

Anti-Jewish laws and the university: Measures, reactions, consequences. The case of Genoa

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Abstract. In Genoa, the “Racial Laws” impacted with a reality of substantial integration of the Jewish component in the urban framework. The academic world is part of this reality of integration. The contribution of Jewish faculty members to the Genoese university is not only quantitative, but constitutes an important and prestigious share of the university's scientific and cultural heritage, as was widely and unanimously acknowledged until the immediate eve of the implementation of the racist measures. The promulgation of the anti-Semitic laws suddenly destroys this reality of integration. The “Racial laws” are transposed, applied without provoking acts of resistance or at least disobedience by the academic authorities of Genoa. If in 1938, the project of Aryanization of the Italian university expressed by racial laws met with very little resistance, that of de-fascistization, in which a restorative justice towards the victims of fascist racism was an aspect, clashes with various obstacles put forward by the academic world: logic of continuity, lack of self-critical awareness, impelling of other problems, corporate solidarity.

Key words: Anti-Jewish laws and the university, Genoa, measures, consequences, reactions.

Riassunto. A Genova, le “Leggi Razziali” hanno impattato con una realtà di sostanziale integrazione della minoranza ebraica nel quadro urbano. Il mondo accademico fa parte di questa realtà di integrazione. Il contributo dei docenti ebrei all'università genovese non è solo quantitativo, ma costituisce una quota importante e prestigiosa del patrimonio scientifico e culturale dell'ateneo, come era ampiamente e unanimemente riconosciuto fino all'immediata vigilia dell'attuazione delle misure razziste. La promulgazione delle leggi antisemite distrugge improvvisamente questa realtà di integrazione. Le “Leggi razziali” vengono recepite, applicate senza provocare atti di resistenza o almeno di disobbedienza da parte delle autorità accademiche genovesi. Se nel 1938 il progetto di arianizzazione dell'università italiana espresso dalle leggi razziali incontrava pochissime resistenze, quello di de-fascistizzazione, in cui era presente una giustizia riparatrice nei confronti delle vittime del razzismo fascista, si scontra con diversi ostacoli posti dal mondo accademico: logica della continuità, mancanza di consapevolezza autocritica, impellenza di altri problemi, solidarietà corporativa.

Parole chiave: leggi antiebraiche e università, Genova, misure, conseguenze, reazioni.

Genoese Jews, society and universities in the 1930s

The Genoese case appears similar to the national one¹: the situation before the Racial Laws, the severity of their application, the reactions of the victims and of the Academic world, the difficulties of the victims' reintegration in the aftermath were the same both in Genova and in Italy. In Genoa, the racial laws impacted with a reality of substantial integration of the Jewish component in the urban framework. In the 30s the Jewish Community of Genova reached its peak, becoming one of the largest in Italy, the culmination of a process of expansion that had started in the mid XIX Century and had become faster at the beginning of the XX Century; In fact, Genoa was affected by the phenomenon of urbanization in the mid-nineteenth century, which saw the depopulation of the communities of small towns in favour of large cities that offer more employment opportunities and better

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¹ About the national situation: R. Finzi, *L'università italiana e le leggi antiebraiche*, Editori riuniti, Roma, 1997; F. Pelini, I. Pavan, *La doppia epurazione. L'Università di Pisa e le leggi razziali tra guerra e dopoguerra*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2009; A. Ventura, *Il fascismo e gli ebrei. Il razzismo antisemita nell'ideologia e nella politica del regime*, Donzelli, Roma, 2013; A. Ventura (a cura di), *L'Università dalle leggi razziali alla Resistenza*, Cleup, Padova, 1996.

opportunities for economic and social promotion. According to the 1856 census, in fact, only the 24% of the Jews were born in Genova; while in 1938 the native population increased to reach almost half of the total, a sign that, at that time, the Jewish presence became something rooted and stable. In the first three decades of the XX Century, the Jewish presence in the city not only grew numerically, but even saw its own importance and prestige of many of its exponents grow; at the same time the degree of assimilation of many Genoese Jews increased. In the early 1930s Genoese Jews lived in different neighbourhoods of the town according to their economic and social situation and there's no Jewish district. As far as the professions are concerned, compared to the 1856 census, the number of merchants drastically decreased, craftsmanship remained stationary, workers, managers, industrialists, professionals and, obviously to a more limited extent, the military, scientists and artists appeared for the first time, testifying an increasingly diversified and complex Jewish society. Finally, the indicator of interreligious marriages, which is undoubtedly a significant indicator of integration and secularisation, shows that mixed couples make up 24% of the total number of unions, while in 1856 were 1%. In 1935 the new temple was inaugurated: an imposing, rich, very modern building, a tangible sign of the prosperity and the desire of the Jewish-Genovese world to assert itself.²

The academic world is part of this reality of integration.³ On the eve of the racial laws the Jews are the 4% of the teachers at the University of Genova, a percentage more than doubled if we consider only the tenured professors, so the Jews make up 9% of the total: a remarkable incidence, superior, for instance, to that of Pisa and Florence. That's an incidence that varies remarkably according Faculties: while in the faculties of Letters and Philosophy, Engineering and Science there are no tenured Jewish teachers, in the faculties of Law, Medicine and Economics they represent respectively 15, 12% and 13%; in Pharmacy, then, the only tenured professor of the Faculty is Jewish. Cross-referencing sources produced by the Jewish Community and the university with the 1938 census of Israelites identified, alongside the six full professors, twelve other Jewish teachers: one professor emeritus, one appointee, one assistant professor, eight freelancers and one volunteer assistant. The contribution of Jewish faculty members to the Genoese university is not only quantitative, but constitutes an important and prestigious share of the university's scientific and cultural heritage, as was widely and unanimously acknowledged until the immediate eve of the implementation of the racist measures. Apparently, the Academia seems immune from the anti-Semitic wind that will soon take shape in the laws that will distort the lives of Jewish teachers: until the promulgation of the Racial Laws, the Jewish Genoese academics appear on the whole to be perfectly integrated into the Athenaeum, often surrounded by the esteem and appreciation of their colleagues, of the academic authorities and of the cultural and scientific world. The Genoese tenured professors are Roberto Bachi, Nino Levi, Ugo Lombroso, Amedeo Volta, Riccardo Bachi, Ruggero Luzzatto and Angelo Rabbeno,⁴ joined by mathematician Gino professor emeritus whose international reputation is attested by assignments and awards around the world.⁵ Angelo Rabbeno is the only full professor in the School of Pharmacy and

2 C. Dogliotti, *La Comunità ebraica di Genova. Gli sviluppi demografici e sociali tra Otto e Novecento, le persecuzioni e la rinascita*, in E. Tonizzi, P. Battifora (a cura di), *Genova 1943-1945*, Rubettino, Soveria Mannelli, 2015, pp. 265-90.

3 The data relating to the staff of the University of Genoa are derived from the consultation of the yearbooks and personal files kept at the Archives of the University of Genoa. The subject has been dealt with in two essays that contain several pieces of information about Jewish teachers in Genoa: M.S. Rollandi, *Le leggi razziali e l'Università di Genova. Prime ricerche sui docenti*, in «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», Genova, 2003, pp. 477-493 and P.M. Piergiovanni, *Dalla Scuola Superiore di Commercio alla Facoltà di Economia*, in «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», Genova, 1992.

4 Records regarding the number and names of Jewish full professors can be found in: R. Finzi, *L'università italiana e le leggi antiebraiche* and F. Pelini, I. Pavan, *La doppia epurazione* and in State Archives of Genova (ASGE), *Census of the Jews, 1938*. The personnel files of these faculty members are kept at the university archives in Genoa, except for that of Ruggero Luzzatto, which is not available.

5 Chair of higher geometry at the Genoa University since 1886, when he was in his early twenties, he served for a long time as dean of the Faculty and was a preeminent scholar in the field of descriptive geometry and the history of mathematics. A corresponding member of the Accademia dei Lincei and many other Italian and foreign academies and societies and a member of several international scientific commissions, he was awarded the gold medal by the Academia

director of the Institute of Pharmacology. Nino Levi, who came to Genoa in 1930 as a full professor of Criminal Law, is an internationally renowned scientist professors of Criminal Law and was actively engaged on the anti-fascist front.⁶ As a scholar he assumed an autonomous position, placing himself outside the schools that then dominated jurisprudential studies. His was a hermeneutic approach that tended to ground doctrinal elaborations on the solid foundation of positive law.⁷

Amedeo Volta (or Dalla Volta) had graduated in 1919 with a study of psychiatry on prisoners of war in Hungary where he had been interned during World War I; transferred from Messina to Genoa as full professor and director of the Institute of Forensic Medicine, on the eve of his deportation he published an extensive three-volume treatise on this subject⁸. Ugo Lombroso, Professor of Human Physiology, son of the famous Cesare a well-known and appreciated scientist, has collaborated with institutions in various European countries and is a member of the Accademia dei Lincei; Ruggero Luzzatto, former judge and professor of Institutions of Civil Law, was nominated knight of the Crown of Italy⁹. Roberto Bachi, son of the famous economist Riccardo, was requested in Genoa by the rector, who wanted an appreciated scholar of methodological statistics, author of numerous publications and demographic research. On 30 April 1938, in promoting him as a professor, the Law Faculty Council of the Genoa University emphasized the value and prestige of the scientific and didactic activity of the professor; in November of the same year that very same institution decreed the expulsion of the illustrious professor, depriving itself of a collaboration whose importance it had itself celebrated a few months earlier¹⁰. His case is particularly exemplary both of the secure and recognized position of many Jewish faculty members in the Italian academic establishment, of the sudden and inexorable decline of these positions brought about by the racial laws, and of the complete impotence of the deep ties established with colleagues and academic authorities in mitigating the effects of the measures. In this regard, there are the significant figures of Ettore e Vittorio Tedeschi, father and son, highly respected professionals in the city, respectively *libero docente* in Medical Pathology, Professional Medical Pathology, Medical Clinic the father and lecturer in Private Law the son. The father, son and grandson of combatants in the Italian wars of independence¹¹, was appointed in 1933 Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy and both are in excellent relations with the academic authorities as will be seen later. As far as the political position is concerned, the behaviour of the Jewish teachers in Genoa reflects on a very small scale the behaviour of the Italian Jews who, according to De Felice, acted as individuals and not as a community, assuming the most different positions¹²: Examining the files on discrimination applications produced by the offices of the Demorazza, we note that while it is not uncommon to come across records of acts of patriotism and biographies marked by devotion to the homeland, much less frequent and significant appear to be the attestations of fascist sentiments and militancy. In fact, most of them were memberships of the PNF,

de Ciencias Exactas, Física y Naturales of Madrid in 1900 and twice the Prix Binoux by the Acadèmie des Siences in 1906 and in 1922. Acs, Mpi, Dgis, Div.I, Fppo, II vers., s., b. 89, file Loria Gino.

⁶ Acs, Mpi, Dgiu, Div. I, Fppo, III vers., b. 486. file Levi Nino; University of Genova Archive (AUG), Teaching staff files., File Levi Nino

⁷ E. Mura, *Levi Nino* in DBGI, vol. 2, p. 1178.

⁸ ACS, Mpi, Dgiu, Div.I, Fppo, III vers., b. 486, file Volta Amedeo; AUG, Teaching staff files, file Volta Amedeo, University of Genova Archive (AUG), Teaching staff files, File Roberto Bachi in in the Archives of the University of Genoa; A. Scartabellati (a cura di), *Amedeo Dalla Volta, uno psicologo tra lager e dopoguerra, 1917-20*, Aracne, Roma, 2010.

⁹ AUG, Teaching staff files, files of Ugo Lombroso and Ruggero Luzzatto; ACS, Mi, Dgdr, Div. Razza, Fp, b. 8, file Lombroso Ugo.

¹⁰ University of Genova Archive (AUG), Teaching staff files, File Roberto Bachi; ACS, Mpi, Dgiu, Div. I, Fppo, III vers., b. 26, file Roberto Bachi.

¹¹ Abramo Aronne Tedeschi, grandfather of Ettore, participated as a Po bersagliere in the defense of besieged Ancona in 1849, and Vittorio Tedeschi, father of Ettore, enlisted in the National Guard in 1859, according to a certification produced by the Municipality of Ferrara and kept at ACS, Mi, Dgdr, Div. Razza, Fp, b. 299, file Tedeschi Vittorio.

¹² Renzo De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, Einaudi, Torino, 2005 [1961].

but the registration dates back to 1932-33, the year in which it was established that membership of the Fascist party was compulsory for public employees; only professor Volta appears to be in the PNF since 1921. Most Jewish professors can boast of military or war records: Angelo Rabbeno, tenured professor of Pharmacology, was awarded the war cross; he and Otello Finzi took part, as medical captains, in the entire war campaign of 1915-18; the latter had been promoted to medical major in December 1937; Aldo Luzzato, a freelance professor of Maritime Law, deserved a war cross and was injured in the first World War in which took part, as medical officers, even Lombroso¹³ e Volta. Even Ruggero Pardo, freelance professor of Ophthalmology Clinic, participated as a medical captain in the Great War and organized and ran hospitals at the front¹⁴. Aldo Luzzati, a free lecturer in Special Medical Pathology, was an Austrian citizen born in Trieste, where both he and his father were convicted of irredentist and pro-Italian activities, and which the lecturer left to move to Italy and to leave to volunteer for the front in 1915¹⁵. This dearth of fascist merits is evident, although at the time of the request for discrimination the academics obviously emphasize assignments and affiliations in some way related to fascism. This is the case of the assistant at the Pediatric Clinic, Frida Samach, who had taken the Pnf card in 1922, in the summer of 1934 had practiced at the Fasci colony in Savignone, and in June 1938 had been appointed Capo centuria in charge of the Gil¹⁶ health service, or of Vittorio Tedeschi, who took the Pnf card at only 17 years of age, in 1928.¹⁷

There is no shortage of examples of antifascist militancy or half-hearted attitudes toward the regime. In 1936, the proposal to confer the title of professor emeritus on Gino Loria clashed with the Fascist law according to which such a title cannot be conferred on anyone who is not a member of the Party, but the difficulty was overcome on account of the professor's high scientific merits. Aldo Luzzati is reported to the political police by an anonymous informant as a defeatist and troublemaker engaged in an anti-fascist campaign; however, there is no confirmation of this complaint, which is set aside following a note from the prefect asked about the case, who describes him as a war hero and a member of the PNF¹⁸. Ugo Lombroso and Nino Levi are decisively antifascists. Professor Lombroso was under police surveillance for his antifascist opinions – in his youth he had been socialist, he had never been a membership of PNF, had been in touch with “Giustizia e Libertà” and had reported a conviction for disobeying an order to break up a rally. In addition, his sister Gina and her husband Guglielmo Ferrero are outspoken opponents in Switzerland, and his other sister, Paola, is the wife of Mario Carrara, a student of Lombroso's father and one of the few academics to refuse the oath of allegiance to fascism, who is arrested for his role within GL in Turin and dies in prison in 1937. From the political police papers we learn that the police chief of Genoa had requested the city prefect to order a “discreet and very confidential surveillance” of the professor and his family, especially their correspondence with foreign countries. The request, corroborated by that of the prefect of Naples, who pointed out the fact that Lombroso was under surveillance and suggested the continuation of the measure in Genoa, was granted. An undated note in the file dedicated to Ugo Lombroso reports that the professor with his family and those of his sisters spent some time in Paris where they had contact with GL and in particular with Carlo Rosselli and Giuseppe Levi's son to exchange information. In particular, Lombroso is said to have provided news about fascism in Palermo stating that university students were, with few exceptions, indifferent to fascism and that the Mafia and fascism were

13 Cesare Lombroso also participated as a volunteer in the Second Italian War of Independence, earning a commemorative medal and a bronze medal for military valor. ACS, Mi, Dgdr, Div. Razza, Fp, b. 8, file Lombroso Ugo.

14 According to the testimony of his grandson, Ruggero Pardo was given military honors at the time of his death, despite the fact that this occurred at the time of racial persecution in 1941, thanks to the intercession of the Treviso square commander. For this testimony and other news and documents related to the figure of Ruggero Pardo

15 ACS, Mi, Dgdr, Div. Razza, Fp, b. 175, file Luzzatto Aldo.

16 ACS, Mi, Dgdr, Div. Razza, Fp, b. 227, file Samach Frida.

17 ACS, Mi, Dgdr, Div. Razza, Fp, b. 229, file Tedeschi Vittorio

18 ACS, MI, Dgps, Div. Pol. Pol., Fp, b. 744, file Luzzati Aldo.

similar, and because the same concepts are found in an anonymous article that came out for GL's paper it is speculated that the author may have been Lombroso¹⁹.

An active anti-fascist is then Nino Levi, co-founder of the United Socialist Party, among the signatories of the *Manifesto degli intellettuali antifascisti*, close collaborator, friend and affiliate of Raffaele Mattioli, Carlo Rosseli and Giuseppe Toeplitz²⁰. In the 1920s he collaborated on antifascist journals and in 1925 defended in court Gaetano Salvemini, on trial for editing the clandestine publication "Non mollare"; for this defense, Levi was assaulted and invalidated by a group of squadristi. Suspected of having relations with anti-fascists exiled in France and, in particular, with Freemason circles, he was reported as a possible link with subversive groups in exile as early as 1932, when he began to be subjected to controls by the Prefect of Milan, who ordered the review of his correspondence and the monitoring of his, his family members' and acquaintances' movements. A number of circumstances emerged from the police papers that reinforced suspicion of the teacher: his friendship with the communist Piero Sraffa and with Claudio Treves' family in Paris, and the fact that he received socialist and Giellina propaganda notebooks and pamphlets by mail. Levi's anti-fascism was strengthened as the regime's anti-Semitic policies took hold: a delusion that he was particularly vocal against the regime because of the press campaign against Jews dates back to February 1938; he would be under constant surveillance by the political police until he left for New York, and even then his correspondence with Italian friends and comrades would be monitored and censored until his death in 1942²¹.

The students

Reconstructing the picture of students required the cross-referencing of multiple sources, first, in order to be able to identify among the mass of those enrolled at the university those who could be considered Jewish²² and, second, to be able to reconstruct the fates of these people after the enactment of the racial laws. In fact, it is not possible to identify the Jewish component from simply consulting the university papers, so it was necessary to cross-reference these sources with the 1938 census²³ and the sources produced by the Jewish Community and Prefecture papers. In this way we obtained the figure of 116 Jewish students enrolled at the University of Genoa in the 1937-38 school year; this is 3 percent of the total number of Genoese students, a percentage which, when broken down into the different faculties, remains between 1 and 3 percent, except for Medicine and Surgery where it constitutes 10 percent of the student population; those enrolled in this faculty represent 65 percent of the Jewish university students in Genoa²⁴.

The massive presence of Jewish students in the Faculty of Medicine is due to the presence of a sizeable minority of learners from the now unlivable Germany and Central and Eastern Europe,

19 ACS, MI, Dgps, Div. Pol. Pol., Fp, b. 729, file Lombroso Ugo and AUG, Teaching staff files, File Lombroso Ugo and ACS, MI, Dgps, Div. Razza, Fp, , b. 8, file Lombroso Ugo.

20 ACS, MI, Dgps, Div. Pol. Pol., Fp, file Levi Nino, Highly confidential recommendation from the Chief of Police to the Minister of Exchanges and Currencies., 7/4/1939.

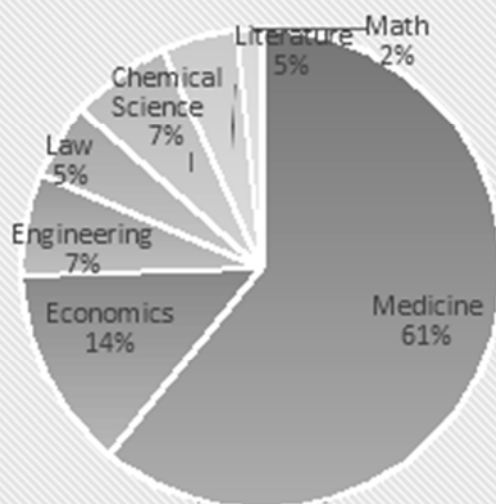
21 ACS, MI, Dgps, Div. Pol. Pol., Fp, file Levi Nino

22 The attribution of Jewishness is an operation complex, slippery and arbitrary . At this juncture, it was of interest to identify those who were caught up in the fascist racial persecution and, therefore, the criterion adopted was to take into consideration those who had been registered as Jews by the fascist authorities, thus relying on the 1938 census of Israelites and police records.

23 The 1938 census is kept in the Prefecture Cabinet Fund of the State Archives of Genoa, while data on students enrolled at the University of Genoa are contained in the yearbooks available in the Archives of the University of Genoa.

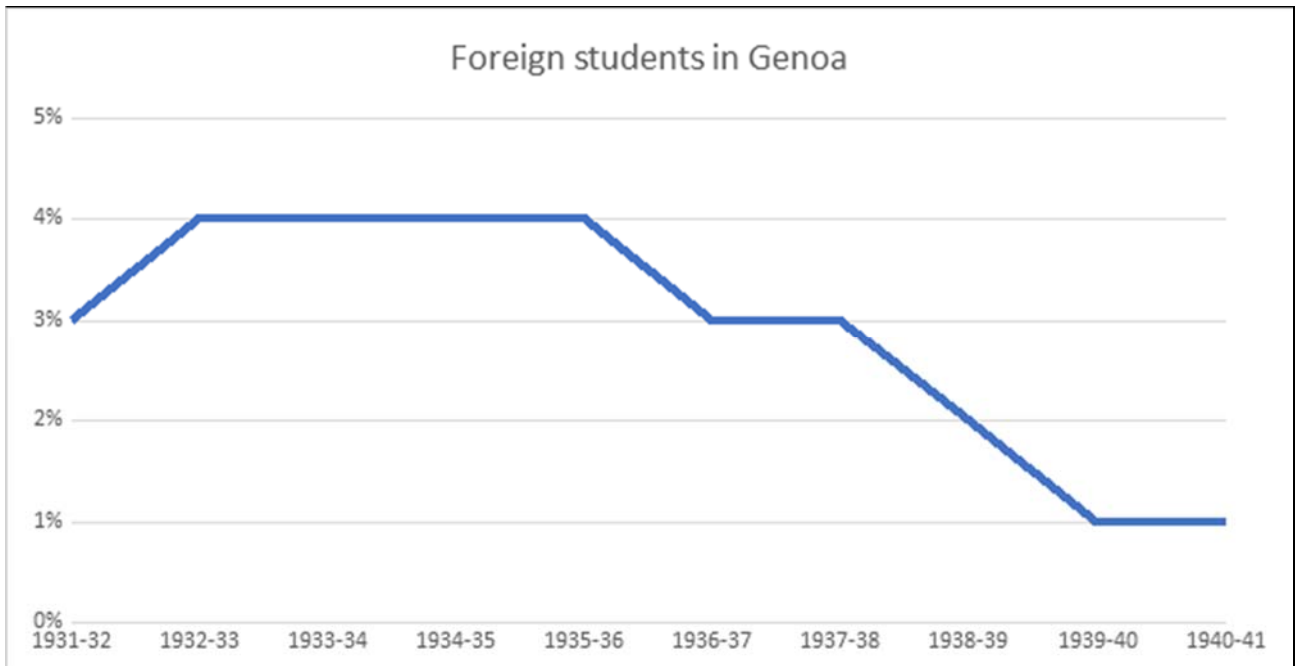
24 This data is certainly underestimated because it has not been possible to identify those Jewish students who, not living in the province of Genoa, have not been registered by the 1938 Census. For the same topic on a national scale: G.P. Paolo Brizzi, *Bologna 1938: Silence and Remembering. The racial laws and the foreign Jewish students at the University of Bologna*, Bologna, Clueb, 2014; E. Signori, *Una peregrinatio academica in età contemporanea. Gli studenti ebrei stranieri nelle università italiane tra le due guerre*, in «Annali di storia delle università italiane», 4, 2000.

Jewish students per faculties (1938-39)

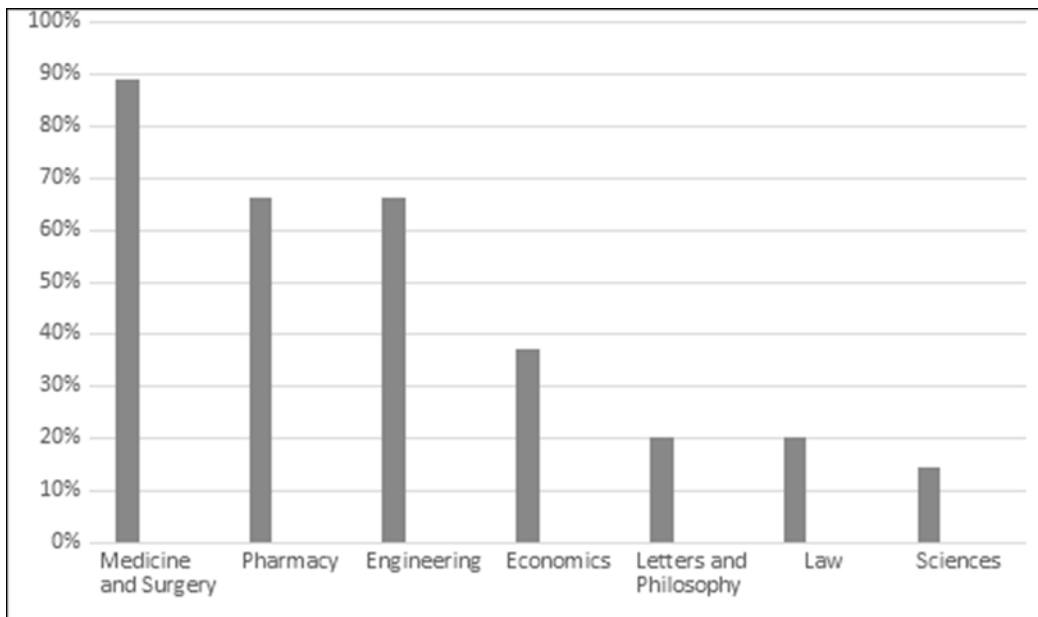


The massive presence of Jewish students in the Faculty of Medicine is due to the presence of a sizeable minority of learners from the now unlivable Germany and Central and Eastern Europe, it had become increasingly difficult for the Israelite population to gain access to university due to “racially” based restrictions imposed by anti-Semitic governments that had driven many families and seek refuge in Western Europe in order to be able to guarantee their children a university education and, in particular, the possibility of access to the medical profession. Consider that those enrolled in Medicine and Surgery constitutes more than half of the entire Jewish student population in Genoa (62 percent) and that among Jewish students in Medicine and Surgery, foreigners make up 93 percent of the total.

In general, the incidence of the Israelite component rises enormously when focusing on the percentage of Jews among the foreign population alone. If we consider the absolute figures, the school year in which the highest number of foreign students in Genoa is recorded is 1935-36, two academic years later than the national peak that occurs in the years 1933-34; but if we consider the most significant figure of the percentage of foreign students in relation to the total number of students, we see that the moment of maximum incidence (4%) begins in 1932-33 when it rises by one percentage point compared to the previous year and ends with the year 1936-37 when it drops to 3%; from here begins a slow and inexorable decrease in this presence. The peak coincides with the period that goes from Hitler's rise to power to the decisive anti-Semitic turn of the fascist government; this obviously cannot lead us to automatically conclude that these two facts are closely related to the presence of foreign students in Genoa, but considering the high percentage of Jews among foreigners (they constitute 37% of the total number of foreigners in the 1937-38 school year), it seems correct to assume an influence of those events on this figure.

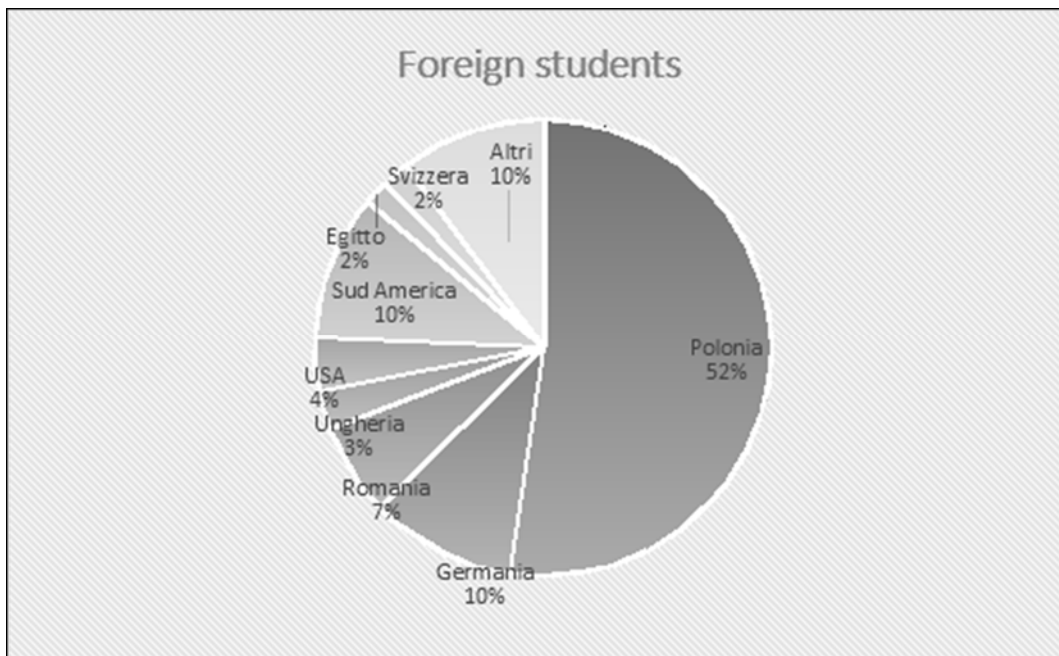
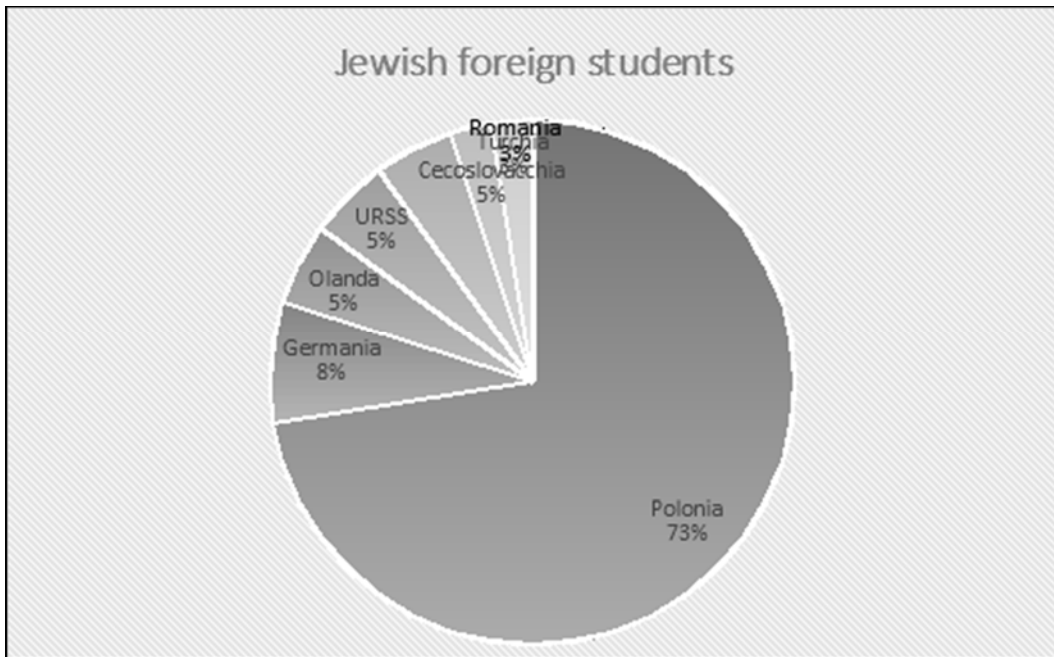


The incidence of foreigners on the population of Jewish students is considerable, they represent 70% of the total whereas compared to the total of university students, foreigners represent only 3%; again the situation varies by faculty, a percentage certainly influenced by the case of Medicine where, as we have seen, almost all Jewish students come from abroad.



Incidence of foreigners in the Jewish student population by faculty

As far as the places of origin are concerned, in both groups there's a clear prevalence of Poles (more than half of the foreign students as a whole are Polish and half of the Polish students are Jews), followed by Germans. But while for the Jews these two nationalities almost exhaust the scenario, for the foreigners as a whole the picture is more varied: Americans, South Americans, Hungarian Romanians are the most represented nationalities of an extremely varied universe. Most of foreign Jewish students had recently arrived in Italy: the Germans between 1933 and 1935, as a result of the advent of Hitler; most Poles arrived during the 1930s and so did the few representatives of other nationalities, except for the Dutch who arrived in the early 1920s.



The promulgation of the racial laws immediately causes a decrease in the Jewish student population, which from the 1937-38 academic year to the following one goes from 3 percent to 2 percent, a negative trend that will become more pronounced in the following years, as a result of both the effects of the ban on new enrollments of Jewish students and the departure from anti-Semitic Italy of many Jewish families. The percentage of Jewish students goes from 2 percent in the year 1938-39, to 1.5 percent in the following year and 1 percent in 1940-41; here, too, there are differences between the different faculties: in Law, they halve the academic year following the racial laws and then disappear the following one, while in Humanities and Sciences, the situation appears unchanged in 1938-39, while the number plummets in the following one. In Pharmacy there is an immediate decline and then, unpredictably, an increase; while in Engineering after the enactment of the racial laws the percentage of Jewish students doubles but then disappears the following year. These fluctuations can be explained by the influence of factors beyond the effects of the anti-Jewish measures: the transitions from one faculty to another and between different universities, transfers, failures, and so on. In any case, by the academic year 1940-41 Jewish students had all but disappeared from the university- Jewish students thus slowly but surely disappear from the Genoese university, although there are

instances of some new admissions even after the promulgation of the ban on new enrollments, probably as a result of transfers from other cities; in the 1939-40 academic year in particular, there is a notable presence of foreign Jewish students, especially Poles, enrolled in the fifth and sixth years of Medicine and Surgery. It can be assumed that these were students previously enrolled in other faculties who moved to Genoa with the plan to emigrate as soon as possible to overseas countries; from the following year, in fact, the number of Jews enrolled in the university was drastically reduced even in the Faculty of Medicine.

Faculty	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41
<i>Law</i>	2%	1%	0.2%	0
<i>Economy</i>	1%	1%	0.8%	0
<i>Literature and Philosophy</i>	1%	1%	0.2%	0.3%
<i>Medicine and Surgery</i>	10%	8%	6%	1.2%
<i>Sciences</i>	2%	2%	0.5%	0.2%
<i>Pharmacy</i>	3%	2%	4%	0.6%
<i>Engineering</i>	2%	4%	0	1%

“Racial Laws” in Genoa

The promulgation of the anti-Semitic laws suddenly destroys this reality of integration, opening, also for the Genoese Jews, the season of persecution, which will become increasingly fierce, culminating in the phase of extermination²⁵. The minutes of the Council of Genoa Community show all the dismay and bitterness of the Genoese Jews and, at the same time, the promptness of the reaction to the problem: "The President, confident that he interprets the feelings of all the councillors, expresses the sense of deep sorrow felt by all his co-religionists for the recent measures relating to the exclusion of Jewish pupils and teachers from public schools. These measures have provoked an indescribable sense of bitterness since all the co-religionists have always given luminous proof of loyalty and attachment to the Homeland"²⁶. In Genoa, Jewish children are allowed to attend primary school in separate classes and at different times from those of normal courses. As far as the other orders of schools are concerned, there is no provision for any form of compensation by the regime; thus, in October 1938, the Jewish Community organised schools of all levels, thanks to the collaboration of the same Jewish teachers who were removed from public institutions²⁷. This is an extraordinary achievement that the members of the Council themselves were desperate to reach given the disastrous financial conditions of the Community at that time²⁸. But the Jews were also affected outside the school world: forced not to practice their profession, erased from professional registers, deprived of material support through layoffs and requisitions of economic activities. The persecution is widespread, involving many aspects of society and the world of work, facilitated too often by the actions of zealous citizens who, out of ideological conviction or personal gain, collaborated with the regime. Another deep fracture between the Jewish world and the rest of the country is determined by

25 The Genoese case has been partly studied, albeit to a lesser extent than in other parts of the country: C. Brizzolari, *Gli ebrei nella storia di Genova*, Genova, op. cit.; S. Jona, *La persecuzione degli ebrei di Genova*, in «Genova», 1965, pp. 3-15; L. Parodi, *Gli ebrei di Genova nel 1938. Demografia di una comunità*, in «La rassegna mensile di Israel», n. 1988, pp. 305-333. There are also narrative and memorialist texts, brief interventions written on the occasion of anniversaries and commemorations and some works that deal with particular aspects of the history of persecution in Genoa: S. Antonini, *Delasem. Storia della più grande organizzazione ebraica italiana di soccorso durante la Seconda guerra mondiale*, Genova, De Ferrari Editore, 2000; C. Bricarelli (a cura di), *Una gioventù offesa. Ebrei genovesi ricordano*, Firenze, La Giuntina, 1995; R. Fucile, L. Millu (a cura di), *Dalla Liguria ai campi di sterminio*, Genova, ANED, 1980; E. Pacifici, *Testimonianza sulla deportazione di Riccardo Pacifici*, in «Quaderni del centro studi sulla deportazione e l'internamento», 4, 1967, pp. 68-81; R. Painsi, *I sentieri della speranza: profughi ebrei, Italia fascista e Delasem*, Milano, Xenia, 1988; A. Stille, *Uno su mille. Cinque famiglie ebraiche durante il fascismo*, Milano, Mondadori, 1991; G. Zazzu, *Gli ebrei e la guerra*, in «Storia e memoria», 1, 1993, pp. 53-62.

26 Archive of the Jewish Community of Genoa (ACEG), Segreteria, Minutes of the Council, 1935-1938, Minutes of the sitting of 14 September 1938.

27 This is the case of other communities in Italy, for instance Rome.

28 ACEG, Segreteria, Minutes of the Council, 1935-1938, Minutes of the sitting of 12 October 1938.

the racial purging of the Armed Forces; from data in our possession it results that about 30% of the male Jews, Italian, over twenty years of age, resident in Genoa, had an active role in the military life of the country.²⁹ Suddenly, the even extreme sacrifices made on the battlefields during almost a century, the recognitions to the value and patriotism granted in the past no longer have any meaning.

Then there is the case of foreigners. In fact, the Ligurian capital hosts a significant Jewish minority coming from different European countries, especially from Germany and Eastern Europe; according to the 1938 census, in that year Genoa hosted 526 foreigners, only Milan counted a greater number of them. With the promulgation of racial laws, the Italian "refuge" reveals all its precariousness: hitting foreigners means hitting the weakest and neediest of the Jews in the country and those who can hardly count on the protections granted by social networks. The Jewish institutions, which had already taken charge of the assistance of foreigners, strengthen and renew their structures to organize the protection of co-religionists. In 1938, a local section of the Milanese Comasebit (Committee for the Assistance of Jews in Italy) was opened in Genoa to manage on-site assistance to refugees waiting to embark and organize expatriates³⁰, and in December 1939, the Delasem (Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants)³¹ was founded, the headquarters of which were still in Genoa, which would organise aid to refugees, internees and the persecuted in general with great efficiency.

Anti-Jewish laws and the university

When 1938-39 academic year opened the Jewish teachers had already been affected by expulsion measures. Nino Levi had complained as early as 1938 that he had "encountered a sense of hostility even in his profession" as a result of the anti-Semitic campaign conducted by the press³². In August, a confidential circular issued by the Ministry of National Education and directed to all Italian faculty rectors instructed that applications for demographic awards should not be forwarded without first ascertaining "in strict confidence, that the applicant and his or her spouse are, regardless of professed religion, of the Italian race"³³. According to Carlo Brizzolari, there were 24 Jews among university staff and all were expelled: six tenured professors, six *liberi docenti*, four lecturers, eight teaching assistants³⁴. By cross-referencing data from the 1938 Census with those obtained from university sources and police records available at the Genoa State Archives and the Central State Archives, the six full professors³⁵. As far as the *liberi docenti*, lecturers and assistants are concerned, there are no sources available to give us details of the names of the Jewish staff and the expelled persons; we have identified eight freelancers (Aldo Luzzati, Marine Law; Adriano Murgia, Aldo Luzzatto, Special medical pathology; Aldo Luzzatto, Specialistic Medical Pathology; Roberto Lopes, Medieval History; Ettore Tedeschi, Medical Pathology and Professional Medical Pathology; Otello Finzi³⁶, Specialistic Surgery Pathology; Ruggero Pardo, Ophthalmology Clinic and Umberto Grego, Civil Law) one lecturer (Vittorio Teeschi, Private Law), one assistant (Mario Alberto Bedarida, infinitesimal computation) and one volunteer assistant (Frida Semach).³⁷ If we add to these the six full professors and professor emeritus Gino Loria, we reach the figure of 18 expelled. The exquisitely

29 State Archives of Genova (ASGE), Census of the Jews, 1938.

30 The existence of this local section of Comasebit is attested by the testimony of Mario Sdraffa, a young collaborator of Delasem in the 1940s. S. Antonini, *Delasem. op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.

31 S. Antonini, *Delasem*, op. cit.; C. Brizzolari, *Gli ebrei nella storia di Genova*, Genova, Sabatelli, 1971; R. De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, op. cit.; S. Jona, *La persecuzione degli ebrei di Genova*; R. Pacifici, *Testimonianza sulla deportazione di Riccardo Pacifici*; R. Paini, *I sentieri della speranza*, op. cit.; M. Sarfatti, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista*, Torino, Einaudi, 2000; K. Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1993; ACEG, Assistenza, Pratiche 1933-1945; ACEG, Assistenza, Corrispondenza 1938-1948; M. Teglio, *Conversazione*, Genova 1965 in CDEC, AG, 13/B, fasc. Genova.

32 ACS, MI, DGPS, DPP, Personal files, file Levi Nino, note "Milano, 12.02.1938"

33 ACS, MPI, DGIU, DPP, Personal files, Teaching staff files, III S. b. 26, file Roberto Bachi, letter, 25.08.1938

34 C. Brizzolari, *Gli ebrei nella storia di Genova*, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

35 We can also find these names in M.S. Rollandi (a cura di), *Le leggi razziali e l'Università di Genova*

36 Otello Finzi is a founding member of the Piemonte Society of Surgery, chief surgeon and director of the Civil Hospital of Alexandria, and member of the Medical-Surgical Academy of Ferrara. AAUG, Personal files, Otello Finzi file.

37 Intern student and later volunteer assistant at the Pediatric Institute directed by Dante Pacchioni.

racist logic of the measure takes into account neither fascist merits, nor cultural and academic merits, nor even the religious affiliation of the persecuted, as shown, for example, by the case of Frida Semach, a Catholic belonging to a Jewish family, but baptized at one year of age, for whom the Cardinal Archbishop of Genoa, Pietro Boetto, intercedes to grant her discrimination, as the sole financial support of her parents: the petition is rejected and the order expelling her from the university and prohibiting her from practicing medicine becomes enforceable³⁸. Even for Umberto Grego, who was married by Catholic rite to a non-Jewish woman, father of five baptized children and also converted to the Catholic religion, although not until 1939, he tried to intercede with Cardinal Boetto, but without effect.³⁹

Genoese academia transposed ministerial directives with respect to the racist turn and anti-Jewish measures, implementing them without apparent resistance. It is difficult to understand whether and to what extent the university emerges profoundly transformed by the 1938 measures, but certainly its outward image is transformed in a racist sense, and while there is no evidence to suggest an enthusiastic acceptance of this metamorphosis, neither is there any to suggest its rejection, probably also due to the fascist faith of some members of the university. It's the case of the Genoese rector, Mattia Moresco⁴⁰: his proslution on racial laws is halfway between those of fanatically racist rectors and enthusiastic supporters of Arianization and the few who expressed some form of dissent from this brutal violation of their colleagues rights, perhaps simply by not mentioning the issue. There is no trace of criticism on his part, of the measures that are justified as the logical consequence of a "race ethics" judged positively, however the reference to the question is brief and not underlined: The ethics of race, which constitutes the heritage of fascism, has implied necessary some provisions that directly affect the ordering of the universities. Consequently, in these days, some colleagues have moved away from teaching and must be thanked for the services rendered to university teaching.⁴¹

In general, one gets the impression of a prevailing well-understood embarrassment with respect to racially motivated expulsions that emerges from the compact silence surrounding the event. It is significant, for example, that in the same inaugural address in which he briefly mentions the measure, the Genoese rector does not mention the new teachers who have arrived to replace expelled colleagues, especially as he devotes part of the proslution to greetings and congratulations to newly hired, promoted and tenured professors, naming them one by one; but the names of those assigned new professorships to replace expelled Jewish colleagues are not mentioned. As we shall see, not all professors are replaced, because the chairs of Bachi and Rabbeno will disappear with their expelled professors. Ugo Lombroso is replaced by Pietro Tullio, Amedeo Volta by Domenico Maccaggi, Mario Alberto Bedarida by Antonio Rosi, and Francesco Antolisei takes the place of Nino Levi. A complex exchange of assignments is chosen for the chair of Ruggero Luzzati, whereby teaching passes to Giorgio Bo, formerly full professor of private law, who is now in charge of Roberto Ago, formerly full professor of international law; the latter subject is taught by extraordinary lecturer Mario Scerni.⁴²

In the same academic year racist subjects appeared for the first time: Science of orthogenesis, assigned to full professor Mario Barbara⁴³, with own institute; General and comparative demography

38 These names were obtained by crossing the documents of the Prefecture with those of the Archives of the University; the number of teachers thus obtained is lower than that indicated by Brizzolari.

39 ACS, MI, DGDR, Div. Razza, Personal files, b.39, Letter from Pietro Tarchi Venturi to the *Ministro dell'Interno* Buffarini Guidi, 15 maggio 1939.

40 G.B. Varnier, *Mattia Moresco (1877-1946) ecclesiasticista dimenticato e rettore dell'Università di Genova. Tra sapere e potere accademico*, in V. Piergiovanni (a cura di), *Sapere accademico e pratica legale fra antico regime ed unificazione nazionale. Atti del convegno*, Genoa, *Accademia ligure di scienze e lettere*, 2009.

41 AUG, Yearbook 1938-39, p. 13.

42 AUG, Yearbook 1938-39 and ACS, MPI, DGIS Div. 1,

43 Mario Barbara is from the University of Bari, a member of, among others, the Royal Academy of Medical Sciences in Palermo, the Italian Society of Genetics and Eugenics, an honorary corresponding member of the Argentine Association of Biotypology, Eugenics and Social Medicine, and at the University of Genoa he is in charge of Special Medical Pathology and Clinical Methodology, as well as Science of Orthogenesis. AUG, Teaching staff files, file Mario Barbara and ACS, MPI, DGPI, Miscellaneous I, II, III (1929-45), B. 63

of race⁴⁴, complementary teaching for Law and Economics and Business, with chairs assigned to Giovanni Semprini⁴⁵ and Giuseppe Parenti⁴⁶ respectively and Biology of Human Races, supplementary teaching for Humanities, Medicine and Science, for which Joseph Vidoni is in charge.⁴⁷ It should be noted that the documentation shows a continuous rotation to the chair of Comparative Demography of Race in Law: the chair was initially assigned to Giovanni Battista Fasolis⁴⁸, but after a few months, in July 1939, the teaching was entrusted to Giuseppe Vidoni, “the Faculty deeming it appropriate that this teaching be given henceforth with a biological address”;⁴⁹ from the academic yearbooks, then, it appears that in the year 1942-43 Comparative Demography is held by Giovanni Semprini⁵⁰. To this list we must add Anthropology, a complementary teaching for Science and Geography, taught by Ettore Remotti⁵¹; although, in fact, an anthropology course already existed before the 1938 provisions, it now takes on a racist connotation.⁵² We read in the minutes of the Academic Senate:

«Regarding the teaching of Anthropology, Dean Alfero notes that it is already included among the fundamentals for the degree in Geography, just as that of Ethnology is already included therein and, among the complementary ones, that of Geography and Ethnography of Italian Africa⁵³. Now, in deference to ministerial regulations, he will see to it that the conduct of said teaching is oriented in the direction desired by the Ministry. The Senate approves. The Chancellor begs the deans to indicate in the order of studies of their respective faculties Anthropology as a course that all students may take, and to call the attention of students to the real problems of a political and social nature to which the study of this discipline is connected and to the contribution that anthropological science is destined to make to the resolution of colonial matters»⁵⁴.

44 It should be noted that until the 1937-38 academic year there was a chair of Demography of which Professor Mauro Fasiani was a full professor; when it was changed to General and Comparative Demography of Races in 1938, Fasiani left this teaching and switched to that of Finance and Financial Law. The reasons for this switch are not known, but we cannot exclude that it was an act of rejection of the imposition of racist doctrines by the regime.

45 Giovanni Semprini comes from the University of Bologna, is a member of the Commission for the History of Philosophy and Pedagogy of the National Center for Renaissance Studies, secretary of the Ligurian section of the National Institute of Philosophy, and director of the Genoa section of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East.

46 Giuseppe Parenti, a member of the Italian Society of Anthropology and Ethnology and of the Italian Committee for the Scientific Study of Population Problems, first appeared on the staff of the Genoa University in the 1938-39 academic year and was one of the professors in charge of teaching racist subjects. In 1936 he had written for the "International Journal of Social Sciences" an article entitled The Effectiveness of Italian Counter-Sanctions. See AUG, Academic Yearbook, 1938-39 and staff files, File of Giuseppe Parenti.

47 Giuseppe Vidoni is a member of the Royal Medical Academy of Genoa and Udine, head of the Mental Hygiene and Social Medicine Services of the Province of Genoa. He arrived at the University of Genoa in the 1938-39 academic year. He authored numerous publications in the field of psychiatry-eugenics, which he published from the 1910s onward. In 1938, he seems to ride the racist wave with some enthusiasm, both accepting the chair of Biology of Human Races and publishing in the journal *Criminal Justice* an article on the relationship between Italians, madness and suicide based on the pseudoscientific category of human race. See AUG, personnel files, File of Giuseppe Vidoni.

48 AUG, Academic Senate minutes 20/11/1938.

49 AUG, Faculty of Law Board minutes, 4/7/1939.

50 AUG, Yearbooks 1939-40, 1940-41 e 1941-42.

51 A graduate in Natural Sciences and in Medicine and Surgery, from 1920 to 1926 he was assistant at the central laboratory of Hydrobiology of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and in 1930 Extraordinary Professor of Anatomy and Comparative Geology in Perugia; in 1931 he arrived at the University of Genoa where in 1933 he was promoted to full professor of Comparative Anatomy. His figure as a scientist is characterized by the versatility of his interests, the multidisciplinary nature of his training and the pioneering nature of many of his studies. From 1948 to 1960 he directed the *Scuola Normale Superiore* in Pisa. After the war he was awarded numerous institutional and scientific honors, and in 1970 the University of Padua conferred on him the title of professor emeritus. See ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s. (1940-70), b. 398, file Ettore Remotti and *Tra i palazzi di via Balbi. Storia della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Genova*, in *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, XLIII, 2003, pp. 447-453.

52 ACS, Comunicazione della Università di Genova a Ministero dell'Educazione nazionale, Direzione Generale dell'Ordine universitario, 18.02.1943 e AUG, Academic Senate minutes, 18 and 29/11/1938.

53 It should be noted that the teaching of Geography and Ethnology of Italian East Africa has been so named since 1938 (previously the title was Colonial Geography and Ethnology), reducing the general dimension to the specific case of Italian colonies, with obvious nationalistic intent. See AUG, Yearbooks.

54 AUG, Academic Senate minutes, 19/10/1938.

Ettore Remotti was also entrusted by the dean with the task of teaching the Biology of Races within his General Biology course for Medicine and Surgery, assuring the Rector that he would make arrangements with the professor so that, again, the Ministry's intentions would be adhered to. How much then the distinguished biologist and future partisan, really adhered to the "sense intended by the Ministry" and the Rector in teaching anthropology and biology is impossible to say. All we know is that a few months after the decision made by the Academic Senate, a telegram from the Minister ordered that a chair of Biology of Human Races be established at the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery, judging the solution adopted by the academic authorities to be insufficient; the new chair was, therefore, promptly created and assigned to Giuseppe Vidoni.⁵⁵

Prominent among the teachers of racist subjects is the name of Mario Barbara, former deputy director of the Biopathological Institute of the University of Genoa, that is, that institute founded by Nicola Pende that constitutes the first laboratory of his studies on race. Also fruit of his collaboration with Pende are a number of publications written by several hands, including the four-volume treatise entitled *Anomalies of Psychic and Physical Growth*, which illustrates the institute's clinical activity in its first two years of operation. Nicola Pende is, moreover, the first of 28 signers of a petition addressed to Minister Giuseppe Bottai for the Genoese chair of the Science of Orthogenesis to be given to Mario Barbara, a petition whose incipit is worth reporting:

«it is with lively satisfaction that the undersigned have learned of the recent provision by which you, Your Excellency, have assigned to the Medical Faculty of Genoa a tenured position for the teaching of Orthogenesis. This providential provision [...] so appropriately realizes, in the university field, the racial directives outlined by the regime»⁵⁶.

To this same year dates the only degree thesis dedicated to a racist subject: it is a thesis in Political Science by Federico Drago, entitled *The question of race in the thought of the Duce and in the fascist state*; the second, also from political science, dates back to the academic year 1941-42 and is entitled "Fascist Racial Synthesis." While there are only two examples of dissertations with a clearly racist theme - a fact that is not surprising since all racist subjects constitute complementary courses, thus hardly chosen as degree disciplines - there is no shortage, on the other hand, of dissertations connoted in a colonialist sense, especially in the Economics and Business, Geography and Political Science degree courses⁵⁷.

The racist turn is accompanied by a more pronounced fascist and militarist connotation of the university: for example, in yearbooks from the 1938-39 academic year onward space is given to the presentation of the organizational charts of the Guf, the Command of the 4th University Legion St. George's and the fascist school association, and from the following year fascist graduates are included in most of the university's governing bodies⁵⁸. Again, in the 1940-41 academic year, the teaching of History and Doctrine of Fascism was entrusted to a lecturer, a new addition to the university, who had a distinctly Fascist cultural profile; he was Alfredo Acito, editor of the history and political doctrine journal "Mussolini Time," and the "History of Revolution" section of the "Sandro Italico Mussolini" School of Fascist Mystics.⁵⁹

As mentioned earlier, from reading the documents produced by the Genoese university, no form of resistance to the imposition of these transformations and, in particular, to the one most invasive and dramatic in its effects, namely, the racist turn, shines through, and in the academic year 1939-40 Rector Moresco is able to write to the Ministry of National Education assuring that "all the teachers in charge are of the Italian race and are members of the PNF"⁶⁰

⁵⁵ AUG, Faculty of Medicine Board minutes, 11/3/1939.

⁵⁶ ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files s. III, 1940-70, B. 35, file Mario Barbara, petition to the ministry Bottai.

⁵⁷ AUG, Yearbook 1930-44.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ AUG, Teaching staff files, File Alfredo Acito.

⁶⁰ ACS, MPI, DGIS, Div. I, 1935-49, B. 18, Letter from the rector of Genoa to the Directorate General of Higher Education, 27/11/1939.

The racial laws are transposed, applied without provoking acts of resistance or at least disobedience by the academic authorities of Genoa; the official documentation returns the image of a university organizing itself, replacing the expelled faculty, instituting the new racist courses, to reverse the ministerial dispositions, as if to carry out any trivial bureaucratic task. The minutes of the Academic Senate relating to the session in which the expulsion of personnel "of the Jewish race" was decreed are characterized by extreme dryness: the telegram that the Minister sent to the Rector bearing the "measures for the defense of race in the Italian school" contained in the decree-law of November 17 is read out; the reading is followed by the Senate's acknowledgement, after which it quickly moves on to the next item on the agenda⁶¹. Someone cautiously moves in solidarity with his colleagues, especially those most appreciated by the community of scholars and those best placed in the environment, but it is not an expression of dissent from the racist spirit of the laws or the legal abomination they represent, but a feeling of personal or academic solidarity. Thus the rector supports the request for differentiation (discriminazione) made by Rabbeno, advocates a special consideration for Volta by the minister considering his patriotic and fascist merits, favours the acceptance of the fictitious donation to the university of assets of the Tedeschi family to save them from alienation, declares, in response to the hypothesis put forward by the Prefect of Pavia to keep Levi in his profession as a researcher, perhaps exempting him from teaching, that the university "will always be happy where possible to have the collaboration of a scholar of such singular value."⁶²

In the victim the measures arouse different reactions, whose common denominator is the dismay and pain for the brutal severing of deep bonds, bonds that in different degrees of intensity can be with the country, the city, the university, the scientific community, sometimes with fascism itself. In the letter that Rabbeno wrote to the rector as a farewell and thanksgiving he expresses his "deep feeling that will always unite me to the university family"⁶³ and the pain of the forced separation from this community does not seem to be accompanied by any accent of resentment. This disposition of mind is confirmed by the fact that, after having tried in vain to be differentiated, he left the university only after having donated his patrimony of books and laboratory material for a value of 8,900 lire to the university. Like Volta, he remained hidden in Italy, maintaining contacts with the academic and scientific world. Expatriation is for these people an option more or less possible or attractive depending on many factors which combine in various ways, on the one hand the degree of familiarity with some foreign country and the possibility of finding appropriate career opportunities, on the other hand the more or less wide willingness to leave their country: Amedeo Volta evaluates the possibility of moving abroad, deciding then to exclude it for professional reasons and remains hidden in Italy continuing, isolated and hidden, to cultivate his discipline, in the same way as Angelo Rabbeno; even Aldo Luzzati and Ruggero Luzzatto remain in Italy, after vain attempts to continue to exercise their profession, the first writing a petition to the Duce with the request to continue to teach, the second making unnecessary application for differentiation. Nino Levi and Roberto Bachi, on the contrary, chose to leave Italy after their expulsion and neither of them ever returned to Italy: Levi because he died in New York in 1941 due to a fall from a horse, Bachi by choice. The latter arranges his own move to Israel soon after being affected by the race measures. A political police report states that the professor is leaving for Tel Aviv as early as October 1938. The same document calls him an ardent Zionist and argues that he should be watched for his dealings with foreign intellectuals should he return to Italy⁶⁴. But Roberto Bachi will never return to the country that expelled him as a Jew; migrated to Palestine will have a brilliant career here: with the foundation of Israel, he will be one of the founders of the Faculty of Social Sciences, director of the Department of Statistics and Demography and pro-rector at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and will be appointed by the new government director of the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics. His father, on the other hand, who had

61 AUG, Academic Senate minutes, November 20, 1938.

62 AUG, Teaching staff files, File Nino Levi

63 AUG, Teaching staff files, File Angelo Rabbeno.

64 ACS. MI, DGPS, Political police division, Personal files (1927-44), Bachi Roberto, Report of Oct. 24, 1938.

built his life and his remarkable professional career in Italy, decided not to sever his ties with his native country: after the war he returned and spent his last few years in Italy, becoming a member of the Accademia dei Lincei. The history of the Bachi family is an example of the incidence of personal data that we know to be significant with respect to the choice of expatriation. The Tedeschi family also chose exile, fleeing to Switzerland after having made, in 1939, a fictitious donation of their four apartments to the University of Genoa to save them from alienation; this willingness of the University to help the Tedeschi is a sign of the depth of the family's ties with some academic authorities. The tenacity of the ties with the country's institutions, the close relations with authorities and prominent figures, the academic merits and even the patriotic and fascist merits have no influence on the fate of the victims of this draconian purge that deprives the country of scholars of international fame, precious intelligence, actual and potential excellence. In Genoa, the most striking example is that of Roberto Bachi: as we have seen, his presence in the city's university was considered a great asset because it entailed the birth of a brand new discipline; it is not surprising, therefore, that this professor could not be replaced, since before his arrival in Genoa there was no chair of Methodological and Economic Statistics, and that chair would disappear with him. The Statistical and Financial Economics laboratory remains active, formerly directed by Bachi and now entrusted to Giuseppe Parenti, chair of Statistics, but also charged-as we have seen-with teaching the new racist discipline called Comparative Demography of Races. Also irreplaceable is Professor Emeritus Gino Loria, who held a free course in the History of Mathematics in the Faculty of Science; so much so that the dean of the faculty decides to suppress the teaching and replace it with that of Theory of Functions, so as not to excessively reduce the possibility of students' choice among the complementary teachings: Dean Togliatti then informs that as a result of the measures arranged by the government for the defense of race, prof. Loria will no longer be able to teach History of Mathematics, which he taught as a free course recognized as valid for legal purposes for students, and that it is not possible to replace such a teacher⁶⁵.

Also striking is the aforementioned progressive decline in the number of Jewish students and, in particular, foreign Jews. Although it is impossible to reconstruct the quantitative dimension, to these losses must be added those constituted by those students who, having concluded their university career in Genoa, were forced to continue their academic careers elsewhere; one thinks of the case of Stefano Fajrajzen, a Polish Jew originally from Lodz, who graduated in Medicine in the 1937-38 academic year, but was then induced by Fascist anti-Semitic policy to pursue his specialization in Neuropsychiatry first in Switzerland and then in London. It is conceivable that a share of equally brilliant students pursued their careers abroad, not only in academia, but also in teaching, law, medicine, and engineering; this is an untold legacy that has been lost to the country that took responsibility for racial persecution. This depletion is accompanied by the gradual loss of users from across the border and the increase in the absolute number of students.

The picture that emerges is one of an impoverished and debased university in both the ethical and cultural spheres, locked more and more in an asphyxiated nationalistic perspective; effectively Michele Sarfatti defined the expulsion of Jewish teachers "a deep stab that Italy has inflicted on itself as well as on the individual persecuted"⁶⁶.

A difficult comeback

At the fall of Fascism, a fact took place in Genoa that offered interesting elements for the reconstruction of the relationship between anti-fascism and anti-Semitic persecutions and represented a significant anticipation of what would be the country's disposition towards the victims at the end of the war. During a meeting convened by a promoting committee, held on 4 August 1943, a document was drawn up signed by forty-four professors - out of a total of 76 professors - greeting the end of

⁶⁵ AUG, Academic Senate minutes, 18/10/1938.

⁶⁶ M. Sarfatti, *La scuola, gli ebrei e l'arianizzazione attuata da Giuseppe Bottai*, in L. di Ruscio R. Gravina, B. Migliau (editors), *Le leggi antiebraiche del 1938*, Rome, s.e, 2007.

Fascism, calling for the return of their freedom and privileges to the university world, hoping that there will be no more restrictions on freedom of opinion and ending the persecution of opponents of the regime. No explicit reference to the issue of racial cleansing can be found in this sort of anti-fascist manifesto. With the advent of the Republic of Salò, the signatories of the document will be questioned for their position against Fascism. It will not be enough for Achille Pellizzari⁶⁷ to take responsibility for the content by declaring that the others had signed unconsciously, but finally the matter would be resolved without consequences for teachers thanks to the intercession of the Minister of Education Biggini, who had an interest in creating goodwill for himself with city institutions in view of his upcoming appointment as head of the Genoa Province to replace Carlo Basile⁶⁸. This case is of interest with respect to the issue of the expulsion of Jews from Italian universities, not so much because of the content of the document of the 44, but because of what is missing in the document, namely a denunciation of racial laws, a request for reintegration, a protest, even formal, a reference to racist persecution and its serious consequences. This silence on the part of the group of the antifascist teachers, apparently more aware of fascist crimes, is an important testimony to the general attitude of indifference with which the academic world accepted the racial laws and to the lukewarm and sometimes hostile welcome that was given to the victims at the end of the war even by the representatives of the new democratic course. In Genoa, where no Jewish teacher had been involved in anti-fascism or resistance, this disinterest is perhaps particularly marked and the signatories of the manifesto seem exclusively interested in the fate of the opponents who probably felt closer politically and sentimentally; however, it is also undoubtedly a sign of maybe not a widespread anti-Semitism, but definitely of an amazing lack of attention to a drama of such great magnitude.

And yet, in Genoa, the teachers who, at the end of the war, return to their professorship in Italy are the majority⁶⁹. out of eighteen expelled, eleven (61%) return to teach at the Genoese university, four pass away before the end of the war, of one - Frida Semach - the fate is unknown, but we can exclude that she returned to Genoa; as a result, only two professors, Roberto Bachi and Roberto Sabatino Lopes choose to continue their careers abroad. For some of them the main motivation will be the lack of valid alternatives, but for others the reason for the choice is to be found above all in those deep bonds of which we spoke at the beginning: with the country, with the city, of course, but even more frequently with the scientific community and with the academic institution, despite the offense suffered. An example is the case of Tedeschi, returned to Italy and reintegrated, who in 1945 donated 20,000 lire to the University for the reconstruction of the Law Library: as we have already seen, the relationship between this family and the University of Genoa continues through mutual courtesies and assistance even during and after the period of racial persecution.

The reinstatement of Jewish teachers is accompanied by the suppression of racist and fascist subjects: in June 1945, the Academic Senate resolves that "in view of the new political situation," the teachings of History and Doctrine of Fascism, Corporate Law, Comparative Demography of Races (while General Demography remains) and Biology of Human Races be suppressed, and that exams

67 Achille Pellizzari, professor of Italian Literature at the University of Genoa, was commissario politico of the partisan formations "Garibaldi" in the Parma area with the name "Poe". After the war, he became Dean of the University of Genoa, succeeding Emanuele Sella and, was deputy of Democrazia Cristiana party of the Constituent Assembly. M. Calegari, *Comunisti e partigiani*. Genova 1942-1945, Impressioni grafiche, Acqui Terme, 2007; F. Franchini, *Achille Pellizzari partigiano "Poe"*. *Raccolta di documenti e testi*, FILV, La Spezia, 1976; «Storia e memoria» n.2, *La famiglia Lazagna. Le carte, i ricordi*, 2015.

68 ASGe, Rsi, b. 12.

69 Aldo Luzzatto as free lecturer in Special Medical Pathology; Muggia Adriano, now chief of medicine in Casale, as free lecturer in Demonstrative Special Medical Pathology; Ettore Tedeschi as free lecturer in Special Medical Pathology; Aldo Luzzatto as free lecturer in Special Medical Pathology; Bedarida Alberto Mario as lecturer of Mathematical Institutions and free lecturer of Algebraic Analysis in Science; Ugo Lombroso as full professor of Human Physiology in Pharmacy and director of the Institute of Physiology, while his son Lombroso Cesare is free lecturer of Food Science also in Pharmacy; Volta as full professor of Psychology in Medicine and director of the Institute of Psychology. See in AAUG the 1950-51 yearbook and personnel files.

taken in these disciplines after September 8, 1943 be cancelled⁷⁰. Remotti's Anthropology remains, presumably amended from racist content; finally, Geography and Ethnology of Italian East Africa becomes Economic Geography and History of Geopolitical Relations, retaining the same lecturer, Giuseppe Rosso; the chair of Science of Orthogenesis changes to Science of Human Constitution always held by Mario Barbara. The latter encounters some difficulties because his eligibility is questioned, since he obtained that position not through a regular competition, but as a consequence of the petition of some professors to Minister Bottai; in 1945, the National Council of Education, Science and the Arts expresses to the Minister of Education “the opinion that the appointment of Professor Mario Barbara as full professor of the science of orthogenesis in the University of Genoa arranged without a competition should be annulled”⁷¹. Finally, however, the teacher is retained in his position, thanks in part to the positive opinion expressed by the Medical Faculty Council in 1947⁷². As for other teachers of suppressed subjects, Giuseppe Vidoni remains at the University of Genoa as a lecturer in Psychology in Political Science, Giovanni Semprini as a free lecturer and lecturer in History of Political Doctrines at the Faculty of Law, Giovanni Battista Fasolis as a free lecturer in Finance Science and Financial Law; while Giuseppe Parenti moves to Florence in 1948 as a full professor of Statistics⁷³.

With regard to Jewish teachers, numerous are the examples of the difficulties in reconstructing the relationship with academic and state institutions. Amedeo Volta and Angelo Rabbeno faced the biggest problems, since the professors who had taken their place denounced the fact that these teachers had been transferred to Genoa from their places of origin without the Faculty Council⁷⁴ having approved the transfer by a regular vote and therefore asked for their reinstatement into the universities from which they came, which would have allowed them to maintain their professorships. For their part, Rabbeno and Volta wished to be reinstated into the place from which they were expelled, namely the University of Genoa, so as to be able to start again from the earliest moment of their previous career forcedly interrupted. In the case of Volta the situation is particularly absurd because, by the time the issue is raised, the professor has already undertaken his research work in Genoa that would be lost if he were transferred to Catania and, on the other hand, the University of Catania opposes Volta's return so as not to have to remove the chair holder installed there and presses for the professor to remain in Genoa on another chair⁷⁵. The question is not easy to resolve and drags on for years coming to a positive conclusion for the two Jewish teachers. In the case of Volta he was first assigned to Catania, but in 1948, he asked and obtained that a chair of Psychology be established in Genoa and assigned to him for which he was again transferred to the Ligurian capital, as a supernumerary full professor on a new chair by resolution of the Faculty Council⁷⁶, also thanks to the interest of Father Gemelli: in fact, Agostino Gemelli supports the hypothesis of the creation of a chair of Psychology, a new teaching that is entrusted to Volta⁷⁷. It seems paradoxical that it is precisely a figure not immune to anti-Semitic feelings to intercede in favour of a victim of racist laws, but it is one of the many cases in which professional solidarity and personal relationships overwhelm

70 AUG, Academic Senate minutes, June 11, 1945.

71 ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s., 1940-70, B. 35, File Mario Barbara, Opinion CNESA about the eligibility of Mario Barbara, October 3, 1945.

72 ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s., 1940-70, B. 35, File Mario Barbara, Faculty of Medicine board minute, February 25, 1945.

73 AUG, Yearbooks 1950-51 and Teaching staff files.

74 The transfer of the two teachers was ordered by the Minister of Education, without the approval of the Genoese Faculty Council; Volta came to Genova from Catania and Rabbeno from Palermo, both of them in 1936; (AUG, Teaching staff files, File Angelo Rabbeno and file Amedeo Volta).

75 ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s. (1940-70), b. 486, file Volta Amedeo, Faculty of Medicine Council resolution, April 9, 1946.

76 ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s. (1940-70), b. 486, Volta Amedeo file, Minutes of the Council of the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery of the University of Genoa, July 27, 1949.

77 AUG, Teaching staff files, File Amedeo Della Volta, Minutes of the Faculty Council for Medicine and Surgery, February 17, 1948.

ideological beliefs. In the case of the reinstatement of these two teachers, it is particularly striking that by reading the entire bureaucratic practice one never comes across an expression of recognition - not even formal and rhetorical - of the abnormal injustice that the two professors had to endure on the part of any of the subjects involved; there are only two exceptions. One is Minister Ruiz, who expresses himself on both cases, stressing the priority over other considerations of removing the effects of the injustice of racial laws and of saving the victims from these further difficulties⁷⁸; the second is constituted by the Higher Council of National Education, which expresses itself in favor of Volta's move to the Genoa chair of psychology, enunciating among its reasons, in addition to the professor's scholarly value, the consideration of reparations for the victims of the racial persecution policies implemented by the past regime⁷⁹. After all, even in 1967, in Amedeo Volta's curriculum vitae drawn up by the University of Genoa for the award of the title of professor emeritus, characterized by laudatory tones and in which his participation in the Great War is emphasized, his expulsion under racial laws is recorded without a word of blame or comment, as a matter of fact.

Even Ugo Lombroso encounters obstacles to his return, because, having been called back to Genoa to resume his professorship at the university, he could not find accommodation in Genova: Lombroso had lost his house because of a bombing and wanted to occupy a flat of his own property rented by a family who, however, did not intend to leave the house⁸⁰. With the case of Roberto Lopes we arrive at the grotesque. In 1953, Lopes, professor at Yale and author of six monographs and dozens of scientific articles, received from the University of Genoa, "the first sign of life after his expulsion in 1938" - bitterly remarked by Lopes - a pre-printed circular asking him to give an account of the scientific activity carried out from 1940 onwards and to document "any legitimate impediment"⁸¹ that would not have allowed him to continue to work at the University of Genoa, on pain of exclusion from the possibility of receiving further assignments. Lopes replied with irony ("the legitimate impediment of 1940 seems to me to be notorious"⁸²), but also with a more than understandable irritation, stating that he did not aspire to be a freelance teacher as he was already ordinary at Yale. Also in this case, the bureaucratic coldness of the Athenaeum strikes, which seems to ignore the scope and the very existence of a traumatic event such as the extermination of the Jews. A testimony comes also from celebrations on the occasion of Ugo Lombroso's death and the anniversaries of this date, which allow us a glimpse into the years following the immediate postwar period. The distinguished physiologist is honored by the Genoese university and the entire Italian scientific community, yet the reticence about the persecution he endured as a Jew is compact: no mention appears in the plaque that is placed in the university in his memory, nor in the numerous commemorations on the occasion of his death in 1952; the only exception, but one that nevertheless confirms the general picture, is the 1954 Accademia dei Lincei's recollection in which the expulsion for racial reasons is briefly mentioned, without a word of condemnation, but rather with a disconcerting praise-which seems to indirectly want to blame the victims-for the behavior held by Lombroso, who "did not want to take advantage of those sufferings"⁸³ Again, Lombroso's case provides us with a rare example to the contrary, given by the Council of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Rome, which, in expressing a favorable opinion with respect to the professor's request for tenure of the Chair of Food Science refers, among the reasons supporting its acceptance, to the "serious harm suffered by Professor Lombroso in recent years" for which his application "cannot but be looked upon with sympathy"⁸⁴.

⁷⁸ AUG, Teaching staff files, File Amedeo Della Volta, *Statement concerning the application for readmission of Professor Volta*, July 9, 1945.

⁷⁹ ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s. (1940-70), b. 486, file Volta Amedeo, Meeting of the Higher Council of National Education, July 25, 1948.

⁸⁰ AUG, Teaching staff files, File Ugo Lombroso.

⁸¹ AUG, Teaching staff files, File Roberto Lopes.

⁸² AUG, Teaching staff files, File Roberto Lopes.

⁸³ AUG, Teaching staff files, File Ugo Lombroso.

⁸⁴ ACS, MPI, DGIU, Teaching staff files, III s., 1940-70, B. 272, file Lombroso Ugo, Minutes of the Faculty Council for Medicine and Surgery, July 24, 1945.

As can be seen from these examples, the difficulties of reinstatement are not only linked to objective problems caused by the not simple restoration of the institutions after the dictatorship, the war, the occupation, but also by the unfriendly climate in which this reinstatement took place, especially because of the failure to recognize the enormous tragedy that had struck the Jewish population. A further example of this lack of recognition is provided by the first post-war yearbook of the Athenaeum, referring to the academic year 1950-51, in which at the beginning the salient facts for the university of the war years are summarized: they complain about the material damage suffered by the structures of the university as a result of the bombing, honour students and teachers who participated in the liberation movement, pay tribute to Mattia Moresco, the rector in office at the time of the racial laws and praise the behaviour of all the rectors from 1930 until the end of the war. Later appear the only words - dry and without reprimands for the racists or solidarity for the victims - dedicated to the reinstatement of Jews: "After the war, the university was pleased to welcome the following professors who had been reinstated in their positions, from which the 1938 racial law had removed them"⁸⁵, followed by the list of Jewish professors who had been reinstated. Even in the inaugural speech of the rector there is no mention of racial persecution. A final testimony comes from the celebrations on the occasion of the death of Ugo Lombroso and the anniversaries celebrations that allow us to take a look into the years following the immediate post-war period. The distinguished physiologist is paid homage by the University of Genoa and by the entire Italian scientific community, yet the reticence about the persecution he suffered as a Jew is compact: no mention appears on the plaque placed in the university in his memory, nor in the numerous commemorations on the occasion of his death in 1952; the only exception, but which nevertheless confirms the general picture, is the memory of the Accademia dei Lincei of 1954 in which the expulsion for racial reasons is briefly mentioned, without a word of condemnation, but rather with a disconcerting praise - which seems indirectly to want to blame the victims - for the behaviour of Lombroso who "did not want to take advantage of those sufferings."⁸⁶

As can be seen from these examples, the difficulties of reintegration are related not only to objective problems caused by the not easy restoration of institutions after the dictatorship, war, and occupation, but also to the unwelcoming climate in which this reintegration took place, mainly due to the lack of recognition of the enormous tragedy that had befallen the Jewish population. Interestingly, the victims themselves, surrounded by this general underestimation, timidly made their demands, almost always without emphasizing the injustices and suffering they had suffered. A further example of this lack of recognition is provided by the aforementioned first post war yearbook of the University, referring to the academic year 1950-51, in which, at the opening, there is a text summarizing the salient facts for the university of the war years that had just passed: the material damage suffered by the University's facilities as a result of the bombing is lamented, students and faculty who participated in the liberation movement are honored, the behavior of all the rectors from 1930 until the end of the war is praised, and, in particular, tribute is paid to Mattia Moresco, the rector in office at the time of the racial laws; in this regard, it reads:

«Le vicende politico-militari dalle quali fu travagliata l'Italia ebbero le loro inevitabili ripercussioni nel governo dell'Ateneo dopo il 25 luglio 1943. Il prof. Mattia Moresco, che aveva tenuto ininterrottamente e con rara saggezza dal primo novembre 1925 l'ufficio di Rettore [...] dovette lasciare dal 29 agosto il Rettorato» 87.

It is surprising that only a few pages earlier, laudatory words had been spent on the anti-fascist lecturers of the 44 manifesto, deprecating the judicial persecution they incurred, while here the purge of the fascist rector during the Badoglio interlude is described as an unfair fatality that unjustifiably strikes a distinguished figure:

85 AUG, Yearbook 1950-51.

86 AUG, Teaching staff files, File Ugo Lombroso.

87 AUG, Yearbooks 1950-51, p. 13

«The situation which had been determined in the aftermath of September 8, 1943, and which became increasingly aggravated, could not fail to have its reflections on the life of the Athenaeum as well. And a sad episode created and maintained for many months in the university environment a heavy atmosphere of anxiety and concern [...] The prevailing hierarchies - taking as their motive an agenda with which they extolled the regained freedom of science [...] unleashed against the signatories of that agenda a violent campaign that led to the denunciation of the 44 professors to the Extraordinary Provincial Tribunal». 88

Later appear the only words-dry and devoid of notes of blame for racists or sympathy for victims-dedicated to the reintegration of Jews: “The university was pleased to welcome back after the war the following professors returned to their teaching from which the 1938 racial law had removed them”⁸⁹, which is followed by a list of reinstated Jewish faculty members. The rector's inaugural address also lacks any mention of racial persecution, while ample space is devoted to celebrating the exploits of the partisan students and lamenting the damage and mourning inflicted by the war: the desire to ennoble the institution, to dull the responsibilities by attributing them generically to the war event and to pass over in silence the more embarrassing aspects, such as precisely the application of the racial laws, shines through clearly. It is not surprising, then, that the purge season ends in Genoa with no action taken against teachers or academic authorities. In June 1945, the Allied Command established the Reporting Committee for the Purge of University Personnel, which identified six names of faculty members found to be particularly compromised with the past regime, but none of them would be removed from the university⁹⁰. Moreover, as we have seen, the prevailing attitude of underestimation and overshadowing of responsibilities and compromises with the past regime shines through in the documents produced by the University of Genoa in the post war period, one thinks only of the aforementioned introduction to the first post war yearbook, in which the task of executing the purge process is described as "thankless" and in which, while praising partisans and anti-fascists connected with the university, any measure aimed at targeting a member of the university for his or her fascist faith is deplored⁹¹. In this respect, the local picture reflects the general situation well described in a recent volume by Mattia Flamigni on purges in universities:

«It will be found, therefore, that the fascist interventions on the university, failed to act in depth and produce effects that could survive them, and, likewise, the purge also had to clash against a thicket of relationships and customs of an environment-caste with its centuries-old traditions, which once again proved to be very little permeable to instances of change». 92

If in 1938, the project of Aryanization of the Italian university expressed by racial laws met with very little resistance, that of de-fascistization, in which a restorative justice towards the victims of fascist racism was an aspect, clashes with various obstacles put forward by the academic world: logic of continuity, lack of self-critical awareness, impelling of other problems, corporate solidarity. Even in Genoa, as we have seen, all this means that the initial political will is to deny fascist racism and it becomes a dull and listless bureaucratic application of the provisions, that Santorre Debenedetti rightly defined as a "petty justice for which the usurpers were undisturbed and the victims tolerated.”⁹³

88 *Ibidem*, p. 8

89 *Ibidem*, p. 20

90 See M. Flamigni, *Professori e università di fronte all'epurazione. Dalle ordinanze alleate alla pacificazione. 1943-48*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019. See also AUG, Academic Senate minutes, June 21, 1945.

91 AUG, Yearbooks 1950-51.

92 M. Flamigni, *Professori e università*, p.12.

93 C. Segre, *Per curiosità. Una specie di autobiografia*, Einaudi, Torino, 1999, p. 96.

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