Ester Saletta, MA.Phil. (Bergamo, Italy)

Hermann Broch and Giuseppe Antonio Borgese: a human and literary friendship

Let me start by saying that he was quite a great, generous and emotional personality. One hundred percent genuine intellectually and ethically, but also quite overpowering and possessive. A marvelous teacher and master, but one who expected people to be and act as he thought they would or should.... He loved you dearly, but he expected you to be just as he thought you ought to be.... He wanted you to be very American – and then, when he started to hate America as he intensely as he had loved it ... he expected you to be very Italian.... He was, in a way, a tragic figure, with an enormous power that he could never fully apply, with enormous ambitions that he never could fully satisfy....

How often did he protest that what he most longed for was simplicity and goodness, but that these were states impossible for him to achieve. I don’t doubt that he spent a great deal of his limited energy trying to subdue or reconcile his ‘demons,’ as he called the conflicting and powerful drives of his temperament.

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1 Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s letter to her daughters dated 15 October 1982. In: Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s Bequest, Folder no. 13. Munich: Stadtbibliothek Monacensis Literaturarchiv.
1. Broch and Borgese – two men in front of the same mirror

This short essay should be considered not only a basic introduction and first step in my project here at the Academy, but also as the final phase of the research work I finished on Hermann Broch and his intellectual contextualization. What I would like to present now is the profound parallelism that can be noted between Broch and Borgese if we investigate the various aspects of their personalities and their literary production. Yet the two men have different cultural proveniences. Broch was a converted Jew and an Austrian, once a dissatisfied textile engineer and then an intellectual engaged on many fronts, who was forced to leave Vienna after 1938; he found shelter in the United States – in New Haven, Connecticut – where he died in 1951. Borgese was instead humanist and journalist from southern Italy (Sicily), but he too was forced to leave his homeland because of his anti-totalitarian position, and he too found refuge in the United States, where he taught Italian literature at the University of Chicago. He then decided to return to Italy after the end of the World War II and died in Fiesole in 1952.

So far, the two writers appear to have little in common other than their fate as refugees in United States due to their radical aversion towards totalitarian systems such as Nazism and Fascism, and their strong political determination in supporting democracy. Indeed, this will be part of the current project I am planning to show as a PowerPoint presentation. But this seeming lack of similarity is merely an illusion, because the two personalities share far more than we might imagine, so much so, in fact, that one can even be considered the double or reflection of the other. To support my statement, I can quote some of the letters of Thomas Mann’s youngest daughter Elisabeth, nicknamed “Madi” (from the German kleines Mädchen, little girl).
Despite the age difference between her and Borgese – she was 36 years younger than he – she became involved with the Italian writer and married him in Princeton in 1939. The two had met indirectly when she read his programmatic book *Goliath. The March of Fascism* (1937) and then personally as he was part of the group of the exiled intellectuals gravitating around her father. At the time, however, Borgese was still married to his first wife, the Italian Maria Sofia, and he and Madi thus had to keep their affair secret.

I feel permanently pledged to her, and if caution and secrecy are needed in the first few months this is due to external circumstances the effect of which I hope to neutralize very soon, and the desire of granting her a reasonable time for testing herself and realizing that her inclination to me was a real choice and will and not the momentary error of a generous and passionate youthfulness.³

Just as Elisabeth Mann was fascinated by Borgese’s intellectual power, Ruth Norden was attracted by the enormous influence of Broch’s dialectic. Twenty years old younger than Broch, she was first a reader for the publisher Fischer Verlag in Berlin and Knopf Verlag in New York, and then became the editor of several American newspapers such as *The Nation* and *Living Age* and she had an

³ From a letter written by Borgese on 2 June 1939 to Thomas Mann. The letter is in Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s Bequest in Munich. See footnote 1.
intense epistolary relationship with Broch, revolving around politics, in 1934-38 and then again in 1945-48.

While the two writers had a unique sex appeal because of their exceptional intellectual capacity, it seems unlikely that they would have fascinated younger women on a physical level, as both were described as rather unattractive men.

Antonio Borgese, mit seiner dunklen sizilianischen Haut, den buschigen Augenbrauen und der vorstehenden Unterlippe, beherrschte in seiner ruhigen Art die Szene. Seine Stimme ist gewöhnlich fest und tief, zuweilen aber auch schmeichelnd. Er ist stets eloquent und spricht in der ironischen Tonart eines Settembrini aus Thomas Manns ‘Zauberberg’, ohne doch geschwätzig zu werden.4

Hermann Broch was more impressive standing than seated, for his legs were unusually long and his torso, somewhat short in comparison, became even shorter because of his scholar’s stoop.... His eyes were remarkable, his glance extraordinarily penetrating.5

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4 Lützeler, Paul Michael, Hermann Broch. Eine Biographie, Frankfurt am Main 1988, p. 265. [Engl: Antonio Borgese, with his swarthy Sicilian skin, bushy eyebrows and the protruding lips, dominates the scene with his quiet behavior. His voice is usually strong and deep, but can also be flattering. He is eloquent and speaks with an ironic tone like Settembrini in Thomas Mann’s “Enchanted Mountain” but without being talkative.]

The two quotations from Elisabeth Mann Borgese that I have cited here define Broch’s importance as a man and not as an intellectual, and this was obviously an advantage for her husband’s political aims.

Last night we had the visit of an Austrian writer, Hermann Broch. I think have I mentioned the man occasionally, because he is ‘molto simpatico’, but yesterday I realized that you absolutely have to meet him, as he could be an excellent member of the Committee. He himself has very similar ideas, but on a much smaller scale.... In short, he is your man.⁶

Here I am in bed ... with a radio at my bedside and a few books, and two roses Broch brought me yesterday.⁷

Elisabeth Mann’s conviction that Broch could be the right man for her husband’s political project was also based on the similarities in the two men’s characters. Both had a very complex and problematic personality, with what one might define a neurotic interiority, influenced above all by a profound and insurmountable sense of fear and uncertainty towards the world and the people around them, due also to the precarious historical period in which they lived. While this made them feel weak and disoriented on the one hand, it also made them extremely authoritarian and dictatorial, especially within their private spheres. Borgese’s archival material testifies not only to the Italian writer’s interior weakness, generating a sense of inferiority, but also to his pathological jealousy of his two wives. Indeed, his diary provides fascinating insight into his weak nature. In 1932 he wrote: “La mia malattia fondamentale è una malattia della volontà, una specie

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⁶ Undated letter by Elisabeth Mann Borgese contained in her bequest (Folder no. 13). Munich: Stadtbibliothek Since 2004 Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s bequest, which consists of 17 folders, is at the Monacensia Literaturarchiv in Munich, thanks to the efforts of Dominica, Borgese and Mann’s daughter. The bequest has been open to researchers since 2005. The first 14 folders of the bequest contain the correspondence between Madi and her husband Borgese, while the other three folders contain Erika Mann’s poem Hymn an das Dürr; Monika Mann’s description of Thomas Mann, and other personal effects belonging to the Manns.

⁷ Letter of 2 November 1939 (see the above footnote above for the archival source).
d’impotenza che pone costantemente un muro, o almeno un diaframma, fra ciò che debo essere e fare e ciò che realmente sono e patisco.” This diary entry reminds us of Broch’s letter of 11 October 1920 to one of his close women friends in Vienna, Ea von Allesch:

“[…] ich bin mit meiner Faulheit, Eitelkeit, Untüchtigkeit so ein unwürdiges Objekt. Zudem hängt dies alles überflüssigerweise auch noch mit dem Komplex zusammen, der, wenn auch heroisch verschwiegen, dennoch unentwegt lebt.”

Borgese tried to overcome his inner weakness by living in a very Spartan and militaristic manner, as the graphic description from his diary also shows. Here we can see how Borgese associates the philosophical meaning and concept of being with the verb STARE and the time of life with the verb DIVENIRE. In his diary, there is a sketch with these two opposite concepts, around which Borgese placed the five modal verbs in German rather than Italian. The decision to choose German rather

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8 Borgese’s diary is part of the Giuseppe Antonio Borgese Bequest in Florence at the Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere, La Colombaria. The bequest donated by Borgese’s and Madi’s daughters, Angelica and Dominica, to the library of the University of Florence in the 1950s; the library then decided to transfer the bequest to the private residence known as La Colombaria. Much of this bequest, which consists of 52 boxes dealing with Borgese’s American lectures on literature and aesthetics, was seriously damaged during the 1966 flood. Work to catalog the 52 boxes has not been completed, which is why the footnotes in this paper dealing do not mention a specific collocation of the sources for Borgese’s bequest.

9 Lützeler, Paul Michael (ed.), Das Teesdorfer Tagebuch, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp: 1995, p. 113. [Engl: I am such an unworthy object due to my laziness, vanity and incompetence. Moreover, all of this can undoubtedly be connected with the complex, which, though concealed heroically, continues to live.]
than Italian is indubitably connected with the inflexible linguistic function of modal verbs in German, where the sense of MUST is stronger than that of TO HAVE TO. Thanks to this distinction and schematization of daily life, Borgese feels obliged to act, and to fight against the passiveness of his nature. Broch, on the contrary, tries to overcome his interior complexity through a dialogical approach, i.e. he is constantly in search of a dialogical partner with whom he can speak – in Martin Buber’s sense – and this is also underscored in his letter to Ea von Allesch dated 20 December 1920.

Der Komplex ist schließlich auch ein Rest von Nicht-kennen u. nicht-vertraut-sein: wahrscheinlich deswegen diese Sucht nach ‘Klarheit’ [...] Wenn ich es einmal wissen werde, daß Dir die Unmöglichkeit von Komplikationen ebenso bewußt sein wird wie mir für meinen Teil, so absolut gefestigt, dann wird auch der Komplex endgültig erledigt sein.10

Most of Broch’s dialogical partners are intellectual and emancipated women who embody motherhood, compensating for what Broch lacked as a child.


10 See footnote 4 [The complex is in the end a part of not knowing and not having trust: Maybe this is the reason behind the search for clarity. If I could only know that, like me, you too are conscious of the possibility of suffering from complications, then the complex could also be resolved once and for all.]
11 Lützeler, Paul Michael (Hrsg.), Hermann Broch. Psychische Selbstbiographie, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1999, p. 8. [It is the image of a tremendous inferiority complex that stems from a defeat in childhood, i.e. towards father and brother with regard to maternal love, but this may remain an open question. As far I can remember, I have considered myself impotent towards these two men.]
The causes of Borgese’s and Broch’s “self-disease” can be traced to their family backgrounds, and in Borgese’s case to his relationship with his father and the women in his life.

Visibile o invisibile, il protagonista della mia infanzia e adolescenza fu mio padre. [...] Lo zio, che si assunse i doveri di mio padre, e le altre persone della casa di Palermo, mi fecero pesare tremendamente una situazione di inferiorità che doveva allargarsi in un sentimento di colpa. [...] Fin dalla primissima infanzia mi fu data la coscienza della bruttezza fisica, perfino della bruttezza della voce. ¹²

Mancò all’istinto sessuale tanto la possibilità di attuarsi naturalmente quanto quella di sublimarsi religiosamente e moralmente. Venere apparve circondata da diavoli e da terrors. I ricordi di Anna, di Via Lattarini, di Moffa la Nera, sono ben tristi. ¹³

In Broch’s case, it can be attributed to the general epochal setting that his son Armand, nicknamed Pitz, defined as follows.

Aufgewachsen in einem stark durch Neurosen gefärbten Milieu, war auch er ein durch tiefe Neurosen gezeichneter Mensch, der sich erst spät zu einer schaffenden Reife durchdringen konnte. [...] Natürlich zogen in diesen Jahren auch noch viele andere Frauen durch das Leben Hermanns [...] Diese kurze Liste ist weder komplett noch genau [...] da viele dieser Beziehungen gleichzeitig nebeneinander herliefen, sich überkreuzten und überdeckten [...]. ¹⁴

¹² See references to footnote 3.
¹³ See references to footnote 3.
¹⁴ Broch, Hermann Friedrich, Liebe Frau Stringl. A Memoir of Hermann Broch by His Son, New Haven 2001, p.112 [Born into a very neurotic setting, he too was marked by profound neurosis, which then led him to a productive maturity. Of course, there were other women in Hermann Broch’s life during this period. This short list is neither complete nor sufficient, because most of these relationships were simultaneous, crossing and overlapping each other.]
Borgese’s maniacal jealousy is instead better described in his letter to Madi dated 21 July 1948.

_However, I did not like the etc. etc. in the list of the persons you are seeing. You know I hate picturing you unnecessarily close to loathsome and disgusting people._

In her letter to her daughter Nanni, Maria Sofia wrote:

_ Io sono felicissima di piantare la casa figurati! Ma di punto in bianco comanda, ordina. 
_Come se fossi la serva, ma ora basta. Io g
de ho già scritto. Andare non si va più.... Mi fa gran pena povero peppo, ma non posso più, non ho più la forza di vivere con lui. Mi dia quello che vuole e che può, vivrò con quello senza discutere. Ma basta._

And, lastly, we also have Madi’s words:

_Zum Frauenthema stand er so ‘ähnlich wie Dante’. Wie die Italiener eben so sind: theoretisch Frauen- und Marienverehrer, praktisch aber doch sehr dominant._

The psychological and enormously complex personality of these two writers in their personal attitude towards women is summed up in the concept referred to as _Amphytrionismus_, meaning a man’s ability to shape a woman’s character and personality to reflect specific male concept of womanhood or a distinct male gallery of female ideals that can rarely actually be matched in real life.

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15 See the two foregoing footnotes as reference to the archive source.
16 See footnote 3.
17 See footnote 1. [He was so similar to Dante concerning the female aspect. This is typical of all Italians: In theory they admire women as if they were Madonnas, but in practice they are very dominant.]
Was ich also von der Frau fordere, ist eine äußerste Selbstzentrierung und Persönlichkeitsentfaltung in ihrem inneren Sein, hingegen eine äußerste Loyalität nach außen, und dies ist auch das Ziel der ‘Umformung’, der ich die geliebte, auf daß sie es werde, immer wieder zu unterwerfen trachte.\textsuperscript{18}

So you say that I am making you young…. Yet your coming into my life is a big landmark. A conversion. A downer and metamorphosis.\textsuperscript{19}

Borgese answered these final lines of Madi’s letter to him by saying:

\textit{After all, it is incredible how much wisdom and knowledge you have put together in a very very short life.}\textsuperscript{20}

The basic difference between the process of shaping the female identity in Broch’s and Borgese’s lives and literary production is essentially rooted in the types of women with whom the two writers were usually involved. Broch’s women were already mature and emancipated even though they were younger than he, while Borgese’s women were chiefly infantile and naive, like children who need maternal protection. Thus, the process of molding women was pedagogical in Broch’s case - in other words, he taught women how they could improve their intellectuality, which was already highly developed - ; in Borgese’s case, it instead entailed imparting an approach in order to

\textsuperscript{18} Lützeler, Paul Michael (ed.), \textit{Hermann Broch. Psychische Selbstbiographie}, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1999, p. 30. [What I need from a woman is external self-concentration and fulfillment of her inner being, but with great loyalty towards the outside, and this is also the task of the “shaping” to which I always subject my beloved, so as to make her into what she should become.]

\textsuperscript{19} See: Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s Bequest, Folder no. 11, Munich Stadtbibliothek, Monacensia Literturarxiv.

\textsuperscript{20} See: Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s Bequest, Folder no. 3, Munich Stadtbibliothek, Monacensia Literaturarchiv.
deal with the current problems of society, i.e. how to behave not only in society but also in political and cultural groups.

Therefore, to summarize this first part of the paper we can say that both Broch and Borgese were:

- men who suffered deeply on an emotional level, due to the difficulty they often faced in managing their interiority and psychological aspects
- men who needed outside female support in order to have someone with whom to talk and express their interior complexity
- men who transferred their intellectual and emotional powers to a concrete process of shaping womanhood, based on their own specific vision of the opposite sex.

2. Broch and Borgese – writers in front of a similar mirror

The literary production of these two writers is equally full of similarities and not only with regard to their personal approach to womanhood and life in general. For example, let’s contemplate the fact that both writers began their literary careers as journalists and aesthetic critics, chiefly because the era in which both writers lived gave them the chance to follow numerous compelling events, such as Carlo Dallago’s debate in Austria and Benedetto Croce’s in Italy. If we consider Broch’s pamphlets Philosostrosität, Realismus, Idealismus der Kunst (Phylosostrosity, Realism, Idealism in Art, 1913) and Ethik (Ethics, 1914) against Dallago on the literary meaning of Thomas Mann’s novella Der Tod in Venedig (Death in Venice, 1912) published in the Brenner newspaper, or Borgese’s Storia della critica romantica (1905), in which the Italian writer criticized Croce’s concept of art, we can readily understand how both writers embraced the idea of the prevalence of the human component vis-à-vis abstract art in itself, due essentially to the creative potential within any artistic production. In this sense, art
became the unique way to overcome the so-called Schlafwandlerzustand des modernen Menschen (the sleepwalking condition of modern man), as it gave any human being the essential power to feel alive in the decadent world of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In this context, it is interesting to draw a comparison between Borgese’s novel Rubè (1921) and Broch’s Schlafwandler trilogy (The Sleepwalkers, 1928-29), in which Rubè, Pasenow and Esch are victims of a similar destiny: They pertain to an era in which the vacuity of life is chiefly expressed through a sense of loneliness and disorientation that Broch constantly associated with the term Welt-Wert Vakuum (emptiness of the world and of the values).

Io poi appartengo a quella infelicissima borghesia intellettuale e provinciale, storta dall’educazione del tutto o del nulla, viziata dal gusto delle ascensioni definitive donde si

Rubè is a young lawyer who decides to leave his small village in southern Italy in order to seek fortune in the northern part of the country. However, the advent of World War I upsets his plans and the young man joins the army. After being gravely wounded Rubè goes to Rome, where he marries his old friend Eugenia Berti. A short time later, however, he meets Garlandi, an old comrade-in-arms who suggests that Rubè follow him to Paris. Here the young Rubè begins to live a life of debauchery, taking up with married women and mistresses, and starting to gamble. While he is meeting one of his mistresses, Celestina, who was with him on a boat as they enjoyed an afternoon together at Lake Como, drowns before his eyes. This dramatic experience leaves Rubè in a profound state of shock and he starts to think that Celestina’s death is his fault. Falling victim to this interior melancholy, Rubè decides to return home to southern Italy, but on the way he gets shot in Rome during a political demonstration.

The first part of the trilogy takes place in Berlin in 1888 and is a parody of 19th-century literary realism. The main character, Joachim von Pasenow, balances his romantic attentions to a Czech prostitute named Ruzena (Rose) with devotion to his neighbor, Elisabeth von Baddensen, who is his social equal. While courting this demure and distant young lady, his secret liaison with Ruzena gives him emotional and sexual fulfillment. Overcome with doubt, he finds refuge in rationality, order and prejudice (represented by the theme of a military uniform), which lead him to a loveless marriage with Elisabeth.

The second part is staged in Cologne and Mannheim in 1903. The working class and the low bourgeoisie constitute the setting. Having left his promising career as an accountant and his old friends, including social democrat Geyring and the innkeeper Gertrud Hentjen, the bookkeeper August Esch starts a new life as a circus manager and starts to stage women’s fights. Since the circus production does not satisfy him, he decides to leave Germany for the United States and take Hentjen with him. Like Joachim in the first part, Esch feels insecure in the world of decaying old values (represented here by the values of business and middle-class life) and tries to find someone to blame: first his former superior, and then the unfeeling industrialist Bertrand (Eduard Bertrand from the first part), who not only exploits his employees but is a homosexual. Enraged, Esch decides to murder Bertrand but is unsuccessful. His dream of America is destroyed when his partner runs away with all his money. Esch finally marries Hentjen and moves to Luxemburg, where he gets an even more prestigious job as a bookkeeper.
Both Broch’s and Borgese’s characters are moved not only by an interior sense of oppression, but also a profound feeling of revolutionary reaction towards the apathy of their time, and they constantly seek concrete solutions to fight against the passiveness of their social structure. Each one tries to find new ways of life and they attribute existential value to specific elements, such as a military uniform, participation in war, the embracement of justice movements and even a superficial love affair. These symbolic associations can be found in the characterization of figures such as Broch’s Ruzena and Borgeses’s women in the collection entitled Le belle (1929), but also in two other masterpieces by Broch and Borgese: Die Schuldlosen (The Guiltless, 1950) and I vivi e i morti, 1923), in which the concept of “inverted guilt” is reminiscent of Kafka’s novel Der Prozeß (The Trial, 1925).

3. **Conclusions**

The two sections of this paper describe and characterize Hermann Broch and Giuseppe Antonio Borgese under a dual perspective, probing both the human and the professional sides of their very similar personalities. Both writers moved within a common historical and social context, that of late 19th and early 20th centuries, in which living conditions were strongly affected by dramatic events such as World War I, the Wall Street crash of 1929, and the birth of totalitarian dictatorships. The consequence of such events was a human sense of deep interior dissolution mirrored externally by the precarious lifestyle of the common people. Broch and Borgese reacted

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to this in two different ways: one in his private life, marked by male dominance within the family, the return to patriarchy, and the process of shaping women’s identities; the other in his professional life, i.e. in literature, proposing the linguistic process of metaphoric attribution and the connotation of value to ordinary everyday objects.

NOTE
This paper has been presented here in a short form. The original version is in German and was presented at the annual IAB congress at the University of Veszprem (Hungary) in 2006 (http://artsci.wustl.edu/~iab/symposien.htm). It was published in 2008 by Stauffenburg Verlag (http://www.stauffenburg.de/download/Neu_2008.pdf).
The political contribution of Giuseppe Antonio Borgese and Gaetano Salvemini to the ideological origin of the democratic project in Hermann Broch’s *The City of Man*.

Dr. Ester Saletta
Bergamo, Italy
The three main protagonists of the project

- Hermann Broch
- Gaetano Salvemini
- Giuseppe Antonio Borgese
Purposes of the project

- To enrich my previous comparative study on the “correspondence of amorous senses” between Broch and Borgese through the political and ideological influence of Gaetano Salvemini
- To promote an interdisciplinary study of political cooperation between German and Italian emigrants in the United States against European totalitarian systems, i.e. Nazism and Fascism, during and after World War II
- To focus on Borgese’s unclear political position towards Mussolini’s regime
- To underline the common aim of exiled intellectuals to support democracy, human rights and justice
- To complete the knowledge of *The City of Man* on an ideological level, i.e. to understand the intercultural influence of German and Italian refugees
Structure of the project

- **Dedication and thanks** to supporters and mentors
- **General introduction** = contents and methods/tools
- **First section** = *utopia* in its new theoretical meaning
- **Second section** = the German and Italian historical context before and after World War I and II in a comparative perspective
- **Third section** = Literary analysis as a *utopian text structure* of *The City of Man* (1940) [see: first section]
- **Fourth section** = Analysis of the influences of Salvemini and Borgese in Broch’s/Borgese’s *The City of Man*
- **Conclusions** = Wrap-up of the research results
Dedication and thanks to supporters and mentors

Dedications

The monograph and all of the research results of this project will be dedicated to:

- Hermann Broch’s daughter-in-law, Sachiko Broch de Rothermann, who also supported the project financially
- My parents, who supported me both emotionally and financially

Thanks

- To The Italian Academy, which sponsored the project
- To my four mentors: Prof. Paul Michael Lützeler (Washington University, St. Louis), Prof. Robert Dassanowsky (University of Colorado), Prof. Giuseppe Mazzotta (Yale University), Prof. Roberto Rizzo (University of Bologna)
### General introduction (A)

#### Contents

- **Description of the purposes** of the project according to my former works and Broch’s bibliography [see: slide 3]
- **Description of the project structure** [see: slide 4]

#### Methods/tools

- Use of *a synergic structure* based on the theoretical and practical analysis of the literary text, and the sociohistorical study of its context
- Use of *a comparative approach*, focusing on the Italian and German political thought of anti-totalitarian intellectuals such as the three figures studied by the project
- Use of Italian, German, English *printed bibliographies* (books, articles) and *unpublished material* [see: slide 7]
### General introduction

#### Tools (B)

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First section

- **Utopia** = philosophical redefinition and conceptual characterization of the term as a **concrete possible future project** in a specific temporal and political context vs. its **original nature** as solely the **literary product of an unreal vision** (reference to Plato’s, Kant’s, Bloch’s *utopia* as a “model”, “ideal”, “dystopia”)

- **Utopia** = short chronological history of the concept from the Greek classics (notably Plato and Aristotle) to the 20th century (Bloch, Mannheim) – **central break**

- **THOMAS MORE**

- **The City of Man** as a concrete literary example of the **NEW CONCEPT of UTOPIA**
## Second section

### Italian context

- **Sociohistorical and ideological context** of the birth and empowerment of **Fascism** in Italy as a cultural movement [see: Zee Sternhell and Piergiorgio Zunino]
- Characterization of Mussolini’s leadership and policy
- Intellectual debate against Fascism [see: texts by Borgese and Salvemini]

### German context

- **Sociohistorical and ideological context** of the birth and empowerment of **Nazism** in Austria/Germany [see: Silfen Paul Harrison]
- Characterization of Hitler’s leadership and policy
- Intellectual debate against Nazism [see: Hermann Broch’s *Hofmannsthal u. seine Zeit*, 1947-48; *Politische Schriften*, 1920-21]
Third section

- Text analysis of Hermann Broch’s/Giuseppe Antonio Borgese’s *The City of Man* (1940) and its practical concretization of a **democratic utopia** based on the essential role of the human being as the material creator of his own destiny in justice and peace.

- Special attention will be paid to the mixed influences of both countries, i.e. the study will underscore how Borgese’s Italian experience and Broch’s German one in a totalitarian era converged in the “real democratic utopia” project of *The City of Man*.
Conclusions

- This section is dedicated to a summary of all the results included in each chapter, making the entire work organic and logically consequential to the stated purposes of the project.
- General bibliography of printed texts as well as unpublished sources, i.e. the archival materials mentioned, quoted and used as subtext to the conception and final draft of the monograph.