

JAST, 2023; 60: 73-96

Submitted: 27.11.2022

Accepted: 03.12.2022

ORCID# 0000-0001-7336-8314

**Religious Rituals of the Italian Community in
Pietro Di Donato's Novel *Three Circles of Light***

Matteo Cacco

Abstract

Italian immigrants arriving in America after the Italian Unification hoping to conquer the American Dream faced misery, inhumane working and poor sanitary conditions in the tenements where they were living. Pietro Di Donato, born in the tenement of West Hoboken in 1911 to a family of Vastese immigrants, worked in the construction scaffolds after his father's death. Self-taught in the literary field, Di Donato became, along with John Fante and Pascal D'Angelo, a fundamental reference in Italian American studies, especially through his social novel *Christ in Concrete*. He represents a unique socio-historical source, as he was able to narrate the traditions, superstitions and religious rituals of the Vastese community in New York. This essay focuses on the 1960 novel *Three Circles of Light*, which did not achieve much financial or critical success, but recounts in particular the living reality and the religious rituals of Italians in America.

Keywords: Italian Americans, Italian religious rituals, Italian traditions, migration literature, social literature

**Pietro Di Donato'nun *Three Circles of Light* Adlı
Romanında İtalyan Cemaatinin Dini Ritüelleri**

Matteo Cacco

Öz

İtalya'nın birleşmesinden sonra American Rüyası'nı gerçekleştirmek için Amerika'ya giden İtalyan göçmenler sefalet, insanlık dışı çalışma koşulları ve kötü hijyen koşullarıyla karşılaştılar. 1911'de Batı Hoboken'in gecekondu bölgesinde Vastese göçmeni bir aileye doğan Pietro Di Donato, babasının ölümünden sonra inşaatlarda çalıştı. Edebiyat alanında kendini yetiştirmiş olan Di Donato, John Fante ve Pascal D'Angelo ile birlikte, İtalyan Amerikalı çalışmalarında, özellikle *Christ in Concrete* başlıklı toplumsal romanıyla temel referans noktasını oluşturur. New York'taki Vastese topluluğunun geleneklerini, batıl inançlarını ve dini ritüellerini anlattığı için özgün bir toplumsal-tarihsel kaynağı temsil eder. Bu makale yazarın finansal ve eleştirel bir başarı kazanmadığı, ancak özellikle İtalyanların Amerika'da yaşadığı gerçekleri ve dini ritüellerini anlattığı 1960 yılında basılmış romanı *Three Circles of Light* üzerine yoğunlaşır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İtalyan Amerikalılar, İtalyan dini ritüeller, İtalyan gelenekleri, göçmen edebiyatı, toplumsal edebiyat

Between 1880 and 1924, around 4.5 million Italians migrated to the United States (Michaud 1). When Italian immigrants, implying therefore the Di Donato family too, came to America, they resisted giving up their identity and traditions (Luconi, "Becoming Italian in the US" 153). For instance, they continued believing and practicing their native village customs. The concept of religion can be initially discerned as a branch of the notion of family and village cohesion. Indeed, in Di Donato's *Three Circles of Light*, family and religion cannot be separated because the Vastese community is assuming the role of bearers and defenders of religion. Furthermore, this essay attributed religion with power beyond the reality of mere church services. Indeed, his writing

shows how religion, and thus the rituals we shall see, become medicine, law and morality that replaced America's identity-less progress.

As happened for many Italians that arrived in New York, they experienced the poorness of the tenements and acknowledged how their families' support was needed *in situ*. Therefore, they encouraged their village relatives to join them in the United States. Family reconciliation and new Italian arrivals from the same Italian areas strengthened the territorial village unities the country had experienced before the Unification in 1861. As a result, the Italian *campanilismo*¹ became manifested in America (Luconi, "Forging an Ethnic Identity" 90), as is implicitly stated in Pietro Di Donato's Vastese community in New York. Adding to the soiling of the tenements, difficult working conditions, meager incomes and religious persecution that the first generations of Italians in America encountered, there was the attempt of Americanization undertaken by the American institutions with Italian children. However, convinced that America would not integrate them, the parents decided to obstruct the Americanization of their children (Durante 16). As a matter of fact, the first generation refused to be Americanized mainly because what they found in America was the opposite of the promised fortune. They felt triggered by their new country, as it ended up being "cold-hearted and dangerous" (Knapen 46).

Within Italian customs and tradition there was the Catholic religion, which constituted a living connection to the homeland they left behind in pursuit of the American Dream. The Catholic religion, however, found itself to be the opposition of the American society and institutions, as its rituals became the symbol of the Italian resistance not to give up their old customs and integrate. These were in fact reliefs to endure the harsh daily life that immigrants had to face and represented a binding moral law that immigrants obeyed in order to remain faithful to their homeland.

The reason for the analysis and contextualization of Pietro Di Donato's *Three Circles of Light*, which represents one of the less famous novels in his literature, is based on the fact that it recounts and investigates carefully the religious rituals of the Italian community in New York, therefore being a living proof of the Italian American life at the time. Those rituals represented a lifeline for Italian immigrants to defend themselves against the Americanization, and to cope with the miserable working conditions in which they were coerced by American

companies and the racism that American institutions ignored. Indeed, the terms used by the Americans to define Italians, such as *dago* or *Tony Macaroni*, were indicative of the racist association that existed between American society and the Italian community. Specifically, this religious defense, which later turned out to also be an identity defense, further forged the Italian ancestral spirit in the community and the second generations (Luconi, “Becoming Italian in the US” 163).

Through *Three Circles of Light*, Di Donato stated the crucial value of those superstitious rituals to Italians and their daily lives in New York. By focusing on this novel and recounting part of Pietro Di Donato’s biography fundamental in understanding the novel, the essay asserts how this text does not exist as novel for literature, but it represents also an historical and sociological source allowing scholars to cope with any lack of diaries and chronicles in the matter of Italian Americans (in fact most Italian immigrants were illiterate). Furthermore, the essay explores more deeply the Italian superstitious rituals to understand in detail their function and the ways in which they were applied, but above all how the daily reality of the Italian community was still divinely connected to the ancestral life abandoned in Italy, as in the case of the Di Donato family. Specifically, on Pietro Di Donato, it is not possible to interpret the novels of *Christ in Concrete* and *Three Circles of Light* without investigating his family backgrounds, his career and the spiritual contemplation which took place in his personality after this novel and affected his future literary production.

The dust, as John Fante would call it, that covered Pietro Di Donato’s literary production for many years is finally fading, thanks to the efforts of many literary critics, scholars and journalists. It should be considered that on January 19, 2022, in the well-known literary magazine *Robinson*, edited by *Repubblica*, Stefano Massini wrote an article recalling the thirty-year anniversary of Pietro Di Donato’s death (Massini 23). In addition, in May this year, the international conference “Writing Brick by Brick: Remembering Pietro di Donato” was held at the University of Stony Brook, which, thanks to the preservation efforts of Pietro Di Donato’s son, Richard, and the efforts of researchers in the Italian American department in the aforementioned university, has reinvigorated Pietro Di Donato’s writing (Brioni and Polezzi).

Di Donato, through a writing style that is oriented between

the historical journalism and the novel, has managed to provide a representation like no other author of the Italian American situation in New York in the early decades of the twentieth century, specifically of the community we know as Little Italy. Di Donato's style differs from other Italian American narratives because of the language used by the author. On this matter, Di Donato was able to capture the lexicon, syntax and oral tradition of the Vastese *paesanos* (note that the term *paesanos* should not be confused with *peasants*). Such lexicon was achieved thanks to the author's Italian American direct experience, which included Italian colloquialisms in American speech and numerous Italian words that had no English translation. This is a *modus operandi* of writing that succeeds in awakening emotions in the reader that the English language could not (Stefania 27).

On the contrary, Di Donato's style endows the characters with a unique language that shows the desire to remain tied to their ethnicity and be considered as one collective body (MacKenzie 9), which presumably refers to the *paesanos* community. According to this essay, Di Donato's narrative style had the purpose of preserving and consolidating the identity, and therefore traditions, of the Vasto community in America. The case of Di Donato's language is also peculiar in terms of him being a second-generation American. Specifically, in his narrative about the Vasto community and the new borns in America within Italian families, we can observe the emotions felt by Italian American adolescents. These children experienced an identity clash by being tempted to become American and respect the love for the ideals of their Italian ancestors impersonated by their parents (Marazzi 284).

Pietro Di Donato was born on April 3, 1911 in West Hoboken, in the heart of New York's Vasto community, to a family with an immigrant background. A community of *paesanos* – as Di Donato has always defined them – attached to pre-immigration traditions and rituals, distant in terms of time and space from modern America (Stefania 31). This is why Di Donato's Abruzzese *paesanos* recall the descriptions in John Fante's letters during his cinematic work travels in Naples in 1957 (Cooney 471), in which the local people and landscapes evoke the primitiveness of the Enlightenment, to be precise, that primordial society advocated by Rousseau that was not yet corrupted, in Di Donato's and Fante's case by the American progress. Di Donato's father was named Geremia Ventura and his mother

Annunziata Cinquina. As it can be seen, we do not notice the surname Di Donato, and in explaining this, it is the aim of this paper to focus also on Italian migration to America in the late 1800s. By verifying the records of the digital archives of the Ellis Island Foundation and confirmed by an article of Mascitti (Mascitti 1), it was possible to reconstruct Geremia Ventura's journey: having embarked from the port of Naples with other *paesanos* from Vasto, he arrived at Ellis Island on April 5, 1906. Historically, around 1880, Italian emigration to North America underwent a significant increase. A mass flow of people, leaving mainly from the Italian southern regions, but also from some parts of the North-Central region, moved to America (Durante 9). It was a gradual emptying of towns and villages, especially of the rural districts of the Apennines, Abruzzi, Calabria, and Sicily, so that by the beginning of the 1920s, about 5 million Italians had left their country (Durante 9).

Excellent physical condition was not the only prerequisite for entry into Manhattan, because a *call* (in Italian it has been named *la chiamata*) was required as well: by *call* it is meant the filling of the arrival form with the name of a family member or friend by whom one would reside in New York. According to Ellis Island records, Geremia Ventura wrote "Cousin Di Sciorni Luigi" residing at 137 Mott Street in New York. Today, this is a domicile very close to China Town. However, Geremia could have had no cousin in America since he was an orphan from Taranta Peligna and even the records do not tell who Geremia's father was. In the interview with Diomede, Di Donato asserted that Geremia would be the child of an affair between a woman and the writer Gabriele D'Annunzio, who was in the proximity of Taranta Peligna at the time because he was writing *La figlia di Iorio* (Diomede 167-8). Di Donato does not cite sources, but claims to have spent some time there, probably while he was writing the *The Penitent*, and would have learned of that secret, removed, however, from all municipal records (Diomede 167-8). Such statement, however, would deserve further investigation.

The day before Geremia left the province of Vasto in a quest for the American Dream, he married Annunziata, who, however, did not travel with him to America, but stayed with Filomena Di Donato, the woman who had recognized Geremia as her son. Only in 1909 did Annunziata join her husband in America. Waiting for Annunziata in America was not the wealth of her husband that had been promised

to her, but rather the poverty of the West Hoboken tenement in which, two years later, Pietro Di Donato would be born. He was the first of eight children. Like many other Italians who had arrived in America, Geremia, being uneducated, had begun working on the New York construction scaffolds where Manhattan's skyscrapers were being built and in which immigrants, in order to work and earn something to survive, would lose their lives for a few dollars per hour. Sadly, Di Donato's own father lost his life, drowned in the concrete of construction scaffolds on Good Friday, as one can read in *Christ in Concrete* and observe in Edward Dmytryk's film *Give Us This Day*, which is based on the aforementioned Di Donato novel.

Thus, Di Donato found himself at the age of twelve supporting his mother and seven other siblings. The young boy then had no choice but to continue his father's profession and work together with the *paesanos* on the construction scaffolds: he was to become one of the Big Apple's most highly appreciated bricklayers. Indeed, the *paesanos* were men of skilled manual talent, as well as assiduous and willing workers (Avery 29). This essay asserts how their willingness to be able to achieve the American Dream was so established in their mind that, in order to achieve it, they suffered discrimination, enslavement, sometimes to the point of losing their lives because of what Di Donato called the "Job." The "Job," which has been represented through the bosses of the American construction scaffolds' in Di Donato's writing and nullified the value of the Italian immigrant's lives, was the impersonation of the suffering of the *paesanos* that made them feel humiliated only to provide survival for their families. Beyond the "Job," awaiting the *paesanos*, there was the utopia of conquering the American Dream.

Despite a childhood spent among the construction scaffolds and being considered a great bricklayer, Pietro Di Donato succeeded as a short story writer, especially thanks to his masterpiece *Christ in Concrete*, which recounted the death of his father and his separation (which occurred in his youth and for a few years) from his Italian origins, the Catholic religion, and the rituals of the *paesanos* considered superstitious and related to the poverty of the Italian tradition. However, although the novel *Christ in Concrete* is a supporting historical and sociological source for observing Italian tradition and culture in America in detail (Esposito 188), there is a novel that narrated the meaning of Italian religious rituals (such as the celebrations of

weddings and funerals) and the ones performed by religious (and non-religious) personalities to defeat the Spanish Flu that had begun to spread and reap victims in the Italian community in the tenements: *Three Circles of Light*. It was published in America in 1960 by Julian Messner Incl, New York, while in Italy the only authorized translation by Lydia Magliano was published in February 1961 by Rizzoli. More than a structured novel, it is a series of “loose collection of incidents” (Esposito 184). To emphasize how fundamental the religious traditions in the community of *paesanos* were in the Italian American context, the critics recalled how the very definition of *Italianità*² is based on the concept of religion, since *Italianità* is religious in all its nuances. Specifically, all these nuances lead to the concept of *Italianità*, but they refer to the different meaning of religion that each Italian American writer intends to express through their writing (Gardaphé, “Italian-American Fiction” 77). Within *Three Circles of Light*, specifically religious rituals and their meaning in the Italian American community are the subject of the article.

The first peculiarity of the Italian American community of West Hoboken that Pietro Di Donato decided to address in *Three Circles of Light* was the significance of the ritual of marriage in relation to the extra-marital affairs that the Italian bricklayers had at the time. As it happened in the case of Geremio and many other Italians, after a hard day’s work on the construction scaffolds, waiting for them at home was a woman consumed by the daily tasks of raising children, maintaining the residual finances and devoted to religion. Indeed, in the evenings, the Italian workers, after their exhausting work went off to consume some wine while having a good time in the saloons. This is recounted by Di Donato when he asserted that this happened before and after Prohibition, as seen in the case of Tony Soma’s saloon (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 119). Here, the *paesanos* would gather in small cliques, such as the one known as “the Society of the White Button,” reminiscing about the stories of their youth in the Abruzzi, in a context where the alcohol fumes obscured the tragic reality of the new American world by opening a temporal door and leading the Italian protagonists back to their beloved land. However, these men did not use to stop at alcohol and the recollection of their past; rather, they had affairs with American and Irish women. This can be observed also in Edward Dmytryk’s film *Give Us This Day*, based on the novel *Christ in Concrete*, with the dance between Geremio and Delia Dunn

(Paul and Pietro's godmother), ending with Geremio's adultery toward his wife, who kicked him out of the house after knowing the truth. Occasionally, however, as Di Donato himself recounted, the *paesanos* would instead direct their attention to an Italian woman married to another Italian, as it can be observed in the affair between Pasqualino and Stella L'Africana in the novel *Three Circles of Light*.

Despite these evident betrayals that the women knew about, and of which they were informed by the priest or the other women of the community, it can be observed how the same wives did not want in any way to break the religious ritual of marriage with their husbands: the Italian married women, as in the case of Annunziata, believed their husbands knew where their real home and their real bed were, de facto asserting how those women met in saloons, or in the speakeasy, were a mere pleasant diversion. Di Donato exposed to readers how in the Vastese Italian American community, marriage was a ritual that did not establish simple monogamy, but rather was an oath that was impossible to break because it was made before God. Di Donato stated this implicitly in his interview when he said that this masculine lifestyle marked by extra-familial affairs was "accepted by the tribe" (von Huene-Greenberg 47). Of course, by *tribe* Di Donato means the Vastese tenement community. However, in *Three Circles of Light*, in this instance referring to the Italian life in the tenement of Paul di Alba (Di Donato's alter ego), it consequently resulted that *home* (as a concept), and therefore the family household, was the element that could not be discarded because that would dishonor a man before the *paesanos* and God's judgment.

Briefly anticipating some of the content stated later, it can be interpreted that Geremio's death was not only a mere consequence of the lack of security on the American construction scaffolds and the low value assigned to the lives of Italians, but also as God's will for Geremio's adultery and behavior toward the woman he married. Certainly, Paul's childhood is intertwined with the extra-marital affairs of the Abruzzese *paesanos*, especially with the one that took place behind Sebastiano Mezzanotte's back, who was the community sculptor devoted to religion with a gentle character. Sebastiano was married to Stella L'Africana, so called because of the color of her skin: she was in fact the daughter of Luna Ciucanera, a renowned prostitute, and an "olive grower from Tripoli," and who was the reason why her mother had been given that negative nickname (Di Donato, *Three*

Circles of Light 36). Stella L'Africana, who as mentioned was married to Sebastiano, was having an affair with her godson Pasqualino, who was the illegitimate son of Paul's uncle "Uncle Charlie Chaplin" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 37). This affair had a tragic conclusion shortly before the end of the novel, with the death of Sebastiano and her godson through a murder-suicide of the former.

Prior to Sebastiano's murder-suicide, it should be stated that everyone in the Italian community was aware that young Pasqualino was having an affair with Stella L'Africana in Sebastiano's absence. However, it is also true how Stella L'Africana always tried to save the reputation of Sebastiano, making clear to Pasqualino how it was necessary to be discreet, since after all he was her husband as well as his godfather. Furthermore, Sebastiano had an affable personality and was always ready to help those in need, such as when he hired Paul in his store to allow him to earn a few dollars. Only when Sebastiano was confronted with the harsh truth of the affair between the two, he changed his personality by becoming more introverted and by apparently ignoring the reality he had witnessed. Sebastiano knew that the religious ritual of marriage could not be broken and tried in every way to mold reality to his own vision. Finally, Pasqualino's obstinance and disrespect for Sebastiano, as well as the shame to which Sebastiano was exposed by the community, led him to commit suicide, killing his godson and himself.

The second extra-marital affair dealt with by Di Donato, which affected the protagonist closely, was the one of his father with his mother-in-law Delia (as Di Donato stated in the interview with von Huene-Greenberg, she was the wife of a high-ranking American police officer as well as his godmother in his real life – 37), through which the novel protagonist Paul reflected on the concept of love and understood how he fell for Stella L'Africana. Their love manifested after the death of Sebastiano and Pasqualino, but it was destroyed only a few months later, when Geremio died, by the very dullness of Grazia La Cafone who represented the deepest traditions of the Vastese community in the West Hoboken tenement (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 44). Annunziata, who knew about the affair entertained by Geremio with Delia, let him dance and sing with his mistress, convinced that at the end of the day, her husband would still return home in West Hoboken, because his beloved family was there. In effect, this is what happened for a long part of the novel, in which Delia was the lady companion of

Geremio's soirées and dances, cheering him up and reducing his daily work sufferings, since dancing and singing were two artistic passions at which Geremio excelled and were the only diversions that made him joyful, along with Tony Soma's saloon.

The situation changed when Delia gave birth to Geremio's child: at that point Geremio was confronted with an ultimatum by Annunziata, who had been reprimanded by the *paesanos* entering the scene to defend her marriage: Geremio had to decide between *la famiglia* ("the family") or Delia. Despite the difficulties in the decision, Geremio knew that his family is composed by the *paesanos* and Annunziata, who are not allowed to be betrayed. He chose therefore to return to his old and true home. He also knew how a decision favoring Delia would disable him in his relations with the *paesanos* of West Hoboken and would negatively conclude the religious bond that resulted from his marriage with Annunziata. On this contrast between the libertine traditions of the Vastese *paesanos* and the religion preached by Father Onofrio (community priest) in the West Hoboken tenement, Di Donato stated how in his older age he was inclined to love what he had rejected in his youth, namely the rituals and spirituality of his mother's religion, which he had openly criticized in *Christ in Concrete* shortly before Paul's mother (in fact, the character in the aforementioned novel is also named Paul) died. As a result, he was convinced that religion was a smokescreen in the eyes of Italian immigrants (von Huene-Greenberg 37).

During Paul's puberty in *Three Circles of Light*, the Italian, or rather Vastese religious rituals known to Di Donato, fit into the narration regarding the spreading of the Spanish flu pandemic affecting America. Di Donato described the methods of the Vastese community's defense against the flu. The community appealed to the supernatural powers of *La Smorfia*, who opposed those of the objective science. Di Donato, through Paul, recounted how in 1918 Influenza broke out in the tenement where he and his family resided: "Within a week there were more cases throughout West Hoboken with the same symptoms: raging fever and rapid death. The sickness was given a name 'The Spanish Flu.' Maria Virgine's 'La Morte' had arrived" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 72).

While the Americans, in this case Di Donato gave the example of his godmother and godfather Delia and Sam Dunn, fled to mountain resorts, the Italians lived like insects in the tenement at the mercy of

fate awaiting to contract or not the virus. In introducing the Spanish Flu, Di Donato immediately attributed to it the connotations of the umpteenth test the *paesanos* had to face: “The paesanos knew that from birth they had been ordered to labor, poverty and war. . . . But how to defend against the unseen foe who stalks you at all turns, the silent, fatal germ?” (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 72). When it became clear to the community that science, impersonated by Dr. Episodio, was not able to protect them, as not only Germans, Armenians and Turks were dying every day, but also people the *paesanos* were actually close to, asking for the help of the Providence became the primary thought in West Hoboken. The person the community had deputed to intercede with the power of the almighty God was La Smorfia who lived together with Maria La Virgine behind Sebastiano’s backyard: La Smorfia had a twisted face and black hooded cloak, while Maria La Virgine was a harmless, demented woman (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 14-5).

Recounting the spreading of the Spanish Flu, Di Donato, in the chapter dedicated to the “Miracle of Eighteen,” focused on the divine power of La Smorfia and on the reasons why the Vastese community recognized her as capable of performing miracles through her rituals. Indeed, she was the holder of the Italian spirituality: “To the paesanos La Smorfia was the high priestess of healing, and of the Fattura, that shadowy region of the Cabala from whence emanated the evil eye, portents, prophecy, the influencing of love and hate, and occult communications with the dead” (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 64). Her rituals were performed in the presence of Maria La Virgine: not much is known about her, only that she arrived from Vasto with La Smorfia and had become pregnant by a stranger, giving birth to a premature unborn fetus. Because of this event, she was convinced that she was the Virgin Mary, and her fetus therefore the Divine Child. This is the reason why the unborn was preserved by Mr. Pellegrini in his drugstore (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 65). Maria La Virgine, along with the ever-present La Smorfia, had demonstrated her power during Good Friday of 1918 when she engaged in a premonitory ritual at Central Avenue in front of Saint Rocco’s Church, shouting, “La Morte, La Morte! The butchery on the Life Tree of my boy Jesus brings soon the finite end of the world! And they are without count for whom this world must end!” (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 69-70). At the same time La Smorfia followed her by repeating: “La Morte! There is nowhere to flee! La Morte shall find you” (Di Donato, *Three Circles*

of *Light* 69-70). Di Donato stated how the people of the community did not believe in the mere madness of the Virgine, because there must have been a reason to have begun shouting in the streets, since human actions are driven by the Lord's will. The Vastese community of West Hoboken judged the whole performance of this premonitory screaming ritual as a signal sent by God, who was about to challenge them again with *La Morte* ("death"). It is interesting to note how the author writes *La Morte*, using a capital letter. The reason for this is the impersonation of death, which refers to the figurative representation that occurred in the 15th century. The depiction of death that can be interpreted from Di Donato's narrative is that of the skeleton cloaked in black and armed with a scythe (in this case the Spanish Flu) with which it divides the human being's soul from the body. The scythe is symbolic of death severing life, just as it can be severed by reaping grass or wheat. Death reaps life as the farmer reaps the wheat, and it is the symbol of equality among men. Maria La Virgine is convinced she has seen *La Morte*. The air in New York was filled with disease and *La Morte* had hidden itself in the most elusive way: it was in the air that everyone had to breathe, and it would spread, trying to kill as many people as possible. Paul also caught the Spanish Flu (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 75-6). Indeed, Paul, while working in the store at Pellegrini's, vomited and fainted due to the illness. He was taken home and brought under the attention and care of Maria La Virgine and *La Smorfia*. It can be observed in this case the performance of a ritual that finds its origins in the legends of the villagers of the Abruzzi mountains, which for both Di Donato, Pascal D'Angelo and John Fante were an oasis of magic that contained the *paesanos*, where traditions are transmitted orally, and the food tastes savory compared to the unflavored dishes cooked in America. Di Donato, in his narration of *La Smorfia*'s ritual, recounted how she "poured sugar and kerosene into my mouth painted the inside of my throat with iodine, laid vinegar-soaked rags on my burning forehead, pumped me full of enemas, febrifuges and stomachics, alternated applications steaming poultices and ice on my chest, rubbed me with hot olive oil, and made me swallow acrid nauseous liquid from a dirty milk bottle within which were corn silk, worms and seaweed" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 75).

Paul was able to regain his senses and recover, but the family had to eat raw garlic and carry around their necks a lump of camphor in a cheesecloth bag (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 76). However,

while science was not able to heal the sick *paesanos*, La Smorfia was busy curing as many sick people as possible. Unluckily, she too became debilitated and fell ill (not from the Spanish Flu), so much so that she was no longer able to cure her patients. At the same time, Maria La Virgine also fell prey to one of her catatonic phases, which is why La Smorfia decided to stay with her (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 76). This meant that there was no longer any protection for the Vastese community and in a very short time the Italians became hysterical, not knowing how they could stand up to this invisible enemy. The *paesanos*, believing that Maria La Virgine had predicted the arrival of the pandemic and death with “a signal”, became convinced that a “counter signal” would enable them to cast out “La Morte.” On November 2, 1918, to convince La Smorfia and Maria La Virgine to restart with their rituals, the Vastese community went on a pilgrimage to the backyard of Sebastiano’s house where La Smorfia and La Virgine resided. Di Donato, who wrote as a chronicler in this case, asserted how the Vastese women wore “white shawls in their heads, and in their hands held tapers and holy pictures” (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 77). After convincing La Smorfia and Maria La Virgine, the *paesanos*, the Americans and Armenians moved toward the church of Saint Rocco. When the sorceress took over the church, a clash with ecclesiastical institutions occurred: indeed, with Padre Onofrio plagued by Spanish Flu, Don Pietro stood in a corner of the church. As soon as La Smorfia entered, she grabbed the glass jar in which the unborn fetus was contained and placed it on the altar, while after she started shaking incense.

Through this ritual, La Smorfia replaced Catholic institutions, which were already facing a large extent of criticism at the time for being only apparently sympathetic to the poor. During that time, the commitment to support the Italian communities in America was carried out by the Catholic missions, see for example Mother Cabrini, or by those Italian sorceresses who also believed in God. Indeed, Italian immigrants were quite reluctant in financially supporting the Catholic church and children’s parochial education, which is why village religious rituals in America were strengthened. Moreover, the same critic argues again how Italian American church celebrations, as it can be noted in the narration of Di Donato in *Christ in Concrete*, refused to conform to the doctrine of the Catholic tradition. Such interpretation implied that celebrations were of course aimed at demonstrating

passionate devotion to God, but the dances taking place during those celebrations primarily indicated sexual awakenings, communal fellowship, and national identity (Kvidera 172), being therefore distant from the pure Catholic tradition. Don Pietro howled sacrilege and ran out of the church. The community had decided, despite their Catholic belief, to put their faith in La Smorfia's rituals and superstitions, since she had the power to be in contact with the Lord. A mystical atmosphere enveloped the church: La Smorfia asking the Lord to save the devotees, children shouting, and women chanting *salve, salve, salve* (Latin for "being healthy"). Not long after the ritual ends, there was a storm with thunder and lightning, which illuminated the church and granted the *paesanos* the first rain of 1918. La Smorfia died at the altar and the Spanish Flu disappeared, while Maria La Virgine, after being caught raving at La Smorfia's grave, was taken to a hospital in Snake Hill. The science, impersonated again by Dr. Episodio, determined that La Smorfia had died of an epileptic stroke due to her early dementia. The *paesanos* did not believe this version of events and felt pity for the doctors unable to accept her miracle, while Father Onofrio, after his recovery, affirmed how that was a deplorable pagan episode from a religious point of view. However, Father Onofrio affirmed that even the Church could learn from the aforementioned pagan episode, if the result of that action was propitious.

In the end, science was disregarded and relegated to an inferior status. Dr. Episodio asserted how he has spent years trying to bring education into the tenements, but it was precisely personalities like that of La Smorfia and the stubbornness of husbands not willing to entrust their wives to male doctors that has determined the social inferiority of the Vastese community. Specifically, this tie to the traditions, the fear of male doctors and the lack of confidence in science were the reasons why the Italian community did not want to be corrupted by modern American customs, intending to remain loyal to their pre-immigration period traditions. In the novel, La Smorfia was a mystical character precisely because of the rituals that mark Di Donato's spiritual growth: she was the one who saved him from death and, like a saint, immolated herself for the community. A character similar to her is found in *Christ in Concrete*: her name was "The Cripple." "The Cripple" was a sorceress from West Hoboken who was able, thanks to her primitive powers reminding of Pascal D'Angelo's old magical woman in the Abruzzi mountains (D'Angelo 32-3), to put Geremio in

touch with his family after his death and thus be a reason for fascination in Di Donato's narration. Getting in touch with the dead was pure superstition, which, however, helped Annunziata to continue her battle for the American Dream, which in this case meant the survival of her children. Di Donato's interest in La Smorfia has been manifested in a further publication: namely in the *Esquire* magazine edition of December 1955, where he dedicated a short story to her, demonstrating the significance of this woman among the *paesanos* of Vasto, as she was able to bring to life the religion through the rituals practiced in front of the Italian community. That very short story would later be republished in the last Di Donato production, which was a collection of short stories, known as *Naked Author*, published by Phaedra in 1970.

Another case in which religious rituals are associated with the lives of Vastese *paesanos* can be observed in a diatribe among the *paesanos* workers at the construction scaffolds where Geremio was employed and ended with the murder of one of the Angelini brothers. Tito Lupo had been deputed by the members of the White Button circle of Tony Soma's saloon to deal with the punishment to be inflicted on the Angelinis. The Angelini brothers were bricklayers who had dared to disregard the Vastese traditions and to replace *Mastro* ("master") Geremio, attempting to emulate the Americans and doing "grievous wrong to tradition" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 112). Tito Lupo decided that they should pay such dishonor with their lives because, as he said at his trial, this was a matter of honor, something the American judges could not understand since they did not know the value of Vastese tradition. Analyzing the Italian and American society status, we observe the presence of a clash between the American reality and the life of the tenements carried out through the Italian values (Weinberg 422), in this case regarding the Vastese community. To carry out this punishment that served to restore honor among the bricklayers and the community, and which Tito Lupo described as divine, he chose the religious celebration of San Rocco, in which music, Italian flags, and above all the praying *paesanos* served as a backdrop for this murder mission (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 121). Through his murder action, he substituted himself for God in order to restore justice. Indeed, for Tito Lupo, the streets of New York were not the right place for the murder; rather, he waited for the Angelini to enter the church with their wives for the mass. Here, the action became convulsive: Tito Lupo entered the church as the function was about to begin, but Concettina, the wife

of Annibale Angelini warned her husband about Tito's gun. She asked him to flee, stating how San Rocco was going to take care of Tito. After shooting down the statue of San Rocco built by Sebastiano and decapitating it, Tito shot Annibale Angelini between the eyes. Actually, the religious ritual of the mass of San Rocco was meant to bring relief to the community, but at the same time it represented to Tito Lupo the symbolism of punishing the Angelinis for their arrogance and dishonor in front of everyone, including the Saint celebrated and thus the Lord.

The last episode in which religious rituals were included in the narrative of Donato's novel concerns the funeral of Geremio di Alba, Paul's father. Specifically, it was the ritual of viewing the deceased that followed the fatal accident at the construction scaffolds. Dealing with the father's death in *Three Circles of Light* served as a gateway to understanding the novel *Christ in Concrete*, which appeared as a short story in 1937 in *Esquire* and then in 1939 as a novel thanks to publisher Bobbs-Merrill. However, *Three Circles of Light* is not Donato's only text recounting the ritual of his father's funeral, because there is a fairly unknown play by the same author, who was an enthusiast and a good theater writer, that recounts that ritual: *The Love of Annunziata* from 1941. *The Love of Annunziata* was a play written during a stay in Cuba edited for the magazine *American Scenes* in the May issue edited by the screenwriter William Kozlenko and published by The John Day Company of New York, a publishing house founded by Richard Walsh in 1926 that took inspiration for its name from the English Protestant printer John Day (Kozlenko 8). Compared to both his play and *Christ in Concrete*, in which Geremio was portrayed as the proletarian hero victimized by the American capitalist system, in *Three Circles of Light* the death and ritual that followed the fatal incident of Paul's father, and thus of Di Donato's father, assumed a religious significance. In this case, one recognizes in Geremio's death the Dantesque *retaliation* for his polygamy, since despite his redemption and return to his family, he had nevertheless recently become the father of a child with his mother-in-law Delia. It was precisely that brief happiness after the breakup of the relationship with Delia that preceded the Good Friday incident, in which La Morte (the impersonated death described in the chapter of the Spanish Flu) was preparing itself to run its course and take Geremio's life. This is an interpretive reading based on the ongoing spiritual development of the author who, as we saw earlier, after *Three Circles of Light* would mostly deal with religious themes, specifically saints.

It was Good Friday in 1923, and Paul was then, like Pietro Di Donato, 12 years old. Di Donato, through his character, recounted how he had heard his father's voice in the wind that day, hoping, however, that it might still have been a consequence of the debilitation he had suffered after the Spanish Flu. It was not. In fact, that afternoon, a long procession of *paesanos* led by Father Onofrio had moved toward Geremio's apartment: they seemed to carry with them the "gray odor of death" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 228). Stella L'Africana, who had just lost Sebastiano and Pasqualino, had also gone to visit Paul. However, once arrived in the tenement, taking the lead of the mass of *paesanos* had been the task of the woman who in every way was the symbol of Vastese traditions, and whose ugliness Geremio had always mocked: Grazia La Cafone. Paul described Grazia La Cafone as follows, "She was of the very earth, primitive and Latin, embodying the deepest Vastese roots and their powers fed of darkness. Her stony, resenting face, swart features, amoral clear black eyes, strong brows and firm jaw spoke the raw poetry of survival" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 44). Di Donato then recounted how Geremio's cadaver had been brought into the tenement, specifically to the living room, where he had been dressed in his finest clothes for the viewing of his body. This is the farewell of all the *paesanos* to Geremio, whose soul was thus ready to be reunited with the Lord. A new ritual was going to begin: indeed, we can observe Grazia La Cafone's husband, who is called "The Horse," holding a hammer and three nails (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 229). The ritual was supposed to eliminate death from that house: Grazia La Cafone ordered that all of Geremio's records had to be burned, therefore her husband carried out the order. However, the records were not Geremio's only possessions; in fact, the woman ordered that "BB rifle, crystal radio and Father guitar" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 230) also had to be burned to ashes. Grazia La Cafone, being the bearer of the Vastese traditions and performing this esoteric ritual, was convinced that death would no longer be present within those walls and thus in the proximity of the *paesanos*. None of the present *paesanos* opposed her, a symbol of the fact that the ritual was known and recognized by the community. Only Stella L'Africana attempted to block Grazia La Cafone, asking that some of the belongings should not be burned, so that Paul could keep them for remembrance. In that moment, Stella L'Africana's feeble membership in the *paesanos* community ended, as she was ordered to get out of Paul's life forever, given the fact that she was a woman of easy virtue and bringer of misfortune. Geremio's belongings were

destroyed and Paul thrown against the wall; Grazia La Cafone warned him that Americanizing himself would lead him to be like Jerry Philips whose records were lying in Geremio's destroyed box. The woman stood as tribal leader and her ritual served to appoint Paul with his role as a *paesano*: he was no longer a child. He was an adult, who had to provide for his mother and seven siblings. He was reminded that Americans would certainly not pay for Geremio's funeral or even shed any tears. The death, interpreting Grazia La Cafone's words, was about the failure of the American Dream of Geremio, who could now only watch his family from heaven and hope that they conquer wealth.

During the viewing of Geremio's deceased body, Grazia La Cafone reminded Paul that the Vastese community had existed since before Christ, while the American tradition, and therefore culture, had no past. A statement that, during the ritual, is meant to mark the differences between the Italians and the Americans, to whom the *paesanos* were not supposed to be mingling. Indeed, the risk was that in the process of Americanization, the centuries-old traditions of the Vastese community would be annihilated, as these would slowly fade from generation to generation. Americans, from the words of Grazia La Cafone, could not understand the magical meaning of the Vastese traditions, because they did not have any of their own; a statement that based its logic on the lack of identity in America, which at the end of the Civil War had not yet been defined. Successively, the women present during the viewing of Geremio's deceased body began reciting verses to commiserate Annunziata, therefore letting the funeral begin: "The funeral joy of the brass band, louder and louder and louder, with flutes and cymbals and horns and drums in unison, quivered the windowpanes" (Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* 235). At that moment Paul's childhood and love for Stella L'Africana ended, as they did for the author. Unfortunately, as it can be seen in *Christ in Concrete*, which chronologically follows Di Donato's story, Paul's family have been abandoned by the American institutions. As predicted by Grazia La Cafone, it will always be the *paesanos*, who will support each other in survival.

In conclusion, *Three Circles of Light* ended the biographical saga of the main character, Paul (aka Pietro Di Donato). After *Christ in Concrete* explained the death of his father due to the working conditions the Italians had to endure on the construction scaffolds and the puberty of Paul, and *This Woman* with Geremio's jealousy toward

his wife Annunziata, the novel *Three Circles of Light* closed Paul's childhood by narrating the community of the *paesanos* with their stories and nicknames, their daily life, religion and rituals analyzed earlier. In fact, after *Three Circles of Light*, Di Donato undertook a self-spiritual analysis and a redemption of his past, thus opting for religiously based publications: *Immigrant Saint: The Life of Mother Cabrini* (1960) and *The Penitent* (1962). The first text recounted in a novelized journalistic style the life of the first immigrant saint. To write this novel, which was initially thought to be used as the subject of a film, but instead led to the novel about the immigrant saint, Di Donato had to travel to Italy in order to gather the pieces of information kept among the nuns (Gardaphé, "Dagoes Read" 87). The second text, *The Penitent* told the story of Alessandro Serenelli, the man who took the life of the young peasant girl Maria Goretti, who would later become a saint. Also for this work, Di Donato had to travel to Italy to collect information, interviewing both Maria Goretti's mother and sister, but more importantly he convinced Alessandro Serenelli to talk to him as well. Up to that point, Serenelli refused to be interviewed, but he understood how Di Donato was not just writing a novel about the brutal murder, instead he wanted to understand the motivations and the process that led Serenelli to confine himself in the convent and embrace the faith after being released from prison. Serenelli decided to give the interview because he realized that he was not the only penitent, as Di Donato himself was also going through a process of redemption. However, Di Donato was not yet convinced of the goodness of the ecclesiastical institution that stood to be the bridge between God and man, as one can interpret in his article "Christ in Plastic" in the Aldo Moro murder case.

To understand the reasons why Di Donato narrates the religious rituals so profoundly and anthropologically in *Three Circles of Light*, we need to explain two points: first, the reference to the arrival of Italian immigration and, second, understanding why such rituals had developed within the Italian community. The arrival of Italian immigrants was not particularly welcome, so much so that there were serious manifestations against them in many parts of the country that culminated in terrible outbursts of violence. The most violent one occurred in New Orleans in 1891, when eleven Italians from Sicily, members of a thriving community that held the monopoly on the city's fruit and vegetable market, were accused of the assassination of police deputy Hennessy and were taken from the jail in which they were still

being held and lynched by an enraged mob (Durante 11). Therefore, the only solution left for the Italians to escape discrimination was to lock themselves up in their communities and recreate the life they had abandoned in Italy. As stated in reference to Panunzio, Italian communities in America were organized families and micro-societies in which the ancestral traditions present in their Italian lives were not only preserved but also recreated in the new country (Weinberg 419). By the time the American Civil War ended, it was clear that there was no American identity in which Americans could recognize themselves, which is why some socially and intellectually relevant personalities promoted nativist ideology. According to their point of view, the Catholic religion brought to America by the Italians and Irish was nothing more than a Vatican plan to subvert American democracy (Daley-Bailey 1).

This negative approach from part of the American society was certainly not propitious to improve the determination of Italian immigrants to fit in the emerging American identity. On the contrary, after the birth of the fascist movement in Italy, this ideology increased the nationalist feeling of the Italian communities, who at that point felt protected by Fascism and Benito Mussolini, who was the most prominent exponent of Fascism (Luconi, "Becoming Italian in the US" 157). Mussolini appealed to the dormant *Italianità* of the immigrants and managed to use the role of the Catholic religion in America as a vehicle for his policy (Izzo 11), so much so that the high point of this connection between Fascism and the Church occurred in 1929 with the Lateran Pacts. Becoming an instrument of political propaganda far from the suffering of the tenements, the Catholic church did not adequately support the Italians like the *paesanos* did. Therefore, there was an observable distrust in ecclesiastical personalities, which the readers experience in Paul's estrangement from religion in *Christ in Concrete*.

Three Circles of Light is a direct representation of the tragic life of the tenements and the alienation to which immigrants, whose lives were considered worthless, were left: discriminated, in slavery job conditions and without social support. Di Donato knew that the role of literature could increase the general awareness of his experience, which at 12 years old, forced him to take care of an 8-member family. This is the reason why he encouraged the younger Italian American generation to write: in a lecture in Chicago in 1978, Di Donato stated how "the Tony Macaroni writers are shot. This new breed of writers must know

the highest standards. They must become aristocrats of the soul. It is coming now, the renaissance. Our time is now. I see it, because you are no longer ‘sons of bricklayers.’ You go to school and you are children” (Gardaphé, “Italian-American Fiction” 70). Furthermore, he stated how it is the working class, specifically the common man, that holds the destiny of the world, urging communication and dialogue between nations. In his *Gospels*, Di Donato reflects on the two world wars and reminds his fellow working-class people that they have betrayed themselves, as almost all of the human beings who committed all of the war crimes are what we name the *common man*, leaving the impression that the world was created more by the Devil than by God (von Huene-Greenberg 38).

Notes

- ¹ The word is a derivation of *campanile* (“bell tower”). The *campanile*, which is ordinarily the highest and most distinctive edifice in any Italian village or town has come to symbolize loyalty to and love of one’s region, city, town, village, or even district. *Campanilismo* is a highly significant aspect of life in Italy, expressing a feeling of attachment and pride to the place where you were born. This feeling of identity can be stronger than any sense of national identity.
- ² The use of the Italian form is based on Helen Barolini quoted by Gardaphé in “Italian-American Fiction: A Third Generation Renaissance,” p. 75. There is an English translation, which is ‘Italianness’ however the text stuck to the Italian American sources.

Works Cited

- Avery, Evelyn Gross. “In Limbo: Immigrant Children and the American Dream.” *MELUS*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1981, pp. 25-31. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/467387>. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Daley-Bailey, Kate. “The Greatest Enemy of American Liberty: Catholicism?” *Bulletin for the Study of Religion Blog and Religion Nerd*, 2010, https://www.academia.edu/1594822/The_Greatest_Enemy_of_American_Liberty_Catholicism. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- D’Angelo, Pascal. *Son of Italy*. 1924. Guernica Editions, 2003.
- Di Donato, Pietro. *Christ in Concrete*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1939.
- . *Immigrant Saint: The Life of Mother Cabrini*. Mc Graw-Hill, 1960.

Religious Rituals of the Italian Community in Pietro Di Donato's Novel
Three Circles of Light

- . *Naked as an Author*. Phaedra, 1970.
- . *The Penitent*. Hawthorn Books, 1962.
- . *Three Circles of Light*. Julian Messner, Inc. 1960.
- . *This Woman*. Ballantine Books, 1958.
- Diomede, Matthew. *Pietro Di Donato: The Master Builder*. Bucknell UP, 1995.
- Durante, Francesco. *Italoamericana*. Mondadori, 2001.
- Esposito, Michael D. "The Travail of Pietro Di Donato." *MELUS*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1980, pp. 47-60. *JSTOR*, 10.2307/467084. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Fante, John. *Lettere 1932-1981*. Cooney, Seamus, ed. Osti, Alessandra, trans. Einaudi, 1991.
- Gardaphé, Fred L. *Dagoes Read: Tradition and the Italian American/Writer*. Guernica, 1996.
- . "Italian-American Fiction: A Third Generation Renaissance." *MELUS*, vol. 14, no. 3/4, 1987, pp. 69-85. *JSTOR*, 10.2307/467403. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Izzo, Donatella. "Italian American Studies: Territori, Percorsi, Proposte." *Ácoma*, 2017.
- Knapen, Arne. *This Maliditta Terra: Italian American Literature in the early Twentieth Century*. U Gent, 2014, https://libstore.ugent.be/fulltxt/RUG01/002/213/166/RUG01-002213166_2015_0001_AC.pdf. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Kozlenko, William, ed. *American Scenes*. The John Day Company, 1941.
- Kvidera, Peter. "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Catholicism in Pietro Di Donato's *Christ in Concrete*." *MELUS*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2010, pp. 157-81. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25750719>. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Luconi, Stefano. "Becoming Italian in the US: Through the Lens of Life Narratives." *MELUS*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2004, pp. 151-64. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4141848>. Accessed 5 March 2023.
- . "Forging an Ethnic Identity: The Case of Italian Americans." *Revue Française d'études Américaines*, vol. 2, no. 96, 2003, pp. 89-

101. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20874906>. Accessed 12 October 2022.
- MacKenzie, Gina Masucci. "Under-Writing: Forming an American Minority Literature." *Journal of Modern Literature*, vol. 26, no. 3/4, 2003, pp. 1-11. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30053226>. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Marazzi, Martino. "Le fondamenta sommerse della narrativa italoamericana." *Belfagor*, vol. 55, no. 3, 2000, pp. 277-96. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26147711>. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Mascitti, Benito. "Pietro Di Donato: Cristo tra i Muratori." *Rivista culturale Magazzini Inesistenti*, pp.1-2, http://www.magazzini-nesistenti.it/pietro-di-donato-cristo-tra-imura-tori-benitomascitti/?fbclid=IwAR3spheSlqGXLdW_g3D1CvC5DqCoNOcEoczoa3AttU69AgstlQtGHQ115sU. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Massini, Stefano. "Cristo si è fermato a Nuova York." *Robinson*, January 2022, p. 23.
- Michaud, Marie-Christine. "The Italians in America, from Transculturation to Identity Renegotiation." *Diasporas*, no. 19, 2011, pp. 41-51, <http://journals.openedition.org/diasporas/1788>. Accessed 20 September 2022.
- Stefania, Silvia. *From Italian American Icon to Working Class Hero: Perspectives on Pietro di Donato's Christ in Concrete*. 2017. California State University, MA dissertation, <http://pqdtopen.proquest.com/#viewpdf?dispub=10261046>. Accessed 20 September 2022.
- von Huene-Greenberg, Dorothee and Pietro Di Donato. "A MELUS Interview: Pietro Di Donato." *MELUS*, vol. 14, no. 3/4, 1987, pp. 33-52. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/467401>. Accessed 13 August 2022.
- Weinberg, Daniel E. "Viewing the Immigrant Experience in America through Fiction and Autobiography: With a Select Bibliography." *The History Teacher*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1976, pp. 409-32. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/492334>. Accessed 13 August 2022.