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The Waizen Family and Young Leo Valiani in Fiume¹

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This paper analyses the integration of the Waizen family in Austro-Hungarian Fiume (Rijeka) and the political formation and national affiliation of young Leo Valiani until his first arrest in 1928. The local Jewish community and its position in the Fiuman multilingual context is still a relatively unresearched topic. Despite that, it seems that many Jews adopted the Italian national identity. Therefore, the Waizen family offers an interesting case study for an outline of the problem of Jewish integration into multilingual urban communities characterized by Italian speaking dominance. Additionally, through the family's social network mentioned by Valiani himself, the paper seeks to address the process by which Leo Waizen gradually became the Italian antifascist Valiani. The research is based on the documentation regarding Leo Valiani and his family that can be found in the State Archive of Rijeka.

Keywords: Leo Valiani, Leo Waizen/Weiczen, Fiume/Rijeka, Austria-Hungary, Jewish community, National identity.

¹ In the paper, I am referring to Leo Waizen/Weiczen as Valiani since he is better known with this name. For the other members of the family, I am using the form Waizen instead of Weiczen, as Waizen was chronologically the first form of their surname that the author traced in public documents, i.e. Clemente LOUVIER (compilata da), *Guida di Fiume*, Stabilimento Tipo-litografico Emidio Mohovich, Fiume, 1902, 140. The individual names are used in the Italian form, as they were registered as such by the authorities, however with this decision I am not implying any inherent national affiliation for the Waizens. A first draft of this article was presented at the International Conference “Da Leo Valiani a Leo Weiczen”, Rijeka, 29 September 2015. The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments that contributed to improving the paper.

Introduction

Leo Valiani (Fiume, 1909 - Milano, 1999) is mostly known as an Italian politician, historian and journalist, whose studies on Socialism and, above all, the Habsburg Empire, have been considered influential in Italy as well as abroad. Valiani's *La dissoluzione dell'Austria Ungheria*, first published in 1966, was defined as a masterful study on the breakup of the Monarchy, valued for the many sources used², from a cosmopolitan point of view³, and subsequently translated into English in 1973 as *The End of Austria Hungary*. Despite his interest in the Habsburg Monarchy, Valiani never wrote comprehensively about Fiume. He considered relevant mentioning recollections of his hometown only in the context of specific historical events.⁴ Additionally, Valiani was particularly discreet about his private life and his family.⁵ As a consequence, research regarding the Waizen family in Fiume is, to say the least, a tricky task. Undoubtedly, being born in the only Hungarian port, a territory detached from Croatia-Slavonia, where the language of the civic institutions was Italian, and being of Jewish parents who spoke mainly German, was a favourable circumstance for Valiani in order to understand first-hand the complexity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to become one day historian of the Dual Monarchy. In addition, his large family network, spread among various Central European and East European cities, in particular his well known socialist uncle, also contributed to the cultural and political formation of young Leo.⁶ In spite of this large multicultural environment and his description of Fiume as part of the Hungarian *Mittleuropa*, a type of Central Europe different from Austria, Valiani strongly emphasized the Italian ethnic character of the city.⁷ Moreover, as member of the Italian Constituent Assembly, Valiani voted against the Peace Treaty that ceded his hometown to Yugoslavia. Valiani's antifascist engagement, his shift from socialist sympathies to communist militancy, and subsequently his involvement in the non-communist Italian

2 William A. JENKS (book review), "La dissoluzione dell'Austria Ungheria". By Leo Valiani, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, July (1967), 1434-1435; Bernard MICHEL, "Le démembrement de l'Autriche-Hongrie", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 25e Année, No. 6, Novembre-Décembre (1970), 1625-1626; and Gale STOKES (book review), "The End of Austria-Hungary. By Leo Valiani and America, Italy and the birth of Yugoslavia (1917-1919). By Dragan Živojinović", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 33, No.3, September (1974), 592-593.

3 Angelo ARA (book review), "Leo Valiani, La dissoluzione dell'Austria Ungheria", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 26, No. 3, September (1967), 488-489.

4 Angelo ARA, "Leo Valiani, uomo e storico della Mittleuropa", in *Fra Nazione e Impero. Trieste, gli Asburgo, la Mittleuropa*, Milano: Garzanti, 2009a, 554.

5 Andrea RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani. Gli anni della formazione. Tra socialismo, comunismo e rivoluzione democratica*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007, 36.

6 Wilhelm Ippen, Valiani's uncle on his mother's side, member of the socialist party, lived in Czernowitz, Bukovina, present day Ukraine, while an unnamed relative from the Herzl's side, a physician, lived in Budapest. Though different addresses given to the police by Valiani, quoted by Ricciardi, resulted false, it is still reasonable to believe that many family members lived in territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. A. RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 37; 39-40; 145-146 and 153-154.

7 Leo VALIANI, "Prefazione", in *In cattività babilonese. Avventure e disavventure in tempo di guerra di un giovane giuliano ebreo e fiumano per giunta*, Paolo SANTARCANGELI (ed.), Vago di Lavagno: Del Bianco Editore, 1987, 10-11.

left-oriented movement *Giustizia e Libertà*⁸ and *Partito d'Azione*, his being one of the main figures of the Italian Resistance, are perhaps the best known aspects of his political biography.⁹ Although Valiani's path towards an Italian political and national affiliation, as Ricciardi showed, was not an obvious decision¹⁰, the role of Fiume in forming his national affiliation and political figure is still open for discussion. Therefore, the starting point of this essay will be setting the Waizen family in the context of the late XIX and the early XX century Fiume. Leo Valiani's life will be followed until 1928, the year of his first arrest and the consecutive internments by fascist authorities, as afterwards his social life was primarily influenced by political militancy.¹¹

The Waizens in Fiume

The modest trader Oser Wolf, or Adolfo, Waizen, born in 1874 in Jánosd, Transylvania, today Ianoșda (Romania), arrived in Fiume in 1891. Though born in Jánosd, Adolfo was legally domiciled in Nagyberezná (today Velykyi Bereznui, Великий Березний, Ukraine), at that time a small town in the North of the Kingdom of Hungary, bordering with Galicia, a province of the Austrian half of the Monarchy.¹² Upon his arrival in Fiume, Adolfo was aided by other members of the Waizen family who also reached the Adriatic coast seeking potential earnings from trade business. As a result, by 1892, a Waizen brothers firm was registered in Fiume, and the owners were Jacques and Samuele Waizen, brothers of Adolfo.¹³ The firm traded with flour and spirits, while Jacques (Jača) additionally registered a firm in Sušak that dealt in liqueurs, which went bankrupt in 1898.¹⁴ However, thanks to the family support, Adolfo settled in Fiume, and in 1906 registered his own company, which mainly dealt with trading flour.¹⁵ The connection between flour and Fiume was not accidental, as in this period flour was one of the two main goods exported from Hungary through the small port-city.¹⁶ More important was the presence of a network to rely on. As shown by Anna Millo in her study on the Jewish Vivante family in Trieste, also for the Waizens, traders

8 On this, see the articles by G. FRANZINETTI and M. BRESCIANI published on this special issue of the *West Croatian History Journal*.

9 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 7-32.

10 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 55-79.

11 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 113-130.

12 Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (further: DARI)-22, *Magistrato Civico di Fiume*, L25/1920, Domanda di Adolfo Weitzen per l'accettazione nel nesso comunale.

13 Clemente LOUVIER (ed.), *Guida di Fiume*, Stabilimento Tipo-litografico Emidio Mohovich, Fiume, 1902, 140. Jacques was domiciled in Fiume, Samuele in Budapest. We do not have further information on Jacques. The names of Samuele's parents match with those of Adolfo: Mose and Rebecca, born Jakobovich. DARI-536, *Anagrafska zbirka*, Scheda personale, Popolazione precaria, Weitzen Samuele.

14 Irvin LUKEŽIĆ, "Židovi na Sušaku", *Sušačka revija*, broj 26/27 (1999), 113.

15 DARI-179, *Camera di industria e commercio*, Libro 53, Registro delle ditte protocollate presso il R. Tribunale dal 1876-1921, Lettera W, 43.

16 *Povijest Rijeke*, Danilo KLEN (ed.), Rijeka: Skupština Općine Rijeka, 1988, 243.

of modest origins, the family network¹⁷ had a crucial role in establishing a successful business. Especially in a new environment, family and community ties were fundamental networks for a trader.¹⁸

Leo's mother, Margherita Geller, born in Brčko, Bosnia and Herzegovina, also part of the Habsburg Empire, joined her husband in Fiume in 1906. Shortly after, the family was enlarged by the birth of their first child Selma in 1907, followed by Leo in 1909, and Clara, born in Budapest in 1914. Leo's grandfather was a Bank director¹⁹ and the Ippen family, relatives on the mother's side, were wealthy traders.²⁰ This suggests the possibility that their marriage was, to some extent, a strategy for business advancement.²¹

The Waizen family, like other families of traders, settled permanently in Fiume at the end of the XIX century, when the city was still a *corpus separatum* of the Kingdom of Hungary. According to the census data, between 1890 and 1910, an increase in the population from 29.494 to 49.806 individuals had been registered. These numbers, without taking into consideration the nearby development of Sušak, confirm the strong demographic growth the city was experiencing due to immigration.²² According to the Hungarian census, which collected data on the residents' mother tongue²³, in 1910 almost half of the population had Italian as their mother tongue; one fourth spoke Croatian, while the Hungarian-speaking community rose to form 13% of the population.²⁴ Italian was the dominant language in the public sphere, and its position in the local government was not challenged by the Hungarian authorities until 1896, a year which is generally considered a landmark in the relationship between Budapest and the local élite by the local historians. The rise of the Autonomist movement in Fiume, produced primarily by the new politics of centralization of the prime minister Bánffy, (rein)forced the national tensions between groups. However, in terms of substantial changes, until the outbreak of the First World War, the Italian language maintained its privileged status in local administration and society.²⁵

17 A social network is a network of ties between an individual or individuals, not necessarily knowing each other, that interact or could interact. See Fortunata PISELLI, "Reti sociali e comunicative" in ID, *Reti. L'analisi di network nelle scienze sociali*, Roma: Donzelli editore, 1995, XIII.

18 Anna MILLO, *Storia di una borghesia. La famiglia Vivante a Trieste dall'emporio alla guerra mondiale*, Libreria Editrice Goriziana, 1998, 28 and 30. The noticeable difference between Trieste and Fiume is the period when the economic development occurred. Consequently, Waizen's enterprise took place almost a century after that of the Vivante family.

19 "Leo Valiani", in Stefano JESURUM, *Essere ebrei in Italia*, Milano: Longanesi, 1987, 40.

20 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 40.

21 MILLO, *Storia di una borghesia*, 32-42.

22 *Povijest Rijeke*, 233.

23 On the use of the term, which had a much broader sense, see Pieter M. JUDSON, *The Habsburg Empire*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Belknap Press, 2016, 309-310.

24 For the distribution of population per mother tongue in 1910, see "1. A fontosabb demografiai adatok községenként," category: Anyanyelv for Fiume város és kerülete, in *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910 évi Népszámlálása*, 42 kötet, Budapest, 1912, 459.

25 The best accounts on that period are two still unpublished PhD thesis: Ljubinka KARPOWICZ, "Riječki corpus separatum 1868-1924", PhD thesis, Univerza Edvarda Kardelja u Ljubljani, Fakulteta za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo, Ljubljana, 1986, and William, KLINGER, "Negotiating the Nation. Fiume: From Autonomism to State Making (1848-1924)", PhD thesis, European University Institute, Department of History and Civilizations, Fiesole, 2007.

The Jewish community, estimated exclusively by religious affiliation, also increased consistently during the last fifty years of Hungarian rule. According to the census of 1890, there were 489 Jews in Fiume, and in 1910 the number increased to 1,696. This represents a huge increase, as in 1880 there were only 89 Jews in town.²⁶ In 1890, 54.19% of individuals of Mosaic faith declared Hungarian as their mother tongue, 20,65% German, 19,42% Italian and/or other languages, and 4,7% Croatian.²⁷ In 1900, the number of Jews whose mother tongue was Hungarian reached approximately 63%²⁸, stabilizing to 62% ten years later.²⁹ Hence, the statistics suggest that the Jewish population was for the most part integrated into the Hungarian speaking community. Therefore, the Jewish population adopted partially or entirely the cultural patterns and values of the Hungarians.³⁰ As Rina Brumini recently observed, we lack a study on the cultural dynamics of the Fiume Jewish population during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and, without doubt, one of the main drawbacks is the absence of the community archive, which was destroyed during the Second World War.³¹ The few remaining studies on the Jews in Fiume are concentrated on the community during the two World wars, on the implementation of the Racial laws, and on the tragedy of the Holocaust.³² Certainly the observations of Paolo Santarcangeli³³, born Pál Schweitzer and, like Valiani, a Fiuman of Jewish origins, are worth quoting:

26 For the number of Jews in Fiume from 1869 to 1890, see "6. A jelenlévő népesség hitfelekezete szerint 1869-től 1890-ig. - Popolazione presente secondo religioni, dal 1869 al 1890.", in *Statisztikai adatok. Fiume városáról és forgalmáról / Dati statistici relativi alla città di Fiume ed al suo movimento commerciale e marittimo*, Az Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársulat könyvnyomdája, Budapest, 1901, 4. For their number in 1910, see *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910 évi Népszámlálása*, 61 kötet, Budapest, 1916, 165.

27 *Statisztikai adatok. Fiume városáról és forgalmáról*, 4. The other languages in the list were Slovak, Romanian, Ruthenian, and Serbian, which all together reached 1%. Italian was specified separately, however the Italian language data was merged with others, i.e. the remaining unmentioned languages. However, the quoted data, due to the specific conditions of Fiume, represents mostly, if not exclusively, the Italian speakers. Italian was not mentioned as a category in the classification of the population by religion in the two following publications.

28 *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1900. évi, Népszámlálása*, 42 Kötet, Budapest, 1907, 236; 355; 359; 375 and 383. In total there were 737 Jews of Hungarian mother tongue from 1172 people of Mosaic faith in Fiume. The distribution of the other languages was the following German 271 (23,12%), Others (9,64%) and Croatian (3,24%). For the lacking percentage and the meaning of other languages see the above footnote.

29 *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910 évi Népszámlálása*, 61 kötet, Budapest, 1916, 165; 249; 253; 269 and 277. In 1910 there were 1045 Jews of Hungarian mother tongue, while the total number of the population of Mosaic faith in 1910 was 1.696. The distribution of the other languages was the following: German 375 (22,11%), Others 197 (11,61%) and Croatian (4,54%). For the explanation of the categories see footnote 29.

30 On the integration of the Hungarian Jews, and the definition of the term, see András KOVÁCS, "Jewish Assimilation and Jewish Politics in Modern Hungary", in *Jewish Studies at the Central European University*, Vol. 1 (1996-1999), available online (http://web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pdf/01_kovacs.pdf, last visited on 18.10.2016).

31 Rina BRUMINI, *La comunità ebraica di Fiume*, Trieste: La Mongolfiera, 2015, 40 and 46.

32 Teodoro MORGANI, *Ebrei di Fiume e Abbazia (1441-1945)*, Roma: Carucci editore, 1979; Silvia BON, *Le comunità ebraiche della provincia italiana del Carnaro: Fiume e Abbazia, 1924-1945*, Roma: Società di Studi Fiumani, 2004; Federico FALK, *Le comunità israelitiche di Fiume e Abbazia tra le due guerre mondiali: gli ebrei residenti nella provincia del Carnaro negli anni 1915-1945*, Roma: Litos, 2012 also available online: <http://www.bh.org.il/jewish-spotlight/fiume/> (last accessed on November 16, 2016); Sanja SIMPER, *Od emancipacije do holokausta: Židovi u Rijeci i Opatiji, 1867-1945*, Rijeka: Muzej grada Rijeka, 2013.

33 On Santarcangeli see Ornella D'ORAZIO, "Paolo Santarcangeli", *Fiume*, Anno XX, N.1, gennaio-giugno (2000), 122-126 and Martina SANKOVIĆ, "Le immagini perdute dello scrittore fiumano Paolo Santarcangeli (1909-1995)", Tesi di laurea triennale in discipline letterarie, archeologiche e storico-artistiche, Dipartimento di Studi umanistici, Università degli Studi di Trieste, 2014.

*Many of our Jews - who were married to Catholic women, perhaps converted from youth or even born as Catholics and, what counts more, completely «fumanized» and some of them, woe to us, fascists «of the first hour» – had forgotten or almost forgotten, that they were so (I want to say «Jews» and not fascists).*³⁴

In Santarcangeli's narration, again a description of the Interwar period and not of the Austro-Hungarian era, the only existing distinction was between the "fumanized" and the orthodox Jews.³⁵ While there is no distinction between assimilated and integrated Jews, that is between the converted and those who preserved some features of religious and/or ethnic Jewish identity³⁶, it seems clear that the majority of the Jewish community adopted the dominant "Fiuman ways". Comparing Santarcangeli's description and the statistics about the use of the mother tongue in 1890, 1900 and 1910, it seems obvious that in Fiume there were two main cultural-linguistic integration processes available for the Jewish population: the Italian and the Hungarian. Significantly, the two were not necessarily in opposition to one another, since the affiliation with the Italian language and culture was not an indication of irredentist attitudes per se.³⁷ The ruling Autonomist party, whose founder was Michele Maylender, son of a Hungarian Jew converted to Catholicism, was grounded on the defense of the Italianness of the municipality (*Comune*), but was not hostile to Fiume belonging to Hungary or rather to the Kingdom of Saint Stephen.³⁸ As for the Jewish population whose mother tongue was German, their language statement could result from the difficulties to express Yiddish as a spoken language, a category not listed in the census, which did not offer any possibility for a statement on the affiliation with that culture and language. Again, this was an affiliation not inherently adverse to the Hungarian State. However, as Catherine Horel indicates, since the Jews were a minority, they did not want to join another declassified group.³⁹ Consequently, they did not become part of the Croatian community in Fiume, but would have done so if they had settled in Sušak, the Croatian centre adjacent to Fiume.⁴⁰ The Jews became part of the society that allowed them integration, and in Fiume

34 "Molti dei nostri ebrei – sposatisi a donne cattoliche, magari convertiti dall'infanzia o addirittura natii cattolici e, ciò che più conta, completamente «fumanizzati» e alcuni di loro, ahinoi, fascisti «della prima ora» – avevano dimenticato o quasi di essere tali (voglio dire «ebrei» e non «fascisti»).” in P. SANTARCANGELI, *Il porto dell'aquila decapitata*, Udine: Del Bianco editore, 1987, 92.

35 See also the description of the orthodox Jews by the same author Ibid, 87-89.

36 For a discussion on Jewish identity, see Barbara ARMANI, "L'identità sfidata: gli ebrei fuori dal ghetto", *Storica*, n. 15 (1999), 69-104.

37 In 1896, the Hungarians were still encouraged by an official publication to take part in the Italian *Circolo letterario*, and Hungarians were members of different Italian cultural associations. See Ilona FRIED, *Fiume città della memoria*, Udine: Del Bianco editore, 2005, 144-148.

38 William KLINGER, "Dall'autonomismo alla costituzione dello Stato: Fiume 1848-1918", in *Forme del politico. Studi di storia per Raffaele Romanelli*, Emmanuel BETTA, Daniela Luigia CAGLIOTI e Elena PAPADIA (eds.), Roma: Viella, 2012, 45-60.

39 In particular see Catherine HOREL, "Jewish Associations in the Multicultural Cities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy around 1900", *Colloquia. Journal for Central European History*, XVIII (2011), 94-95.

40 LUKEŽIĆ, "Židovi na Sušaku", 109-129.

the choice was easier, since the two ruling groups, the Italian at the local level, and the Hungarian at the State level, were not intrinsically rivals, though approaching the World War the leaders of the national groups⁴¹ sought to increase the awareness of the need to embrace an exclusive cultural-linguistic affiliation. The Jewish population developed, as Rozenblit's study reveals for Cisleithania, a tripartite identity: politically loyal to the State, affiliated with the major culture of the region they were living in, and still preserving a sense of Jewish ethnicity.⁴²

By way of the short description Leo Valiani gave of his father, we can definitely include Adolfo Waizen in this framework: "My father, apolitical but enthusiastic for the Russian liberal revolution of March, was terrified of the Bolshevik revolution, which was linked to the destruction of order, religion and family."⁴³ He also stated: "My father – without being interested in politics - always voted for Zanella."⁴⁴ These few lines indicate that Adolfo was respectful of the order that we can link to the Hungarian state; he was a voter of the Autonomist party and thereby lined up with the dominant Italian culture in Fiume; and finally, he was bound to Jewish values in the spheres of family and religion. Adolfo's request for Fiuman domicile, written evidently with the aim of pleasing the local authorities, attests to how he felt like part of the dominant majority or at least pretended to: "I have never done politics against the national interests of the free city of Fiume, and now I am sincerely devoted to its rightful aspirations."⁴⁵ Furthermore, the fact that Leo Valiani mentions that he had learned Italian from his father confirms the integration of Adolfo with the local community.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, other sources, such as the Register of Population from 1890, do not provide more detailed information on the connection of the family with the local society. The Waizens were included in the Register only after the First World War, when they were granted, at Adolfo's request, the legal domicile (*pertinenza*) to the city of Fiume.⁴⁷ Therefore, from the time of their first settlement in Fiume to 1920, the Waizens were part of the large group of "foreigners", i.e. people who lived in the territory of the *corpus separatum* but did not possess rights guaranteed to those who were considered members of

41 For the definition of the term, see Benedict ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities*, London-New York: Verso, 2006, 5-7.

42 Marsha L. ROZENBLIT, "The Jews of Austria-Hungary on the Eve of World War I", in ID., *Reconstructing a National Identity: the Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, 14-38.

43 "Mio padre, apolitico ma entusiasta della rivoluzione liberale russa del marzo, era terrificato da quella bolscevica, che veniva associata alla distruzione dell'ordine, della religione, della famiglia." in L. VALIANI, "Riflessioni vissute su due rivoluzioni", *Nuova Antologia*, fascicolo 2170, Firenze, aprile-giugno (1989), 84.

44 "Mio padre - senza occuparsi di politica - votava da sempre per Zanella." in L. VALIANI, *Prefazione*, in P. SANTARCANGELI, *In cattività babilonese*, 10.

45 "Non feci mai politica contraria agli interessi nazionali della libera città di Fiume, ed ora sono sinceramente devoto alle sue giuste aspirazioni" in DARI-22, *Magistrato Civico di Fiume*, L25/1920, Domanda di Adolfo Weiczen per l'accettazione nel nesso comunale.

46 "Leo Valiani", in JESURUM, *Essere ebrei in Italia*, 40.

47 DARI-536, *Anagrafska zbirka*, Registro di popolazione del 1890, Libro T-Z, Waizen Adolfo e famiglia.

the Fiume municipality.⁴⁸ In Waizen's specific case, their exclusion from the benefits of poor relief reserved to the domestic population was probably not a major problem. However, the exclusion of the head of the family from the right to vote in the administrative elections could have negatively influenced their attachment to Fiume's institutions. Yet, as I quoted before, and as Valiani repeated in another interview, Adolfo had voted for the party of Zanella even before 1914.⁴⁹ From other interviews given by Valiani, Adolfo was not politically active, nevertheless he had expressed preferences for the autonomists.⁵⁰

Despite these contradictions, Adolfo surely knew people who were involved in the political life of Fiume, such as Mario Blasich⁵¹ and Ignazio Kriegar. On his relationship with Fiume's renowned autonomist physician we do not possess any other information other than Blasich was a good friend of his father and Valiani himself made his acquaintance.⁵² On the other hand, on the relationship between Waizen and Kriegar we know something more, thanks to an episode that greatly influenced young Leo. Ignazio Kriegar⁵³, also of Jewish origins like Adolfo, was a dried fruit trader, member of the Association of traders, and deputy in the 1914 Civic council in the ranks of the Autonomist party.⁵⁴ When the Treaty of Rapallo established the Free State of Fiume, Kriegar was among the candidates of the Autonomists for the Constituent assembly and was elected deputy in the April 1921 elections.⁵⁵ According to Valiani, in this election both of his parents cast their ballots, as Adolfo was now domiciled in Fiume and the right to vote had by now been extended to both sexes, enabling Margherita to vote for the first time. They both expressed their preference for Kriegar.⁵⁶ Yet, the main recollection concerning Kriegar, mentioned by Valiani in several other interviews, was his rescue after the Italian nationalist and fascist *coup d'état* in 1922. Kriegar remained hidden in Waizen's house for several weeks and this event contributed, as Valiani would specify in later interviews, to his antifascism.⁵⁷ Besides these remarks, which testify the existence of a bond between Adolfo

and members of the Autonomist movement, whose roots can be found in the same social background of the Waizens, since the Autonomist movement origins are traced among discontented traders⁵⁸, it is difficult to express any more considerations on the level of integration of the Waizen family in the local society. Adolfo's early death in Zagreb in 1924⁵⁹ does not facilitate further considerations on other existing connections.

In any event, at least after their 1919 return from Budapest, where they had resided during the First World War⁶⁰, the Waizens were settled in the building in via Pomerio 9, where other two families of traders of Jewish origins lived: the Reichs and the Schönbaums.⁶¹ Zeisler Guglielmina, daughter of Adolfo's brother Samuele, also lived at the same address.⁶² Relating to that branch of the family, and regarding the question of integration and Italianness, it is worth mentioning the case of Zeisler's daughter, Caterina. Caterina Zeisler, slightly younger than Leo, was able to obtain back her Italian citizenship, lost after the promulgation of the Racial laws, because of her patriotic feelings and enrolment in fascist organisations since her youth.⁶³

Via Pomerio was populated by other Jews, since the Synagogue of the reformed Jewish community was placed there. We can thus deduce that the Waizens were part of a social network based on a group trust determined by common Jewish origins.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in the case of the Waizen family, community and business easily overlapped; Adolfo Waizen worked with his brothers, had an endogamous marriage, lived in a mainly Jewish neighbourhood, and maintained relations with the local Jewish community.⁶⁵ Neither is it incidental that one of the two political figures mentioned by Valiani is Kriegar, someone who shared the same professional and ethno-religious origins as his father. Therefore, the Waizens had not just occasional connections with the Jewish community, but were part of a tight and to a certain degree multistranded network of people who knew each other and shared various interests and/or concerns.⁶⁶ In fact, both the family network and the Jewish network were instrumental to a successful business in Fiume.

48 "Capitolo III, Degli abitanti", in *Statuto della Libera città di Fiume e del suo distretto e Regolamenti per la rappresentanza e delegazione municipale di Fiume*, Fiume: Tipografia Battara, 1908, 4-9.

49 Amleto BALLARINI, "Intervista con Leo Valiani", *Fiume*, Anno X, numero 20 (1990), 5.

50 Leo VALIANI, *Sessant'anni di avventure e battaglie*, Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1983, 15-16 and "Leo Valiani", in Lucifero MARTINI, *Parlano i protagonisti. Memorie e documenti raccolti per una storia di Fiume nella lotta popolare di liberazione fino al 1943. Il "Battaglione Fiumano" e il "Battaglione Garibaldi"*, Monografie V, Rovigno: Centro di Ricerche storiche-Rovigno, Unione degli Italiani dell'Istria e di Fiume, 1976, 165.

51 "Blasich Mario", in Salvatore SAMANI, *Dizionario biografico fiumano*, Venezia: Istituto tipografico editoriale, 1975, 38-40.

52 BALLARINI, "Intervista con Leo Valiani", 13.

53 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, A8 -Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Kriegar Ignazio.

54 "Alla vigilia delle elezioni", *La Bilancia*, Fiume, 26 febbraio (1914), 2.

55 Danilo L. MASSAGRANDE, "I governi di Fiume indipendente 1918-1924", *Fiume*, Anno XII, numero 5 (2002), 24-25.

56 Wrongly remembered by Valiani as Kriegel in AA.VV., *L'autonomia fiumana e la figura di Riccardo Zanella*, Roma: Collana di Studi Storici Fiumani, 1997, 8-9.

57 VALIANI, "Io ragazzo nella Fiume di D'Annunzio", *Nuova Antologia*, Fascicolo 2185, Firenze, gennaio-marzo (1993), 76.

58 Ljubinka TOŠEVA-KARPOWICZ, "Ekonomska uvjetovanost autonomnog pokreta Rijeke (1890-1903)", *Dometi*, broj 1 (1993), 40-41.

59 Adolfo Waizen obituary notice, in *La Vedetta d'Italia*, Fiume, 8 October (1924), 4.

60 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 37-42.

61 See on FALK's website the families of Alessandro Reich and Guglielmo Schönbaum http://www.bh.org.il/jewish-spotlight/fiume/?page_id=499 (last accessed on November 16, 2016).

62 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria S-Stranieri, Fascicolo personale di Weitzen Guglielima.

63 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria A1-Informazioni, Fascicolo personale di Zeisler Caterina, Il Prefetto per la Provincia del Carnaro, N. 18139/I, Decreto di annullamento della revoca della cittadinanza italiana, Fiume, 22 novembre 1940. On the Racial laws see the masterly study of Sarfatti. Michele SARFATTI, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista*, Torino: Einaudi, 2007.

64 Tullia CATALAN, "Eugenio Colorni e l'ambiente ebraico triestino negli anni Trenta", in *Eugenio Colorni e la cultura italiana fra le due guerre*, Geri CERCHIAI e Giovanni ROTA (eds.), Bari, Roma: Piero Lacaita Editore, 2001, 77.

65 In the memory of his deceased father, Adolfo Waizen donated a sum to the local Chevra kadisha which is an example of persisting bonds with the community. "Elargizioni", *La Bilancia*, 16 January (1913), 2.

66 Claude S. FISCHER, "La struttura delle relazioni e delle reti", in PISELLI, *Reti*, 89-118.

There was a third form of network, a more specifically economic one, as Millo argues, whose function was exclusively focused on achieving financial benefits.⁶⁷

This type of network, operating above community bonds, surely important for the economic activity of a trader, cannot be easily detected by the sources used for this article. Certainly, Adolfo Waizen must have learned to use various connections, since in 1911 he was elected in the list of employers as a delegate to the local District Workers' Insurance Company.⁶⁸ In spite of lack of data, all elements point to the capacity of Adolfo Waizen to establish profitable social and political connections for his economic activity.

We possess scarce information on Leo's mother, Margherita Geller, and her mother, Caterina Herzl. Caterina, second grade cousin of the founder of Zionism Theodor Herzl, was born in Zemun (then Hungarian part of the Monarchy, today periphery of Belgrade), but declared to be legally domiciled in Czernowitz (then Austrian part of the Monarchy, in the interwar period part of Romania, afterwards Ukraine). She lived in Fiume with the Waizens from 1925 on, and died there in 1944. After the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Caterina obtained Romanian citizenship, which she subsequently lost due to her absence from Romania.⁶⁹ Margherita Geller instead, like young Leo, held Hungarian citizenship.⁷⁰ However, the differing citizenships do not provide any evidence or indication of their national convictions. More stimulating is to note the different languages used by the three generations: Leo Valiani spoke German with his grandmother Caterina, and Hungarian with his mother⁷¹, while the main language of communication with his sisters was Italian.⁷² Still, in the context of identity transformations, the alteration of the surname carried out by the younger generations assumes greater significance.

After the 1924 annexation of Fiume by the Italian Kingdom, Leo, Selma and Clara did not automatically obtain Italian citizenship. While Leo opted for Hungarian citizenship⁷³, Selma and Clara decided to become Italian citizens, respectively in 1927 and in 1934. Their Italian citizenship was revoked

67 MILLO, *Storia di una borghesia*, 28-30.

68 DARI-52, *Magistrato Civico*, Sezione di Pubblica Sicurezza, Year 1911, Box 86, Lista dei candidati proposti quali delegati dei datori di lavoro presso la Cassa distrettuale per l'assicurazione degli operai. For this institution, see Susan ZIMMERMANN, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*, Budapest-New York: CEU Press, 2011, 96-115.

69 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria S-Stranieri, Fascicolo personale di Herzl Caterina, Consulat Royal de Roumanie, Fiume, N°49. Fiume, 15 luglio 1941. Lettera al Questore del Console di Romania.

70 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria S-Stranieri, Fascicolo personale di Geller Margherita, Soggiorno degli stranieri in Italia, N° 944, Fiume, 19 agosto 1931.

71 "Leo Valiani", in JESURUM, *Essere ebrei in Italia*, 40.

72 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria A8 - Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Weizen Leo, the letter written to Selma from Mexico in 1942 is in Italian. It is interesting to note that Valiani in 1928 wrote a letter to his mother in Hungarian, but, as time passed, he started to write her in Italian RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 94 and 247-248.

73 Valiani applied for Hungarian citizenship after his first arrest, also to avoid internment. He obtained it in 1929. RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 106 and 115.

after the promulgation of the Racial laws in 1938.⁷⁴ It is important to note that both had chosen to Italianize their surname; Selma was the first Waizen who requested from the authorities to become Valiani. This happened in April 1930, and one year later the Prefetto granted her the surname change.⁷⁵ Their sister Clara made the same request only in May 1937.⁷⁶ It should be pointed out that Clara's decision was probably more influenced by the atmosphere of anti-Semitism present in Italy in that period, rather than a strong identity decision, since she had criticized Selma for the surname modification.⁷⁷ Leo himself accepted the Italianization, using the surname in the well known form of Valiani only from February 1944.⁷⁸

The modification of the surname was the last symbolic step in the Italianization of the family. Its genuineness, due to the period of fascist persecutions, may be questionable, and therefore it is important to recall that they all decided to maintain the form Valiani after the Second World War. This might also have been due to practical linguistic considerations, but it testifies nonetheless a clear intention of committing to an identity shift. This shift was a process starting gradually with the settlement of the Waizens in Fiume, but was not totally irreversible. In fact, the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the inclusion of Fiume in the Italian nation-state cut off other possible identity scenarios, which is even more evident in Valiani's case.

Young Leo National and Ethnic Affiliation(s)

In an interview given in 1987, Valiani stated that since his childhood he had seen anti-Semitism in Fiume, though he had never been personally persecuted. Anti-Semitism, in Valiani's testimony "was not a prerogative of Italians, but of Croats, Austro-Germans, Hungarians."⁷⁹ This strong assertion, however, contradicts the interviews Valiani gave in the Nineties to Ilona Fried, in which he describes Fiume as not politicized, where religion did not have a crucial role.⁸⁰ Returning to the first interview, Valiani indicated that Jewish identity was something he was always aware of, and that being of Jewish origins undoubtedly made it easier for him to become left-oriented. He goes so far as to stress that Jewish tendency towards democracy is also partially the result of values present in the Old Testament, which suggest a prominent role

74 DARI-536, *Anagrafska zbirka*, Schede personali di Weiczen Clara e Weizen Selma.

75 DARI-8, *Prefettura di Fiume*, 1-2-2/1, Modifica di cognome, 1930, Waizen Selma.

76 DARI-8, *Prefettura di Fiume*, 1-2-2/1, Modifica di cognome, 1937, Weiczen Chiara.

77 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 34-35.

78 Ibid, 34.

79 "Non era una prerogativa degli italiani, bensì dei croati, degli austro-tedeschi, degli ungheresi." in JESURUM, *Essere ebrei in Italia*, 41.

80 Ilona FRIED, "Oltre Fiume: formatore e ricercatore di storia: Leo Valiani. Colloqui milanesi 1993-1995/1997-1999", in ID., *Fiume città della memoria*, 355-367.

of Jewish culture in his political formation.⁸¹

The material in the State Archive of Rijeka does not provide any information on Leo Valiani's personal considerations and inner thoughts, since documentation concerning him is limited to two police files regarding the period after 1928.⁸² However, the analysis of Valiani's social network provides insight into his contacts with the Jewish community. The young Valiani was surely surrounded by people of Jewish origins, as he lived in via Pomerio with his parents. Moreover, there are some figures Valiani decided to mention that can help to understand the features of his Jewish network. Valiani knew Santarcangeli from high school, attended classes with Giovanni Friedmann, and most probably had some connections with Aurelio Schwarzenberg during his first trial for anti-fascist activism. These three figures are linked by their Jewish origins, Hungarian roots, Italian national loyalty and by a common degree in law, but they had very different political stances, in particular concerning fascism. Giovanni (Hans) Friedmann was son of Davide, a renowned physician and for many years president of the local Jewish community. Giovanni was a staunch fascist who committed suicide in June 1940 to avoid arrest along with three hundred other men of "Jewish race".⁸³ Valiani did not consider Giovanni as a friend, and yet, when recounting young Friedman's suicide, he decided to mention him as his school companion.⁸⁴ Paolo Santarcangeli and Valiani were friends from high school and shared common antifascist values, and though not politically active, Santarcangeli was, according to Valiani, "instinctively antifascist".⁸⁵ The life of Santarcangeli in Fiume also reveals a high level of integration with the Italian local society, reinforced after his decision to leave for Italy after the Second World War. Santarcangeli became professor of Hungarian language and literature, but published mainly in the Italian language, keeping the Italian version of his name and surname.⁸⁶ Valiani's recollections of Aurelio Schwarzenberg offer further stimulating hints on his Jewish network. According to Valiani, after his first arrest, the lawyer Iti Bacci advised Valiani's mother to talk to Aurelio Schwarzenberg who then defended him.⁸⁷ Yet, according to Ricciardi, in the official documents there are no traces of Schwarzenberg defending Valiani.⁸⁸ Thus, the events might have happened the other way round, with Schwarzenberg advising Margherita Geller to talk to Bacci. In any event, Schwarzenberg's national affiliation is quite crystal: he was a volunteer Fiuman legionary during Gabriele D'Annunzio presence in

81 "Leo Valiani", in JESURUM, *Essere ebrei in Italia*, 43.

82 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria A8 - Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Weicen Leo and Categoria S - Stranieri, Fascicolo personale di Weiczen Leo.

83 For Giovanni Friedmann see on FALK's website the family of Friedmann Davide http://www.bh.org.il/jewish-spotlight/fiume/?page_id=469 (last accessed on November 16, 2016). The episode is remembered also by SANTARCANGELI, *Il porto dell'aquila decapitata*, 91

84 VALIANI, "Prefazione", in SANTARCANGELI, *In cattività babilonese*, 15.

85 VALIANI, "Prefazione", in SANTARCANGELI, *In cattività babilonese*, 9-10.

86 D'ORAZIO, "Paolo Santarcangeli", 122-126.

87 BALLARINI, "Intervista con Leo Valiani", 13.

88 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 84.

the city, while his Jewishness is more questionable, since he had been baptised already in 1917.⁸⁹ Even so, the contacts with Schwarzenberg confirm that in case of need Margherita Geller relied on a network that was based on shared Jewish origins.⁹⁰ A further confirmation of the importance of this network, combined with family bonds, might come from finding information on Valiani's first employment. It cannot be more than a mere hypothesis, since it is almost impossible to confirm, but there could be a certain link between Valiani's job at the *Banca mobiliare* and Margherita's father position as director in an Austrian bank in Bosnia.⁹¹

Beside these occasionally mentioned figures already offering an indication of Valiani's and his family's connections with a Jewish network, two of Valiani's bank colleagues should be mentioned: Tiberio Weimann and Emilio Braun. Tiberio Weimann was classified as a suspect in the police archive⁹² and left Fiume in 1931.⁹³ His Jewish origins are confirmed by his son's book dedication.⁹⁴ According to Ricciardi, the two resumed contact after the end of the Second World War.⁹⁵

For Valiani it seems that his friendship with the other working colleague Emilio Braun, son of Adolfo Aronne, rabbi and secretary of the Fiuman Jewish community, was more important.⁹⁶ Emilio was arrested for illegal detention of an unregistered weapon in Vercelli in March 1928. On that occasion, according to the police of Vercelli, Emilio declared that he professed antinational ideas and his feelings were adverse to the fascist regime.⁹⁷ Additionally, the search of his family residence in Fiume, following Valiani's arrest also in 1928, revealed that Braun had two books considered subversive by the police and marked in the following way by the Italian officers:

1) *Libro sovversivo intitolato: "Natura e Società" di Francesco Oppenheimer "La Questione sociale" tradotta da Gabrielli Covacs, edita a Budapest;*

2) *Libro sovversivo intitolato: "Il mondo senza fame" di Alfredo Bratt*

89 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Categoria A8-Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Schwarzenberg Aurelio.

90 This argument can be supported by the research of Fischer, tight networks are common in the case of ethnic minority women. FISCHER, "La struttura delle relazioni e delle reti", 102.

91 "Leo Valiani", JESURUM, *Essere ebrei in Italia*, 40.

92 There is no personal file of Weimann in the police archive, but he was classified as a suspect. DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Libro 5, Registro alfabetico degli iscritti nello Schedario di Gabinetto iniziato nel dicembre 1925, Lettera W, Numero 14, Weimann Tiberio fu Adalberto, sospetto.

93 DARI-536, *Anagrafska zbirka*, Sudditi esteri, Scheda individuale di Weimann Tiberio.

94 "I dedicate this book with admiration and love to my father, Tibor Weimann, a real hero who survived two world wars in Europe and six wars in the Middle East and who now celebrates the hundredth year of an adventurous life", in Gabriel WEIMANN, *Terror on the Internet. The New Arena, the New Challenges*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006.

95 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 81.

96 See FALK's website on the family of Adolfo Aronne Braun http://www.bh.org.il/jewish-spotlight/fiume/?page_id=172 (last accessed on November 16, 2016).

97 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, A8 -Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Braun Emilio, Riservata urgente, R. Questura di Vercelli alla Questura di Fiume, 15 marzo 1928, Oggetto: Braum Emilio di Adolfo e di Giulia Haerzfeleder nato a Fiume il 6/7/1905.

*edito a Berlino 1916.*⁹⁸

The actual books owned by Braun were Oppenheimer, Franz, *Természet és Társadalom. A szociális kérdés*, Budapest, 1918, and Alfred Bratt, *Die Welt ohne Hunger*, Berlin, 1916. The first one is the Hungarian translation by Gábor Kovács of *Die soziale Frage und der Sozialismus: eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der marxistischen Theorie* (The Social Question and Socialism: A Critical Dispute with Marxist Theory) while the other book was a science fiction novel, *The World without Hunger*. Both titles suggest that Braun had a certain interest in social issues, but this did not mean that he considered himself a socialist. The police were again inquiring about Braun in 1931, since he was suspected of being the author of an article in the Italian antifascist journal *La Libertà*, which published a comment on Valiani's second trial. However, the authorities could not find any evidence for their hypothesis.⁹⁹ On the other hand, there was correspondence between the unknown author of the article and the Braun movements: the author wrote that he left Fiume in November 1927, which almost coincides with Braun's departure to Milan in October of that year, attested by letters written to family members found by the police in 1928.¹⁰⁰ The same letters indicate the connection with young Valiani, who is mentioned regarding some job opportunities in the surroundings of Milan. It seems that Valiani, who advised Braun to seek a job outside Fiume¹⁰¹, wanted also to move nearby the place he had visited for the first time in the summer of 1926. As Ricciardi wrote, the visit to Milan was determined by Valiani's political interests¹⁰²: so the search for new employment was maybe not only related to the economic necessities of Leo's family after his father's death, but also to the desire to move to a place where he already had some political acquaintances. Reasonably, we are led to conclude that Valiani did not know other socialist followers or their organisation in Fiume. Therefore, Valiani's formation as a political active individual had little to do with Fiuman socialists, and was rather the product of independent readings, contacts outside the Adriatic city, and Valiani's reaction to the violence perpetrated by the local fascists.¹⁰³

Returning to the period Valiani spent in Fiume, yet looking at the years after his first arrest, it is worth mentioning that Valiani also worked with a communist bank colleague of Jewish origins. This colleague was Erich Mayländer, nephew of Samuele known for being the first president of the

Communist Party of Fiume.¹⁰⁴ The presence of Erich Mayländer may lead to the conclusion that Valiani actually did not know very well the other Fiuman communists of Jewish origins. One of the possible explanations is that Valiani approached communism only at a stage when many activists had already emigrated from Fiume. Thus he had not had the time to know them. Another probable obstacle was the generational gap: Valiani was too young to encounter in Fiume, outside a political network, the Seidenfeld and Blüch sisters; the youngest of the three Seidenfeld sisters, Barbara, was born in 1901, while the two youngest of the six Blüch sisters, Guglielmina and Eugenia, were born in 1907 and 1913 respectively.¹⁰⁵ However, Valiani remembered having met Miklos Szisza, companion of Giulia Blüch, in Fiume in 1926.¹⁰⁶ This is a further sign that Valiani's political thoughts have to be located outside the mere Jewish network.

Besides, it would be wrong to consider Valiani's formation just through the Jewish network. As a young student Valiani became a member of the football section of the Sports Club *Quarnero*, a club which was attended by Hungarians, while the members of the other association, *Eneo*, were Italian nationalists.¹⁰⁷ During his youth, football played an important part in his life, and Valiani fancied the idea of becoming a professional player and a sports reporter.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, Valiani did not mention any fellow sportsman, so it is difficult to make further considerations. On the other hand, the decision to be part of a Hungarian sports group and his decision to apply for Hungarian citizenship and not for the Italian one¹⁰⁹, suggest that he considered himself more linked to Hungary. However, as Ricciardi pointed out, this first phase of Valiani's life is characterized by an in-between position: Valiani looks to both Hungary and Italy for his political activity.¹¹⁰ A decision which is not odd, as the Waizen family, due to their cultural background, were indeed in the middle of different ethnic and national options, though the generation raised in Fiume, as we have seen, became closer to the Italian side.

Finally, this is why we should not underestimate Valiani's contacts with people who shared antifascist beliefs but were not members of the Hungarian or the Jewish network. Valiani did not specify the names of the socialists or communists he knew in Fiume, apart from a certain Latcovich, a

98 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, A8 -Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Braun Emilio, Verbale di perquisizione domiciliare, 6 marzo 1928.

99 DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, A8 -Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicolo personale di Braun Emilio, R. Questura di Milano al Questore di Fiume, 6 febbraio 1932, OGGETTO: BRAUN Emilio di Adolfo.

100 Ibid. There are in total fourteen letters written by Braun to his family from 16 October 1927 to 2 March 1928.

101 Ibid. Letter written by Braun on 17 November 1927.

102 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 51-55.

103 The Italian nationalist and fascist *coup d'état* in March 1922 was followed by the burning of the Workers' Chamber of Fiume on October of the same year. L. VALIANI, *Sessant'anni di avventure e battaglie*, 23-24.

104 "Leo Valiani", MARTINI, *Parlano i protagonisti*, 166.

105 For the Seidenfeld sisters, see: Sara GALLI, *Le tre sorelle Seidenfeld. Donne nell'emigrazione politica antifascista*, Giunti editore, Firenze, 2004; for the Blüch sisters, see: WILLIAM KLINGER, "Un fronte unico da Trieste a Salonico: La Venezia Giulia nella "Federazione Balcanica" (1918 - 1928)", *Quaderni, Centro di ricerche storiche-Rovigno*, (2014), 227-231. For the dates of birth of the Seidenfeld sisters, see: DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, A8-Sovversivi della provincia, Fascicoli personali di Seidenfeld Barbara, Gabriella and Serena.

106 "Leo Valiani", MARTINI, *Parlano i protagonisti*, 166.

107 Santarcangeli writes about rowing clubs, but it is clear that the clubs had different sports sections. SANTARCANGELI, *Il porto dell'aquila decapitata*, 216.

108 RICCARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 52.

109 RICCARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 82.

110 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 55-78.

high school colleague who committed suicide in 1924.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, school was not a place of political acquaintances, as Valiani recollected: his classmates were apolitical or supported the new regime.¹¹² Valiani though recalled a brief school suspension, earned for criticizing the action of the fascist squads and the removal of Zanella, but minimized the political incident.¹¹³ On the other hand, school contributed to the shaping of the Italian affiliation of Valiani, as he remembered mass gatherings of students supporting D'Annunzio during the years 1919-1920.¹¹⁴ Since Valiani went frequently to Sušak to get newspapers that were forbidden in Italy, he had the opportunity to meet other antifascists, and he mentioned Mario Blasich and Antonio Luksich. Antonio Luksich Jamini, encountered again by Valiani on the island of Ponza¹¹⁵, had been a prominent member of the antifascist group in the faction of the Catholic *Partito Popolare* that supported Zanella.¹¹⁶ The Croatian speaking movement was outside Valiani's antifascist network. The only person Valiani explicitly mentions is Božidar Adžija, whom he met in Zagreb, while regarding Sušak he just mentioned attending the Workers' Chamber.¹¹⁷ Valiani did not have the opportunity of knowing better the Croatian antifascists, not only because they were outside his usual Italian speaking network, but also because the communists of Sušak had their own organisation and clandestine operational channels.¹¹⁸ The first point, I believe, is the consequence of the Fiuman Italian dominant background Valiani was part of; from his accounts Valiani was just able to read Croatian, never to speak it.¹¹⁹ The Italian speaking ruling élite was not interested in knowing Croatian, at least not officially, since they could not economically benefit from it, and the identity they were building was in opposition to the Croatian integration movement. The Jews who wanted to integrate into Fiuman society reproduced that pattern. That may explain why the only relevant conflict from the Austro-Hungarian Fiume that Valiani mentions, in the quoted interview with Fried, was between Italians and Croats.¹²⁰

111 "Leo Valiani", MARTINI, *Parlano i protagonisti*, 166. The police classified Giovanni Latcovich, a coppersmith, born in Fiume in 1901, as socialist. DARI-53, *Questura di Fiume*, Libro 5, Registro alfabetico degli iscritti nello Schedario di Gabinetto iniziato nel dicembre 1925, Lettera L, Numero 30. Valiani's acquaintance Latcovich was too old to be a high school student in 1924 and probably the police referred to another person with the same surname.

112 L. VALIANI, "La mia vita nell'epoca del fascismo", *Nuova Antologia*, luglio-settembre (1988), fasc. 2167, 51.

113 L. VALIANI, "Io ragazzo nella Fiume di D'Annunzio", *Nuova Antologia*, gennaio-marzo (1993), fasc. 2185, 74.

114 Ibid, 72.

115 RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 167.

116 Mario DASSOVICH, "Ricordo dello storico fiumano Antonio Luksich Jamini", *Difesa Adriatica*, 25 novembre (1988), 4

117 "Leo Valiani", MARTINI, *Parlano i protagonisti*, 167.

118 Raspor, one of the main organizers of the Sušak communists, mentions only communists that maintained connections between Sušak and Fiume in 1927, Valiani is obviously not among them. Hinko RASPOR, *Tokovima klasne borbe. Od Sušaka do Kube i Meksika*, Rijeka: Tipograf, 1973, 60. For the political parties operating in the Interwar period in Sušak, see Željko BARTULOVIĆ, *Sušak 1919.-1947: državnoopravni položaj grada*, Rijeka: Adamić, Državni Arhiv Rijeka, 2004, 139-160.

119 VALIANI, *Sessant'anni di avventure e battaglie*, 41-42 and FRIED, "Oltre Fiume: formatore e ricercatore di storia: Leo Valiani", 360.

120 FRIED, "Oltre Fiume: formatore e ricercatore di storia: Leo Valiani", 362.

All of this leads to the conclusion that Valiani was part of the Italian speaking majority in Fiume. However, he also enjoyed the Jewish and Hungarian social networks. Undoubtedly, the Jewish network had a certain role in shaping his antifascism, as had his family network.¹²¹ It would be difficult to prove whether his Jewish origins were the main trigger of his antifascism. It seems that the family background and the Jewish network, combined with direct witnessing of fascist violence against political rivals, but also indirectly the economic decline suffered after Adolfo's death, all contributed in Valiani becoming socialist and antifascist. While living in Fiume, Waizen was already in his youth on his way to becoming Valiani. As in the case of the sisters, the inclusion of Fiume to Italy channelled strongly his national affiliation options.

Conclusions

The Waizens and young Leo were somehow an almost typical product of Austro-Hungarian Fiume. Adolfo settled on the Adriatic coast as a result of family connections and the position of Fiume as a gateway for products of the Hungarian hinterland. The same decision was made by many people in search of fortune who contributed to the population increase of the small *corpus separatum*. Like other people of Jewish origins, Adolfo adopted the dominant Italian culture as part of his complex identity without questioning his loyalty to the Hungarian state. Additionally, he maintained his Jewish identity, which was useful as a support network in certain situations. The downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy made Fiume, after some years of uncertainty, part of Italy, which was not problematic for the complex identity developed by the Waizens. Adolfo's children, following their father's steps, now became part not only of the local, but also of the wider Italian society. Even the Racial laws were not able to weaken their Italian national feelings.

Inside the Waizen family, Leo Valiani's position was particular because of his decision to embark on a life of political activism. Influenced by the historical events he witnessed as a child in Budapest and even more so in Fiume, by politically active members of the larger family network, by his acquaintances among antifascists, by his awareness of being part of a Jewish network, by the possibility of reading illegal newspapers in Sušak, and finally due to his family's economic decline, Valiani became antifascist. His story is more a (hi)story of someone's strong and remarkable personality and less the (hi)story of the Waizens, Fiume and the Jewish community. However, in the end the path of political struggle led him to become one of the notable Italians of the XX century, and his route was precisely a characteristic outcome of Jewish integration inside the Italian cultural community of Hungarian Fiume.

121 From the family network, the Ippen family were certainly an important factor in Valiani's political formation, see RICCIARDI, *Leo Valiani*, 39-40.

Sažetak

OBITELJ WAIZEN I MLADI LEO VALIANI U RIJECI

Ivan JELIČIĆ

Rad analizira integraciju obitelji Waizen unutar riječkog društva za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske te političko sazrijevanje i nacionalnu pripadnost mladog Lea Valianija do njegovog prvog uhićenja 1928. godine. Lokalna Židovska zajednica i njen položaj u riječkom višejezičnom kontekstu i dalje su relativno neistražena tema, unatoč činjenici da su mnogi Židovi, čini se, prihvatili talijanski nacionalni identitet. Stoga obitelj Waizen omogućuje zanimljivu studiju slučaja za obris problema integracije Židovske manjine unutar višejezičnih urbanih sredina dominantnog talijanskog jezika. Nadalje, rad pokušava, kroz mrežu društvenih kontakata obitelji, navedenu od samog Valianija, prikazati proces kojim je Leo Weiczen postupno postao talijanski antifašist Valiani. Istraživanje se temelji na dokumentaciji o Leu Valianiju i njegovoj obitelji iz Državnog Arhiva u Rijeci.