

SECTOR INTERVENTIONS AND LOCAL SITUATIONS

RACIAL LEGISLATION AND ENTREPRENEURS

1. General

The anti-Jewish racial legislation promulgated by the Fascist regime from 1938 contained directives intended to eliminate or considerably limit the role of so-called “Jewish race” entrepreneurs in the economy. The regime also controlled the business activities of Jewish citizens through a system of self-accusation incumbent on the entrepreneurs in question, in most cases prohibiting any continuation of such activities unless under specific conditions.

The Italian Jewish Community numbered about 40,000 in an overall national population of about 40 million in the years in question (0.1% of the total).¹ As will be explained below, 4298 people classified as being of “Jewish race” were actively involved in business activities (about 10.74% of the Jewish Community).

This figure alone shows the effect of the racial persecution in the economic sector, to the detriment of Jewish entrepreneurs, both with regard to consequential damage, relating to the forcible conveyance of company assets, and to the loss of profits due to the impossibility of pursuing the business activity.

The question arises as to whether the economic racial discrimination was just one specific aspect of a more general system of anti-Jewish persecution adopted by Fascism in this period, putting such discrimination on the same qualitative level as civil, political and other restrictions, or whether it was the reaction of the regime to what was commonly regarded as a strong influence of the Jewish element in business life.

Because all the measures discussed were introduced at the same time as the provision itself and, especially, because the Jewish presence in the business sectors was less than actually thought, there was a tendency to favour the first of the above solutions.

2. The racial legislation in general

Subsequent to aspects highlighted in the chapter “Persecutory statutes regarding Jewish assets and work rights, 1938-1943”, the anti-Semitic economic directives adopted by the Italian Social Republic after 1943 are noteworthy as there was a significant increase in the issue and application of racial legislation in the period of the Italian Social Republic. The directives of the previous period will also be briefly noted to give an overall picture of the phenomenon.

¹ 1 Cf. C. Vivanti, *Gli ebrei nella storia d'Italia*, in *La Persecuzione degli ebrei durante il fascismo: Le leggi del 1938*, 1998, p. 33.

In order to distinguish the presence of Jews in the life of the State, specific duties were entrusted to the Head Office for Demographics and Race (subsequently *Demorazza*) in September 1938 by the Ministry of the Interior. Dl 1728/1938 of 17 November, entitled “Provisions for the Defence of the Italian Race”, was issued and subsequently enacted in Law 274/1939 of 5 January, which imposed a range of limitations and restrictions of a civil, political, property and business nature on Jews. This act was then followed by other provisions: in particular Law 126/1939 of 9 February, (containing the regulations for implementing and integrating the dispositions of dl 1728), converted into 1739/1939 of 2 June.

On the basis of the definition of belonging to the so-called Jewish race, contained in article 8 of dl 1728, such citizens were obliged to report their status to the town hall in their city of residence within 90 days of the decree coming into force, which had to be recorded in the marriage and population registers (art. 9).

According to art. 14, it was possible for some categories of citizens to be exempted from part of the 1938 regulation, at the discretion of the Ministry of the Interior on a case by case evaluation. Such people were: members of the families of those who had fallen in the World, Libyan, Ethiopian or Spanish Wars and for the Fascist cause; volunteers, the maimed, disabled, wounded and those decorated in the same wars; combatants in the same wars who had at least been awarded the *croce al merito bellico* (war gallantry medal); those maimed, disabled and wounded in the Fascist cause; members of the National Fascist Party in the years 1919-22 and the second half of 1924; *Legionari Fiumani*; those who had acquired exceptional merit, to be assessed according to art. 16 by a special commission set up by the Ministry of the Interior.

According to the intentions of the regime, Jewish citizens would therefore be divided into two categories: discriminated and non-discriminated. The discriminated (with a strange inversion of the normal sense) were those who should have enjoyed certain benefits on the basis of the above mentioned requirements.

According to art. 72 of decree 126, discriminated Jewish citizens should have been equated with Italian citizens not considered of Jewish race. But its actual application was more severe,² particularly by *Demorazza*, which tended to limit the actual declared cases of non-application of such dispositions. Discrimination itself really allowed only the ownership of more urban buildings, land and companies than the amount set for non-discriminated Jews; discriminated Jews were also allowed to continue directing companies and offering professional services to non-Jewish clients. Such benefits were partly annulled by subsequent directives.

² A. Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, Einaudi, Turin, 1992, p. 399.

The reason for setting up *Demorazza* was also to carry out a census of the Jews on the basis of the 1931 general census. This Office subsequently issued numerous administrative provisions aimed at imposing a series of further prohibitions against Jews working in the country's business sectors. The creation and updating of the database on the Jewish population was based on the Jews' own self-accusations, checks made by *Demorazza* and police controls.

The persecution reached its highest point with dl 2/1944 of 4 January. Indeed, directives were issued in order that all Italian citizens of so-called Jewish race would be affected, regardless of the discrimination provisions provided for by dl 1728, which had partly mitigated the severity of the anti-Semitic measures.³

3. Racial measures concerning entrepreneurs⁴

According to art. 10 of the cited dl 1728/1938 of 17 November, Italian citizens of so-called Jewish race could not:

³ The tightening of these measures was determined not only by political factors, but also by financial-economic ones with the aim of improving the precarious finances of the Social Republic with the income from the expropriation of the property of Jewish citizens (R. De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, Einaudi, Turin, 1988, pp. 447-448). According to an official statistic there were 3,522 discriminated Jewish families in a censused total of over 15,000 (L. Salvatorelli, G. Mira, *Storia d'Italia nel periodo fascista*, Mondadori, Milan, 1970, II, p. 424).

⁴ There is no definition of "entrepreneur" (nor of enterprise) in the 1882 commercial code. The term may in any case be applied both to the merchant who practised trading actions by regular profession, that is, who engaged in business activities, and to commercial companies. Trading actions proper were qualified as those of industrial enterprises and of some categories of other enterprises distinguished by the systematic and professional nature of their activity carried out in a production organisation of a lasting nature. Commercial activity or selling in a strict sense was not considered a trading action in that it was considered a collection of individual, occasional acts, not connected in a constant activity based on a stable organisation. For the purposes of this treatment we can in any case consider as entrepreneurs all those people engaged in business activities.

The civil code of 1942, however, which unified the previous civil and commercial codes, qualifies as entrepreneur those who professionally engage in an organised business activity aimed at the production and trade of goods or services (art. 2082). The notion of "enterprise" is not expressed, but derived from that of entrepreneur, while the company (art. 2555) is defined as the complex of assets organised by the entrepreneur for the running of the company. (*Novissimo digesto italiano*, UTET, Turin, 1958, under *Impresa*, VIII, p. 349 et seq.).

It is firstly thought useful to offer some significant figures on the characteristics and weight of the Italian economy in the years in question.

In 1936, 9,177,000 (49.4%) people were employed in agriculture; 5,075,000 (27.3%) in industry, 4,331,000 (23.30%) in other activities.

In 1938 the national income net of depreciation (L.14,900 million), amounted to 137,877 million; in 1939 the figures were respectively 16,185 million and 146,115 million.

The gross domestic product in the same years was respectively 151,001 million and 167,119 million, comprised as follows (in millions of lire):

Agriculture Industry Tertiary Public administration

1938 40,138 45,745 47,881 17,237

1939 43,816 50,523 53,257 19,523

(D. Vaneruso, *L'Italia fascista* (1922, 1945), in *Storia d'Italia dall'unità alla repubblica*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1981, p. 531 et seq., on ISTAT sources).

In 1939 Italy produced 2.7% of world production, compared with Germany's 10.7%, Japan's 3.5%, and 70% produced by USA, Great Britain, France and the USSR together.

Comparing the overall Italian income, in dollars, with that of the individual industrialised nations gives the following situation:

Italy 5,320 million dollars

USA 66,203 "

Great Britain 21,854 "

USSR 17,230 "

France 12,480 "

Germany 17,580 "

Japan 8,175 "

(D. Veneruso, *L'Italia fascista*, in *Storia d'Italia dal risorgimento alla repubblica*, IV, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1996, p. 300).

“c) In any way own or manage companies with a declared interest in the defence of the nation, according to the regulations of art. 1 of rdl 2488/1929 of 18 November – VIII, or companies of any kind employing 100 or more persons, nor direct such companies, nor take on the office of administrator or auditor;”

The relative regulations were adopted with rdl 126/1939 of 9 February.

According to art. 47, Jewish entrepreneurs had to report industrial and commercial companies

- a) of which they were in any manner owners or directors;
- b) belonging to non-public companies in which they were partners with unlimited responsibility,

to the Provincial Councils of Corporations (the modern Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture, subsequently the Chambers of Commerce) within 90 days of the decree coming into force.

Trade companies represented by the National Fascist Trades Federation were excluded from such obligation.

By way of such reports and also using information in their possession, inferable from the company register, and making official checks in the case of no report being made (art. 49), the Provincial Councils of Corporations were obliged to compile special lists of the companies identified, distinguishing:

- a) companies declared as of interest for the defence of the nation;
- b) companies of any other type, whose number of employees exceeded the limits established by article 10 c of dl 1728, that is, 99 employees;
- c) companies not coming within the previous categories.

On the strength of the prohibition against owning or managing companies as listed in a) and b), articles 56 and subsequent of the cited decree 126 established procedures for the checking of companies by a supervisory commissioner for the administration and liquidation of companies, nominated by the Ministry of Finance. In short, with the aim of removing any Jewish presence from the said enterprises, these had to be rapidly inventoried by the supervisory commissioner, who also checked the management deeds, and ceded by the owners to non-Jewish subjects on the authorisation of the Ministry of Finance within six months of the nomination of the supervisory commissioner; after this term, the Ministry of Finance, in coordination with the Ministry of Corporations, had to establish which companies not sold by Jewish subjects should be taken over, for reasons of public interest, by already existing or specially formed companies. For the remaining companies, of no important public interest and not sold directly by the owners, the Provincial Councils of Corporations nominated a receiver charged with winding-up the company on the basis

of communications from the supervisory commission. As an alternative to immediate winding-up, the Provincial Councils of Corporations could allow temporary management for no more than one year, entrusted to an administrator nominated by them; after such a term, the winding-up procedure proceeded in any case.

Apart from the drastic limitations on the ownership and management of companies as above, that is, those coming within the terms of a) and b), decree 126 also included directives intended to limit the possibilities of work: State civil and military administrations had the power to revoke concessions granted to people of so-called Jewish race, and could also revoke concessions and contracts to non-public companies in which Jewish citizens were partners with unlimited responsibility, unless the price relating to the goods supplied and works performed was paid.⁵

The anti-Jewish measures, also in economic sectors, were then exacerbated with the founding of the Italian Social Republic, given that Jews were regarded as foreigners and enemies of the homeland. The prohibition against in any way owning or managing companies of any kind whatsoever was indiscriminately extended to all Jewish subjects with dlgs 2/1944 of 4 January (“New directives regarding property owned by citizens of Jewish race”), even if they had obtained the measure of discrimination (art. 1).⁶

According to art. 7, industrial and commercial companies (along with their property assets, appurtenances, moveable chattels and any other asset) owned by Jewish subjects, even if formerly discriminated, were confiscated in favour of the State and their management entrusted to the Real Estate Management and Liquidation Corporation (EGELI).

4. The business sectors affected by the racial restrictions

An analysis of the anti-Jewish directives issued by the Fascist regime and affecting the economy shows that the so-called Jewish owners or managers of companies involved in the defence of the nation and those of larger size (more than 100 employees) of any type had in any case to hand them over, while other companies were monitored and checked without their owners having to cede them.

The requirement to report provided for by art. 47 of decree 126 concerned industrial and commercial companies according to the letter of the directive.⁷

⁵ Within the term of 90 days of rdl 126/1939 of 9 February coming into force, Jewish subjects managing companies as at letter c) of art. 10 of dl 1728, the owner of which was not considered to be of Jewish race, had to relinquish their positions. If they continued beyond the set term, the matter took on a penal connotation and they were punished with a fine. Jewish citizens who were administrators or auditors of all companies coming within the dictates of art. 10 forfeited the right to their position within the same term of 90 days (art. 68).

⁶ The same extension was allowed for subjects working as directors, administrators or auditors in the same companies.

⁷ The establishment of new industrial concerns under the corporate regime could be subject to authorisation from the Ministry of Corporations according to the principles of law 141/1933 of 12 January. Previously, in accordance with rdl 2107/1927 of 3 November, the establishment of new industrial concerns in municipalities with a population of more than 100,000, when these

As mentioned, trade companies represented by the National Fascist Trades Federation were excused from reporting.

This disposition must probably be interpreted, both legally and in the intentions of the regime, not so much as an intention to exclude the trade sector from the restrictions, but rather as an exemption from an obligation to report. This was because, being represented by the National Fascist Trades Federation, such companies were already known and counted.

Consideration must also be given to the fact that the Fascist corporate system, aimed at trying to merge the numerous business and inter-professional interests for the greater general good, tended to forcibly associate all those belonging to different sectors of the economy, be they employers or employees, into trade union or professional associations. As trade is distinguished by the fact that the essential element in a trade firm, indeed a constituent part of it, is the professional work performed by the tradesman himself (along with its smaller size and small number of employees), both the entrepreneur and the worker were required to join, as both are tradesmen. It is thought that such a circumstance was true of both the so-called production trades (e.g. the blacksmith or tailor who produces the good), and the so-called service trades (e.g. the hairdresser who offers a service to the clientele).

It must in any case be noted – in confirmation of the above interpretation – that in the research carried out some limited cases were found of trade firms, as will be explained below.⁸

The agricultural sector seems to have been excluded from the restrictions, in that it is never mentioned in the anti-Jewish legislation under consideration.⁹

required the employment of more than 100 workers, was subject to prior consent from the Ministry for the National Economy. Industrial activities declared fundamental for the manufacture of products essential for the defence of the nation were also subject to authorisation, on the basis of rdl 2488/1929 of 18 November.

It is possible to begin discussing a systematic public law discipline of the activity of selling with the issue of dl 2174/1926 of 16 December, converted into law 2501/1927 of 18 December. Previously, though there was no lack of specific legislative interventions, these were mainly aimed at protecting more general interests such as health and public religion rather than commercial activities. The fundamental principles of trading activities were established with the 1926 regulation: requirement for an administrative licence both for wholesale and retail trade; need for possession of specific requirements; payment of a deposit (*Novissimo digesto*, cit., under *Industria e industrializzazione*, VIII, p. 625 and *Vendita al pubblico*, XX, p. 642).

⁸ There was no systematic regulation of trades in Italy until law 860/1956 of 25 July. The 1942 civil code only classified (art. 2083) tradesmen among small businessmen (along with market gardeners and small traders) defining them as those who exercise a professional activity mainly organised with their own labour or that of their family.

The National Fascist Federation of Tradesmen, which gave trade-union representation to such economic actors, was a so-called second grade professional association (those of the first grade were the trade unions and those of the third grade the confederations), having a legal personality. One of the main functions of the federations was to provide legal representation for the members of the category for which the association was founded, even if they were not enrolled; such total representation also gave rise to the effective *erga omnes* of collective labour contracts (A. Fanfani, *Il significato di corporativismo*, Cavalleri, Como, 1941, II, page 20 et seq.; *Novissimo digesto*, cit, under *Impresa artigiana*, IV, p. 862).

⁹ The 1865 civil code and the commercial code did not consider agriculture as an economic activity and the regulations of the civil code relating to agrarian matters were restricted to the regulation of landed property, its legal limits, boundaries, its winding-up, its real limited rights and to the regulation of contacts relating to agriculture. Precise dispositions are however contained in the 1942 civil code, which defines those who carry out the direct activity of market gardening, silviculture, stock farming and related activities, e.g. conversion of agricultural products and their sale as agrarian entrepreneurs (art. 2135) (*Novissimo digesto*, cit, under *Impresa agraria*, VIII, p. 361).

However, some cases of the forcible conveyance of farms were noted, as explained below.

Considering that the anti-Jewish laws were surrounded by directives, circulars and application decisions of the administrative authority, which were at times also ordained *praeter legem*, the agricultural sector should not be excluded from the group of economic sectors affected by the racial restrictions.

In the service sector, a term more modern than historical, cases were noted of persecutory interventions for activities certainly coming within such a sphere. Some of these activities were specifically considered trading actions by the 1882 code (e.g. art. 3, banking operations, transport, sea transport, insurance, commission agents, business offices and agencies, brokerage, goods storage). Other activities are generally thought to have been in any case regulated by the commercial code as business activities and were broadly part of the commerce sector (even residually and in any case in contrast with the primary sector – agriculture – and the secondary – industry – in the traditional tripartite division of economic activities) so neither was this sector exempt from application of the anti-Jewish directives.¹⁰

In the service sector, various restraints were determined directly by the authority of the police. Between 1938 and 1942, numerous prohibitions were established regarding: patent and various other business agencies; the activities of the broker, commercial traveller and commission agent; the collection, packaging and sale of obsolete army clothing; the collection of metals and scrap metals; the collection of mattress wool; the collection of rubbish; the acceptance for export of fruit, vegetable and hemp products; the driving of public transport vehicles; customs activities; the collection of antique, art and rare weapons; the activities of the guide, interpreter and messenger, also for tourist purposes; the running of dancing schools; the placement of publications and room rentals; and that of typing offices in shops.

In general the prohibition was applied by withholding the relative administrative police licences required by the Single Text of the police laws, approved with rd 773/1931 of 18 June, and by subsequent laws. Some other prohibitions within the same context of restrictions imposed by police authority affected trades (printing, photography), commerce (street traders,¹¹ sellers of jewellery,

¹⁰ In their turn, both services and commerce can be related to the tertiary sector (traditional tertiary sector and quaternary service sector); terminology that was not much used at the time, but is common today, partly because of the gradual move of the modern economy to the tertiary sector. This is typical especially of mature, post-industrial economies in which the tertiary sector tends to equal and even exceed the contribution of industry to the gross national product of a country.

¹¹ The legislation covering the activity (called “trade”) of the seller or distributor of goods, foodstuffs or drinks was particularly severe. Street trading was inserted among the itinerant trades. Street traders, according to the provisions of law 327/1934 of 5 February, were considered those who sell at the home of the buyer (this would now be described as “door to door”) or in public places, though not from permanent buildings. Street trading had to be exercised directly by the proprietor with the sole help of his family. (*Novissimo digesto*, cit., under *Mestieri girovaghi ed ambulanti*, X, pp. 587-588.

In summer 1940, the practice of street trading was prohibited.

antiques and art objects, used goods, radio equipment, leather products in hotels) and those of businesses, that is, the public purveyance of food and drinks, and the provision of other services (operation of cafes, bars, *trattorie*, *osterie*, wine and spirits shops; hotels, boarding houses, inns).¹² Furthermore, with the *Demorazza* circular n. 1549/24 of 18 June 1940, notice was given that those belonging to the so-called Jewish race, even if discriminated, were forbidden from carrying out any activity in the entertainment sector, from the entrepreneurial to the most menial labour.¹³ In conclusion, it seems apparent that all economic sectors (agriculture, industry, commerce, trade, services and entertainment) were covered by application of the racial laws either directly, on the basis of the regulatory provisions, or indirectly, on the basis of administrative measures or the authority of the police.¹⁴

5. The research carried out

5.1. METHODOLOGICAL PREMISS

The information relating to Italian citizens classified as being of “Jewish race” involved in economic activities has been gathered from a systematic comparison of the lists published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the Kingdom of Italy with historic documentation forwarded by the Chambers of Commerce at the request of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Trade, specifically aimed at this research.

Analysis of such documentation has allowed a range of important historic and economic information to be brought to light.

There had already been an efficient system of monitoring production activities in Italy for some years. In particular, all those who intended running a business in individual or company form were obliged to present a written request to the Provincial Corporate Economy Offices of the province where they intended starting a commercial, industrial or agricultural activity. This was on the basis

Taking its cue from the prohibition laid down in 1938 by the Ministry of Corporations regarding the issue by local bodies of licences for the operation of shops and regarding the transfer of these to Jews, the Ministry of the Interior had reflected on a series of economic activities subject to police authorisation, directed towards an increase in the restrictions.

In particular, in March 1940 the issue and renewal of licences for street trading in articles of stationery and personal toilet items was prohibited. By the beginning of August of the same year, subsequent extensions had led to a total prohibition with licences being recalled from street traders, affecting about 800 proprietors in Rome alone. At the end of the year an extension of three months was granted to allow traders with dependent families to sell up their goods (S. Caviglia, *Un aspetto sconosciuto della persecuzione: l'antisemitismo “amministrativo” del Ministero dell'interno*, in “La Rassegna mensile di Israel”, LIV, n. 1-2 1988, p. 233 et seq.).

¹² M. Sarfatti, *La persecuzione degli ebrei in Italia dalle leggi razziali alla deportazione*, in *La persecuzione degli ebrei durante il fascismo: Le leggi del 1938*, cit., page. 90; *ibid.*; *Ministero dell'interno, Appunto* (summary of anti-Jewish administrative circulars and dispositions): p. 178.

¹³ *Ministero dell'interno, Provvedimenti razziali nel settore dello spettacolo (18 giugno 1940)*, in *La persecuzione degli ebrei durante il fascismo*, cit., p. 176.

¹⁴ Law 1815/1939 of 23 November, which at art. 2 sanctioned the prohibition against the formation of companies by professionals, must also be noted.

This disposition, only recently repealed (by law 266/1997, art. 24, comma 1) with the justification of qualifying and personalising the services offered in the sphere of the so-called liberal professions, was actually intended to implement the contemporary racial laws, aimed at preventing Jewish people from carrying on their profession even in the context of a company (edited by G. Schiano di Pepe; *Società tra professioni in Trattato teorico pratico delle Società*, I, *La società di persone*, IPSOA, Lodi, 1995, p. 201).

of directives issued in the single text of the laws on the Provincial Corporate Economy Councils (equivalent to the modern Chambers of Commerce) and on the Provincial Corporate Economy Offices, decentralised organs of the Ministry of Corporations, now the Ministry of Industry, approved with rd 2011/1934 of 20 September. Such data was recorded in a register entitled *Registro delle ditte* (register of firms).¹⁵ Those operating agricultural activities liable only to personal property tax on farm income were exempt from this obligation, in accordance with rd 16/1923 of 4 January, while street traders were required to register at the Corporate Economy Office in their normal place of residence.

The research is distinguished by type of information, taken from paper documents, with the main aim of providing information on the size and geographic location of the economic activities in which Jewish citizens operated.

The names of Italian citizens classified as Jewish who were proprietors of an economic activity on the basis of the reports required by the racial legislation are printed in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the Kingdom of Italy.

The information has been ordered by region and province in a table set out as follows:

REGION	PROVINCE	NAME AND SURNAME LIST	rdl 9.2.1939, n. 126	ACTIVITY
NAME OF SOLE PROPRIETOR OR COMPANY AND SOURCE OF DATA				
Column 1 and 2	geographical location			
Column 3	personal details (name, surname and paternity and any other item useful for identification)			
Column 4	data taken from the <i>Gazzetta Ufficiale</i> of the Kingdom of Italy; the firms affected by the prohibition are shown by type, as at art. 52 of rdl 126/1939 of 9 February			
Column 5	sector in which the activity was carried out			
Column 6	name, where available, of the sole proprietors or companies in which the subject indicated in column 3 operated.			

¹⁵ Law 580/1993 of 29 December (“Reorganisation of the Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Trade and Agriculture”) defines the Chambers of Commerce as autonomous, public law bodies with functions of a general interest in the districts under their jurisdiction (i.e. the provinces) for companies, taking care of their development in the context of the local economies.

The Chambers of Commerce are controlled by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Trade and by the regional government bodies.

In addition to their functions relating to the support and promotion of companies, the Chambers of Commerce have important administrative functions delegated by the State and the regional government bodies.

The more important functions delegated by the State include the keeping of the company register (*Registro delle imprese*), as at art. 2188 of the civil code, which essentially replaced the register of firms (*Registro delle ditte*).

The *Registro delle ditte* was set up within the chamber system in 1910, when, with direct election of the chamber administrators by the economic groupings, it was made obligatory for all those who, individually or in company with others, had operated commercial or industrial activities to report their activity, mainly in order to identify those with the right to vote.

At the same time, regulations were also instituted concerning the form of the reports and the relative register that was denominated the *Registro delle ditte*.

Such dispositions were reviewed and updated in 1925 and 1934, and finally in 1981 and 1982.

Some practical classification difficulties arose when inserting the data on the basis of sources – including those of the ISTAT censuses. The utmost attention was therefore given to examining the historic documentation in hand on every subject examined; paternity has also been shown where possible in order to avoid duplications.

The data was examined and grouped into 94 provinces on the basis of the geographic partition of the time. Information was gathered on 65 provinces, but it was not possible to trace useful information on the remaining 29.¹⁶

Three of the latter (Belluno, Novara and Vicenza) are in the north, three in the centre (Arezzo, Ascoli Piceno and Rieti) and the remaining 23 in the south.

The lack of data from the provinces of south Italy and the islands does not seem important, however, when considering the overall phenomenon. As an examination of the 1931 census data shows a minimal presence of Jews in those provinces.

5.2. CENSUS OF THE POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS. DATA RELATING TO JEWISH ENTREPRENEURS

Comparing the results of the 1931 and 1936 censuses shows that the former is more relevant to the needs of the study as the questionnaire prepared by ISTAT included a question on “Religion”. This question may be seen as instrumental as it was inserted to allow the regime to quantify the “non-Catholics” in the kingdom and to identify their relative fields of economic activity. Indeed, the information taken from the 1931 census was used by the Head Office for Demography and Race to draw up the index of Jews in Italy.

The census shows that the present population in 1931¹⁷ was 41,176,671 and included 47,825 Jewish citizens, or 0.12%, of which 23,574 were males and 24,251 females.

The preliminary report to the 1931 census – vol. I – shows that 99.6% of the present population was of Catholic religion and that the two largest groups of “non Catholics” (as defined by the census) in Italy were “Evangelicals” (53%) and Jews (30%).

The Jews were mainly in the north (59.8%) and centre (37.6%) of Italy.

TABLE.1. *Presence of Jews in Italy by region in 1931*

<i>Number of Jews</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
-----------------------	-------------------

¹⁶ Because of the ways in which the request to the Chambers of Commerce was made, it is certain that the bodies that did not respond had found no documentation in their archives.

As a result of rdl 1/1927 of 21 January, and subsequent dispositions, in the period in question Italy was divided into 94 provinces and 7,312 town councils (the regions or districts were solely geographic, with no institutional or administrative character).

The Italian regions in 1938 were:

Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, Venezia Tridentina (Trentino Alto Adige), Veneto, Venezia Giulia and Zara (Friuli Venezia Giulia), Emilia, Tuscany, Umbria, Lazio, Abruzzo and Molise, Campania, Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia.

¹⁷ Present population: number of people actually in the city council district on the date of the census.

Resident population: number of people permanently residing in a given city council district.

Piedmont	4,958	10.4
Liguria	2,154	4.5
Lombardy	7,876	16.5
Veneto	3,101	6.5
Venezia Tridentina	1,293	2.7
Venezia Giulia and Zara	6,883	14.4
Emilia	2,321	4.9
North Italy	28,586	59.8
Tuscany	5,293	11.1
Marche	970	2.0
Umbria	112	0.2
Lazio	11,600	24.3
Central Italy	17,975	37.6
Abruzzo and Molise	81	0.2
Campania	876	1.8
Apulia	64	0.1
Lucania	2	—
Calabria	11	—
South Italy	1,034	2.1
Sicily	216	0.4
Sardinia	14	—
Italian islands	230	0.5
Kingdom	47,825	100.0

TABLE 2. Complete figures on present population and Jews shown by the 1931 census districts

overall Jews
M F Of which, foreigners M F Of which, foreigners

Piedmont	3,497,799	8,413	4,958	238
Liguria	1,436,958	15,190	2,154	458
Lombardy	5,545,307	21,866	7,876	2,245
Venezia Tridentina	660,137	15,686	1,293	1,114
Veneto	4,123,267	5,996	3,101	355
Venezia Giulia	978,942	25,681	6,883	2,873

Emilia 3,218,452 3,163 2,321 196
North Italy 19,460,862 95,995 28,586 7,479
Tuscany 2,892,364 9,003 5,293 348
Marche 1,217,746 1,255 970 13
Umbria 694,074 816 112 7
Lazio 2,385,052 18,120 11,600 401
Central Italy 7,189,236 29,194 17,975 769
Abruzzo and Molise 1,498,559 175 81 2
Campania 3,494,726 7,218 876 319
Apulia 2,486,593 863 64 10
Lucania 507,750 80 2 —
Calabrie 1,668,954 368 11 3
South Italy 9,656,582 8,704 1,034 334
Sicily 3,896,866 3,472 216 129
Sardinia 973,125 432 14 2
Italian islands 4,869,991 3,904 230 131
Kingdom 41,176,671 137,797 47,825 8,713

Statistical reports were used to enable statistical comparisons to be quickly and simply made between not always comparable numerical entities, allowing an explanation of the data examined. The frequency¹⁸ of Jews in the various districts or regions of the kingdom compared to the present population is shown below:

TABLE 3. *Frequency of Jews compared to the present population in 1931* (figures per 10,000 inhabitants)

<i>Districts / Regions</i>	<i>Jewish population</i>
Kingdom	11.6
Piedmont	14.2
Liguria	15.0
Lombardy	14.2
Venezia Tridentina	19.6
Veneto	7.5
Venezia G. and Zara	70.3

¹⁸ Frequency: this is the ratio between the number n_i of units presenting a certain type of observed character and the total number N of observations.

Emilia 7.2
 Tuscany 18.3
 Marche 8.6
 Umbria 1.6
 Lazio 48.7
 Abruzzo and Molise 0.5
 Campagnia 2.5
 Apulia 0.2
 Lucania —
 Calabria 0.1
 Sicily 0.6
 Sardinia 0.2

The data shown relates to 22 large Italian cities (with more than 100,000 inhabitants) in which there was a considerable number of Jews

TABLE 4. *Frequency of Jews in the main cities in 1931 (figures per 10,000 inhabitants)*

Comuni *Jewish population*

Bari 1.9
 Bologna 32.8
 Brescia 6.6
 Cagliari 0.9
 Catania 1.8
 Ferrara 57.4
 Florence 81.8
 Genoa 28.6
 La Spezia 10.6
 Livorno 135.5
 Messina 0.3
 Milan 69.2
 Naples 9.1
 Padua 45.5
 Palermo 2.5
 Reggio di Calabria 0.1
 Rome 111.9
 Taranto 0.7

Turin 62.9

Trieste 185.4

Venice 71.6

Verona 21.8

Table 4 shows that the highest indices were recorded in Trieste, Livorno and Rome, while there was an almost total absence of Jewish citizens in the cities of the south.

Trieste deserves a special mention in that, at the time, it was a cultural and economic hub and its port was one of the main points of trade with the rest of Europe (it must be remembered that historically and by tradition Trieste had been the port of the Habsburg empire); there was, therefore, a high number of transient foreign citizens (in the Venezia Giulia region non-Italian Jewish citizens present at the time of the census totalled 41.74%, against a national value of 18.22%). It must also be noted that the borders of Italy at the time also included Istria.

Table 5 shows:

- in the first column, the 94 provinces grouped by region;
- in the second column, the resident Italian population in the provincial centres;
- in the third column, the citizens considered Jewish identified by the research;
- in the fourth column, the frequency of entrepreneurs of “Jewish race” per 10,000 inhabitants.

TABLE 5. *Frequency of people of “Jewish race” identified compared to the resident population in the provincial centres*

Resident population counted in 1931

Number of people of “Jewish race” identified (entrepreneurs)

Percentage per 10,000 inhabitants

Alessandria 79,783 25 3.13

Aosta 13,962 1 0.72

Asti 48,714 1 0.21

Cuneo 35,522 32 9.01

Novara 60,855 – –

Torino 590,753 269 4.55

Vercelli 38,581 43 11.15

Total Piedmont 868,170 371 4.27

Bergamo 80,050 6 0.75

Brescia 114,607 10 0.87

Como 60,128 5 0.83

Cremona 62,447 1 0.16

Mantua 47,480 33 6.95

Milan 960,660 395 4.11

Pavia 53,453 4 0.75

Sondrio 10,554 2 1.90

Varese 38,858 25 6.43

Total Lombardy 1,428,237 481 3.37

Genoa 590,736 120 2.03

Imperia 28,155 7 2.49

La Spezia 115,118 23 2.00

Savona 60,900 2 0.33

Total Liguria 794,909 152 1.91

Bolzano 37,351 14 3.75

Trento 55,054 2 0.36

Total Venezia Tridentina 92,405 16 1.73

(Trentino Alto Adige)

Belluno 26,739 0

Padua 126,843 21 1.66

Rovigo 36,824 1 0.27

Treviso 52,038 4 0.77

Venice 250,327 143 5.71

Verona 145,863 26 1.78

Vicenza 64,372 0 0.00

Total Venezia Euganea 703,006 195 2.77

(Veneto)

Carnaro (Rijeka) 109,018 148 13.58

Gorizia 38,116 14 3.67

Istria (Pula) 294,492 5 0.17

Trieste 250,170 248 9.91

Udine 63,712 3 0.47

Zara 22,000 2 0.91

Total Venezia Giulia and Zara 777,508 420 5.40

(Friuli Venezia Giulia)

Bologna 249,226 85 3.41

Ferrara 115,628 42 3.63

Forlì 60,140 7 1.16

Modena 89,741 24 2.67

Parma 106,400 9 0.85

Piacenza 63,937 11 1.72

Ravenna 76,335 8 1.05

Reggio Emilia 89,605 5 0.56

Total Emilia 851,012 191 2.24

Total North Italy 5,515,247 1,826 3.31

Arezzo 56,886

Florence 304,160 249 8.19

Grosseto 23,088 29 12.56

Livorno 120,711 158 13.09

Lucca 79,852 46 5.76

Massa and Carrara 39,722 8 2.01

Pisa 70,550 40 5.67

Pistoia 72,553 8 1.10

Siena 45,995 21 4.57

Total Tuscany 813,517 559 6.87

Ancona 74,227 84 11.72

Ascoli Piceno 36,720 – –

Macerata 25,381 2 0.79

Pesaro and Urbino 42,412 3 0.71

Total Marche 178,740 89 4.98

Perugia 77,352 10 1.29

Terni 57,356 2 0.35

Total Umbria 134,708 12 0.89

Frosinone 16,368 1 0.61

Littoria (Latina) 1,812 9 49.67

Rieti 25,039 – 0.00

Rome 930,723 1,631 17.52

Viterbo 35,969 5 1.39

Total Lazio 1,009,911 1,646 16.30

Total Central Italy 2,136,876 2,306 10.79

Aquila 51,174 1 0.20

Campobasso 19,955 --

Chieti 33,905 1 0.29

Pescara 37,966 7 1.84

Teramo 31,790 --

Total Abruzzo and Molise 174,790 9 0.51

Avellino 27,451 --

Benevento 61,141 --

Naples 831,781 149 1.79

Salerno 67,186 --

Total Campania 987,559 149 1.51

Bari 172,600 --

Brindisi 39,885 --

Foggia 55,763 --

Ionio (Taranto) 111,616 --

Lecce 44,368 --

Total Apulia 424,232 --

Matera 20,163 --

Potenza 21,830 --

Total Lucania 41,993 --

Catanzaro 40,533 --

Cosenza 35,164 --

Reggio Calabria 109,443 --

Total Calabria 185,140 --

Total South Italy 1,813,714 158 0.87

Agrigento 28,677 --

Caltanissetta 42,794 --

Catania 225,169 --

Enna 22,371 1 0.45

Messina 179,914 --

Palermo 379,905 5 0.13

Ragusa 50,797 --

Siracusa 46,048 --

Trapani 60,252 --

Total Sicily 1,035,927 6 0.06

Cagliari 92,689 2 0.22

Nuoro 9,188 --

Sassari 51,283 --

Total Sardinia 153,160 2 0.13

Total Italian islands 1,189,087 8 0.07

--

KINGDOM 10,654,924 4,298 4.03

Table 6 shows the following data at a regional level:

- in the first column, the 18 regions into which the Kingdom of Italy was divided;
- in the second column, the number of Jewish citizens counted in the 1931 census;
- in the third column, the people of "Jewish race" identified by the research;
- in the fourth column, the percentage frequency of people of "Jewish race" compared to the number of Jews counted in 1931.

TABLE 6. *Frequency of people of "Jewish race" identified compared to the Jews present in Italy according to the 1931 census on a regional basis*

Citizens of "Jewish race" counted in 1931

Number of people of "Jewish race" identified (entrepreneurs)

Percentage

Piedmont 4,958 371 7.48

Lombardy 7,876 481 6.11

Liguria 2,154 152 7.06

Venezia Tridentina 1,293 16 1.24

(Trentino Alto Adige)

Venezia Euganea 3,101 195 6.29

(Veneto)

Venezia Giulia and Zara 6,883 420 6.10

(Friuli Venezia Giulia)

Emilia 2,321 191 8.23

Total North Italy 28,586 1,826 6.39

Tuscany 5,293 559 10.56

Marche 970 89 9.18

Umbria 112 12 10.71

Lazio 11,600 1,646 14.19

Total Central Italy 17,975 2,306 12.83

Abruzzo and Molise 81 9 11.11

Campania 876 149 17.01

Apulia 64 --

Lucania 2 --

Calabria 11 --

Total South Italy 1,034 158 15.28

Sicily 216 6 2.78

Sardinia 14 2 14.29

Total Italian islands 230 8 3.48

KINGDOM 47,825 4,298 8.99

Analysis of tables 5 and 6:

The quotient shown in table 5 provides a means of evaluating the geographical presence of citizens classified as being of Jewish race at a provincial level identified in the research compared to the resident population in the provincial centres; this quotient represents the frequency of citizens classified as Jewish per 10,000 inhabitants at a provincial and regional level. If the figure shown, of 4298, is compared with the Italian population in the entire kingdom at the time of the 1931 census, of 41,176,671, it may be inferred that the national frequency of the Jewish population identified drops per 10,000 inhabitants by the value shown in table 5, of 4.08%, to 1.04%. In other words, the entire Italian population was much more evenly distributed throughout the country than the Jewish one, which was mainly concentrated in the provincial centres.

The quotient shown in table 6 provides a means of evaluating the number of citizens classified as being of Jewish race at a regional level compared to that identified by the 1931 census. This table shows that the number of citizens classified as being of Jewish race represents 9.09% of the Jewish population counted at the aforesaid time; and that the frequency of citizens classified as being of Jewish race identified compared to those counted varies at a regional level from 17.01% (Campania) to 1.24% (Trentino Alto Adige). This survey does not include the regions of Apulia, Lucania and Calabria, for which data relating to the presence of Jewish entrepreneurs were not available.

Table 7 shows the figures relating to the economic sectors of activity of citizens of "Jewish race" identified.

TABLE 7. *Figures divided on the basis of sector of activity of citizens classified as being of Jewish race*

Sector of activity

citizens of "Jewish race" identified

composition index

Agriculture 24 0.56

Industry 146 3.40

Shopkeepers 2,736

Street traders 785

Pharmacies 31

Services 147

Agents and representatives 357

Total commercial sector 4,025 93.65

Tradesmen 103 2.40

Total 4,298 100.00

GRAPH OF JEWISH ENTREPRENEURS IDENTIFIED

DIVIDED ACCORDING TO ACTIVITY

0

400

800

1200

1600

2000

2400

2800

3200

3600

4000

4400

FARMERS MANUFACTURERS SHOPKEEPERS TRADESMEN

24 146

4025

103

JEWISH CITIZENS IN ITALY

0

2000

4000

6000

8000

10000

12000

14000

Piedmont

Liguria

Lombardia

Venezia Tridentina

Veneto

Venezia Giulia

Emilia

Tuscany

Marche

Umbria

Lazio

Abruzzo and Molise

Campania

Apulia

Lucania

Calabrie

Sicily

Sardinia

4958

2154

7876

1293

3101

6883

2321

5293

970

112

11600

81

876

64 2 11 216 14

GRAPH OF RESIDENT POPULATION (1931)
AND OF THE JEWS IDENTIFIED BY THE RESEARCH

1

10

100

1,000

10,000

100,000

1,000,000

10000,000

Total Piedmont

Total Lombardia

Total Liguria

Total Venezia Tridentina

Total Venezia Euganea

Total Venezia Giulia and Zara

Total Emilia

Total Tuscany

Total Marche

Total Umbria

Total Lazio

Total Abruzzo and Molise

Total Campania

Total Sicily

Total Sardinia

POPULATION

ENTREPRENEURS

LOGARITHMIC SCALE

ASCENDING CLASSIFICATION OF THE PRESENCE OF JEWISH CITIZENS IN CITIES
WITH MORE THAN 100,000 INHABITANTS (ISTAT figures – 1931 census)

20

40

60

80

100

120

140

160

180

200

0

every 10,000 inhabitants

TRIESTE

LIVORNO

ROME

FLORENCE

VENICE

MILAN

TURIN

FERRARA

PADUA

BOLOGNA

GENOA

VERONA

LA SPEZIA

NAPLES

BRESCIA

PALERMO

BARI

CATANIA

CAGLIARI

TARANTO

MESSINA

REGGIO DI CALABRIA