

Mario Fubini

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Professorship at the age of thirty-seven. Expelled at age thirty-eight. A reserved man of studies, the Italianist Mario Fubini made a few attempts to find work abroad and leave the country, as did his colleagues and his wife's relatives. Having not emigrated in time, a chance for refuge in Switzerland meant salvation for him, his wife, and his children; and for him, it also meant an experience full of study and instruction. Even more difficult, maybe, was an attempt to return to normalcy, given the weight of grieving for lost family and the «harsh toughness of the post-war academic establishment».

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Family history and early life

Mario Fubini was born in Turin on 18 March 1900, to Riccardo (1874-1964) and Bice Fubini née Colombo (1879-1963). He had two younger siblings: Renzo (1904-1944) and Giulia Giorgina (1904-1987). He attended high school in Milan, where his father taught Political Economy in a technical institute¹; and for college, he chose the University of Turin. In 1917, Mario enrolled in the Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia [School of Letters and Philosophy] and graduated in 1921 after writing a thesis on Alfred de Vigny, which was published at the recommendation of Benedetto Croce in the literary criticism series of Laterza edition². Fundamental was his friendship during those years with Piero Gobetti, who at the time was a student of Jurisprudence and the person for whom Fubini held a moving commemoration in 1926³.

¹ Riccardo Fubini underlines this in an unpublished interview about his father, Mario, transcribed, Firenze, n.d., courtesy of the Fubini family.

² Mario Scotti, *Fubini, Mario*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, vol. 50, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998 <<http://www.treccani.it>> (accessed 28 February 2019), and Filippo Senatore, *La grande eredità morale del crociano Mario Fubini. I ricordi del figlio Riccardo per la persecuzione patita durante il nazifascismo*, «L'Antifascista», 7-8, 2018, p. 18.

³ Riccardo Fubini in an unpublished interview about his father, cited.

Fubini himself underscored the main stages of his intellectual journey in one of CV's from 1938⁴. First, a scholarship to the University of Florence, quickly after his graduation, from 1921 to 1922 allowed him to perfect his knowledge of modern philology under the guidance of professors Guido Mazzoni, Luigi F. Benedetto, and Ernesto G. Parodi. In 1924, he had begun to teach Italian literature and Latin in high schools around the province and then in Turin, having come in second out of one-hundred fifty participants in a *concorso nazionale* [a national contest to secure a state-funded teaching position in a given discipline] and having been inducted into the «Honor Roll» for the best instructors. In 1929, he obtained *libera docenza* [official certification needed to teach at the university level] in Italian literature at the University of Turin where he began to offer courses. Meanwhile, he deepened his studies of Foscolo and of Leopardi. In 1934, Fubini returned to the University of Florence as a substitute professor of Italian literature for Michele Barbi within Magistero [School of Education].

Settled down in Palermo and suddenly driven out

Mario married Alma Goldschmied of Trieste, ten years his junior, who had studied for a diploma in teaching rather than a diploma in accounting as she would have liked⁵. In 1932, Anna was born, and two years later, Riccardo.

On the first of December, 1937, Fubini received an academic appointment: he had won the position of *professore straordinario* [professor on a three-year track for promotion to full] of Italian literature within the Facoltà di Lettere [School of Letters] at the University of Palermo, ranking first by unanimous consensus of the examination committee out of the thirty candidates who

⁴ See the CV of Mario Fubini, n.d., in BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 307/4, f. «Fubini Mario», 1938-39, and in the New York Public Library, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 61, f. 2, «Fubini, Mario», 1939.

⁵ Alma Goldschmied (29 March 1910 - 1 December 1976), daughter of Rodolfo and Ada Goldschmied née Frankel, she was the oldest of three siblings (all from Trieste): Guido (8 January 1912 - 30 January 1955), Livio (27 April 1933 - 1 October 1944), Fabio (23 October 1919 - United States 1993). For comprehensive information see *Frankel e Goldschmied. Famiglie ebraiche a Trieste*, Olbicella, 2018, out of print, special thanks to Diana Goldschmied.

had participated in the national contest for the position⁶. He held a course on the history of literary criticism from the Arcadia to the Romantic period: it was his first course in Palermo, and also his last.

In November of 1938, he was removed from post as a result of the racial laws alongside four other Jewish professors at the university: the biochemist Camillo Artom, the clinical physiologist Maurizio Ascoli, the electrical engineer Alberto Dina, and the physicist Emilio Segré. The rector of the University of Palermo at the time was legal expert and scholar Giuseppe Maggiore, who had always been very close to Gentile and was among the major supporters of racism in the field of criminal law, as well as the national president of the Istituto di Cultura Fascista⁷. He stood out also for his gratuitously humiliating treatment of Jewish academics whom he removed as members of the «inferior race».

Fubini requested from his Facoltà a written certificate «on the quality of services provided». His colleagues decided to first ask the authorization of the rector, who in turn asked it from the Minister. Bottai responded in a concise manner: «I purport that I do not consider it appropriate to grant the requested certificate to Professor Fubini»⁸. In fact, the National Ministry of Education had not even recorded that Fubini had won the chairship on 27 November 1937 and received the appointment to the University of Palermo four days later⁹.

⁶ In the file in BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 307/4, f. «Fubini Mario», 1938-39, is also the copy in Italian and in English of the decision of the examination committee consisting of Vittorio Rossi, president of the Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Giulio Bertoni, *Accademico d'Italia* (member of the Regia Accademia d'Italia, founded during the Fascist regime), Luigi Sorrento, of the Catholic University of Milan, Luigi Fassò, of the University of Catania, Vincenzo Errante, of the University of Milan.

⁷ On Maggiore's conception of criminal law, based on the racist turn during the regime, see Olinto De Napoli *La prova della razza. Cultura giuridica e razzismo in Italia negli anni Trenta*, Florence, Le Monnier, 2009, pp. 179-183.

⁸ Pietro Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali del fascismo e la loro applicazione a Palermo*, 2005, p. 26 (sources not indicated) <<http://matematica-old.unibocconi.it>> (accessed 2 March 2019).

⁹ Such was ascertained by Annalisa Capristo and Giorgio Fabre, *Il registro. La cacciata degli ebrei dallo Stato italiano nei protocolli della corte dei conti 1938-1943*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2018, p. 184.

Everyone thrown out. Attempts for a job abroad

Fubini alongside his wife, Alma, and his children left Sicily and returned to Turin: «Very sad was the departure; one that was definitive, not just for a summer holiday. It was not a great trip – seasickness and general sadness», remembered his first-born, Anna, who was six years-old at the time¹⁰. Even Mario's father was removed from Turin's Istituto tecnico commerciale where he was teaching at the time, just as his brother had been removed from a full professorship at the University of Trieste¹¹. They began to think about a possible job placement abroad. A young brother-in-law of Mario's, Guido Goldschmied (who was already a refugee in London, where he attended the London School of Economics), contacted Miss Esther Simpson, the secretary of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning with whom he had already had some contacts for his own academic accommodations. On 9 December 1938, Guido sent Fubini's CV to Miss Simpson, asking her help «*to find some accommodation for him in the near future*»¹². Miss Simpson responded with her usual promptness that the Society had already recorded the name of Mario Fubini (there is a note from 21 November 1938), but she had no other information and asked that the interested party fill out and return the SPSL questionnaire¹³. On 2 January 1939, the questionnaire arrived, but again from Guido Goldschmied: his brother-in-law had never received the copy sent to him that was «obviously stopped by the Police». For this reason, he had filled it out himself, declaring that Mario Fubini knew English «tolerably well», that he was willing to emigrate anywhere (no country

10 Lucia Vincenti, *L'odissea dei siciliani nell'ottobre nero delle deportazioni*, «La Repubblica», 18 October 2017 <<https://ricerca.repubblica.it>> (accessed 28 February 2019).

11 See A. Capristo, G. Fabre, *Il registro*, cit., pp. 185 and 198.

12 Guido Goldschmied to Miss Simpson, 9 December 1938, in BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 307/4, f. «Fubini Mario», 1938-39. Guido Goldschmied (7 January 1912 - 21 June 1955), brother of Alma, Mario Fubini's wife, is listed in the 1939 English census as living in London. At the end of 1941, he married Violet Elinor Sinnot. He was among the communist refugees who preferred London to Moscow. In Padua, he took part in a student antifascist group founded by Eugenio Curiel of Trieste.

13 Ibid., E. Simpson to G. Goldschmied, 10 December 1938.

was excluded from consideration), that he had no claim to a pension but his wife and two children were his dependents, and that he had made an annual salary of 18,000 liras up until that point in time¹⁴.

Miss Simpson: responses from the SPSL in London

The response from Miss Simpson could have sounded encouraging: «*We shall do all we can to help Professor Fubini to become re-established*»¹⁵. But a few days afterward, she contacted the professor directly at his address in Turin, Corso Re Umberto 71, to advise him that the «*conditions just now are very difficult. If you have any contact in the USA, we would advise you to get into touch with them without delay, as prospects in that country are better than in Europe*»¹⁶.

These were the phrases normally used in correspondence with the applicants during that period, but they gave little hope. Fubini wrote her back to specify his «*desiderata*». While waiting for a professor position for which he was searching, he felt suited to collaborate with American, English, and French literary journals, writing reviews of Italian books with critical commentary on the modern cultural trends that could interest the foreign readers in addition to articles of original content. For this reason, he asked to be put in contact with interested publishers. He added that his brother, Renzo, was also available to write for Economics journals, since he was a professor of Public Finance and had also been removed from post¹⁷.

Simpson was usually courteous, but also vague and dismissive; that Italian scholar, Fubini, had sent her pages and pages of evaluations and references written in Italian that remained unread in the file, as well as a very long list of recommenders: 13 professors, 6 from the University of Florence and not one

14 Ibid., G. Goldschmied to E. Simpson, 2 January 1939. In addition to the form, another CV of Fubini's, a list of his publications, and a list of his references were also included.

15 Ibid., E. Simpson to G. Goldschmied, 4 January 1939.

16 Ibid., E. Simpson to M. Fubini, 10 January 1939.

17 Ibid., M. Fubini to E. Simpson, 9 January 1939.

that was not Italian. His desiderata gave the impression that he either did not realize the difficulties of his circumstances or his predicament was not so dire as that of others. «We shall certainly bear in mind that you and your brother Renzo Fubini would like to write for periodicals. Unfortunately we have no regular contacts with periodicals, but should we hear of any possibilities of this kind», they would have let him know¹⁸. Here ended their correspondence.

Miss Drury: responses from the ECADFS of New York

A few months later in Turin, on 5 May 1939, Fubini got in touch with the other main organization to which many *displaced scholars* turned: the one in New York where his wife Alma's youngest sibling, Fabio, had by then decided to go¹⁹. Fubini asked the *Emergency Committee* for the forms to query further: he was anxiously searching for work «*in whatever field of activity in any way connected with my personal inclination and research work*». He sent the same CV that he had sent to the SPSL with various notes about the *concorsi* that he had won and the prizes that he had received, but not references, nor a list of his publications. Miss Drury's response went out on 18 May. This explained the norms of the ECADFS: they did not introduce displaced scholars to institutions, but vice versa²⁰.

In fact, it did not happen precisely like that: the recommendations were made while financial assistance was given exclusively to the institutions, and in this case, there were no exceptions to the rule. However, it certainly meant a great deal to already have contact with foreign institutions, and Fubini had nothing to show for in that regard. With New York, as with London, the correspondence broke off soon; his file does not even include the filled-out

¹⁸ Ibid., E. Simpson to M. Fubini, 12 January 1939.

¹⁹ Fabio Goldschmied left from Southampton for New York, where he arrived on 6 September 1939, as a student with an authorization granted in Switzerland. See The Ellis Island Foundation, *Passenger Search, ad nomen*, <<https://www.libertyellisfoundation.org>> (accessed upon registration 3 March 2019).

²⁰ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 61, f. 2, «Fubini, Mario», 1939.

form. He probably never returned it to them. As if he were quickly discouraged by the lack of positive responses, he did not pursue this further. In this second round of correspondence, Fubini more realistically declared himself open to any occupation still connected, however, to his research inclinations and competences.

An unnecessary removal. Gentile

Eye-opening and saddening, one of the distinguished professors, whom Fubini identified among those who could support his application for work abroad, contributed to his humiliation. Fubini could no longer teach, but intensely continued to research and write. Sometimes, he would sign his written work with only his initials or a pseudonym: M.F., Spettatore [Onlooker], Mario Fusi. In August 1938, he submitted a school anthology to the publishing house Sansoni, of which Gentile was the owner. It would appear in print not under his name, but under the name of Luigi Vigiani, a teacher at a scientific high school in Turin. Fubini accepted this «solution» reluctantly, «only to please his son» Federico, he pointed out to Gentile, refusing that the work be attributed to the more renowned Luigi Russo.

The year after, Gentile proposed that the volume edited by Fubini for the national edition of Ugo Foscolo's opus be attributed to Plinio Carli, and this roused the immediate approval of the volume's other editor, Michele Barbi. This time, Fubini refused: «With my consent to this, I myself would contribute, in some way, to the effective exclusion of us Jews from the national culture to which we feel, now more than ever, to be a part of»²¹.

The request to remove his name from the edition was not the result of any legal obligation. No law prohibited the publication of any Jewish authors, except for those who wrote works for the schools. Bottai had already

²¹ Letter from Mario Fubini to Giovanni Gentile, 8 April 1939, cited by Giorgio Fabre in *L'elenco. Censura fascista, editoria e autori ebrei*, Torino, Zamorani, 1988, which reenacts the whole episode, pp. 242-243. Also reprinted in this text is the directory of «Autori ebrei le cui opere non sono gradite in Italia», pp. 474-481, in which Mario Fubini does not appear, whereas his brother Renzo does.

compiled a list of 114 names, and Fubini was not included there, since he had never penned a text of that kind. Fubini wrote to Gentile that he could not believe that he would want «to contribute – going beyond current legal prohibitions or, at least, anticipating new ones – to our exclusion from the national culture, and thereby increase the isolation into which we have been confined»²². Gentile did not appreciate this dignified reaction. Along with others, he commented that Fubini «is a poor man. You have to feel bad for him». It was necessary to calm him down, because «these people lose their minds [...] persecution aside»²³. And persecution it was; the most important intellectual of the regime knew that well, even if he downplayed it and contributed to it.

Hiding and escape

Trusted friends hid Mario, his family, and other Jewish friends in a mountain lodge just north of Sordevolo, where a group of antifascist intellectuals would usually meet for years, sheltered from suspicious minds and other worries²⁴. Fubini's usual refuge was in Vico Canavese.

Toward the end of 1943, Fubini tried to take refuge in Switzerland with his wife, Alma, and his two children: Anna, eleven years old at the time, and Riccardo, who was nine. They passed through Aosta, then Saint-Nicolas with some smugglers who accompanied them on mules for a segment of the trip, and who then showed them the road on which to proceed near the glacier²⁵. But they had to turn back. They would only be able to escape to Switzerland in March of 1944, crossing the border above Como. They settled down in Balerna, in the Canton of Ticino.

22 Ibid., letter from Mario Fubini to Giovanni Gentile, 8 April 1939.

23 Ibid., letter from G. Gentile to Michele Barbi, 17 April 1939.

24 See *Ci fu un tempo. Ricordi fotografici di Franco Antonicelli 1926-1945*, edited by Alberto Papuzzi, Torino, Regione Piemonte, 1977, with photos of Fubini taken by Antonicelli, p. 69.

25 This is a memory belonging to Mario's daughter, Anna Fubini Abbiate, found in Renata Broggin, *La frontiera della speranza. Gli ebrei dall'Italia verso la Svizzera, 1943-45*, Milan, Mondadori, 1998, p. 55.

As soon as possible he would have liked «to return, after much time and many incidents, to his books», he wrote in May 1944 to Gianfranco Contini, who was a professor at Freiburg²⁶. Fubini found a teaching position at a university camp for Italian soldiers interned in Mürren (Canton of Berna), the most crowded camp in all of Switzerland, opened in October of 1943, that came to house a thousand officials from the former royal military²⁷. Between 1944 and 1945, he gave a series of lectures on the poetry of Tasso, but also lectures about «modern literature, politics, and art, [where] for the first time, these youths come to know the names of antifascists» like Gobetti²⁸. Teaching at the camp along with Fubini were Diego Valeri and Lamberto Vitali (art history) and Amintore Fanfani (history of economic doctrines), who illustrated the theories of «American new volunteerism»²⁹.

In the SPSL file labeled Mario Fubini, a note from the economist Pietro Sraffa, an antifascist living in England for many years, informed that the professor in question was in Switzerland and could be contacted by way of a relative, Professor Alessandro Levi (5, rue de Vieux College, Geneva), who was a scholar of Philosophy of law and antifascist. A copy of the note is dated 20 November 1944 and includes this annotation in the margin: «*Original: Renzo Fubini - Economics*», referring to Mario Fubini's brother about whom, however, no one had any more information³⁰.

Anguish and pain at the reentrance to Italy

²⁶ Letter from Mario Fubini to Gianfranco Contini, Balerna, 22 May 1944, in G. Fabre, *L'elenco*, cit., p. 249. See also Anna De Simone (edited by), *Un carteggio inedito. Mario Fubini - Virgilio Giotti (1948-1957)*, «Letteratura e Dialetti», 2, 2009, pp. 83-107, specifically pp. 85-89.

²⁷ Francesco Scomazzon, *Maledetti figli di Giuda, vi prenderemo! La caccia nazifascista agli ebrei in una terra di confine. Varese 1943-45*, Varese, Arterigere-Chiarotto Editore, 2009, p. 202. Raffaella Castagnola, Fabrizio Panzera, Massimiliano Spiga, *Spiriti liberi in Svizzera. La presenza di fuoriusciti italiani nella Confederazione negli anni del fascismo e del nazismo (1922-1945)*, conference proceedings of the international conference, Ascona, Centro Monte Verità, Milan, Università degli studi, 8-9 November 2004, Florence, Cesati, 2006.

²⁸ Cited from A. De Simeone (edited by), *Un carteggio inedito*, cit., p. 87.

²⁹ Renata Broggin, *Terra d'asilo. I rifugiati italiani in Svizzera, 1943-1945*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993, p. 545.

³⁰ Note from 20 November 1944, in BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 307/4, f. «Fubini Mario», 1938-39.

When it was possible, Mario and family returned to their homeland in May of 1945³¹. The children were able to return to school after having been pupils of their parents and also of some teachers in Lausanne. But not even the return was easy, mostly because of the anguish of not knowing what had happened to family and friends. The greatest pain derived from the passing of his brother. Renzo was unsuccessful in finding work abroad; in vain he had looked for work at the Rockefeller Foundation, for which he had already worked. For this reason, he went into hiding. In January 1944, following an anonymous complaint, he was arrested; brought to a prison in Ivrea, and then to Turin, he was finally deported to Auschwitz in April. He passed away on an unknown date that same year³².

Alma's mother and a brother were also taken. Livio was betrayed by a midwife. In order to inform Livio of the birth of his son, the midwife had his wife tell her where he was hidden, and she then revealed this information to the fascists. Holder of multiple degrees, engineer at Olivetti, card-carrying member of the Action Party, partisan, 31 year-old, Livio Goldschmied was arrested on 29 February 1944, in Vico Canavese; and so too was his 55 year-old mother, Ada Frankel (a widow since 1938), who had caught up with him from Trieste. After imprisonment in Ivrea, they were deported in April. Who knows when and how their relatives would come to find out that they did not survive: Ada died during deportation on 9 April, and Livio was killed on 1 October 1944 at Mauthausen³³.

Reintegration of whom? Fascist purgings and formerly expelled Jews

According to the information received at the SPSL via professor Ruffini, in Italian and correctly translated, Mario Fubini was «reinstated as Professor of

31 Written testimony of Maria Leuzzi Fubini to the Author, 5 March 2019.

32 On Renzo Fubini see Federico Fubini, *La via di fuga. Storia di Renzo Fubini*, Milan, Mondadori, 2014.

33 See *CDEC Digital Library*, entries «Goldschmied Livio» (Trieste 27 April 1913 - Auschwitz 1 October 1944) <<http://digital-library.cdec.it>>; «Frankel Ada» (Trieste 1 January 1889 - 9 April 1944) <<http://digital-library.cdec.it>> (accessed 2 March 2019).

Italian literature at the University of Palermo as from 1. 1. 1944. Transferred to Trieste on 21. 9. 1945»³⁴.

In Palermo, Professor Giuseppe Maggiore – the unforgettably racist rector from 1938 – was suspended from teaching: his «extremely virulent [...] backing of fascism, against the United States, Great Britain, and democratic principles in general», as well as his mental attitude, rendered him «unsuitable to hold a professorship in any academic institution». This was the stance expressed by the Allied military command that aimed to remove fascist ideology from university environments, for which purpose they appointed an English Colonel who was a professor at Oxford. On the contrary, Giovanni Baviera, the new rector appointed in November 1943 by the government of occupied Italy, did everything in his power to reintegrate the nineteen academics that the Allied forces had ousted. Even Maggiore, who underwent judgment from the Commissione d'epurazione [Purge Committee], was vouched for with praises of every kind and the statement «that it does not appear that he gave proof of partisanship or corruption». After a brief period of unemployment, Maggiore returned to a professorship; his Facoltà named a lecture hall after him³⁵.

Fubini, on the other hand, never wanted to return to Palermo, even less so when the Facoltà di lettere had the hypocrisy to maintain that he had left in 1938 «amidst the regretful sorrow of his colleagues»³⁶. He preferred a fresh start at the university where his brother, Renzo, had taught for a few years – in Trieste, his wife's hometown and a city that represented a different

34 Note on «Fubini Mario, from Professor Ruffini's List», September 1946, in BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 307/4, f. «Fubini Mario», 1938-39.

35 Stefano Zappoli, *Maggiore Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 67, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2006 <<http://www.treccani.it>> provides slightly different information than that provided by P. Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali*, cit., on Maggiore's path to the reinstatement of his professorship. Nastasi also underlines how, several years later, many positive comments were made regarding the reintegration of fascist professors at Palermo, compared to the more difficult reintegration of Jewish professors. See also Tano Gullo, *Le cinque vittime eccellenti delle leggi razziali in Sicilia*, «La Repubblica», 9 November 2003 <<https://ricerca.repubblica.it>> (accessed 2 March 2019).

36 P. Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali*, cit., p. 27. The source is not cited, but it is indicated that it comes from a document from 1946.

experience from the rest of Italy. The family settled down again in Turin while Fubini stayed in Trieste with Alma's maternal grandfather, Marco Frankel, who was 88 years old and a widower since November 1945, who believed Fubini's presence to be «of great help» to him³⁷.

Restarting after the war

Fubini resumed his work with surprising energy, as shown by the frequency of his publications starting in 1946. In 1948, he moved to Milan, where he taught at the Statale, and also at the Bocconi by assignment. But in order to regain the professorial rank that he once had in 1937, it was not enough to transfer him, by ministerial decree, from one university to another, as had been typical of the Italian public university system before the current administrative autonomy. Like other professors who had been removed and reintegrated – observed his son, Riccardo Fubini, a full professor and distinguished scholar of the Renaissance – «he had to compete for an academic post, for a second time. His gratifying success must not mask the harsh toughness of the post-war academic establishment, which was not at all willing to embrace his diversity by subjecting him to the humiliation of another national contest»³⁸.

In 1953, he was inducted as a national fellow of the Accademia dei Lincei and became a member of the board of directors for the «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana». In 1967, he left his professorship of Italian literature in Milan to move on to the Scuola normale superiore of Pisa, where for a decade he held seminars on the history of criticism, teaching «above all not to lose the connection with the poetic text, with its humanity and historical significance»³⁹.

He died in Turin on 27 June 1977.

37 Marco Frankel, «Diario poetico», typewritten, p. 72, courtesy of his granddaughter Diana Goldschmied.

38 Riccardo Fubini in an unpublished interview, cit.

39 Ibid.

Major publications

- See *Bibliografia degli scritti di Mario Fubini 1918-1970*, in Remo Ceserani, Francesco Giuntini and Luisa Roberti (eds.), *Critica e storia letteraria. Studi offerti a Mario Fubini*, Padova, Liviana, 1970, I, pp. XIX-LXXXIII.
- *Alfred de Vigny: saggio critico*, Bari, Laterza, 1922.
- *Jean Racine e la critica delle sue tragedie*, Turin, Società Tipografica Editrice Nazionale, 1925.
- *Studi sulla critica letteraria nel Settecento*, Florence, Civiltà moderna, 1934.
- *Vittorio Alfieri. Il pensiero, la tragedia*, Florence, Sansoni, 1937.
- *Stile e umanità di Giambattista Vico*, Bari, Laterza, 1946.
- *Dal Muratori al Baretti. Studi sulla critica e sulla cultura del Settecento*, Bari, Macrì, 1946.
- *Lettura dell'Ortis*, Milan, Marzorati, 1947.
- *Stile, linguaggio, poesia: considerazioni sulla critica letteraria*, Milan, Marzorati, 1948.
- *Lettura della poesia foscoliana*, Milan, Marzorati, 1949.
- *Due studi danteschi*, Florence, Sansoni, 1951.
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