and Guzzetta L. Fava (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1994), 547–60; Saskia Ziolkowski, "Svevo's *uomo senza qualità*: Musil and Modernism in Italy," in *Gender and Modernity in Central Europe: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Its Legacy*, ed. Agatha Schwarz (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010), 83–101.

15. For a discussion of Svevo as Mitteleuropean see Giuseppe Antonio Camerino, *Italo Svevo e la crisi della Mitteleuropa*. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1974).

16. Claudio Minca, "'Trieste Nazione' and its Geographies of Absence," *Social and Cultural Geography* 10, no. 2 (2009): 257. For an extensive discussion of the idea of "nowhere," borders, and literature see Richard Robinson, *Narratives of the European Border: A History of Nowhere* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

17. Katia Pizzi, *A City in Search of an Author: The Literary Identity of Trieste* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 79.

18. For a relevant discussion of competing cultures in Smedella see Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 180–81.

19. Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini, *Primavera a Trieste con una lettera al Presidente della Repubblica e altri scritti* (Milan: Mondadori, 1967); Pizzi, *City in Search of an Author*, 79.

20. Left open, with a question that reflects how unfinished Quarantotti Gambini viewed the reincorporation of Trieste into Italy to be, the epilogue to Quarantotti Gambini's sequence of essays in *Primavera a Trieste* concludes, "L'Istria attende e attenderà. Sinò a quando?" (348) (Istria waits and will wait, until when?). See also Quarantotti Gambini, *Primavera a Trieste*, 409.

21. Remarking that if he had to write an autobiography, he would title it "Un italiano sbagliato" ("An Italian by Mistake"), Quarantotti Gambini himself never completely adjusted to being an Italian. *Il poeta innamorato*, 178.

22. Quarantotti Gambini, *Primavera a Trieste*, 407–8.

23. Valeria Traversi, "Il ritorno a casa attraverso la letteratura: l'Istria di Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini," *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 24, no. 3 (2006): 119.

24. Gambini, *Primavera a Trieste*, 171.

25. *Ibid.*, 178.

26. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1993), 19.

27. Hannah Arendt, "Imperialism, Nationalism, Chauvinism," *Review of Politics* 7, no. 4 (1945): 462.

28. Ian Reifowitz, "Nationalism, Modernity, and Multinational Austria in the Works of Joseph Roth," in *Austria in Literature*, ed. Donald G. Daviau (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 2000), 124–25; Gershon Shaked, "After the Fall: Nostalgia and the Treatment of Authority in the Works of Kafka and Agnon, Two Habsburgian Writers," *Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 2, no. 1 (2004): 81.

29. Kati Tonkin, *Joseph Roth's March into History: From the Early Novels to "Radetzky Marsch" and "Die Kapuzinergruft"* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2008), 19.

30. Roth repeatedly commented on what the end of the empire meant to him, perhaps most clearly in an oft-cited quote from a letter written in 1932: "Mein stärkstes Erlebnis war der Krieg und der Untergang meines Vaterlandes, *des einzigen*, das ich je besessen: der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Auch heute noch bin ich durchaus patriotischer Österreicher und liebe den Rest meiner Heimat, wie eine Art Reliquie." Joseph Roth, *Briefe, 1911–1939*, ed. Hermann Kesten (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1970), 240. ("The most powerful experience of my life was the war and the end of my fatherland, the only one I have ever had: the Dual Monarch of Austria-Hungary. To this date I am a patriotic Austrian and love what is left of my homeland as a sort of relic.") *Joseph Roth: A Life in Letters*, ed. and trans. Michael Hofmann (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012), 221.

31. A great deal of work has been done on the issue of Roth's Jewishness. See for instance Anne Fuchs, *Space of Anxiety: Dislocation and Abjection in Modern German-Jewish Literature* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999); David Bronsen, "The Jew in Search of a Fatherland: The Relationship of Joseph Roth to the Habsburg Monarchy," *Germanic Review* 54 (Spring 1979): 54–61; David Horrocks, "The Representation of Jews and of Anti-Semitism in Joseph Roth's Early Journalism," *German Life and Letters* 58, no. 2 (2005): 141–54; Katja Garloff, "Femininity and Assimilatory Desire in Joseph Roth," *Modern Fiction Studies* 51, no. 2 (2005): 354–73; Ritchie Robertson, "Roth's *Hiob* and the Traditions of Ghetto Fiction," in *Co-existent Contradictions: Joseph Roth in Retrospect*, ed. Helen Chambers (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1991), 184–200; Gershon Shaked "Wie jüdisch ist ein jüdisch-deutscher Roman? Über Joseph Roths *Hiob, Roman eines einfachen Mannes*," in *Juden in der deutschen Literatur: Ein deutsch-israelisches Symposium*, ed. Stéphane Moses and Albrecht Schöne (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 281–92; Edward Timms, "Joseph Roths Antisemitismuskritik und die jüdische Identitätsproblematik," in *Joseph Roth: Der Sieg Über die Zeit: Londoner Symposium*, ed. Alexander Stillmark (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1996), 18–30.

32. Attributing "philo-Semitism to the long-lived Emperor Franz Joseph," Roth "looked on Kaiser Franz Josef as the protector of the Jews." Bronsen, "Jew in Search of a Fatherland," 57; Frederike Zweig, "Joseph Roth and the Zweigs," *World Literature Today* 18, no. 1 (1944): 6.

33. Claudio Magris drew attention to this shift in *Il mito absburgico nella letteratura austriaca moderna*, and it has continued to be a matter of critical interest since then.

34. Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York: Continuum, 1990), 12.

35. "Almost everyone blamed the Allies for imposing a peace at St.-Germain-en-Laye, where the fate of Austria appeared to be almost an afterthought; *L'Autriche, c'est ce qui reste*—'Austria is what is left over' (after the rest of the monarchy had been carved up into 'nation states') was the way Clemenceau had contemptuously put it." Nicholas Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 239.

36. "For Doderer, the real significance of Austrian history is not political but literary, and he speaks as an Austrian writer, living in Vienna and drawing on 2,000 years of history—in the Vienna of Marcus Aurelius and the Babenbergs, as well as the Vienna of the Habsburgs," in David S. Luft, "The Writer and Austrian Culture: Robert Musil and Heimito von Doderer," in *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective*, ed. Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 141.

37. For a discussion of this cultural tendency in Prague see Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

38. Hofmann, *Joseph Roth*, xii.

39. Sandra Arosio, *Scrittori di frontiera: Scipio Slataper, Giani e Carlo Stuparich* (Milan: Edizioni Angelo Guerini, 1996), 150.

40. Vivian Liska, *When Kafka Says We: Uncommon Communities in German-Jewish Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 3.

41. Not surprisingly, a work that concentrates on the idea of nowhere and borders has a chapter on Svevo, one on Roth, as well as ones on Rebecca West, Kazuo Ishiguro, and James Joyce. See Robinson, *Narratives of the European Border*.

42. Harrison, "Istrian Italy and the Homeland," 330.

43. For more on the development of this project (*Gli anni ciechi*) see Daniela Picamus, "Il progetto de 'Gli anni ciechi,'" in *Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini: Lo scrittore e i suoi editori* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2012), 65–71.

44. Before moving to Paolo's younger years, he had written a novel with an older protagonist named Paolo, an Austrian general who returns to Trieste after the war. For a relevant reading of *La rosa rossa*, which includes a comparison of this earlier novel and Roth's *Radetzkymarsch*, see Antonio Donato Sciacovelli, "Il fascino discreto dei generali: Quarantotto Gambini, *La rosa rossa* e Sándor Márai, *Le braci*," in *Da Aquileia al Baltico attraverso i paesi della nuova Europa* (Mariano del Friuli, Gorizia: Edizioni della Laguna, 2005), 117–24.

45. Depicting a period from before World War I until the Anschluss, *Die Kapuzinergruft* describes the life of a relative of the Trottas of *Radetzkymarsch*.

46. Roth, like Quarantotti Gambini, was "exposed, privately and professionally, more than most novelists to the historical and political events of his time." Helen Chambers, "Preface," in *Co-existent Contradictions*, ed. Chambers, vii.

47. Bryan S. Turner comments on how a "component of the nostalgic discourse is a sense of historical decline and loss, involving a departure from some golden age of 'homefulness.'" "A Note on Nostalgia," *Theory, Culture and Society* 4 (1987): 150.

48. Joseph Roth, "Seine K. und K. Apostolische Majestät," in *Joseph Roth Werke*, vol. 4 (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1989), 910.

49. *Ibid.*, 911.

50. Carlo Bo, "Discorso di Carlo Bo," in *Celebrazione di P. A. Quarantotti Gambini: Discorso di Carlo Bo* (Trieste: Circolo della Cultura e delle Arti, 1968), 18.

51. Zoë Lang, "The Regime's 'Musical Weapon' Transformed: The Reception of Johann Sr.'s *Radetzky March* Before and After the First World War," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2009): 263.

52. Umberto Saba and Pierantonio Quarantotti Gambini, *Il vecchio e il giovane: Carteggio, 1930–1957*, ed. Linuccia Saba (Verona: Mondadori, 1965), 166.

53. Pizzi, *City in Search of an Author*, 82.

54. Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini, *Il cavallo Tripoli* (Turin: Einaudi, 1956), 13. Quotations hereafter cited parenthetically by page number.

55. *Ibid.*, 16.

56. "According to the so-called Austria Idea, Austria-Hungary was not so much multinational as supranational—a sort of Platonic form, subsuming in harmony and stability the lesser realities of race and nation." Joan Acocella, *Twenty-Eight Artists and Two Saints* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 118.

57. Gambini, *Il cavallo Tripoli*, 200.

58. Giorgio Baroni, "Per una rilettura di Pier Antonio Quarantotto Gambini," *La nuova ricerca* 12 (2003): 312.

59. "Era di questo che non si capacitava: che Lucia e Momi e Guido e Bruno, e tutti i contadini, che giravano scalzi e infangati e avevano le mani grandi e terrose, potessero essere italiani né più né meno che lui e la mamma" (23) (This was what he did not understand: that Lucia and Momi and Guido and Bruno, and all the peasants, who wandered about barefoot and muddy and had great, earthy hands, could be Italian no more and no less than himself and his mother).

60. Joseph Roth, *Radetzkymarsch* (Amsterdam: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2001), 7. Quotations hereafter cited parenthetically by page number.

61. Joseph Roth, *The Radetzky March*, trans. Michael Hofmann (London: Granta, 2003), 8. Quotations hereafter cited parenthetically by page number, with the English page numbers following the German.

62. "In diesem Augenblick schien es ihm, daß sich die ganze Welt gegen ihn verbündet hatte: die Schreiber der Lesebücher, der Notar, seine Frau, sein Sohn, der Hauslehrer" (11) ("At that

moment it seemed to him that the whole world was conspiring against him: the writers of these schoolbooks, the notary, his wife, his house-tutor") (II).

63. See Jan T. Schlosser, "Identitätsproblematik und Gesellschaftskritik: Zum Solferino-Kapitel in Joseph Roths *Radetzkymarsch*," *Orbis Litterarum* 60 (2005): 189.

64. "One legacy did remain among many German-speaking intellectuals in Austria: a certain skepticism about ideology, especially about nationalism." Luft, "The Writer and Austrian Culture," 136.

65. Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini, *Gli anni ciechi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1971), 526.

66. Margarete Johanna Landwehr, "Modernist Aesthetics in Joseph Roth's *Radetzkymarsch*: The Crisis of Meaning and the Role of the Reader" *German Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2003): 399.

67. Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75.

68. Mia Fuller, *Modern Abroad: Architecture, Cities, and Italian Imperialism* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 30.

69. *Ibid.*, 24.

70. "The Emperor Is Dead," *Time* (1 Feb. 1943), <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,790737,00.html>.

71. Paolo's desiring of Tripoli has been read using Freudian theories, and can be related to his early sexual experiments described in the novel. David, *La psicoanalisi*, 334, 439. Pizzi, meanwhile, connects the Italians' loss of Tripoli, the place, and Paolo's loss of Tripoli, the horse, to the end of Italy's colonization and Paolo's youth. *City in Search of an Author*, 82.

72. Tonkin, *Joseph Roth's March into History*, 129.

73. Spencer, *In the Shadow of Empire*, 164.

74. "While Strauss Sr. did indeed dedicate the piece to the Austrian army, his 'imperialist sympathies' are more a matter of conjecture. It was only in the decade after the First World War that Austrian commentators stressed the connection between this composition and Strauss Sr.'s political viewpoints." Lang, "The Regime's 'Musical Weapon' Transformed," 244.

75. *Ibid.*, 261.

76. Philip Manger, "The *Radetzky March*: Joseph Roth and the Habsburg Myth," in *The Viennese Enlightenment*, ed. Mark Francis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 55.

77. Landwehr, "Modernist Aesthetics in Joseph Roth's *Radetzkymarsch*," 406.

78. See for instance Roth, III, 136 (98, 120).

79. "To some the fiction becomes a paean, unvisited by irony, to a lost cosmopolitan utopia." Robinson, *Narratives of the European Border*, 83.

80. While numerous critics have argued that *Radetzkymarsch* presents a nostalgically idealized picture of Austria-Hungary, others have responded that the novel is instead critical of it. For summaries and instances of both views, see *ibid.*, 183; Manger, "Radetzky March," 55; James Wood, *The Irresponsible Self: On Laughter and the Novel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004); C. E. Williams, *The Broken Eagle: The Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluss* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), 101; Tonkin, *Joseph Roth's March into History*, 6; Schlosser, "Identitätsproblematik und Gesellschaftskritik," 184, 198. Landwehr provides convincing examples of textual moments that can be read in contrasting ways; see "Modernist Aesthetics in Joseph Roth's *Radetzkymarsch*," 406.

81. Sandra Arosio, *Scrittori di frontiera: Scipio Slataper, Giani e Carlo Stuparich* (Milan: Edizioni Angelo Guerini, 1996), 30.

82. Pamela Ballinger, in *History in Exile*, gives an anthropological exploration of how the complicated ethnic mixings and person memories have been affected by the shifting political borders of the area. Glenda Sluga offers a historical analysis of the area; see *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

83. Pizzi, *City in Search of an Author*, 27.

84. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xvi.

85. Wood, *Irresponsible Self*, 145.

86. Remo Ceserani and Pierluigi Pellini, "The Belated Development of a Theory of the Novel in Italian Literary Culture," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Novel*, ed. Peter Bondanella and Andrea Ciccarelli (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9; Saba and Quarantotti Gambini, *Il vecchio e il giovane*, 38.

87. For more on the reception of Quarantotti Gambini see Giulia Iannuzzi, *Sotto il cielo di Trieste: Fortuna critica e bibliografia di Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini* (Milan: Biblion Edizioni srl Milano, 2013), especially pp. 45 and 145–50 on *Il cavallo Tripoli*.

88. *Joseph Roth: Europäisch-jüdischer Schriftsteller und österreichischer Universalist*, ed. Georg Lughofer and Mira Miladinović Zalaznik (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).