

# 6 Timely faces<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Symbolic “artificial” faces

Every now and then, when watching the media, we come across faces that significantly embody some cultural models that are crucial to understanding the meaning of our times. They are “artificial” in the sense that even if they belong to actual people, they are the result of representational work. They are symbolic because they signify some abstract concepts that are central to our culture in a certain historical period. It is in this sense, for example, that Roland Barthes once remarked that the faces of Greta Garbo and of Audrey Hepburn, in the various movies circulating in the fifties, admirably represented that particular moment when cinema was about to extract an existential beauty from an essential one (Barthes 1957).

The faces I want to talk about are of this kind. They are those of the young protagonists of *La vie d’Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* (Kechiche 2013) and *Jeune Femme* (Serraille 2017), two movies awarded at the Cannes Film Festival, respectively, with the Palme D’Or and the Caméra d’Or prizes. Their representation led several Italian film critics to argue that “exaggerating Flaubert, *Adèle c’est nous* [Adèle is us]”,<sup>2</sup> since the girl embodies “the basic problem of the loneliness of the contemporary individual, of the misery of the proposals for liberation and for full and profound self-affirmation that this era offers”.<sup>3</sup> Other critics, also forming part of the Italian scene, considered Paula, the hero of Serraille’s film, as “a matrix upon which a face selected at random from the batch of contemporary European youth could be affixed”.<sup>4</sup> For them, she is “one of the most authentic female characters of recent years”,<sup>5</sup> one who “symbolizes the shouts of the new generations wanting to claim their place in the world”.<sup>6</sup> My hypothesis is that if Adèle and Paula look so meaningful, in the Italian cultural context, it is because they both represent a typical strategy that many persons follow to find a sense to their life in a society where social mobility – or, more generally, conceiving one’s own existential project, believing that one day it will be achieved – has become almost impossible.

In fact, if we look at their stories, the protagonists of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* are some kind of *vagabonds*. From the very beginning of the films in which they appear, they do not know who they actually are or who they want to become. So, like many people of their age, they seek their own path, experimenting freely with the many opportunities offered by Paris and Lille, the towns where they live. Between heterosexual and homosexual love affairs, jobs, and homes of varying prestige, the two girls, both of whom come from the suburbs and from the petite middle class, understand that they are different from the people who populate their places of origin. Hence, they try to settle into the upper class because their significant others belong to it. Nevertheless, they realize that the world is made of rigidly separated niches and that, even if these niches seem to be open to everyone, in many of them, they cannot find a place for themselves. This ends up causing pain to Adèle and Paula, but it does not lead them to make any political demands. It is simply that, at the end of their stories, they find themselves alone, and they have to continue on their way without yet having understood where they will go.

Since they do not have clear existential projects, the two girls look for the meaning of their life by trial and error. They seem to believe that it will eventually manifest itself as they accumulate the most varied experiences. This is the reason why the sensorial organs of their faces – their mouths and skin, in particular, but even Paula's heterochromatic eyes – are very central to their representation, so much as to become the main subjects of the posters for the movies. They are a metaphor for the difficulty faced by the two protagonists of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and of *Jeune Femme* in following one single ideally predefined trajectory. Rather than distantly looking towards the endpoint of an existential path upon which to center their life, they have to grope for the meaning of the many situations in which they find themselves immersed. In practice, paraphrasing Barthes again, they symbolically represent that particular moment when cinema was about to differentiate the notions of the meaning of life either as something towards which to aim or as something that one does not know where it can be found, but that may suddenly become manifest as one wanders through the world. In fact, a synonym of the word “meaning” is “sense”: sense as a *direction* that can no longer be pursued and that transforms itself into a *sensation*, the last refuge for the existential quest of the new generations who can only dare – or maybe gamble – to find it this way, especially if they do not belong to the upper classes.

To demonstrate that this interpretation of the two movies and of the iconic faces of their protagonists is correct, I will compare them to the contents of another film about a young woman who is very representative of our times: Chiara Ferragni, the famous influencer. I will then analyze *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* (Amoruso 2019), the documentary film that

tells the story of her life, showing how she started off as an outsider to the world of fashion and how she achieved glory and fame counting only on her talent. Once again, in this movie, the representation of the protagonist's face is central in particular as regards her beautiful blue eyes that so clearly see what she wants and that direct the choices she has to make in her private and professional life. So much so that her eyes – or maybe, more significantly, if compared to the two-colored eyes of Paula in *Jeune Femme*, one of them – become the logo of her fashion company. Since she was young, Chiara Ferragni knew that she liked fashion, and eventually, she became a star in the field.

What interests me here is that many commentators in Italy have criticized the message conveyed by *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted*, defining it as something of a fairy tale that may be misleading for many young spectators who might believe that their life can also be such. But in many reviews, the authors pointed out that the famous influencer is the daughter of a wealthy family and of a mother who already worked in the fashion industry. Moreover, they stressed that great marketing strategists have always been helping her. Actually, these critics, even without referring to *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* or to *Jeune Femme*, seem to share the same worldview as the new generations depicted in these films, to the point where they believe that real life is more similar to the fictional stories of which the films tell. They radically contrast the world view portrayed therein with the one pursued by persons such as Chiara Ferragni, who they judge to be even more “fake”.<sup>7</sup> Hence, I will compare the cultural model of the *self-made woman*, which the story told in *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* clearly embodies, to that of the aforementioned vagabonds, showing how central their opposition is for understanding the meaning of our experience of life nowadays, at least in the Italian context.

## 2. Some preliminary theoretical considerations

Before delving into the analysis of the faces and films I have written about, I feel it necessary to offer some indications as to the method that I will use. It is a method that derives from the *structural semiotic* tradition, and it is based on the idea that when we need to interpret the world, we recur to signs and narratives that are in our mind and that we use to classify what we are faced with (Ferraro 2012). Such signs and narratives make sense because they are encoded into structures we all know and share. These structures put them into some logical relations, most of the time in opposition to one another (Saussure 1916; Hjelmslev 1943). For example, if we see the image of a tiger in an adventure movie and want to understand its meaning, in our mind, we will oppose it to the images of herbivorous or domestic animals. Then, we will oppose the stories about the relationships

between humans and wild predators to those between humans and harmless animals. Similarly, if we see a face in another movie, we will recognize the signs used to create it but also the narrative structure of the story of its owner. Doing so, we will recognize the face as being similar to some other faces and different from some other ones, and this operation will enable us to give it a meaning.

Starting from these convictions, Lévi-Strauss (1979) once demonstrated, in his studies on Salish swaihwé masks, that although they may look very different from the Kwakiutl dzonokwa ones, they are actually similar because they have the same meaning for the populations who produced them. At the same time, although they have many traits in common with the Kwakiutl wxewwé masks, they are actually different because the stories of the characters they represent talk about the same concepts, but they have opposite narrative structures. What I want to do with my analysis is analogous. However, instead of studying exotic cultures, I want to show how Italian culture works to make the faces of the protagonists of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* look similar, even if the two actresses who embody them are physically different. At the same time, even if, like Chiara Ferragni, Adèle, and Paula are two young and beautiful women, I want to demonstrate that their faces have the same meaning as one another because the signs used to represent them and the narrative structures of their stories are in similar opposition to the ones used in *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted*, which are typical of another kind of stories.

Nevertheless, behind my analysis, there is another theoretical conviction. It is connected to the explanation of the fact that, as I have mentioned earlier, the critics of the three movies have affirmed that the two fictional characters which are Adèle and Paula are “real”, in the sense that they actually resemble the young people forming the new generation while Chiara Ferragni, who claims to tell her own true story, is not believed. In fact, many think that she has somehow “fictionalized” her chronicle, making it look like something of a fairy tale. Actually, as I will show better in the following paragraphs, fairy tales can tell the true meaning of life as envisioned by a certain culture. For example, Propp (1946) demonstrated that the narrative structure of Russian magical fairy tales reminds of the initiation rites seen in many other parts of the world, and anthropologists know that initiation rites, like myths and other narratives, reproduce the vision of reality upheld by the populations they belong to (Van Genep 1909). This is due to the presence, behind every factual or fictional discourse about our way of being in the world, of some similar *cultural models* that, like signs and narratives, are tools that we use to classify our experience of life by opposition, so as to give it meaning. Such cultural models are actually made of signs and narratives. In fact, elsewhere,

I define them as recurring discursive configurations with specific narrative structures that connect some signs so as to give them a certain connotative meaning (Santangelo 2012). We recur to them every time we have to talk about a particular topic, and they enable us to take a position towards it. Hence, the problem with *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* is not that it conveys a fairy tale but that such a fairy tale embodies a cultural model which is no longer believable for portraying the meaning of the life of the young people of today because it is too elitist. It is more realistic, when talking about this topic, to construct discourses such as the ones we can find in *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* because the class of persons whose existential experience has a similar meaning is wider. In the following pages, I will try to show how the cultural models from which the three movies derive oppose one another, why they are so central to understanding our times, and how they determine the representation of the faces of their protagonists.

### 3. Two similar stories

As I wrote before, a cultural model is a semiotic tool that enables us to interpret some seemingly different discourses in the same way, focusing on their analogies more than on their differences. We give such discourses the same meaning because we recognize that they are based on similar narrative configurations of the same signs. Therefore, to become aware of the existence of cultural models and to describe them, we have to find that different texts on the same topics function in the same way. This is exactly what happens if we compare *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme*.<sup>8</sup>

As I have anticipated, both of these works are about young women trying to define their identity, to find their place in the world. These girls come from petit bourgeois families on the outskirts of Lille and Paris, and they both experience leaving the environment in which they were born. They both enter into relationships with artists belonging to the upper middle class: Paula falls in love with Joachim, an older established photographer, while Adèle falls in love with Emma, a painter who is also a little bit more mature and who is studying at the Academy of Fine Arts. Both, however, experience being violently ejected from the lives of their respective lovers: *Jeune Femme* begins just like this, with the door of Joachim's flat closed in Paula's face and with her screaming and banging her head against this barrier to get it reopened, injuring her forehead. *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2*, on the other hand, gradually reaches this situation after the protagonist, having moved in with Emma, cheats on her with a colleague and, having been discovered, is sent away.

The similarities between the two films continue. Paula begins to wander from one social context to another, looking for a place to settle down. She finds two jobs: one as a babysitter for the daughter of a wealthy woman, who also gives her a place to sleep in the attic of her beautiful house in the center of Paris, and another as a saleswoman in a shopping center, where she meets Ousmane, a black security guard, separated and with a son, with whom she starts a fleeting relationship. However, Paula also seems to fall in love with Yuki, a girl she met by chance in the metro, with whom she explores the world of nightclubs. She tries to get hosted by Joachim's rich friends. She even agrees to see her former lover again, when he backtracks and goes looking for her. Finally, she also meets her mother, with whom she has a stormy relationship and who would like her to return home, but she decisively flees.

Adèle, for her part, is no less of a wanderer. In the first "chapter" of her existence – the film portrays her as a teenager and then as an adult – she accepts the courtship of Thomas, a schoolmate, who is deemed highly desirable by her friends. The two make love, but the spark does not ignite, at least for Adèle. She realizes that she feels attracted to women and, in particular, to Emma, the nonconformist blue-haired painter, who she finds to embody the ideals of beauty and freedom that she reads about in her literature classes or in her philosophy books. However, after letting herself be swayed by passion and moving in with her partner in a social context very different from the one from which she comes, she does not feel understood or valued, except as the object of Emma's own artistic expression. The two women, animated by irreconcilable existential horizons, drift apart until the aforementioned betrayal, perpetrated by Adèle with a man whom, for a moment, she feels closer to. In fact, he belongs to the world she has chosen for herself by inclination, that of teaching children. Only, having been discovered and then driven away, Adèle feels she wants to get back with her former lover at all costs – a hope that, unfortunately, proves to be in vain, as Emma makes a new life for herself with another woman who, like her, is well connected within the world of art.

Both Adèle and Paula, therefore, "wander" between one life experience and another, accepting and transgressing rules and clichés, in search of their own identity, which they do not find. In this regard, both films end with the protagonists having yet another strong and significant experience, one that is painful but not resolved. For Paula, there is her choice to abort alone in a hospital, renouncing the child she conceived with Ousmane. For Adèle, there is her participation in Emma's first triumphant *vernissage*, in which she finds out that she is now but a past memory for the artist, perpetuated through the paintings hanging on the walls. Hence, they both end up walking down the street thoughtfully, alone, passing through anonymous places, where they feel they do not belong.

#### 4. A similar narrative structure

The narrative structure of the two movies is shown in Figure 6.1. To understand it, it is necessary to know that among the narrative structures to which we recur, particularly relevant for the study of faces, we have those of *Alpha class* stories (Ferraro 2019: 96–98). Such stories focus on how to determine the *identity* of their main characters (and we all have a sense of how closely faces are tied to identity), depending on the relationship between an individual value system, also called the *perspective instance*, and a collective value system, called the *sending instance* (Ferraro 2012: 172–174). The former gives rise to all the parts of this kind of story in which we talk about the meaning that things and events take on in the eyes of their protagonist, based on his or her innermost personal convictions. The latter, on the other hand, is responsible for the meaning that those same elements of the narrated story acquire for the other characters who constitute the social reality in which the protagonist operates, who have their own way of seeing. Between these two instances, various types of relationships can exist, and such relationships play a fundamental role in determining the identity of the characters who embody them. For example, such characters can be those who fight for their individual value systems as opposed to a collective value system they consider to be unjust. Conversely, they can be the individuals whose personal value systems coincide with those of others. In other words, they can be subjects with an individual value system that differs from the collective one, subjects who decide to not oppose to it, and so on. It is clear that even the overall meaning of the events of their stories depends on the relationship between the sending instance and the perspective one.

In *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme*, the perspective instance represented by the two protagonists and their desire for freedom push them to search for themselves regardless of social expectations. However, this desire clashes with the sending instance represented by the social rules that inform the various niches of society in which the young women try to settle down. The characters who populate them would like to define the identities of Adèle and Paula, telling the girls who they should be, but this does not make sense to them. For example, when Adèle affirms that she dreams of becoming an elementary school teacher, Emma urges her to rather write novels because in the upper class to which she belongs, people admire artists who express themselves more so than teachers who repeat the words of others, taking care of the education of children. The fact that she paints Adèle in her works also allows her to define the identity of her lover and to share it across her own social context, regardless of what the latter thinks of herself and wishes to show publicly. Paula, for her part, lives through a similar experience,

as she too is “defined” by Joachim’s successful photos and as her partner expels her from his life, once again because he judges her unsuitable for him. In fact, he has a prestigious job and clear existential goals while she is unemployed at the beginning of the film, having just returned from a trip abroad in search of herself. However, when Joachim tells her to go to work, it does not make sense to Paula because the girl has no idea of what she would like to do.

Unlike their lovers, Adèle and Paula do not know who they are and would simply like to understand it through their own self-experience. Only, they realize that this is complicated if even love is governed by the values of the social contexts to which the people they meet belong, and as soon as they stray from them to try something else, they are brutally thrown out. They also experience what it means to be part of the world of their parents, work colleagues, schoolmates, and friends, who all do the same thing: they attempt to judge and define who the girls should be. Unfortunately, they both fail to adhere to any of the models they come across because within the boundaries imposed upon them, they struggle to recognize their own identity. Hence, they end up “wandering” between one sending instance and another (this is the meaning of the different arrows in Figure 6.1). However, they remain cut off (this is the meaning of the horizontal line in Figure 6.1) without ever finding a home for good.

This narrative structure is perfectly recognized by the Italian film critics, who consider it decisive in its capacity to tell what life is like for young people today. Of the protagonist of *Jeune Femme*, for example, someone writes that

undecided with respect to her means, her affections, her ambitions, Paula is the mirror of a generation that no longer identifies with the bourgeois ideals and aspirations of the second half of the 20th century, . . . yet is too weak to propose an alternative model.<sup>9</sup>

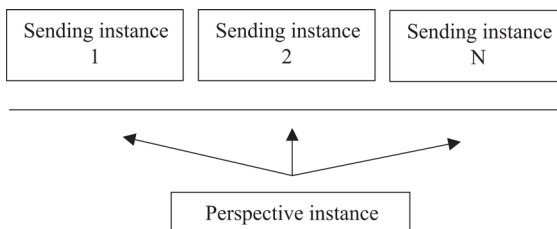


Figure 6.1 Antonio Santangelo. 2022. *The narrative structure of Adèle's and Paula's stories*. Copyright: Upon a kind concession by Antonio Dante Santangelo.



Her wandering between one sending instance and another, in search of her own identity, may be traced back to the aesthetics of *flânerie*, so often used by the directors of the French *nouvelle vague*. But one commentator rightly points out that

compared to the films of the Young Turks, Serraille's is the child of a more written and less free script, as well as of a worldview in which the protagonist's bewilderment and her losing herself in the nonsense of everyday life is not a declaration of anarchy with regard to the rules, but rather a way of re-entering them.<sup>10</sup>

Paula, in fact, does not wander because she is non-conformist, but only because she does not understand, a priori, what should be the sending instance that establishes the values of that part of society in which she wishes to live. Thus, she tries different paths, but they never take her where she really wants to go: "throughout the film, she never delivers her character to a recognizable or calculatingly lovable model, remaining a constantly changing, metamorphic, elusive character, in transition at every level".<sup>11</sup>

The same themes are identified and considered significant by critics of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2*, confirming the fact that the story told by director Abdellatif Kechiche, being the fruit of the same cultural model, appears superimposable to the one narrated in *Jeune Femme*. Many, in fact, emphasize Adèle's great openness and her desire to experience life without prejudice. However, they highlight the castrating and in many ways unjust nature of those social mechanisms that cause suffering to young people today: those who, like Adèle herself, seek their own way freely, outside of the socio-cultural context from which they come, and who meet with existential failure. They find themselves "wandering" between very different portions of the world, in which it is not possible to settle down definitively. In this regard, a commentator points out that the girl does not follow "a traditional evolutionary trajectory, which involves a series of changes in worldview until the final attainment of a certain maturity and emotional equilibrium".<sup>12</sup> If this were the case, at the end of the film, she would find her own identity. Instead, as I have hinted, Adèle ends up experiencing "the basic problem of the loneliness of the contemporary individual, of the misery of the proposals for liberation and for full and profound self-affirmation that this era offers",<sup>13</sup> as is always the case in Kechiche's cinematography. In fact, it all seems to be centered upon "social classes as the regulators of an order that is difficult to negotiate; . . . and on slices of life . . . never understood as simple sections of everyday life, but rather as emblematic segments of formative paths that do not produce evolutions".<sup>14</sup>

### 5. Faces of vagabonds

The narrative structure of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* is represented by analogy by a set of signs that are used several times throughout the two films, also giving shape to the protagonists' faces. For example, since they do not identify a priori a sending instance pointing them towards a precise existential direction, Adèle and Paula need to find a way a posteriori. Therefore, as I have anticipated, the representation of the two girls is characterized by the emphasis placed on the details of their sense organs. In fact, they move by trial and error, testing, with their bodies even before engaging in rational planning, the consequences of what it means to live in the various social contexts with which they are confronted.

All the reviewers of the two movies underline the symbolic importance of this emphasis on the bodily *sensations* of Adèle and Paula. Some point out that Adèle “reads the world only through her own body, made into an instrument of exploration of phenomenal experience”<sup>15</sup> because for her, “existence comes before essence; that is, experience is not made comprehensible by a prior definition of the self, but on the contrary, subjectivity is determined by the multiplicity of experiences themselves”.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, Paula is also a character who “finally sees and perceives the world with the eyes and body of a woman, a real woman, who is not afraid to be what she feels she is”.<sup>17</sup> In particular, since the face is perhaps the main sensory terminal of the human body, all critics of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* recognize that the portrayal of the protagonists' faces is crucial. Adèle “is constantly filmed with close-ups or details that enhance her overflowing physicality, her humoral fluids, from tears to mucus, the sense of a warm and deep instinctuality”.<sup>18</sup>

She is voracious, as suggested by Kechiche's constant return to her lips filmed while she sleeps or eats: lips stretched out, greedy, almost distinct from the rest of her body, as if living a life of their own and dragging the protagonist forward against her will.<sup>19</sup>

Once again, even Paula

struggles to stay within the frame, due to the latter's inability to contain her overflowing physicality. Before sinking the camera inside the girl's story . . . director Léonor Serraille keeps to the surface of events and to the wounded and impatient body of actress Laetitia Dosch.<sup>20</sup>

In particular, she highlights her heterochromatic eyes, “‘bipolar eyes’, mirroring an equally bipolar and restless soul”.<sup>21</sup>

As can also be seen in the posters for the two films, the sensory organs of the faces of Adèle and of Paula, particularly the mouth of the former and the eyes of the latter, in addition to the excoriated skin on her forehead, are fundamental in symbolically communicating the meaning of the two girls' stories. Adèle and Paula, in fact, enter into relation with a material reality that functions according to the values of the sending instances that give a meaning to the people, places, and even the food they find therein. Adèle, at the beginning of Kechiche's work, is shown enjoying the "simple" pasta cooked by her father with details of her teeth chewing voraciously and her chin getting dirty from too much eagerness. However, when she visits Emma's more upper-class parents, she is shown tasting oysters, a notoriously more "refined" dish, which she reluctantly savors. When she makes love to the young painter, she voluptuously probes the latter's body mainly with her mouth, and when she betrays her and is expelled from her life, she tastes, again with her mouth, the bitter taste of her own tears and the mucus that drips down her nose. It becomes clear then that there is an opposition in the two films between, on the one hand, the lips and skin of the protagonists and, on the other hand, their eyes. The former represent the sense, also in its sensorial meaning, which is found a posteriori, linking these two components of Adèle's and Paula's faces to their perspective instance, an instance with which, paradoxically, is associated a kind of lack of perspective, an inability to look afar, beyond the limited horizon of the here and now. The eyes, on the other hand, refer to the various sending instances found in the world in which the girls live. They are gazes upon the latter, institutionalized and defined a priori, capable of indicating a direction – like those of Emma and Joachim, who not surprisingly make art by observing and defining reality from their own point of view, which is already "successful" or is soon to become so because they know it is shared with all those with whom they keep company. However, Adèle and Paula, more or less metaphorically, have changing eyes, which do not lead them to see things in the same way as those whose irises are of a single color. They are different: as "vagabonds", they do not look at the world from a single perspective but try to identify with the point of view of different sending instances. Such an attempt is certainly full of strongly flavored sensory stimuli, but it is also characterized by the concrete risk of "banging one's head" and getting hurt.

As is thus evident, the signs that make the sensory characteristics of the faces and bodies of the protagonists of the two films pertinent stand for something else. They take on a second and symbolic meaning, clearly linked to the narrative structure of the story they help to tell and, in particular, to the relationship that, within the story itself, is established between the perspective instance and the sending one. This is also the case of the signs that emphasize the *movement*, made by both Adèle and Paula, between one

social context and another, as well as being the case of the movement of the strictly handheld camera that shoots them. These signs are also given a central role in communicating the deeper meaning of the discourse pursued by the directors of the two films. In this regard, I have already had the opportunity to write about the extent to which critics of *Jeune Femme* appreciate Serraille's expertise in the use of a handheld camera. But the same thing is emphasized in reviews of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2*, pointing out that “the camera, rarely placed far from the characters' faces, is a seismograph with an icastic and immediate sensitivity; every change of mood is detected in real time”.<sup>22</sup> The expertise recognized in Kechiche lies in his ability to always know how to capture the manifestation of meaning, at the exact instant when it is consciously detected by the protagonist experiencing it with her own body and the organs of her face. However, to achieve this, he too must make himself into a “vagabond”: he cannot direct the camera towards a specific point, knowing a priori that he will be filming something significant there. Rather, he must always be on the move.

Closely related to these signs are those that communicate a feeling of *incompleteness*, of both Adèle's and Paula's lives and of the images that represent them. Indeed, the handheld camera, focusing more on the details of the two girls' faces than on the whole scene, makes it difficult to construct complete, balanced, stable, and harmonious shots. Moreover, since completeness, balance, stability, and harmony are not part of the existence of the protagonists of the two films, these concepts are not sought for on a visual level in order to tell their stories. If Adèle and Paula succeeded in integrating their perspective instance with one of the sending instances of the world in which they live, if their identity allowed itself to be “framed” within the logic and values of one of these sending instances, then the way of filming the two young women and, more generally, of narrating them would be different. But Serraille, when interviewed about the underlying message of her film, asks: “What does it mean to be a young woman? We are often asked to fit a certain pattern, an identity, a definition. The expression ‘Young woman’ should be a free, deliberately undefined one”.<sup>23</sup> And indeed, *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* is so titled precisely because Kechiche does not intend to tell the whole story of his heroine's life, preferring to leave it unfinished, in the midst of her wanderings. This is somewhat similar to the unfinished work *La vie de Marianne* (Marivaux, 1731–1742), one of the books Adèle studies at school, drawing inspiration from it for her existential quest.

Finally, in these two cinematographic works, the signs that communicate *separation* are fundamental. The authors of the reviews of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* emphasize the importance of the director's insistence on using very narrow shots when capturing his film's protagonist, keeping

her figure separate from the context in which she lives. This is underlined, for example, by those who appreciate Kechiche's expertise "in depicting the details of faces and bodies, in lingering on the very near close-ups, and then widening the shots to other things, where strictly necessary, only when others become an attraction for Adèle's gaze".<sup>24</sup> Because "there is nothing beyond what the young woman knows and experiences"<sup>25</sup>: "more light, more details enter the field of vision, but also blur things in the background".<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the commentators of *Jeune Femme* point out how Paula "is almost always filmed alone",<sup>27</sup> emphasizing her difficulty in integrating with her surroundings. Even in these cases, the images depicting the faces and bodies of the protagonists of the two films, so clearly separated from those of the other characters who populate their world as well as from the spaces the latter occupy, symbolically represent by analogy the separation between the perspective instance and the sending one around which their stories are structured.

## 6. The story of a self-made woman

The cultural model that serves as a matrix for the stories of vagabonds and the representation of their faces contrasts sharply with that of the stories of self-made men and self-made women. To demonstrate this, one only has to look at how Elisa Amoruso's *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* is constructed. Here, it is shown that Chiara, ever since she was a child, has always had only one desire: to follow in the footsteps of her mother, a well-known professional in the fashion world, in order to establish herself in this context. Thus, the perspective instance, represented by the individual values and convictions of the protagonist of this film, fits perfectly with the sending instance with which she is confronted. The latter constitutes, for her, an existential horizon that is valid a priori, one that is capable of filling each of her life choices with meaning. Her identity depends, then, on her ability to break through the barrier I mentioned, describing the narrative structure of vagabond stories: the "young woman" recounted by Amoruso, so different from those in the works of Kechiche and Serraille, must succeed in gaining a prominent role in the society of professionals who share her same passions. Here, she gains citizenship thanks to her talent and dedication, driven primarily by her fans on social networks, the first to recognize her qualities. Thanks to their support, Chiara progresses through her *cursus honorum*, from her first steps as a fashion blogger to her achievement of fame, with the numerous attestations of esteem received from the greatest stylists, managers of the most famous labels, models, and specialized journalists, but also with the foundation of her own brand of clothing and accessories, her marriage to the well-known singer and showman Fedez,

the birth of her son Leone, and the moving of her whole family to Los Angeles, where she keeps company with the biggest stars of the international jet set.

In Figure 6.2, one can visualize the narrative structure of the story told in *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* and some of the many images within the film that represent it by analogy. As is natural, given that it is a matter of recognizing the identity of a young “outsider” within the world of fashion, a prominent role is played by her face, “framed” within the most representative spaces of this context, be they the covers of glossy magazines, boutiques, catwalks, or the headquarters of the most important companies.

However, I will return later to the representation of Chiara’s face. For the time being, it is interesting to emphasize that the story of her life fuses the vicissitudes of the well-known influencer with those of the heroes of the Russian magical fairy tales analyzed by Propp (1928). In fact, it is no coincidence that Ferraro, in his book on theories of narration (Ferraro 2015: 75–85), defines them as *self-made men*. As Propp himself argued in a later work (Propp 1946), they are reminiscent of the figures of those young men who, wishing to show that they are worthy of reproducing the system of values established by the sending instance of the social context in which they aspire to fit. They undergo a sort of initiation rite, facing hard individual trials and thus pursuing some form of collective recognition, especially by those who are already in a prominent position within that society.

As I have shown elsewhere (Santangelo 2013), Hollywood textbooks have taken up this narrative matrix (see, for example, Vogler 1992) in order to show American film scriptwriters the way to construct success stories, endowed with a strong symbolic meaning for viewers all around the world. After all, watching films about characters such as those depicted in fairy tales, who start out poor and become rich, who begin their journey outside of a certain social system and who end up, owing to their own merit, at the center of it, can be edifying for many. All of this, in fact, embodies the American dream. But ultimately, it represents the desire for

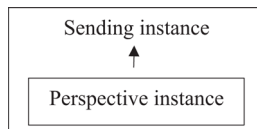


Figure 6.2 Antonio Santangelo. 2022. *The narrative structure of Chiara Ferragni – Unposted*. Copyright: Upon a kind concession by Antonio Dante Santangelo.

affirmation held by any of those who believe they can find their true selves by adhering to the values shared by those who belong to that niche of society in which they aspire to live.

In this sense, then, *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* fits into an ancient narrative tradition. Indeed, reading the Italian reviews of this film, this matrix and the cultural model of which it is the bearer are recognized by all. Yet the choice of resorting to it to tell the story of a real person, with whom so many young people identify, has been strongly criticized with arguments such as the following:

If we talk about affirmation and personal fulfilment . . . the film certainly clarifies one point, namely that the idea that anyone, with commitment and determination, can realise their dreams is still a very pervasive concept, but above all, a narrative that guarantees a multi-million-dollar box office. . . . The real knot where the film proves artificial is . . . the message behind this empire. You can make it on your own. You don't need anybody. Believe in your dreams and anything can happen. . . . And to say that the documentary shows Chiara as a child, filmed and photographed by her beautiful mother, who came from the fashion world. We will see a rich and happy family. . . . Above all, we will see a host of ubiquitous, friendly and diligent collaborators, even ready to tie her shoes. . . . Making it on their own? It is certainly noble to fight for the idea that women can be completely autonomous and independent, but perhaps those who have only lived in such a privileged dimension should not speculate on such dangerous illusions . . . after having seen the film, the dream machine increasingly seems like a deadly factory, ready to incessantly generate frustration and sadness.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed, there are also those who are thrilled to finally see on the big screen the story of a girl who succeeds in realizing her dreams, as indicated by those who praise *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted*. They deem it

almost a miracle, precious in entering a reality far away from us, to show the unique value of an entrepreneur, blogger, model and designer who has revolutionised the world of fashion, overcoming the barriers to entry of a closed and snobbish sector, uncomfortable because it shows the face and impact of a true influencer.<sup>29</sup>

However, both of these types of interpretations – of which the proponents of the latter openly polemise with those of the former, writing that “negative reviews by critics are . . . quite negatively biased due to a lack of understanding of the phenomenon”<sup>30</sup> – can only be fully understood if one compares them to the vagabond stories I wrote about in the previous

paragraphs. In fact, for those who believe that the cultural model and matrix of stories such as *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* accurately describe the condition of young people today, the reference to the American dream achieved by the famous Italian fashion blogger cannot but appear “fake”. It looks like the result of fairy tale imagery, good only for international box-office success and for generating false myths, coming from a cinematography that is currently incapable of telling how the world is really going. Therefore, even those who believe that *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* represents a breath of genuine novelty know that they are confronted with the opposite cultural model, which is the one shared by most Italian critics.

### 7. The face of a self-made woman

Since the narrative matrix of *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* contrasts with that of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme*, the same happens with the signs that, within Amoruso's film, represent by analogy the structure of the story being told. These signs, as in the works of Kechiche and Serraille, in turn, are also used to construct the image of Chiara Ferragni's face.

Firstly, the body and face of the famous influencer are never separated from the background of the social context in which she lives because it is important to show her *integration* within the latter. Moreover, the camera that shoots her is rarely mobile but is fixed on a tripod, also signifying the *stability* of the condition of the film's protagonist, who has arrived where she wants to be. Chiara allows the spectators to observe her with ease and to pry into her world while explaining how she got there. Only in a few moments, in the archive images shot by her mother with an amateur camera when Chiara was a child, do we find the handheld camera aesthetics of *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme*. Significantly, this is the case in the scenes that tell of when the protagonist of Amoruso's film was not yet famous and when those watching her, a bit like Kechiche and Serraille with Adèle and Paula, were trying to understand what her identity would be in the future. However, precisely because Chiara has now found herself, the director who tells her story chooses to talk about her completeness as a person and the *completeness* of her existence. She does so by assembling harmonious and balanced shots, perfectly in line with the balance and harmony of the hero of her film, magically capable of holding everything together, from success to family, from the pride of her Italian-ness to the internationality of her fame, from friendship towards her employees to the ability to direct them like a great manager.



Above all, however, instead of speaking, as in *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme*, of bodily sensations, of mouths, and of epidermises seeking meaning in the here and now, Amoruso focuses on Chiara's capacity for *vision*. This is represented, as I have mentioned, by her beautiful blue eyes that know how to look far ahead and by the logo of her label, which, uncoincidentally, is represented by an eye resembling her own. It is these eyes, set within a serene and satisfied face framed with composure and precision, that symbolically represent the narrative structure of the cultural model from which *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* derives. In this film too, there are in fact signs that focus on the bodily sensations and the skin of the protagonist. At the beginning of the narration of her story, she wants to get a tattoo to forever remember the happy moment she is going through. At the end, she sits by the sea, enjoying the pleasant breeze of the Californian beach, close to the place where she has made her home. But it is precisely in this last sequence, in which Chiara scans the horizon, imagining what the future will be like, that we understand the difference between Adèle's and Paula's life story. We find ourselves, in fact, at the end of a path of personal fulfillment of which Chiara herself enjoys the results, which remain imprinted in her body and soul, making her confident in what is to come. In the works of Kechiche and Serraille, we are rather in the middle of the journey. We are in the midst of the wanderings of two young women who are more or less the same age as the protagonist of Amoruso's film and who could legitimately aspire to be self-made women but who are still in search of themselves and of their place in the world. What they lack, precisely, is a vision, capable of holding together their perspective instance and the sending instance that governs the social contexts in which they attempt to integrate.

## 8. The eye model and the tongue model

The analysis I have conducted so far shows that the opposition between the vicissitudes and faces of vagabonds and those of self-made women is particularly significant in the Italian culture represented by the reviews I have quoted, as if there were a code for reading reality that opposes the narrative models I have described in Figures 6.1 and 6.2. However, the same code opposes vision to taste, stability to movement, and completeness to incompleteness in addition to opposing integration to separation from the social context within which one lives.

With this in mind, I find it interesting to cite the research of Gobbi and Morace, two authoritative observers of the changes in cultural models, which they study in order to intercept new trends in the field of consumption. These authors argue that we live in an era in which the logic that has

characterized the history of our way of consuming over the last twenty years, based on

the eye and fashion, on image and on pure visual sensibility, has entered a crisis. In this model, personal status reigned supreme . . . expressed through a landscape of objects and products that remained outside of our tactile, bodily, kinesthetic experience, without ever coming into contact with our epidermis, our skin, our hands.

(Gobbi and Morace 2007: 84–85)

In the past, we lived in an *economy of the eye and of sight*, symbolized by the passion for clothes and clothing accessories indeed but more generally by status symbols. In such an economy, reigned the tale of someone who had arrived where he wanted to be and who, because of this, wanted to be admired, positively “sanctioned” because he wore the signs of his success. The contemporary era, on the other hand, is characterized by an *economy of the hands and tongue*, symbolically represented by the passion for food. It is linked to sensory experience in its making:

[T]hought descends from personal experience . . . the real becomes a single, immense, permanent ice cream . . . language also refers directly to other experiences . . . first of all, to the experience of conversation, of speech, of dialogue . . . and then, even more profoundly, to an erotic experience with reality, in which what we like is worth licking and savouring.

(Gobbi and Morace, *ibid.*)

As can be seen, many of these concepts are common to the analyses I have conducted so far. It seems as if the consumption of a film such as *Chiara Ferragni – Unposted* would suit those who prefer the model of the eye, whereas the appreciation of works such as *La vie d’Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2* and *Jeune Femme* would stem from a way of seeing the world that is more akin to that derived from the model of the tongue. Of course, the critical undertones towards our society, which can be found behind the stories of Adèle and Paula, as told by Kechiche and Serraille, or behind the forms of criticism directed towards the discourse carried out by Amoruso, in her narration of Chiara Ferragni’s life, are not seen in Gobbi and Morace’s reflections. After all, consumer studies do not have this function. Even if, by watching the movies and reviews I have analyzed, one could argue that paradoxically, the self-made man or woman model nowadays may look more meaningful to upper-class people, who have the means to make it become true, whereas lower-class people have to switch to the vagabond’s cultural model. In any case, it is true that something leads many observers

of contemporary culture to say that our logic of reading reality is changing, and this reverberates widely, including in our way of thinking and symbolically interpreting faces.

## 9. Old and new models of meaning construction

Considerations such as those I have just written about make us reflect on the fact that the Strega prize for the best Italian novel of 2017 – one of the most prestigious literary prizes in Italy – went to Paolo Cognetti's *Le otto montagne*<sup>31</sup> (2016). The story is about a young man who searches in the mountains, amidst nature and old traditions, for the meaning of his being in the world. However, he does not find it and realizes that his destiny is to be always on the move, wandering like a vagabond among the metaphorical eight mountains that recall a Tibetan myth. Cognetti himself, in 2018, published *Senza mai arrivare in cima. Viaggio in Himalaya*,<sup>32</sup> declaring that he was inspired by Peter Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard* (1978). According to Cognetti, in describing Matthiessen's pilgrimage to Tibet, this book had captured the true essence of life. In this regard, the Italian writer states:

Peter had used a very precise word for his journey. *Gnaskor*, which means to wander. . . . A pilgrimage is in every culture a path of purification, but in wandering, in walking in circles, there is no point of arrival, which is fundamental in the pilgrimages we understand. Jerusalem, Rome, Mecca: without a destination, how do you know when you have achieved purity? I found a connection between this need for holy cities at the end of the path and the mountaineering obsession with mountain peaks: since I was a child, I had heard the word summit used as a metaphor for paradise, and the word ascent in a spiritual sense . . . on the other hand, the most important Tibetan pilgrimage is to go around Mount Kailash, which is sacred to that culture. *Kora* in Tibetan, *circumambulazione*<sup>33</sup> in Italian: Christians plant crosses on top of mountains, Buddhists draw circles at their feet. I found violence in the first gesture, kindness in the second; a desire for conquest versus one of understanding.

(Cognetti 2018: 20–21)

As we can see, albeit with the due differences that need to be grasped among all these discourses on who we are and on the value of our experiences in today's world, the opposition I wrote of in the first paragraph of this article has become the matrix of many successful contemporary works. On the one hand, there are those who speak of a sense of life found a priori, within a system such as that of our society, in function of a sending instance upon which the latter is centered – a sending instance that

is capable of indicating a path towards a visible destination such as, for example, a distant peak, reachable by those who decide to align themselves with their own perspective instance. On the other hand, there is a sense of life recognized a posteriori after espousing and departing from different sending instances, some central and shared by many in our own society, others more peripheral and minoritarian, others still completely external, coming from elsewhere.

The question remains as to why the opposition between the cultural models I have written about seems so significant in justifying the interest of the works that speak of it. During my discussion, several explanations could be discerned. There is the more political one, for example, about a Western world that would have us believe that it is structured to provide everyone with the opportunity to thrive within a system of values that would claim to be both liberalist and libertarian but which is rigidly divided into classes separated from one another. This would cause a disconnect with respect to the narrative of self-made men and self-made women I have defined, justifying the emergence of the idea that our societies are populated by vagabonds condemned to search for meaning that they struggle to find. In this regard, there is a very interesting sequence in *La vie d'Adèle – Chapitres 1 & 2*. We see the protagonist who, after having lunch at home with her petit bourgeois parents while watching TV, finds herself at school listening to a lecture on the aforementioned *La vie de Marianne*, a work that belongs to a more “elevated” culture and that teaches her to desire the very things she will later see embodied in Emma. This will allow her to enter into a relationship with the young artist, but it will not be enough to keep the two girls together. The attempt at social integration made by the school system, therefore, will fail due to a series of inequalities external to it.

Then there is the socio-economic explanation. According to this perspective, people are aware that they can find very different products and services on the market, all of which are of value, quite accessible, and capable of making the consumer imagine what it means to lead a certain “lifestyle”, even if it is far removed from their own. They would therefore no longer accept to “enclose themselves” within the existential horizons of only one of them, however desirable, but would rather be inclined to experiment with all of them in search of the one that best suits them. Rivers of ink have been spilled over the “incoherent” post-modern consumers (Fabris 2003), who could very well be symbolically represented by Adèle’s bisexual orientation or by Paula’s heterochromatic eyes. Certainly, Gobbi and Morace’s reasoning, which I wrote about in the previous paragraph, goes in the direction of reading the meaning of our life choices in this key, which is much less critical of our societies.

Lastly, there is the anthropological explanation provided by Cognetti. According to him, the encounter with other cultures, at the end of a not-too-happy experience within the confines of our own, would have allowed us to leave the Christian perspective (of Weberian memory?). Such a way of seeing would be aimed at by laboriously following the indications of a sending instance shared by all, capable of suggesting in which direction to go and to assign a meaning to our life choices. However, today we find it meaningful to embrace another way of seeing, of oriental inspiration, one which is more inclined to “wandering” in a search for the self as a form of epiphany. In this regard, the Italian writer, as anticipated, commenting upon Matthiessen’s work, which he feels to be close to his own sensibility, says that “the 1970s, with their failed promises, had disappointed him, or perhaps he himself was the source of his own disappointment: he was entering middle age and realized he had done little” (Cognetti 2018: 17). In short, after having tried several paths and still not having found his place in the world, he attempts yet another, believing or hoping that this will be the right one. However, just like Matthiessen and Cognetti, he does not do so in order to leave his society forever but rather to do something meaningful to him and to a niche of people within society itself, such as writing a good book that someone can appreciate. Doing so, he still wishes to be part of the collective, as a representative of one of the many sending instances that are recognized within it. Of course, there are no guarantees of success, but wandering still makes sense.

## Notes

- 1 This chapter results from a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant Agreement No 819649-FACETS; PI: Massimo LEONE).
- 2 F. Pedroni, [www.cineforum.it/recensione/Melodramma\\_materialista](http://www.cineforum.it/recensione/Melodramma_materialista) (last accessed 12 January 2023). The translation in English is mine, as are all the ones from Italian articles that follow.
- 3 G. Fofi, [www.foglianuova.wordpress.com/2013/10/27/goffredo-fofi-la-vita-di-Adèle/](http://www.foglianuova.wordpress.com/2013/10/27/goffredo-fofi-la-vita-di-Adèle/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 4 R. Capra, [www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/montparnasse-femminile-singolare.html](http://www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/montparnasse-femminile-singolare.html) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 5 L. Magnoni, [www.cineforum.it/recensione/Montparnasse-Femminile-singolare](http://www.cineforum.it/recensione/Montparnasse-Femminile-singolare) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 6 R. Cisternino, [www.anonimacinefili.it/2018/10/03/montparnasse-femminile-singolare/](http://www.anonimacinefili.it/2018/10/03/montparnasse-femminile-singolare/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 7 Marta Z. Poretti, [www.lascimmiapensa.com/2019/09/04/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensione-venezia76/](http://www.lascimmiapensa.com/2019/09/04/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensione-venezia76/) (last accessed 12 January 2023). Marco Massimiani, [www.madmass.it/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensioni-negative-critica-valore-influenza/](http://www.madmass.it/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensioni-negative-critica-valore-influenza/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).

- 8 From this moment onwards, what follows is the translation (even if with some additions and changes) of paragraphs 3 to 8 of my article *Volti del nostro tempo. L'opposizione tra self-made women e vagabonde* (Santangelo 2022).
- 9 R. Capra, [www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/montparnasse-femminile-singolare.html](http://www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/montparnasse-femminile-singolare.html) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 10 C. Cerofolini, <http://icinemaniaci.blogspot.com/2018/04/Montparnasse-femminile-singolare.html> (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 11 L. Pacilio, [www.spietati.it/montparnasse-femminile-singolare](http://www.spietati.it/montparnasse-femminile-singolare) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 12 I. De Pascalis, [www.alfabeta2.it/2013/10/31/il-tempo-intenso-del-desiderio/](http://www.alfabeta2.it/2013/10/31/il-tempo-intenso-del-desiderio/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 13 G. Fofi, [www.foglianuova.wordpress.com/2013/10/27/goffredo-fofi-la-vita-di-Adèle/](http://www.foglianuova.wordpress.com/2013/10/27/goffredo-fofi-la-vita-di-Adèle/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 14 M. Marangi, [www.lindiceonline.com/l-indice/sommario/dicembre-2013/](http://www.lindiceonline.com/l-indice/sommario/dicembre-2013/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 15 I. De Pascalis, [www.alfabeta2.it/2013/10/31/il-tempo-intenso-del-desiderio/](http://www.alfabeta2.it/2013/10/31/il-tempo-intenso-del-desiderio/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 16 Ibidem.
- 17 R. Cisternino, [www.anonimacinefili.it/2018/10/03/montparnasse-femminile-singolare](http://www.anonimacinefili.it/2018/10/03/montparnasse-femminile-singolare) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 18 M. Marangi, *ibidem*.
- 19 V. Vituzzi, [www.doppiozero.com/materiali/odeon/kechiche-la-vita-di-Adèle](http://www.doppiozero.com/materiali/odeon/kechiche-la-vita-di-Adèle) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 20 C. Cerofolini, <http://icinemaniaci.blogspot.com/2018/04/Montparnasse-femminile-singolare.html> (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 21 L. Magnoni, [www.cineforum.it/recensione/Montparnasse-Femminile-singolare](http://www.cineforum.it/recensione/Montparnasse-Femminile-singolare) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 22 G. Gangi, [www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/vita\\_Adèle.html](http://www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/vita_Adèle.html) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 23 <https://c4comic.it/2018/05/03/montparnasse-femminile-singolare-arriva-al-cinema-il-nuovo-film-di-leonor-serraille/> (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 24 G. Gangi, [www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/vita\\_Adèle.html](http://www.ondacinema.it/film/recensione/vita_Adèle.html) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 25 I. De Pascalis, [www.alfabeta2.it/2013/10/31/il-tempo-intenso-del-desiderio/](http://www.alfabeta2.it/2013/10/31/il-tempo-intenso-del-desiderio/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 26 V. Vituzzi, [www.doppiozero.com/materiali/odeon/kechiche-la-vita-di-Adèle](http://www.doppiozero.com/materiali/odeon/kechiche-la-vita-di-Adèle) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 27 L. Magnoni, [www.cineforum.it/recensione/Montparnasse-Femminile-singolare](http://www.cineforum.it/recensione/Montparnasse-Femminile-singolare) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 28 Marta Z. Poretti, [www.lascimmiapensa.com/2019/09/04/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensione-venezia76/](http://www.lascimmiapensa.com/2019/09/04/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensione-venezia76/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 29 [www.madmass.it/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensioni-negative-critica-valore-influenza/](http://www.madmass.it/chiara-ferragni-unposted-recensioni-negative-critica-valore-influenza/) (last accessed 12 January 2023).
- 30 Ibidem.
- 31 *The Eight Mountains*, in English.
- 32 *Without Ever Reaching the Summit. Journey Into the Himalayas*, in English.
- 33 In English, “circumambulation”, as in “going around”, “walking in circles”.