Fototesto

trauma e soggettività collettive

a cura di
Elisa Bricco
Marie Gaboriaud



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Spelling photos: synergies between 'shots' and 'texts' in Antonella Anedda's *Salva con nome*

Giancarlo Covella

Salva con nome is the emblematic title chosen by the leading Italian poet Antonella Anedda[1] for her phototext – one of the most intense and mature collections within her literary production, as asserted by Luigia Sorrentino[2], in which descriptive

[1] Born in Rome in 1955, Antonella Anedda (Angioy) graduated in Art History from La Sapienza University of Rome under the supervision of Augusto Gentili. Along with her passion for art-historical disciplines, which has always marked her life as well as her career, she also taught Language Mediation at both La Sapienza and the University of Siena. She has been collaborating with the USI Campus in Switzerland as a lecturer in Italian Language, Literature and Civilisation. Her poetic debut dates to 1992 with *Residenze invernali* (Crocetti), followed by *Notti di pace occidentale* (Donzelli, 1999). Both collections were awarded numerous prizes and were acknowledged immediate success, later confirmed by other works of hers: *Il catalogo della gioia* (Donzelli, 2003), *Dal balcone del corpo* (Mondadori, 2007), *Salva con nome* (Mondadori, 2012), *Historiae* (Einaudi, 2018). Alongside her poetic activity, Anedda has also been working as a translator: she edited *Appunti per una semina (Poesie e prose 1954-1994)* (Fondazione Piazzolla, 1994) and *La parola Russia* (Donzelli, 2004) from Philippe Jaccottet's *La Semaison, Carnets* (1984) and *À partir du nom Russie* (2002); *Nomi distanti* (Empirìa, 1998 and 2006[2]; Nino Aragno, 2020[3]) is a collection of 'fine imitations' inspired by poets far in time and space; finally, *Antropologia dell'acqua. Riflessioni sulla natura liquida del linguaggio* (Donzelli, 2010, with Elisa Biagini and Emanuela Tandello) is a translation of Ann Carson's *Plainwater* (1995). Her non-fiction production include: *Cosa sono gli anni* (Fazi, 1997), *La luce delle cose. Immagini e parole nella notte* (Feltrinelli, 2000), *La vita dei dettagli. Scomporre quadri, immaginare mondi* (Donzelli, 2009; Electa, 2025), *Isolatria. Viaggio nell'arcipelago della Maddalena* (Laterza, 2013), *Geografie* (Garzanti, 2021), *Poesia come ossigeno. Per un'ecologia della parola* (Chiarelettere, 2021, with Elisa Biagini), *Le piante di Darwin e i topi di Leopardi* (Interlinea, 2022). In 2023, Garzanti published Antonella Anedda's *Tutte le poesie*.

[2] Sorrentino L., «Antonella Anedda, 'Salva con nome'», in *Poesia. Il primo blog della Rai dedicato alla poesia*, 6/9/2012, https://www.luigiasorrentino.it/2012/09/06/antonella-anedda-salva-con-nome-2/.

prose and realistic poetry are intertwined under the aegis of autobiography. To quote Cecilia Bello Minciacchi's words (2013), the title is «potenzialmente polisemico»[3]; indeed, it recalls both the Italian phrase used when renaming and saving computer files and an unlikely earthly salvation 'con nome'[4]. Published by Mondadori in 2012 in its prestigious Lo Specchio series[5] and winner of the Viareggio Rèpaci and Pascoli prizes in the same year, *Salva con nome* is divided into eight sections enriched with black-and-white photos taken or collected by Anedda herself[6]. By using shots of other people's lives, whose faces hauntingly call to mind the trauma of loss (or, even worse, the fear of death[7]), the poet creates a patchwork of images and words with apparently no direct connections between them.

The inherent tension and synergy between the photographic image and the literary text have been a subject of critical inquiry since the rise of photography in the 19th century. In *Camera Lucida* (1981), Roland Barthes articulated the photograph's dual nature as both a record of 'that-has-been' (studium) and a puncturing, affective detail (punctum), emphasising its connection to mortality and the passage of time[8]. This confrontation with temporality makes photography a natural, yet often problematic, partner for literary projects that explore memory and loss, like *Salva con nome*. The phototext is a genre built upon this tension. W.G. Sebald's works, such as *The Emigrants* (1992), are quintessential examples, where uncaptioned photographs interrupt and comment on the prose, generating an unsettling documentary effect and blurring the lines between fiction and historical fact[9]. The images function not merely as illustration, but as independent, enigmatic entities that the text must negotiate, paralleling Anedda's approach where the iconic

[3] Bello Minciacchi C., «Recensione a Antonella Anedda, 'Salva con nome' (Mondadori, 2012)», in *Puntocritico2*, 4/02/2013, https://puntocritico2.wordpress.com/2013/02/24/recensione-a-antonella-anedda-salva-con-nome-mondadori-milano-2012/.

[4] *Ibidem*.

[5] Anedda A., *Salva con nome*, Mondadori, Milano 2012. In 2009, an extensive selection from the book appeared in *Nuovi Argomenti* 48, pp. 143-151.

[6] Thirteen images appear in the book, including the portrait on the back cover. I would like to thank the poet for granting permission to use the ones published herein.

[7] Most photos are grainy reproductions printed on poor paper.

[8] Barthes R., *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Hill & Wang, New York 1981, pp. 26-27, 96.

[9] Sebald W.G., *The Emigrants*, New Directions, New York 1992, pp. 3, 70, 149.



Fig. 1 Antonella Anedda, *Salva con nome*, Mondadori, Milano, 2012 p. 6.

and verbal elements do not address each other, «ma piuttosto parlano *insieme* della realtà»[10], to recall Giuseppe Carrara's words (2020).

Among the ones worth mentioning, the first picture [Fig. 1] is the one next to the prose introducing the book, namely the face of an anonymous girl together with part of a plea-alike, hardly decodable handwritten message; another one [Fig. 2] is the image of an empty frame, the first 'figurative verse' of a poem titled «Spettri» (which will be addressed in detail hereafter). Further on, a picture of two bombed, partially destroyed buildings [Fig. 3] introduces the poem «1943»; an image of a Fascist sanatorium [Fig. 4] and a portrait of a smiling, anonymous woman [Fig. 5] then follow, anticipating the picture of a mother with two chil-

[10] Carrara G., *Storie a vista. Retorica e poetiche del fototesto*, Mimesis, Milano 2020, p. 251.

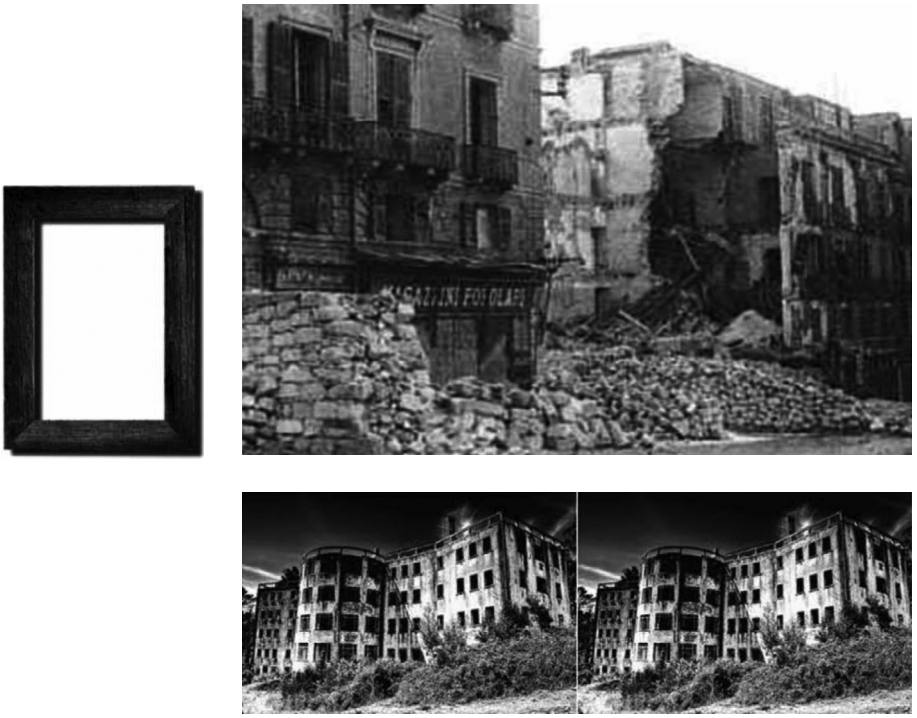


Fig. 2, 3, 4 Antonella Anedda, *Salva con nome*, Mondadori, Milano 2012, pp. 13, 17, 19.

dren [Fig. 6]. Finally, a sense of emptiness is represented via seven overlapping frames [Fig. 7], one after another: the canvases are missing, no landscapes nor portraits exist, and only empty orbits remain.

This use of anonymous or collected photographs, especially those bearing the 'trauma of loss', resonates with the critical concept of the 'vernacular' or 'found' photograph. In *On Photography* (1977), Susan Sontag discusses how photographs, by making a moment permanent, inevitably become artefacts of death and loss[11]. When a writer appropriates and recontextualises such found images, the text attempts to perform a 'rescue operation', giving narrative and emotional form to images that are otherwise socially and historically unmoored. Anedda's patchwork of images and words attempts to 'save as' not just a file, but the anonymous faces and historical fragments she collects.

Loss, death and time serve as a common thread for the poet's collection: by questioning fragments of her own experience and dealing with the physi(ologi) cal details of her own existence, she daringly calls forth the longing and despair

[11] Sontag S., *On Photography*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York 1977, pp. 14-16, 69.



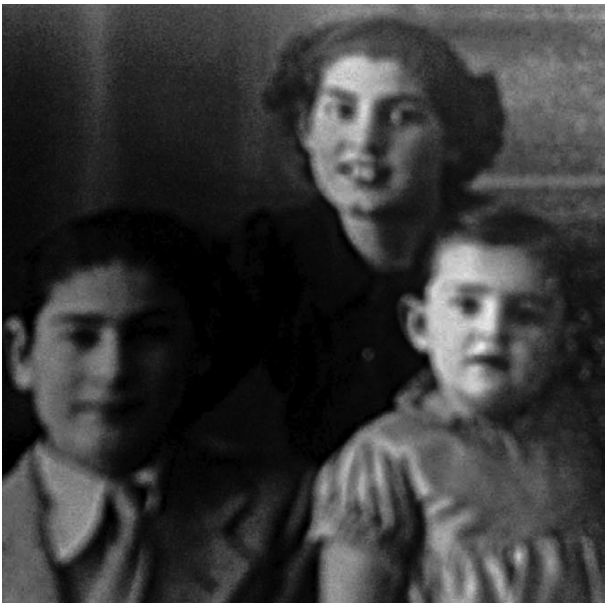




Fig. 5, 6, 7 Antonella Anedda, *Salva con nome*, Mondadori, Milano 2012, pp. 28, 44, 49.

underlying absence. «Perdere? è una porta sul vuoto»[12], she wrote on the last page of *La vita dei dettagli* (2009), the second book explicitly devoted to Fine Arts; to

[12] Anedda A., *La vita dei dettagli. Scomporre quadri, immaginare mondi*, Donzelli, Roma 2009, p. 177.

her, losing is like opening a door and having nothing but the void on the other side. *Salva con nome* willingly goes through this very door and focuses on the conflict with identity and the desire for 'loss':

> Perdere: smettere di possedere, dare oltrepassando, dal lat. dāre per, donare attraverso, scavalcare se stessi smarrendo, smarrendosi. Perdere oggetti e beni, perdere quanto è caro. Difficoltà del perdere. […] Ognuna di queste possibilità mi appartiene. Credo di avere imparato quest'arte abbastanza ma mai fino in fondo. Qual è l'opposto di perdere: accumulare quanto di inutile si addensa sulle nostre vite. […] Unisco perdere e perdono, perdere il rancore, perdere la memoria, parificare quanto si era addensato. Si piange una perdita, le lacrime colano via dal corpo, si perde sangue. Perdere perdere[13].

It is about losing oneself then, but also about learning the others' loss: *Salva con nome*'s poetic writing is both «ammaestramento» and «tregua»[14]. In particular, the former is some kind of training, an inner exercise mostly carried out alone and deeply influenced by one's emotional state. It is something that shifts and transforms, much like the wind: at times gentle and peaceful, at times restless and turbulent. But «ammaestramento» is also a way to soften the blow of loss. We lose loved ones – we gather losses over time, to recall a section from *La vita dei dettagli* – and we often struggle to work through grief; however, these losses are more connected to space than to the passage of time, where space is meant as a kind of pause, a respite («tregua») between life and death. This idea of respite also involves the act of looking, the effort of concentration and, ultimately, the practice of writing: to Anedda, writing is like cutting and sewing, a patchwork-like method that brings together pieces that are worn and frayed. As for images, the same metaphor vividly captures the function of the photograph within the literary text. Photography, as a medium, is inherently an act of 'cutting' – it surgically excises a moment from the flow of time and isolates a detail. The literary text then acts as the 'sewing' – it reassembles these isolated moments, often disparate and disconnected shots, into a coherent, if frayed, narrative of self and memory[15]. This process is not about achieving wholeness but about creating a viable

[13] *Ibidem*.

[14] Verbaro C., «L'arte dello spazio di Antonella Anedda», in *Arabeschi* 5, 2015, pp. 23-35, 27, http://www.arabeschi.it/uploads/pdf/verbaro_anedda.pdf.

[15] Donati R., «'Perdersi in altri corpi': su *Salva con nome* di Antonella Anedda», in Paino M., Rizzarelli M., Sichera A. (eds), *Scritture del corpo*, Atti del XVIII Convegno Internazionale della MOD, 22-24 giugno 2016, Edizioni ETS, Pisa 2019, pp. 125-132, 131.

form from fragments. This act echoes the postmodernist view that grand narratives are impossible and all that remains are fragmentary archives[16]. By using grainy reproductions and anonymous faces, Anedda's work highlights the fragility of this archive and the necessity of the writer's intervention to have the residual pieces shape reality.

Furthermore, the relationship between the visual art of photography and the literary metaphor of cutting and sewing highlights a broader theme in phototexts: the ethics of representation[17]. When dealing with images of trauma or loss, especially found or anonymous photos, the text assumes a responsibility: it must use the 'sharp objects' of the medium – the photographic cut, the poetic fragmentation – to achieve connection without the illusion of total repair or restoration. This ethical balancing act is crucial in phototexts that attempt to deal with historical or personal trauma, where the photograph's stark reality risks becoming exploitative or sentimental if the text does not maintain a degree of critical distance.

In this metaphor, the needle does not merely mend what time has torn: it reassembles. In her view, this process of «stitching together» is not just restoration, but also a way of layering and overlapping presences and memories – whether ghosts, shadows or echoes. Through this delicate, attentive work, writing becomes both a gesture of survival and a way of giving form to the invisible traces left by what has been lost. Everything is defined as «space» in this collection, so much so that Anedda even names a small series of poems after this topic. In *Salva con nome* space is always exposed, insecure, restless[18]; it is defined precisely by virtue of a loss and is thus both memory and tangible proof of that very loss. It is above all a means of communication between the living and the dead, in which the thought of death can be made (at least) bearable.

An example of this idea of space can be found in the poem «Spettri», whose text is enigmatically preceded by an empty frame [Fig. 2]:

> Sostentati dal nulla
> esistenti solo dove si sogna
> fluttuanti senza sapere
> non più concreti del vapore
> che sale dalla teiera

[16] Foster H., «The Archival Impulse», in *October* 110, 2004, pp. 3-22.

[17] Hirsch M., *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1997, pp. 6-7.

[18] Verbaro C., *L'arte dello spazio di Antonella Anedda*, op. cit., p. 29.

> eppure ancora capaci di sentire
> la forma di ogni separazione
> la precisione con cui la morte
> ci tagliava via uno dall'altro:
> lo spazio che faceva esponendoci
> vuoti di luce, poi sfaldati[19].

A relevant question now arises: what are these ghosts' features? They embody nothingness, they exist only in dreams; they float without even being aware of their own condition; their substantiality is certainly no greater than steam; and yet, they still manage to feel the shape of any separation, the precise moment in which death severs us from life; finally, they are bound to flake apart as if light emptied them.

The space within the frame, the one where the living and the dead are placed together, is defined by the above-mentioned metaphor: this image recurs in most of Anedda's literary production and predominates the central section of the book, introduced by a quotation from Louise J. Bourgeois:

> Quand'ero piccola, tutte le donne di casa maneggiavano aghi. Mi hanno sempre affascinato gli aghi, hanno un potere magico. L'ago serve a ricucire gli strappi. È una richiesta di perdono. Non è mai aggressivo, non è uno spillo[20].

The scissors cut, split and analyse; the needle sews different parts, binds what death separates. Nevertheless, the act of sewing combines details and shapes new, previously unseen fragments. As Riccardo Donati (2020) actually recalls:

> Aghi e forbici non solo non permettono una vera ricomposizione (ciò che si è strappato non torna mai intero, la trama del tempo non si ricompone) ma sono pur sempre oggetti affilati, pericolosi, potenzialmente offensivi. Maneggiandoli, anche con la massima perizia e le migliori intenzioni, ci si può far male[21].

The dead are often assigned the burden of setting their gaze on the world and interpreting it, but most of the time it is the living who wish to peer into the realm

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[19] Anedda A., *Salva con nome*, op. cit., p. 13.

[20] Ivi, p. 61.

[21] Donati R., *Apri gli occhi e resisti. L'opera in versi e in prosa di Antonella Anedda*, Carocci, Roma 2020, p. 55.

of the dead so as to decipher and learn their language. Subject and object 'steal' each other's role: one of the most significant poems in the collection, «Video», is indeed linked to this reversal. As Bello Minciacchi suggests (2013)[22], in this text Anedda properly deals with the separation between the world of the living and that of the dead: we think that they want to return from the world they are in, that they (still) miss our world, that they suffer from nostalgia, but this is just an illusion, our own illusion.

Placed in the last section of the book, «Video» draws inspiration from an installation created by Bill Viola for the 2007 Venice Biennale, *An Ocean Without a Shore*. In Viola's work, the dead are depicted with grief and nostalgia: while they may have never departed, they are still intangible. About «Video», Anedda has especially emphasised the boundary (and thus the distance) between life and death, the impossibility of coming back, the vanity of our claims since we belong to the living:

> Chi se ne è andato non desidera tornare.
> Pensiamo che si strugga per il mondo
> prestandogli la nostra nostalgia.
> L'oleandro che trema, l'abete
> che si sfrangia più latteo nella luna
> e tutta la bellezza incomprensibile
> che ci ostiniamo a raccontare.
>
> Se i morti vedono ci guardano scrutare l'illusione di un muro
> bussare per entrare o chiamare
> come i pazzi che cullano le pietre
> bisbigliando loro: amore[23].

The poem encapsulates the power of the phototext to explore the 'gaze of the dead' (a concept often linked to the photographic subject) and the living's nostalgia for them. Bill Viola's video art, like photography, deals with the spectral and the passage of time, yet by using the medium of video – a sequence of moving images – it also suggests a sustained, continuous presence that static photography denies. Anedda's choice to reference this is significant: it highlights the living's

[22] Bello Minciacchi C., «L'identità, la morte, l'ago della memoria. *Salva con nome* di Antonella Anedda», in *Oblio* 3, 11, 2013, pp. 124-133.

[23] Anedda A., *Salva con nome*, op. cit., p. 114.

desire to 'rewind' or 'replay' the dead, an act often associated with endlessly revisiting photographs, to retrieve the lost connection. On the other hand, Anedda insists on the dead's ultimate detachment: the departed do not wish to return. The phototext thus becomes a site where the visual's promise of preservation is textually negated, leaving only the illusion of a wall («l'illusione di un muro») that the living ideally – and fruitlessly – knock upon.

Regarding the hypothesis about how much the dead sense of our emotions, of our desire to have them back, Maria Grazia Calandrone (2012) writes:

> In *Salva con nome* i morti non hanno desiderio di tornare, non hanno più alcun bisogno di esistere, saranno forse alberi, domani. Altrove Anedda scriveva che forse non conosciamo ancora la parola che servirebbe a farli voltare. Non è il nostro corpo, non è il bisogno che abbiamo di loro, tanto meno è l'incidente del nome, ci dice oggi[24].

In brief, «Video» is an exemplary poem, in that it conveys a theme which is key in Anedda's literary production: death and the dead, something she has always been obsessed with. As she states in *La vita dei dettagli*:

> Avevo sette anni quando ho visto morire una persona che amavo. Da allora per semplice destino, mi è capitato di trovarmi vicino a chi moriva. Ogni volta l'assenza, la trasformazione del corpo in un cadavere, il vuoto, gli oggetti abbandonati, il silenzio, tutto ciò che noi vivi chiamiamo morte, non ha mai smesso quietamente, inutilmente, di ossessionarmi[25].

In her debut book *Residenze Invernali*, as Carmelo Princiotta (2016)[26] reminds us, Anedda somehow dealt with the dead lingering in history (especially the Shoah victims), but also with the dead belonging to her own family, whereas in *Nomi distanti* the dead of the great poetic tradition were recalled, with whom she

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[24] Calandrone M.G., «Anedda, solitudine e consolazione in una umidità vegetale», in *Il Manifesto*, 11/4/2012, https://www.mariagraziacalandrone.it/2012/08/10/anedda-salva-con-nome-il-manifesto-11-aprile-2012/.

[25] Anedda A., *La vita dei dettagli*, op. cit., p. 131.

[26] Princiotta C., «Libro di poesia e testo esemplare: *Salva con nome* allo specchio di *Video*», in Baldassarri G., Di Iasio V., Ferroni G., Pietrobon E. (eds), *I cantieri dell'italianistica. Ricerca, didattica e organizzazione agli inizi del XXI secolo*, Adi editore, Roma 2016, pp. 1-7.



Fig. 8 Antonella Anedda, *Salva con nome*, Mondadori, Milano 2012, p. 117.

established a peer-to-peer dialogue in the distance. In *Notti di pace occidentale* the anonymous dead of the first Gulf War and the conflict in former Yugoslavia were implied, whereas in *Il catalogo della gioia* she addressed dead love – whether in a real or metaphorical sense. In *Dal balcone del corpo* it was about two darling lovers or the ravaging grief over a close figure (her mother), whereas in *Salva con nome* the dead are involved simply as such.

In *Salva con nome*'s latest prose, «Visi. Collages. Isola della Maddalena», which has been particularly praised by the critics, the accompanying photo [Fig. 8] shows the ex-votos on a wall of the Trinity Church at La Maddalena in Sardinia, «un piccolo edificio a navata unica appena fuori dal paese e poco distante dal camposanto»[27], described as

> Un immenso collage di visi e volti di epoche diverse, alcuni ancora vivi altri già morti mescolati tra loro quasi sempre senza cognomi, solo i nomi, le date, le brevi frasi di invocazione o di ringraziamento[28].

Once again, in the face of this mingling of souls the name thus takes on negligible significance, as it analogically triggers a different image, namely that of

[27] Anedda A., *Isolatria. Viaggio nell'arcipelago della Maddalena*, Laterza, Bari 2013, p. 84.
[28] Ivi, p. 85.

the wide stained-glass windows guarding the bones of 800 martyrs in Otranto Cathedral, «uccisi perché avevano rifiutato di convertirsi all'Islam»[29], whose identity, gender and age are unknown:

> Questo confondersi, che dovrebbe insegnarci quanto puerilmente siamo attaccati ai nostri nomi, mi ha ricordato di colpo il grande vetro – quasi un quadro – che conserva le ossa degli 800 martiri in una cappella della cattedrale di Otranto. […] Stipate dietro un vetro che ha molte parti già offuscate, le tibie sono molto più numerose dei minuscoli crani collocati in alto e di cui non sappiamo né il sesso né l'età né il nome[30].

The amalgamation of photographs, ex-votos and the ossuary's stained glass in *Salva con nome* emphasises a common ground between popular, religious and artistic forms of memorialisation. The ex-votos, like the anonymous photos, represent an archive of faces and names that have slipped into collective memory, their individual stories subsumed by the gesture of devotion. This act of anonymisation is critical, as it is the puerile attachment to our names («quanto puerilmente siamo attaccati ai nostri nomi») that the book – with its title – ironically questions. Against this backdrop, the phototext moves from a personal, autobiographical engagement with loss (the mother's death) to a collective, anthropological reflection on mortality, a trajectory often seen in politically engaged phototexts. In *Another Way of Telling* (1982), John Berger and Jean Mohr explore how photography can reveal layers of experience otherwise inaccessible, suggesting that a photograph's meaning is fundamentally made by the text that accompanies it, rather than being inherent[31]. Anedda's work echoes this, where the nameless martyrs and the anonymous faces in her photographs are given significance (not a name, but a meaning) through the poetic text that frames them within a reflection on that 'door to the void'.

Italo Testa (2014) ingeniously grasps the point when asking himself «che cosa possono le poesie e l'arte contro questo confondersi?»[32]. The answer is disarmingly simple: nothing. We cannot linger on this side and all we can do is go through

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[29] *Ibidem*.

[30] *Ibidem*.

[31] Berger J., Mohr J., *Another Way of Telling*, Pantheon Books, New York 1982, pp. 89-91.

[32] Testa I., «L'irriconoscibile in Antonella Anedda», in *Doppiozero*, 7/3/2014, https://www.doppiozero.com/lirriconoscibile-in-antonella-anedda.

that door to the void. After all, *Salva con nome* is but that: the account of a crossing, the narrative around the courage to investigate the face of the faceless, to give a name to the nameless, to scour that further life, to see the life of details precisely in that void.

As mentioned elsewhere[33], there is an extremely close connection between photography and autobiography. Indeed, photographs mark all the rites of passage and the key moments of both social and individual life. Such a relationship works not only in a positive sense, but also (and perhaps more poignantly) in a negative sense: by crystalising a moment in the past, a photograph «fa scattare tutte le discrasie, le lacune, le incrinature della memoria»[34]. As with many other works in which the verbal and visual elements, the literary and photographic objects, memory and ghostly re-elaboration are tightly interwoven, *Salva con nome* stems from the trauma of a loss – the death of the poet's mother (as evidenced by the photograph of the smiling woman on page 28). The work challenges and even overturns the emotional and memorial value traditionally attributed to images, which can only be saved unpredictably thanks to details capable of subverting expectations. *Salva con nome* can thus be read as a sequence of «punti di sutura iconotestuali»[35] that the author applies in response to the constant unravelling and fraying of bodies and their memory. The image does not simply preserve or commemorate; instead, it opens up a space of tension and reconfiguration. In this sense, photographs are not meant to be a static archive of what once was, but rather a shifting territory where memory is always partial, fragmented and in need of repair. By layering text and image, a kind of mending is performed, a delicate reconciliation of what remains in the wake of loss, and a reflection on the fragile ways in which we try to hold onto those we have lost.

Therefore, the phototext is fundamentally a site of negotiation between the photograph's brute, undeniable presence of 'that-has-been' and the text's capacity for complex, layered meaning. It offers a critical distance from the simple, sentimental view of the photograph as a pure mnemonic device. On the other hand, its static nature triggers all the discrepancies, the gaps, the cracks in memory, requiring the literary text to step in not as an illustration, but as a reconstructive, critical gaze. This makes the phototext genre, as exemplified by Anedda's work, a

[33] Fusillo M., *Feticci. Letteratura, cinema, arti visive*, il Mulino, Bologna 2012, p. 74.

[34] *Ibidem*.

[35] Donati R., «'Perdersi in altri corpi': su *Salva con nome* di Antonella Anedda», art.cit., p. 131.

sophisticated exploration of both post-memory and the cultural struggle to give ethical and aesthetic form to fragmentation and absence[36]. The life of details ('vita dei dettagli') that Anedda seeks in the void shaped by the act of losing is achieved precisely through this tension, where photography provides the irreparable 'cut' and poetry offers the provisional, but essential, 'suture'.

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[36] Hirsch M., *Family Frame*, op. cit., p. 22.

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