

## Appendix A

# Program for Venetian Jewish Schools

Comunita Israelitica di Venezia  
Decreto 30 Ottobre 1930–IX N. 1731  
Decreto 19 Novembre 1931–X N. 1561

Venezia, le 1936–1937 193\_\_

Via Vittorio Emanuele 3833 – Tel. 24–705

N.° di Prot. \_\_\_\_\_

### **Classe I° - 5 ore settimanali.**

#### *OGGETTO:*

Lettura dell'ebraico nel carattere quadrato vocalizzato.

Apprendimento del nome delle lettere e delle vocali.

Apprendimento a memoria del primo verso dello Scemà delle principali benedizioni sui cibi, e di quella 'al netilàth jadaim.

Apprendimento del significato delle frasi apprese a memoria.

Apprendimento di un piccolo numero di vocali che si trovino nelle frasi apprese a memoria, e che riguardino oggetti di uso comune. Formazione di frasi coi vocaboli appresi.

Facili narrazioni di fatti, aneddoti leggende del periodo a cui si riferisce il Pentateuco, mettendone in evidenze il significato morale e tutti quegli elementi che possono servire a raggiungere lo scopo di cui alla lettura "a" dell'introduzione.

Note.: quanto alla lettura, si deve tendere a una lettura sicura e corretta, anche se non corretta. Gli alunni debbono avere idea del doppio valore del nome e dello scemà ma non si può pretendere che essi siano del tutto sicuro nel distinguerli praticamente, ed è assolutamente inutile far loro apprendere regole complicate che essi non potrebbero ritenere, nè di volta in volta applicare.

**Classe II° - 5 ore settimanali.***OGGETTO:*

Esercizi di lettura. Lettura spedita e corrente dello Scemà della 'amidà dei giorni feriali.

Scrittura ebraica corsiva.

Apprendimento a memoria delle benedizioni relative alle principali mizvoth e cenni sui precetti a cui esse si riferiscono.

Apprendimento di vocaboli e formazioni di frasi.

Gli alunni debbono essere in grado di scrivere senza vocali\_ le frasi composte coi vocaboli a loro noti e di leggere\_ tali frasi scritte senza vocali.

Facili nozioni grammaticali date occasionalmente.

Facili narrazioni come *in prima*, ma tenendo conto del maggiore sviluppo degli alunni. L'insegnante ritornerà sulle narrazioni già disposte nella classe precedente e ne aggiungerà delle nuove, tratte dai vari libri biblici.

Cenni su alcuni dei principali doveri: rispetto ai genitori ed ai maestri: la preghiera, il Sabato, notizie occasionali sulle feste ed i digiuni.

Numerazione ebraica da uno a dieci.

**Classe III° - 8 ore settimanali.***OGGETTO:*

Esercizi di lettura. Lettura spedita e corrente delle benedizioni del jozer e del 'arvith ha mazòn la nearim della cheriath Sce mà 'al ha=mittàh la=nearim Elohai nesciamah è delle berahoth seguenti.

Elementi di grammatica ebraica: articolo determinativo, pronomi personali, prefissi ך, ם, ן, ן, ן.

Numerazione dal 10 al 100. Verbo regolare qàl.

Formazione del plurale dei nomi. Stato assoluto e costruito. Suffissi possessivi.

Note. L'insegnante si limiterà a dare della vocalizzazione piu' regolare, e per i nomi, si limiterà a quelli di tipo Scir, Torà. Farà però notare agli alunni che in certi casi vi sono dei cambiamenti senza dar loro le regole complicate secondo cui essi avvengono.

Vocaboli e frasi composte con essi. Nelle frasi sarà fornita l'occasione di applicare le regole grammaticali apprese. L'insegnante dovrà addestrare gli alunni a vocalizzare esattamente le parole e le frasi, dando loro

occasionalmente i suggerimenti per quanto essi non possono rilevare dalle regole apprese.

Esposizione ordinata del contenuto narrativo della Bibbia fino alla istituzione della monarchia.

Cenni sui vari doveri quotidiani e su quelli relativi alle feste e ai digiuni: date, motivi e riti. Cenni sul calendario ebraico.

Lettura in traduzione italiana e spiegazione di alcuni fra i più importanti e significativi passi delle Tefillot.

Traduzione letterale di alcuni facili passi di Tefillot dei quali gli alunni già conoscono il significato attraverso la lettura di cui al paragrafo precedente (Scemà, berahoth, scelte dalla 'amidah feriale).

### **Classe Quarta - 8 ore settimanali.**

#### *OGGETTO:*

Lettura spedita delle Zemiroth da baruh sce-amar a jantabbach e della 'amidoth dei sabati e delle feste.

Elementi di grammatica ebraica: caratteristiche delle varie forme verbali e loro uso: Numerazione da 100 in poi.

Vocaboli e frasi con le norme di cui alle classe precedente.

Esposizione ordinata del contenuto narrativo della Bibbia dalla istituzione della Monarchia in poi.

Avvenimenti più importanti sino alla distruzione del secondo Tempio. Cenni sui principali doveri: cibi proibiti, culto domestivo (qiddusch havdalah Sèder) lettura pubblica della torah e dei Profeti: norme più importanti dell'ufficiatura pubblica.

Traduzione di passi delle tefillot (passi scelti dal jozer 'arvith qualche facile salmo, 'amidah dei Scialòsh negalim)

Traduzione di facili passi narrativi della torah.

**Classe V° - 8 ore settimanali.**

*OGGETTO:*

Lettura spedita del libro di tefillah. Orientamento generale nel libro stesso.

Elementi di grammatica ebraica: caratteristiche principali delle varie classi dei verbi irregolari.

Vocaboli e frasi, con le norme date per le classi precedenti. Cenni sui principali personaggi ed avvenimenti della storia d'Israele in esilio (Mishnah e Talmud, Geonima, Giuda Levita, Maimonide: R.S.I. fioritura spagnola: persecuzioni del medio evo, espulsione dalla Spagna; Comunità italiane nel medio evo e nel rinascimento, i Ghetti la Rivoluzione francese, l'emancipazione, l'assimilazione, il sionismo, la rinascita).

Cenni sulle principali norme sociali (schiavitù, anno sabbatico, giubileo, peàh, doveri di beneficenza) e famigliari milah pidjonbar mizrah.

Ripetizione generale sui doveri.

## Appendix B

# Letter from the President of the Jewish Community of Venice to the Director of Education in Venice

Comunita' Israelitica di Venezia  
Venezia, le \_\_\_\_\_ 193\_\_  
N° 221 Prot.

ILL. Mo SIGNOR PROVVEDITORE AGLI STUDI  
PER IL VENETO VENEZIA

Questa Comunità Israelitica, nel domandare che per l'autorevole interessamento della S.V., la propria scuola Elementare venga dalla competente Superiore Autorità scolastica riconosciuta come sede die same a tutti gli effetti legali, si onora di esporre quanto segue:

Per l'Art. L del R° Decreto 30 Ottobre 1930 N° 1731 le Comunità Israelitiche, compresa quella di Venezia (come dall'elenco Comunità in R°Decreto 2 Settembre 1931 N° 1279) sono *corpi morali* i quali, fra l'altra, (capoverso predeto Art. 1) devono curare l'istruzione e l'educazione religiosa, promuovere l'ebraica cultura.

Ora in Venezia da tempo immemorabile esiste una scuola maschile e femminile che fino all'anno scorso limitava l'insegnamento alle materie religiose. (lingua, storia e catechismo ebraici). Dall'anno scorso, a similiaza ed in conformità di quanto é avvenuto ed avviene in tutte le altre principali Comunità del Regno, anche nella nostra, per rispondere ad un sentito bisogno di questa popolazione ebraica, si é costituita una scuola elementare limitata per l'anno scolastico corrente alle prime tre classi, cui pero succederanno con regolarità le altre classi a completamento dell'intero corso elementare obbligatorio.

In scuola é stata regolarmente approvata dal 3° primo Ispettore Scolastico della seconda circoscrizione con nota N° 416 in data 27 Settembre 1932.

Detto Sig. Ispettore ed il Sig. Direttore Centrale delle scuole del Comune hanno visitato ed ispezionato i locali, interessandosi di tutto l'andamento della Scuola; e sia per quanto concerne le esigenze igieniche come per quanto si riferisce alle vigenti norme in materia didattica, i sunnominati hanno espresso agli organi direttivi del nostro Istituto il Loro vivo compiacimento e la Loro piena approvazione.

L'orario é quello delle Scuole Comunali; i libri di testo sono quelli approvati dallo Stato per le Scuole Elementari dei Culti ammessi; i programmi furono esaminati ed approvati dal R° Ispettore; gli Insegnanti attuali (come quelli che abbiamo in animo di assumere nel prossimo anno) sono cittadini Italiani e debitamente forniti del diploma di abilitazione Magistrale.

In particolare le due Maestre attualmente in funzione sono vincitrici di concorsi Regionali.

La nostra Scuola dunque, al pari di quelle delle altre Comunità, come vuole la lettera e lo spirito della Legge precitata, deve considerarsi quale parte integrale dell'Ente "*Comunità*", corpo morale legalmente riconosciuto dallo Stato. Perciò in considerazione a questa sua bene definita figura giuridica, in considerazione al fatto che essa vuole perseguire le finalità che si propone la Scuola Elementare della nuova Italia voluta dal Duce, e per la esistenza in essa delle altre particolari condizioni suggerite dalle disposizioni igienico didattiche, domandiamo, come abbiamo detto in principio, che il nostro Istituto venga riconosciuto quale sede di esami (quest'anno limitatamente alle prime tre classi), a tutti gli effetti legali.

Con osservanza

P. Il Presidente della Comunità Israelitica di Venezia  
Venezia, 21 Marzo 1933 XI

## Appendix C

# Statute of the Venetian Zionist Group

### Italian Text

#### *Statuto del Gruppo Sionistico Veneziano*

1. E' costituito in Venezia il Gruppo Sionistico Veneziano aderente alla Federazione Sionistica Italiana e, per tramite di questa, all'Organizzazione Sionistica Mondiale, sulla base del Programma di Basilea e delle risoluzioni dei Congressi Sionistici Mondiali ed Italiani.
2. Il programma di Basilea così si esprime: "Il Sionismo mira alla creazione di una Sede Nazionale per il Popolo Ebraico in Palestina garantita dal diritto pubblico."

Tale Programma, che è base intangibile del movimento Sionistico, ha trovato nella Dichiarazione di Balfour del 2 Novembre 1917, in quelle successive di Pichon e di Sonnino, nell'accordo di S.Remo (24 Aprile 1920) e nella decisione del 24 Luglio 1922 della Lega delle Nazioni la sua sanzione internazionale ed il principio della sua realizzazione.

Scopo del Gruppo è quello di cooperare all'attuazione delle secolari aspirazioni d'Israele ed alla ricostruzione di una Palestina ebraica, tenendosi in diretto contatto ed in rapporti di disciplinata ed attiva subordinazione verso la Federazione Sionistica Italiana.

In particolare il Gruppo dovrà curare: (a) L'approfondimento della coscienza sionistica dei Soci, mediante riunioni periodiche, conferenze, lezioni di lingua ebraica, sulla storia del Sionismo e sui problemi sionistici, recensioni orali ecc. = (b) La propaganda dell'idea Sionistica tra gli Ebrei di Venezia. (c) La propoganda tra i non Ebrei e la difesa della dignità, del nome e degli Ideali ebraici.

- (d) L'attuazione nell'ambito della propria circoscrizione dei deliberati del Consiglio Federale. (e) Il fiancheggiamento delle azioni particolari dei Fondi generali Sionistici come, il Keren Kajemeth ed il Keren Hajessod.
3. Fanno parte del Gruppo coloro, uomini e donne, i quali accettino il programma sionistico e siano pronti a sostenerlo, come pure accettino il presente Statuto e dichiarino di voler uniformarsi alle decisioni del Gruppo, firmando regolare domanda di ammissione.
  4. I soci pagano una quota annuale di L.30 = (ivi compreso l'importo dello Shekel e del contributo Federale) da corrispondersi in due rate scadenti in Tishri e Nissan.

### *Il Consiglio*

5. Il Gruppo è retto da un Consiglio di cinque Membri, eletto dall'Assemblea Generale dei Soci, e che dura in carica un anno.
6. Sono elettori tutti i Soci del Gruppo, eleggibili tutti coloro tra i Soci che saranno alla data delle elezioni in regola con gli obblighi verso il Keren Hajessod.
7. Tutti i componenti del Consiglio, scaduti sono rieleggibili. Il Consiglio elegge nel proprio seno un Presidente, un vice-Presidente, un Segretario-Cassiere.
8. Fanno parte di diritto del Consiglio con voto consultivo, il Presidente in carica del Fondo Nazionale e quello della Commissione del Keren Hajessod che venga eventualmente costituita.
9. Al Consiglio può di volta in volta aggregarsi uno o più Soci per lo svolgimento di mansioni speciali o per la costituzione di speciali commissioni. Tali soci, o nel caso di Commissioni, i capi di queste, prendono parte con voto consultivo alle riunioni del Consiglio esclusivamente per quanto riguarda il lavoro speciale loro affidato.
10. Il Consiglio si riunisce una volta al mese e complessivamente non meno di 10 volte all'anno. Esso promuove, cura e coordina lo svolgimento dell'attività sionistica in conformità del presente Statuto e di quello della Federazione Sionistica Italiana, come pure delle disposizioni che vengano impartite dagli Organi Centrali del movimento.
11. Qualora un terzo del Consiglio sia dimissionario, il Consiglio deve convocare un'Assemblea ed indire nuove elezioni.
12. Il Consiglio convoca le Assemblee ordinarie e straordinarie; organizza riunioni periodiche di soci, possibilmente ogni 15 giorni, ma non meno di una volta al mese, e comunica a nome del Gruppo



veneziano a mezzo del suo Segretario alla Federazione Sionistica Italiana quanto riguarda il Sionismo locale.

*Le Assemblée*

13. I Soci si riuniscono in Assemblée Generale Ordinaria una volta all'anno, per esaminare la gestione dell'anno decorso ed eleggere il nuovo Consiglio.
14. Ad iniziativa del Consiglio del Gruppo, come pure a richiesta di almeno 2/5 dei Soci del Gruppo possono essere convocate delle Assemblée Generali Straordinarie.
15. Le Assemblée Ordinarie e Straordinarie per avere valore deliberativo debbono essere convocate almeno 5 giorni prima e sono valide qualunque sia il numero dei Soci intervenuti. Ad analoga richiesta di almeno un terzo dei Soci avanzata non oltre 9 giorni prima della data fissata devono venire informati tutti i Soci con i limiti di tempo fissati nel presente articolo per la convocazione dell'Assemblée.
16. Le decisioni dell'Assemblée vengono prese a maggioranza assoluta salvo la riserva contenuta nell'Art. 17 del presente Statuto.
17. Il presente Statuto può essere modificato da una Assemblée regolarmente convocata con decisione presa alla maggioranza di almeno 2/3 dei Soci presenti. Le modificazioni de introdursi eventualmente non devono contrastare con le disposizioni dello Statuto Federale. Di qualunque modificazione allo Statuto il Consiglio in carica è tenuto a dare comunicazione al Consiglio della Federazione Sionistica Italiana attraverso il Segretario di questa entro 8 giorni dalla data dell'Assemblée. Il Consiglio Federale può non riconoscere l'avvenuta modificazione qualora essa contrasti con una qualunque della disposizioni dello Statuto Federale.
18. Il Gruppo non può essere sciolto qualora vi si oppongano 8 Soci. In caso di scioglimento, i fondi e tutto quanto è patrimonio del Gruppo, vanno di diritto alla Federazione Sionistica Italiana.

**English Translation**

1. It is established in . . . Zionist group . . . members of the Italian Zionist Federation and the World Zionist Organisation, based upon the Basle manifesto and upon the resolutions of the World Zionist Congress and the Italian Congress.
2. The Basle manifesto states that: "Zionism aspires to the creation of a national homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine based upon

basic human rights.” This is the inalienable foundation upon which the Zionist movement is based and is reflected in the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917 as well as in the successive declarations formed by Pichon and Sonnino, in the Treaty of S. Remo of 24th April 1920 and the declaration of the League of Nations on 24th July 1924, which marked the beginning of the realisation (of this aspiration) through the application of an international sanction.

The objective of the group is to collaborate in the actualisation of this ancient aspiration and the reconstruction of a Jewish Palestine by maintaining direct contact with the Italian Zionist Federation to which it is subordinate.

The group must be responsible for (a) raising the level of Zionist awareness among its members through the organisation of regular meetings, conferences, Hebrew language classes, the teaching of Zionist history and related issues, oral reviews, and so on; (b) the dissemination of Zionist propaganda among the Jews within the Venetian Jewish community; (c) outside propaganda directed at non-Jews aimed at defending Jewish dignity, reputation, and ideals; (d) the actualisation within the community of decisions taken by the federal councils and the contribution to federal finances; (e) the support of particular Zionist funds such as Keren-Hajesed and Keren Kayemet.

3. The members of the groups, both men and women, are obliged to accept and support the Zionist manifesto and this statute. They must accept the decisions taken by the group, the Directive Assembly of the Italian Zionist Federation, and the World Zionist Organisation.

Upon joining the group, each member is obliged to sign a declaration stating his or her acceptance and support of the present statute as well as the Basle manifesto. Any action undertaken by members must be based upon the decisions and measures taken by the World Zionist Congresses, Italian Congresses and the Directive Assembly of the Zionist movement.

4. Members are obliged to pay an annual subscription of not less than 17 lire that will include a contribution to the provincial party as well as *shekel* donation, an annual payment of two lire.

*The Council*

5. The group is directed by a Council composed of five members, elected by the General Assembly and will serve for one year.
6. All group members who have made their contribution to the Keren Hajesod are entitled to elect Council members.
7. Council members are eligible for reelection. The Council will choose a President, a Vice President, and a Treasurer.
8. The President of the local Commission of National Funds and the President of the Commission of Keren Hajesod will form part of the Council's directive and have the right to an advisory vote.
9. From time to time, group members may be co-opted onto the Council in order to execute specific tasks or form part of a special working party. These members will be accorded the right to an advisory vote during Council meetings held to discuss issues relating to the work carried out by these members of commissions.
10. The Council will meet once a month and not less than ten times a year. The Council is responsible for the promotion and coordination of Zionist activities as set out in this statute and the statute of the Italian Zionist Federation as well as that of the central organs of the movement.
11. In the event that one third of the Council members are obliged to resign, the Council must call an assembly in order to hold new elections.
12. The Council may call ordinary and extraordinary assemblies, it organizes regular meetings for its members—it is recommended that these meetings take place fortnightly and should not meet less than once a month. The local group secretary is obliged to update the Italian Zionist Federation regarding the state of local Zionism.

*The Assemblies*

13. Members are obliged to attend the Annual General Meeting in which the previous year's management will be examined and a new Council elected.
14. An extraordinary General Meeting may be called by the group Council or by two-fifths of the group members.

15. In order to have deliberative validity, ordinary and extraordinary Assemblies must meet at least one week before General Meetings irrespective of the number of participants. At the request of one third of the members, that must be put forward not less than four days before date established for the Assembly, the date may be changed and a new date proposed that must be communicated to all members within the time limit established in this clause for the convocation of a new Assembly.
16. Decisions taken in the Assembly must receive an absolute majority vote except in circumstances outlined in article 17 of this statute.
17. The present statute may be modified during a regular Assembly by a majority vote of two-thirds of the members. The modifications may not contravene the Federal Statute. The Secretary of the Council of the Italian Zionist Federation must be notified within eight days of any modifications accepted by the Assembly. The Federal Council is not obliged to accept the modifications if they contradict any clause of the Federal Statute.
18. The group cannot be dissolved if more than eight members oppose the motion. In the event of dissolution, the funds and any other possessions belonging to the group will pass to the Italian Zionist Federation.

## Appendix D

# Letter to the Zionist Federation of Italy Regarding the Inauguration of Hebrew University

### Italian Text

Organizzazione e Propaganda Interna  
Milano 23 Marzo 1925

AI GRUPPI SIONISTICI ITALIANI,

Come già è stato comunicato, il 1° Aprile prossimo si inaugurerà a Gerusalemme l'Università ebraica che è destinata ad essere il faro luminoso della nostra cultura, ed un centro intellettuale tra più importanti del mondo.

E' desiderio di questa Federazione che le Associazioni aderenti convochino in tale fausta ricorrenza i compagni di fede delle singole città, ricordino loro l'opera che il sionismo sta svolgendo in Palestina, specialmente del punto di vista culturale, richiamandoli ad una più completa comprensione dei problemi ebraici dell'ora.

Non dubito che ovunque saranno organizzate manifestazioni nel senso desiderato. E gradirò ricevere notizia dettagliate in proposito.

Qualora poi si desiderasse la designazione di qualche oratore per l'occasione, prego di volermi telegrafare ed io mi farò premura di provvedere.

Coi migliori saluti ebraici  
IL CONSIGLIERE DELEGATO  
Avv. GIUSEPPE OTTOLENGHI

### English Translation

Zionist Federation of Italy  
Organization and Internal Propaganda  
Milan, 23rd March 1925

TO: ITALIAN ZIONIST GROUPS

You have already been notified that the inauguration of the Hebrew University, in Jerusalem, will be held on April 1st. The objective is to establish an intellectual centre, second to none, for the promotion of our culture.

It is the wish of this Federation that Associations in each city will convene its members to celebrate this joyful and important event that reflects the work that Zionist movement is carrying out in Palestine on a cultural sphere. It is our hope that, in celebrating (this momentous event), the members of the various Associations will be brought to a more complete understanding of the contemporary problems besetting Jews.

I have no doubt that suitable demonstrations will be organised and would appreciate being in receipt of all relevant information.

Please telegraph me if you require a speaker for the occasion and I shall do my best to find the appropriate person.

With best Jewish wishes,  
Avv. Giuseppe Ottolenghi  
Delegated Councillor

## Appendix E

# Letter to the Zionist Organization Regarding Group Activities

### Italian Text

ORGANIZZAZIONE SIONISTICA  
UFFICIO DI ROMA  
TELEFONO 20-720  
INDIRIZZO TELEGRAFICO: "MISRAD, ROMA"  
Via Treviso 31, ROMA (50)  
29 Adar I 5687  
3.III.1927

Ai Gruppi

Con nostra circolare del 17 ottobre 1926 pregavamo i gruppi sionistici a voler comunicare a questo Ufficio alcuni dati che dovevano offrire materiale necessario per il lavoro alla Commissione incaricata di imprimere Sionismo in Italia una vita più intensa. Solo due Gruppi hanno con gran premura corrisposto a questa nostra richiesta; sicchè finora la Commissione non ha potuto farsi un'idea dell'estensione e della vita del Sionismo in Italia. sappiamo che i nostri amici hanno lodevolmente lavorato in questi mesi e che vari Gruppi hanno dimostrato una interessante attività. Desideriamo però che un contatto più vivo si stabilisca fra loro e noi. Ci permettiamo perciò di pregare gli egregi Colleghi a volerci trasmettere:

1. i nomi e gli indirizzi dei soci di ciascun Gruppo
2. la nota dei componenti del Consiglio
3. l'indirizzo preciso della loro sede
4. un breve sintetico rapporto delle loro attività (sedute, riunioni, conferenze, discussioni ecc.)

II. Richiamano poi alla mente dei Consigli la necessità di provvedere al collocamento degli scekalim. L'adesione che anche i non sionisti si preparano a dare alle opere di rinascita palestinese e l'apporto di entusiasmo e di danaro che essi son disposti ad offrire, aumentano la responsabilità dei sionisti e c'impongono maggiore intensità di opere. Noi dobbiamo dimostrare che il Sionismo è forte e cosciente dei suoi doveri, e che aumentano d'anno in anno le conquiste di spirito ch'esso finora è andato facendo. Collo scekel noi contiamo sulla forza del Sionismo collo scekel dimostriamo la nostra volontà di dare ad Israele una Sede in cui si crei qualche cosa di ebraico per l'eternità.

Preghiamo quindi i Gruppi di porsi all'opera di collocamento degli skalim con amoroso zelo e di darci relazione di quanto mensilmente raccoglieranno.

III. Uscirà a giorni, a cura di questa Federazione, il discorso tenuto a Boston dal Presidente dell'Organizzazione Sionistica. Il discorso, che offre un'idea acuta e precisa della situazione sionistica in Palestina e nel mondo è offerto da noi a tutti quanti si preoccupano delle sorti d'Israele. Chiediamo quindi ai Gruppi che vogliono dirci quante copie dell'opuscolo sono desiderate per la diffusione gratuita a sionisti e a non sionisti della loro città, affinché possiamo fare la spedizione relativa.

Cogliamo l'occasione per raccomandare ai nostri egregi Colleghi la diffusione delle pubblicazioni sionistiche edite in italiano negli ultimi anni. Nessun sionista deve ignorare la storia, l'ideologia, le conquiste del nostro movimento. Segnaliamo fra le opere fondamentali che non debbono mancare sul tavolo di nessun sionista le seguenti:

1. Pinsker e Achad Ha am: Autoemancipazione ebraica
2. Teodoro Herzl: Lo Stato ebraico
3. Baruch Hagani: La vita di Teodoro Herzl
4. Herzl, Nordan, Weizmann, Sokolow: Il Sionismo
5. Nordau: La tragedia dell'assimilazione
6. Ch. Weizmann: Saggi e discorsi
7. Achad-Ha am: Al Bivio
8. Rundt e Bermann: Palestina, impressioni di viaggio
9. M. Buber: Sette discorsi sull'Ebraismo
10. Brawer: Il ripopolamento della Palestina con gli Ebrei
11. Memoriali presentati dall'Organizzazione Sionistica alla Commissione dei Mandati presso la lega delle Nazioni (1924)

Nella fiducia che ciascun Gruppo vorrà aiutarci validamente nella nostra opera, ci è gradito inviare i nostri più grati e fraterni saluti.



## English Translation

ZIONIST ORGANISATION  
ROME OFFICE  
29TH Adar I 5687  
3.III.1927

To Groups:

On 17th October 1926 a circular letter was distributed requesting Zionist groups to send relevant data required by the Commission established in order to imbue a greater spirit into the Zionist movement in Italy. To date, only two groups have responded to this request and therefore the Commission has not been able to implement the project to enlarge the Zionist movement and intensify its activities. We are aware of the fact that our friends have worked impressively hard over the last few months and many groups have been involved in promoting interesting activities. In an attempt to establish closer contact between ourselves and the group members, we request our honourable colleagues to send us the following information:

1. The names and addresses of group members.
2. The names of Council members.
3. The exact address of the Council headquarters.
4. A brief report of activities (sessions, meetings, conferences, discussions, and so on).

We would like to remind Council members to take care of the investment of *shekalim*. The participation of non-Zionists who are prepared to lend their support to the work of recreating a Jewish homeland through financial contributions and emotional commitment, increases the responsibility of Zionists and adds a greater sense of intensity to the project. We must show that Zionism is both strong and aware of its obligations and that, with each year, the spiritual conquest to which we are committed gathers momentum.

The strength of the Zionist movement can be assessed through financial contributions, with each shekel we demonstrate our willingness to establish a Jewish homeland in Israel in which Judaism will flourish for eternity.

We request each group to zealously commit itself to the collection of *shekalim* and inform us how much money is realised each month.

The speech, given by the President of the Zionist organisation in Boston and edited by this Federation, will be sent out today. The speech gives a detailed description of the exact nature of Zionism in Palestine and in the rest of the world. It will be distributed to all those who are preoccupied by

the destiny of Israel. We ask each group to let us know how many copies of the speech they require. The copies will be provided free of charge to both Zionists and non-Zionists in each city.

We take this opportunity to ask our honourable colleagues to distribute the Zionist publications that have been translated into Italian during the last few years. No Zionist can ignore the history, ideology and successes of our movement. A list of recommended reading includes the following titles:

1. Pinsker and Achad Ha'am, "Jewish Self-Emancipation"
2. Theodore Herzl, "The Jewish State"
3. Baruch Hagani, "The Life of Theodore Herzl"
4. Herzl, Nordeau, Weizman, Sokolow, "Zionism"
5. Nordeau, "The Tragedy of Assimilation"
6. Ch. Weizmann, "Essays and Speeches"
7. Achad Ha'am, "At the Crossroads"
8. Rundt and Bermann, "Palestine, Impressions of a Voyage"
9. M. Buber, "Seven Conversations about Judaism"
10. Brawer, "The Jewish Re-population of Palestine"
11. Memoirs presented by the Zionist Organisation to the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations (1924/5/6)

In the belief that each group is committed to our work we send our heartfelt thanks and fraternal salutations.

# Notes

## Introduction

1. See Zimmerman, ed., *The Jews of Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule*; Zuccotti, *The Italian and the Holocaust*; Gunzberg, *Strangers at Home*; or the last book of Michele Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy*.
2. See the interesting work of Toscano and Sofia, *Stato Nazionale ed Emancipazione Ebraica*, and Toscano, "Gli Ebrei Italiani e la Prima Guerra Mondiale"; Sofia, "Assimilazione e Autocoscienza Ebraica nell'Italia Liberale"; Stille, *Uno Su Mille*; Molinari, *Ebrei in Italia*; and several others.
3. Bedarida, *Ebrei d'Italia*; Di Porto, "Dopo il Risorgimento al varco del '900, 19–41; Canepa, "Considerazioni sulla Seconda Emancipazione e le sue Conseguenze 45–89; and Canepa, "Emancipazione, Integrazione e Antisemitismo Liberale," 166–706. Important works on the Italian Jewry under Fascism include De Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei Italiani sotto Il Fascismo*; Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*; Milano, *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia*; and Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*.
4. The most important Jew in Italian public life during the *Risorgimento* was Isaac Artom, who served as Cavour's private secretary and chief secretary in the Italian Foreign Office, and later in 1876 as senator. Other Jewish politicians were Leone Wollemborg, Minister of Finance from 1900 to 1903 and founder of the rural saving banks in Italy; General Giuseppe Ottolenghi, Minister of War from 1902 to 1903; Gabriele Pincherle, honorary President of the Council of State; and Ernesto Artom, diplomat and minister plenipotentiary since 1862. In 1907, Ernesto Nathan, a Jew, was elected mayor of Rome.
5. The Jew Aldo Finzi, who was for a long time Mussolini's right-hand man, suppressed an anti-Fascist rising in Milan and became Assistant Minister of Interior. Carlo Foa' was editor of the Fascist review *Gerarchia*; Guido Jung was for some years Finance Minister; while Margherita Sarfatti was one of Mussolini's favorites and collaborated with him in his journalistic work and later became his biographer.
6. Savaldi, *I campeggi ebraici*.
7. Webber, "Modern Jewish Identity," 74–85.

## Chapter 1

1. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, 23.
2. Della Pergola, "The Geography of Italian Jews," 93–128.
3. The constitutions of the Cisalpine Republic (which included the territories of Lombardy, Modena, Reggio, Bologna, Ferrara, Bergamo, Brescia, and Valtellina) of July 1797 and September 1798, and the constitution of the Roman Republic of March 1798 (the State of the Church), awarded each citizen and religion equal rights, providing legal recognition of these by the state. These can be found in decree 343 of the Constitution

- of the Roman Republic of 1798, or in decrees 354–394 of the Cisalpine Republic. Several years later, in October 1801, the Cisalpine Republic also awarded equal civil and political rights to all, except on matters of religion. This is addressed in decree 98, which states that each citizen can practice his religion, but only the Catholic religion can be practiced in public. A similar condition is found in decrees 117 and 1 of the Italian Republic of January 1802, which recognized Roman Catholicism as the state religion. Decree 13 of June 1802 of the Genovese Republic also presented the same principles. See Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, 427.
4. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, 443.
  5. *Ibid.*, 444.
  6. *Ibid.*, 446.
  7. *Ibid.*, 453.
  8. Della Pergola, “Precursori, Convergenti, Emarginati. Trasformazioni Demografiche degli Ebrei in Italia, 1870–1945,” 71.
  9. Della Pergola, “The Geography of Italian Jews,” 103.
  10. For example, in 1817, in Leghorn, 44 of the *carbonari* were Jews, many of whom were arrested and imprisoned by the police.
  11. The work of Giovine Italia was carried on most actively in Piedmont, where a group of Jews from Vercelli, led by a bookseller and a sausage-maker, were the most active agents for the distribution of its message. At Leghorn, an allied society, The True Italians (*I veri Italiani*) was formed and headed by two Jews, Ottolenghi and Montefiore, who were arrested for their activities. See Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, 457.
  12. See articles such as “Jews’ Social Status” in *Antologia* (Anthology) by Gabriele Pepe (1830) and in 1836 *Economic Researches on the Restrictions Imposed on the Jews* by the republican philosopher Carlo Cattaneo, and other similar articles, such as *Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians*, by Vincenzo Gioberti, or *Civil Emancipation of the Israelites*, by Massimo D’Azeglio, published in Florence in 1847. All are found in Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*.
  13. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, 469.
  14. Bedarida, *Ebrei D’Italia*, 92.
  15. In the eighteenth century, at Ferrara, instruction was obligatory up to the age of 13 if the children were educated privately and up to age 16 if they attended the communal free school. See Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, 363.
  16. Since 1564, in Mantua, there was a different academy of advanced studies that offered mainly scientific subjects, as the study of medicine allowed the student the option of being accepted to the medical faculty, where he was required to study a further six to seven years for the degree of magister and even of “doctor.” In the Faculty of Medicine in Padua, 80 Jews graduated as “magister” from 1519–1619, and 149 Jews completed their studies by 1721. See Milano, *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia*, 625.
  17. The communities in provincial towns began to decline after short-term growth at the expense of neighboring communities. Internal migrations were directed to the major Italian cities of this period: Trieste, Venice, Florence, Turin, and Rome. See Sabatello, *Social and Occupational Trends*, XL.
  18. See Franco Sabatello, *Op. Cit.*, LII.
  19. According to Roth, the release of their pent-up ability helped them to rise in many cases to the ranks of the bourgeoisie, or even the upper bourgeoisie, but only in very few cases, if any, into the so-called international plutocracy; see *History of the Jews of Italy*, 487.
  20. According to Roth, although the Italian Jews remained predominantly an urban group, the magnet of the countryside exerted a very strong influence on some of them. Even in the first half of the nineteenth century, Jews were responsible for introducing new methods

- of scientific agriculture in the former Venetian territories, now under Austrian rule. After the Emancipation the same tendency became apparent in Emilia (around Bologna) and Piedmont, where many outstanding families now invested their wealth in land. The fact that the International Institute of Agriculture, set up in Rome in 1905, owed its origin to the enthusiasm and devotion of American Jewish idealist David Lubin; the ready understanding of Italian Jewish statesman Luigi Luzzati, who enlisted the interest of the king, was symbolic; Roth, *The History of the Italian Jews of*, 486.
21. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the proportion of Jews employed in selected occupations in relation to the general Italian population employed in the same occupations was not parallel. Between 1901 and 1938 and between 1938 and 1965 the following trends were evident: (1) a smaller percentage of Jews in unskilled occupations (such as restaurant and hotel employees, service and domestic workers, etc.) compared with all workers in both periods, which resulted in a decreasing representation of Jews in these sectors; (2) a gradually decreasing overrepresentation of Jews in occupations such as salaried commercial agents, salesmen, and teachers between 1901 and 1965; (3) a rise in the overrepresentation of Jews in the civil service and the army between 1901 and 1938, whereas after 1938 their proportion not only fell, but became underrepresented; (4) a decrease in the proportion of overrepresentation of Jews in many professions between 1938 and 1965 following an increase in the preceding period, but still preserving a substantial overrepresentation; (5) a marked overrepresentation of self-employed in commerce (shopkeepers, peddlers, commercial agents) between 1901 and 1938, but significantly rising again between 1938 and 1965. Sabatello, *Social and Occupational Trends*, XXXII.
  22. Roth, *The History of Italian Jews*, 494–95.
  23. *Ibid.*, 511–12.
  24. Guido Fubini's book, *La Condizione Giuridica dell'Ebraismo Italiano dal Periodo Napoleonico alla Repubblica*, reported the similarities and differences between these two laws. The author wrote, "The Law of October 30, 1930, n° 1731, is the most relevant expression of an historical course, intended to re-establish the inequality of religion, and to return to a jurisdictional state." (56–57) The inequality of the religious affiliation was the first step toward an inequality of citizens, which will eventually be established in the legislation of the Racial Laws.
  25. Roth, *The History of Italian Jews*, 527, 528, 529.
  26. *Ibid.*, 476.
  27. Zuccotti, "Italy's Jews" in *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 24.
  28. Dante Almansi, a prefect before the march on Rome, served as a vice chief of police under Emilio De Bono until his forced retirement after the legislation of the racial law. Maurizio Rava was a vice governor of Libya, governor of Somalia, and a general in the Fascist militia. Renzo Ravenna, a lawyer friend of Italo Balbo and former *squadrista* (the name given to fanatical Fascist thugs who in 1920 and 1921 roamed the countryside in armed groups beating Socialist workers and peasants) was the *podestà*, or appointed mayor, of Ferrara for 15 years. Ugo Foà, captain in World War I, winner of a silver medal for military valor, lawyer, and Fascist party member after 1932, served as magistrate from 1939 until, like Almansi, he was forced into retirement. Giorgio Del Vecchio, an eminent professor of international jurisprudence and philosophy, became the first Fascist rector of the University of Rome in 1925. Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 26.
  29. As Meir Michaelis writes in his article, "Gli Ebrei Italiani sotto il regime Fascista dalla Marcia su Roma alla caduta del Fascismo" (*The Italian Jews under Fascist Regime, from Rome's March to the Fall of Fascism*), the anti-Jewish campaign of the Fascist press reached its culmination with the Turin trial of March 30, 1934, in which 17 anti-Fascists,

most of them Jews, were convicted. Jews with assimilationist tendencies gave vent to their patriotic zeal by setting up an appropriate weekly organ, *La Nostra Bandiera*, (Our Banner) to differentiate themselves from the Zionist Jews. In *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 1962–66.

30. Eucardio Momigliani, for example, one of the original Jewish “sansepolcristi” abandoned Fascism almost immediately, proclaimed his opposition, and founded the anti-Fascist *Unione Democratica*. Pio Donati, an anti-Fascist Jewish deputy, was twice beaten and finally driven into exile, where he died alone in 1926. Other anti-Fascist Jews in exile in the 1920s and early 1930s included Claudio Treves, Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani, Leone Ginzburg, Vittorio Foà, and Carlo and Nello Rosselli. The Rosselli were killed in France in 1937 by Fascists. Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 25.
31. Roth, 504.
32. “Luzzato was a man of exceptional ability and attainments, he was on the one hand the heir to the enlightened tradition of Italian Jewish scholarship, on the other in close touch owing to the temporary accident of Austrian expansion with the Jewish intellectual revival in northern Europe associated with the birth of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* or the ‘Science of Judaism.’ In his person, Italian Jewry was worthily and effectively associated with this movement. He collected and saved from oblivion large numbers of ancient manuscripts. He first edited the works of the medieval Hebrew poet, Jehudah ha-Levi. He wrote the first Jewish biblical commentaries in a modern sense. He translated the Bible and prayer book afresh into Italian. He collaborated in every Jewish learned periodical of the time, whether published in Hebrew or in German or in French. He set the science of Hebrew philology and grammar on a new basis. He edited the traditional liturgy according to the native “Italian” (or Roman) rite. . . . The tradition of Italian poetry was also maintained by his friends, Giuseppe Almanzi, Abraham Salom, Roberto Morpurgo, and so on.” Roth, *The History of Italian Jews*, 496–98.
33. A program written in May 1935 and 1936 for Venetian Jewish schools has been found in the archive of the Venetian community (see Appendix A).  
It includes the following:
  1. Introduzione (introduction)
  2. Le vocali (vowels) kindergarten
  3. Le donne Ebree (Jewish women) Talmud Torah
  4. Le feste (holidays) kindergarten
  5. Poesia (poetry) Talmud Torah
  6. Monologo (monologue) kindergarten
  7. Quello che imparo in Talmud Torah (what I learn in the Talmud Torah)
  8. Primavera (spring) kindergarten
  9. Napoleone
  10. Dialogo (dialogues) kindergarten
  11. Patria (State) Inno alla bandiera (the national anthem)
  12. Ringraziamento (thanks)

In March 1933, the president of the Jewish community of Venice was asked by the Director of Education of Venice to recognize the Jewish school in Venice during the legal examination (see Appendix B). In March 1934, a year later, according to the newspaper *Gazzetta* of Venice, 47 membership cards were given to the *Balilla* and *Piccole Italiane* (Little Italians) of the Jewish school of Venice.

34. See Nora Galli, “Il giudeo-italiano e i dialetti giudeo-italiani,” in *La Cultura Ebraica nell’Editoria Italiana (1955–1990)*, Ministero per i Beni Culturale e Ambientali, Roma, 1992, 131.

35. Milano, *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia*, 575.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Galli, 134.
38. Pacifici, “La Lingua Ebraica,” 3–5.
39. Galli, 141.
40. Hughes, *Prisoners of Hope*, 10.

## Chapter 2

1. In his book *The Jews of Italy*, Guido Bedarida lists a number of names, such as Angelo Levi, who was killed in Salerno in 1828 and Giacomo Levi who, with Daniele Manin (1804–57) was imprisoned in the *Piombi* (the infamous Venetian jail situated under the Ducal Palace) after having taken part in uprisings during the same year, together with other coreligionists who ended their lives in jail or in exile. Leone Provenzal, who was part of the Giovine Italia, as well as two other compatriots from Leghorn, Montefiore and Ottolenghi, who cooperated with Guerrazzi in the movement Veri Italiani (True Italians); Israele Levi (1824–1904), who fought in all the wars of independence; Giacomo Levi Civita, born in Rovigo in 1846; Garibaldino, who at the age of 20 was decorated with a gold medal; the Milanese Enrico Fano (1833–99), who was a conspirator and a commissioner of the king in Garibaldi’s camp in 1859; Ciro Finzi of Mantua, who at the age of 15 fought in the five-day battle at Milan and fell while defending Rome; and Angelo Usiglio from Modena (1803–75), a collaborator of Mazzini’s who, together with Marsiglia, established the foundation for the Giovine Italia. He was the driving force behind the uprisings of 1831 together with his brother Emilio. Other Jews were actively involved in uprisings to the extent that the Duke of Modena, returning to his feud in 1848, declared the Jews unworthy of his protection. Sarina Levi Nathan (1812–82), who hailed from Pesaro, was a devoted friend of Giuseppe Nathan of Mazzini and Garibaldi; she was the founder of the Social Studies Club. Mazzini died in the house of Giannetta Nathan Rosselli (1842–1911) in Pisa. Ernesto Nathan (1845–1921), the brother of Giannetta and the son of Sarina, was the administrator of *The People’s Rome*, Mazzini’s newspaper. Nathan promoted the national editions of Mazzini’s works and was the director of “The Duty.” He was a Grand Master in the Masonic lodge and mayor of Rome from 1908–17. He volunteered for the military at the age of 70 and fought in World War I. The Rosselli brothers were linked with the patriotic Mazzinian tradition. Carlo, who came from Rome, was a cofounder of the anti-Fascist Social Studies Club together with his fiancée, Marion Cave, in 1922. He was both a writer and a man of action, well known in Italy and Spain. He was martyred, together with his brother Nello, for his participation in the anti-Fascist movement Giustizia e Libertà (Justice and Freedom). His older brother, Aldo, died in World War I.

The Rosselli brothers, with all their Socialist inclinations, were the genuine heirs of the liberal bourgeoisie who organized the Risorgimento and subsequently the anti-Fascist movement. Particularly at the outset, from both the spiritual and materialistic points of view, the anti-Fascist movement was the work of intellectuals and so-called bourgeoisie (as Fascism was defined by others). Another notable name in the history of the Risorgimento was that of Giuseppe Finzi, who was intensely occupied with the movement between the years 1844 and 1860, and was one of the two directors of the committee *Pel milione di fucile* (For a Thousand Rifles), which aided the undertaking of *I Mille* (The Thousand). It may be calculated that from 1848 to 1849, out of a total of five thousand men, 180 Piedmontese Jews were conscripted, where they were

- reunited with a company of marksmen who executed acts of extraordinary bravery. Bedarida, *Ebrei d'Italia*, 226–28.
2. Toscano, “Gli Ebrei Italiani e la Prima Guerra Mondiale,” 290.
  3. Ghisalberty, “Stato Nazionale e Minoranze,” 32–33.
  4. De Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei sotto il Fascismo*, 18–19.
  5. Toscano, “Gli Ebrei in Italia dalla Emancipazione alle Persecuzioni,” 913–14. See also H. Stuart Hughes’ introduction to *Prisoners of Hope: Italian Jewry in the Silver Age*.
  6. De Felice, “Stato Società e Questione Ebraica nell’Italia Unita,” 427–28.
  7. *Ibid.*, 426–27.
  8. “Close readings of these texts have revealed a disconcerting similarity of attributes applied both to specific Jewish fictional characters and to Jews in general. Several words and phrases used in connection with Jews appeared over and over again with little or no modification throughout the period in question. The most common of these refer to the Jewish attitude towards money and to Jewish financial dealings. Words like ‘users’ or phrases such as ‘perfidious plutocrats who live only to amass wealth . . .’ In the 1930s, but also well before, religious unity was a central component of nationalism. Thus, Jews were described as ‘outsiders,’ ‘foreigners,’ ‘guests’ (mostly unwelcome), who formed a ‘nation within a nation.’ Even after they left the ghetto behind, they carried their alienness, their racial and cultural differences with them. This was the unshakable ‘stench of the ghetto,’ although that phrase had other possible applications as well. . . . Jews preferred not to mix with their fellow citizens, but instead to live separated among them ‘like oil in water.’” Gunzberg, *Strangers at Home*, 280–82.
  9. *Ibid.*, 27.
  10. Born in Odessa, Ginzburg settled permanently in Italy at the beginning of the 1920s and obtained Italian citizenship shortly thereafter. Ginzburg was deprived of an academic career for having refused to swear loyalty to the Fascist regime and was imprisoned in 1934. He obtained permission to remain in Italy (notwithstanding the promulgation of a decree, on September 7, 1938, that threatened the expulsion of all Jews who had immigrated to Italy after 1918) and married the writer Natalia Levi Ginzburg. Following Italy’s entry into World War II, he was confined to Abruzzo, in southern Italy (as were many other Jews and anti-Fascists, among them the writer Carlo Levi; note Levi’s work *Christ Stopped at Eboli*). Under the German occupation, Ginzburg became active in the Partito d’Azione (Action Party) and collaborated on the journal *L’Italia Libera* (*Free Italy*). Ginzburg died in prison at the age of 35, having suffered extensive torture.
  11. Following his engineering studies in Milan, Kalk, whose mother tongue was Yiddish, dedicated himself to the dissemination of Yiddish literature in Italy. In Milan he published articles about his favorite poets in the journal *Davar* (*Thing*), until the introduction of censorship, one of the byproducts of the racial laws that caused the demise of the periodical.
  12. De Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei sotto il Fascismo*, 26–27.
  13. Segre, *Storia di un Ebreo Fortunato*, 39–40.
  14. Luzzati, *Patriottismo e Coscienza Ebraica*, 8–12.
  15. “Chippur di Guerra,” 332–34.
  16. Milano, *Storia degli Ebrei d’Italia*, 371.
  17. Luzzati, “Ebrei di Livorno tra due censimenti,” 17–18.
  18. Bidussa, “Il Sionismo in Italia nel primo quarto del 900,” 176.
  19. Momigliano, “Gli Ebrei d’Italia,” 134.
  20. Del Canuto, “La Stampa Ebraica in Italia dall’Emancipazione alla II Guerra Mondiale,” 70.



21. The *Educatore Israelita* was established in Vercelli by Giuseppe Levi and Esdra Pontremoli in 1853. It continued until 1874, when the paper changed its name, editor, and location. It was subsequently called *Vessillo Israelitico*, and was published monthly in Casale Monferrato by the Chief Rabbi, Flaminio Servi. After his death, the paper was taken over by Servi's son, Ferruccio, until 1922. In its infancy, the *Educatore Israelita* was run mainly by young people as a mouthpiece for education and instruction, with no news or current events content. During its second phase, under new editorial direction, a different stand was introduced based on a religious and moral foundation. The paper attempted to be both orthodox and progressive at the same time. The discourse found in the *Vessillo Israelitico* was entirely different in the sense that it had no established standpoint or direction and was, therefore, not in a position to reawaken Italian Judaism, which made the paper somewhat superficial. In relation to this point Milano's observations are of significance when he states that *Il Vessillo* was not a precise mirror, the living image of the state of religious decadence of Italian Jews living during the last quarter of the previous century and the first years of the present century. Theirs was a Judaism far removed from its lively roots—tired, weak, and vain; that had no interest other than in its material activity; that displayed no aspirations except to penetrate public life; and that was devoid of contact with the few remaining committed Jews, wishing to be flattered by their publications. See Milano, “*Un secolo di stampa periodica Ebraica in Italia*,” 108.
22. Lattes, “Guerra,” 293.
23. Anonymous, “Guerra,” *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, June 15, 1915.
24. Prague, “L'Italia e I suoi Patrioti Israeliti,” 295–96.
25. Anonymous, “Guerra,” *Vessillo Israelitico*, June 30, 1915, 261.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Colombo, “Facciamo gli Ebrei,” 472–73. The author explained the nature of the title (Being Jews), which he applied to other articles that he had written, by stating,

In our day it is somewhat rare to find those people who are effectively Jewish. Approximately 50 years have passed since the liberal conquest and the Jews have benefited by distancing themselves from their religion, which had been of comfort to them, as well as being a guide during periods of misfortune. One could say that the religion is far stronger than the major misfortunes in which humanity has found itself, exemplified by the actual religious revival created by the war in Europe. . . . If there is a period in which we Jews should augment our faith and intensify our gratitude, it is now, when we have moved on from a state of disgraceful servitude to the purest form of liberty; if there is a period in which the leaders of the community ought to render the patriotic sentiment inseparable from that of religion, it is now, when the people and the sovereign, according to the will of God and with His help, have given us this freedom, which is the first and greatest example of civil brotherhood. However, religious principles have been extinguished, secular education has taken the place of religious education, an ostentatious affirmation of secularism has taken the place of the spirit of religious beneficence. . . . Everyone, or almost everyone, has become confused by the spirit of modernity which causes them to renounce, in the vilest of ways, their forefathers' inheritance, the traditions of our religion, the religious sentiments which we had conserved. . . . At this moment, the task of our community is grave: its responsibility goes beyond repair, restoration, correction or re-fashioning. . . . Above all, it is vital that the representatives of the communities should be religious people. . . . it is painful to observe, although it is, unfortunately, true, that the disappearance of the ghettos has given rise to the collapse of the Jewish way of life: in the ghetto, the environment

was everything, it served to define friendships and business affairs. Now, I am not saying that one ought to regret the removal of the ghettos, but ask whether it might not be possible to reconstitute its atmosphere through reunions, meetings etc. Such events would give opportunities to Jewish youngsters to find, within their ambient, the same diversions and those forms of entertainment which they want without having to search for them elsewhere. Educate them in religious precepts, particularly that of *shechita* (ritual slaughter), and to remain within their circle of acquaintances in order to avoid unpleasant situations regarding food and customs. How many mixed marriages would have been avoided if families had gathered in Jewish meeting places, if the children had been brought up within a Jewish environment, far from danger and from the enticements of more liberal forms of religion and customs which are more seductive. Now, it is towards these aims that we must focus our communities, the charitable institutions must organize themselves so as to adopt this program if they want to stop what is, by now, the invading scourge of assimilation.

Colombo published this article in support of a project to open a Jewish hotel in Rome for tourists and students. The project was proposed by Eugenio Sermoneta, an authoritative member of the Consiglio dell'Associazione Giovanile (Student Youth Association), which was succeeded by the Pro-Cultura. See Del Canuto, *La Stampa Ebraica in Italia*, 73.

28. Del Canuto, *La Stampa Ebraica in Italia*, 74.
29. Milano, *Un Secolo di Stampa Periodica Ebraica in Italia*, 129.
30. The periodical *Il Pensiero Israelitico* (*Jewish Thought*) was established in Pitigliano during these years under the direction of Guglielmo Lattes and, subsequently, under Rabbi D. Camerini. Simplicity characterized both its editorial line and its content (populist opinions regarding Jewish literature, history, philology, and theology). Dante Lattes and the Rabbis Cammeo, Jona, and Sonino all made important contributions. Publication ceased after just one year. In 1901, the rabbinical school of Leghorn published *Antologia Ebraica* (*Jewish Anthology*), which ran to only two editions. In 1904, the periodical *Lux* was published in Leghorn. Its subtitle stated that it was a "monthly magazine of Jewish life and thought." The magazine folded after a year. In the same year the monthly magazine *La Rivista Israelitica* was published in Florence, closing only in 1915. The publication was founded and edited by the Chief Rabbi, Margulies, who was also the director of the local rabbinical college. The editorial line of the magazine was expressed in its subtitle, "Illustrations of Jewish Science and Life." Many Jewish students from the college wrote for the magazine, including Margulies, Chajes, and Elbogen, and their students Artom, Cassuto, and Zolli, who contributed scientific essays. In 1910, Margulies, wishing to resolve the problem that arose through the disappearance of the majority of magazines after 1895, founded a new periodical, *La Settimana Israelitica*. By 1910, most publications that had been established from 1895 onward had ceased circulation. During that period, six periodicals had been founded and, subsequently, closed down: *Il Pensiero Israelitico* (*Israeli Thought*), *Bibliothèque de l'Hebraïsme* (Hebrew Library), *Antologia Ebraica* (*Jewish Anthology*), *Lux* (Light), *L'Idea Sionista* (*The Zionist Idea*, established in 1901 in Modena under the direction of Carlo Conigliani). The latter journal was credited with informing its readers of the state of Zionism in Italy. Its editorial line was humanitarian, philanthropic, moral, and social rather than political. *L'Eco Sionista d'Italia* (founded in 1908 in Florence by the collaborators of the *Idea Sionista*) differed from *Idea Sionista* in its conception of Zionism as not philanthropic or humanitarian in origin, but rather a movement that intends to resolve the Jewish question, in all its complexity, and extend to the Jewish masses in Palestine neither a ref-

- uge nor an asylum, but a governed country, protected by the laws of justice where one can freely conduct a full, nationalist life. See Milano, *Un Secolo di Stampa periodica in Italia*, 120.
31. *La Settimana Israelitica* was entrusted almost entirely to the young students of the Florence Rabbinical College, namely, Armando Sorani and David Prato, then to Elia S. Artom, Umberto Cassuto, Alfonso Pacifici, and Israele Zolli. These young men not only were involved in this periodical that was aimed at young people but two years earlier, in 1908, had founded a new movement called Pro-Cultura, which aimed to reawaken awareness and to augment Jewish culture in Italy. In its earliest years of existence, *Settimana Israelitica* revolved around these two cardinal points, the diffusion of culture and the elevation of Jewish spirit in Italy.
  32. Anonymous, "Il Nostro Programma," 1.
  33. In connection with Zionism, Ovazza wrote,

There is an international commitment which also involves our country, to give a 'national focus' to our co-religionists who are constrained to find an asylum, due to the iniquity of the countries of which they are citizens . . . but this original Zionism has changed its nature and has given life to a project of the Jewish nation that must constitute itself in Palestine . . . it is a fact that, with the money donated by the world and, in great part, with English and American money, the creation of a center, inhabited by refugees is occurring. While this constitutes a magnificent proof of solidarity, its political effects, as far as the concept of nationality is concerned, are of absolutely no significance. The reconstitution of a Jewish nation in Palestine is a historical anachronism and an artifice which must be combated . . . For us Italians, the problem is cloaked in a particular manner in the sense that in no other European country can Jews live in equality as they do in Italy. It is not acceptable that there are citizens living in our country who entertain nostalgic thoughts for a country other than the soil of Italy. Zionism was an excellent means for exploiting a colonial territory with Jewish money from all over the entire world. We are helping and will help these populations who are rising to a new life. But while we affirm that the creation and vitality of an independent Jewish nation is an absolute impossibility, we recognize the urgency and necessity of re-examining, in an international forum, the entire problem . . . the best ally of racist policies today is, unfortunately, national Zionism. It is our firm conviction that anti-Semitic policies would never have reached the extreme levels they have, if it had not had the above mentioned 'national focus' amongst one of its principal probative arguments. The same religious ideal, from the purely religious point of view, foretold of the return to Zion as a spiritual return . . . we entirely reject the nationalist Zionists who live amongst all the other citizens of the nations of Europe, respected in the equality of their civil and political rights whilst sighing for Palestine . . . Anti-Semitism, wherever it exists, is not a sufficient argument to validate the necessity of a Jewish nation. The Fascist government has always participated in every international action for the consolidation of this Jewish, Palestinian colony. With its economic and cultural activity, Italy contributes to exchanges with the East and with Palestine. However, neither as Italians nor as Jews are we able to go any further. Once again, we repeat: Palestine, for us, is a territory under British mandate where an excellent program of Jewish colonization is underway.

Ovazza, "La Nostra Bandiera," 154.

34. De Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei Italiani sotto il Fascismo*, 155.
35. There were, in fact, Jewish contributors to non-Jewish papers, including David Levi (who used the pseudonym Julius); Aristide Ravà (founder of *Il Cittadino* [*The Citizen*])

in 1860 in Modena, and who was subsequently the main contributor to the Bolognese paper *La Gazzetta dell'Emilia*); Alessandro Ancona, founder and first editor of the Florentine paper the *Nazione* (*Nation*); David Ruben Segre, a soldier in Garibaldi's army, who was the editor of the *Gazzetta Toscana* as well as a contributor of political and humorous articles to other papers; Giacomo Dina of Turin (1826–79) who, together with Rabbi Cantoni, came out in favor of the emancipation of the Jews of Turin and was the editor of the *Opinione* (*Opinion*); Leone Fortis of Trieste (1828–98), critic, patriotic playwright, and soldier, founder of *Il Pungolo* (*Goad*); Carlo Levi, founder of *Nuova Roma* (*New Rome*), which later changed its name to *Il Popolo Romano* (*Roman People*); the Florentine Edoardo Arbib (1840–1900), who had been a soldier in Garibaldi's army and was promoted to officer status on the battlefield of Milazzo. He was the editor of *Gazzetta di Venezia* and of the Florentine *Gazzetta del Popolo* and, subsequently, of *Libertà dell'Italia* (*Freedom of Italy*); published in Rome; Attilio Luzzatto, editor of Udine (1848–1900), editor of the *Stampa* (*Press*) of Rome and founder of the *Tribuna* (*Tribune*), and his brother Riccardo (1842–1923), who had also served in Garibaldi's army and was founder of *La Ragione* (*The Reason*). Cesare Parenzo (1848–98), a senator and a judge as well as a supporter of Garibaldi, was the editor of the Milanese *Il Sole* (*The Sun*), an important economic journal. Some of the most illustrious of the patriotic journalists were Abram Vita Morpurgo, editor of *Il Corriere Israelitico*; Isidoro Reggio, editor of the *Indipendente* (*Independent*), published in Trieste; the senator Teodor Majer of Trieste, founder of *Il Piccolo* (*The Little*) in 1881; Salvatore Barzilai, editor of the foreign news desk of the *Tribuna* and president of the Association of Italian Press for 20 years. He served as minister without portfolio and, in 1919, as a delegate to the Peace Conference. Sidney Sonnino was half Jewish and the editor of the *Giornale d'Italia* (*Italy's Journal*) in Rome and of the *Tirreno* (*Tyrrhenian*). Amilcare Zamaroni of Ferrara (1855–1907), the founder and editor of the Bolognese paper, *Il Resto del Carlino*; and Clemente Levi of Modena, editor of *Epoca* (*Epoch*) and *La Libertà* (*Freedom*) as well as many other publications. See Del Canuto, *La Stampa Ebraica in Italia*, 77.

36. Toscano, *Gli Ebrei Italiani e la Prima Guerra*, 287.
37. Miniati, "Emancipazione Ebraica ed Emancipazione femminile," 53–54.
38. Bettina, "Le donne Israelite nel cinquantesimo anniversario del Vessillo Israelitico," 54.
39. Ottolenghi, "I Mali attuali dell'Ebraismo," 13–14.
40. Bachi, "Il Nostro Programma," 332.
41. *Ibid.*, 338.
42. "Appello ai Giovani," 1.
43. Di Porto, "Dopo il Risorgimento, al varco del 900," 39–40.
44. Toscano, *Gli Ebrei Italiani e la Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 294.

### Chapter 3

1. Morpurgo, "Per la Pro-Cultura," 6.
2. Generally these conferences were held over a number of days, with various attendees, including many women, university students, and secondary-school pupils. The activities that took place during the 1908 Padua conference were reported in an article published in *Corriere Israelitico*. The first conference, led by Rabbi D. A. Zammato and titled "Gli Israeliti d'Italia nella Cultura" ("Italian Israelites in Culture") concluded with the hope that, bearing in mind the decadent state of present-day Italy in comparison to the previous centuries of Jewish culture, the Padua committee, together with those of other regions, would manage to shake up the youth and encourage them to study.

3. See Milano, "Gli Enti Culturali Ebraici In Italia nell'ultimo trentennio," 257–58.
4. Toscano, "Fermenti Culturali ed esperienze organizzative della gioventù Ebraica Italiana," 918–19.
5. The year 1928 marked the greatest period of development of these societies that began to operate in Casale Monferrato, Ferrara, Genoa, Leghorn, Mantua, Milan, Modena, Padua, Rome, Siena, Turin, Trieste, and Venice. Ancon, Bologna, and Naples were among the more important communities in which the societies were disbanded or were inactive for a long period. *Giovane Israele*, November 29, 1928, 2.
6. Ernesto Nathan was the son of Sarina Nathan Levi, friend of Giuseppe Mazzini, and cousin of the Rosselli brothers.
7. See Preziosi, *Giudaismo, Bolscevismo, Plutocrazia e Massoneria* (1944), where the author states, "The Masons remained constantly dependent upon Judaism both before and after the Unification of Italy. All Jews are Masons and frenetic liberal thinkers, without the slightest shame or element of respect for the customs and religious practices of those who, in fact, constituted by far the greatest majority in the country. All civil servants belonged to Masonic lodges and many of them were Jewish. Those who did not belong to the Masonic movement were in fact few in numbers and not particularly well considered. The most efficient facilitator of the Jewish quest for power was the press, and for this reason the Italian Jews took over journalism" (42–43).  
This stand reflects Preziosi's anti-Semitic sentiments. While it cannot be denied that some Jews, such as Nathan, were involved with the Masonic movement, it is exaggerated to assume that all Jews were Masons. In the following years, immediately before the unification of Italy, many people, particularly the leaders of the Italian Democratic movement, such as Crispi and Garibaldi, joined the Masonic movement.
8. Preziosi, *Giudaismo, Bolscevismo, Plutocrazia e Massoneria*, 44.
9. The article "Appello ai Giovani" ("Call to the Young") stated: "Fortunately, there are still many young Jews in Italy who guard the Jewish faith. Not that they all actively participate in the Jewish way of life . . . but they do harbor profound and personal sentiments which link them to Judaism, sentiments which bring them to honor the memory of their fathers . . . some of these young people experience an inexplicable attachment to Judaism and discuss this fact with others and ponder over it when alone. We had thought to launch the idea of a conference for young Jews in some Italian city or other, in order to assess the response of the participants who would be pivotal in supporting the notion that the Jewish religious and moral ideal was relevant. We would like the conference to be held in a spirit of unaffected friendship and warmth, an opportunity for encounters and debate rather than a bureaucratic, overly solemn and officious event." *La Settimana Israelitica* 28, 1.
10. Bonaventura, "Il Convegno Giovanile," 3.
11. Toscano, "Fermenti Culturali ed Esperienze Organizzative della Gioventu' Ebraica Italiana 1911–1925," 921–22.
12. Eisemann, "Il Convegno Giovanile. Rinascita idealista," 4.
13. Anonymous, "Trionfo," 1.
14. Toscano, "Fermenti Culturali ed Esperienze Organizzative della Gioventu' Ebraica Italiana 1911–1925," 924.
15. *Ibid.*, 926–27.
16. The four-day program included a paper presented by Pacifici, titled "The Hebrew Language"; a paper by Krinkin, titled "Palestine"; Bachi's paper, "The Most Practical and Favoured Way to Organize Jewish Youth in Italy"; and Prato's discussion, "The Jews of Tripoli and Cyrenaica." Lattes presented a paper titled "Religious Practices"; Artom

spoke on "The Jewish School in Italy"; and Cassuto gave a paper titled "A History of the Jews in Italy."

17. *La Settimana Israelitica* aligned itself in support of Pacifici's followers, publishing a list of objectives that this group hoped to realize through the conference:

The third conference must have a distinctive identity if it is not to be condemned to be the last in a series of conferences for young Jews to be held in Italy for many years. The first conference was, in fact, an attempt, a new attempt, which had few supporters, it was everything and nothing, it was the beginning. The second conference was not substantially different from the first; there was a greater crowd assembled at the second conference but the participants were as amorphous as those in the first conference. Each of these somewhat unexpected participants returned home to their former ethnic isolation. The second conference was second simply because, numerically, it came after the first, and not because logic placed it there to be an organic continuation of the ideas generated by its predecessor. The conference can not be viewed as a sequel to the first, nor should it be, for both conferences can be seen as nothing more than two moments in time, two isolated points in the lives of Italian Jews. There was no connective tissue binding the two events that would enable them to be perceived as an expression of a whole, living organism . . . It is, therefore, necessary to change course. . . . Either a lively, functional and practical organization for Jewish youth in Italy will emerge as a consequence of the conference in Rome in such a manner that all subsequent conferences will function as expressions of the same organization united in their shared goals, or Jewish youth in Italy will have to wait a long time before the opportunity arises to reunite.

"Il Compito del III Convegno. La necessità e la disciplina," 1.

18. Toscano, *La Gioventù Ebraica Italiana 1911–1925*, 946.
19. *Ibid.*, 950.
20. Astrologo and Del Canuto, "Livorno 1924," 340–41.
21. *Ibid.*, 341–42.
22. Isnenghi, *Breve Storia dell'Italia Unita*, 86–87.

## Chapter 4

1. Minerbi, "L'evoluzione dell'ebraismo e i giovani," 12.
2. *Ibid.*
3. See Minerbi, "L'evoluzione dell'ebraismo e i giovani," and Colombo, "Per un'opera di cultura," 13–14.
4. Pacifici, "Un Ebraismo qualitativo," 52.
5. Weizmann, *La mia vita per Israele*, 354.
6. The Roman Jews were emancipated only in 1870, and were the last of the Jewish communities to be liberated. The majority of Roman Jews were from working-class or lower middle-class backgrounds and still lived in the ghetto.
7. Eckert, *Il movimento sionistico-chalutzistico in Italia*, 67–69.
8. Fossati, "Azione Cattolica Italiana," 174.
9. This was a secular Catholic movement officially established in 1919 by the Church in response to the rise of mass organizations that united ecclesiastic and secular interests, although the latter was always subordinate to the former. The movement was concerned with apostolic religious and cultural purposes, based on the dissemination of Christian

- culture, the identification with an observant way of life, and the application of Christian values in every sphere of cultural and social life.
10. Gozzini, "I Giovani," 328–29.
  11. Da Fano returned to his native Gorizia. The Jewish community in Gorizia was composed of northern German Jews who had become refugees in the wake of the Crusades. The community was noted for its dedication to the study of the Torah and was dubbed "the little Jerusalem." After he had established the *Mizrachi* (*Oriental Jews*) movement in Zurich, Da Fano returned to Gorizia where he dedicated himself to the Jewish and Zionist education of eastern European refugees. Ha'Tikvah continued to operate after Da Fano's departure and was active until 1939. In 1929, Da Fano was appointed director of the Alliance school in Rodi, where he introduced the study of the Hebrew language as well as Zionism. This was effected through the Ha'Tikvah and Menora groups that he organized and supervised during his four years on the island. His project, organizing Jewish youngsters into a youth movement, as he had done in Zurich, was a new phenomenon in Italy.
  12. Eckert, *Il Movimento sionistico-chalutzistico in Italia*, 62.
  13. *Ibid.*, 60–63.
  14. Brigadeci, "Il voto alle donne e i Fasci femminili," 260.
  15. Margherita Sarfatti began her professional life as a journalist for the arts section of the local daily Socialist newspaper, *Secolo Nuovo* (*New Century*). In 1902, she and her husband moved to Milan and became active in the Socialist group, often visiting Anna Kuliscioff in her home. Between 1902 and 1915, Sarfatti was employed as an art critic, first for the socialist journal *L'Avanti* (*Forward*) and then for *Tempo* (*Time*). She was part of the emancipationist circle and associated herself with the political philanthropist Unione Femminile (Union of Women) under the leadership of Ersilia Majno.
  16. Brigadeci, "Il voto delle donne e i Fasci femminili," 260–61.
  17. Guerri, *Fascisti*, 197–98.
  18. Muggia "Movimenti giovanili ebraici," 384.
  19. Anonymous, "Gli Avanguardisti Ebrei dei Fasci Italiani all'estero al Tempio Maggiore," *Israel*, 50.
  20. *Ibid.*, and Anonymous, "L'Omaggio del Fascio Romano agli Ebrei caduti nella Grande Guerra," *Israel*, 10.
  21. Bowen, *Storia dell'educazione occidentale*, 516.
  22. The article was given to me by Savaldi's daughter. It can also be found in Savaldi, *I campeggi ebraici*.
  23. Leo Levi, (1913–82) was the son and grandson of rabbis. He studied under the direction of Da Fano in Gorizia, where he married and had children. He moved from Gorizia to Turin, where he established himself as a leading figure in the Jewish circle. Levi graduated with a degree in agriculture. An ardent Zionist, he published numerous articles of Jewish interest and dedicated himself to the collection of traditional Jewish music from Italy as well as from other Mediterranean communities. Levi immigrated to Palestine in 1935, although he continued to visit Italy frequently, taking an active part in the lives of young Italian Jews and instigating a number of different projects.
  24. "The young Jews from every region in Italy, from every social condition, Zionists and non-Zionists of every inclination and of every color, have wanted to re-unite at a camp in order to realize the original synthesis of the sickle and axe with the Star of David . . . it will be possible to create a healthier form of Judaism if a high percentage of committed Jews, rather than assimilated Jews, attend the tennis camps and ski camps. Jews who, knowing that they were the butts of jokes exchanged between the assimilated Jews, participated in all the sports that did not desecrate the Sabbath, in the desire to give the

- impression that practicing Jews were as strong as their assimilated brothers. The assimilated Jews could not conceive of how a return to a more traditional way of life could be reconciled with modern life. It is only by living out the precepts of the Torah within modern life that the Orthodox . . . demonstrate that it is not the observant person who is living outside the parameters of his time, but that it is the Torah that exists outside any time limitations. It is not old, but eternal, it does not provide a religious code but a yardstick for one's life, it bestows a discipline of sanctity without which there is no human activity, and in its eternity one is brought to understand the modern life as well. After four centuries of inertia, the work of reconciliation will begin once again with a renewed vigor to fuse sport activities with the Torah, with living out its precepts in a community, because, for us, sport is the most essential element of modern life . . . however, I repeat, each and every camp will be a futile venture if it does not operate as a moral preparation for the 'integral' return to the Torah, which today, as in the past, is the cause, the means and the purpose of our normal conversations." Savaldi, *I campeggi ebraici*, 10–11.
25. Savaldi, "Dopo Fraina," in *Israel*, 12–13.
  26. *Ibid.*, *I campeggi ebraici 1931–1939*, 19–20.
  27. *Ibid.*, 21.
  28. *Ibid.*
  29. Savaldi, *I campeggi ebraici 1931–1939*, 25.
  30. *Ibid.*, 26.
  31. Letter of Leo Levi to the precamp of July 1936, in Savaldi, *I campeggi ebraici 1931–1939*, 28.
  32. Savaldi, *I campeggi ebraici 1931–1939*, 32.
  33. Della Seta, "Il movimento Sionistico," 1347.
  34. The newspaper *Corriere Israelitico*, published in Trieste, carried a number of important articles in 1896, for example that written by Leone Racah, a teacher at the Rabbinical College of Leghorn, titled "La Fondazione di uno Stato Giudaico," in which he discussed the return to Palestine as redemption for the Jewish people. In 1897, Gustavo Racah led a conference on Zionism at the Midrash Lekav Tov of Trieste, as reported by *Corriere Israelitico*. The paper reported a most enthusiastic response on the part of the attendees. The speaker, who was convinced Zionist opposed the argument of dual homeland, attempted to clarify any misconceptions regarding the movement.
  35. Lattes, "Le prime albe del sionismo italiano," 211.
  36. Toscano, "Ebraismo, Sionismo, Società: il caso italiano," 404.
  37. Cavaglion, "Tendenze nazionali e albori sionistici," 1295.
  38. Very little is known about Baruch. He was born in Constantinople in 1872 and, at the age of 24, became a voluntary conscript to the Turkish-Greek war. He joined the Garibaldi legion that was sent to liberate Crete from Turkish domination. The articles he sent to *Vessillo Israelitico* are among the very few of his writings that are extant. During the two years he spent in Italy before he committed suicide in 1899, he established the Accademia della Nuova Sionnia (Academy of the New Sion) in Turin, with a membership of about 50 young people. He wrote very little, spending much of his time in the company of young people who, in this period, were sympathetic to the ideas of Socialism and radical democracy. Baruch had a problematic relationship with the bureaucratic aspects of Zionism, so much so that Herzl, in diary entries from August 29 and September 13, 1899, referred to him as a "demented anarchist." In the absence of documentation, it is impossible to ascertain the reason Baruch came to Italy to promote a proselytizing type of Zionism.
  39. Cavaglion, "Tendenze nazionali e albori sionistici," 1313.
  40. Lattes, "Le prime albe del Sionismo Italiano," 211.



41. Eckert, *Il movimento sionistico-chalutzistico in Italia fra le due guerre*, 78.
42. As an example, I quote and translate the Statute of the Venetian Zionist group, established in 1922. The statute was found in the Jewish archive of the Venetian community (see Appendix C).
43. Herman, *Lo shekel*, 11.
44. De Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei sotto il Fascismo*, 26.
45. Rosselli, "Socialismo liberale a altri scritti," 216.
46. In Gaetano Salvemini's house in 1924, the first clandestine publication, *Non Mollare* (*Don't Give Up*), was founded. It was published in collaboration with another anti-Fascist intellectual, Ernesto Rossi. Salvemini, denounced by one of the printers, was arrested. Rossi escaped and immigrated to another country. The members of the local Florentine Masonic lodge, who were accused of sponsoring this magazine, were killed. Meanwhile, in July 1925, the Rossellis' house was destroyed by the Fascists. The publication of *Non Mollare* was suspended. Carlo Rosselli, together with Socialist leader Pietro Nenni, established and directed the magazine *Quarto Potere* (*Fourth Power*). Moving first to Genoa and later to Milan, Rosselli coordinated a group of intellectuals who were aiding in the clandestine expatriation of anti-Fascists wanted by the OVRA (secret Fascist police). In 1927, Carlo Rosselli was arrested and confined. (During the Fascist period, many anti-Fascist Jews were subjected to political confinement, among them Carlo Levi, Raffaele Cantoni, Vittorio Foà, Emilio Sereni, Leone Ginzburg, and Umberto Terracini.) After escaping his place of confinement, Rosselli went to Paris, where he joined other Italian anti-Fascists living there. Paris had, by 1927, become a center of underground anti-Fascist activities, and an anti-Fascist movement had been established there. It was composed of Il Partito Socialista (Pietro Nenni's Socialist Party), Filippo Turati's Il Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani (Socialist Party of the Italian Workers), Il Partito Repubblicano (Republican Party), the League of Human Rights, and the General Italian Federation, directed by Bruno Buozzi. The statute of his underground anti-Fascist movement was drawn up by Giuseppe Modigliani, while the publication of the magazine *Libertà* (*Freedom*) was directed until his death in 1933 by Claudio Treves. In Migliau and Tagliacozzo, *Gli Ebrei nella storia e nella società contemporanea*, 214–15.
47. Valabrega, "Prime notizie sulla Nostra Bandiera," 22–23.
48. Minerbi, "I prodromi dell'antisemitismo fascista nei documenti dell'Archivio Sionistico," 336.
49. *Ibid.*, 338.
50. *Ibid.*, 339.
51. *Ibid.*, 343–344.
52. See *Israel*, 15–22, 20–21.
53. Cavaglione, *Tendenze nazionali e albori sionistici*, 1319.
54. Levi, "Antifascismo e Sionismo Convergenze e Contrasti," 53–54.

## Chapter 5

1. Variations in Jewish identity arise from the peculiarities in the historical development of various communities. These range from the need to adjust to changes in the Jewish situation in the non-Jewish world due to the impact of political and social movements, whether Jewish or of a general character, on Jewish life. On Jewish life as the product of historical evolution, see Bettin, "Identity and Identification," 323–45.
2. Meyer, "The Elusive Character of Jewish Identity," 7–8.
3. *Ibid.*, 8.

4. Herman, "Jews and Judaism in Contemporary Europe," 257–79.
5. Segre, "The Emancipation of Jews in Italy," 229.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 233.
8. Canepa, "L'immagine dell'ebreo nel folclore," 383–89.
9. Luzzato, "Autocoscienza ed identità ebraica," 1836.
10. Hall, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, 25.
11. Luzzato, "Autocoscienza ed identità ebraica," 1836–37, 1845–46.
12. Dombroski, "The Rise and Fall of Fascism," 493–94.
13. Ostrowetski, "Les Quatre Voies De L'Identité," 24.
14. Segre, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Italy*, 235.
15. Webber, "Modern Jewish Identity," 74–75.

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# Index

- acculturation, 52  
Aegean Islands, 27  
agriculture, 3–4, 10, 21–22, 28, 32, 93,  
99, 101, 105, 112, 118, 124, 135, 155,  
179n20, 192n23  
Albertine Statute of 1848, 58  
Alberto di Savoia, Carlo, 16, 34  
aliya, 38, 121–22, 155  
*aliya chalutzistica*, 91  
*Aliyat ha'noar* (Youth Emigration), 124–25,  
155  
Allason, Barbara, 134  
Allegra, L., 63  
Amici del Giovedì (Friends of Thursday),  
83  
Ancona, Cavalier Mario, 23  
anti-Fascist stance, 32–33, 57, 83, 96,  
129–31, 133–34, 156–57, 177n5,  
180nn29–30, 182n1, 183n10, 194n46  
anti-Semitism, 11, 14–15, 25, 27–30, 54–56,  
62, 68, 76, 84–85, 110, 120, 126–27,  
131–33, 139, 142–43, 147, 180n29,  
183n8, 187n33, 189n7; and Jewish  
writers, 54–55; newspapers, 29; and  
violence, 29–30  
*Antologia* (*Anthology*) of Florence, 15  
*Antologia Ebraica* (*Jewish Anthology*),  
186n30  
“*Appello ai Giovani*” (Call to the Youth),  
75, 189n9  
Arca, Francesco, 48–49  
Arendt, Hanna, 143  
Arias, Gino, 33  
Artom, Elia, 36, 42, 87  
Artom, Emanuele, 134  
Artom, Ernesto, 177n4  
Artom, Isaac, 30, 177n4  
Assicurazioni Generali (General Insurance)  
of Trieste, 20  
assimilation, 1, 4, 34, 36, 38, 51–54, 57,  
62–63, 67, 72, 74–75, 83–85, 153–55,  
180n29; definition of, 52  
Association of Young Roman Jews, 98–99  
Associazione della Donna di Roma  
(Association of Roman Women), 107  
Associazione Femminile Ebraica (Jewish  
Women’s Association, ADEI), 107–13  
Associazione Israelitica di Previdenza  
Cuore e Concordia, 23  
Associazione Nazionale delle Sorelle  
dei Legionari di Fiume (National  
Association of Sisters of the Fiume  
Legions), 108  
Associazione Nazionale Italiana Irredenta  
(Italian National Irredentist  
Association), 108  
Associazione Nazionale Italiana (Italian  
Nationalist Association), 96  
Associazione Scouting Italiana (Italian  
Scouts Movement), 102  
Astrologo, Aldo, 92  
Austrian Empire (1804–1867), 10, 12,  
14–17  
Austrian Jews, 26  
Avanguardisti movement, 101–04, 114  
Avodah (Work), 3, 82–83, 99–101, 128–29  
Azione Cattolica (Catholic Association,  
ACI), 102, 191n9  
Bachi, Emilio, 74  
Bachi, Roberto, 13, 20–21, 41–42  
Balbo, Italo, 180n28  
Baruch, Joseph Marco, 127, 193n38  
Barzilai, Salvatore, 31  
Bedarida, Guido, 1, 4, 31, 91, 107, 182n1  
Beilinson, Moshe, 3, 99–100  
Benamozegh, Elia, 35, 148–49  
Bialik, Haim Nachman, 83

- Bibliothèque de l'Hebraïsme* (Hebrew Library), 186n30
- Bidussa, David, 57, 63–64
- Bologna youth conference, (third, 1920), 89–90
- Bolshevism, 29, 131
- Bonaventura, Enzo, 85–86, 91–92
- Bonfiglioli, Giulio, 118
- bourgeoisie class, 20–21, 32, 50, 53, 57–58, 65, 82, 108, 135, 179n19, 182n1
- Bureau for Demography and Race Protection, 26
- Camerini, D., 186n30
- Cammeo, Berna Bernstein, 109
- Cammeo, C., 41
- Cammeo, Federico, 24
- camps (Jewish youth), 3–4, 105, 114, 116–25, 132, 150, 155, 192n24
- Canepa, Andrew, 1, 54, 142
- Cantoni, Raffaele, 113
- Carboneria (the secret liberation movement), 15, 47, 178n10
- Carpi, Daniel, 125
- Carpi, Leone, 28, 70, 124
- Carrara Fascist action squad, 102
- Casale Monferrato, 37, 82, 126, 184n21, 189n5
- Cassa Mutua Assistenza Arnaldo Mussolini, 113–14
- Cassuto, Umberto, 35–38, 41, 79, 87, 98, 186nn30–31, 190n16
- Castelbolognesi, Gustavo, 79, 118–19
- Catholic Church, 11, 32, 39, 48, 156, 38–39, 136, 191n9
- Catholicism, 12, 24–25, 29, 33, 39, 53, 59, 62–63, 102, 137, 151, 178n3; conversion to, 53; education, 24–25, 59; and fascism, 25; and forced baptism, 12; as state religion, 25, 29, 178n3; teaching Jewish children, 39; youth organizations, 102
- Catholic Scouts, 102
- Cattolico (Catholic) movement, 136
- Cavaglion, Alberto, 132
- Cavour, Camillo, 30, 177n4
- Center of Contemporary Jewish Studies in Milan (CDEC), 7
- Cercatori della Torah (Seekers of the Torah), 118
- Chabod, Federico, 94
- Chajes, Zvi Perez, 69, 81, 92, 106, 128
- “Chippur di Guerra” (Kippur of War), 61
- Christianity: conversion to, 12–13, 22, 27, 31; and teachers, 18
- Ciano, Galeazzo, 131
- Cisalpine Republic, constitutions of, 178n3
- civil rights (of Italian Jews), 14–16, 22–23, 26–28, 66, 178n3
- Civitavecchia settlement, 112–13
- Codice Civile Unitario (Civil Unitarian Law, 1865), 23
- Collegio Rabbinico (Rabbinical College), 34–35
- Colombo, Anselmo, 67, 89, 185n27
- Colombo, Cesare, 134
- Colombo, Joseph, 37, 91
- Colonna, E. D., 44
- communism, 137
- communities (Italian Jewish), 7, 19, 22–25, 33, 19, 81, 89, 92, 94, 120, 179n17; as corporations, 22–24; and Jewish Fascist newspaper, 33; and the law, 25; rural, 19, 179n17; and social assistance, 23–24; and voluntary association, 24–25
- comparative analysis, 156–57
- Comunità Israelitica (Israelite Community)*, 7
- Concordat (1929), 24–25, 29, 102
- Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (Work General Confederation, CGL), 30
- conferences (Jewish youth), 79–93, 96, 97, 100, 107, 117–18, 121, 190nn16–17. *See* Bologna; Florence; Leghorn; Turin conferences
- Confindustria, 21
- congresses (Jewish Youth), 35, 43, 82–85, 93–94, 97
- Congress of Young Jews (Leghorn, 1924), 76
- Consiglio Nazionale delle Donne Italiane (National Council for Italian Women), 107
- consistories (1808), 11
- Consortio* (Association) of Italian Jewish Communities, 35
- constitution of Cisalpine Republic (1797 and 1798), 178n3

- constitution of the Roman Republic (1798), 178n3
- Corinaldi, Corrado, 70, 134
- Corriere Israelitico* (The Israelite Courier), 2, 65, 67–68, 126–27, 188n35, 189n2, 193n34
- Corriere Livornese* (The Leghorn Courier) of Leghorn, 15
- Croce, Benedetto, 93, 134
- cultural societies (Jewish), 1–3, 79–85, 94, 97, 153, 189n5. *See* Pro-Cultura
- Cum nimis absurdum* (1555), 12
- Curiel, S., 67
- Da Fano, Angelo, 3, 101, 104–07, 115–16, 129, 132, 149, 191n11, 192n23
- Davar* (Thing), 70, 184n11
- Davidsohn, Bernard, 55
- De Bono, Emilio, 180n28
- Declaration of Human Rights (1791), 14
- Declaration of the Rights of Man (1781), 11, 15, 47
- De Felice, Renzo, 27, 52–53, 56, 71, 129, 132, 156, 177n3
- Del Canuto, Francesco, 92
- Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti (Delegation for Aid to Immigrants, DELASM), 112
- Della Pergola, Sergio, 13, 20
- Del Vecchio, Giorgio, 180n28
- Democratico Cristiano (Christian Democrats), 137
- Diaspora, 81, 91, 99–100, 121, 140, 153
- Difesa della Razza* (The Defense of Race), 26
- Dombroski, Robert, 146
- Donati, Pio, 180n30
- Duchy of Mantua, 10
- Eastern European immigration, 55
- “*Ebrei, Bolscevismo e Sionismo*” (Jews, Bolshevism and Zionism), 29
- Eckert, Berti, 122–23, 125
- Eco Sionista* (Zionist Echo), 70,
- Eco Sionista d’Italia*, 76–77, 186n30
- Edict of Emancipation (1848), 16
- education (of Italian Jews), 17–19, 22–23, 26–27, 33–39, 58, 67, 85, 178n15, 181nn32–33; and *Hesgher* (Inside), 18; and Judaism, 17–19, 34–37, 58, 178n15, 181n32,33; and literacy, 17, 22–23; post-Emancipation, 33–39; pre-Emancipation, 17–19; and racial law, 26–27; and scholarship, 181n32; and schools, 36–39, 58, 181n33; and urban centers, 33–34
- Educatore Israelita* (Israelite Educator), 2, 65, 68, 73, 184n21
- Eisemann, Enrico, 89
- Emancipation, 1–2, 4, 10–11, 13–20, 32–34, 39, 41, 45, 47, 51–52, 54, 58, 64, 68, 72–73, 83–84, 139, 142–43, 147–50, 153–55. *See also* post-Emancipation; pre-Emancipation
- Emanuele, Vittorio II, 16–17, 20, 65
- emigration to Palestine (Italian Jewish), 28, 33, 91, 94, 120, 122–23, 126, 132, 148, 155, 192n23
- Engels, Friedrich, 135
- England, 66, 149, 187n33
- Enti di Diritto Pubblico* (public institutions), 25
- Eretz Israel, 134
- “Facciamo gli Ebrei” (Being Jews), 67
- FACE. *See* Federazione Associazioni Culturali Ebraiche
- Faculty of Medicine in Padua, 179n16
- Faculty of Medicine in Pisa, 12
- Faculty of Theology, 10, 12
- Fano, Giuseppe, 113
- Fasci Giovanili (Fascist youth movements), 101, 103–4
- Fascio Femminile d’Italia (Italian Women’s Fascio), 107
- Fascio Giovanile Ebraico (Young Jewish Fascist Group), 3, 91
- Fascist Grand Council, 26, 32
- Fascist Italian Jews, 30–33, 70–71, 130, 180n28, 180n30
- fascistizzazione* (fascistization), 38
- Fascist Party, 2, 14, 24–25, 26–33, 54, 56–57, 69–71, 83, 91, 93, 101–04, 108–10, 112–15, 180nn28–29, 183n10; as anticlerical, 32; as middle class, 32; newspapers, 32–33; and women, 113; and youths, 101, 103. *See* anti-Semitism; Fascist Italian Jews
- Federation of Young Jews, 89



- Federazione Associazioni Culturali  
Ebraiche (Federation of Cultural Jewish Associations, FACE), 107, 111
- Ferrara, 10, 16, 24, 61, 79, 82, 106, 110, 119, 124, 127, 178n3, 178n15, 180n28, 188n35, 189n5
- Figli della lupa (Children of the Wolf), 103–4, 114
- Finzi, Aldo, 32, 177n5
- Finzi, Giuseppe, 2, 30, 182n1
- Florence, 2, 3, 7, 15, 35–37, 42–43, 55, 69, 75, 79, 81–83, 85, 92–93, 95–96, 98–100, 106–7, 110, 118, 128–30, 147, 178n12, 179n17, 186nn30–31
- Florence youth conference (first, 1911), 85–87
- Foà, Anna, 134
- Foà, Carlo, 32–33, 177n5, 180n28, 180n30, 194n46
- Foa, Moise, 86
- Fondo Seder* (Seder Fund), 24
- France, 11, 16, 56, 66, 141, 149, 151,
- Franchetti, Leopoldo, 31
- Fratelli di Romolo e Remo (Brothers of Romulus and Remus), 104
- Fraterna (Fraternity), 23
- Fraterna Generale Israelita di Venezia (General Brotherhood Israelite Association of Venice), 50
- Freemasonry, 29, 84, 189n7
- French Jews, 11
- French Revolution, 11–13, 15, 47
- Fubini, Guido, 180n24
- Fusco, Nicola, 124
- Futurista (Futurism), 96
- Galicia, 43
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 48, 65, 189n7
- Gazzetta del Popolo* (*People's Gazette*), 130
- gentiles/gentile society, 4–5, 17, 20, 28, 32, 37, 51–64, 72, 93–94, 96, 114–15, 140, 153–54, 156, 188n35; and illiteracy, 17; Jewish relations with, 51–64; newspapers, 72, 188n35; teachers, 37; and youth camps, 114–15; and youth congresses, 93–94. *See* majority culture
- Gerarchia* (Hierarchy), 33, 108, 130, 177n5
- German Jews, 18, 26, 28, 113, 120
- ghetto, 10–14, 17, 19, 33–34, 36, 40–41, 45, 51, 53, 58, 64, 100, 141, 148, 150–51, 183n8, 185n27, 191n6
- Ginzburg, Leone, 55, 135, 183n10, 194n46
- Ginzburg, Natalia, 6, 183n10
- Giolitti, Giovanni, 32
- Giovane Israele (FGEI), 3, 89
- Giovane Israele* (Young Israel), 3, 37–38, 70, 73, 77, 89, 97, 103
- Giovani Italiane, 113
- Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (Italian Youth of the Littorio, GIL), 103, 114
- Giovine Italia (Young Italy), 15, 47, 178n11
- Giustizia e Libertà (Justice and Freedom), 48, 130, 134–35, 156, 182n1
- Glass, Ciro, 3, 91
- “Gli Ebrei negli anni del Fascismo”* (The Jews in Mussolini's Italy), 28, 131
- Goldman, Nahum, 131
- Gorizia, 3, 101, 104, 106, 191n11, 192n23
- Gramsci, Antonio, 141
- Graves De Comuni*, 137
- Grazia Consiglio Ricchetti Foundation (1903), 24
- Great Britain, 28, 71, 124, 131, 187n33
- Gruppo Femminile dell'Ago (Women of the Needle Group), 111
- Guastalla, Enrico, 48
- GUF of Turin, 134
- Gunzberg, Lyn, 54–55
- hachshara chaltzistica* (pioneer's camp), 105
- hachsharot* (agricultural centers), 3–4, 28, 93, 112–13, 124, 155
- ha-Levi, Jehudah, 181n32
- Ha-Tikvah (The Hope), 101, 105–7, 128, 191n11
- Hall, Stuart, 144
- Hebrew language, 3, 10, 18, 35, 38–45, 58, 81, 83, 96, 100, 105–6, 148, 157, 168n2, 181n32, 190n16, 191n11
- Herman, Simon, 5, 140–41
- Herzl, Theodor, 68
- Hirsch, Rachele Levi, 111–12
- History of the Jews in Italy, The* (1946), 15
- Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend*), 115–16

- Hughes, Henry Stuart, 45, 53, 63
- “*I complici*” (The Fellows), 29
- Idea Sionista (The Zionist Idea)*, 70, 76–77, 186n30
- identity, 5, 154. *See* Jewish identity
- Il Cittadino (The Citizen)*, 188n35
- Il Leonardo, Il Regno (The Kingdom)*, 95
- immigration (Jewish), 26, 51, 55–56, 112–13
- Informazione Diplomatica (Diplomatic Information)*, 131
- “integral” Judaism, 91–92, 104, 116
- integration, 1–2, 4–6, 22, 37, 47, 51–53, 55–57, 60–61, 63, 75, 89, 96, 126, 132–33, 137–38, 147, 150, 153–56; and contemporary society, 154; definition of, 52; national, 53. *See* Emancipation
- Interlandi, Telesio, 26
- International Institute of Agriculture, 179n20
- Internazionale Ebraica (Jewish Lobby), 29
- I Protocolli dei Savi Anziani di Sion (The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion)*, 29
- Israel, 2, 3, 39, 56–57, 61–62
- Israel* (periodical), 35, 69, 90, 93, 100, 114, 122, 132
- Israel dei Ragazzi (Israel of the Youth, magazine)*, 36, 69, 111–12
- Israele l'Unico (Unique Israel)*, 86–87, 119–20, 122
- Israelita*, 68
- Israelite Society, 60
- Israel Segulla, 98, 128
- Italia Libera (Free Italy)*, 183n10
- Italia liberale* (unification–WWI), 20
- Italian Assembly of Zionist Revisionists, 70
- Italian Foreign Office, 30, 177n4
- “Italianization,” 41, 54, 145
- “Italian Jewish Identity from the Risorgimento to Fascism 1848–1938,” 1
- Italian Jewish scholarship, 17–19, 34–35, 178n15, 181n32
- Italian Jewry/Jews: background of, 9–45; and civil rights, 14–16; demographics of (*see* post-Emancipation, pre-Emancipation); diversity of, 97–98; and the gentiles (*see* gentiles); history of, 1, 4–6, 9–12, 51, 143–46, 153–57; emigration to America, 27; and Jewish identity (*see* Jewish identity); language of (*see* Hebrew language); liberation of (*see* liberation movement); as middle class (*see* bourgeoisie); and patriotism, 59–60; population counts, 9; restrictions on, 14, 26–27, 34; as urban population (*see* urbanity, assimilation, integration); as minority culture (*see* minority culture); national identity of (*see* national identity); and political Zionism (*see* Zionist movement); the term, 66
- Italian Jews in the War of 1915–1918, The*, 48–49
- Italian Judaism, 1–4, 6, 22–23, 52–53, 58–59, 63–65, 67, 72–75, 83–94, 96, 97–99, 101, 104–6, 111–12, 116–19, 121, 125, 127, 141–52, 153–56, 184n21, 189n9, 192n24; awareness of, 2–3; and the danger of assimilation, 155; and dialogue, 72–73; diversity of, 97–98; history of, 1, 154–56 (*see* assimilation); “integral” Judaism, 91–92, 104, 116; legal obligation to fund, 22–23; and liberal and democratic ideals, 65; modern form of, 83; and newspapers (*see* newspapers); rebirth of (*see* rebirth of Judaism); revivalist movements of (*see* revivalist movements); and Risorgimento (*see* Risorgimento); “total Judaism,” 3; and youths (*see* youths)
- Italian language, 18, 39–40
- Italian nation-state. *See* nation-building; nationalism
- Italian Parliament, 2, 16, 23, 30–31
- Italian Socialist Party, 30
- Italian society and culture, 15, 155–56
- “Italians of Mosaic faith,” 83–84
- Italian state, 24
- Italian Zionism. *See* Zionism (Italian)
- Italy: and agriculture (*see* agriculture); dark age of (1804), 12;

- Italy (*continued*): history of, 47–48, 153, 156–57; independence of, 47–48, 60; and immigration (*see* immigration); kingdom of (1861), 16–17; as secular, 24. *See* emancipation; unification
- I vecchi e I giovani (The Old and the New)*, 95
- Jarach, Federico, 113
- Jewish archives, 6–7
- Jewish culture, 17–19, 33–39, 70, 72, 79–83, 93, 111, 144, 186n31. *See* cultural societies; newspapers
- Jewish education, 17–19, 34–37, 58, 178n15, 181n32,33
- Jewish identity, 5–6, 25–26, 53–54, 62–63, 77, 84, 139–52, 153–54, 157, 180n24, 185n27, 195n1; and the Diaspora, 153; generalities about, 5, 157; and gentile society, 153; versus Jewish group identification, 5, 140; and particularism, 149; and rabbinical rules, 25–26, 180n24; redefinition of, 154; and universalism, 149
- Jewish Institute of Jewish Italian Studies in Jerusalem, 6
- “Jewish invasion,” 26
- “Jewish Italian,” 41, 66, 72
- Jewish nationalism, 125–26
- Jewish question (*Questione Ebraica*), 20, 27–29, 54–56, 131, 186n30
- Jewish roots, 155, 157
- Jewish Women’s Association, 110
- Jewish Youth Roman Association (AGIR), 3
- Jews of Renaissance Florence, The*, 35
- Joseph II of Austria, 10, 14, 18–19
- Judaism, 1, 4, 6, 52–53, 58–59, 63–65, 67, 72–75, 83–94, 96, 97–99, 101, 104–6, 111–12, 116–19, 121, 125, 127, 141–52, 153, 155–56, 184n21, 189n9, 192n24; and abandonment, 150–51; “integral” Judaism, 91–92, 104. *See* Italian Judaism; rebirth of Judaism
- Jung, Guido, 33, 177n5
- Kalk, Israel, 55, 184n11
- Keren Hayesod* (Fundraising Organization for Israel), 106
- Keren Kayemet (Jewish National Fund), 3, 100, 105, 124
- kibbutz, 121–23, 133, 155
- Krinkin, David, 89
- Kuliscioff, Anna, 30, 192n15
- L’Acerba (Unripe)*, 95
- Lambelin, Roger, 14
- Lattes, Aldo, 115
- Lattes, Arrigo, 127
- Lattes, Dante, 3, 35, 44, 67–69, 81, 99–100, 125, 127, 133, 145, 186n30
- Lattes, Guglielmo, 126–27, 186n30
- L’Avanti (Forward)*, 30–31, 192n15
- League of German youths (BdM), 116
- “L’Educazione della femmina Israelitica” (The Education of the Israelite Female), 64
- Lega Democratica Nazionale (National Democratic League), 137
- Leghorn, 3, 13, 15, 24, 34–37, 58, 68, 76, 82, 90, 92, 107, 110, 118, 127, 135, 148, 178n10,11, 182n1, 186n30, 189n5, 193n34
- Leghorn youth conference (fourth, 1924), 90–93
- Lehner, Giancarlo, 94–95
- L’Ente Nazionale per l’educazione fisica (National Institution for Physical Education), 102
- L’età Giolittiana* (the Giolitti age, 1900–1914), 32
- Leone XIII, 137
- Levantine Jews, 26
- Levi, Carlo, 183n10, 194n46
- Levi, David, 49, 188n35
- Levi, Giuseppe, 2, 184n21
- Levi, Leo, 3, 106, 117, 121–23, 132, 134, 155, 192n23
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 146
- liberalism, 24, 32, 109, 157
- liberation movement, 15–17, 47, 53–54. *See* Risorgimento
- Libya, 27, 65–66, 114, 180n28
- Libyan Jews, 29
- Lipset, Seymour, 140–41, 156
- Loewinson, Herman, 55
- Lolli, Eude, 126
- Lombardy, 10–11, 16, 22, 178n3
- Lowy, Tullio, 50
- Lubin, David, 179n20
- Luisada, Renzo, 113

- Lux* (Light), 186n30  
 Luzzati, Giulia, 59–60, 63  
 Luzzati, Luigi, 31, 179n20  
 Luzzati, Michele, 57–58  
 Luzzato, Amos, 57, 143  
 Luzzato, Samuele David, 34, 181n32
- Majno, Ersilia, 109–10, 192n15  
 majority group, 51, 154  
*Manifesto degli Scienziati Razzisti*  
 (Manifesto of Racist Scientists), 123  
*Manifesto del Razzismo* (Manifest of  
 Racism), 26  
*Marc'Aurelio*, 130  
 Margulies, Samuel Hirsch, 35  
 Margulies, Shemuel Zvi, 2, 79, 81, 92, 106,  
 128  
 Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso, 96  
 Maroni, Augusto, 50  
 Marx, Karl, 76, 135, 141  
 Massaie Rurali (Rural Housewives), 113  
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 15  
 meetings (Jewish youth), 85–96. *See*  
 conferences  
*Memoria Familiare e identità* (*Family*  
*Memoirs and Identity*), 57  
 Mensa dei bambini (children's refectory),  
 55  
*Messaggero Israelitico* (The Israelite  
 Messenger), 69  
 methodology, 6–7, 156–57  
 Meyer, Michael A., 139  
 Michaelis, Meir, 180n29  
 Middle Ages, 13, 39, 66  
 Middle East, 28  
 migration, 13, 19, 21, 27, 179n17  
 Milan, 3, 10, 15–16, 19, 23–24, 26, 28, 32,  
 37, 48, 55, 70, 82, 107, 109–11, 113,  
 119, 177n5, 182n1, 184n11, 189n5,  
 192n15, 194n46  
 Milano, Attilio, 4, 15, 40, 62, 64  
*Military Encyclopedia*, 49  
*Milizia Fascista* (*Fascist Militia*), 130  
 Minerbi, Sergio, 131  
 Ministry of National Education, 103  
 minority group, 51, 154, 98  
 mixed marriages, 12, 22–23, 27, 52, 59,  
 185n27  
 Modena, 12–13, 16, 101, 104, 106, 110,  
 178n3, 182n1, 186n30, 188n35, 189n5
- Modigliani, Giuseppe, 30–31, 137, 180n30,  
 194n46  
 Molinari, Maurizio, 6  
 Momigliani, Eucardio, 180n30  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo, 64  
 Momigliano, Felice, 44  
*Moncalvo*, 44  
 Monferrato region, 10–11, 37, 82  
 Morpurgo, Abram Vita, 2, 67, 188n35  
 Morpurgo, Edgardo, 85, 87  
 Morpurgo, Giuseppe Lazzaro, 20  
 Mortara, Lodovico, 31  
 movements (Jewish youth), 1–4, 84,  
 97–125, 146–47, 153, 155–56, 191n11,  
 192n23,24  
 Movimento Popolare (Popular Movement),  
 136  
 Muggia, Franca, 125  
 Murri, Romolo, 137  
 Musatti, Elia, 108  
 Mussolini, Benito, 2, 25, 27–32, 38, 70–71,  
 84, 95, 107; and the Jewish question,  
 27–29
- Napoleonic Wars, 15, 47  
 Napoleon I of France, 11–12, 15, 47–48  
 Nathan, Ernesto, 31, 84, 177n4, 182n1,  
 189n6,7  
 national identity (of Italian Jews), 22, 52,  
 64, 76, 92, 97–98, 125–26, 153–57;  
 and original identity, 154–55; and  
 separation, 76; transformation of, 22,  
 52. *See* Risorgimento  
 nationalism (Italian), 20–21, 32, 49, 89,  
 94–95  
 Nationalist Congress, first (1910), 96  
 Nationalist Jewish movement (European),  
 125–26  
 nation-building (Italian), 20–21, 154  
 newspapers (Jewish), 1–3, 15, 33, 64–77,  
 153, 155, 188n35; Fascist, 33, 70; and  
 the new Italy, 64–72; and rebirth of  
 Italian Judaism, 72–77
- Nomadism, 13  
*Non Mollare* (*Don't Give Up*), 194n46  
 North Africa, 21  
 northern Italy, 13, 21, 62  
*Nostra Bandiera* (*Our Banner*), 33, 70, 130,  
 180n29  
*Nostro Programma* (*Our Program*), 74

- Nuova Federazione Giovanile Ebraica Italiana, La (FGEI; New Federation of Young Italian Jews), 89
- oligarchia liberale* (liberal oligarchy), 34
- Olivetti, Angelo, 33
- Olivetti, Enzo, 91
- Olschki, Leo, 66
- Oneg Shabbat, 83, 93–94, 134–35
- Opera dei Congressi (Congress Union), 136–37
- Opera del Tempio Israelitico (Opera of the Israelite Temple, 1888), 23
- Opera Nazionale Balilla* (the Fascist National Organization [Balilla] [ONB]), 38, 101–4, 109, 114–16
- Orano, Paolo, 14, 56, 131
- “Origini e sviluppo del nazionalismo in Italia” (Origins and Development of Nationalism in Italy), 94–95
- Ottolenghi, Adolfo, 49–50
- Ottolenghi, Giuseppe, 31, 73, 177n4, 178n11
- Ottolenghi, Mario, 124
- Ovazza, Ettore, 33, 70–71, 187n33
- Pacifici, Alfonso, 3, 35–36, 43–44, 68–69, 85–91, 97–98, 105–6, 117–19, 122, 133–34, 149, 186n31, 190n16, 17
- Padua, 17, 29–30, 34, 36–37, 82, 110, 119, 149, 179n16, 189n2, 189n5
- Palestine, 4, 9, 27–28, 33, 35, 38, 43–44, 70–71, 74–75, 83, 91, 93–94, 99–101, 104, 111–13, 118, 120, 122–29, 132–33, 148–49, 155–56, 167n2, 187n33.  
See emigration to Palestine
- Paolo IV, 12
- Papal States, 10–12, 16
- Partito Comunista d’Italia (Communist Party of Italy), 135
- Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party, PCI), 135
- Partito d’Azione (Action Party), 183n10
- Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani (Italian Workers’ Party), 30, 135, 194n46
- Partito Nazionale Fascista; Fascist National Party (PNF), 32, 108
- Partito Repubblicano (Republican Party), 194n46
- Partito Socialista (Pietro Nenni’s Socialist Party), 194n46
- Partito Socialista in Italia (Socialist Party in Italy), 30
- Patriottismo e Coscienza Ebraica* (Patriotism and Jewish Conscience), 60
- Pavia, Rosa, 110
- Peace Conference (Versailles), 31, 188n35
- Pel milione di fucili (A Thousand Rifles), 48, 182n1
- Pensiero Israelitico* (*Jewish Thought*), 186n30
- Piccole Italiane (Little Italians), 103, 109
- Piedmont, 10–11, 16–17, 19, 41, 47–48, 58, 65, 141, 143, 178n11, 179n20, 182n1
- Piedmont Constitutions of 1848, 16–17
- Piedmontese Jews, 42
- Pincherle, Gabriele, 31, 177n4
- Pio IX, 16
- Pirandello, Luigi, 95
- Pisa, 3, 12, 23, 31, 37, 60, 82, 110–11, 182n1
- Pisa, Vittoria Cantoni, 111
- PNF. See Partito Nazionale Fascista; Fascist National Party
- Polacco, Vittorio, 24, 115
- Polacco Institute of Padua, 36
- Polish Jews, 18, 26
- political life (Italian Jews), 30–32. See Partito Nazionale Fascista
- Pontremoli, Esdra, 2, 184n21
- Popolo d’Italia*, (Italian People), 29, 49, 108, 110, 130–31
- Popular Party, 102
- population counts (Italian Jews), 9–10, 48
- post-Emancipation Italian Jews, 19–39; general status of, 19–33; and gentiles, 20; Jewish education and culture, 33–39; and language, 39–45; and migration, 13, 19; and professions, 13, 20; and property, 22–23; and southern Italy, 19; transformation of, 22; and university students, 26; urbanity of, 13, 19, 21
- Prato, David, 35–36, 42, 69, 79, 149
- pre-Emancipation Italian Jews, 1–2, 12–19, 39–45; and conversion to Christianity, 12–13; economic and political status, 14–17; Jewish education and culture, 17–19; judicial status of,

- 14; and language, 39–45; and liberal professions, 2, 14; and migration, 13; and northern Italy, 13; professions of, 2, 14; public life demographics, 1–2; and religious freedom, 14–16; sociodemographic and judicial status, 10–13; and Southern Italy, 13; and university students, 16, 18–19; and work restrictions, 14
- Preziosi, Giovanni, 29
- Prisoners of Hope*, 45, 53
- Pro-Cultura society (1907), 2, 35, 74, 79–82, 84, 98–99, 185n27, 186n31, 189n2
- professions (of Italian Jews), 1–2, 12, 14, 20, 22, 26–27, 30, 48–50, 57, 179n16,21; commerce and industry, 22, 27; liberal, 2, 14, 22; military, 1–2, 27, 48–50, 179n21; physicians, 12, 14, 179n16; public life, 1–2, 30, 179n21; and racial laws, 26–27; and self-employment, 179n21; shopkeepers, 20
- propaganda, 100, 108–9, 126–27, 131, 147
- public life (Italian Jews), 1–2, 30–31, 177nn4–5
- Quadrivio*, 130
- Questione Ebraica*. See Jewish question
- Rabbinical College of Florence, 79, 81, 85, 92, 106, 118, 186n31
- Rabbinical College of Leghorn, 193n34
- Rabbinical College of Padua, 34, 149
- rabbis, 25–26, 34–35, 49, 61, 98, 143, 180n24, 184n21, 186n30
- Racah, Giulio, 124
- Racah, Gustavo, 193n34
- Racah, Leone, 193n34
- racial laws (1938), 24, 26–28, 39, 51, 54–55, 93, 109, 132–33, 145–46, 154–55, 180n24, 180n28, 184n11
- Rassegna Contemporanea* (*Contemporary Review*), 84
- Rassegna Femminile Italiana*, 109
- Rassegna Mensile di Israele* (*Israel Monthly Review*), 42, 69
- Rava, Maurizio, 180n28
- Ravenna, Gabriela Falco, 110
- Ravenna, Renzo, 180n28
- rebirth of Judaism, 1–2, 35–36, 57, 72–77, 79, 85, 96, 98, 148–49, 152, 153, 155, 157, 184n21
- religious conversion, 12–13, 22, 27, 31, 53
- religious discrimination, 11–13, 29, 39, 54
- religious freedom, 14–16
- Revere, Giuseppe, 49
- revivalist movement, 93, 97–98, 125, 154–56
- Ricchetti, Davide, 24
- Ricci, Renato, 102
- Risorgimento (Reawakening), 1, 14–15, 20, 30, 47–48, 51–52, 54, 58, 64–66, 76, 81, 84, 95, 127, 141, 150, 153–54, 177n4, 182n1
- Risorgimento Museum (Milan), 48
- Rivista Israelitica* (*Jewish Review*), 35, 64–65, 186n30
- Rizzoli, Elisa Majer, 109
- Roman Catholicism, 24, 178n3. See Catholic Church; Catholicism
- Roman Empire, 9, 28
- Romanini, Leon Vita, 64
- Roman Jews, 98–99, 191n6
- Roman Republic, constitution of (1798), 178n3
- Romanziere Israelitico* (The Israelite Novelist), 68
- Rome, 3, 6–7, 9–11, 17–22, 24–25, 31–32, 35, 37–38, 48–49, 66, 75, 82–84, 89, 95–96, 97, 99–100, 108, 110, 179n17
- Rosselli, Carlo, 130, 194n46
- Rosselli, Nello, 76, 91
- Rossi, Ernesto, 194n46
- Roth, Cecil, 4, 15, 30, 34, 179n19,20
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 95
- Rovighi, Cesare, 64
- Russian Jews, 43
- Sabatello, Eitan, 19
- Sacerdote, Angelo, 25, 79, 91
- Salvemini, Gaetano, 194n46
- San Sepolcro program, 107
- Sapienza University in Rome, 18
- Sardinian Law of 1857, 25
- Sarfatti, Cesare, 108
- Sarfatti, Michele, 28, 32–33, 108–9, 177n1, 177n5, 192n15
- Savaldi, Marcello, 116–17, 121
- Savoia, Elisa, 107

- Savoy, house of, 16, 48, 58, 65–67  
*Secolo Nuovo (New Century)*, 192n15  
 sectarianism, 94  
 secularization, 24, 36–37, 44, 53, 57, 63,  
 107–8, 111, 136, 142, 144, 146, 150–51,  
 185n27, 191n9  
 Segre, Dan, 141  
 Segre, Vittorio, 6, 58–59  
 segregation, 10, 13, 40–41, 64. *See* ghettos  
 Senigaglia, Quinto, 68–69  
 Sereni, Emilio, 194n46  
 Sereni, Enzo, 3, 91, 99–100, 123, 132–34  
 Servadio, Grazia, 6  
 Servi, Amleto, 127  
 Servi, Erminio, 48  
 Servi, Ferruccio, 48–49, 184n21  
 Servi, Flaminio, 76  
 Sestieri, Lea, 4  
*Settimana Israelitica (Israeli Weekly)*  
 42–44, 68, 74–75, 81–82, 85–88, 90,  
 186n30, 31, 189n9, 190n17  
 Shalem, Nathan, 35–36  
 SIB. *See* Soccorso Israelitico di Beneficenza  
 Sicily, 9, 12, 47–48  
*Small Modern Novel*, 44  
 Soccorso Israelitico di Beneficenza  
 (Palestine Charitable Aid, SIB), 111  
 socialism, 21, 30–32, 96, 107–8, 130,  
 135–37, 157, 180n28, 182n1, 192n15,  
 193n38  
*Socialismo Liberale (Liberal Socialism)*, 130  
 Sofia, Francesca, 6, 52, 57  
 Sonnino, Giuseppe, 127  
 Sonnino, Sidney, 31  
 Sorani, Armando, 87, 186n31  
 southern Italy, 19  
*squadrista*, 180n28  
 status of the Jews: after Emancipation (*see*  
 post-Emancipation); and language,  
 39–45; prior to Emancipation (*see*  
 pre-Emancipation); and professions  
 (*see* professions); and regional  
 diversity, 9–10; as urban population  
 (*see* urbanity)  
 Stille, Alexander, 6  
*Storia degli Ebrei d'Italia* (1963), 15  
*Storia di un Ebreo fortunato (History of a  
 Fortunate Jew)*, 58  
*Strangers at Home*, 54  
 Talmud Torah (religious school), 18, 33,  
 35–36, 43–44, 59, 114, 181n33  
*Tempo (Time)*, 192n15  
 Terracini, Umberto, 194n46  
*Tevere (Tiber)*, 130–31  
 “Thousand” (*Mille*), 48, 182n1  
 Tikvath-Hechalutz (Hope of the Pioneer),  
 105  
 Toaff, Elio, 6  
*Toleranzpatent*, 12, 14, 18–19  
 Toniolo, Giuseppe, 136  
 Torah, 17–18, 105–6, 117–18, 121, 134  
 Toscano, Mario, 1, 4, 6, 53, 57, 63, 81, 84,  
 87, 93, 125–26, 149, 177n2  
 totalitarianism, 24, 122, 157  
 “total Judaism,” 3  
 Treves, Claudio, 30–31, 137, 180n30,  
 194n46  
 Trieste, 2, 3, 7, 10, 16–17, 20–22, 31, 34, 64,  
 67, 69, 81, 91, 96, 110, 113, 115, 126,  
 129, 179n17, 188n35, 189n5, 193n34  
 Tripoli, 29, 110–12, 114, 190n16  
 True Italians, The (I veri Italiani), 178n11,  
 182  
 Turati, Filippo, 194n46  
 Turin, 2, 11, 21, 35–37, 39, 43, 56, 58, 63,  
 70, 75, 82, 86–90, 96, 118, 127, 130,  
 134, 179n17, 180n29, 188n35, 189n5,  
 192n23, 193n38  
 Turin youth conference (second, 1912),  
 87–90  
 Tuscany, 10–13, 16, 19, 135  
 unification (of Italy), 1, 9, 12, 14–15, 20–23,  
 30–31, 34, 36, 47–48, 51–52, 64, 95,  
 127, 132, 135–36, 141–42, 145, 150,  
 153, 156–57, 189n7; as anticlerical,  
 20, 34; and civil rights, 22–23; Jewish  
 participation in, 48; and political  
 parties, 30–31  
 Unione Cattolica per gli Studi Sociali in  
 Italia (Catholic Union for Social  
 Studies in Italy), 136  
 Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche (Union  
 of Jewish Communities), 38, 113, 132  
 Unione Democratica, 180n30  
 Unione Femminile (Union of Women),  
 109–10, 192n15  
 Unione Femminile Nazionale (Women’s  
 National Union), 107

- Union of Italian Jewish Communities, 25, 143  
 United States, 56, 187n33  
 Università Israelitica, 23  
*Università Israelitiche* (communities), 11, 25  
 university students, 16, 18–19, 26  
 urbanity (of Italian Jews), 13, 19, 21, 33–34, 179n17, 179n20  
 Urbano Rattazzi Law, 22, 25  
 Uziel, David, 48
- Varadi, Max, 124  
 Vatican, 24–25, 102  
 Venetian Jews, 31, 49–50, 108, 181n33  
 Veneto, Lombardo, 12  
 Venice, 7, 10, 17, 23–24, 34, 36–37, 48–51, 58, 64, 79, 82, 110–11, 127–28, 136, 179n17, 179n20  
*Venti Anni (Twenty Year)*, 130  
 Vercelli, 2  
 vernacular Italian dialects, 39  
*Vessillo Israelitico* (Jewish Banner), 41, 44–45, 50, 61, 65–66, 67–68, 71, 75–76, 87–88, 126, 184n21, 193n38  
*Vita Italiana*, 29, 130  
 Viterbo, Carlo Alberto, 68–69, 90, 92  
 Vittorio Amedeo II, Duke of Savoy, 48  
*Voce, La (The Voice)*, 95
- wars of independence, 47–51, 182n1  
 Webber, Jonathan, 5, 140  
 Weizman, Vera, 110  
 Weizmann, Chaim, 98  
*Wissenschaft des Judentums* (“Science of Judaism”), 181n32  
 WIZO movement (Women’s International Zionist Organization), 110  
 Wollemborg, Leone, 31, 177n4  
 women, 107–13  
 World War I, 20, 24, 31–32, 35, 39, 47–51, 66–67, 69, 82, 84, 96–97, 107, 115, 135, 142, 154, 180n28, 182n1, 183n10  
 World War II, 123, 183n10  
 World Zionist Congress, 68
- Yehudah, Eliezer Ben, 43  
 Yiddish literature, 184n11  
 Yom Kippur, 59–61  
 youths (Jewish, 1930s), 3–4, 43, 57, 79–96, 97–138, 140–52, 153, 156–57. *See* camps; conferences; congresses; cultural *hachsharot*; societies; meetings, movements
- Zammato, D. A., 189n2  
 Zionism (Italian), 3, 33, 35, 38, 54, 67, 70, 76, 81, 84, 86–88, 91–92, 96, 98–101, 105–06, 110, 114, 118, 121–38, 155–57, 187n33, 192n23; in Italy, 125–38; practicality of, 101, 129, 156  
 Zionist Federation, 127–29  
 Zionist movement (Italian), 28, 67–71, 75–76, 93, 110, 120, 125–28, 155–56, 180n29, 188n33