

The University for Foreigners of Perugia and the Anti-Semitic Laws of 1938*

Gabriele Rigano**

Abstract. The essay intends to reconstruct the methods of applying the anti-Semitic legislation of 1938 to the University for Foreigners of Perugia. The institution of Perugia was thought by Fascism as an international propaganda tool for the regime. In 1938, anti-Semitic politics introduced significant changes and problems that were not easy to solve. It was not easy to reconcile two distinct objectives of the cultural policy of fascism. The first long-standing: to create a current of young foreign professionals sensitive to the Italian and Fascist spirit and culture through facilitations in access to universities. The other more recent target: to place filters to exclude unwanted elements, such as Jews. The promotion of Italy abroad and state anti-Semitism were not always compatible: the racist campaign represented a problematic variable for the international propaganda of fascism. The case of the University for Foreigners of Perugia is therefore paradigmatic from this point of view.

Keywords: Fascist anti-Semitism; Universities history; Foreign student in Italy; Fascist propaganda outside of Italy.

1. Fascism and foreign students in 1938

The year 1938, which would be marked by Fascism's public anti-Semitic metamorphosis that had been incubating for several years during the totalitarian evolution of the regime (De Felice 1993⁵; Matard-Bonucci 2008; Sarfatti 2018³), began with particular attention being given to the presence of foreign Jewish students in Italy (Fabre 2007). It was not a new issue (Voigt 1993, 220-8; Signori 2000 e 2018; Salustri 2009, 133),¹ but in the imminence of Italy's racist stance and the anti-Semitic feelings at the time, especially in Eastern Europe, it took on a particular urgency (Capelli e Brogginì 2001). It was necessary to avoid an influx in Italy of students from "undesirable nationalities" (racial laws), as had happened in the past, due to the worse conditions they faced in their countries for "ethnic reasons."² There were restrictive laws concerning Jews especially in Poland, Hungary and Romania, and it was the situation in Romania, which in January 1938 clearly defined itself in anti-Semitic legislative terms, that probably alarmed Italian diplomatic circles. These new fears were added to the

* In order not to weigh down the text, only the research deemed indispensable will be mentioned. The List of Abbreviations is on page 160.

** Associate professor in Contemporary History, University for Foreigners of Perugia, *Dipartimento di scienze umane e sociali*, e-mail <gabriele.rigano@unistrapg.it>.

¹ Before 1938, attention in the MAE had been prompted by some national cases of foreign Jewish students, such as that of the Poles in 1937, indicated by the Italian ambassador in Warsaw as "the least good part of these people," to which was added, however, that of the entire Danube and Balkan area, and against which the best response was thought to be "a disguised form of obstructionism." These specific preclusions would later become part of a systematic treatment at the beginning of 1938. See ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 42 (21), file Studenti italiani o stranieri iscrizioni presso Università Scuole 1936-37 (pos. II-14-PG 3), Italian Embassy in Warsaw at MAE, no. 1261/424, 28 May 1937; MAE DIE at the Italian Embassy in Warsaw, no. 875749/161, 2 August 1937; MAE DIE notes for H.E. the Minister, 21 June 1937. The Schools Archive at the ASDMAE is in great disorder and at present the correspondence between inventory and ordering is not perfect for some series. For this reason, in addition to the envelope, which does not always correspond to the number indicated in the inventory, the position that distinguishes the different series of the archive will also be indicated.

² For the two quotes see respectively: MEN DGIS at MAE and MCP, no. 3009, February 8, 1938, in ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 40 (64), file Accertamenti, elenchi, statistiche 1938, subfile Parte generale 1938 (pos. II-14-PG 7); and Circular no. 23 of the MAE, 31 May 1938 on Enrollment of foreign students in the RR. Universities and higher institutes of the Kingdom, in *ibid* b. 69 (pos. II-14-PG 3), file Parte generale, subfile Pratiche studenti ebrei nelle R. Università di Pisa, Bologna etc. Academic Year (AY) 1937-38.

traditional concern that saw foreign Jewish professionals who had been educated trained in Italy as potential competitors to the Italians. For this reason it was hoped that after completing their studies they would return to their homelands, or at least that they would leave Italy.



1. Edith Deutsch, German
ex-Austrian



1. Edith Straus, German



2. Eva Benedek, Romanian

It was not easy to reconcile two distinct objectives of Fascism's cultural policy. One was of earlier date: to create a current of young foreign professionals sensitive to the Italian and Fascist culture and spirit through facilitated access to universities. The other, most recent objective: to put up filters to exclude undesirable elements, such as Jews. As we will see later, the promoting of Italy abroad and state anti-Semitism were not always compatible: the racist campaign was a problematic variable for Fascism's international propaganda.

It was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) that began to focus its attention on foreign Jewish students: on January 10, 1938, it asked the Ministry of National Education (MEN) "to send [...] statistical data concerning Jewish students of foreign nationality currently enrolled in the Universities and High Schools of the Kingdom" (Fabre 2007, 64-5). On January 19th the MEN forwarded the MAE's request to the Italian universities. The inquiries found that there were 1344 foreign Jewish students in the 1937-38 academic year (AY), out of a total of 2699 foreign students for the same AY (see Table 2).³

The MAE had in fact focused its attention on foreign students even earlier (see Table 1). On December 2, 1937, the Ministry headed by Galeazzo Ciano had asked the MEN for "the precise number of foreign students enrolled in the 1936-37 AY at the Universities of Bari, Bologna, Rome, Ferrara and that of the Sacred Heart of Milan."⁴ The MEN's reply arrived on January 5, 1938, and five days later a further request was made regarding foreign students, this time Jews. On January 14th these concerns emerged from the secret rooms to be proclaimed by Telesio Interlandi's *Il Tevere*, in an article titled "Quelli che vengono" ("Those Who Come"), and in *Il Resto del Carlino* in Bologna (Fabre 2007, 63-8; Onofri 1989, 89 -93; Salustri 2009, 148-50). These events are intertwined with those of some foreign Jewish students, whom the MAE and the MEN dealt with assiduously in the months that followed. Also on January 14th, the MAE asked the University of Pisa for information on the enrollment of some Lithuanian Jewish students: Riva Diskantes, Tavelis Goldbergas, and

³ It should be noted that the Pisa data in Table 2 were quite strange, with 290 out of 291 foreign students being foreign Jews. But according to documentation found in the same file (a very detailed list of names) in the 1937-38 academic year there were 246 foreign students at the University of Pisa, 224 of whom were foreign Jews. It is not easy to identify reliable facts among the considerable, and disparate, data found in different sources on the number of foreign students in Italian universities. See for example the data given in Table 1.

⁴ ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 40 (64), file Accertamenti, elenchi, statistiche 1938, subfile Parte generale 1938 (pos. II-14-PG-7), MAE DIE to MEN DGIS, no. 0924099/2082, 2 December 1937 and reply no. 26888, 5 January 1938 (not numbered). On the topic of international student migration see Mariuzzo 2011 e 2015.

Alessandro Konas.⁵ It was feared that the procedure had not been followed that provided for “political” clearance issued directly by the MAE on a case-by-case basis. In truth, the law provided that this clearance could also be issued by the consular representatives, as was the case with the Lithuanians, but on March 5, 1938 the MAE deemed it expedient to deny the authorization, opening a real political can of worms: in fact at least 240 other foreign students “of largely undesirable nationality” – that is, Jews with Polish citizenship (224 out of 246 foreign students enrolled in Pisa in the 1937-38 AY were Jews)⁶ – had been enrolled through the same procedure, or, even worse, exchanging the legalization of the documents submitted to the MAE for access to Italian universities with the required “political” clearance.



4. *Friz Balner, German
ex-Austrian*



5. *Friz Birkner, German
ex-Austrian*



6. *Gerhard Müller,
Swiss*

The story aroused great discontent among the students, resulting in a petition being addressed directly to Mussolini and the intervention of Polish diplomatic authorities.⁷ The problem was linked to the fact that all this came to light when the 1937-38 academic year was drawing to a close, jeopardizing the authorized status of over 240 students who had been enrolled for several months and, furthermore, who were about to complete their studies (Tanti 1998; Pelini-Pavan 2009). It is not inconceivable that, in addition to the developments of Romanian anti-Semitism, this affair also contributed toward the MAE and the MEN focusing their attention on the issue of Jewish foreign students, arousing fears about an influx that would be difficult to control at a time in which Jews were becoming unwanted.

Even more significant is that at the beginning of 1938 the two ministries became inflexible in the very restrictive applying of rules that for years were systematically ^{6. Gerhard Müller, Swiss} circumvented by universities, which were interested in facilitating access for foreign students to increase enrollment. This prompted the regime’s institutions to review all the laws concerning the access of foreigners to Italian universities.

⁵ ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 69, file Parte generale 1938 (pos. II-14-PG-3), MEN DIE to the University of Pisa, no. 803459/58, 14 January 1938 and reply no. 263, 18 January 1938.

⁶ ASDMAE, AS 1936-45, I versamento, b. 69, file Università italiane affari generali, subfile Pratiche studenti ebrei nelle Università di Pisa, Bologna ecc. AY 1937-38 (pos. II-14-PG-3), List of foreign students enrolled at the University of Pisa in the 1937-38 AY (Diskantes no. 33, Goldbergas no. 66, Konas no. 100).

⁷ See *ibid*, Prefecture of Pisa to MAE DIE, no. 04845, 2 April 1938 and *ibid*, file Parte generale 1938, Ciano to Bottai, no. 829961/575, 24 March 1938. For the negative response of the MAE, see *ibid*, MAE DIE to the University of Pisa, no. 822454/255, 5 March 1938 and MAE DIE to the Italian Legation in Kaunas, no. 822622/59, 5 March 1938. In general, also for the intervention of the Polish diplomatic authorities, see ASDMAE, AS 1936-45, I versamento, b. 69, file Parte generale 1938. For the petition to Mussolini, see ACS, MPI, DGIS, div. II, Leggi, regolamenti, statuti, esami, corsi, statistiche, tasse, studenti etc. 1925-1945, b. 201, file Iscrizioni irregolari studenti stranieri a Pisa e in altre Università, Bottai to Sebastiani, without ref. no. 29 April 1938 and ASDMAE, AS 1936-45, I versamento, b. 69, file Parte generale 1938, subfile Pratiche studenti ebrei nelle Università di Pisa, Bologna etc. AY 1937-38 (pos. II-14-PG-3), *Appello a S.E. Benito Mussolini Duce del Fascismo*, 24 April 1938, signed by 60 foreign students at the University of Pisa.



7. *Hanna Robenstein, Palestinian*



8. *Heinrich Fautl, German ex-Austrian*



9. *Ida Panzierer, German ex-Austrian*

Between the 2nd and the 8th of February, Mussolini, together with Bottai, reviewed the entire question of foreign students' access to Italian universities (Sarfatti 2018,³ 154), hanging heavily over which was the unsaid “Jewish question,” which was called into question by the MAE after Bottai had asked it for an opinion. The “radical restrictions” that Bottai proposed as the policy indicated by Mussolini were identified by the Directorate General of Italians Abroad (DIE) of the MAE, which got to the heart of the matter by clarifying that “the problem is therefore reduced to the need to limit or prohibit access especially of [foreign] Jewish students to Italian universities.” Thus quotas for foreign students were proposed that had to “constitute for the administration not so much a fixed and insuperable limit, as much as an expedient for justifying the cause of any exclusions.” Furthermore, an MAE certificate for enrollment was to be introduced as mandatory: the aforementioned clearance, which would in fact be introduced shortly thereafter as a necessary condition, the province exclusive of the MAE DIE. These proposals were accepted and confirmed in April, modifying the previous bureaucratic process.⁸



10. *Lucien Ismalum, Egyptian*



11. *Jeanette Bachrich, German ex-Austrian*

In the meantime, the age-old question was being resolved of foreign students, mostly Jews, irregularly enrolled at the University of Pisa. On March 24, 1938 Ciano emphasized to Bottai the “opportuneness of wanting to take adequate measures, so that the provisions concerning the enrollment of foreign students may be strictly observed, in view of the reasons of which you are well

⁸ ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 40 (64), file Accertamenti, elenchi, statistiche 1938, subfile Parte generale 1938 (pos. II-14-PG 7), MEN DGIS to the MAE to the Ministry of Popular Culture, no. 3009, 8 February 1938. The two responses (Ministry of Popular Culture, no. 1470/15, 14 February 1938 and MAE DIE, no. 817440/373, 19 February 1938) in ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. II, 1925-45, b. 201, file Ammissioni degli studenti stranieri nelle Università del Regno.

aware.”⁹ The reasons of which Bottai was well aware probably regarded the need to close the doors on foreign Jewish students.

It was decided by mutual agreement to grant an amnesty to avoid what would have been an international scandal, granting admission only for the 1937-38 academic year, promising to evaluate case by case the following year, in which the MAE could fully enforce the new provisions formulated to remove “the undesirable elements” – the Jews. Faced with the insistence with which the Italian Legation in Lithuania pleaded the cause of the Jewish students Alessandro Konas, Riva Diskantes, and Tavelis Goldbergas, the DIE’s Guglielmo Rulli wrote confidentially to Frasoni, the plenipotentiary minister in Kaunas: “I am anxious to inform you confidentially that the reasons for the delay alleged by the Ministry for denying its clearance to the students were brought about by the necessity to find some kind of pretext to reject the applications. Indeed, we must try to send away from the Italian universities those students who try to settle in the Kingdom inasmuch as they have difficulties in their countries of origin due to their race.”¹⁰

2. The University for Foreigners of Perugia in the regime’s anti-Semitic policy

The MEN also took action in February: on the 14th, a census was taken of Jewish students and professors in Italian universities (Galbani 1991). Written in the diary of the Rettore of the University of Perugia, Paolo Orano, for the date of February 16, 1938 we find: “a coded telegram arrives from the Ministry: investigation on Jews. I send my answers.”¹¹



12. Josef Wald,
German ex-Austrian



13. Kurt Ostberg,
German



14. Kurt Sinnreich,
German ex-Austrian

With suspicious timing, on February 16th *Diplomatic Information* no. 14 was made public, which denied rumors of imminent racist measures in Italy. The note concluded, however, in a sinister tone: “The Fascist government nevertheless reserves the right to monitor the activities of the Jews who have come to our country recently and to ensure that the part played by the Jews in the overall life of the nation is not disproportionate to the intrinsic merits of the individuals and to the numerical importance of their community” (Sarfatti 2017², 28-30). Paolo Orano, a committed Fascist intellectual, had made his first contribution to the rise of the anti-Semitic campaign in 1937. In April of that year he had in fact published a small volume titled *Gli ebrei in Italia* (The Jews in Italy), which set off the journalistic campaign in preparation for the regime’s anti-Semitic turn (Rigano 2004 and 2006).

⁹ ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 69, file Parte generale 1938 (pos. II-14-PG-3), Ciano to Bottai, no. 829961/575, 24 March 1938.

¹⁰ Ibid, Guglielmo Rulli to Francesco Frasoni, no. 841861/90, 16 April 1938.

¹¹ *Agenda 1938* on the date of February 16, Orano private archives, Rome.

He had been the Rettore of the State University since the previous year, and he also sat on the board of directors of the University for Foreigners of Perugia,¹² a unique academic institution greatly exploited by the regime for its international propaganda value, which at the time was in the form of summer courses aimed primarily at foreigners. The soul and leader of the University for Foreigners was Astorre Lupattelli, a prominent exponent of the local notables.¹³

The University for Foreigners was not involved in this first “cognitive” stage of the regime’s anti-Semitic policy for the universities. Not until August 9th did Minister Bottai ask for information on the presence of Jewish students, requiring an answer “with the greatest possible haste.”¹⁴ Notes from information services regarding the entry of Viennese or former Austrians Jews into Italy had probably drawn attention to the University for Foreigners. The informative reports had arrived from Vienna in the first half of July. The first read:

“I have the honor of making it known that, the Fascist Government having recently enacted very strict measures to prevent the influx of Jewish students into Italy, these students, in order to enter the country, resort to all sorts of expedients. One of these is enrollment at the Royal University for Foreigners of Perugia, having the enrollment card sent to them while they are still here. They then use this document to legitimize their presence in the Kingdom. Thus, for example – and this is not the only case –, the Jewish student Fritz Balner di Emilio obtained enrollment card no. 296 from the University of Perugia for Foreigners and will depart from here, by airplane, on July 1st of this year, for Venice, and will then continue by train, via Bologna. One has the feeling, that there are those in Italy who take the trouble to find a way to smuggle Jews into the Kingdom.”¹⁵



15. *Leo Tchertkoff, Palestinian*



16. *Max Edelhofer, German ex-Austrian*

As of March 18, 1938 (the Anschluss had taken place on March 12) the Jews, now ex-Austrians, were not allowed to stay in Italy, and starting from June 14th they could not enroll in Italian universities (Voigt 1993, 227 and 283-4). On July 13th, a second informative report arrived which read:

“Another system used by young Jews to leave Austria more easily and to enter other countries without difficulty is to enroll in summer courses for foreigners at universities. They apply by mail for enrollment at the university, and once it has been confirmed by the university’s letter, they can get a passport issued and money quite easily. They can use the same letter as a pass with the border authorities. It is said that by these means many Israelites have already managed to enter Italy. They enroll mainly in the Universities of Perugia, Florence

¹² But he was never its Rettore, as has been claimed instead in various studies (Collotti 2003, 42; Luconi 2007, 130-1; Duggan 2013, 340). The best biographical notes on Orano in Fabre 2013.

¹³ In 1938 the University for Foreigners of Perugia was classified by the MEN as a “Istituto con ordinamento special” (Special Order Institute). On the history of the University for Foreigners of Perugia, see Lupattelli 1947; Paoletti 1990; Ciampi 2003; Gheda 2004; Stramaccioni 2005; Maori 2010. Also worthy of mention is Belardi 2008.

¹⁴ AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, MEN to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 12336, 9 August 1938.

¹⁵ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, informative report quoted in MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR to the Prefect of Perugia, no. 433/72189, 28 July 1938. Regarding Venice airport as a pole of attraction for refugees, see Voigt 1993, 286-287.

and Siena, but always with the intention of not leaving Italy after finishing their courses, and of remaining there permanently.”¹⁶

When this second informative report reached the Ministry of the Interior (MI), measures had already been taken that were based on the first informative report: on July 28th, the Prefect of Perugia was asked to investigate the case.¹⁷ A list of students “of Jewish religion” enrolled in the University for Foreigners was then drawn up. A second list was drawn up on August 19th.¹⁸ The two lists give the following names:¹⁹

1. ¹BERNAU Fritz Erwin son of Emil, born in 1901, German [ex-Austrian]
2. ¹BENEDEK Eva daughter of Julio, born in 1917, Romanian (see image 3)
3. ¹BIEZUNSKI Pinchas son of Abraham, Palestinian (see image 28)
4. ¹BLUME Wilhelm Ferdinando son of Heinnch, born in 1914, German
5. ¹DENTSCH [DEUTSCH] Edith daughter of Adolfo, born in 1914, German [ex-Austrian] (see image 1)
6. ¹FAUTL Heinrich son of Ugo, born in 1915, German [ex-Austrian] (see image 8)
7. ¹FINK Jan Frederiche son of Wilhelne, born in 1918, Polish
8. ²FRANKFURT Fany daughter of Edoardo, German [ex-Austrian]
9. ²GLASS Tiberio [Tommaso] son of Tiberio, born in 1922, Hungarian
10. ²GUNSBERG Abraham son of Markus, Polish
11. ²ISMALUM André Lucine, born in 1896, Egyptian (see image 10)
12. ²ISRAEL Germaine wife of Herzenstein, French-Egyptian
13. ¹KOCH Walter son of Karl, born in 1914, German [ex-Austrian] (see image 22)
14. ¹MÜLLER Gerhard son of Waldemar, born in 1919, Swiss (see image 6)
15. ¹NORDMANN Paul Samuel son of Alice, born in 1918, Swiss (see image 29)
16. ¹OSTBERG Kurt son of Stephan, born in 1919, German (see image 13)
17. ¹ROBENSTEIN Ester Haura [Hanna] wife of Biezunski daughter of Isacco, Palestinian (see image 7)
18. ²ROSENBLAT Tatiana daughter of Maurizio, Polish
19. ²SCHLOSSMANN Josef son of Salomone, Polish
20. ¹SILLERSTEIN [SILBERSTEIN] MONTA Olga daughter of Jak, born in 1900, Romanian (see image 30)
21. ¹SINNREICH Kurt son of Rodolfo, born in 1916, German [ex-Austrian] (see image 14)
22. ²STRAUS Edith daughter of Federico, born in 1910, German (see image 2)
23. ¹WALD Josef son of Samam, born in 1917, German [ex-Austrian] (see image 12)

On August 19th the MI gave the names of the ex-Austrians Balner (see image 4), Fault [sic, Fautl] and Wald, enrolled at the University for Foreigners directly from outside Italy through the form available at foreign universities and in Italian diplomatic and cultural circles throughout the world. “Given the dissemination of these brochures and forms abroad,” the MI official wrote, “it seems easy to get hold of them and use them to become enrolled, especially since no documents are required, and the correspondence takes place between the university administration and the foreigner, directly, without other formalities.” Three other ex-Austrians are then named who entered Italy by the same method in July 1938, eluding the control of the MI: Deutsch, Sinnreich and Koch. Lastly, Fany

¹⁶ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, informative report dated Vienna, July 13, 1938.

¹⁷ Ibid., MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR to the Prefect of Perugia, no. 433/72189, 28 July 1938. Regarding application of racial laws in the Province of Perugia, see Boscherini 1995.

¹⁸ AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, Perugia Police Headquarters to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 004349, 30 July 1938, with enclosed list and Perugia Police Headquarters to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 004349, 19 August 1938, with enclosed list.

¹⁹ With 1 in superscript (¹) in the first list, with 2 in superscript (²) in the second list.

Frankfurt, who had lived in Italy for several years, was named.²⁰ It is possible that some of them used this ruse to escape from Austria, annexed to the Reich, without ever reaching Perugia. The entry of German Jewish students would be controlled in the future.



17. Passport of Georg Silbermann



18. Georg Silbermann, German ex-Austrian

The MEN' request of August 9th regarding the presence of foreign Jews was answered by Lupattelli on August 16th with the sending of the first list received by the Police and a very interesting letter:

«In response to note 9 corr. no. 12336; This University does not ask for the *religious* affiliation in the enrollment applications; however this year the R. Police Headquarters has carried out investigations in receiving the statements of residence of our enrolled foreign students and, at my request, it has delivered to me the list, a copy of which I transmit to the Most Excellent Ministry. I take this opportunity to ask you to let me know if the prohibition regarding the enrollment in all Italian schools of students and scholars of the Jewish race must also apply to this University, which does not issue academic and professional titles and has the sole purpose of spreading the Italian language and culture among foreigners”.²¹

The Rettore must have intervened also at the MAE to try to exclude the University for Foreigners from the anti-Jewish policy that was taking shape in the academic world. Amedeo Giannini, a member of the University's board of directors representing the MAE, wrote to Lupattelli on an unspecified date: “S. E. Ciano believes that the rules for Jewish students do not apply to enrollment at the University of Perugia.”²² Drawing on the special character of the institution he led, Lupattelli essentially asked that an exception be made for the University for Foreigners regarding the general prohibition for foreign Jews to have access to public education. Indeed, on August 6th the MEN

²⁰ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, Copy of the letter to the DGPS of the MI, 19 August 1938, signed by the Public Safety Inspector General Fantusati. Deutsch, Sinnreich and Koch had actually enrolled in July. See the files of the three students in AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1938. According to the University's internal documents, however, Frankfurt, Gunsberg and Schlossmann were not enrolled, as there are no files on them and they are not mentioned in the University's *Bulletins*.

²¹ AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, draft of the letter from Lupattelli to the Ministry of National Education, 16 August 1938. Handwritten, underlined in the original.

²² AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, Letter from Amedeo Giannini to Astorre Lupattelli, undated Handwritten, underlined in the original.

issued a circular prohibiting the enrollment of foreign Jews in Italian universities, even if they had already been enrolled in previous years. But the University for Foreigners had already been excluded from the restrictive provision, given that the August 6th circular had not been sent to it.²³ It cannot be ruled out that Lupattelli's urgent request also posed the problem of foreign Jewish students, which was in fact debated in the latter half of August.²⁴ After a number of contacts between the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the MAE and the MEN, by order of Mussolini a derogation was established for the university according to which Italian and foreign Jews could only continue studies undertaken in previous years: new enrollments were not allowed (Sarfatti 2017², 149-51). This was established in the decree of 5 September 1938 no. 1390 containing the *Provvedimenti per la difesa della razza nella scuola fascista* (Provisions for the defense of race in Fascist schools). The concession for foreign Jewish students had been expressly disclosed by the MAE on August 25th,²⁵ but was formalized by the MEN much later, on October 6, with an addition of some significance: the exclusion of German Jewish students, to whom the university was forbidden anyway, in deference to Italy's ally on the other side of the Alps (Signori 2000, 158-9; Capristo 2007, 144-6).²⁶



19. Mayer Panzierer, German ex-Austrian



20. Passport of Mayer Panzierer

²³ This was the MEN circular no. 19153 of 6 August 1938. According to the MEN papers, the circular was not sent to the University for Foreigners. We know, however, that Lupattelli was informed in August of what was happening, such that on August 16 he wrote about it to the MEN. Regarding the exclusion from the sending of the August 6th circular, see ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. II, b. 192, file Studenti ebrei divieto d'iscrizione.

²⁴ The embassy in the United States also received requests of this type. See ASDMAE, AP, 1931-45, Italia 1938, b. 50, file Razzismo in Italia, Embassy Telegram to Washington to MAE, no. 11381, 10 August 1938. In confirmation of the role of American echoes in Mussolini's change of course, see *ibid*, MAE DIE to Embassies in Washington, Paris, Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest Legations, MI Directorate General of Demography and Race, MEN, etc., no. 887993/10166, 25 August 1938.

²⁵ ASDMAE, AP, 1931-45, Italia 1938, b. 50, file Razzismo in Italia, MAE DIE to Embassies in Washington, Paris, Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest Legations, MI Directorate General of Demography and Race, MEN, etc., no. 887993/10166, 25 August 1938. On September 9, 1938 the MAE notified all diplomatic representatives of the exception for foreign Jewish students to be able to continue only the studies undertaken in the academic years prior to 1938-39. ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, Circular of the MAE DIE to all diplomatic representatives, no. 0008, 9 September 1938.

²⁶ One documented exception regards the German Jewish student Wolfgang Rosenberg, enrolled at the Istituto Superiore Orientale in Naples. The Pope's secretary of state, Card. Pacelli, had interceded on behalf of Rosenberg, who had converted to Catholicism; shortly thereafter Pacelli was elected to the papal throne. See ASDMAE, AISS, b. 102, file Questione razziale-Pratiche personali, subfile Rosenberg Wolfgang.

On September 23rd Bottai replied to Lupattelli's letter, stating "that the prohibition for students of the Jewish race to enroll in Italian schools does not apply to this university, given its special character." The minister concluded by advising the "utmost caution with regard to the enrollment of German Jews."²⁷ At the University for Foreigners students could attend various courses that lasted a maximum of three months, and at the end of which they received a certificate of knowledge of the Italian language, whereas a special course issued a certificate of qualification for teaching Italian abroad.²⁸ Lupattelli asked for the derogation for the University for Foreigners in August, when the idea was of a general ban for foreign Jewish students. But the September 5th decree, ratified for foreign Jewish students with the circular of October 6th, which allowed only those students who were already enrolled in the 1937-38 academic year to continue their studies, would in fact have meant the closing of the University for Foreigners to Jews: the Foreigner's educational program provided for Italian and culture courses that were at most quarterly, so that every year was concluded in itself, given that there were no multiyear courses as in other universities. This would have caused a decline in the international image of Italian culture.



21. Wolfgang Rosenberg, German



22. Walter Koch, German ex-Austrian

We have no elements for establishing what reasons led Lupattelli to request an exemption from the exclusion of foreign Jewish students for his university:²⁹ opposition to the anti-Semitic campaign,

²⁷ AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, MEN to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 13191, 23 September 1938. As early as September 19, 1938, the secretary of the University for Foreigners assured foreign Jewish students who applied to the University that the anti-Semitic provisions did not concern the Perugian university. See AUSPg, Studenti, Palestina, 1938, file Alice Levin.

²⁸ The academic year at the Foreigners was divided into three quarters, from April 1 to December 23. 1st quarter: April 1 to June 30; 2nd quarter: July 1 to September 30; 3rd quarter: October 1 to December 23. Studies were divided into Italian language, literature, history and art courses and high culture courses. The former were in turn further divided into a Preparatory Course; Intermediate Course with French, English, Romanian, German and Hungarian sections, general notions of Italian literature, practical phonetics and grammatical methods; Advanced Course with historical grammar, comparative stylistics, Italian literature, civil history and art history. The latter were divided into Etruscan studies, "Lectura Dantis," modern and contemporary Italy, with a different specific century each year (in 1938 it was the 1500s), courses on various subject (in 1938 the Augustan civilization, Augustus: serenity and constant order, progress made by Italian agriculture in the Fascist regime). See *Bollettino della Regia Università italiana per Stranieri Perugia*, from 1938 to 1944, special January issues on the life of the university and statistical data for the year.

²⁹ The Rettore does not mention this even in Lupattelli 1947.

the defending of the international nature of the school he directed, the desire to obtain a privileged position in relation to other universities? Without a doubt, however, and beyond his intentions, the problem posed by Lupattelli, which had already been raised in ministerial circles, given the excluding of the University for Foreigners from the first anti-Jewish monitoring, paved the way for similar solutions in other settings.

3. From the Perugian university to courses for foreigners in other universities

The exception Bottai made for the University for Foreigners opened the door to the solution in this sense for other similar situations: the special Italian courses for foreigners held at various Italian universities, and organized by the Istituto Nazionale per le Relazioni Culturali con l'Estero (National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). The directors of courses for foreigners at the various Italian universities met on September 14th to assess the situation in light of the racial laws. Subsequently, probably on the impetus of the Istituto Nazionale per le Relazioni Culturali con l'Estero (National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), "confidential instructions" had arrived, so that "there should be no particular difficulties for Jews requesting enrollment in the courses, provided they are not in possession of a German passport."³⁰ The ban remained in force for Germans.

Because of the racial laws, there was the problem of identifying Jews among foreign students, especially among Germans, given the continuous flow that came to the university in Perugia for the three quarterly courses into which the academic year was organized. As early as November 30, 1938, on the occasion of the publication of the course programs for 1939, Lupattelli had written to the MEN to "have the esteemed counsel of the Hon. Ministry on how to exercise the 'utmost caution with regard to the enrollment of German Jews,'" as Bottai had written to the Rettore on September 23rd. On December 1st Lupattelli also wrote to the Istituto Nazionale per le Relazioni Culturali con l'Estero (National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), asking for an opinion on the proposal of inserting a question on religion in the registration form.³¹ The institute made it known "that the item 'Religion' was omitted in the registration forms prepared by us, in which, however, not only the father's name but also the mother's name were requested, so as to have as many elements as possible for the purpose of evaluating the race of those enrolled of Germanic nationality."³² The explicit question on "race" finally appeared in the University for Foreigners registration forms for 1940.³³

The particular nature of the University for Foreigners, basically open to the enrollment of foreign Jewish students, at least on paper, was reasserted several times,³⁴ but in reality the situation was different, as we shall see. In addition, enrolling at the University for Foreigners was sufficient to ensure a stay in the kingdom, as the MAE wrote to the MEN on January 26, 1939, in response to a request dated January 10th. In the same document the question of German Jewish students was left

³⁰ AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries to Lupattelli, no. 4393, 18 November 1938, also for the meeting on September 14th. In correspondence with the ministry there is no mention of the School for Foreigners in Siena because it was still an institution not recognized as a university. Regarding the Sienese school, see Sangalli 2010.

³¹ Note the confusion, even by December, between religion and the Jewish race, when the laws were clearly of a racial nature.

³² *Ibid.*, draft of the letter from Lupattelli to the MEN, 30 November 1938; draft of the letter from Lupattelli to the National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, undated [1 December 1938; obtained from the reply] and reply no. 4912 dated 10 December 1938. The reply of the MEN (no. 16717) would arrive on 7 February 1939.

³³ See the forms in AUSPg, Studenti, 1940 to 1944.

³⁴ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, MAE to MEN, no. 302261, 26 January 1939, referred to also in *ibid.*, MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR to DGDR and Border Police Div., no. 443/53123, 8 February 1939; AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, MEN to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 20859, 1 August 1939.

open, proposing “to return to the subject.”³⁵ On March 17th the MAE the reservations on Germans were resolved, granting the possibility of enrolling at the University for Foreigners “provided that they had a passport marked with letter J stamped in red on the first page, since only these passports guaranteed German Jews that they would be able to return to the Reich.”³⁶ On March 19th the concession for the Germans extended to courses for foreigners at the University of Florence “and if such is the case, at other universities” with the authorization, on a case-by-case basis, of the MAE and, for all foreign Jewish students, of the DGPS of the MI.³⁷ Thus Italian courses at the University for Foreigners and at other universities were completely open to foreign Jews, at least officially, as we shall see. At the other universities, however, the anti-Semitic laws had very serious effects not only on Italian students, but also on foreign students. At the University of Pisa the effects were especially oppressive. In fact all the students admitted in derogation to the 1937-38 AY, of which we have already spoken, were not admitted in the 1938-39 AY; they were in an irregular position, since their enrollment in the previous academic year was not considered valid, and therefore that of 1938-39 was an enrollment that was forbidden by law for Jewish students, both Italian and foreign. Another university that was hard hit was the University of Bologna, a favorite destination for foreign Jewish students.³⁸

Lupattelli was able to get the University for Foreigners excluded from the interdiction against the Jewish students, and this had opened the door to the same solution for the Italian language and culture courses initiated at various universities under the aegis of the Istituto Nazionale per le Relazioni Culturali con l’Estero (National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). The MAE approved this line because together with the Ministry of Popular Culture, it was very attentive to the repercussions of the racist policy on propaganda abroad. It was a very delicate issue, given that the anti-Semitic campaign was not universal currency in terms of propaganda in international relations. All this prompted the Fascist authorities to move cautiously. For example, Italian schools abroad controlled by the Fascist government remained open to both Italian and foreign Jewish students, except in those countries where the “local laws” were against it.³⁹ A similar, albeit specific, story concerned the Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri (National Dante Alighieri Society), which purged its national committees of Jews but not its foreign committees, although it tried to keep the Jewish members from being too visible in the latter.⁴⁰ These were situations that differed from each other,

³⁵ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, MAE to the MEN, no. 302261, 26 January 1939.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, MAE to the MEN, no. 306728, 17 March 1939. See also SIGNORI, *cit.*, p. 159. The J on the passport of German Jews was introduced on October 27, 1938. See K. VOIGT, *cit.*, p. 35. Starting in 1939, German students who applied to enroll at the Foreigners and who declared that they were not Jews had to produce an Aryan certificate, which was issued by the Nazi authorities. See for example AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1939, files Brigitte Adolph and Erika Friedemann.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, MI DGPS Div. AAGRR to the Prefects and to the Chief of Police of Rome, no. 443/59059, 19 March 1939 and AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 761, file Iscrizioni incomplete 1939, MEN to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 16717, 7 February 1939. This last document shows that the MAE had to give the clearance for Germans and the MI had to be consulted for the duration of the stay of all foreign Jewish students. See also CAPRISTO, *cit.*, pp. 145-146.

³⁸ Regarding the case of Pisa, see Pelini-Pavan 2009b, 45-59 and Pelini-Pavan 2009a. Regarding the case of Bologna, see Brizzi 2002; Brizzi 2004; Salustri 2009, 133-55; Salustri 2010, 181-218.

³⁹ ASDMAE, AISS, b. 102, file Questione razziale-Parte generale, Telespresso form MAE DIE to all diplomatic and consular offices, no. 893050/C, 13 September 1938. Indeed, even after 1938 there were Jewish students enrolled in Italian schools abroad. See ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I versamento, b. 109, Romania 1940 Bucarest file, Bucharest Education Department - First Report 1939-40; *ibid.*, Bucharest Italian middle school to MAE DIE, no. 359, 15 November 1939; *ibid.*, Bucharest Italian middle school to MAE DIE, no. 520, 2 June 1940; *ibid.*, Bucharest Italian Business School to MAE DIE, no. 51, 21 October 1938; *ibid.*, Bucharest Education Department to DIE, 10 January 1939; *ibid.*, “Regina Margherita” Italian elementary school to DIE, no. 471, 19 October 1938. Perhaps the fact that many Italian schools abroad were run by religious organizations which received government funding and which would have a hard time excluding baptized Jews also had a bearing on the matter. Regarding this matter, see also Cavarocchi 2018, 7, which indicates that there were no regulations that prohibited the enrollment of Jewish students in Italian schools abroad.

⁴⁰ The Dante Alighieri story was studied at the conference “Italian Culture, the Dante Alighieri Society and Fascist Anti-Semitism,” held in Rome on October 29, 2018, on the initiative of President Andrea Riccardi, the proceedings will soon be published.

but responded to the need to not cause a fall in the international image of Italian culture and the regime, avoiding that Italian institutions abroad would be considered a direct offshoot of Fascism and its more controversial policies.⁴¹

4. The strict application of anti-Semitic laws

The anti-Semitic laws concerned not only students in schools, but also the teachers and administrative staff. The census of employees of the “Jewish race,” which began on August 9, 1938, revealed the presence of Lucia Gugenheim Culcasi among the teaching staff of the University for Foreigners, a Jewish woman registered with the local Jewish community, who taught the intermediate Italian course for German-speaking students. She taught German language and literature at the Vittorio Veneto high school in Milan. According to the Police Chief of Perugia, in 1938 she was held in high “esteem and reputation” among the “the city’s intellectual circles,” “distinguishing her for her intelligent effectiveness.” She taught at the Foreigners from the first days of the new institution in 1923, “with the full satisfaction of the University directors,” after having carried out a variety of activities for the holding of the internal front during the Great War. She had been a member of the Milan *fascio femminile* (women Fascists) since 1933 and was active in the Federazione Nazionale del Libro (National Book Federation), from which she received several diplomas of merit.⁴² At the end of the 1937-38 AY, during which she taught 364 hours of lessons, she was proposed for an early raise in salary “in consideration of her uncommon merits.”⁴³ Instead the racial laws arrived and she was forced to leave her position as of October 15, 1938.⁴⁴ After the war, reinstated to the staff in 1948, she resumed working for the University for Foreigners, where she continued to teach until 1956.⁴⁵ During the war her position was covered by Vincenzo Villa (78 hours of lessons) and Walter Binni (282 hours of lessons).⁴⁶ Binni, a native of Perugia, was humanities and history professor at the Istituto tecnico di Pavia (technical Institute of Pavia), temporarily attached to the Soprintendenza Bibliografica di Modena (Bibliographic Superintendency of Modena) and went from there to the University for Foreigners on December 16, 1938.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Regarding Fascist propaganda abroad, see Garzarelli 2000, 225-64; Garzarelli 2004; Pretelli 2008; Cavarocchi 2010; Fotia 2018.

⁴² ACS, MI, DGDR, FP, b. 144, file 9187 Gugenheim Culcasi Lucia, Chief of Police of Perugia to the Prefect of Perugia, no. 2868Gab., 28 December 1938. On the beginning of her teaching at the University for Foreigners, see *Bollettino dell’Università Italiana per Stranieri*, 31 August 1944, p. 4.

⁴³ ACS, MI, DGDR, FP, b. 144, file 9187 Gugenheim Culcasi Lucia, Duplicate of the certificate of the Superintendent of Medieval and Modern Art of Perugia, 6 December 1938.

⁴⁴ See the documentation in AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei. The census order arrived with the MEN circular no. 12336 dated 9 August 1938. The Ministry sent twenty forms which had to be returned filled in by each employee. Lupattelli responded on September 3rd by sending 14 completed forms, including that of Lucia Gugenheim, temporarily attached to the Superintendency of Medieval and Modern Art of Perugia and from there to the University for Foreigners (*Annuario* 1936, 513). See also Capristo-Fabre 2018, 176.

⁴⁵ See AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1945-1966, b. 30A Docenti, file Certificati, Certificate of the teaching activities carried out by Prof. Lucia Culcasi Gugenheim at the Italian University for Foreigners, 30 September 1958. See also *Bollettino dell’Università Italiana per Stranieri*, 31 August 1944, p. 4 and *La vita dell’Università Italiana per Stranieri*, 1954 and 1955, respectively on pp. 16 and 32. In her first years she taught French-speaking students.

⁴⁶ See *Bollettino dell’Università Italiana per Stranieri*, 10 January 1940, p. 525. Also no. of 15 January 1941, p. 475, Leny Zaniboni with 192 hours, Walter Binni with 131 hours. Binni also taught comparative stylistics: see *ibid*, 10 January 1940, p. 526 and 15 January 1941, p. 476.

⁴⁷ AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1945-1966, b. 30A Docenti, file Comandi, subfile 1947, Rettore to the MPE, 21 October 1947 and file Certificati, Certificate of 29 April 1953 on the activities carried out by Walter Binni, which states that he taught at the Foreigners until December 23, 1948. See also the Ministry of National Education, *Annuario. 1940 – Anno XVIII*, Rome, p. 1320. It seems unlikely that Binni could not have imagined how that position had become open, given that between 1938 and 1939 the entire academic world was purged of Jewish teachers, students and administrators. The experience of teaching at the University for Foreigners is always highlighted in his CV submitted in the various competitive examinations that would opened the way to his academic career. See ACN, MPI, DGIS, Div. I, FPLD, II serie, b. 56, file Binni Walter, and ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. I, Concorsi a cattedre, II serie, bb. 309 and 310, file Cagliari. Italian language and literature. Although Binni had been a member of the National Fascist Party since May 24, 1935 and



23. *Theodor Feldman, German ex-Austrian*



24. *Shaul Hareli, Palestinian*

In 1940 the Prefecture of Perugia began to investigate the “racial origins” of Count Romeo Adriano Gallenga Stuart, a noble Perugian supporter and benefactor of the University for Foreigners who had died in January 1938. The count had donated Palazzo Gallenga Stuart to the municipality of Perugia, which in 1927 designated it as the headquarters of the University for Foreigners and donated its library to the university, which had created the “Gallenga Stuart Schunk fund.” The name of this fund was probably what worried local authorities, since the MEN circular no. 6819 of 12 November 1938 prohibited the acceptance of donations and legacies arranged by “persons of Jewish race.” Information was requested from the widow, who gave the assurance that he had been “Aryan and Catholic.” Investigations continued but provided no further results, and the issue was dropped.⁴⁸

The educational life of the university was little influenced by the regime’s racist and anti-Semitic turn. At other universities courses were instituted in keeping with the new racist policy, such as the biology of human races, intensifying also the courses on anthropology, genetics and demography.⁴⁹ At the University for Foreigners, racial subjects were infrequent from 1938 to 1944. In 1939 Pericle Ducati gave a class on the formation of the Italic stock that was not lacking in anti-Semitic references (Cavarocchi 2010, 271), but when one of the ideologues of Fascist racism, Nicola Pende, gave a lecture at University for Foreigners in 1942, he spoke of something entirely different: his talk was on

according to the Prefect of Perugia in 1941 he was “of good moral, civil and political character,” he had been very close to Aldo Capitini at least since 1931, and subsequently was a member of the Liberal Socialist group and a leader of antifascist activities in Perugia, Florence, Milan and Turin. See ACN, MPI, DGIS, Div. I, FPLD, II serie, b. 56, file Binni Walter, Certificate of the Fascist Party of Perugia, 31 July 1941 and Prefect of Perugia to MEN, no. 8247, 26 September 1941. Regarding his antifascist activities, see ASPg, Prefettura Perugia, Gabinetto, II sottosezione, file 1223, Periodic Reports of the Province, Perugia 1943, Report for December 1943 with enclosed Police Headquarters report dated 10 December 1943 and Capitini 1966, 97 and Binni 2007.² Regarding Binni, see Binni 2013, although a scientific biography of Walter Binni is still lacking.

⁴⁸ See the documentation in ASPg, Prefettura, Gabinetto, b. 48, file Accertamento razza di discendenti da matrimonio misto, subfile Gallenga-Stuard [sic] Romeo. Regarding the “Gallenga Stuart Schunk” fund, see Capaccioni 2008, 288-292. Circular no. 6819 of the MEN dated 12 November 1938 found in AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei.

⁴⁹ For some cases see Gregory-Fattori-Siciliani de Cumis 1985, 69-75; Ventura 1997, 175-83; Cavarocchi-Minerbi 1999, 492-500.

«Le fasi di sviluppo della personalità e le fasi educative pedagogiche» (The stages of personality development and educational pedagogical stages).⁵⁰



25. Robert Aufricht, German ex-Austrian



26. Regina Edelhofer, German ex-Austrian

Thanks to its vocation of universal openness, to its particular character, and to the action of Astorre Lupattelli, the University for Foreigners was the only university that overall was open to foreign Jewish students, at least in theory. With its universal tension, Italian culture was considered a meeting point beyond the tensions that made coexistence between nationalities and groups in conflict difficult at an international level. The international conflict remained in a somewhat sugar-coated image outside the door of the university, which was represented as a happy island of coexistence. In 1935, on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, the town's magazine, *Perusia*, allotted ample space to the University for Foreigners, highlighting its universal character and establishing ties with the myth of Rome. A symbolic encounter was described in an idyllic scene: "the young Hitlerian woman leaps from Bavarian steel to amiably shake the hand of the young Israelite woman, who in the hospitable exile of Italy was able to return to the exercising of her profession" (Gheda 2004, 142). However, it must not have been just rhetoric if in an even more crucial year, 1939, we find published in the *Bollettino della Regia Università italiana per Stranieri* (Bulletin of the Royal Italian University for Foreigners) a significant thought of a group of Palestinian Jewish students enrolled there: "following their stay at the Royal University for Foreigners, the Palestinian students wish to express their admiration for this hearth of serene culture that is open to all friends of Italy, without any distinction. Those who already loved Italy found their feelings confirmed by the teaching of excellent professors. They propose to return in the coming year in greater numbers."⁵¹ We do not know if the message was written before or after the pronouncement of the Italian racial laws, but apart from its value in itself

⁵⁰ *Bollettino della Regia Università italiana per Stranieri Perugia*, 15 January 1943, pp. 273 and 318.

⁵¹ *Bollettino della Regia Università italiana per Stranieri Perugia*, 15 January 1939, p. 442. The signatures were of Hanna Biezunski [Robenstein], P.[inchas] Biezunski, Alise Baruch, Leo Tchertkoff, and Salomone Gattegno. The last of these was an Italian resident in Palestine, a fiduciary of the Fascists abroad. The Biezunskis had been reported by Police Headquarters on July 30, 1938 as Jews enrolled at the Foreigners. See the list in the text. There were 16 Palestinian Jews enrolled in 1938. See *ibid.*, p. 458 and further on.

as testimony to the climate that reigned at the Foreigners, it is significant that Lupattelli chose to insert it in an issue of the *Bollettino* published in 1939, therefore after the racial laws of September-November 1938, even if it is possible that it was a move agreed upon together with the MAE and/or the MEN. However, one thing is certain: those students did not return in the coming year.

Indeed, despite the official opening, after 1938 the number of Jews at the University for Foreigners decreased rapidly, until they completely disappeared. What difficulties did Jewish students encounter in entering the renowned Perugian school? Among those reported in 1938, Deutsch, Sinnreich, and Fautl, once they had arrived in Perugia, disappeared soon after: they were all fleeing ex-Austrians.⁵² We have a bit more news about the others (see the list below).⁵³ Also present were the ex-Austrian German Frankfurt, and the Pole Schlossmann, who had been living in Italy for several years.⁵⁴ There is no news about the Pole Gunsberg. Then there was the group of Palestinians that included Biezunski and Hanna Biezunski (née Robenstein), among others.⁵⁵ In December, the prefecture of Perugia had identified another Jewish student at the University for Foreigners, the Pole Marian Bendel, who in the summer of 1938 was the foreign students' fiduciary of the Gruppo Universitario Fascista (Fascist University Group) of the University for Foreigners.⁵⁶ The German Wolfgang Rosenberg (see image 21), who had attended in the summer of 1938, had instead escaped the investigations of the authorities.⁵⁷ In October 1938, the Prefecture of Perugia, in drawing up a list of foreign Jews who had arrived in Italy after January 1, 1919 and who were residing in the province, reported Schlossmann, Blume, Müller, Wald and Sachs from the Palestinian group,⁵⁸ to which Frankfurt and Bendel were added later.⁵⁹ The departures of Wald and Müller were reported from the end of 1938 through 1939.⁶⁰ In 1938, at least 41 Jews were enrolled in the University for Foreigners, out of a total of 1182 students (3.47%).⁶¹

⁵² Along with ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, Copy of the letter to the DGPS of the MI, 19 August 1938, signed by the Public Safety Inspector Fantusati, see AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1938, the personal files of the three students.

⁵³ Ostberg had arrived in Perugia with a scholarship of 2000 lire granted by his university in London and with an accompanying letter from Camillo Pellizzi. Regarding this the MEN asked for information; see *ibid.* For Israel Germaine, probably in Herzenstein, see AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei, MEN DGIS to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 22244, 4 October 1938 and replies dated 5 and 10 October by Lupattelli; see also ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 3, file Ebrei Stranieri-Studenti, MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR a MEN Gab., no. 443/71410, 6 September 1938; copy of the letter of the MEN to the MI DGPS, no. 22244, 4 October 1938; copy of the letter of the MEN to the MI DGPS, no. 23496/23780, 29 October 1938.

⁵⁴ Regarding Frankfurt, see ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 14, file Perugia, in particular Prefecture of Perugia to MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR, no. 0053, 24 November 1938 and *ibid.*, Div. AAGGRR, A4 bis, b. 120, file Frankfurter Fanny. Regarding Schlossmann, see L. BOSCHERINI, *cit.*, pp. 57, 158, 164, 179, 180; ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 14, file Perugia, List of names of foreign Jews residing in the province of Perugia since 1 January 1919, dated 6 October 1938; *ibid.*, copy of the letter of the MEN to the MI DGPS, no. 12961, 19 September 1938. It does not seem, however, that at least in 1938 they were enrolled in the University for Foreigners.

⁵⁵ The group consisted of A. Levi Allon (Jerusalem), Alisa [or Alise] Baruch (Tel Aviv), Meir Bichovsky (Tel Aviv), Hanna Biezunski (Tel Aviv), Pinchas Biezunski (Tel Aviv), S. Shaul Hareli (Jerusalem), Jenny Heidenfeld, Alice Levin (Tel Aviv), Erich Levin (Tel Aviv), M. Asher Pevsner (Tel Aviv), Elie Dan Rolbag (Jerusalem), Alexander Sachs (Jerusalem), Hia Schuster, Leo Tchertkoff (Tel Aviv), Rahel Unna (Tel Aviv), Jehudith Zisling (Tel Aviv). See *Bollettino della Regia Università italiana per Stranieri Perugia*, 15 January 1939, p. 458.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, and ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 14, file Perugia, Prefecture of Perugia to MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR, no. 0074, 2 December 1938 and AUSPg, Studenti, Polonia, 1938, file Bendel Marian.

⁵⁷ Correspondence of 1940 between the University and Rosenberg in AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei.

⁵⁸ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 14, file Perugia, List of names of foreign Jews residing in the province of Perugia since 1 January 1919, dated 6 October 1938.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Prefecture of Perugia to MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR, no. 0074, 2 December 1938 and Prefecture of Perugia to MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR, no. 0053, 24 November 1938.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Perugia Police Headquarters to MI DGPS Border Police Div., no. 00564, 28 December 1938 and Prefecture of Perugia to MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR, no. 09007, 14 July 1939.

⁶¹ The list includes three students not enrolled in 1938 but indicated by the police.

1. ALLON A. Levi, Palestinian, probably not arrived in Perugia
2. BALNER Fritz Erwin, German [ex-Austrian], in Perugia from 3 July to 15 September 1938
3. BARUCH Alisa [o Alise], Palestinian, in Perugia from 22 July to 21 August 1938
4. BENDEL Marian, Polish, in Perugia from 1 July to 30 September 1938
5. BENEDEK Eva, Romanian, in Perugia from 14 July to 8 August 1938
6. BICHOVSKY Meir, Palestinian, in Perugia from 26 August to 26 September 1938
7. BIEZUNSKI Pinchas, Palestinian, in Perugia from 26 July to 21 August 1938
8. BLUME Wilhelm Ferdinando, German, in Perugia from 28 June to 23 December 1938
9. DEUTSCH Edith, German [ex-Austrian], in Perugia from 28 July 1938
10. FAUTL Heinrich, German [ex-Austrian], in Perugia from 25 July 1938
11. FINK Jan Frederiche, Polish, in Perugia from 3 July to 13 August 1938
12. FRANKFURT [FRANKFURTER] Fany [Fanny], German [ex-Austrian], not registered in 1938
13. GATTEGNO Salomone, Italian resident in Palestine, in Perugia from 21 July to 20 August 1938
14. GLASS Tiberio [Tommaso], Hungarian, in Perugia from 1 to 31 August 1938
15. GUNSBURG Abraham, Polish, not registered in 1938
16. HARELI S. Shaul, Palestinian, in Perugia from 5 to 27 July 1938 (see image 24)
17. HEIDENFELD Jenny, Palestine, probably not arrived in Perugia
18. ISMALUM André Lucien, Egyptian, in Perugia from 11 August to 10 September 1938
19. ISRAEL Germaine, French-Egyptian, in Perugia from 10 August to 9 September 1938
20. KOCH Walter, German [ex-Austrian], in Perugia from 5 July to 15 August 1938
21. LEVIN Alice, Palestinian, probably not arrived in Perugia
22. LEVIN Erich, Palestinian, probably not arrived in Perugia
23. MÜLLER Gerhard, Swiss, in Perugia from 2 July to 30 September 1938
24. NORDMANN Paul Samuel, Swiss, in Perugia from 18 July to 5 September 1938
25. ORNSTEIN Carl, German [ex-Austrian], not arrived in Perugia
26. OSTBERG Kurt, German, in Perugia from 25 July to 15 September 1938
27. PEVSNER M. Asher, Palestine, probably not arrived in Perugia
28. ROSENSTEIN Ester Hanna in Biezunski, Palestinian, in Perugia from 22 July to 21 August 1938
29. ROLBAG Elie Dan, Palestine, probably not arrived in Perugia
30. ROSENBERG Wolfgang, German, in Perugia from 1 July to 30 September 1938
31. ROSENBLAT Tatiana, Polish, in Perugia from 11 to 19 August 1938
32. SACHS Alexander, Palestinian, in Perugia from 27 September to 23 December 1938
33. SCHLOSSMANN Josef, Polish, not registered in 1938
34. SCHUSTER Haia, Palestinian, in Perugia from 11 August to 12 September 1938
35. SILLERSTEIN [SILBERSTEIN] MONTA Olga, Romanian, in Perugia from 14 July to 8 August 1938
36. SINNREICH Kurt, German [ex-Austrian], in Perugia from 20 July 1938
37. STRAUS Edith, German, in Perugia from 12 August to 30 September 1938
38. TCHERTKOFF Leo, Palestinian, in Perugia from 3 August to 2 September 1938 (see image 15)
39. UNNA Rahel, Palestinian, in Perugia from 18 July to 19 August 1938 (see image 27)
40. WALD Josef, German [former Austrian], in Perugia from 16 July to 15 August 1938
41. ZISLING Jehudith, Palestinian, probably not arrived in Perugia



27. Rahel Unna, Palestinian



28. Pinchas Biezunsky, Palestinian

In 1939, many new applications for enrollment came from foreign Jews. As of March 17, Germans, who previously had been excluded, had to have their passport marked with the red J for “Jude.” Applications arrived from the Germans Robert Aufricht (see image 25), Janette Bachrich (see image 11), Fritz Birkner (see image 5), Max (see image 16) and Regina Edelhofer (see image 26), Theodor Feldmann (see image 23), Carl Ornstein, Ida (see image 9) and Mayer Panzierer (see image 19), and Georg Silbermann (see image 18), all former Austrians from Vienna: it may still have been part of the small exodus of Jews from Vienna to the University for Foreigners that began after the Anschluss, to escape from the Nazis. The Palestinians Alice and Erich Levin, who were present also in 1938, applied for enrollment, but like the Germans, they almost certainly did not arrive.⁶² In the files of the Germans, except for those of the Edelhofers, there is a copy of the passport with the J (see images 17 and 20): the documentation was in order, but no one reached the Foreigners. In addition to the bureaucratic obligations (essentially, possession of a passport with a J stamped in red), we know that other filters had been activated: for the Germans, the discretionary clearance of the MAE, which prevented, for example, the enrollment of the Edelhofers.⁶³ But for the others the Ministry limited itself to requiring the J passport, as is documented in the case of the Panzierers.⁶⁴ It seems more plausible that the obstacles came more from the German than the Italian authorities, with the currency restrictions and the obstacles to an emigration that did not have the characteristics of a definitive abandoning of the Reich (Voigt 1993, 29-36 and 281-90). That the German authorities sought to

⁶² See the personal files in AUSPg, Studenti, Germania and Palestina, 1939. It is not clear whether Aufricht and Birkner managed to reach the Foreigners. However, the answer is likely negative. In 1938, all of the 16 Palestinians were Jews; in 1939, only 2 out of 5 Palestinians were Jews, and they probably never reached Perugia. See *Bollettino della Regia Università italiana per Stranieri Perugia*, 10 January 1940, p. 558.

⁶³ AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1939, file Edelhofer Max. Max Edelhofer probably succeeded in arriving in Italy later, as in July 1943 he was in the concentration camp at Tortoreto, in the province of Teramo. See ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGRR., A4 bis, b. 102, file Edelhofer Max.

⁶⁴ AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1939, file Panzierer Mayer and *ibid.*, Segreteria, 1928-1944, b. 761, file Iscrizioni incomplete 1939, MAE to the R. Italian University for Foreigners and c.c. to MEN Cab., no. 306729, 17 March 1939.

hinder “seasonal” emigration for studying seems to be confirmed by the testimony of Carl Ornstein, who on April 14, 1939 wrote to the university secretary: “Thank you very much for your dear letter. I am sending the passport with the letter J on the first page; but I ask you please, dear madam, to add a few lines to your reply, so that I can show them at the border; one is never cautious enough, especially now in these turbulent times. We hope that everything will pass.” On March 31, 1939, Ornstein wrote to the University for Foreigners: “As for my feelings for Italy, I want to add that I adore Il Duce, whose biography (written by Margherita Sarfatti) has a place of honor in my library (in which the Duce’s speeches are also found) and many newspapers clippings concerning Il Duce.”⁶⁵ Whereas in February 1940, at the time of the request for enrollment of the ex-Austrian German Jew Hans Engler, the consul had intervened and the applicant had been reimbursed.⁶⁶ Ornstein had attempted to enroll also in 1940, like the Pole Bendel, but neither of them made it to the University for Foreigners.⁶⁷ What probably happened was that where the German authorities did not intervene to stop the arrival of non-German foreign Jewish students, the Italian authorities did, such as in the case of the Palestinian Levins and the Pole Bendel. In 1940 the Italian authorities definitely banned from enrollment Wolfgang Rosenberg, a German Jew who had been enrolled in 1938, and who was interned in the Isola del Gran Sasso concentration camp in the province of Teramo.⁶⁸



29. Paul Nordmann, Swiss



30. Olga Sillerstein Monta, Romanian

After Italy entered the war, in June 1940 Frankfurt and Bendel were interned in the province of Potenza.⁶⁹ As paradoxical as it may seem, the only Jew we can confidently state was able to get to

⁶⁵ AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1939, file Ornstein Carl. In 1939 the works of the Margherita Sarfatti, a Jew, including *Dux*, the biography of Mussolini, had been quietly withdrawn from the market. See Fabre 1998, 245 and 258-62. Ornstein had enrolled also in 1938, but had not succeeded in arriving in Italy. See AUSPg, Studenti, Germania, 1939, file Ornstein Carl, letter from Ornstein to the University dated 31 March 1939.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1940, file Engler Hans.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, file Ornstein Carl and *ibid.*, Polonia, 1940, file Bendel Mariano.

⁶⁸ See the documentation in AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2300, file Ebrei.

⁶⁹ ACS, MI, DGPS, Div. AAGGRR, A16, b. 14, file Perugia, Prefecture of Perugia to MI DGPS Div. AAGGRR, no. 07522, 17 June 1940 with list of interned persons enclosed.

the University for Foreigners was Italian. It was Margherita Pesaro (widow Nathan), resident in Montecarlo, who attended in June 1940 – perhaps only for a few days, but her presence is attested.⁷⁰

In 1939 Lupattelli asked the MEN which provisions were in force for the enrollment in the University for Foreigners of Jews from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The Bottai ministry asked MAE, which after having indicated the required documents, reassured him “that probably this year, no Jew of the Protectorate will enroll at the Italian University for Foreigners in Perugia.” Lupattelli, however, had acted at the request of a Jew from the Protectorate who was planning to enroll.⁷¹ The MAE, through its consulates and cultural institutes, surely worked to deter Jews intending to move to Italy for study purposes.

Although enrollment was not forbidden for Jews, these circumstances in fact led to the elimination of the Jewish presence among the students at the University for Foreigners. In 1942 Lupattelli was able to write to the Federazione fascista di Perugia (Fascist federation of Perugia) “that this University has no Jews among its students enrolled.”⁷² Despite the fact that Lupattelli had succeeded in obtaining a fairly important concession, the setting and the clear will at the ministerial level not to actually carry out the directive, made the requests of Rettore for openness remain good only on paper. All this underlines how the anti-Jewish laws could be even more oppressive in practice than in their declaration. Among the Jewish students whose history crossed paths with the University for Foreigners in Perugia, Carl Ornstein, Mayer Panzierer (see image 19) and Georg Silbermann (see image 18) perished in the extermination camps.⁷³

After the liberation of Perugia on June 20, 1944, the University for Foreigners was put under the administration of the allied military government. The antifascist Aldo Capitini was appointed in place of Lupattelli, who was briefly interned in the camp for fascists in Padula, Campania, along with Paolo Orano, Rettore of the state university.⁷⁴ On the occasion of the opening of the high culture courses for the 1944 academic year, Capitini invited the literary critic Attilio Momigliano, referring explicitly to his expulsion from the University of Florence for racial reasons.⁷⁵ In October he inaugurated the courses with readings of Dante, which opened a new season in the history of the University for Foreigners in the wake of the great changes taking place in Italy during the difficult transition from the Fascist dictatorship to democracy.

⁷⁰ AUSPg, Studenti, Italia, 1940, file Margherita Pesaro.

⁷¹ AUSPg, Segreteria, 1928-1944, b. 761, file Iscrizioni incomplete 1939, letter of Kurt Burstyn to the University for Foreigners of Perugia, 4 May 1939; letter of Lupattelli to the MEN, 8 May 1939; *ibid.*, b. 2300, file Ebrei, MEN to the Rettore of the R. University for Foreigners of Perugia, no. 20859, 1 August 1939 in which the reply of the MAE reported in the text is quoted. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was created in mid-March 1939 following the invasion and dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by Nazi troops.

⁷² AUSPg, Segreteria amministrativa, 1928-1944, b. 2280, file Partito Nazionale Fascista, letter of Lupattelli to the Federal Secretary of the National Fascist Party of Perugia, 18 September 1942.

⁷³ See The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names at the website www.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/IY_HON_Welcome (last consultation 21 September 2019). Regarding Panzierer, see also <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000530053&categorieLien=id>.

⁷⁴ Gheda 2004, 174-9 and 189-92. Orano died in detention in Padula on April 7, 1945. Lupattelli died in Perugia on June 3, 1945, shortly after having been released from the camp in Padula.

⁷⁵ ASPg, Prefettura, Gabinetto, b. 154, fasc. Università e istituti superiori, subfile Università per stranieri.

References

- Annuario (1936) del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale. 1936 – Anno XIV.* Rome: Provveditorato Generale dello Stato.
- BELARDI P. (2008). Edited by: *Il palazzo Gallenga Stuart di Perugia*. Perugia: Quattroemme.
- BINNI L. (2013). *La protesta di Walter Binni: una biografia*. Florence: Il Ponte.
- BINNI W. (2007²). *La tramontana a Porta Sole. Scritti perugini e umbri*. Perugia: Morlacchi.
- BOSCHERINI L. (1995). *La persecuzione degli ebrei a Perugia*. Montepulciano (SI): Le Balze.
- BRIZZI G.P. (2002). Bologna, 1938: il silenzio e la memoria. Le leggi razziali e gli studenti ebrei stranieri dell'Università di Bologna. In *La cattedra negata. Dal giuramento di fedeltà al fascismo alle leggi razziali nell'Università di Bologna*. Edited by D. MIRRI - S. ARIETI. Milan: CLUEB: pp. 57-70 (Eng. transl. 2002 Bologna: CLEUB)
- BRIZZI G.P. (2004). Il rientro impossibile. Studenti stranieri ebrei a Bologna: 1938-1945. In *Il difficile rientro. Il ritorno dei docenti ebrei nell'università del dopoguerra*. Edited by D. GAGLIANI. Bologna: CLEUB: 165-178.
- CAPACCIONI A. (2008). Le carte e i libri. Note sul patrimonio documentale e bibliotecario dell'Università per Stranieri di Perugia. In Belardi 2008, 287-298.
- CAPITINI A. (1966). *Antifascismo tra i giovani*. Trapani: Celebes.
- CAPELLI A. e BROGGINI R. (2001). Edited by : *Antisemitismo in Europa negli anni Trenta. Legislazioni a confronto*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- CAPRISTO A. (2007). Il decreto legge del 5 settembre 1938 e le altre norme antiebraiche nelle scuole, nelle università e nelle accademie. *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 2: 144-146.
- CAPRISTO A. - FABRE G. (2018). *Il registro- La cacciata degli ebrei dallo Stato italiano nei protocolli della Corte dei Conti 1938-1943*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- CAVAROCCHI F. (2010). *Avanguardie dello spirito. Il fascismo e la propaganda culturale all'estero*, Rome: Carocci.
- CAVAROCCHI F. (2018). Il Ministero degli Esteri di fronte all'applicazione delle leggi antisemite del 1938. *Giornaledistoria.net*, 28.
- CAVAROCCHI F.-MINERBI A. (1999). Politica razziale e persecuzione antiebraica nell'ateneo fiorentino. In *Razza e fascismo. La persecuzione contro gli ebrei in Toscana (1938-1943)*. Vol. I. Edited by E. COLLOTTI. Rome: Carocci: 467-510.
- CIAMPI G. (2003). L'università italiana e i corsi estivi per gli stranieri. *Clio*, 2: 291-315.
- COLLOTTI E. (2003). *Il fascismo e gli ebrei: le leggi razziali in Italia*, Rome-Bari: Laterza.
- DE FELICE R. (1993⁵). *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*. Turin: Einaudi.
- DUGGAN C. (2013). *Il popolo del duce. Storia emotiva dell'Italia fascista*. Rome-Bari: Laterza.
- FABRE G. (1998). *L'elenco. Censura fascista, editoria e autori ebrei*. Turin: Zamorani.
- FABRE G. (2007). L'“Informazione diplomatica” n. 14, February 1938. *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 2: 45-101.
- FABRE G. (2013). *Orano, Paolo*. In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 79, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana: 395-402.
- FOTIA L. (2018). La diplomazia culturale del regime fascista: una rassegna storiografica. *Mondo contemporaneo*, 1: 73-90.
- GALBANI A. (1991). Provvedimenti razziali: un documento inedito del febbraio 1938. *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 3: 533-536.
- GARZARELLI B. (2000). Universitari fascisti e rapporti con l'estero: le attività dei GUF in campo internazionale (1927-1939). *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, 2: 225-264.
- GARZARELLI B. (2004). «Parleremo al mondo intero». *La propaganda del fascismo all'estero*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- GHEDA P. (2004). *La promozione dell'Italia nel mondo. L'Università per Stranieri di Perugia dalle origini alla statizzazione*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- GREGORY T.-FATTORI M.-SICILIANI DE CUMIS N. (1985). Edited by: *Filosofi università regime. La Scuola di Filosofia di Roma negli anni Trenta*. Rome-Naples: Istituto di filosofia della Sapienza-Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici.

- LUCONI S. (2007). *La faglia dell'antisemitismo: italiani ed ebrei negli Stati Uniti, 1920-1941*. Viterbo: Sette Città.
- LUPATTELLI A. (1947). *L'Università Italiana per Stranieri di Perugia (1925-1943)*. Perugia: Donnini.
- MAORI A. (2010). Astorre Lupattelli e Benito Mussolini: l'Università italiana per stranieri di Perugia nelle carte della segreteria particola del Duce. *Diomene*, 16: 39-46.
- MARIUZZO A. (2011). Stato-nazione e mobilità degli studenti universitari dall'unità alla Repubblica. La situazione degli studi. *StoricaMente*, 7: http://www.storicamente.org/05_studi_ricerche/mariuzzo_studenti_universitari.htm (11/01/2020).
- MARIUZZO A. (2015). Migrazioni e spostamenti internazionali di studenti e personale accademico nell'Età Contemporanea: un quadro degli studi. *Mondo Contemporaneo*, 1: 137-154.
- MATARD-BONUCCI A.M. (2008). *L'Italia fascista e la persecuzione degli ebrei*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- ONOFRI N.S. (1989). *Ebrei e fascismo a Bologna*, Crespellano (BO): Grafica Lavino.
- PAOLETTI V. (1990). La dubbia fascistizzazione della Regia Università per Stranieri di Perugia. *Annali dell'Università per Stranieri*, 15: 151-165.
- PELINI F. - PAVAN I. (2009a). La persecuzione razziale nell'Ateneo pisano. In «*Per la difesa della razza*». *L'applicazione delle leggi antiebraiche nelle università italiane*. Edited by V. GALIMI - G. PROCACCI. Milan: Unicopli: 111-138.
- PELINI F. - PAVAN I. (2009b). *La doppia epurazione. L'Università di Pisa e le leggi razziali tra guerra e dopoguerra*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- PRETELLI M. (2008). Il fascismo e l'immagine dell'Italia all'estero. *Contemporanea*, 2: 221-241.
- RIGANO G. (2004). Alfredo De Donno: l'itinerario di un intellettuale repubblicano da antifascista a propagandista antisemita (e ritorno). *Annali della Fondazione Ugo La Malfa*, XIX: 75-135.
- RIGANO G. (2006). Editoria e fascismo. Il caso dell'editrice Pinciana tra affarismo e ideologia. *Annali della Fondazione Ugo La Malfa*, XXI: 211-263.
- SALUSTRI S. (2009). *La nuova guardia. Gli universitari bolognesi tra le due guerre (1919-1943)*. Bologna: CLUEB.
- SALUSTRI S. (2010). *Un ateneo in camicia nera. L'Università di Bologna negli anni del fascismo*, Rome: Carocci.
- SANGALLI M. (2010). La Scuola per stranieri di Siena tra la Prima guerra mondiale e le leggi razziali. In *A settant'anni dalle leggi razziali. Profili culturali, giuridici e istituzionali dell'antisemitismo*. Edited by D. MENOZZI-A. MARIUZZO. Rome: Carocci 305-325.
- SARFATTI M. (2017²). *Mussolini contro gli ebrei. Cronaca dell'elaborazione delle leggi del 1938*. Turin: Zamorani.
- SARFATTI M. (2018³). *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista. Vicende, identità, persecuzione*. Turin: Einaudi.
- SIGNORI E. (2000). Una peregrinatio academica in età contemporanea. Gli studenti ebrei stranieri nelle università italiane tra le due guerre. *Annali di storia delle università italiane*, 4: 139-162.
- SIGNORI E. (2009). Contro gli studenti. La persecuzione antiebraica negli atenei italiani e le comunità studentesche. In «*Per la difesa della razza*». *L'applicazione delle leggi antiebraiche nelle università italiane*. Edited by V. GALIMI e G. PROCACCI. Milan: Unicopli: pp. 173-210.
- SIGNORI E. (2018). Migrazioni forzate e strategie formative oltre i confini. Gli studenti stranieri, ebrei e non, nelle Università italiane (1900-1940). In *Disegnare, attraversare, cancellare i confini. Una prospettiva interdisciplinare*. Edited by A.R. CALABRÒ. Milan: Giappichelli: pp. 184-197.
- STRAMACCIONI A. (2005). *Un'istituzione per la lingua e la cultura italiana nel mondo. L'Università per Stranieri di Perugia (1925-2005)*. Città di Castello: Edimond.
- TANTI G. (1998). L'applicazione delle leggi razziali a Pisa: il caso dell'Università. In *Gli ebrei di Pisa (secoli IX-XX), Atti del Convegno internazionale, Pisa, 3-4 Ottobre 1994*. Edited by M. LUZZATI. Pisa: Pacini: 381-390.
- VENTURA A. (1997). La persecuzione fascista contro gli ebrei nell'università italiana. *Rivista storica italiana*, 1: 121-197.
- VOIGT K. (1993). *Il rifugio precario. Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*. I vol., Scandicci (FI): La Nuova Italia.

Table 1. Foreign Students in Universities and Colleges of the Kingdom in the AY 1936-37, 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40, 1940-41

Universities and Colleges	1936-37				1937-38			1938-39			1939-40				1940-41			
	Royalty	I	II	III	V	I	II	IV-V	I	II	IV-V	I	II	IV-V	VI	I	II	IV
Bari - University		29	36	29	36	34	44	34	37	31	37	25	27	7	41	19	23	20
Bologna - University		645	598	645	662	567	567	567	346	346	346	185	191	134	221	167	183	153
Bologna - Business Economics ^A		8	10*	8	- ^X													
Cagliari - University		1	2	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0
Catania - University		14	14	14	14	11	11	11	9	12	9	5	5	10	5	3	3	3
Firenze - University		108	108	108	118	99	100	108	88	88	88	89	89	37	123	115	128	120
Firenze - Cesare Alfieri College ^B		7	10	7	- ^X	8	8	- ^X (1)*										
Genova - University		117	122	117	117	103	116	110	89	92	89	41	43	45	41	27	37	31
Macerata - University		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Messina - University		6	6	6	6	7	7*	7	4	4	4	5	6	5	5	4	- [#]	3
Milano - University		160	160	160	167	134	127	153	65	66	65	67	68	58	68	63	68	68
Milano - Polytechnic		72	72	72	72	100	103	103	69	70	69	46	46	42	49	41	45	40
Modena - University		110	122	110	134	54	70	67	37	52	37	13	15	8	20	15	23	19
Napoli - University		125	138	125	141	105	125*	125	84	87	84	63	56	51	71	35	38	35
Napoli-Oriental College		6	*	6	6	16	*	16	18	*	18	10	*	9	10	5	*	5
Napoli - Naval College		1	1	1	3	1	4	1	4	7	4	6	8	6	7	3	2	4
Padova - University		168	148	168	168	146	153	165	93	97	93	89	71	68	96	72	80	105
Palermo - University		10	9	10	14	14	19	20	14	10	14	15	0	16	19	6	5	6
Parma - University		24	25	24	25	25	30	30	14	17	14	19	24	18	24	16	19	19
Pavia - University		58	60	60	60	48	50	48	26	26	26	22	22	17	31	9	12	6
Perugia - University		24	24	24	24	44	44	44	40	41	40	27	27	6	27	22	26	5
Pisa - University		198	195	198	195	307	291	291	62	62	62	40	40*	37	44	15	13	11
Roma - University		347	354	364	385	358	393	393	269	321	269	266	338	246	- ^X	218	390	390
Sassari - University		0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Siena - University		56	57	56	59	28	38	38	16	20*	16	4	6	5	6	5	6	6
Torino - University		113	116	113	116	103	103	103	97	97	97	95	83	3	108	76	76	71
Torino - Polytechnic		48	48	48	48	42	42	42	52	52	52	40	40	20	40	44	45	45
Trieste - University		23	24	23	36	28	43	43	27	37	27	27	29	19	34	22	27	26
Venezia - Architecture		0	0	0	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	3	0	1	1
Venezia - Business Economics		20	14	20	14	19	23	23	12	13	12	15	15	12	17	20	19	19
Free		I	II	III	V	I	II	IV-V	I	II	IV-V	I	II	IV-V	VI	I	II	IV
Camerino - University		34	35	34	34	55	57	57	54	58	54	54	56	61	62	31	35	34
Ferrara - University		3	3	3	3	2	8	7	6	7	6	5	7	5	6	2	- [#]	2
Milano - Bocconi Univ.		22	22	22	21	33	33	33	25	26	25	25	26	29	31	21	22	24
Milano - Catholic University		[4]9	49	49	50	45	45	45	34	34	34	43	42	44	45	38	40	43
Napoli - College of Magisterium		0	*	0	0	0	*	0	1	*	1	2	*	2	2	2	*	- ^X
Roma - Maria SS. Assunta College ^C												2	*	- ^X	2	4	*	- ^X
Urbino - University		6	3	6	6	6	9	9	2	1	2	3	3	4	3	4	4	8
Totals		2612	2585	2631	2737	2547	2667	2699	1695	1775	1695	1354	1387	1028	1264	1125	1371	1322

^A The Institute was absorbed by the University of Bologna in 1937

^B The Institute was absorbed by the University of Florence in 1938

^C The Institute was born in 1939

[#] Missing data

^X Item not present

*Bologna, Business Economics 1936-37, in University of Bologna yearbook 1936-37, p. 434; Firenze, Cesare Alfieri College 1937-38, see ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. II, 1925-45, b. 192, fasc. *Studenti ebrei, divieto di iscrizione, Numero degli studenti ebrei di nazionalità straniera iscritti nelle Università e negli Istituti superiori nell'anno accademico 1937-38* [Number of Foreign Nationality Jews Students registered in Universities and Colleges AY 1937-38]; Messina 1937-38, in University of Messina yearbook 1938-39, 6; Napoli 1937-38, in University of Napoli yearbook 1940-41, 111; Napoli, Oriental College, in those years has no yearbook; Pisa 1939-40, in University of Napoli yearbook 1940-41, 27; Siena 1938-39, in University of Siena yearbook 1939-40, 18; Napoli, College of Magisterium (Suor Orsola Benincasa), has no yearbook; Roma, Istituto Maria SS. Assunta, has no yearbook

I) Statistical yearbooks

II) Academic yearbooks

III) ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I vers., b. 69 (pos. II - 14 - PG 3), f. Parte generale, sf. Pratiche studenti ebrei nelle r. Università di

Pisa, Bologna ecc. AA. 1937-38, *Studenti stranieri iscritti nelle Università e negli Istituti Superiori - Anno accademico 1936-37*

IV) ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I vers., b. 21 (pos. II - 14 - PG 13), f. Università italiane. Affari generali, *Studenti stranieri nelle Università e negli Istituti superiori del Regno negli Anni Accademici 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40, 1940-41*

V) ACS, MEN, DGIS, Div. II, Leggi, regolamenti, statuti, esami, corsi, statistiche, tasse, studenti ecc. 1925-45, b. 201, fasc. *Studenti stranieri. Iscrizione nelle università del Regno, Studenti stranieri nelle Università e negli Istituti superiori del Regno negli Anni Accademici 1936-37, 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40*

VI) ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. II, Leggi, regolamenti, stati, esami, corsi, statistiche, tasse, studenti ecc. (1925-45), b. 166, fasc. *Statistiche, Studenti stranieri iscritti ai vari corsi di Laurea o di Diploma AA 1939-40, situazione al 1 marzo 1940*

Table 2. Number of Students of Foreign Nationality and Jews Students of Foreign Nationality Registered in Universities and Colleges in the Academic Year 1937-38*		
University and Colleges	Foreign Students (I)	of which Foreign Jews (II)
Bari University	34	4
Bologna University	567	492
Cagliari University	2	2
Camerino University	57	-
Catania University	11	2
Firenze University	108	33
Genova University	110	62
Messina University	7	-
Milano University	153	70
Modena University	67	52
Napoli University	125	21
Padova University	165	73
Palermo University	20	5
Parma University	30	23
Pavia University	48	27
Perugia University	44	7
Pisa University	291	290
Roma University	393	78
Sassari University	1	1
Siena University	38	18
Torino University	103	30
Milano Polytechnic	103	14
Torino Polytechnic	42	17
Trieste University	43	10
Ferrara University	7	6
Venezia College of Business economic	23	-
Venezia College of Architecture	2	-
Firenze Cesare Alfieri College	(1)	1
Milano Bocconi University	33	3
Milano Catholic University	45	-
Napoli Oriental College	16	3
Napoli Naval College	1	-
Urbino University	9	-
Totals	2.699	1.344

* In the Universities and Colleges not indicated there are no Foreign Students and Foreign Jews.

- I) ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I vers., b. 21 (pos. II - 14 - PG 13), f. Università italiane. Affari generali, Studenti stranieri nelle Università e negli Istituti superiori del Regno negli Anni Accademici 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40, 1940-41
- II) ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. II, 1925-45, b. 192, fasc. Studenti ebrei, divieto di iscrizione, Numero degli studenti ebrei di nazionalità straniera iscritti nelle Università e negli Istituti superiori nell'anno accademico 1937-38 (also in ASDMAE, AS, 1936-45, I vers., b. 69 (pos. II-14-PG 3), fasc. Parte generale, sfasc. Pratiche studenti ebrei nelle R. Università di Pisa, Bologna ecc. AA 1937-38)

List of Abbreviations
(the indents on the left refer to sub-units)

ACS	MI, DGPS, Div. AAGRR,	<i>Archivio Centrale dello Stato</i> [Central Archives of the State] <i>Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati</i> [Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of Public Safety, General and Confidential Affairs Division]
	A16 MI, DGDR, FP	<i>A16 stranieri ed ebrei stranieri</i> [A16 foreigners and foreign Jews] <i>Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale Demografia e Razza, Divisione Razza, Fascicoli personali</i> [Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General for Demography and Race, Race Division, Personal Files]
	MPI, DGIS	<i>Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale dell'Istruzione Superiore</i> [Ministry of Public Education, Directorate General of Higher Education]
	Div. I, FPLD	<i>Divisione I, Fascicoli personali Liberi Docenti 1930-1950</i> [Division I, Personal Files of Free Teachers 1930-1950]
	Div. II,	<i>Divisione II, Leggi regolamenti statuti esami corsi statistiche tasse studenti, 1925-1945</i> [Division II, Laws regulations statutes exams courses statistics tuition students, 1925-1945]
	MEN	<i>Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale</i> [Ministry of National Education]
ASDMAE		<i>Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri</i> [Diplomatic Historical Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs]
	AISS	<i>Archivio dell'Ambasciata d'Italia presso la Santa Sede</i> [Archives of the Embassy of Italy to the Holy See]
	AS	<i>Archivio Scuole</i> [Archive of the Schools]
	AP	<i>Affari Politici</i> [Political Affairs]
ASPg		<i>Archivio di Stato di Perugia</i> [State Archive of Perugia]
AUSPg		<i>Archivio dell'Università per Stranieri di Perugia</i> [Archive of the University for Foreigners of Perugia]
DIE		<i>Direzione Generale degli Italiani all'Estero</i> [Directorate General of Italians Abroad]
MAE		<i>Ministero degli Affari Esteri</i> [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]
MEN		<i>Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale</i> [Ministry of National Education]