

MONTE DEI PASCHI DI SIENA

1. Expropriations in the 1940-1943 period¹

The Monte dei Paschi's² association with the regime's racial policy began in autumn 1938 with a letter from the Governor of the Banca d'Italia, Vincenzo Azzolini, to the President of the Siena bank. Azzolini asked to be informed "personally, for my information only, of large withdrawals (greater than half a million in each case) of deposits in cash or securities made by Jews".³ The following 30 November, a circular from the Fascist Confederation of Banks, sent to all banks, reminded them that "in anticipation of the expiry of the term allowed by law to foreign Jews resident in Italy, some measures intended to prevent such Jews leaving outstanding accounts at Italian banks are made necessary. [...] That said, the Inspectorate for the Defence of Savings and the Provision of Credit, [...] has noted the need for banks to urgently send it a schedule, in triplicate, via the Banca d'Italia, of any kind of credit they have with clients of Jewish race of foreign citizenship".⁴

In June the following year, the management of the Monte dei Paschi sent the newly set up EGELI a letter in which the bank offered to manage real estate sequestered from the victims of persecution:

"With reference to the content of rdl 17/1939 of 6 February, on the basis of which, in accordance with art. 12, the Land Banks to which that body may delegate the management and sale of real estate owned by citizens of Jewish race referred to it will be decided, the Monte dei Paschi di Siena takes the liberty of making a formal request to be included among the above mentioned Land Banks, in the sense that the management and sale of all real estate within its area of operations may be entrusted to it. Regarding this, we think it appropriate to point out that our bank would not need to set up a special property department, having for some time had "Rural Assets" and "Urban Assets" Offices operating at this Head Office, with specialist, permanent staff, which have given

¹ The EGELI collection in the Historic Archive of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena consists of 1,011 folders filed according to the following general criteria: regulations, agreements and circulars (folders 1-18); files headed with the names of owners of sequestered assets (folders 19-642); indices and inventories (folders 643-672); letter-books and correspondence protocols (folders 673-904); lists of properties returned and war damages (folders 905-929); accounts (folders 930-1011). Despite the evident size of the collection, the 623 personal files headed with the names of the owners of assets expropriated, sequestered and/or confiscated in the entire 1939-44 period proved to be of little use for the current research, as in most cases such documents do not refer to "Jewish assets" but to so-called "enemy assets"; only 28 of the folders relate to Jewish property. As will be specified below, this gap has only allowed the expropriations – and restitutions – made by the bank to the prejudice of the racially persecuted during the years 1939-43 to be clearly defined. For the two year period of the **RSI**, it was only possible to reconstruct the list of names of those who suffered sequestrations and confiscations (with the sole exception of the province of Siena), often with detail of the assets sequestered and/or confiscated, but without indications of their value.

Considering this disparity in the available documentation, it was decided to look separately at the periods before and after 8 September 1943. Cfr. G. Catoni, A. Lachi (edited by), *L'archivio del Monte dei Paschi di Siena*, Tipografia Senese, Siena 1994, pp. 525-572.

² An essay by Alessandra Minerbi on the activities of the Monte dei Paschi as bank delegated by the EGELI to manage Jewish assets was partly used by the writer. Cfr. A. Minerbi, *L'esproprio dei beni ebraici in Toscana*, in E. Collotti (edited by), *Razza e fascismo. La persecuzione degli ebrei in Toscana (1938-43)*, Carocci, Rome 1999, pp. 561-572.

³ Letter sent by V. Azzolini on 21 September 1938 to the President of the Monte dei Paschi, the Hon. Alfredo Bruchi. Cfr. ASMPS, *Sezione Banca*, II F, a. 2, fasc. 5, Crediti verso ebrei, 1938-39.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

positive, tangible results for the bank itself. Furthermore, the work of such offices could be complemented by the network of branches that the Monte has in the vast area in which it operates. In the hope that our request may be granted, we are at your disposal and send our most courteous respects and thanks in anticipation.”⁵

The official agreement nominating the Monte dei Paschi as managing bank on behalf of the EGELI was drawn up on 18 March 1940.⁶ Less than two months later, on 1 May 1940, the bank opened the first case in the name of Paola Bondi Cave. On the basis of the reports the racially persecuted themselves were required to make to the Local Revenue Office, the number of properties belonging to persecuted people⁷ (see table 1) in Tuscany coming within the so-called “excess quota” and therefore subject to expropriation and management by the Monte dei Paschi, between May 1940 and February 1943,⁸ was restricted to 33. This was a fairly small number compared to the Tuscan “Jewish population”, which the racial census of summer 1938 had shown numbered 5,853 people.⁹ The figure is also small compared to the total number of reports made of property owned by Tuscan Jews, which amounted to 1,012.¹⁰ One possible explanation may lie in the number of families (459) that had been granted discrimination status on the basis of military or party merit.¹¹ Furthermore, in Tuscany there were 888 “mixed” marriages according to the same 1938 census.¹² In these cases the persecuted quite conceivably protected their properties by donating them to their “Aryan” partner. Beyond these considerations, a letter sent by the Director General of the EGELI to all the managing banks in October 1941 shows that the operation of acquiring Jewish assets was proceeding “relatively slowly”:

“It has been noted that the system currently used to document excess Jewish assets, with the provision of all copies of title transfer documents from the last 30 years, is creating a serious and damaging delay in carrying out the relative procedures. Therefore, almost two years since the start of this operation, despite the work having been speeded up as much as possible both by the managing banks and this corporation, the ownership of very few former Jewish properties has been transferred. Our board of directors, at its meeting of 23 October 1941, decided from now on to revoke the criteria applied up to now [...] The documents to be provided will be restricted to the

⁵ Cfr. A. Minerbi, *L'esproprio dei beni ebraici in Toscana*, in *Razza e fascismo*, cit., p. 562. The Monte dei Paschi letter is not the only “self-nomination” sent by banks to manage the assets of the persecuted: on 12 December 1938 the President of the National Fascist Federation of Savings Banks wrote to the Minister of the Interior: “the savings banks [...] ask to be called on, also on this occasion, to offer their disinterested services for the administration of the above mentioned properties”. Cfr. ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 11, fasc. 28.

⁶ ASMP, *Egeli*, b. 7, fasc. 1.

⁷ ASMP, *Egeli*, b. 647, fasc. 3, “Repertorio dei beni nemici ed ebraici sequestrati”.

⁸ 1 May 1940 was when the first case was opened by the Monte dei Paschi, (registered to Paola Bondi Cave); 2 February 1943 when the last one was opened (in the name of Bonaventura Pitigliani).

⁹ Cfr. M. Sarfatti, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista. Vicende, identità, persecuzioni*, Einaudi, Turin 2000, p. 28.

¹⁰ Cfr. A. Minerbi, *L'esproprio dei beni ebraici in Toscana*, in *Razza e fascismo*, cit. p. 562.

¹¹ ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 22, fasc. 6.

¹² *Ibidem*.

historic abstract of title and a copy of the last title transfer only. Such documents should not be requested in advance from the reporting Jew. We think it necessary rather that the managing bank request the documents directly from the relevant offices.”¹³

The “Index of sequestered Jewish assets”¹⁴ for the years 1940-43 actually contains a list of 51 names rather than 33. The file relating to 18 of them, however, shows that the procedure was not subsequently continued. There is a note beside each of these 18 names saying: “abandoned before issue of the Revenue Decree”. Only in two cases (Paola Bondi Cave and Marcella Treves) is it clear that the expropriations were stopped because the two women had been granted discrimination status, while in the case of Arturo Tedeschi the procedure was abandoned because he had died. But the files relating to the other 15 names do not show why the cases were closed. The documents contain only appraisals of the assets made by the Revenue Office. The only exception is that of Guido Sforzi, whose file contains his request for discrimination status, among other documents. It may therefore be surmised that he was also subsequently granted such status.¹⁵

The expropriation decree was not always followed by the effective “appropriation” of the asset by the EGELI, as in 11 of the 33 cases (see table 1). The documents relating to Giuseppe Coen,¹⁶ Roberto Bondi¹⁷ and Giovanni Uzzielli¹⁸ show that the EGELI had “deferred [them] due to the state of emergency that had arisen”. It may be conjectured that there was a similar explanation for the other eight cases in which the expropriated assets were not transferred to EGELI management.

TABLE 1: *Expropriations in the 1940-1943 period*

The 18 names in italics relate to procedures subsequently abandoned.

The names in italics with an asterisk subsequently appear in the list of sequestration and confiscation decrees for the period 1944-45 (see table 4).

<i>Name</i>	<i>province</i>	<i>start of case</i>	<i>appropriation date</i>	<i>notes</i>
Almansi Giacomo Emilio	Florence	18/7/1940		
<i>Ambron Eugenio</i>	Florence	19/7/1940		
Bemporad Mario	Pisa	19/6/1940	15/4/1942	
<i>Bondi Cave Paola</i>	Livorno	1/5/1940		discriminated
Basevi Arrigo	Lucca	12/7/1940		
Bondi Cave Margherita	Florence	24/7/1940	14/2/1944	

¹³ ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 7, fasc. 2. The underlining is in the originals.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, b. 647, fasc. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, b. 547 in the name of Guido Sforzi.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, b. 106, fasc. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, b. 603, fasc. 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, b. 197, fasc. 2.

Bondi Roberto	Florence	2/10/1940	
Bigiavi Wanda Lina	Florence	2/5/1941	30/4/1942
Coen Giuseppe	Florence	27/5/1940	
Castelnuovo Giorgio	Florence	18/7/1940	8/7/1942
Camerino Leone	Florence	24/7/1940	30/8/1943 killed in Auschwitz
Calò Ernesto	Florence	30/7/1940	26/11/1942 killed in Auschwitz
Castelnuovo Sesta	Florence	12/8/1940	8/7/1942
Campagnano Umberto	Florence	18/2/1942	
<i>Calvo Pegna Elisa</i>	Florence	?	
<i>Cave Bondi Gina</i>	Florence	21/7/1940	
<i>De Benedetti Margherita</i>	Livorno	20/6/1940	
Dello Strologo Gemma	Lucca	26/1/1942	1/6/1942
<i>Di Nola Renato</i>	Pisa	?	
<i>Forti Clara</i>	Florence	3/11/1942	
Faldini Jarach Lidia	Livorno	9/7/1940	3/10/1941
Faldini Paolo	Lucca	17/10/1940	8/1/1942
Fontanella Servadio Tina	Pisa	27/8/1941	
Genazzani Fernando	Florence	30/7/1940	30/4/1942
Genazzani Armando	Florence	13/8/1940	
Laide Cesare	Livorno	1/7/1940	22/9/1942
Levi Bigiavi Livia	Florence	24/7/1940	4/4/1943
Lopez -Tabet Sisa	Livorno	14/12/1940 2	1/9/1940
<i>Luzzatti Silvio</i>	Florence	?	
Misul Umberto	Livorno	13/5/1940	22/5/1943
Montecorboli Cesarina	Florence	19/7/1940	
Modigliani Guido	Florence	2/10/1940	30/4/1942
<i>Modigliano Giacomo*</i>	Florence	31/10/1942	
<i>Maestro Leone</i>	Florence	23/11/1942	
Olschki Cesare	Florence	10/5/1942	1/11/1942
Olschki Adele	Florence	21/9/1942	1/11/1942
Olschki Aldo	Florence	17/10/1942	1/11/1942
<i>Orvieto Adolfo*</i>	Florence	31/10/1942	
Pegna Gustavo	Florence	9/7/1940	5/9/1941
Pardo Roques Giorgina	Florence	18/7/1940	1/12/1941

Pardo Roques Giuseppe	Pisa	21/7/1940	
<i>Pitigliani Bonaventura*</i>	Pisa	10/2/1943	
Rignano Luigi	Livorno	7/6/1940	3/10/1941
<i>Rosselli Debora*</i>	Livorno	16/7/1940	
Ravà Renzo	Florence	9/9/1941	
<i>Sforni Guido</i>	Pisa	31/10/1940	discriminated
<i>Tedeschi Arturo</i>	Livorno	30/5/1940	deceased
<i>Tedeschi Giulio*</i>	Livorno	30/5/1940	
<i>Treves Marcella</i>	Florence	21/7/1940	discriminated
<i>Uzzielli Nella*</i>	Siena	12/8/1940	
Uzzielli Giovanni	Florence	10/5/1942	

The 33 cases relating to the 1940-43 period refer to apartments, shops, warehouses and workshops (see table 2). There were no companies among the assets taken into management by the Monte dei Paschi in these years.¹⁹

It was possible to reconstruct the overall rateable value of the expropriated assets, which comes to L.7,478,592, while that of the 22 properties effectively appropriated by the EGELI amounts to L.6,201,358. As may be seen in table 2, the value of the assets mentioned in the “appropriation reports” does not correspond to the rateable value, at times being less, at times more. As the papers did not allow an overall picture to be gained of the amounts shown in the “appropriation reports” (there is information on only 12 out of 22 properties), the overall figure referring to individual cases is not shown.

There is a further gap in the documentation regarding the possible sale of the 22 properties that the EGELI effectively took possession of in the 1940-43 period. No documentation was found on this. The lack of claims in the files regarding reconveyance of the properties allows the inference to be drawn, with all due caution, that the 22 Jewish properties were not sold to third parties.²⁰

TABLE 2: *Type and value of assets expropriated in the 1940-1943 period*

<i>Name</i>	<i>type</i>	<i>rateable value</i>	<i>value shown in the appropriation report</i>
Almansi Giacomo	1 building of 2 floors	790,720	
	1 building of 4 floors		

¹⁹ To be precise, one company was subject to assessment: a farm in Monteriggioni belonging to Nella Uzzielli. But this was one of the 18 cases subsequently abandoned.

²⁰ It was possible to find only one item relating to a “uncompleted sale”: the negotiations for the purchase of a property owned by Luigi Rignano for which the accountant Bandinelli from Bagni di Casciana (Pisa) paid the EGELI a deposit of L.40,000, later returned on suspension of the negotiation.

	1 apartment		
	2 workshops		
Bemporad Mario	4 apartments	232,000	
Basevi Arrigo	1 house	60,000	
Bondi Cave M.	1 apartment	84,000	
Bondi Roberto	7 apartments	248,030	
Bigiavi W. Lina	2 workshops	27,144	28,000
Coen Giuseppe	2 apartments	201,306	
Castelnuovo G.	2 shops and 6 apartments	53,000	300,000
Camerino Leone	4 apartments	180,320	400,000
Calò Ernesto	2 shops and 5 apartments	399,420	550,000
Castelnuovo Sesta	6 apartments	380,300	555,000
	2 garages and 2 houses		
Campagnano U.	1 workshop	487,360	
	1 warehouse		
	2 apartments		
Dello Strologo G.	2 apartments	142,095	
Faldini Jarach L.	6 apartments and 2 warehouses	106,000	
Faldini Paolo	1 apartment	130,000	
Fontanella Tina	2 apartments	84,400	
Genazzani F.	2 shops	109,320	75,000
Genazzani A.	6 apartments	974,140	
Laide Cesare	1 shops	64,000	
Levi Bigiavi Livia	18 apartments	251,700	750,000
Lopez Tabet S.	6 apartments and 1 warehouse	84,400	120,000
Misul Umberto	1 apartment and 2 shops	41,820	102,500
Montecorboli C.	apartments	145,000	
Modigliani Guido	3 apartments and 2 shops	183,000	80,000
Olschki Cesare	1 apartment	8,000	10,000
Olschki Adele	1 apartment	30,000	
Olschki Aldo	1 apartment	8,000	10,000
Pegna Gustavo	3 apartments	53,000	
Pardo R. Giorgina	11 apartments	290,640	
Pardo R. Giuseppe	apartments	708,744	

Rignano Luigi	9 apartments	303,700	
Ravà Renzo	28 apartments	424,208	1,860,000
	5 workshops		
	1 warehouse		
Uzzielli Giovanni	2 apartments	200,825	
Total		L.7,478,592	

The documentation on the manner in which the EGELI administered the properties it effectively took possession of is also meagre. It is known that seven expropriated properties were rented to “Aryan” tenants.²¹ In these cases the EGELI then confiscated the rent due to the legitimate owners, with the exception of the assets of Paolo Faldini (the building had been occupied by the GIL of Viareggio)²² and those of Umberto Misul (the apartment was in a part of Livorno evacuated because of bombing. The tenants were therefore evacuated and the management of the property was “always negative” for the EGELI).²³ The overall sum confiscated in this way by the EGELI was L.190,970.²⁴

2. Restitution of assets expropriated in the 1940-43 period

In a period of eight years from September 1945, the Monte dei Paschi returned all the assets expropriated in 1940-43. The procedures for reconveying the properties began in spring 1945, as shown by the exchange of correspondence between the management of the bank and the Rome offices of the EGELI. In a letter of 23 April 1945, the management of the Monte dei Paschi made note of the complaints made by some owners about the bureaucratic delays in carrying out the reconveyance: “It seems right to inform you that those concerned are already making complaints about what we request of them, and often point out that [the matter] should proceed with quite different criteria, more in keeping with the knowledge that it related to an iniquitous law”.²⁵ In order to speed up the procedures, the Chief Executive of the Monte dei Paschi therefore suggested postponing the establishment and regulation of the relations that should exist between the EGELI and those concerned. On 14 May the EGELI Special Commissioner replied in the negative to such requests: “given that it is a fairly delicate matter and involves responsibility of an economic nature,

²¹ These were the properties owned by Lopez Tabet Sisa, Laide Cesare, Faldini Jarach Lidia, Dello Strologo Gemma, Bemporad Mario, Faldini Paolo and Misul Umberto. Cfr. ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 652, fasc. 1.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibid.*, b. 7, letter of 21 February 1944 from the Siena Head Office of the Monte dei Paschi to the EGELI offices in San Pellegrino Terme (Bergamo).

²⁴ This figure was calculated by multiplying the monthly rent of each property by the number of months (different from asset to asset) during which the EGELI administered the expropriated properties.

²⁵ ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 7, fasc. 1.

it can only proceed with circumspection and care". He added, however, that if "a certain period of time passes before the reconveyance is authorised, it must be noted that this does not effectively cause any harm to those entitled, as the economic effects of the reconveyance start from the date the request is received and those concerned therefore have the right to obtain reimbursement of the income produced by their properties from that date".²⁶

In the course of 1945 the Monte dei Paschi closed eight cases (Pegna Gustavo, Camerino Leone, Bondi Roberto, Gennazzani Fernando, Laide Cesare, Olschki Aldo, Olschki Cesare and Olschki Adele); 15 cases were closed in 1946 (Cave Bondi Margherita, Castelnuovo Giorgio, Castelnuovo Pacifici Sesta, Rignano Luigi, Calò Ernesta, Pardo Roques Giorgina, Faldini Jarach Lidia, Dello Strologo Gemma, Faldini Paolo, Levi Bigiavi Livia, Gennazzani Armando, Lopez Tabet Sisa, Uzzielli Giovanni, Ravà Renzo and Servadio Fontanella Tina); three in 1947 (Montecorboli Cesarina, Almansi Giacomo and Coen Giuseppe) and two in 1948 (Bigiavi Wanda Lina and Bemporad Mario).

Considering that the reconveyance of Arrigo Basevi's assets had already taken place (on 8 February 1946) through another managing bank,²⁷ at the end of 1948 the only outstanding cases were those of Modigliano Guido (reconveyance then effected on 21 October 1949), Misul Umberto, (reconveyance effected on 29 March 1952), Campagnano Umberto and Giuseppe Pardo Roques. The delay in the latter was due both to the fact that the request for reconveyance had been received by the EGELI only in February 1948, and because of the complicated legal-testamentary details related to the tragic death of Pardo Roques.²⁸ Reconveyance of his assets to his legitimate heir, his niece Anna Olivetti, was concluded only in June 1953.

The question of Umberto Campagnano's assets was different. Officially his case is not yet closed, but his properties were in fact returned to him. A letter sent by the Chief Executive of the Monte dei Paschi to the Florence branch in February 1953 states that, after having presented the request for reconveyance in February 1946, Campagnano "then refused to sign the relative deed before the notary and refused to pay any fee [...]. Furthermore, it appears that some time ago he sold all his assets to third parties. Considering the attitude taken by Campagnano, the EGELI has decided to consider the case definitively closed, leaving the person concerned free to act as he thinks best if the need should arise for him to regularise the situation."²⁹

²⁶ *Ibidem.*

²⁷ Basevi Arrigo, as a resident of Milan, also had his Milan apartment sequestered during the years of the persecution. After the War, Basevi's request for reconveyance of his Viareggio apartment was therefore combined with that of the Milan house and processed by one of the Milan banks affiliated to the EGELI.

²⁸ The inheritance of Giuseppe Pardo Roques' assets was delayed by the dispute that arose between the beneficiaries of the will Pardo Roques' niece and the Union of Italian Jewish Communities. Cfr. ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 648.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, b. 155.

TABLE 3: *Reconveyance of assets expropriated in the 1940-1943 period*

<i>Name</i>	<i>date of reconveyance</i>
Almansi Giacomo Emilio	17/4/1947
Bemporad Mario	16/11/1948
Basevi Arrigo	8/2/1946
Bondi Cave Margherita	15/1/1946
Bondi Roberto	14/12/1945
Bigiavi Wanda Lina	13/4/1946
Coen Giuseppe	5/11/1947
Castelnuovo Giorgio	29/1/1946
Camerino Leone	8/10/1945
Calò Ernesto	18/3/1946
Castelnuovo Pacifici Sesta	29/1/1946
Campagnano Umberto	4/4/1946
Dello Strologo Faldini Gemma	
Faldini Jarach Lidia	4/4/1946
Faldini Paolo	6/4/1946
Fontanella Servadio Tina	30/10/1946
Genazzani Fernando	27/12/1945
Genazzani Armando	15/5/1946
Laide Cesare	16/11/1945
Levi Bigiavi Lidia	3/3/1948
Lopez -Tabet Sisa	1/7/1946
Misul Umberto	29/3/1952
Montecorboli Cesarina	3/6/1947
Modigliani Guido	21/10/1949
Olschki Cesare and Aldo	28/12/1945
Olschki Adele	28/12/1945
Pegna Gustavo	24/9/1945
Pardo Roques Giorgina	29/3/1946
Pardo Roques Giuseppe	10/11/1953
Rignano Luigi	4/3/1946

Ravà Renzo 29/10/1946
Uzzielli Giovanni 17/7/1946

Some of the Jewish properties managed by the Monte dei Paschi in 1940-43 were damaged in the War, but there is information only on the assets of Pisa and Livorno Jews.³⁰ The properties owned by Dello Strologo Gemma (Livorno), Lopez Tabet Sisa (Livorno) and Di Nola Renato (Pisa) were completely destroyed, while damage of varying degrees was caused to the property of Pitigliani Bonaventura, Pardo Roques Giuseppe, Faldini Jarach Lidia, Misul Umberto and Laide Cesare. The documentation shows that only in the case of Pitigliani Bonaventura and Di Nola Renato³¹ was a claim for compensation made, on 12 May 1945, but it is not known whether this was eventually paid.

3. Sequestrations and confiscations in the 1944-45 period

As mentioned, the sequestrations and confiscations made in 1944-5 cannot be comprehensively reconstructed. Indeed, only the overall list of 159 names³² that were subject to confiscation (140) and sequestration (19) measures³³ starting from January 1944 (see table 4) in the provinces of Tuscany was found among the papers in the EGELI collection. Apart from the sequestration decrees issued by the Head of Province of Siena and those in the names of Belinban Piero, De Cori Mario, Fiorentino Eugenio, Passigli Minerva and Rabach Guido,³⁴ it was not possible to find documentation relating to the type and value of the assets sequestered and/or confiscated. Even for the five names mentioned, only the document with which the EGELI appointed the Monte dei Paschi to manage the confiscated property was found, but this does not specify what assets were concerned.³⁵ Some gaps were partially filled by consultation of the database created on the basis of Ministry of Finance documentation (see table 4).

The Head of Province of Siena placed “all buildings belonging to Jewish citizens in Siena and in the other towns of this province under sequestration”³⁶ with a directive of 14 January 1944, involving 39 properties registered to 19 persecuted people,³⁷ 36 of which were urban buildings and 3 farming

³⁰ *Ibid.*, b. 905, fasc. “Danni di guerra”.

³¹ *Ibidem.*

³² *Ibid.*, b. 656, “Repertorio dei beni ebraici sequestrati 1944”.

³³ The 18 names that were subject to sequestration are: Cantoni Ida, Castelli Elia, Castelnuovo Alfredo, Castelnuovo Aldo, Cabibbe Corrado, Forti Olga, Forti Nemo, Forti Livia, Franco Elisa, Gallico Laura, Misan Donato, Sadunn Luigi, Gioia, Gino and Giacomo, Vivante Leone, Vivante Arturo and Valech Mosè.

³⁴ Cfr. respectively ASMPS, *Egeli*, bb. 68, 208, 291, 277, 489, 512.

³⁵ Cfr. Encl. No. 1 relative to the confiscation of the assets of Piero Belinban. Cfr. ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 68.

³⁶ *Ibidem.*

³⁷ Cabibbe Corrado, Cantoni Ida, Vivante Leone and Arturo; Valech Mosè, Uzzielli Nella, Sadunn Luigi, Gioia, Gino and Giacomo; Misan Donato, Gallico Laura, Forti Olga, Nemo and Livia; Franco Elisa, Castelli Elia, Castelnuovo Alfredo and Aldo. Cfr. ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 68, fasc. 3.

estates. There is also an unaddressed, undated document (though certainly issued after 7 February 1944 by the Siena branch of the Monte dei Paschi) that carries the ‘List of deposits registered to members of the Jewish race’.³⁸ This is probably a memorandum made out by the bank itself on the basis of art. 4 of decree 2/1944 of 4 January, which provided for banks to report all deposits and safe-deposit boxes registered in names of “Jewish race” to the local Prefectures. The deposits registered to the racially persecuted at the Siena branch of the Monte dei Paschi, in current accounts, bearer accounts, treasury bonds and national annuity certificates, amounted to L.241,670. In 15 cases the deposit also consisted of share deeds, but the document carries only the number³⁹ and name of the shares, not the value.

The EGELI delegated the Monte dei Paschi to attend, through its representative, the opening of all 400 safe-deposit boxes registered to the racially persecuted in the province of Florence with a letter of 25 May 1944.⁴⁰ On 25 September 1944 the Florence branch of the Monte dei Paschi informed the Siena branch that in Florence on 21 July 1944 the German authorities “with guns in hand, ordered the handing over of all Jewish owned assets, demanding a nominal list of the assets themselves and immediate payment of the balances by Banca d’Italia cheque made out to the German command”. The manager of the Florence bank pointed out that “although risking serious consequences, we thought it right to declare only a small part of the assets in question, which overall amounted to L.240,063.25, thus managing to save the larger accounts, all the shares on file and all the safe-deposit boxes that in many of the city’s banks were entirely forced and their contents removed”.⁴¹

The fact that no significant documentation regarding sequestrations or confiscations for the years 1944-5, nor regarding any restitutions made after the War, was found in the EGELI collection is probably explained by the declaration the manager of the Monte dei Paschi made to the management of the Florence branch in February 1953:

“Regarding the confiscation decrees issued for all assets of Jewish ownership in 1944 by the Heads of Province in Tuscany, according to the noted subversive provisions of the RSI, you can say that our Land Bank is not following any of them. Therefore, in the absence of any management on our part, and no appropriation or consequent action having been carried out by ourselves, there is no need to do anything regarding the assets that are the object of such decrees”.⁴²

³⁸ The holders of deposits are: Sadun Gino,* Valensin Gusmano, Misan Roberto and Giuseppe, Castelnuovo Aldo* and Mario, Franco Elisa, Lombroso Wilfrido, Vivante Cesare and Leone, Valech Giulia, Cabibbe Arturo,* Belgrado Benedetto, Cabibbe Elda,* Sadun Ernestina, Franco Leone,* Cantoni Ida, Ajò Adele,* Castelnuovo Alfredo and Geremia, Manasse Lea, Università israelitica di Siena, Società israelitica di Misericordia. The names with an asterisk are also holders of a safe-deposit box, of which the document gives the number but not the content. Safe-deposit boxes are also registered to: Cabibbe Corrado and Amedeo, Forti Ugo and Arrigo, Modigliani Attilio and Giuseppina, Sadun Edda, Sadun Vittorio, Sonnino Paolo, Valech David and Lina Forti, Sadun Gisla. Cfr. ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 68, fasc. 4.

³⁹ A total of 970 shares.

⁴⁰ ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 7, fasc. “Cassette di sicurezza”.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, b. 155, fasc. 2.

These words suggest that, although the Monte dei Paschi was the ultimate delegate of every decree issued by the Tuscan Heads of Province after January 1944, such provisions were never implemented by the Siena bank, so it never took over management of Jewish assets. The Monte dei Paschi therefore ignored the directives given by the EGELI in May 1944 when it informed the bank that “abandoning the investigation of Jewish assets considered excess according to the old law certainly does not mean refraining from appropriating those excess quotas for which the Revenue Decree assigning the excess assets to the EGELI was issued on 10 January 1944 (date of dlgt 2/44 of 4 January coming into force). It is therefore necessary to immediately take possession of the excess quota assigned to the EGELI for assets assigned to it on that date, without waiting for confiscation of the former allowed quota, which could also have been sold by operation of the free availability pronounced after the division. Anyway, given that it is a question of formerly excess assets, directly managed by the EGELI, we ask you to not make any delay in carrying out the appropriation you are responsible for.”⁴³

It must not, however, be thought that the position taken by the Monte dei Paschi during 1944 was due to any impediment of an ethical nature, as much as to the fact that between spring and summer of that year the front was crossing Tuscany, creating a situation of objective difficulty and general uncertainty.

Although the Monte dei Paschi did not actually manage the assets sequestered and confiscated from Tuscan Jews after January 1944, it is useful to note what was provided for in circular No. 145453 issued on 23 May 1946 by the Ministry of Finance. Sent to the Land Registry Offices and the Departmental Tax Inspectorates, it established the procedures for starting the process of returning assets confiscated under the RSI. The Ministry thought that “[...] as clearly shown by the direction of art. 1 of dlgt 249/1944 of 5 October, the confiscation provisions adopted under the rule of the self-styled government of the RSI are to be considered lacking in force, with no need for special declarations of annulment or repeal on the part of the authorities that issued them. [...] So as no administrative act that would remove the force of the confiscations is necessary, it seems to this Ministry and to that of Justice that the Land Registry Offices should restrict themselves to noting in the margins of the individual transcriptions that they are without force, without waiting for the presentation of an annulment or repeal provision which the law does not require.”⁴⁴

It would not, however, seem that the directives made by the Ministry regarding the reconveyance of Jewish assets were effectively applied, at least in Tuscany. As late as 1951 the management of the Monte dei Paschi noted that “the Land Registry Office in the province of Florence has pointed out

⁴³ ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 15, fasc. 1.

⁴⁴ ASMPS, *Egeli*, b. 2, fasc. 1.

that circular No. 145453 does not order the Registry Offices to restrict themselves to noting the annulment of the sequestration provisions in question, but expresses the opinion that such provisions are to be considered without force. So in the absence of precise ministerial directives, the Registry Offices are still obliged to request the presentation of annulment or repeal provisions.”⁴⁵ Similar bureaucratic difficulties in areas outside Tuscany may also explain the slowness and delays that at times typified the reconveyance of Jewish property.

TABELLA 4.: *Nominal list of sequestrations and confiscations 1944*

The names in italics (19) are of those who were subject only to sequestration, while those not in italics (141) were subject only to confiscation. The only underlined name, that of Elia Castelli, was subject rather to both sequestration and confiscation. The names with an asterisk are of those who died in exile, according to checks made with *Il libro della memoria*.

<i>Name</i>	<i>province</i>	<i>detail of assets</i>
Achib Arturo	Livorno	—
Achib Gino Giacomo	Livorno	—
Achib Letizia	Pisa	—
Abenaim Carlo	Pisa	1 home in Pisa
Alvarenga Maria	Pisa	1 home in Marina di Pisa
Alvarenga Adriana	Pisa	ditto
Ambron Emilio	Siena	2 homes in Siena
Ambron Virginia	Pisa	1 garden in Pisa
Ambron Virginio	Livorno	—
Arbib Abramo	Livorno	—
Arieti Elia	Pisa	1 home in Pisa
Ancona Giacomo	Florence	—
Baquis Luisa	Livorno	—
Barocas Ersilia	Pisa	1 home in Pisa
Barocas Felicina	Pisa	1 home with garden in Pisa
Bassano Elio	Livorno	—
Bassano Silvia	Pisa 1	garden in Pisa
Bassano Ugo	Grosseto	1 home with shop in Gavoranno; land and buildings in Siena

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, b. 15, fasc. 1. Letter from the management of the Florence branch of the Monte dei Paschi to the Head Office of the Land Bank in Siena on 30/1/1951.

Belimban Adolfo	Pisa	land in San Giuliano Terme (PI) of 126.09 hectares
Belimban Piero	Pisa	—
Bemporad Loretta	Pisa	1 home in Pisa
Bemporad Bianca	Pisa	1 home in Pisa
Bolaffi Arturo	Pisa	1 home workshop in Pisa
Bedarida Guido	Grosseto	—
Bedarida Umberto	Grosseto	2/3 of building used as furnace at Massa Marittima
Baquis Ugo	Livorno	—
Bolaffi Aldo	Lucca	—
<i>Cantoni Ida</i>	<i>Siena</i>	100 Finsider shares
<u><i>Castelli Elia</i></u>	<i>Siena</i>	1 apartment in Siena
<i>Castelnuovo Alfredo</i>	<i>Siena</i>	apartments in Siena
<i>Castelnuovo Aldo</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
<i>Cabibbe Corrado</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
Calò L.	Pistoia	—
Camco Angiolo	Pistoia	—
Cave Bondi Gina *	Livorno	—
Cave Bondi Margherita	Livorno	—
Cabib Roberto	Livorno	—
Cardoso Laynes Clelia	Pistoia	1 home in Pisa
Caro Edda	Livorno	—
Cassuto Giorgio	Pisa	land in Pisa (Lari)
Coen Egle	Pistoia	1 garden in Pisa
Coen Giuseppe	Livorno	—
Coen Piero	Livorno	—
Coen Pirani Armando	Pistoia	land used as garden in Pisa
CohenVenezian Carlo	Grosseto	furniture and furnishings
Corcos Fabio	Pistoia	1 garden in Pisa
Cremisi Lionello	Pistoia	1 workshop in Pisa
Curiat Vittorio	Livorno	1 building in Livorno
De Cori Gina	Pistoia	1 building in Pisa
De Cori Guido	Pistoia	1 warehouse in Pisa

De Cori Lina	Pistoia	—
De Cori Ida	Pistoia	—
De Cori Mario	Pistoia	1 building in Pisa
De Cori Tullio	Pistoia	1 warehouse in Pisa
Dello Strologo Aldo	Pistoia	1 house with garage in Pisa
Dello Strologo Aristide	Livorno	1 home in Livorno
Del Mar Claudia	Florence	—
Donati Bianca	Livorno	1/4 of a house in Livorno
Donati Carlo	Livorno	3/4 of a house in Livorno
Di Pgarden Colombo	Pistoia	1 house with garden in Pisa
Di Pgarden Pacifico	Pistoia	2 homes in Pisa
Di Pgarden Settimio	Pistoia	1 home in Pisa
Di Nola Elda *	Pistoia	1 apartment in Pisa
Di Nola Ermelinda	Pistoia	1 house with workshop in Pisa
Di Nola Ugo	Pistoia	1 home with workshop in Pisa
Di Noli Angelo	Pistoia	—
Errera Corinna	Livorno	land in Lari (PI) of 145.31 hectares
Errera Linda	Livorno	—
Essinger Ugo	Pistoia	1 house and courtyard in Pisa
<i>Forti Olga</i>	<i>Siena</i>	2 homes and workshop in Siena
<i>Forti Nemo</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
<i>Forti Livia*</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
<i>Franco Elisa</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
Faldini Ivo	Pistoia	1 workshop in Pisa
Fargion Emilia	Pistoia	1 home in Livorno
Fernandes Paolo	Livorno	1 home in Pisa
Fiorentino Elena	Livorno	1 home with courtyard in Castiglioncello
Fiorentino Eugenio	Livorno	1 house in Livorno
Franco Raffaello	Livorno	1/3 ownership of villa and garden in Ardenza
Funaro A.	Florence	—
<i>Gallico Laura</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
Gennazzani Giovanna	Livorno	—
Giuli Ernesta	Pistoia	1 home in Pisa
Gavazzani Ferdinando	Livorno	—

Garda Lidia Livorno portion of house in Livorno

Lattes Monildo Grosseto A/C No. 594 in the name of Marco Servi; bearer savings account No. 140 in the name of Servi Adelmo; A/C clients No. 22 in the name of Sadun Gina; bearer savings account No. 1294 in the name of Sorani Vera; A/C No. 72 in the name of Servi Alessandro; A/C No. 70 in the name of Servi Amj; bearer savings account No. 1895 in the name of Servi Azelio; A/C No. 77 in the name of Bemporad Giuseppe; A/C No. 61 in the name of Servi Guido; bearer savings account No. 797 in the name of Cassuto Mario; bearer savings account No. 1374 in the name of Sadun Adele; bearer small savings account No. 1100 in the name of Di Capua Samuele; bearer savings account No. 1735 in the name of Cremisi Gino; bearer savings account No. 119 in the name of Sadun Paggi Angiolina; bearer savings account No. 217 in the name of Paggi Gina; bearer savings account No. 494 in the name of Servi Gino; bearer savings account No. 598 in the name of Servi Tranquillo; bearer savings account No. 982 in the name of Servi Sara; bearer savings account No. 1088 in the name of Servi Elodia; A/C No. 21 in the name of Sadun Temistocle; A/C No. 253 in the name of Servi Servio; personal small savings account No. 444 in the name of Servi Ave; A/C No. 323 in the name of Bedarida Carlo; A/C No. 97 in the name of Morpurgo Aldo; bearer savings account No. 1864 in the name of Servi Guido; A/C No. 66 in the name of Sadun Azelia; A/C No. 262 in the name of Nunes Gino; personal small savings account No. 628 in the name of Servi Dante; bearer savings account No. 1517 in the name of Servi Mario; bearer savings account No. 1869 in the name of Paggi Efsiba; bearer savings account No. 1276 in the name of Colombo Ezio; A/CNo. 327 in the name of Bedarida Carlo; A/CNo. 350 in the name of Delfino Rosaria; A/CNo. 35 in the name of Sadun Arrigo; bearer savings account No. 1053 in the name of Servi Bruno; bearer savings account No. 674 in the name of Servi Marcella; bearer savings account No. 1016 in the name of Paggi Ester; bearer savings account No. 1865 in the name of Servi Livio; bearer savings account No. 1852 in the name of Servi Tranquillo; A/C No. 29 in the name of Marco Servi; A/C No. 1091 in the name of Lattes Azaria

Leda Sinigaglia Wanda

Livorno —

Levi de Leon Giuseppe

Grosseto land in Castiglion della Pescaia

Levi Eloisa

Livorno —

Lusena Elena

Pistoia 1 home in Pisa

Misan Donato

Siena 1 apartment in Siena

Mieli Nella

Pisa 1 house in Pisa; land in Pisa of 1126.09 hectares

Milano Adelaide

Florence —

Mirandola Attilio	Pistoia	1 home with garden in Pisa
Misul Umberto	Livorno	portion of house in Livorno
Modigliano Giacomo	Florence	—
Mortara Amalia	Florence	—
Nathan Anna	Siena	1 home and workshop in Siena
Nathan Mary	Siena	ditto
Nathan Giuseppe	Siena	—
Nathan Sarina	Livorno	1 home in Livorno
Neppi Giuseppina	Florence	—
Nimes Sabato	Grosseto	—
Orvieto Adolfo	Florence	—
Passigli Minerva	Livorno	1 home and workshop in Livorno
Pergola Amilcare	Grosseto	1/3 of workshop in Pitigliano
Pergola Iole	Grosseto	ditto
Pergola Ubaldo	Grosseto	ditto
Pesaro Virginia	Florence	—
Pitigliani Bonaventura	Livorno	1 house in Pisa
Pontecorvo Lina	Pistoia	2 houses, garage and barn in Pisa
Pontecorvo Massimo	Pistoia	1 home in Pisa
Provenzal Clelia	Livorno	1/5 of house in Livorno
Provenzal Edmondo	Livorno	4/5 of house in Livorno
Provenzal Elisa	Livorno	—
Procaccia Guido	Livorno	portion of house with garden
Procaccia Anna	Livorno	1 house in Livorno
Procaccia Ada	Siena	—
Rieti Ines	Pistoia	—
Rosselli Anna	Livorno	—
Rosselli Debora	Livorno	—
Rosselli Paola	Livorno	building in Livorno
Rosselli Silvia	Livorno	1 house in Livorno
Rossi Lidia	Livorno	1 apartment in Livorno
Raifer Leider Noemi	Pistoia	—
Rubitschek Fanny*	Florence	—
Rubitschek Laura*	Florence	—

Rabach Guido	Livorno	—
Rabach Piera	Livorno	—
Rabello Giulio	Livorno	portion of house in Livorno
<i>Sadun Luigi</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
<i>Sadun Giola</i>	<i>Siena</i>	1 home in Manciano
<i>Sadun Gino*</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
<i>Sadun Giacomo</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
Sadun Gisella	Siena	—
Sadun Gilda	Livorno	—
Samaia Umberto	Livorno	building in Livorno
Schiummach Irma	Pistoia	shops in Pisa
Segrè Ermelinda*	Livorno	1 house in Livorno
Spizzichino G.	Pistoia	—
Servi Ernesto	Grosseto	—
Servi Ester*	Grosseto	1 home in Livorno
Servi Alberta	Livorno	—
Servi Alessandro	Grosseto	1 home in Pitigliano and unrestricted A/C No. 72; personal small savings account No. 628 in the name of Servi Dante; A/C No. 29 in the name of Marco Servi; A/C No. 253 in the name of Servi Servio; bearer savings account No. 674 in the name of Servi Marcella; A/C No. 262 in the name of Nunes Gino; A/C No. 327 in the name of Bedarida Carlo; bearer savings account No. 1864 in the name of Servi Guido; personal small savings account No. 444 in the name of Servi Ave; A/C No. 323 in the name of Bedarida Carlo; A/C No. 66 in the name of Sadun Azelia; A/C No. 97 in the name of Morpurgo Aldo; A/C No. 75 in the name of Servi Azelio; bearer savings account No. 1895 in the name of Servi Azelio; bearer savings account No. 1100 in the name of Di Capua Samuele; A/C No. 77 in the name of Bemporad Giuseppe; bearer savings account No. 1294 in the name of Sorani Vera; A/C No. 350 in the name of Delfino Rosaria; A/C No. 22 in the name of Sadun Dina; bearer savings account No. 982 in the name of Servi Sara; bearer savings account No. 1276 in the name of Colombo Ezio; bearer savings account No. 1088 in the name of Servi Elodia; A/C No. 61 in the name of Servi Guido; bearer savings account No. 598 in the name of Servi Tranquillo; bearer savings account No. 494 in the name of Servi Gino; bearer savings account No. 217 in the name of Paggi Dina; bearer savings account No. 119 in the name of Sadun Angiolina; bearer savings account No. 1735 in the name of Cremisi Gino; bearer savings account No. 797 in the name of Cassuto Mario; bearer savings account No. 1140 in the name of Servi Adelmo; A/C No. 21 in the name of Sadun Temistocle; bearer savings account No. 1053 in

the name of Servi Bruno; bearer savings account No. 1016 in the name of Paggi Ester; bearer savings account No. 1865 in the name of Servi Livio; bearer savings account No. 1374 in the name of Sadun Adele; bearer savings account No. 1852 in the name of Servi Tranquillo; bearer savings account No. 1517 in the name of Servi Mario; bearer savings account No. 1869 in the name of Paggi Efsiba; A/C No. 1091 in the name of Lattes Azaria; A/C No. 70 in the name of Servi Amj; A/C No. 35 in the name of Sadun Arrigo

Sierra Luisa	Florence	—
Sorani Elisa	Grosseto	—
Soschino Argia	Livorno	garden in Quercianella, Livorno
Tabet Giorgio	Livorno	1 home in Livorno
Tabet Guido	Livorno	No. 70 treasury bonds, expiry 1951
Tabet Mario	Livorno	land in Bibbona
Tabet Rosina	Livorno	1 house with garden
Tedeschi Giulio	Livorno	portion of house with cloister in Livorno
<i>Uzzielli Nella</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
<i>Vivante Leone</i>	<i>Siena</i>	villa “Tavernaccia” in Siena
<i>Vivante Arturo</i>	<i>Siena</i>	land and buildings in Siena
<i>Valech Mosè*</i>	<i>Siena</i>	—
Valensin Maria	Siena	—
Vigevani Mario	Florence	—
Valobra Alessandro*	Florence	—