

1938 and the University of Palermo

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Abstract. Antonino Blando recently dedicated a fascinating study to the question of the widespread anti-Semitism among Sicilian intellectuals and Fascists in the 1930s, observing that Sicily could boast of the “title of imperial Fascist island, because of its Aryan origin and bearer of a superior civilization.

Keywords: Antisemitism, Persecution, Reintegration

Anti-Semitism in Sicily and the state of research

Antonino Blando recently dedicated a fascinating study to the question of the widespread anti-Semitism among Sicilian intellectuals and Fascists in the 1930s, observing that Sicily could boast of the “title of imperial Fascist island, because of its Aryan origin and bearer of a superior civilization. The exaltation of the civilizing mission of Sicily and the Fascist empire was associated with extremely marked racist tensions”¹. The new imperial policy required the purity of blood, and the rescue of the “Aryan Christian unity”, as also stressed by Antonino Pagliaro, “Iranologist, glottologist, semiologist [and] philosopher of language”. Originally from Mistretta, he had enlisted as a volunteer in World War I and had taken part in the *Impresa di Fiume*. He was among the founders of the “Movimento Sociale Italiano” (MSI). In 1940 the *Dizionario di politica* of the National Fascist Party (henceforth PNF) was published, a work in four volumes, with contributions from 247 authors, under the direction of Pagliaro, who wrote the entries on *Anti-Semitism* and *Zoroastrianism*².

Giuseppe Cocchiara, an anthropologist and ethnologist, was his fellow townsman. He would profess “full adherence to the racism and anti-Semitism which would materialize in several articles published in ‘La Difesa della Razza’”³.

From 1933 to 1937, Cocchiara was assigned a course in the Literature of Popular Traditions at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Palermo and only in October 1938 was he appointed in conjunction with the issuing of the racial laws, as an untenured lecturer. He would be given tenure a few years later⁴.

However, after World War II, as Enza Pelleriti made clear, he would not be a victim of the purge. He would moreover become dean of the Faculty of Letters and vice-chancellor⁵: “Cocchiara, however, did not utter a single word to at least symbolically remember the great Italianist Mario Fubini, his faculty colleague, removed in 1938 by the University of Palermo because he was a Jew, who escaped death by fleeing into exile. He was just a wandering Jew”⁶.

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¹ Cfr. his *Intellettuale siciliani fascisti e antifascisti*, in Tommaso Baris and Carlo Verri (eds.), *I siciliani nella Resistenza*, Sellerio, Palermo, 2019, p. 305.

² Ivi, pp. 306-307. On this topic, see also Alessia Pedio, *La cultura del totalitarismo imperfetto. Il Dizionario di politica del Partito nazionale fascista 1940*, Unicopli, Milano, 2000.

³ Ivi, A. Blando, *Intellettuale siciliani fascisti e antifascisti*, pp. 307-308.

⁴ Ivi, p. 309.

⁵ Ivi, p. 312.

⁶ Ivi, p. 313.

The last part of the essay focuses on Giuseppe Maggiore, chancellor in the 1938-1939 academic year known for his anti-Semitism, which several scholars have examined. In his inaugural speech at the beginning of the new year, he dedicated only a few sentences to the expulsion of five colleagues from university teaching posts under anti-Semitic laws⁷.

The story of the expelled teachers, at least in general terms, has been dealt with by Italian historians: they were the physicist Emilio Segrè, the literary scholar Mario Fubini, the clinician Maurizio Ascoli, the engineer Alberto Dina and the physiologist Camillo Artom⁸. What is missing is an in-depth reflection on their personal stories and, above all, on those of untenured teaching staff, non-teaching staff and university students, who likewise ended up under the axe of '38.

In fact, even though the deputy chancellor of the University of Palermo, Mario Varvaro, recently inaugurated the exhibition *Gli studenti ebrei e l'Università di Palermo al tempo del fascismo: in mostra i documenti dell'Archivio Storico*, which was held in Palermo between 26 and 28 February 2020, the fifteen stories of (mostly non-Italian) Jews presented there failed to provide an exhaustive account of either their lives, or those of the approximately 60 Jewish students who enrolled at the university between 1923 and 1938.⁹ Not only is too little still known about the latter, but only a few of the lives “put on show”, to which the press gave so much coverage, seem to have been affected, as far as I am aware, by the link between the anti-Semitic laws and expulsion from the University of Palermo. In fact, for the most part they were people whose persecution occurred above all outside the Palermo area. Meanwhile, other cases that probably have more to do with this connection remain largely unexplored, since documentation regarding them has not yet emerged from the historical archives of the University of Palermo. On the former point I will merely provide a few examples; on the latter, on the other hand, I have included in a note a list of Jewish students taken from a list of 113 registered in August 1938, which I will discuss below. I forwarded the list to Daniela Lo Brutto and Alessandro Crisafulli, whose support was fundamental to my research, in the hope that they would come across some documentary evidence¹⁰. Only the biographies of some of these people were included in the aforementioned exhibition. I will now give some examples of inconsistencies relating to the link between anti-Semitic legislation and expulsion from the University of Palermo. Josef Izaak Lewsztein, son of Boris, graduated on 22 November 1939, in Medicine and Surgery, from the University of Palermo, with a thesis on “the De Vito reaction in the early diagnosis of pregnancy”¹¹. And only later was he arrested and taken to the Ucciardone prison in Palermo prior to his internment

⁷ Ivi, pp. 314-317.

⁸ The five teachers are also referred to here, on p. 313. But above all, see the appendix to the text by Roberto Finzi, *L'università italiana e le leggi antiebraiche*, Editori Riuniti, Roma, 2003, which contains the list of all the temporary and tenured Jewish professors expelled from Italian universities in 1938.

⁹ With regard to the exhibition, cfr. the references on the portal of the University of Palermo and on the press articles mentioned there, which can be found at the following web address: <https://www.unipa.it/Gli-studenti-ebrei-e-l-Universita-di-Palermo-al-tempo-del-fascismo-in-mostra-i-documenti-dell'Archivio-Storico-27-31-gennaio-2020/> (link active as at 14 February 2020). The experiences mentioned regard Frumi Rubinstein, Jankiel Chasis, Cesare Lombroso, Ugo Ovazza, Józef Izaak Lewsztein, Nussen Goldberg, Moises I. Schächter, Schadel Mejer, Joachim Sklow, Bruno Edmund Meyerowitz, Mirjam Todesaite, Rafael Grinberg, Mignon Tscharny, Gertrud Bertha Leoni Lange, Walter Fabisch.

¹⁰ I sent the email with the list on 18 January 2019. As will be seen, some of them were no longer students, and yet their paths are relevant to the issue of the probable dismissal from work as a result of anti-Semitic laws. The following people account for only some of the 113 recorded Jews, whose names were searched for one by one in the historical archive of the University of Palermo. They are Arrigo Citone son of Crescenzo, doctor-student; Laura Citone daughter of Crescenzo, teacher at the Istituto elettrotecnico in Littoria; Ruth Adler, daughter of the late Carlo Adler, medicine graduate; Leib Cukierman, daughter of Chain Cukierman, Polish, student; Boris Milman, son of Aizing Milman, student; Josef Lewsztein, son of Boris Lewsztein, medical student; Elda Ovazza, daughter of the late Elia Ovazza, doctor; Menase Lucacer, son of the late Zusi Lucacer, doctor-untenured lecturer; Josef Schachter, son of Isaac Schachter, Romanian, law student; Massimiliano Seiden, son of Adolfo Seiden, Polish, medical student; Esther Gherrscfeld, daughter of Moses Gherrscfeld, schoolgirl; Giusto Hoffmann, son of Alessandro Hoffmann, student; Vera Jung, daughter of Ugo Jung, student; Mario Jung, son of Ugo Jung, student; Ugo Ovazza, son of the late Elia Ovazza, civil servant, student in Rome.

¹¹ Detailed information on the graduation date and the final dissertation discussed on that occasion was taken from Archivio storico dell'università degli studi di Palermo (henceforth ASUPA), Sezione Facoltà di Medicina e Chirurgia, Serie Medicina e Chirurgia, Sottoserie Registri degli esami. Regia Università degli Studi di Palermo. Verbale dell'esame di laurea in medicina e chirurgia. Signor Lewsztein Giuseppe Isac, figlio di Boris, nativo di Varsavia, Busta 498.

in Ferramonti di Tarsia in the Marche region, and finally in Forlì, at whose airport on 5 September 1944 he would be slaughtered together with 19 other Jews¹². A similar fate befell Moises Schächter, born on 27 August 1903 in Romania, who graduated in Palermo on 23 July 1934¹³. Frumi Rubinstein was born in Russia on 14 May 1897, and completed her studies in a girls' high school in Lida, and the first year in a boys' high school in Simferopol, in May 1919. Daughter of a Jew, she graduated in Palermo in 1930. In 1931 she was already in Rome and in 1939 in Florence¹⁴. And the list could go on.

Finally, there is no accurate, detailed reflection on the census of 22 August 1938.

As for the rest of Sicily, also for Palermo, priority has been given to the census data published by the newspapers in the autumn of 1938¹⁵: the impression is however that nobody has so far examined in depth the lists of Italian and foreign Jews present in the Palermo area, available at the State Archive of the Sicilian capital. Nor have there been discussions of the general census figures available at the local and national level.

The records of the Central State Archive report 126 Palermo citizens surveyed in August 1938, of whom 114 are present and 12 temporarily absent¹⁶, while among the available lists there is one without a date, which, as said, records the presence of 113 Italian and foreign Jews resident in Palermo¹⁷. According to Alexander Hoffmann, there were actually 155 people¹⁸.

Among the lesser-known cases of Jews expelled from the University of Palermo in 1938 are those of the untenured professor of Phthisiology Menase Lucacer, an Italian citizen of Romanian origin, and of Maurizio Ascoli's assistant, Walter Fabish, who was instead German¹⁹. Historians have always focused fleetingly on both, without going deeper into their personal stories. For both it is now possible to provide a little more information.

Menase Lucacer was born in Soroca, Romania, on 10 June 1899, and graduated in Medicine and Surgery at the University of Palermo on 21 July 1926. On 11 January 1932 he became an assistant professor of Clinical Medicine, following the qualification that year to hold an untenured post in Phthisiology. Then, as a result of the anti-Semitic laws, he would lose his post, as also emerges from an undated document bearing the signature of the then chancellor, in which it was written that Lucacer had "lapsed from the post of voluntary assistant with effect from 13/12/1938, pursuant to art. 13 of law no. 1728 17/11/1938, because he belongs to the Jewish race"²⁰.

Also in April 1938 Maurizio Ascoli had re-proposed Lucacer as a voluntary lecturer at the medical clinic in Palermo, for the 1937-1938 academic year²¹.

¹² Information presented in the pavilion dedicated to him.

¹³ ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà Medicina e Chirurgia, Fascicolo Moise Schächter, Busta 2632. On the story of the latter, partly narrated by Lucia Vincenti through indirect testimonies, cfr. her *Storie degli ebrei a Palermo durante il fascismo. Documenti e testimonianze*, Offset Studio, Palermo, 1998. These events have recently been discussed in Eadem, *Shoah. Storia degli ebrei in Sicilia durante il fascismo*, Bonanno, Acireale, 2019. Some of these interviews, potentially interesting, could have been better exploited by accompanying them with due documental research, which is however lacking.

¹⁴ ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà Medicina e Chirurgia, Fascicolo Frumi Rubinstein, Busta 4787.

¹⁵ For details on the question of the Sicilian census, see my essay on Messina, published in this same issue.

¹⁶ Cfr. Archivio centrale dello Stato (henceforth ACS), Ministero degli Interni, Direzione generale demografia e razza (1938-1943), Busta 4, *Fascicolo Situazione generale degli ebrei in Italia*, documento *Censimento ebrei italiani e stranieri (agosto 1938)*.

¹⁷ Cfr. Elenco nominativo degli ebrei (stranieri ed italiani) residenti a Palermo [list of names of foreign and Italian Jews resident in Palermo], in Archivio di Stato di Palermo (henceforth ASPA), Gabinetto Prefettura, Busta 736.

¹⁸ However, as I wrote in my aforementioned essay on Messina, Hoffmann's data are not clearly verifiable, since their origin is not specified in detail. Cfr. his *Storia di una famiglia di origine ebrea a Palermo*, Qanat, Palermo, 2017, p. 20.

¹⁹ Both are mentioned in the aforementioned text by Alessandro Hoffmann, on p. 30 and in Pietro Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali del fascismo e la loro applicazione a Palermo*, published in "Zo we zo", p. 17 and available online at: matematica-old.unibocconi.it/gionatamemoria2005/nastasi.pdf (consulted on 10 June 2019).

²⁰ Cfr. Fondo Archivio storico dell'Università degli Studi di Palermo (henceforth ASUPA), sezione Facoltà, Serie Medicina e Chirurgia, Sottosezione Docenti, Fascicolo Lucacer Menase (Tisiologia), Facoltà di Medicina, A.A. 1932/34 Serie Docenti 1932-1975, Busta 1651.

²¹ Cfr. the letter from Maurizio Ascoli of April 1938 to the chancellor of the University of Palermo; *ivi*.

The correspondence between the Palermo chief of police and the Prefect, who intervened in August 1938 following a request to confirm Lucacer as a lecturer in Phthisiology, shows how in the meantime the anti-Semitic laws had intervened to suddenly cut short his career. On 7 August the chief of police Lauricella wrote to the prefect:

Recalling my note of the same number of [...] July [...] and bearing in mind the final position now adopted by the Regime regarding the racial problem, I consider it appropriate to inform you that Prof. Lucarcer [sic] Menase, proposed for final confirmation in an untenured teaching post, is Jewish and an exponent of the group of Jews residing in Palermo²².

It was not until the post-war period, which on the island of course began earlier than in the rest of Italy, that the Ministerial Decree of 18 March 1939, under which Menase had been dismissed as a lecturer for racial reasons, would be revoked “and considered null and void”:

From that date [the Minister of Education wrote to him in February 1950], you should have taken steps to regularize your position as an untenured lecturer. We therefore ask you, in your own interest, to file the official confirmation of your qualification for an untenured teaching post in “Phthisiology” at a university, and at the same time, specify the reasons for your failure to carry out teaching activities, so that the competent Faculty can examine the possibility of regularizing your position²³.

However, on 15 February 1960 it was still recorded that “Menase Lucacer has been in the United States since 1938”²⁴.

With regard to Fabish, registered among the 113 Jews of 1938, I managed to find information on the period prior to 1938. He was born in Wrocław on 7 June 1904 and graduated in Medicine at the University of Palermo on 20 July 1934²⁵. He had already obtained an undergraduate degree in Medicine in Berlin on 13 December 1927²⁶ and had arrived in Palermo with his wife as a result of the “Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums” of 7 April 1933. This law had led to him being dismissed on 31 July 1933 from his post at the university paediatric clinic in Hamburg, where he worked as an assistant doctor²⁷. In Palermo he became a pupil of Maurizio Ascoli. More is known about the subsequent period of his life, although various versions exist. According to one indirect testimony:

In August 1939, Dr and Mrs Fabish left Palermo [...]. They went to what at the time was British India, now Pakistan, where they worked and were interned for a couple of months. Afterwards, for the rest of the war, he continued to work as an army doctor, in Anglo-Indian territory. Dr Fabish had fond memories of Palermo, and liked it here. I think he would have considered staying if it hadn't been for the problems that arose²⁸.

In the Palermo exhibition, it was instead stated that he was “arrested” in 1939.

²² The letter is in ASPA, Gabinetto Prefettura, Busta 581.

²³ Cfr. Fondo Archivio storico dell'Università degli Studi di Palermo (henceforth ASUPA), sezione Facoltà, Serie Medicina e Chirurgia, Sottosezione Docenti, Fascicolo Lucacer Menase (Tisiologia), Facoltà di Medicina, A.A. 1932/34 Serie Docenti 1932-1975, Busta 1651.

²⁴ It was thus stated in a letter from the chancellor Aiello to the Minister of Public Education dated 15 February 1960; *ivi*.

²⁵ Cfr. his degree certificate; in ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e Corsi, Serie Medicina, sottoserie carriera scolastica degli studenti, Fascicolo Walter Fabisch, Busta 473. The documentation available includes his final degree dissertation entitled *Tolleranza di Levulosio e Galattosio nel bambino immaturo*.

²⁶ Statement signed by Dr Von Eicken. Undated; in *ivi*.

²⁷ Cfr. letter written in German from the director of the Hamburg University Paediatric Clinic dated 14 February 1934; *ivi*.

²⁸ Interview with a person generically referred to as “Laura”. Cfr. Lucia Vincenti, *Shoah*, cit., p. 58.

Requests for limited application of the racial laws by expelled teachers

The archival documentation shows that the five professors expelled from the University of Palermo had filed a *richiesta di discriminazione*, an official request for the limited application of the racial laws in their specific case. Detailed and in some cases in-depth information is available on all of them, except for Alberto Dina, whose story remains the most incomplete. Winner of the selection procedure for professor of Electromechanical Constructions and Electrical Systems at the Regia Scuola Politecnica in Naples, on 23 November 1906 he accepted the post offered to him on 21 November. At the time he lived in Milan, at Vicolo S. Carlo 4²⁹. He would teach in Naples until 31 October 1907³⁰. On 12 January 1923 he was appointed professor of Electrotechnical Construction at the Regio Istituto Tecnico in Milan³¹, and on 16 October would be transferred to the chair of Electrical Technology at the Scuola Superiore in Palermo³².

We know that he had presented a *richiesta di discriminazione* from a letter dated 31 December 1938 from the Minister of National Education³³, who returned the required documents submitted to him by mistake by the interested party and explained to the chancellor of Palermo that he should instead forward them to the Ministry of the Interior³⁴. Even before he fell victim to the anti-Semitic measure that would remove him from his teaching position, on 7 November 1938, the Minister of Education wrote that:

This ministry, with regard to the recent provisions on race, has replaced Prof. Alberto Dina in the examination panel for the qualification for untenured teaching posts in Electrical Technology, Technical Physics, Electromagnetics, and Radio Technology. Please inform the interested party of this, and take the opportunity to ask him to send any publications submitted to him by the applicants to this Ministry³⁵.

On 3 October, the chancellor informed the dean of the Engineering Faculty that he did not think that Dina could participate in the faculty council meeting “of the 5th of this month, since he belonged [...] to the Jewish race”.³⁶ On 14 December 1938, Dina was finally dismissed³⁷.

Historiographical literature offers a documented episode concerning him. In the letter of reply to the teacher, who had asked the chancellor of the University of Palermo to document the courses he taught free of charge for the course on Electrical Measurements in 1936 -37 and 1937-38, the chancellor crossed out the sentence: “We would like to thank you for your interest in this Administration”³⁸. I reproduce here the entire letter:

At your request, we confirm that in the 1936-37 and 1937-38 academic years you were appointed to teach unpaid the course in Electrical Measurements, and that you had accepted the same course unpaid for the next academic year 1938-

²⁹ The letter is in ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari 2 versamento prima serie 1900-1940, Busta 54.

³⁰ Cfr. letter to the Ministry of Education from the Director of the Regio Istituto di Ingegneria in Palermo on 5 April (the year is illegible). In ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e corsi, Serie Scienze, Sottoserie Docenti, Fascicolo Prof. Dina Alberto, Serie Docenti: Fisica, Matematica, A.A. 1922-39, Fac. Di Scienze (Ingegneria), N. 2, Busta 1572.

³¹ Cfr. Meeting of the Council of the Istituto Tecnico di Milano of 29 January 1923; *ivi*.

³² Letter from the chancellor of the University of Palermo dated 29 May 1923 (the date is unclear) to the Director of the Scuola di Applicazione in Palermo; *ivi*.

³³ The minister had sent the same letter in reply to similar requests from Camillo Artom, Maurizio Ascoli and Mario Fubini; cfr. in this regard, Giorgio Israel and Pietro Nastasi, *Scienza e razza nell'Italia fascista*, cit., p. 338.

³⁴ The letter is in ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e corsi, Serie Scienze, Sottoserie Docenti, Fascicolo Prof. Dina Alberto, Serie Docenti: Fisica, Matematica, A.A. 1922-39, Fac. Di Scienze (Ingegneria), N. 2, Busta 1572.

³⁵ The letter to the chancellor of the University of Palermo is in *ivi*.

³⁶ *Ivi*.

³⁷ See his dismissal order, kept in ASUPA.

³⁸ See, for example, Giorgio Israel and Pietro Nastasi, *Scienza e razza nell'Italia fascista*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1998, p. 260.

39. *I would like to thank you for your interest in this Administration* [The part in italics (my italics) was crossed out in pen]³⁹.

Mario Fubini, son of Simone Riccardo and of Perla Bice Colombo, was born in Turin on 18 March 1900⁴⁰. He had taught Literature and Latin in high schools “before being called to [*give lectures on*] Italian literature at the University of Palermo”, where he would be appointed to the chair in 1937⁴¹. On 29 October 1932 he became a member of the National Fascist Party⁴².

After his expulsion from the professorship, as a result of the anti-Semitic laws⁴³, he had escaped with his family to Switzerland, where he stayed from 29 April 1944 to 10 July 1945. At the end of June 1945 he had worked as a professor of Italian literature in university courses for Italian soldiers in Mürren, near Bern. He had previously stayed in various “internment camps”. In conjunction with courses designed for civil inmates, he was transferred to Pally, near Lausanne, before returning to Mürren and, finally, back to Pally, where he would remain until the end of his stay. He could only return to Italy upon the reopening of the border. On 9 July 1946 he left for Chiasso, and from Chiasso the next day for Milan, arriving in Turin on the 11th⁴⁴.

On 30 November 1938 Fubini, who still resided in Corso Re Umberto 71, in Turin, had filed a *richiesta di discriminazione* with the Ministry of the Interior⁴⁵. In his very long letter he explained that due to his young age he had not been able to take part in the Great War, while the husband of his sister Giorgina had, and that the latter had been left an invalid by the conflict and had been awarded the military cross for his bravery. He emphasized that he was a member of the Fascist party and that he deserved merit for his excellent academic credentials:

He became an untenured lecturer in 1929 and held a teaching post from the 1934-35 academic year onwards at the University of Florence. His work received official recognition in the assessment of the selection commission for the chair of Italian literature at the University of Palermo. The commission had been appointed by S.E. Bottai, at the time Minister of National Education, and was chaired by the late Prof. Rossi, chairman of the Regia Accademia dei Lincei. He does not refer here to the report of that selection procedure (published in the *Bollettino Ufficiale*, parte II, 24 febbraio 1938 XVI, n. 81 [...]). He notes only that the commissioners unanimously considered him, an infrequent occurrence, worthy of first place and designated him as the only candidate suitable [...]. He maintains that thanks to these and other studies he has fully deserved a place in national culture, and that his uninterrupted work of study and teaching over almost twenty years, with full awareness of his duties as an educator and an Italian, cannot fail to be taken into consideration by the commission. Trusting that his application may be accepted, he professes himself the most devoted Mario Fubini⁴⁶.

However, on 16 June 1941 the Prefect of Turin wrote to the Directorate General of Demography and Race of the Interior Ministry that Fubini had not accumulated merits such as to guarantee him the benefit of limited application of the racial laws, an opinion which in any case coincided with that of the Federal Secretary of the Fascist Party, which was enclosed.⁴⁷ He wrote:

³⁹ In ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e corsi, Serie Scienze, Sottoserie Docenti, Fascicolo Prof. Dina Alberto, Serie Docenti: Fisica, Matematica, A.A. 1922-39, Fac. Di Scienze (Ingegneria), N. 2, Busta 1572.

⁴⁰ For his personal details, see the note from the Ministry of the Interior dated 29 September 1942, in which the Prefect of Turin and other bodies were informed that Fubini's *richiesta di discriminazione* should be rejected; cfr. ACS, Fascicoli personali Ministero Interno, Direzione Generale Demografia e Razza, Busta 383.

⁴¹ See the statement by the head of the Regio Liceo Ginnasio Cavour in Turin of 20 October 1938; *ivi*.

⁴² Cfr. the letter from the Prefect of Turin of 16 June 1941 to the Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General for Demography and Race; *ivi*.

⁴³ Fubini was dismissed from his university teaching post on 14 December 1938; cfr. dismissal order in ASUPA.

⁴⁴ Cfr. Fubini's letter dated 30 January 1946 to the chancellor of the University of Palermo; in ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e Corsi, Serie Scienze, Sezione Facoltà di Lettere, Fascicolo: Anno 1937-1940. Prof. Fubini Mario (Lett. e filos.), Serie Docenti Lingue e Letteratura Italiana, Busta 1502.

⁴⁵ The letter is addressed to the Direzione della Demografia e della Razza; in ACS, Fascicoli personali Ministero Interno, Direzione Generale Demografia e Razza, Busta 383.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ *Ivi*.

With reference to sheet no. 23509/Gab. dated 21st of this month, I propose to reject the application presented by the Jew Mario Fubini son of Riccardo, here resident in Corso Re Umberto no. 71, who has presented a *richiesta di discriminazione* pursuant to art. 14 of Royal Decree Law no. 1728 of D.L. 17-11 + 1938 [sic] on the defence of the Italian race, as it does not appear that he has achieved such merit as to render him worthy of being granted limited application of the racial laws⁴⁸.

On 22 April 1942, lastly, the Commission asked to evaluate the request of the interested party, confirmed the rejection⁴⁹.

Emilio Segrè, son of Giuseppe and of Amelia Treves, was born in Tivoli on 1 February 1905, where he had attended primary school. After attending school at the Ginnasio Liceo Mamiani in Rome, he enrolled at Rome's Faculty of Engineering in 1922. In 1927 he would "pass over to Physics", graduating in 1928 "with an experimental thesis on the anomalous dispersion of lithium". His education would take place primarily under the guidance of Enrico Fermi. In 1930 he won a prestigious scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation, which would allow him to work with Otto Stern in Hamburg and Pieter Zoerman in Amsterdam. In 1932 he would return to Rome, where he would be promoted to the assistant of Prof. Corbino. In 1935 he would come first in the selection procedure for the chair of Experimental Physics at the University of Palermo, "where [*he taught*] until 1938. Dismissed following the Fascist racial laws, [he would emigrate to] the United States of America. In America he would become a "Research Associate" and "Lecturer" at the Radiation Laboratory and at the University of California at Berkeley. From 1943 to 1946 he would act as group leader at the Los Alamos laboratory in the Manhattan District, "where the first atomic bomb was built". In 1946 he would return to Berkeley as a physics professor at the University of California.

His long CV also mentioned that⁵⁰:

Prof. Segrè has worked mainly in atomic and nuclear physics, and in elementary particles [...]. In atomic physics [he had conducted] studies on forbidden lines, on the phenomena presented by orbits with large quantum numbers, and the quadratic Zeemann effect. In the field of molecular rays, one of his works [...] [was] at the basis of important methods invented by Rabi and his school. With Fermi he wrote an important work on hyperfine structures. Until 1934 Segrè was mainly concerned with atomic, molecular and theoretical problems. In 1934 he began his nuclear research, working with Fermi, Amaldi, Rasetti, D'Agostino and Pontecorvo in the study of artificial radioactivity produced by neutrons. In 1935 he was one of the discoverers of slow neutrons. In Palermo, with Professor C. Perrier he discovered the first artificial chemical element [...]. In Palermo he also began other nuclear studies and in particular with Prof. Artom, important physiological applications of the then still new method of radioactive tracers⁵¹.

The presentation of his CV continued with the further discoveries he made in America and in Italy and ended by mentioning that he had married Elfriede Spiro, who died in 1970, and with whom he had three children: Claudio, Amelia Terkel and Fausto⁵².

Pietro Nastasi wrote about his first impressions of Palermo:

The impact with the new work environment was hardly exciting. Accustomed to the great scientific dynamism of the group in Rome and by now part of the international circuit of the most advanced physical research, it must have dismayed him to find an Institute with an elderly assistant, only one technician and very few students. His first objective was therefore to provide the Institute with a minimum of adequate equipment for nuclear physics research. The second was to

⁴⁸ Ivi.

⁴⁹ Commission resolution of 22 April 1942; ivi.

⁵⁰ Cfr. His CV can be found in the Archivio storico dell'Università degli Studi La Sapienza (henceforth ASURS), Archivio Generale, Serie fascicoli personale docente, Fascicolo Emilio Segrè, AS10162. I thank Tommaso Dell'Era for having told me about the presence of the file at the Sapienza University in Rome.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² It should moreover be specified that in 1959 Segrè would be awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics. In an article in "Il Giornale" on 23 May 1975, it was announced that the following Sunday, the chancellor of the University of Pavia would award him the "matricola d'onore" and the "Minerva d'oro" in an honours ceremony in the Aula Fosciana. Ibidem.

increase the number of assistants: he found them in the Sicilian Mariano Santangelo (1908-1970), and in two researchers from Pisa, Bernardo Nestore Cacciapuoti (1913-1979) and Manlio Mandò [...]. At the same time, Segrè had the university advertise for a post in Theoretical Physics, and in 1937 Gian Carlo Wick (1909-1992) from Turin also arrived in Palermo. Ultimately, just two years after his arrival, Segrè had succeeded in taking the department in Palermo towards a less peripheral position, with a group of quality researchers [...]. The same year 1937 marks the discovery of *technetium*, made by Segrè and Perrier. [Then] Segrè turned to Camillo Artom to study together the possibility of using P32 obtained from Berkeley samples for the study of phospholipid metabolism, which we have already mentioned. With the expulsion of Segrè and Artom, this fruitful, intense period of interactive research was destined to end⁵³.

Segrè had requested and obtained limited application of the racial laws as a result of his Fascist merits. In a note without a date or signature, but with a stamp dated 6 July 1943, it was written that he had obtained the requested measure together with his son, by extension of the benefits already granted to his father, Abramo Giuseppe, who was a Fascist from before the March on Rome. Segrè had also been a Fascist since 1921⁵⁴. In reality, his father and son Claudio had already been granted limited application of the racial laws on 7 December 1939; later, his brother Marco, his attorney, would ask again for this treatment to be extended also to his wife⁵⁵. His first letter was in fact dated 25 March 1939⁵⁶. Enrolled in the PNF from 1 April 1921 to 14 February 1939, when he was expelled as a Jew, Emilio Segrè had been a reserve artillery lieutenant, as well as director of the Physics Institute at the University of Palermo and physics assistant at the University of Rome. He had lived in Palermo for about two years and later in Rome, at Corso Vittorio Emanuele 229⁵⁷. He emigrated to San Francisco, California, in November 1938⁵⁸.

Returning to Italy in 1974, he was assigned the chair of Nuclear Physics at the University of Rome⁵⁹.

Information regarding the *richieste di discriminazione* presented by Camillo Artom and Maurizio Ascoli is extremely limited. Artom's name appears in a list containing applications "rejected due to undeserving conduct". Next to it was written: "Contrary, for political faults, since he belonged to the Anti-fascist Association (Italia Libera)".⁶⁰

Camillo Artom was born in Asti in 1893⁶¹, the son of Vittorio and of Gemma Pugliese⁶². Enrolled in Medicine, at the University of Rome, he would later graduate in Padua on 5 April 1917 "with top marks and distinction". In 1921 he was awarded a scholarship that for some time allowed him to attend the University of Frankfurt. In 1923 he spent a period of study in Amsterdam and in the same year obtained a post as an untenured lecturer of Physiology in Messina⁶³. He would later become an assistant at the Chair of Physiology of the University of Messina from 1 January 1920 to 31 January

⁵³ Cfr. his *Le leggi razziali del fascismo e la loro applicazione a Palermo*, cit., pp. 30-31. In reality the author obtains this information from A. Russo, *L'affermazione della fisica palermitana nel panorama scientifico nazionale, 1935-1970*, in Pietro Nastasi (a cura di), *Le scienze chimiche, fisiche e matematiche nell'Ateneo di Palermo*, «Quaderni del Seminario di Storia della Scienza», n. 7, 1998, pp. 167-193 (particularly pp. 169-178).

⁵⁴ In ACS, Fascicoli personali Ministero Interno, Direzione Generale Demografia e Razza, Busta 251.

⁵⁵ See letter of 12 July 1940 of the prefecture of Rome to the Ministry of the Interior stating that Marco Segrè di Abramo sought limited application of the racial laws to his brother Emilio; *ivi*.

⁵⁶ *Ivi*. However, Emilio Segrè, in an earlier letter of 28 February 1939, had written to the Consulate of Italy in San Francisco, California, to file a *richiesta di discriminazione*, believing he possessed all the legal requirements for the purposes of being granted the benefit in question.

⁵⁷ Cfr. Letter of 12 July 1940, cit.

⁵⁸ The information is in a letter from the Prefect of Rome of 29 July 1939 to the Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General for Demography and Race; *ivi*.

⁵⁹ Cfr. Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, *ad vocem*. Furthermore, the fact of his residence in Palermo also emerges from the *Elenco nominativo degli ebrei (stranieri ed italiani) residenti a Palermo*, cit.

⁶⁰ Cfr. ACS, Ministero degli Interni, Direzione generale demografia e razza (1938-1943), Busta 6.

⁶¹ The year of his birth is in Pietro Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali del fascismo e la loro applicazione a Palermo*, cit., p. 27.

⁶² Cfr. Marriage certificate dated 14 March 1934; in ACS, Ministero della pubblica istruzione. Direzione generale dell'istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 21.

⁶³ Cfr. Pietro Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali del fascismo e la loro applicazione a Palermo*, cit., p. 27.

1925 and at the University of Palermo from 1925 to 1930⁶⁴. He would be professor of Biological Chemistry at the University of Palermo from 1927-1928, 1928-1929 and 1929-1930 and full professor of Physiology in Cagliari from 1 December 1930, where he would also teach Biological Chemistry. On 1 December 1933 he would be promoted to full professor⁶⁵. Here he would remain until 28 October 1935, while from the following day he would be employed at the University of Palermo, until 14 December 1938, when he was dismissed from service due to the racial laws⁶⁶. He was transferred to the chair of Physiology of Palermo after the decision of the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery of the University of Palermo on 27 May 1935 at the request of Artom on the 20th of that same month⁶⁷. Then:

Forced to leave the chair as a result of the 1938 racial laws, he moved to the United States the following year. His reputation as “the leading Italian biochemist of the time” earned him the position of professor of Biochemistry and head of the department, at the Wake Forest School of Medicine (N.C.). In 1941 Artom moved to Winston-Salem (N.C.) and the “Bowman Gray School of Medicine”, where he remained until his retirement in 1961. In 1963 he was made an “emeritus” and continued to work and study until his death. Artom’s research concerns lipid metabolism. In particular, he studied the absorption of fats in food, their metabolism in the liver and their presence in the artery walls, substantially helping to build a body of fundamental knowledge to prevent arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries). In 1933, together with one of his students (Lorio Reale), he had demonstrated that monoglycerides and diglycerides are formed in the digestion of fats. But he is above all remembered, together with his assistants, as one of the first Italians to use radioactive isotopes in the study of intermediary metabolism⁶⁸.

Maurizio Paolo Ascoli, son of Annibale and of Ida Levi, born in Trieste on 14 July 1876, was baptized on 15 January 1920⁶⁹. He had won the selection procedure for the post in Medical Pathology in Catania in 1910, where he would be a temporary professor from 1910 to 1914, and a full professor from 1914 onwards⁷⁰. One of the three shortlisted for the post in Clinical Medicine at the University of Messina, he would refuse the professorship. Instead, by unanimous vote he was assigned the chair of Medical Pathology at the University of Palermo, where he was to teach in 1920 and 1921. He would later move back to Catania⁷¹, staying there until 1929, and then back to Palermo.⁷²

In the report that attested to his move from the chair of Special Medical Pathology to that of Clinical Medicine, on 16 October 1927⁷³, he wrote:

Prof. Maurizio Ascoli is a well-known and appreciated scholar who contributes effectively to enhancing Italian Science; he is a true driving force of scientific investigation; expert teacher, with in-depth knowledge of patients, he brings together the qualities of a clinician and a researcher. His widespread professional success, which is extremely positive for a clinician, has never compromised his passion for research [...]. Taken as a whole, his scientific production and that of his numerous pupils [...], contains original work, worthy of particular note; in the field of immunity, his research on

⁶⁴ Regarding his experience as an assistant in Palermo, cfr. the letter from the Minister of Education of 10 March 1939 to Camillo Artom; *ivi*.

⁶⁵ Cfr. the appointment order of the Minister of Education; *ivi*.

⁶⁶ Cfr. On his service in Messina, Cagliari and Palermo, cfr. certification from the Minister of Education of 7 March 1939. The documentation also includes Artom’s dismissal order; *ivi*.

⁶⁷ *Ivi*.

⁶⁸ Cfr. Pietro Nastasi, *Le leggi razziali del fascismo e la loro applicazione a Palermo*, cit., p. 28.

⁶⁹ Cfr. Archivio della Gran Corte Arcivescovile di Catania, 21 dicembre 1938; in ACS, Ministero della pubblica istruzione. Direzione generale dell’istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 22.

⁷⁰ With regard to the fact that he had become a full professor in 1914, see letter of the Minister of Education to the Rector of Palermo of 19 July 1949; *ivi*.

⁷¹ Cfr. Report by the Director of the Secretariat of the University of Catania on Ascoli’s move from the chair of Special Medical Pathology to that of Clinical Medicine; undated; *ivi*.

⁷² Giorgio Israel, Pietro Nastasi, *Scienza e razza nell’Italia fascista*, cit., p. 259.

⁷³ Letter from the Minister of Education to the Chancellor of the University of Catania; in ACS, Ministero della pubblica istruzione. Direzione generale dell’istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 22.

precipitins, and on the meiostragmic reaction, which have led to the development of extensive literature confirming his theories in Italy and abroad. Isoagglutinin research; his name is in particular associated with the meiostragmic reaction.⁷⁴

It then continued by listing Ascoli's research in the field of Clinical Medicine⁷⁵.

He was a scholar “of great fame”, one of the leading experts on paludism, who around 1938 was considering setting up a study centre for the treatment of malaria⁷⁶.

But also for him, on 14 December 1938, his hopes of continuing an academic career were dashed⁷⁷:

According to the new laws, he could only treat Jewish patients, but in practical terms, in Palermo, this would have meant withdrawing from the profession. He therefore continued to work “clandestinely”. Of course, he had to resign from two prestigious city clubs, the “Vela”, and the “Lauria”. He was old, alone, and was not allowed to have “Aryan” domestic staff [...]. The violence suffered and experienced by Ascoli was – like that of Fubini and all Jewish intellectuals – of a psychological nature: being forced to abandon his research and teaching, seeing his name disappear from congresses and scientific publications and seeing himself ignored, for example by an obscure medical journalist in a Palermo newspaper who, writing about the use of adrenaline in the treatment of malaria, succeeded in attributing merit for the research to a long list of doctors, all students of Ascoli who, never mentioned in the article, had been the true discoverer of this method⁷⁸.

On the other hand, in the meeting of 9 March 1939, the commission set up to decide on the granting of Fascist merits, having considered also his *richiesta di discriminazione*, gave a favourable opinion, considering Ascoli a “distinguished scientist and distinguished chemist”⁷⁹.

The reinstatement of teachers expelled from the University of Palermo

While we do not know what happened to Alberto Dina after World War II, it is certain that the other four professors expelled from Palermo were invited by the Ministry of Education to take back the posts from which they had been dismissed in 1938. Maurizio Ascoli and Mario Fubini immediately accepted reinstatement, while Camillo Artom and Emilio Segrè, who, as we saw, had emigrated to America after their dismissal, at first refused, and then requested it later. For the former it would be too late, while the latter would join the staff of Rome's Sapienza University in 1974.

At the request of Mario Fubini, on 13 November 1945, the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Palermo unanimously decided to promote him to full professor⁸⁰:

In this capacity [*as a professor in Palermo*] he held an excellent course on ‘Literary criticism in the eighteenth century and Beretti’; a scholar of extensive culture and of fine sensitivity, he was followed with particular interest and profit by young people, who appreciated his sharp wit and evident passion. He was removed from his post by the unfavourable racial laws, to the chagrin of his colleagues and the disappointment of the young. The Faculty votes for his promotion to full professor⁸¹.

However, already on 5 February 1946, the Minister of Education informed the chancellor of the University of Palermo that the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Trieste on 3 December the

⁷⁴ Cfr. Report by the Director of the Secretariat of the University of Catania on Ascoli's move from the chair of Special Medical Pathology to that of Clinical Medicine, cit.

⁷⁵ Ibidem.

⁷⁶ Cfr. Giorgio Israel, Pietro Nastasi, *Scienza e razza nell'Italia fascista*, cit., p. 259.

⁷⁷ The dismissal order is in ACS, Ministero della pubblica istruzione. Direzione generale dell'istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 22.

⁷⁸ Giorgio Israel, Pietro Nastasi, *Scienza e razza nell'Italia fascista*, cit., p. 259.

⁷⁹ Cfr. ACS, Ministero degli Interni, Direzione generale demografia e razza (1938-1943), Busta 6.

⁸⁰ The request was communicated by the interested party to the then Minister of Education Arangio Ruiz, who on 1 September 1945 forwarded it to the chancellor of the University of Palermo, to ask him to forward it to the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy. In ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e Corsi, Serie Scienze, Sezione Facoltà di Lettere, Fascicolo: Anno 1937-1940. Prof. Fubini Mario (Lett. E filos.), Serie Docenti: Lingue e lett. Italiana, Busta 1502.

⁸¹ The resolution is in *ivi*.

previous year had decided to appoint him to the chair of Italian Literature at that University, a proposal which the Ministry approved⁸².

From 1948 onwards Fubini would teach in Milan⁸³. In 1965 he was appointed to the chair of the History of Criticism at the Scuola Normale di Pisa. Member of the Accademia dei Lincei since 1953, he was also editor of the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* and contributor of *Il Ponte*, editor of the “Classici italiani” series of Utet and Chairman of the Committee for the National Edition of the works of Ugo Foscolo⁸⁴.

With a letter dated 18 September 1945, the Minister of Education Arangio Ruiz informed the chancellor of Palermo that under the regulations issued by the Italian government the ministry proposed Segrè’s reinstatement at the University of Palermo. He was then asked where he was living, if he would like to be reinstated and if he still had Italian citizenship. On 26 September Bavaria told him that Segrè was in California and that it was therefore impossible for him to answer the questions he had been asked⁸⁵. Segrè had not responded to this first request from the ministry, and consequently on 5 July 1946, with a new telegram forwarded to the Italian embassy in Washington and to the Ministry of Education, the Foreign Ministry urged him to express his opinion on the issue. After a new letter of 19 April 1948, on 23 August the Minister of Education thanked the Foreign Minister for finally finding out that Segrè had no intention of resuming his job in Italy⁸⁶.

Also Artom, as has been said, reacted negatively to the first invitation from the new democratic Italy to resume his post. In a telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 17 February 1945 to the Ministry of Education, the former reported that the State Department had sent “the well-known invitation of the Government” to “the university professors residing in the United States” on 7 December 1944. As far as regarded Artom, he had sent a reply which was attached. The answer expressed a clear refusal⁸⁷:

May I acknowledge with thanks your letter of December 7, 1944 [...]. As I see the present situation in Italy, the essential problem there, is to meet the elementary needs of a destitute population in a country altogether ravaged by the war. I think that only persons who can directly contribute to that problem [...] should return to Italy today. On the other hand, for the resumption of a certain degree of activity in universities and professional schools, the staff there at the present time is probably sufficient. Accordingly, while I would be happy to have a part, to the best of my ability and qualification, in the relief and rehabilitation work in Italy, I have reached the conclusion that for the time being I should decline the offer of resuming my former work and position there [...]⁸⁸.

Maurizio Ascoli, meanwhile, the first to be reinstated, had already returned to the chair of General and Semiotic Clinical Medicine at the University of Palermo in accordance with an allied proclamation of 26 July 1943, with effect from that same day⁸⁹.

The stories of Artom and Segrè are linked by the decisive issue of the requirement of citizenship at the time of reinstatement, citizenship which both had lost following expatriation to America. However, as will be seen, various solutions would be proposed for the problem, and, indeed, in the case of Artom the decision was reached to reject the reinstatement request that he had made on 27

⁸² Ivi.

⁸³ Enciclopedia Treccani, *ad nomen*. The Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani does not provide precise details on the dates of his teaching appointment in Milan.

⁸⁴ Ivi.

⁸⁵ Arangio Ruiz’s letter is in ASUPA, Sezione Facoltà, Scuole e Corsi, Serie Scienze, Sottoserie Docenti, Fascicolo Anno 1935/45. Segrè Emilio, Serie Docenti. Facoltà Scienze, Materia: Fisica, Busta 1593; Baviera’s reply is in ASURS, Fascicolo Emilio Segrè, AS10162.

⁸⁶ The correspondence is in ASURS, Fascicolo Emilio Segrè, AS10162.

⁸⁷ In ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Direzione generale dell’istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 21.

⁸⁸ Ivi.

⁸⁹ In ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Direzione generale dell’istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 22.

July 1949. In the letter, Artom explained to the Minister of Education that he had been unable to resume service in Italy earlier due to his wife's poor health: "The undersigned Prof. Camillo Artom, full professor of Physiology at the University of Palermo [*he wrote*], removed from service in 1938 under the racial laws, respectfully asks to be reinstated in service in the Italian universities in accordance with Legislative Decree no. 1033 [...]"⁹⁰.

It was written that the reinstatement of the Jews residing in Italy was automatic, while that of Jews who had emigrated abroad was subordinated to the possession of citizenship and de facto to individuals' request to return to their previous jobs. In part, this statement must be denied, because while it is true that the requirement of citizenship played a significant role in the reactions of the Italian government, the reintegration of Jews living abroad was also called for by the competent institutions; of course, it was then up to those directly involved to accept or reject the request. It has already been pointed out that Artom was not reinstated due to a restrictive reading of the rules on the possession of Italian citizenship for the purposes of reinstatement, while it has not yet been underlined that it was precisely the Italian government that issued an ad hoc measure, which de facto definitively closed the doors on a university career for him in Italy⁹¹.

In the request for reinstatement Artom had appealed to article 1 of Law 1033/1948, which allowed reinstatement also to those who had lost Italian citizenship after the issue of the first regulations regarding resumption of work by the Italian government. On the other hand, the law of 5 January 1950, which amended this article, established that "the reinstatement of university professors who have lost Italian citizenship can take place only if they lost this requirement prior to the entry into force of Royal Decree Law no. 9 of 6 January 1944 [...]"⁹². All this was explained to Artom in a letter from the Minister of Education of 30 March 1950, namely that since it had emerged that he had lost his citizenship after the issue of the first reinstatement rules and had acquired US citizenship on 13 December 1946, he could no longer be given tenure at an Italian university⁹².

What is perplexing is that it was precisely the Minister of Education Guido Gonella, and precisely in reference to Artom's request for reinstatement, who asked the President of the Council of Ministers not to proceed with his reinstatement, since Decree Law 1948/1033 was still to be ratified in Parliament. The passing of this legislation would provide the opportunity to specify the real rationale of Law 1033/1948 and to eliminate any misunderstanding. The 1950 law would, in fact, only be introduced later⁹³.

Segrè, on the other hand, would benefit from a much simpler ploy: he had applied for reinstatement to the Ministry of Education on 5 January 1972:

The undersigned Prof. Emilio Segrè, born in Tivoli on 1 February 1905, applies to be reinstated as a university professor with effect from October 1972. Attached is a birth certificate, a curriculum vitae and a list of publications. The archives of this Ministry should contain the documents relating to the Italian part of his career⁹⁴.

On 16 April 1973, the Ministry of Justice submitted to the Ministry of Education its reflections on the question of whether Article 9 of Law no. 555 of 13 June 1912, "which provides [for] the

⁹⁰ In ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Direzione generale dell'istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 21.

⁹⁰ Ivi.

⁹¹ I refer to the essay by Francesca Pelini, *Appunti per una storia della reintegrazione dei professori universitari perseguitati per motivi razziali*, in Iaria Pavan, Guri Schwarz (ed.), *Gli ebrei in Italia tra persecuzione fascista e reintegrazione postbellica*, Giuntina, Firenze, pp. 120-121.

⁹² In ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Direzione generale dell'istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 21.

⁹² Ivi.

⁹³ Letter of 31 October 1949; *ivi*.

⁹⁴ The letter is in ASURS, Fascicolo Emilio Segrè, AS10162.

reacquisition of Italian citizenship by those who – having previously lost it – [*had accepted*] state employment” was applicable to the Segrè case⁹⁵:

More precisely, it asks if the reinstatement provision may be adopted as soon as a useful place is found (with the acquisition of citizenship as a consequence) or whether the most recent legislative provisions that require Italian citizenship as a preliminary condition for employment by the state make the preventive completion of procedures for obtaining citizenship indispensable⁹⁶.

In 1912, the ministry wrote, it was indeed controversial whether or not Italian citizenship was necessary to be employed by the state, since there was a lack of clear rules in this regard. The requirement of Italian citizenship for the purpose of becoming a state employee would in fact be introduced only after the rise to power of Fascism, through the enactment of specific laws, then resumed after World War II. “After all [*it concluded*], the general principle whereby Italian citizenship is required to be eligible for state employment is implicitly contained in Article 51 of the Constitution. [*And nevertheless*] it is not considered [...] that the general rules requiring the possession of Italian citizenship at a time prior to that of the appointment to state employment have weakened the aforementioned provision of art. 9 of law no. 55 of 1912”⁹⁷:

In fact, this provision – which considers a particular category of subjects, those who previously had Italian citizenship and then lost it – retains its force as a special rule, and therefore has effect as an exception to the aforementioned general regulations. On the other hand, we should highlight the limited scope of this derogation, which consists solely of shifting the need to satisfy the requirement of Italian citizenship from a time prior to appointment to the moment of appointment itself⁹⁸.

And also:

In essence, therefore, when a former Italian citizen is appointed by the state, given the intimate and indissoluble connection between the appointment and its acceptance by the interested party, and since acceptance of the post requires the possession of Italian citizenship, the general principle established by the Constitution and the law, whereby only those who are Italian citizens may become state employees, may be deemed to have been respected. With the same act, the Administration in fact on one hand expresses its will to allow a former Italian citizen to reacquire citizenship, and on the other hand gives him a state post with an appointment that becomes effective insofar as acceptance by the concerned party implies that it concerns a person who has reacquired Italian citizenship. In conclusion, this Ministry believes that this University Administration may, in application of the aforementioned provision of art. of the aforementioned law of 1912, proceed directly with providing for the reinstatement of Prof. Segrè. This provision, as stated above, becomes effective with its acceptance by the latter, which in turn allows him to reacquire Italian citizenship⁹⁹.

And so Segrè was reinstated.

The doubling-up of chairs

Among the cases analysed, only in one is it clear who replaced a professor expelled as a result of the anti-Semitic laws. The case in point is Sebastiano La Franca, born in Partinico, in the province of Palermo, on 24 May 1874, who died in April 1947, at the age of seventy-three. When Maurizio Ascoli’s tenure was revoked in 1938, La Franca had taken his place in the chair of Clinical Medicine, at the proposal of the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁵ The date of the letter is not clearly legible and that specified in the text may therefore not be correct; *ivi*.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁰ Cfr. the note of 23 June 1946 from the Head Office of Higher Education to the Minister of Education; in ACS, Ministero della pubblica istruzione. Direzione generale dell’istruzione universitaria. Divisione prima. Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari. III versamento 1940 – 1970, Busta 256.

Even before the Italian government issued specific rules to regulate the status of teachers to be reinstated and the fate of those who had replaced them, the order of Charles Poletti of 26 July 1943, which – as has been said – reinstated Ascoli, provided for the return of the chair of Clinical Medicine to its original holder and the attribution to La Franca of the chair of Special Medical Pathology¹⁰¹. In other words, a practice began to emerge that only with the introduction of Legate-issued Legislative Decree 1945/238 would find a clear legislative form: those reinstated were reassigned their original chairs, while their substitutes were given either a chair in the same subject, but in another faculty, or a chair in a similar subject in the same faculty. In some cases it was possible to double-up the chair itself by establishing a supernumerary post¹⁰².

Despite the dictates of the law, La Franca would never cease to request the return of the chair of Clinical Medicine while preserving his assignment to Medical Pathology, appealing to the possibility of a supernumerary course. This solution would in any case have had merely “moral” significance, given that he had already completed the years of service necessary to retire and that he had been kept on as an exception for the 1946-1947 academic year¹⁰³. Also on 9 February 1946, he asked the Minister of Education to be assigned the chair of Clinical Medicine: “It is a desire [he specified], of a purely moral nature, expressed by a distinguished Professor, who honoured the Chair for many years. He is requesting a purely honorary title. And I believe that you, Minister, can grant it to him”¹⁰⁴.

He had been requesting this for some time, however; already on 2 August 1943 he had written to the chancellor of Palermo:

My move, in 1938, after the chair was left vacant, took place according to the procedures and with the guarantees of the laws of the Italian State, by unanimous vote of the Faculty [...] without any causal link with the racial laws [...]. It was a fundamentally and formally normal step in my career, nor can my rights now acquired due to my appointment as a general medical clinician be cancelled by relegating me to the post and teaching duties of a pathologist. I was the first to occupy the post of Clinical Medicine, and it benefited from my work and sacrifices. The reinstatement of Ascoli cannot take place to my detriment, but only independently of my situation¹⁰⁵.

This example shows in all its crudeness the conflicts that could emerge between the reinstated teachers previously expelled under the anti-Semitic laws and those who had replaced them. It however also shows that these conflicts did not necessarily have to be resolved to the detriment of the original holders of the returned chair. It has in fact been suggested that over the course of time, and increasingly, the practice took hold whereby the reinstated teacher was given a supernumerary post, leaving the old chair to his substitute¹⁰⁶. The cases analysed are too few to allow us to clearly establish the conduct of the Italian State, but it is certain that the story of Emilio Segrè, which happened *the other way round*, provides further food for thought.

The chair he was given was in fact supernumerary and would be reabsorbed at the first possible opportunity:

The supernumerary post established pursuant to the previous article will be used for the reinstatement, as a full professor, of Emilio Segrè, previously professor of experimental physics at the University of Palermo and dismissed from service for racial reasons as from 14 December 1938, who reacquires Italian citizenship pursuant to Article 9 of Law no. 335 of 13 June 1912. The post will be reabsorbed upon termination of service or appointment at another university or other

¹⁰¹ Ivi.

¹⁰² See in particular article 20 of the law, also available online at: www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1945/05/26/045U0238/sg (accessed on 13 June 2019).

¹⁰³ Cfr. Note for his Excellency the Minister from the Head of the Universities Department Bianchini, undated, in which it was stated that La Franca had asked to be kept in service beyond 70 years of age, in accordance with Royal Decree Law no. 114 of 16 March 1944, which allowed him to remain in service until the 75th year of age, limited to the duration of the war.

¹⁰⁴ Ivi.

¹⁰⁵ Ivi.

¹⁰⁶ See in this regard Francesca Pelini, *Appunti per una storia della reintegrazione dei professori universitari perseguitati per motivi razziali*, cit., p. 133.

higher education institution of the teacher of the subject relative to the aforementioned post. The service provided at foreign universities by Professor Emilio Segrè will be assessed according to the methods envisaged under article 18 of Law no. 311 of 18 March 1938¹⁰⁷.

In a letter dated 14 December 1974, the chancellor wrote to the Ministry of Education and to the Directorate General of University Education that Emilio Segrè, “appointed temporary professor at this University, took up regular service on 1 November 1974”¹⁰⁸.

Epilogue

Although I was able to consult the lists of Jews surveyed in 1938, it was not possible for me to document in detail the cases of students expelled under the anti-Semitic laws, given the fact that much of the material, albeit available at the Historical Archive of the University of Palermo, where I looked for it, has not been inventoried. For the same reason it was not at the time possible to reconstruct the biographies of the non-teaching staff who may have been recorded in the census¹⁰⁹.

The effects of anti-Semitic laws were felt not only by those directly involved, but also by non-Jewish pupils. A case in point is that of Francesco Serio, who “in 1938, was forced to leave the Clinical Medicine department of the University of Palermo and to abandon all scientific research, because of the racial measures taken against his teacher and mentor, Maurizio Ascoli”¹¹⁰.

As we have seen, after the war the Italian State had been willing, despite the many difficulties, to reinstate the teachers who had been dismissed, and with the Allies there began a concerted attempt to purge the University of Palermo of Fascism, although this lost much of its momentum in the following years, as indeed would happen in the rest of Italy. Under Fascism, also in Palermo courses had been introduced such as *Military Culture*, *Biology of Human Races*, *Comparative Racial Demography*, *Comparative Political Economics*, *Corporative Law and Employment Law*.¹¹¹ But already with a provision of 8 November 1943:

addressed to the chancellors of the Universities of Palermo, Catania, Messina and Naples [...] Gayre ordered those universities to abolish the courses in *The History and Doctrine of Fascism*, *Corporative Law* and *Military Culture*, and to amend those subjects most obviously influenced by the ideology of the regime. The metamorphosis caused by the Allied intervention clearly marked a before and after for those subjects, also in terms of their names [...]¹¹².

With regard to the complex issue of defascistization in Palermo and Sicily, I refer to the text “*Italy in Transition*” by Enza Pelleriti; I limit myself to mentioning here the famous story of Giuseppe Maggiore, which has attracted so much attention in Italian historiography.

Full professor of Criminal Law at the Faculty of Law of the University of Palermo, he was accused of the apology of Fascism that transpired in his texts. In his book *La politica* there was also “a profoundly offensive judgment of American women”. Maggiore affirmed “that the way of life of the Anglo-Saxon women, in particular of American women, was based on the most absolute freedom in the various areas of private life, from the sexual sphere to the experience of sport, from the conception of divorce to the practice of abortion, and *exaggerated competition* with men in the world of work”. His condemnation of the United States was without appeal, because it was governed by a matriarchy. Even Franklin Delano Roosevelt attracted his criticism, as did his wife, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt,

¹⁰⁷ In ASURS, Fascicolo Emilio Segrè, AS10162.

¹⁰⁸ Ivi.

¹⁰⁹ I would in any case like to thank Alessandro Crisafulli and Daniela Lo Brutto for their helpfulness and professionalism, and for being enormously helpful in my research.

¹¹⁰ Cfr. Enza Pelleriti, “*Italy in transition*”, cit., p. 159.

¹¹¹ Cfr. Enza Pelleriti, “*Italy in transition*”, cit., p. 86.

¹¹² Ivi, p. 88.

whom he insultingly called a “slobbering monkey”. Here is how General Frank J. McSherry in the provision of 21 October 1943 motivated the removal of the Palermo criminal law scholar¹¹³:

He was undoubtedly a Fascist, doctrinaire and propaganda leader in university circles, and was the author of highly virulent books in support of Fascism and against the United States and Great Britain, and in general against democratic principles [...]; because of his extremely polemical intellectual activity he is not suited to hold a chair in any academic institution¹¹⁴.

For his part, on 16 December 1944, in his defence memoranda, Maggiore wrote that he had been appointed a university professor following two selection procedures at the University of Perugia, in 1921, and of Siena, in 1924, respectively being ranked first and the only candidate to be shortlisted. He had become a member of the PNF on 28 October 1925, but was never a member of a Fascist action squad, a militant in the *Fasci di combattimento*, or involved with the party either prior to or during the March on Rome. He had never held party positions; only in July 1943 would he be appointed, without his knowledge, chairman of the National Institute of Fascist Culture, a position that he had abandoned when the regime collapsed on 25 July. After 8 September, asked to take back his post, he would refuse to do so. He did not deny his past intellectual adherence to Fascism, but his apology for the regime had always taken place outside university: “I was an exegete of the Fascist doctrine as a thinker, not a professor,” he observed. He claimed that in his writings he had always expressed an independent judgment, opposing Fascism when he had deemed it necessary. For example, he had written: “There is a difference between Italian racism and German racism, which only the grossest intellectual myopia can pretend to ignore”¹¹⁵:

Race is not a myth for us, but a historical reality. I would never entertain the thought of creating a new sacrament, of dismantling the doctrine of the Church, of overthrowing the old God to sanctify a new religion. No sensible Italian would dream of resorting to the exaggerations and paradoxes of a Woltmann or a Chamberlain ... No Italian would dream of endorsing the signature of a Rosemberg [sic] when he offers the 20th century a new racist theology and even a new Olympus. Our racism, which is not at all subversive of the religious tradition of the Italian people, is only political [...] We only want to claim the originality, solidity, and historical destiny of the Italian race (*Razza e fascismo*, Palermo 1939, p. 195)¹¹⁶.

And with regard to the Jews he had observed:

What policy should be adopted? A defensive policy, which is a policy of separation. We should separate ourselves from the Jews and not persecute them, nor proclaim a crusade of hatred and revenge against them. As Christians, as Fascists, we will not fight hatred with hatred, but will only raise a barrier between them and our civilization. We will draw a straight line between our race and theirs. We may, in a moment of sentimentalism, call the Jew a brother, but we will never call him a compatriot¹¹⁷.

In 1947 the President of the Council of Ministers allowed the appeal filed by the criminal law scholar against the order for his retirement, and consequently Maggiore was fully reinstated in his teaching post¹¹⁸.

[Translated by Simon Michael Tanner]

¹¹³ Ivi, pp. 99-100.

¹¹⁴ Ivi, p. 100.

¹¹⁵ ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Professori universitari epurazione 1945-1947, Busta 19.

¹¹⁶ Ivi.

¹¹⁷ Ivi.

¹¹⁸ Cfr. Enza Pelleriti, “*Italy in Transition*”, p. 101.

**List of the Italian and foreign Jews of Palermo
registered by the Palermo National Archive
(Cabinet of the Prefecture of Palermo, Envelope 736)**

*Tabella degli ebrei italiani e stranieri censiti e residenti a Palermo
(Archivio di Stato di Palermo [ASPA], Gabinetto, Prefettura, Busta 736)*

First and last name	Nationality	Profession	Address
1) Adler Josef fu Gerson	Tedesca	Commerciante	Via Nicolò Garzilli 26
2) Adler Rosa fu Gerson	Tedesca	Commerciante	Via Nicolò Garzilli 26
3) Adler Ruth fu Carlo	Tedesca	Dottoressa in medicina	Via Dante 310
4) Ancona Enrico di Giulio	Italiana	Impiegato	Via Salamone Marino 16
5) Artom Camillo di Vittorio	Italiana	Professore universitario	Via Ruggero Settimo 78
6) Ara Bianca di Marco	Italiana	Casalinga	Via Ruggero Settimo 78
7) Ascoli Maurizio fu Annibale	Italiana	Professore universitario	Via Regina Margherita 25
8) Bergmann Emanuele fu Girolamo	Italiana	Ingegnere	Via Emerico Amari 57
9) Norsa Pia fu Achille	Italiana	Civile	Via Emerico Amari 57
10) Bergmann Elsa di Emanuele	Italiana	Civile	Via Emerico Amari 57
11) Birubbaum Wolfgang fu Simone	Tedesca	Vive di rendita	Via Giacomo Leopardi 1
12) Castelnuovo Lucandro Elio fu Leone	Italiana	Commerciante	Via I. Federico 14
13) Senigaglia Anna fu Bruto	Italiana	Civile	Via I. Federico 14
14) Castelnuovo Lina di Lucandro Lelio	Italiana	Professoressa	Via I. Federico 14
15) Castelnuovo Leone Arrigo di Lucandro	Italiana	Ing. Impiegato	Via I. Federico 14
16) Citone Crescenzo fu Elia	Italiana	Commerciante	Via Roma 94
17) Perugia Leonina fu Angelo	Italiana	Commerciante	Via Roma 94
18) Citone Arrigo di Crescenzo	Italiana	Dottore medico chirurgo	Via Roma 94
19) Citone Laura di Crescenzo	Italiana	Professoressa	Via Roma 94
20) Chasis Iankiel di Piuchos	Polacca	Medico presso Ospedale Civico	Ignoto
21) Chasis Chaja Freida di Piuchos	Polacca	Ignoto	Via Cannela 24

22) Cohn Alberto fu Selig	Tedesca	Impiegato	Via Lincoln 104
23) Wurzinger Bella di Sigismondo	Tedesca	Casalinga	Via Lincoln 104
24) Cohn Anita di Alberto	Tedesca	Casalinga	Via Lincoln 104
25) Cukierman Leib di Chain	Polacca	Studente	Via Cannella 24
26) Di Nola Ettore Graziano	Italiana	Impiegato	Via Cavour 68
27) Resteghini Albina fu Luigi	Italiana	Casalinga	Via Cavour 68
28) Ellinger Roberto di Enrico	Tedesca	Agente viaggiatore	Piazza Giuseppe Verdi
29) Fener Nola di Jacob	Tedesca	Ignoto	Piazza Giuseppe Verdi
30) Ellinger Pietro di Roberto	Tedesca	Ignoto	Piazza Giuseppe Verdi
31) Fener Carlo di Jacob	Tedesca	Ignoto	Piazza Giuseppe Verdi
32) Enriquez Raffaele fu Daniele	Italiana	Rappresentante	Via P. Belmonte 58
33) Fabisch Walter di Hermann	Tedesca	Medico	Via 12 Gennaio 18
34) Ellinger Elisabetta fu Alessandro	Tedesca	Ignoto	Via 12 Gennaio 18
35) Finkestein Chaim Daurel fu Isidoro	Polacca	Rappresentante	Via Fond. Oreteia 23
36) Fruchter Ignazia di Simone	Polacca	Medico	Via Villareale 54
37) Rabinovicinte Schura di Ilia	Polacca	Ignoto	Via Villareale 54
38) Fubini Mario di Riccardo	Italiana	Professore universitario	P. Cabodo Mondello Valdese
39) Milman Malca fu Moisè	Italiana	Medico Cefalù	Via Vittorio Emanuele 69 bis
40) Goichman Maria fu Boris	Rumena	Casalinga	Via Vittorio Emanuele 69 bis
41) Milman Brana fu Moisè	Rumena	Casalinga	Via Vittorio Emanuele 69 bis
42) Milman Boris di Aizing	Rumena	Studente	Via Vittorio Emanuele 69 bis
43) Ghersefeld Mosè di Gregorio	Italiana	Commerciante	Via G. Cusmano 44
44) Waintrand Mari fu Gregorio	Italiana	Casalinga	Via G. Cusmano 44

45) Ghersfeld Ester di Mosè	Italiana	Ignoto	Via G. Cusmano 44
46) Ghersfeld Leopoldo di Mosè	Italiana	Ignoto	Via G. Cusmano 44
47) Hirsh Paul di Siggrid	Tedesca	Chimico	Via Emerico Amari 146
48) Hoffmann Alessandro fu Enrico	Tedesca	Impiegato	Via Villafranca 54
49) Cuccagna Olga fu Giusto	Tedesca	Casalinga	Via Villafranca 54
50) Hoffmann Giusto di Alessandro	Italiana	Militare	Via Villafranca 54
51) Hoffmann Eva di Federico	Tedesca	Ignoto	Via Villafranca 54
52) Hoffmann Giulio fu Enrico	Tedesca	Impiegato	Via XII Gennaio 32
53) Richter Clara fu Noa (forse Noé)	Tedesca	Ignoto	Via XII Gennaio 32
54) Horn Salomone Giovanni di Oscar	Tedesca	Esportatore di agrumi	Viale Regina Margherita 19
55) Porges Ericha di Friedrich	Tedesca	Ignoto	Viale Regina Margherita 19
56) Horn Peter Michele di Salomone	Tedesca	Ignoto	Viale Regina Margherita 19
57) Horn Leone Tommaso di Salomone	Tedesca	Ignoto	Viale Regina Margherita 19
58) Porges Stella di Friedrich	Tedesca	Ignoto	Viale Regina Margherita 19
59) Jung Guido fu Mario	Italiana	Commerciante	Via Lincoln 73
60) Raudegger Natalia fu Benedetto	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Lincoln 73
61) Jung Rita fu Mario	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Lincoln 73
62) Jung Ugo fu Mario	Italiana	Commerciante	Via Lincoln 73
63) Weiller Gisella fu Arturo	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Lincoln 73
64) Jung Vera di Ugo	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Lincoln 73
65) Jung Mario di Ugo	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Lincoln 73
66) Lanes Joseph di Salò	Polacca	Commerciante	Via Napoli 50
67) Lewsztein Josef di Boris	Polacca	Studente medic.	Via S. Ufficio 10
68) Lombroso Elena fu Davide	Italiana	Casalinga	Corso Pisani 110
69) Ovazza Mario fu Elia	Italiana	Ingegnere	Corso Pisani 110
70) Ovazza Elda fu Elia	Italiana	Dottoressa	Corso Pisani 110
71) Ovazza Gino fu Elia	Italiana	Ingegnere	Corso Pisani 110

72) Ovazza Regina fu Emilio	Italiana	Casalinga	Corso Pisani 110
73) Ovazza Ugo fu Elia	Italiana	Impiegato Stato	Corso Pisani 110
74) Lucacer Menase fu Zusi	Italiana	Medico chirurgo	Via XX Settembre
75) Lipschutz Anna in Milazzo di Davide	Italiana	Medico chirurgo	Piazza Verdi 28
76) Lipschutz Paolo di Sioma	Svedese	Studente	Piazza Verdi 28
77) Lang Rosa fu Abramo	Tedesca	Casalinga	Via Lincoln 104
78) Wurzinger Marta fu Sigismondo	Tedesca	Impiegata	Via Lincoln 104
79) Landmann Auguste di Alverto	Tedesca	Pittrice	Via S. Uffizio 10
80) Mausner Federico di Adolfo	Tedesca	Impiegato	Via Fond. Oretea 23
81) Diamand Rosalia di Isidoro	Tedesca	Ignoto	Via Fond. Oretea 23
82) Mausner Aldo Rodolfo di Federico	Tedesca	Ignoto	Via Fond. Oretea 23
83) Menzel Regina di Abramo	Tedesca	Ignoto	Via Fond. Oretea 23
84) Mattersdorfer Felice fu Antonio	Italiana	Impiegato	Via Roma 299
85) Sachs Elsa di Carlo	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Roma 299
86) Mattersdorfer Ernesta di Felice	Italiana	Ignoto	Via Roma 299
87) Meyerhof Hans fu Gustavo	Tedesca	Esportatore	Via Alberigo Gentile n. 2
88) Neumann Roberto di Jacob	Tedesca	Medico	Via Emerico Amari 46
89) Penser Isidoro di Giuseppe	Polacca	Medico	Via Celso 79
90) Pkilippison Jennay di Wolff	Italiana	Casalinga	Via N. Garzilli 26
91) Pkilippison Giovanna di Wolff	Italiana	Casalinga	Via N. Garzilli 26
92) Karpeles Sofia fu Wolff	Francese	Casalinga	Via N. Garzilli 26
93) Rappeport Simone di Rubino	Polacca	Medico	Vicolo Castelnuovo 19
94) Rosemberg Otto fu Max	Tedesca	Antiquario	Via Beati Paoli 8

95) Rosenstingl Arnaldo di Carlo	Ungherese	Bibliotecario	Via Enrico Albanese 94
96) Bloch Rutta di Ermanno	Ungherese	Medico chirurgo	Via Enrico Albanese 94
97) Rosenstingl Emanuele di Arnaldo	Ungherese	Ignoto	Via Enrico Albanese 94
98) Rosenthal Julius fu Mortiz	Tedesca	Dentista	Via Messina 36
99) Rosenzwey Nona di Aron	Polacca	Casalinga	Viale delle Palme
100) Schwarz Egon di Alfredo	Tedesca	Rappresentante	Via Dante 33
101) Schachter Moisè di Isacco	Rumena	Guida Interprete	P. Ranchibile 6
102) Re Giovanna fu Pasquale	Rumena	Corrispondente	P. Ranchibile 6
103) Schachter Beniamino di Moisè	Rumena	Ignoto	P. Ranchibile 6
104) Schachter Sabina Vittoria di Moisè	Rumena	Ignoto	P. Ranchibile 6
105) Schachter Josef di Isacco	Rumena	Studente in legge	P. Ranchibile 6
106) Segrè Emilio di Giuseppe	Italiana	Professore universitario	Via A. Borrelli 50
107) Seiden Massimiliano di Adolfo	Polacca	Studente in medicina	Vicolo Castelnuovo n. 19
108) Szarefstein Sigfrid di Jacob	Polacca	Ignoto	Via S. Ufficio 10
109) Szarefstein Jacob Bev di Sigismond	Polacca	Commerciante	Via S. Ufficio 10
110) Soria Giorgio fu Roberto	Italiana	Ispettore Ass.	Via I Federico 18
111) Stossler Benno di Ermanno	Tedesca	Negoziante di agrumi	Via E. Amari 146
112) Wolff Else fu Giacobbe Giov.	Tedesca	Impiegato	Via XII Gennaio n. 3
113) Wolf Elisabetta fu Maurizio	Tedesca	Traduttrice	Via Marchese Ugo 4