

COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES AND INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS IN ROME, 1938-1945

Premise

Research reveals that the documentation regarding Rome is both fragmentary and partial.¹ The scant information available meant that it was not possible to form an exact picture of the situation regarding various important issues – for example, the scale of the damage done to Jewish commercial businesses and industrial concerns in Rome and the real reason for which these might have been wound up (that is, apart from the one published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*).² Similarly, no documentation has come to light regarding motives behind the sale of real estate (sometimes at realistic, sometimes at below-market prices).³

But quite apart from the limited documentation yielded by individual archives, the research revealed something else: a number of important public offices have yet to deposit their papers with the official State Archives, which means that for purely logistical reasons this material is difficult to consult. This situation could be found at the Prefecture, the Rome Police Headquarters (in particular, the papers of the Police Chief's Office), the Local Tax Office and the Treasury.

However, it should be pointed out that these institutions collaborated willingly, and that certain archives (those of the Police Headquarters and the Treasury) were examined on site.

In a situation where limited and fragmentary documentation made it impossible to fully evaluate the impact of the confiscation policy upon Jewish assets in Rome (in particular, the effects of the policy aimed at limiting the active presence of Roman Jews in the commercial and industrial sectors), it seemed best to start by tracing a picture of Jewish commercial activity in Rome after the passing of the race laws. The source used here is the data published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, with the aim being to offer not a statistical analysis but simply a quantitative summary. From this starting-point, the discussion passes on to a more detailed reconstruction of certain important phenomena that emerged during the analysis of the available documents. Alongside a general description of what happened, therefore, there are typical individual stories based on the information gleaned from extant documentation. At times, this material outlines how commercial concerns ended up out of business; at others it describes the strategic decisions taken to survive.

According to the 1938 census there were 11,647 Jews in Rome.⁴ This was, therefore, a large community, whose main social and economic characteristic was the presence of a sizeable middle class involved primarily in commerce. Within those involved in that field one can identify certain typical fields of activity: about 40% of the businesses concerned were retail shops, whilst another 40% comprised those holding itinerant-trade licences.⁵ In both cases one can see the continuing socio-economic effects of existence within the Ghetto, which in Rome had survived longer than elsewhere in Italy.

When the anti-Jewish laws were passed, the Community was an integrated part of Rome's socio-economic fabric (the 1938 census of the commercial businesses and industrial concerns owned by Jews in Rome revealed that 1,416 firms fell within category C, 3 within category B and none within category A).⁶ Its members therefore awaited the outcome of events with a certain trustfulness. Whilst striving to understand the real motives behind Fascist racial policy, they would – where possible – simply get on with their lives, trying to maintain dignity and survive within a society that had ostracised them.

From reports drawn up by the Prefect in 1938 and 1939 it emerges that the anti-Jewish measures of November 1938 had not created “any sort of disorientation.” However, when Italy entered the war,

¹ For a detailed description of the sources used, see the Appendix to this chapter.

² On these questions, see. M. Sarfatti, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista*, Turin 2000, pp. 190-193.

³ An attempt in ASRm, *UTE, Catasto rustico di Roma e provincia* to understand what had happened to the Sonnino brothers' farming concern seemed promising as an example of such work: however, it proved entirely useless as it was without any precise documentary references

⁴ See F. E. Sabatello, *Aspetti economici ed ecologici dell'ebraismo romano. Prima, durante e dopo le leggi razziali (1928-1965)*, in *Scritti in memoria di Enzo Sereni*, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 259-260.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 260; these were primarily for the sale of haberdashery, textiles and clothing, p. 262.

⁶ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio storico, b. I4, fasc. III, sfasc. 4: “Relazione mensile a S. E. il Prefetto, a. 1938-1939”.

moments of crisis and tension were felt here, as in the rest of the country.⁷ And after 8 September 1943 life became even more difficult. At that point it was no longer a question of how hateful and incomprehensible laws might be circumvented, perhaps by such devices as the phoney sale of businesses to Aryan ‘front men’ or the transformation of firms into Aryan-administered limited companies; now, physical survival itself was at stake. In such violently hostile circumstances, the prosecution of one’s commercial affairs became of almost marginal importance.

1. Initial Data on the Situation from 1938 to 1943.

1.1 PHONEY TRANSFORMATIONS OF JEWISH COMPANIES AND FIRMS INTO ARYAN-RUN LIMITED COMPANIES

The signs of Jewish companies being either transformed into limited companies with an all-Aryan board or else ceded to Aryan limited companies can be seen in Rome as early as the latter months of 1938. However, in this very early phase, presumably only the most important firms and companies were affected.⁸ For example, in December 1938, Luciano Zingone would inform the Prefect that he had taken over the *Società anonima Tagliacozzo* and the *ditta Amilcare Piperno Alcorso* (total workforce: more than 400), assuming responsibility for all the debts of the two businesses and undertaking to pay an owlty within no sooner than three years.⁹

Such transformations would become much more numerous from 1939 onwards. In May of that year the Head Office for Demography and Race informed the Head Office of Commerce at the Ministry of Corporations that no firm or limited company could be described as Aryan when the share capital was “in part or in whole [held] by persons belonging to the Jewish race”.¹⁰ The Ministry would, however, reply that where limited companies were concerned it was impossible to determine who actually held the stock; here the letter made reference to a communication from the Tax Coordination and Legal Affairs Office at the Ministry of Finance, which specified that art. 47 of rdl 126/1939 (9 February 1939) had limited the requirement to identify holders of company share capital to non limited companies, given that limited stock companies came under other limitations in art. 63, section 3. The Ministry, therefore, asked that the question be re-examined.¹¹

In a note from La Pera to the Undersecretary of State stress was placed on the need to exclude all non-Aryan companies from State supply contracts; and the issue of identifying the ‘race’ of stock capital in limited companies was raised once more.¹²

In a telegram of February 1940 the Head Office for Demography and Race informed all Prefects and presidents of Provincial Councils of Corporations within the kingdom that, whenever they felt it opportune, they should express their opinion regarding the issue or transfer of commercial licences.¹³ It was pointed out that the businesses concerned were usually in the wholesale or retail sector, above all in the textiles field. Given their commercial and financial importance, it was essential to prevent any “emigration of the invested Jewish capital” which was a sizeable presence within this sector. The note, however, envisaged no state participation in such business concerns, given the difficulties of exercising control over their management. It also emerges that leading industrialists had been consulted on the issue; and there was a proposal that all Jewish firms should be gathered together to form a single body specialising in textiles and clothing. The stock capital in this would be divided as follows: ordinary shares for the present (Jewish) owners and preferential shares (with voting rights) for the Aryans who would take on management functions within it. The Fascist Party and the government could place its own representatives on the various boards.¹⁴

⁷ *Ibid.*; however the number of businesses listed in the ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 298 of 26 December 1939 totalled 1,387.

⁸ A phone ‘tap’ of 28 November 1938 suggested that Alatri and Coen were transforming their own businesses, see ACS, *MI*, *Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, prefectural letter/notification of 12 December 1938.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, draft of 15 May 1939. It appears that the Ministry of Corporations had raised the issue on 19 April.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, letter of 10 June 1939.

¹² *Ibid.*, note of 14 September 1939.

¹³ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6A: telegram 837 of 17 February 1940.

¹⁴ ACS, *MI*, *Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32: an undated memo, presumably written for Le Pera.

Other problems were also raised: the preservation of jobs and the application of the principles of autarchy in such a way as to improve the production and distribution of goods. The concern here was to avoid “unproductive hoarding, which would unbalance prices and have a detrimental effect on supplies and credit.”¹⁵

According to an undated list there were 15 important Jewish firms in Rome and Lazio; only 10 of them having been subject to race controls.¹⁶

In 1940 the issue became even more pressing. There was an increase in the number of anonymous informers¹⁷ complaining against rampant corruption in high places, and denouncing compliant functionaries who allowed Jews to maintain their wealth and commercial businesses intact.¹⁸

The organs of the Party itself pointed out certain irregularities: the Secretariat of the Rome *Federazione dei Fasci di Combattimento* let slip no occasion to inform the Prefect of the phoney sale of Jewish firms to Aryans.¹⁹ A report from the Police Headquarters, sent to the Head Office for Public Security and to the Prefecture on 27 September 1940, was a response to information from the Rome Fascist Union of Shopkeepers and looks at the transfer of certain Jewish businesses. With regard to the firm ESTRO owned by Marj Di Veroli (née De Benedetti), it is pointed out that this was transferred to an Aryan front man who had only purchased the scutches, whilst all the stock turned out to be still the property of Di Veroli. On this occasion the Police Headquarters carried out further checks on various businesses: SADIR owned by Vito Coen; *Succ.ri di F. E. Toscano*; the *Società anonima MAS*, the *ditta MGA*; the *Società anonima VERA*; the *Società anonima PRIMA*; the *Società anonima ECO*, which had replaced the *Società E. A. Castelnuovo*; the *ditta SAITA* owned by Coen; the *ditta Cesare Rossi*; the *ditta F. Pisani*; the *ditta SAARTS*; the *ditta FISAC* and the *Società anonima Bazzi Adele*. It pointed out that some of these (Rossi, Pisani, SAARTS, FISAC and Bazzi) were an obvious result of attempts to get round the legislation in force, as the management and administration had remained in the hands of the previous Jewish owners. With regard to the other companies, it was difficult to obtain direct proof, given that they were large commercial companies of complex juridical structure – that is, limited companies that had taken on a new form and, in perfect compliance with the law, had new executives and board members who were Aryans.²⁰

In 1941 there would be further frequent correspondence between the Prefecture and Police Headquarters regarding the phoney transformation of Jewish into Aryan companies. For example, Rodolfo Nenci, Secretary of the Provincial Fascist Union of Shopworkers, denounced to the authorities that, in spite of the race policies, the Jews in Rome had maintained their power in the commercial sector and that Jewish wholesalers continued to be the suppliers of state, parastatal, political and religious bodies; he also pointed out the phoney transformation into limited companies of large-scale Jewish firms.²¹ The Prefect would order new checks,²² and Police Headquarters would, in July 1941, re-present it with the report of September 1940.²³

In January 1943, the Head Office for Demography and Race would call upon the Prefect for a thorough reply regarding the continuing commercial activities of the Jews in Rome, referring to a

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, undated lists. Those listed were: J. V. Alatri, F.lli Bises, S. di P. Coen, G. Della Seta e C., G. Della Seta e F., R. Della Seta, Di Cori e Milano, Amilcare Piperno Alcorso, Raffaele Rossi, F.lli Sonnino, L. Sonnino di S., S. A. Tagliacozzo, Succ. F. E. Toscano, Castelnuovo.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, anonymous letter of 19 September 1940; list of “Jewish commercial agents who are aryanising their businesses.”

¹⁸ The press, too, took up the issue. In September 1940 Gino Sottocchia wrote of “the complacent zeal of the pro-Jewish gentlemen, who besmirch and demean the political ideas and practice of Fascist racism.” See G. Sottocchia, ‘Come deve essere stroncata la manovra degli ebrei nelle società anonime’, in *Il Tevere* 17 September 1940; see also ‘Industrie italiane rappresentate da ebrei’, in *Il Regime Fascista*, 4 September 1940.

¹⁹ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendite fittizie operate da ebrei a prestanome ariani,” letters of 23 and 26 August 1940.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, report by Police Headquarters, 27 September 1940.

²¹ *Ibid.*, fasc. “Trasformazioni fittizie di aziende”, information received 29 March 1941.

²² *Ibid.*, private letter of 31 March 1941.

²³ *Ibid.*, report by Police Headquarters *cit.*; also see the letters of 1 July and 14 July 1941.

document on the matter sent in by the Political Secretariat of the National Fascist Party.²⁴ These promptings would continue into July.²⁵ In August 1943 Police Headquarters sent a note on 11 Jewish firms,²⁶ responding to precise questions which the Head Office for Demography and Race had forwarded to the Prefect in May.²⁷

1.2 THE CRISIS IN THE RAG-MERCHANT SECTOR

Of the 1,387 firms and businesses that had been reported by 26 December 1939, 23 (1.65%) dealt in rags. Of the 67 businesses reported between 18 January 1940 and 7 July 1943, 3 (4.47%) operated in the same field. Thus of the 1,454 businesses reported over the period 26 December 1939 to 7 September 1943, a total of 26 (1.78%) dealt in rags.²⁸

The dm of 8 March 1941 imposed regulations upon the trade in wool rags, setting up a national organisation responsible for the collection of rags destined for the textile industry and the production of supplies for the armed forces. The Head Office for Public Security would, however, complain of passive resistance here from Jewish traders, who were therefore banned from trading in used wool or woollen rags. Furthermore, that Office also called for vigilance with regard to Aryan front men.²⁹

Subsequently, the above-mentioned ban would also be extended to cover non-woollen rags.³⁰

Given present circumstances, the Inter-Provincial Secretariat of the National Fascist Body for Economic Co-operation stressed the importance of rag-merchants, an activity which in Rome had traditionally been carried out by Jews; some 75% of rag-merchants there were Jewish. These latter had recently had their licences rescinded, and only the Aryan rag-merchants were still in operation. However, these were described as “make-shift amateurs, without the special experience such work required, and drawn to it solely by the chance of making quick and easy money.” In fact, there had even been a sharp upturn in prices within the sector. In effect, the removal of Jewish rag-merchants resulted in a drop in productivity and thus seriously undermined the policy of autarchy. As a result it was proposed to recognise Jewish rag-merchants as ‘mobilised civilians’ working for the Rome Co-operative of Cloth Sorters, transferring their licences so that they would be held in the name of the Co-operative itself. The aim was to boost collection and stabilise prices (thus blocking inflation).³¹

On 18 July Buffarini prepared a note on this question for Mussolini.³² In a brief note thereafter – on 12 August – it was observed that the note “must have been passed on,” therefore its contents should be stressed.³³ However at the end of 1942 the Prefect was still awaiting instructions on the matter.³⁴

1.3 THE SCRAP METAL TRADE

Of the 1,387 firms and businesses that had been reported by 26 December 1939, 52 (3.75%) dealt in scrap metal. Of the 67 businesses reported between 18 January 1940 and 7 July 1943, 3(4.47%) operated in the same field. Thus of the 1,454 businesses reported over the period 26 December 1939 to 7 September 1943, a total of 55 (3.78%) dealt in scrap metal.³⁵

In October 1939³⁶ the Rome *Federazione dei Fasci di Combattimento* informed the Prefect of 5 Jewish firms it accused of flouting the regulations governing scrap metal and cast iron issued by the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, letter of 26 January 1943.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, letters of 15 February, 6 April and 19 July 1943.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, letter of 19 August 1943.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, letter of 29 May 1943.

²⁸ Data taken from the issues of the *Gazzette Ufficiale* cited.

²⁹ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Divieto di eseguire raccolta di stracci di lana”: letter from the Head Office of State Police to Prefects and the Rome Police Chief on 28 January 1942.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, message from the Head Office of State Police on 4 June 1942

³¹ ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 33 “Esercizio del commercio di raccolta di rifiuti”: message from the Prefecture to the Head Office for Demography and Race on 1 June 1942. See also R. De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, Turin 1988, pp. 363-364.

³² ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 33, note for Mussolini of 18 July 1942.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515: letter from Police Headquarters to the Prefecture on 17 November 1942 and draft of Prefecture to Head Office of State Police on 4 December 1942.

³⁵ Data taken from the issues of the *Gazzette Ufficiale* cited.

³⁶ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Intercettatori e accaparratori di rottami metallici”: letter of 9 October 1939.

General Commissariat for War Production (*Cogefag*). The Police Headquarters identified the five but found no irregularities; in part because the requirements in the rdl 1751/1939 (26 October 1939) did not come into force until 6 December.³⁷ The information gathered was forwarded to the Federal Secretary of the Rome *Fasci di Combattimento*.³⁸

The firms identified were:

- 1) Di Nepi Settimio and Beniamino, sons of the late Graziadio.³⁹
- 2) Livoli Benedetto di Giuseppe. Figuring in the list of c-category businesses under the name Fratelli Livoli (business register number: 78,765), this was in fact a partnership which dealt in scrap metal and employed six staff. Located at 73 Via S. Maria in Monticelli, the firm was owned by Livoli Benedetto di Giuseppe and Livoli Renato di Giuseppe.⁴⁰ It would cease trading on 31 July 1940.⁴¹
- 3) Livoli Umberto di Giuseppe, which figured at number 740 in the c-category list (business register number: 36,472) as a one-man business located at 44 Via dei Fienili and dealing in scrap metal.⁴² It would cease trading on 27 March 1941.⁴³
- 4) Calò Davide, son of the late Samuele, was the owner of a firm which figured at No. 169 in the list of c-category firms (business register number: 78,928); the business had five employees and was located at 21-22 Via S. Ambrogio.⁴⁴ It would cease trading on 14 June 1941.⁴⁵
- 5) Sonnino Benedetto, son of the late Angelo.⁴⁶

At the end of July Police Headquarters gave notification that the licences would be rescinded, due to directives from the Head Office for Demography and Race which forbade the trade in scrap metal to Jews, even those who enjoyed discriminatory exemption.⁴⁷

In March 1942 the National Fascist Federation of Dealers in Iron, Metals and Machinery reported the presence of Jews in a limited company dealing in scrap metal and asked the Prefect to carry out checks.⁴⁸ Investigation did not confirm Jewish interests in the company; even if, set up in July 1939, it had taken over the old scrap-metal business of Samuele Sonnino.⁴⁹ That business – belonging to Sonnino Samuele, son of the late Mario – figured at No. 1152 in the c-category list (business register number: 28,359) as a one-man business dealing in scrap metal and located at 4 Lungotevere Ripa.⁵⁰ It would cease trading from there on 25 May 1940;⁵¹ from its premises at 17 Piazza dei Re di Roma would cease on 20 September 1940.⁵²

1.4 ITINERANT TRADERS

Of the 1,387 firms and businesses that had been reported by 26 December 1939, 562 (40.5%) were described as itinerant traders. Of the 67 businesses reported between 18 January 1940 and 7 July 1943, 4 (4.47%) operated as the same. Thus of the 1,454 businesses reported over the period 26 December 1939 to 7 September 1943, a total of 566 (38.9%) were itinerant traders.⁵³

³⁷ *Ibid.*, report from Police Headquarters to Prefecture on 4 February 1940.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, letter of 26 February 1940.

³⁹ The *Ditta Di Nepi Settimio e Beniamino* does not figure in the c-category list.

⁴⁰ See ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 28.

⁴¹ *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, No. 63 of 14 March 1941 p. 1128.

⁴² Suppl. cited., p. 28.

⁴³ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 222 of 19 September 1941 p. 3731.

⁴⁴ Suppl. cited p. 8.

⁴⁵ *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, No. 119 of 20 May 1942 p. 2059.

⁴⁶ The *Ditta Sonnino Benedetto* does not figure in the c-category list.

⁴⁷ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Intercettatori e accaparratori di rottami metallici”, message of 28 July 1940. Also see the circular from the Ministry of Corporation’s Head Office for Commerce to the chairmen of the Provincial Councils of Corporations throughout Italy (12 July 1940), which revokes trading licences and authorisation cards issued to all Jews, whether or not they enjoy discriminatory exemption: CCIAA, Rome, Archivio riservato, b. RIS4, fasc. 73, serg. IV, 73.

⁴⁸ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Intercettatori cit.”: letter of 23 March 1942.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Police Headquarters report of 3 June 1942 and letter from Prefecture to the National Fascist Federation of Traders in Iron, Metals and Machinery (22 June 1942).

⁵⁰ Suppl. cited p. 43.

⁵¹ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 208 of 28 August 1940 p. 3196.

⁵² *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 63 of 14 March 1941 p. 1129.

⁵³ Data taken from the issues of the *Gazzette Ufficiale* cited.

Upon request from the Provincial Council of Corporations, the Special Office of the Ministry of Corporations clarified that all Italian citizens of Jewish race who worked as itinerant traders had - in compliance with rdl 126/1939 of 9 February 1939 – to report their activity in this field.⁵⁴ In March 1940, the Ministry of the Interior announced a halt in the issue of all licences to Jews to work as itinerant traders in stationery or toiletry articles.⁵⁵ In July the halt was extended to all saleable goods and also to Jews enjoying discriminatory exemption.⁵⁶ In August the Head Office of Public Security reminded the Police Chief in Rome of the ministerial circular dated 18 March 1940, which had said that the issue of licences for itinerant traders (as for all other traders) would be decided with reference to each individual case. It was also pointed out that once the itinerant trader's licence had been granted there was no obstacle to the Public Security authorities releasing the 'registration certificate' (upon consultation with the Ministry).⁵⁷

In September, Police Headquarters announced that they would withdraw all registration certificates for itinerant-trader licences issued to the Aryan spouses of Jews.⁵⁸

In October, the goods of three Jewish itinerant traders were sequestered.⁵⁹

In a telegram to Prefects and the Police Chief in Rome, the Head Office for Demography and Race announced that, upon "orders from above", the regulations in force had been modified: registration certificates valid up to March 1941 could be issued to Jewish itinerant traders with families to support and even to those from whom such a certificate had already been withdrawn.⁶⁰ Following this decision, the National Fascist Federation of Itinerant Traders reported to the Prefect the presence of Jewish traders who were selling souvenirs and mosaics; claiming these were a "threat" to the tourist market, it warned that as a result there might be incidents in street markets.⁶¹ A memo, presumably from the Police Chief to local heads of police and to the Prefect, reveals that the Federation in Rome had not responded favourably to the decision to grant provisional licences to Jewish itinerant traders with families who were facing economic hardship; it was even planning to organise gangs to send round to local neighbourhood markets. This protest, in effect, involved around 50 *squadristi* who were ex-servicemen and were awaiting their own licences as itinerant traders; the Head of the Federation's Political Secretariat was informed of this worrying situation.⁶² However, reports sent to the city Police Headquarters do not reveal that any incidents actually took place.⁶³

The Head Office for Public Security would remind the Prefect, asking him to remind the National Fascist Federation of Itinerant Traders, that the concessions to Jewish traders had been made "upon orders from above".⁶⁴ The discontent amongst "market stallholders", worried at further possible renewals of licences for Jewish traders, was not long in making itself felt through the usual form of reports and complaints.⁶⁵

At the end of March, the Police Chief reminded the Public Security Offices in Rome and the surrounding area that the ban had been reintroduced.⁶⁶

Pandolfi, Head of the Union of Itinerant Traders, would immediately ask the authorities to take action as Jewish traders were continuing to operate even though their licences had expired.⁶⁷ And

⁵⁴ CCIAA, Roma, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6A: letters of 28 April and 11 May 1939.

⁵⁵ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. "Divieto rinnovazione licenze commercio ambulante ad appartenenti razza ebraica": phone-dictated message of 17 March 1940.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, telegrams 15817 and 15828 of 30 July 1940.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, confidential letter of 19 August 1940.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, message of 10 September 1940.

⁵⁹ During a fair at "La Storta", *ibid.*, letter of 16 October 1940.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, telegram 87354 of 31 December 1940.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, letter of 17 January 1941.

⁶² *Ibid.*, memo of 26 January 1941.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, reports of 27, 28, and 29 January 1941.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, letter from the Head Office of State Police of 31 January 1941; letter from Prefect to Police Chief and the National Fascist Federation of Itinerant Traders on 2 February 1941.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, complaint from the Directorate of Itinerant Traders in Haberdashery to the Prefect, on 13 February 1941; complaint by Antonio Carli on 14 February 1941.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, draft of 31 March 1941.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, phone-dictated message of 1 April 1941.

again in May the National Fascist Federation of Itinerant Traders would report the presence of Jewish souvenir-sellers at the city's Central Station and main monuments, as well as the illegal presence of Jewish traders at the Porta Portuese market.⁶⁸

At the end of 1941 the Head Office for Public Security would reiterate that the itinerant-trader licences issued before the ban of 30 July 1940 to Aryan spouses of Jews were not to be rescinded; however, such spouses could not take over licences that had been made out to their Jewish partner.⁶⁹

1.5 STATELESS JEWS RESIDENT IN ROME WHO OWNED COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES OR INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS.

In 30 May 1940 the obligation upon Jewish proprietors of commercial or industrial concerns to report such ownership was extended to stateless Jews resident in Italy.

Numerous questions upon this issue had already been received by the Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations from the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations.⁷⁰

In May that ministry was still awaiting instructions from the Ministry of the Interior⁷¹ after a request – sent in a coded telegram – that stateless Jews resident in the Kingdom of Italy be required to register.⁷² The bureaucratic machinery for the collection of information was thence set in motion.

In June, Rome Police Headquarters forwarded to the Provincial Council of Corporations a list with 74 names of the stateless Jews resident in Rome and surrounding areas (complete with addresses).⁷³

On the basis of this list, the Council would then forward to the Special Office at the Ministry a list of stateless Jews resident in Rome and surrounding areas who owned commercial businesses or industrial concerns. All in all, three firms were named: those belonging to Carlo Pollitzer, Arturo Aczel and Davide Landesmann⁷⁴, for each of which investigations immediately got underway.

Carlo Pollitzer had run a simple-partnership firm called *Società per impianti industriali unione metallurgica*; he pointed out that his company had been wound up in 1933 and that he had withdrawn some time since from any form of business activity.⁷⁵ Not satisfied with this reply, the Provincial Council of Corporations ordered further checks because the firm still figured in the Business Register. Pollitzer pointed out that as the firm had been a simple partnership, not a limited company, there had been no publication of its liquidation in the *Annunzi Legali*.⁷⁶

Arturo Aczel's firm figured at No. 1413 in the c-category list (business register number: 2298); with official business premises at 24 Via Vittorio Veneto, it appeared to have closed down on 31 July 1940.⁷⁷ In 1941, the APEA (*Società Anonima per Esercizi Alberghi*), a limited company that ran hotels, applied for a licence for the Albergo Imperiale, which it had taken over from Arturo Aczel. As was customary, the Police Headquarters asked the Provincial Council of Corporations for clarification regarding the submission by the APEA.⁷⁸ The Council replied that Aczel had correctly reported his ownership of the company on 24 July 1940, and on 26 October of that year had filed the closure of the company, due to end of tenancy and his withdrawal from business on 31 July.⁷⁹

Finally, Davide Landesmann's firm – No. 715 in the c-category list (business register number: 1854) – was a single-proprietor business with three employees; dealing wholesale in pelts and leather, it was located at 6 Piazza della Pigna. The authorized trader was identified as Landesmann Boris di

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, letter of 7 May 1941.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, message of 12 November 1941.

⁷⁰ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B: draft of 28 April 1939.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, letter 11 May 1939.

⁷² *Ibid.*, telegram No. 1107 of 30 May 1940.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, list dated 11 June 1940.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, list dated 18 June 1940.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, letter from Carlo Pollitzer to the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations on 10 July 1940.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, letter of 24 July 1940.

⁷⁷ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 63 of 14 March 1941, p. 1129.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, letter of 9 June 1941.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, letter of 22 June 1941.

Davide.⁸⁰ The business ceased trading after the death on the proprietor on 19 September 1940 and was ceded to Elsa Arrighi.⁸¹

1.6 BANKRUPTCIES

Given the present state of research, it is impossible to fully understand the mechanisms at work in the bankruptcies declared. Starting from information gleaned from the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, research was carried out in the papers of the Civil Court now in the Rome State Archives. From the Bankruptcy Section (bankruptcies filed 1936-1951) information emerged regarding only four firms. The first, *Ditta Fiorentino Adele in Bemporad fu Giuseppe* (No. 628 in the c-category list; 70.997 in the business register), was a single-proprietor business trading in textiles, with premises at 128 Via dei Baullari.⁸² It declared bankruptcy on 24 January 1942; the composition with creditors was validated on 3 June 1942 and the final bankruptcy court sentence issued on 21 June 1942.⁸³

A submission dated 22 January 1942 discusses the reasons for the bankruptcy, revealing that the firm had never been prosperous and had always relied on its creditors. As the general conditions in the market had worsened – particularly after the suspension of sales in October 1941 – the firm's position had become untenable. The bankruptcy was filed for by the proprietor.⁸⁴ There are no direct references to the regime's anti-Jewish legislation.

No. 664 in the c-category list and No. 96,462 in the business register, the *Ditta Funario Attilio fu Eugenio* was a single-proprietor business trading in shirts and knitwear at Civitavecchia.⁸⁵ It was declared bankrupt on 2 September 1939 and closed down on 28 September 1940 because operating at a constant loss.⁸⁶ The report filed by the receiver makes no reference to the limitations imposed by the anti-Jewish policy: apart from Funario's health problems and the shortage of initial capital, there is simply a reference to "the difficult economic situation." The bankruptcy was filed for by the creditors.⁸⁷

Figuring at number 1253 in the c-category list (No. 72,246 in the business register), *Ditta Tagliacozzo Giuditta di Samuele* was a single-proprietor furniture shop at 105 Via in Arcione.⁸⁸ It went bankrupt on 3 September 1940.⁸⁹ Here again, the receiver's report explains the financial difficulties with reference to health problems and the loss of a lorry used to transport goods. Bankruptcy was filed for by the proprietor.⁹⁰

Appearing at number 1278 in the c-category list (No. 102,543 in the business register), *Ditta Terracina David fu Sabato* held an itinerant-trader licence for the sale of haberdashery at the Piazza della Cancelleria market.⁹¹ It was declared bankrupt on 28 May 1941 and closed because continuing to operate at a loss on 31 December 1941.⁹² The documents in the Civil Court reveal that this was a *de facto* firm, also involving Velia Di Veroli, daughter of the late Donato, who had a stall selling fabrics and haberdashery at the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele market.⁹³ This is the sole case in which

⁸⁰ See 'Supplemento ordinario' to *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 27

⁸¹ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 122 of 26 May 1941 p. 2026.

⁸² Suppl. cited p. 24.

⁸³ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 163 of 13 July 1942 p. 2915; No. 209 of 5 September 1942 p. 3684; No. 250 of 22 October 1942 p. 4384.

⁸⁴ ASRm, *Tribunale, Sezione fallimentare*, 'repertorio bankruptcies', faldone 1851 No. fall. 16483: see 'Foglio degli annunci legali della provincia di Roma' No. 13 of 13 February 1942 p. 182 No. 7493; application by Adele Fiorentino of 22 January 1942; and report of inventory dated 14 February 1942. See also her appointment as special procurator for her husband, Bemporad David Giuseppe, on 29 May 1934.

⁸⁵ Suppl. cited p. 25.

⁸⁶ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 201 of 28 August 1940 p. 3195.

⁸⁷ ASRm, *Tribunale, Sezione fallimentare*, 'repertorio bankruptcies', faldone 1809, No. fall. 16162: see 'Foglio degli annunci legali della provincia di Roma No. 22' of 15 March 1940 p. 36 No. 7753; official receiver's report of 10 April 1940.

⁸⁸ Suppl. cited p. 47.

⁸⁹ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 63 of 14 March 1941 p. 1128.

⁹⁰ ASRm, *Tribunale, Sezione fallimentare*, 'repertorio bankruptcies', faldone 1823, No. fall. 16283: see 'Foglio degli annunci legali della provincia di Roma No. 78' of 27 September 1940 p. 1888 No. 2960; official receiver's report of 14 October 1940.

⁹¹ Suppl. cited, p. 48.

⁹² *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 222 of 19 September 1941 p. 3731; No. 1 of 2 January 1942 p. 14; No. 163 of 13 July 1942 p.2915.

⁹³ ASRm, *Tribunale, Sezione fallimentare*, 'repertorio bankruptcies', faldone 1841, No. fall. 16409: see 'Foglio degli annunci legali della provincia di Roma No. 46 of 10 June 1941 p. 1142 No. 11373; foglio No. 402 of the 'Registro Generale' (9 May 1941).

there is explicit reference to anti-Jewish legislation; in fact, it is said that the stall was “closed down because of the rescission of the licence, the above-mentioned being of Jewish race.”

Bankruptcy here was filed for by the creditors.

1.7 EXCLUSION OF EMPLOYEES OF JEWISH RACE FROM THE ROME PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF CORPORATIONS

Over the period late August-early October 1938 various members of the Wholesale Prices Commissions resigned.⁹⁴

In September, the Minister for Cooperation urged the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to forward a list of its employees of Jewish race.⁹⁵ The response was immediate: measures had already been taken to identify the Jews employed by the Council in whatever function: office personnel, commission members, brokers, representatives, bankers and members of the various supervisory bodies.⁹⁶

The ‘list’ drawn up for Rome contained one name: Giuseppe Ascoli, temporary secretary to the Broker Management Committee.⁹⁷

On 23 September the Provincial Council ordered such a census of employees within its different provincial offices.⁹⁸

Some days later the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations forwarded a list of presumed Jewish employees to the Deputy Head of Police.⁹⁹

In November 1938, the Minister of Corporations asked the various chairmen of the Provincial Councils of Corporations within the Kingdom of Italy to put employees of Jewish race on “special leave.”¹⁰⁰

In a meeting of the Executive Committee on 22 November, the resignation of Attilio Coen (councillor in the commercial sector) was approved, as was special leave for Giuseppe Ascoli.¹⁰¹

Subsequently, the Head Office for Commerce would issue a circular regarding the dismissal from service of Jewish employees and the relative redundancy conditions.¹⁰²

Between December 1938 and February 1939, the Rome Chamber of Commerce would also receive applications from various Jewish stockbrokers for the repayment of their deposit bonds.¹⁰³

1.8 WAR DAMAGE

Art. 1 of law 1543/1940 (26 October 1940) admitted compensation claims regarding the “loss, destruction or damage of moveable property or real estate within the Kingdom” caused by “any incident within the current war.”¹⁰⁴

Art. 13 of the same also laid down that for damages over L. 20,000, the application had to be forwarded to the Local Tax Office of the area concerned.

The “War Damages” section of the Archives of the Rome Chamber of Commerce supplied material relating to the applications made for compensation – even if the documents therein are both

⁹⁴ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio riservato, b. Ris1, fasc. 1, segn. IV, 1: letter of resignation from Ludovico Armando Pisa (Price Commissioner, Commission III) on 27 August 1938; letter of resignation from Amedeo Spizzichino (Wholesale Price Commissioner, Commission IV) on 27 August 1938; letter of resignation from Alessandro Piazza (Wholesale Price Commissioner) on 3 September 1938; letter of resignation from Mario Pontecorvo (Wholesale Price Commissioner, Commission III) on 5 October 1938.

A short article which appeared on 26 August 1938 in *Agenzia economica* pointed out that about 15% of the 240 stockbrokers currently active were Jewish. It also noted that many Jews held positions in the Fascist Federation of Stockbrokers and in the Stock Exchange Management Committees (the chairman of the Rome Stock Exchange was Giacomo Zeitun). The *Regime fascista* had publicly praised M. Jona, who had resigned from his position as Vice Chairman of the Ancona Provincial Council of Corporations; *ibid.*, *Agenzia economica* p.XX No. 171, 26 August 1938.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, draft of 6 September 1938.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, draft from the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to the Head Office for Commerce on 8 September 1938.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, letter and accompanying list, 8 September 1938; see also the list signed by the employees with an indication of race; undated, but presumably compiled in September 1938.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ministerial note of 23 September 1938.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, letter and list, 26 September 1938.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, telegram circular No. 19068 of 15 November 1938.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, extract from minutes of the meeting on 22 November 1938.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, circolare No. 61 from Ministry of Corporations, 6 December 1938.

¹⁰³ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio storico, b. R3, fasc. XI “Agenti di Cambio”, sfasc. “Calabi Ugo”; ivi, b. R4, fasc. XI “Agenti di Cambio”, sottofasc. “Coen Giorgio”, “Coen Guido Moisé”, “Hannau Bindo”.

¹⁰⁴ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 270 of 19 November 1940.

incomplete and scanty in number. In effect, it was only possible to carry out a ‘sample’ survey: out of a total of 87 files, 21 were examined. These referred to 3,170 applications, 58 of which (1.8%) were made in the name of Jews. The documents cover a period from May 1955 to April 1975.¹⁰⁵

Though the material is fragmentary, it is possible to reconstruct the entire bureaucratic procedure involved. An application was submitted to the Office of the Finance Police in Rome, with the request for damages being based on the price /values that applied at the time the damage was suffered. Then the Local Tax Office would open a Compensation File and start procedures of evaluation; given that this concerned the assets and real estate of commercial businesses and industrial concerns, the UPIC (*Ufficio Provinciale per l’Industria e il Commercio*) was applied to for an estimate of the damage suffered. Usually this latter was much lower than the damages applied for.

Unfortunately, at this point the documentation comes to an end, given that the rest of the material is still held at the Rome Tax Offices.¹⁰⁶ However, we do know that the time necessary for the applications to be studied and dealt with was very long: in the 1970s correspondence regarding the assessment of damages was still passing between the UPIC and the Tax Office.

Given the present state of research into the matter, it is impossible to say whether damages were actually paid or, if they were, to what extent; the answers to these questions may well be found amongst the papers of the Treasury, presumably in the section of documents regarding “settlement of war damages.”

However, for all that the available documents do paint a sketchy picture, it does become clear that, immediately after 8 September 1943, there were various incidents in Rome of the Germans’ seizing assets and property from Jewish shops and businesses.

An analysis of the 58 compensation applications from Jewish shop-owners reveals that 36 of them relate to the seizure or looting of goods, whilst 22 relate to bomb damage. A further analysis of those 36 cases reveals that most of the incidents concerned took place between September 1943 and January 1944. The businesses concerned were primarily clothing and textile shops and warehouses. As for the 22 cases regarding bomb damage, 50% of them concern the air raid of 19 July 1943.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Research was made particularly difficult by the absence of any sort of catalogue for consultation. Each ‘busta’ contains 20-30 files, lumped together on the basis of the case number. There is not even a list of names.

¹⁰⁶ The material is rather varied: denunciations to the authorities; lists of assets, notarial documents, statements with more or less detailed accounts of the events that took place.

¹⁰⁷ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *Danni di guerra*: On the basis of the extant documentation, the following list was drawn up of the Jews affected and the type of damage their property suffered: ‘seiz’ (seizure), ‘loot’ (looting) or ‘bomb’ (air raid).

Abbina Lamberto (“ELMAS”)	seiz	28 March 1944
Di Consiglio, Dolores (née Amadio)	seiz	1944
Amati, Michele di Italo	seiz	February 1944
Anguillara, Franco (daughter of Umberto)	seiz	6 January 1944
Anticoli, Cesare (son of Lazzaro)	loot	Nov.1943 - January 1944
Astrologo, Mosé (son of Giacobbe)	seiz	March 1944
Astrologo, Silvano	seiz	1 May 1944
Bondi, Dora (daughter of Michele)	loot	March 1944
Bondi, Rosa (daughter of Michele)	loot	19 April 1944
Caviglia, Renato di Samuele	bomb	13/8/43 (seiz Apr. 1944)
Dell’Ariccia, Saul (son of Benedetto)	seiz	15 April 1944
Astrologo, Letizia (née Della Rocca)	seiz	November 1943
Della Seta, Giovanni and brother	seiz	30/10/43 e Jan. 1944
Del Monte, Aurelio	seiz	22 January 1944
Di Cori, Moisé and Milano, Raffaele	seiz	November 1943
Di Porto, Vitale (son of Giacobbe)	seiz	after 16 October 1943
Di Segni, David (son of Mosé)	seiz	2 March 1944
Mieli, Rosa (née Di Segni)	seiz	January 1944
Di Veroli, Giulia (daughter of Cesare)	seiz	November 1943
Pace, Riccardo (son of Emanuele)	seiz	15 December 1943
Pavoncello, Bettina (daughter of Mosé)	loot	uncertain date
Perugia, Umberto (son of Cesare)	seiz	from 11/11/43 to June 1944
Coen, Iole (née Piperno)	seiz	November 1943
Piperno, Olimpia di Samuele	seiz	5 November 1943
Piperno, Olimpia di Samuele	seiz	January 1944

In January 1945 the Head Office for Domestic Trade within the Ministry for Industry, Trade and Labour would issue a circular laying down the criteria to be applied in assessing and evaluating the damage “suffered as a result of any episode of war, as a result of the removal, looting or theft of property by Germany and its allies, or by illegal requisitions and seizures imposed upon the civilian population by Germany or its allies.”¹⁰⁸

As far as shops and commercial businesses were concerned, the Ministry of Industry undertook to work with the Chamber of Commerce in collecting reports, complaints and summary accounts that would then be forwarded to the Treasury.

Thus, alongside the above-mentioned series of documents, one must also consider the scant and fragmentary documentation regarding war damage which was compiled by the Rome Chamber of Commerce in 1944-1945.¹⁰⁹

This material is rather difficult to interpret, but it does supply some useful information regarding what happened to eight specific Jewish firms after the German occupation of the city.

Here, each case will be described individually, also drawing upon information gleaned from the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*.

Ditta Giovanni Della Seta e fratello

Figuring at number 291 in the list of c-category firms (No. 2,434 in the business register), this was a joint-proprietorship firm with a total of 25 employees; it dealt in haberdashery, thread, knitwear and textiles and was located at 143 Corso Vittorio Emanuele. The partners were Giovanni Della Seta (son of the late Giuseppe) and Leonello Della Seta (son of the late Giuseppe).¹¹⁰

Subsequently, the company also ran a wholesale trade in wool and cotton fabrics and rural clothing from a warehouse in Piazza B. Cairoli.¹¹¹

On 30 October 1943 some German soldiers burst into the warehouse, drove off the personnel, seized goods and then destroyed fittings and furnishings.¹¹² A report dictated over the phone on 31 October 1943 informs us that some of the firm’s employees had gone to the San Eustachio police station to complain of the incursion “by some members of the German police,” who without any authorisation had sequestered goods. This report also specifies that the sales staff were “Aryan personnel” and that Giovanni della Seta himself had been taken by the Germans on 16 October.¹¹³

The statement submitted to the Chamber of Commerce gives the losses as amounting to L. 85,652,700. This was the sum which figured in an application for damages, whilst the UPIC estimated the loss at L. 1,800,000 (with an additional 1% due to the average age of the material).¹¹⁴

Pontecorvo, Eugenia (daughter of Leone)	loot	Nov. 1943 - Jan. 1944
Sabatello, Giovanni (son of Settimio)	seiz	5 November 1943
Sabatello, Tranquillo (son of Settimio)	loot	1944
Sonnino, Dario (son of Giuseppe)	seiz	May 1944
Spizzichino, Guglielmo (son of Giacobbe)	seiz	February 1944
Spizzichino, Roberto di Santoro	seiz	Sept. 1943 and June 1944
Anticoli, Adriana (née Tagliacozzo)	loot	5 May 1944
Tagliacozzo F.lli	loot	5 May 1944
Tagliacozzo, Giovanni (son of Angelo)	loot	5 May 1944
Terracina, Leo di Graziano	seiz	17 October 1943
Zarfati, Ester (daughter of Pace)	seiz	23 April 1944

¹⁰⁸ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45, fasc. X, 16 “Accertamento danni di guerra”: circular 19/C of 8 January 1945 regarding the “Commissione interministeriale per gli studi economici in relazione alle trattative post belliche”.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, letter from the Ministry of Industry pressing the UPIC for a response, 16 October 1945: the request was for the summary tables to be accompanied with a short report attached with the documentation requested. An undated note points out that the estimates are on the basis of the value of the assets in December 1939. See also “Norme per le denunce dei danni di guerra subiti dalle aziende commerciali dopo l’8 September 1943”.

¹¹⁰ ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 13.

¹¹¹ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 119 of 20 May 1942 p. 2059.

¹¹² CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)* scat. 45 cit.: statement of 9 November 1945; notorial document of 25 October 1945 with a list of the merchandise seized.

¹¹³ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Della Seta Giovanni, sequestro merce da parte della polizia tedesca”: phone-dictated message of 31 October 1943 from Police Headquarters to the Ministry of Interior, to the Prefecture and to the Police command in the ‘open city’. See L. Picciotto Fargion, *Il Libro della Memoria*, Milan 1991; the name of Giovanni Della Seta does not appear.

¹¹⁴ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *Danni di guerra*: pos. 3043.

Ditta Daniele Bemporad

This firm - in the name of Bemporad Daniele, son of the late Isacco - figured at No.135 in the c-category list (business register number: 36,565). A sole-proprietor firm without employees, it traded in textiles and clothing at 5 Via Carlo Alberto.¹¹⁵ Upon the death of the owner, it passed into the hands of his brother, Daniele, on 27 May 1942.¹¹⁶

During the air raid of 19 July 1943 which hit the Stazione del Littorio, some of the many rail goods wagons destroyed contained merchandise on its way to the Bemporad firm; total value, L. 5,121.75.¹¹⁷

Ditta Michele Amati

The firm of Michele Amati di Giacomo figured at No. 26 in the c-category list (business register number: 60,737). A sole-proprietor firm with no employees, it traded in household items and haberdashery at 108-110 Via Gallia.¹¹⁸

On the morning of 27 April 1944 the Germans stripped the shop, which had been closed since 16 October of the previous year. It would appear that the inhabitants of the area also took part in the looting, and only the intervention of the concierge and neighbouring shopkeepers limited the damage. Michele Amati had taken refuge in the countryside, returning to Rome after 6 June 1944.

The loss reported amounted to L. 660,000.¹¹⁹

Ditta F.lli Di Veroli.

The firm of Di Veroli Cesare and Tranquillo (sons of the late Donato) figured at No. 554 in the c-category list (business register number: 71,181).

A partnership, it dealt in textiles at two shops – 22-23 Via Merulana and 46-48 Via Piave – each with two employees.¹²⁰

The Via Merulana shop was raided by German soldiers during the first ten days of December 1943, whilst the Via Piave shop was looted by Republican Fascists in the middle of January 1944. The firm had ceased trading in November 1943.

The losses amounted to L. 724,760.¹²¹

Ditta Cesare Todeschini

The firm of Cesare Todeschini di Giulio figured as No. 1310 in the c-category list (business register number: 65,546). A sole-proprietor firm with no employees it dealt wholesale in hides at 20 Via F. Crispi.¹²² Cesare Todeschini had been granted discriminatory exemption on 16 April 1940.¹²³

Witness reports described how on the 28 January 1944 – when the owner was with his family outside Naples – German soldiers seized all the merchandise for “the German command”, then completed their work by burning the business archives and smashing up the shop.

The damage caused amounted to L. 786,900.¹²⁴

Ditta Abramo Funaro fu Samuele.

This firm dealt in haberdashery and clothing from premises at 104 Via Ottaviano. Abramo Funaro, son of the late Samuele, would submit a complaint to the Parti police station on 20 July 1944

¹¹⁵ Suppl. cited, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 250 del 22 October 1942 p. 4384. A new company of the same type and at the same address, again under the name of Daniele Bemporad, figures at No. 1454 in the c-category list (business register number: 116.833), see *Gazzetta Ufficiale* cit. p. 4383.

¹¹⁷ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statement of 31 July 1945, notarial document of 12 March 1944.

¹¹⁸ Suppl. cit. p. 3.

¹¹⁹ CCIAA, Roma, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statement of 3 September 1945; notarial document of 9 October 1944 with a list of the merchandise seized; copy of the report submitted to the Appio Police Station on 16 June 1944.

¹²⁰ Suppl. cited p. 21.

¹²¹ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statement of 30 September 1945: notarial document of 20 June 1944 with inventory of the merchandise removed.

¹²² Suppl. cited. p. 49.

¹²³ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 201 of 28 August 1942 p. 3196.

¹²⁴ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statement of 21 September 1945; notarial document of 28 July 1944; list of goods seized on 15 September 1944; statement made by Cesare Todeschini on 15 September 1944; photographs of the wrecked shop.

regarding the removal of merchandise by German troops on October 1943. The loss amounted to L. 78, 636.70.¹²⁵

Ditta Aldo Finzi

This firm figured at No. 621 in the c-category list (business register number: 6,252). It was a sole-proprietor business with three employees and dealt in textiles from premises at 16 Via S. Bertolomeo ai Vaccinari.¹²⁶

Since 1942 the firm had been trading as a wholesaler's.¹²⁷

Following the death of the proprietor, the firm passed to his son, Giacomo, on 8 June 1942.¹²⁸ In compliance with art. 71 of rdl 126/1939 (9 February 1939), Giacomo Finzi would, on 15 June, report this new sole-proprietorship firm dealing wholesale in textiles; it would figure as No. 1,454 in the c-category list (business register number: 119,027).¹²⁹

Various witnesses state that, along with his family, Giacomo Finzi left Rome on 15 October 1943, after having walled up his most valuable merchandise in his warehouse at Via S. Bartolomeo dai Vaccinari; the shop on Lungotevere Cenci had remained open upon orders from the authorities. On 6 November about 30 German soldiers commanded by two officers would, probably as a result of the work of an informer, empty the two warehouses, including the one that had been walled up. Having also damaged the furnishings and fittings, they loaded the merchandise seized onto 13 lorries.

At the end of April 1944, some members of the Fascist police – acting upon orders from the City Police Chief, Caruso – seized valuable furniture belonging to Giacomo Finzi which had been left in safekeeping at the home of Marchese Giacomo Pallavicini.

The overall losses amounted to L. 8,724,209.¹³⁰

Società Anonima "Modital"

This firm belonging to Costanza Sermoneta, daughter of the late Eugenio, figured at No. 1071 in the c-category list (business register number: 60,186). A sole-proprietor firm without employees, it dealt in haberdashery and clothing from premises at 2-4-6 Via Appia Nuova.¹³¹ The firm was then ceded for capital payment to the limited company "Modital", on whose behalf acted Costanza Teichner (née Sermoneta).¹³²

Towards the end of September 1943, the Teichner family left Rome, entrusting the shop and the continuance of the business to someone in whom they had confidence. On 17 and 18 January 1944 some German soldiers stripped the shop and basements, loading all the merchandise onto lorries. Having seized what they wanted, they invited the local population to loot the furnishings and fittings in the shop. Later, the premises would be used to house evacuees.

The damage caused amounted to L. 8,439,555.¹³³

With regard to Jewish commercial businesses in the areas around Rome, the documentation is equally scanty.

A list from the municipality of Tivoli informs us that the firm of Lidia Spizzichino was looted of material to a value of L. 100,000.¹³⁴ This was a sole-proprietor firm without employees that dealt

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, undated statement; report of 16 October 1945 by the Prati Police Station; letter from A. Funaro to the Rome Chamber of Commerce on 28 August 1945; list of merchandise seized.

¹²⁶ Suppl. cited p. 24.

¹²⁷ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 119 of 20 May 1942 p. 2059.

¹²⁸ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 209 of 5 September 1942 p. 3687.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3684.

¹³⁰ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statement of 31 July 1945; notorial document of 30 November 1944 with list of merchandise seized.

¹³¹ Suppl. cited p. 40.

¹³² *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 63 of 14 March 1941 p. 1128.

¹³³ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statement of 31 July 1945; notorial document of 10 August 1944 with inventory of merchandise seized.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, letter from Tivoli Municipal Council to the Rome Provincial Office for the Economy on 15 September 1944.

retail in textiles and haberdashery from premises in Tivoli; it figured at No. 1214 in the c-category list (business register number: 92,702).¹³⁵

At Subiaco, Pellegrino Perugia, who had managed to flee on 1 November 1943, would return to find his two shops destroyed and goods removed; the total damage for the two premises amounted to L. 980,000 and L. 520,000 respectively.¹³⁶ Figuring at No. 1397 in the c-category list (business register number: 15,871), this was a sole-proprietor firm dealing in fabrics and furnishings (it also had an itinerant-trader licence; this side of the business having been shut down on 30 July 1941).¹³⁷ From the file regarding his compensation, it emerges that he applied for L. 535,000 in damages, whilst the UPIC estimated his loss at L. 90,000, (with an additional 1% due to the average age of the material).¹³⁸

2. Certain Special Cases

2.1 THE FIRM OF PIPERNO ALCORSO AMILCARE.

On 7 September 1938, on the basis of information received from the Trevi-Colonna police station, the city Police Headquarters would report that Piperno Alcorso intended to sell his business to Francesco Zingone.¹³⁹ However, investigation produced nothing that confirmed this.¹⁴⁰

In March 1939, Police Headquarters then reported that Amilcare Piperno had, together with his wife, moved to London, where they were waiting to go and join their sons, Orlando and Claudio, in Australia. It appeared that, by the end of May, he would sell off his business interests *en bloc* (these included the Magazzini al Corso department store and a shop in Piazza Fiume); of these he had remained the owner, behind an Aryan who served as his proxy.

The *Società Anonima Tagliacozzo*, whose premises were in Via dei Prefetti, was a limited company of which Piperno was sole administrator; it was said to have had a new board made up entirely of Aryans. Furthermore, certain real estate seemed to be the property of *Soc. An. Proprietà Romana*, of which Piperno was the procurator.¹⁴¹

The Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations pointed out that, from the b-category list, it emerged that Piperno Alcorso Amilcare, son of the late Giacomo, had reported three companies, one with a total of over 100 employees. It therefore asked the Provincial Council of Corporations in Rome if Piperno had declared continuing ownership of one of the two companies with less than 100 employees, which should thus figure in the c-category list and be removed from the b-category (art. 52, para b, of the relevant law stated that in the case of more than one firm owned by the same proprietor, when the number of total employees was over 100, one or more firms were registered as b-category and the other firms with less than 100 employees figured as c-category).¹⁴² Piperno chose to maintain the Piazza Fiume business.¹⁴³

Thus at No. 939 in the c-category list figures the firm of 'Piperno Alcorso Amilcare, son of the late Giacomo,' with premises at 53 Piazza Fiume (business register number: 7,391).¹⁴⁴ The other two firms (at 172 Corso Umberto I and 24 Via di Campo Marzio) would, on 8 August 1939, be inscribed in the b-category list.¹⁴⁵

On 12 July 1940, the Head Office for Demography and Race applied urgently to the Prefecture for information on the chairman of *Soc. Taceol*, the supposed purchaser of Piperno Alcorso's firm.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁵ Suppl. cited p. 45.

¹³⁶ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo X (industria)*, scat. 45 cit.: statements of 6 July 1945.

¹³⁷ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 209 of 5 September 1942 p. 3684.

¹³⁸ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *Danni di guerra*: pos. 3567.

¹³⁹ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. "Vendita di negozi e immobili": letter to the Head Office of State Police and the Prefect, 7 September 1938; see also the letter from the Minister's Office at the Ministry of the Interior to the Prefect, 10 September 1938.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, letters from the Police Headquarters in Rome to the Prefect on 17 September and 9 October 1938; see also ACS, *MI*, *Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32: letters from the Prefect on 19 September and 11 October 1938.

¹⁴¹ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. "Vendita cit.": confidential letter to the Prefect, 27 March 1939.

¹⁴² CCIAA, Roma, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 53, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6E: letter of 9 June 1939.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, letter of 14 June 1939.

¹⁴⁴ See 'Supplemento ordinario' of the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939, p. 35.

¹⁴⁵ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 184 of 8 August 1939, p. 3742.

¹⁴⁶ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. "Vendita cit.": postal note of 12 July 1940.

2.2 THE SOCIETÀ ANONIMA COPERFIL

An anonymous letter, sent to the Head Office for Demography and Race and to the police stations of Porta Pia, San Eustachio and Trionfale, reported that the three commercial businesses in the name of Pacifico De Segni had been transformed into phoney limited companies using Aryan front men. The writer had even done research at the Rome Courts, reporting that before the passing of the anti-Jewish legislation Di Segni had “masked” his business activities behind phoney limited companies.¹⁴⁷

Following the usual controls carried out by the City Police Headquarters – and further information forwarded from the Prefecture to the Head Office for Demography and Race – it was reported that the ‘Coperfil’ limited company ran three shops (at 109 Corso Vittorio, 87 Via Ottaviano and 42 Via Piave) and that it had originally been set up under the name *Società anonima alimenti* on 27 June 1934; among the names associated with it were Di Segni’s son-in-law, Gino Paggi, and his wife, Amelia Sadun. On 25 June 1937 the limited company changed name to *Società anonima Coperfil* (a compound of *coperte* [blankets] and *filati* [thread]); its shareholders and board members were Aryans.

Another limited company, *Arte della lana*, had been wound up on 10 December 1938. Soon after the passing of the race laws, Di Segni and his wife moved to Florence, winding up all their business activities; his son-in-law would move with his family to America.¹⁴⁸

2.3 THE AZIENDA AGRICOLA “F.LLI SONNINO”

The SIBTA (Società Italiana Bonifiche Terriere Anonima) was a limited company that dealt in land reclamation and management. One of the properties it rented out was at Decima and, on 3 June 1939, it applied for clarification on the application of the current norms regarding the legal position of the Sonnino farming concern and the number of employees it might have.¹⁴⁹ On 16 June the Provincial Agricultural Inspector of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry informed the Provincial Council of Corporations in Rome of the outcome of the checks carried out on the farm known as “Casal di Decima”, run by the brothers Enrico, Guido and Mario Sonnino and located in the Agro Romano.¹⁵⁰ On 26 June the Territorial Section of the Rome Carabinieri would inform the Provincial Council of further checks carried out: in particular, that the number of employees had dropped from 46 in 1938 to 38 on 9 February 1939.¹⁵¹ In its turn, the Provincial Council asked the Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations if the lessees of agricultural concerns came under the regulations and requirements contained in rdl 126/1939 of 9 February 1939; and if the agricultural concerns affected by the tax on moveable assets which applied in category B were to be considered as ‘industrial’.¹⁵²

Having consulted the Ministry of Finance, that Special Office would only supply general guidelines: an agricultural concern could be commercial or industrial, even if falling within category B; the lessee was bound to comply with the registration requirements of rdl 126/1339. As for the definition of ‘commercial’ and ‘industrial’, that would be decided in each specific case.¹⁵³

On 6 July the Provincial Council therefore informed the SIBTA that, as the F.lli Sonnino farming concern employed less than 100 people, it was to be included in the c-category list, in compliance with art. 52 of rdl 126/1939.¹⁵⁴ The firm would figure at No. 1,122 in that list (business register number: 17,431). It is described as the (tenancy) farming concern of the Sonnino brothers and given as located on the Casal di Decima property in Via Pratica di Mare. The partners are named as

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fasc. “Vendite fittizie”: undated anonymous letter; also in ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32 “Società Anonime trasformazioni fittizie”.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, message from the Prefecture to the Head Office for Demography and Race, on 12 July 1941, and the report from the Police Headquarters on 14 July 1941, also in ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendite fittizie”.

¹⁴⁹ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B: letter of 3 June 1939.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of 16 June 1939.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, letter of 25 June 1939.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, sfasc. 6A: draft of 12 April 1939.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, letter of 15 October 1939.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, sfasc. 6B: letter of 6 July 1939.

Enrico, Guido and Mario Sonnino, sons of the late Giuseppe and resident at 16a Via S. Ambrogio, Rome; the number of employees, 35 in 1938, had dropped to 25 by 9 February 1939.¹⁵⁵

The next documentation regarding the F.lli Sonnini farming concern dates from January 1943: the brothers state that, due to an error, the report of their personal assets had included real estate and equipment that was part of their business in the trading and development of urban and rural property. However, there appeared to be no record of this business activity at the Ministry of Finance, so the Ministry of Corporations asked the Provincial Council to make detailed enquiries.¹⁵⁶ What emerged was that the Sonnino brothers were not in the building business and therefore their application could not be granted. In fact, the Special Office asked the Provincial Council to annul the certificate which contained notification that, from 1 January 1938 onwards, the farming concern's activities had been extended to include trading in urban and rural property. The reason given for this decision was that those involved had made false declarations.¹⁵⁷

2.4 THE CORCOS BROTHERS' *SOCIETÀ OLEA ROMANA*

The partnership business *Olea Romana* figured at No. 832 in the c-category list (business register number: 22,354); on 9 February 1939 it is recorded as having 11 employees. An industrial concern involved in the refinement of vegetable oils, its partners were Giorgio, Adriano and Oliviero Corcos, sons of Enrico and all resident at 119 Via Ostiense, Rome; the latter brother was the only one who did not enjoy discriminatory exemption.¹⁵⁸

On 20 February 1941 the company applied to the Ministry of Corporations for authorisation to move equipment surplus to requirements from its Vitorchiano plant to that in Rome in order to start the pressing of sweet corn from the regions of central-southern Italy. This started the usual bureaucratic process which involved the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations and the Office of Industrial Plant at the Ministry of Corporations.¹⁵⁹

The Provincial Council gathered confidential information from the banks which had business relations with the company. The Banca Nazionale del Lavoro¹⁶⁰ and the Banca Commerciale Italiana¹⁶¹ both gave a favourable verdict on the company. The former described *Olea Romana* as "a well-known and important company that has a plant with modern equipment. Morality: good. Good previous performance. Excellent capabilities." However, in concluding, it noted that the business belonged to citizens of Jewish race. The BNL was the only one to raise the race issue.¹⁶²

The Provincial Council then sent the material gathered to the Chairman of the Industry Section of the Provincial Council, Leopoldo Parodi Delfino, who declared that "he did not feel in a position to express opposition to the application; however, I think it is opportune to point out that the firm in question belongs to citizens of Jewish race."¹⁶³ This opinion was reiterated at the meeting of the Head Committee on 28 June 1941, which came out against the application.¹⁶⁴ On 5 July the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations closed the *Olea Romana* case by informing the Office for Industrial Plant: "given that members of the company in question are of the Jewish race, it has decided to come out against the granting of the application therefrom."¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵ See 'Supplemento ordinario' to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939, p. 42.

¹⁵⁶ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 53, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6E: letter from the Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations to the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations, 30 April 1943.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, confidential letter of 12 July 1943 and the letter of rescission from the Provincial Council on 13 August 1943.

¹⁵⁸ See 'Supplemento ordinario' to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 31.

¹⁵⁹ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio storico, b. F5, fasc. XXIII, sfasc. 5-6: accompanying letter from the Corporation Inspectorate to the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations on 6 March 1941; request from the Provincial Council to *Olea Romana*, asking it to fill in a questionnaire on the company, 13 March 1941; questionnaire completed by the Corcos brothers, 15 March 1941.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, note of 16 April 1941.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, note of 23 April 1941.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, the Banca Commerciale Italiana wrote "Abundant means. Good moral conduct. Correct working practices. Extensive credit facilities."

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, letter of 29 April 1941 from the Provincial Council to Leopoldo Parodi Delfino and letter from Parodi Delfino to the chairman of that Council on 3 May 1941.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, memo of 7 May 1941 and letter of 5 July 1941.

There is no further documentation regarding *Olea Romana*, except for a modification – made in 1939 but published in 1942 – regarding two matters: the opening of a plant for the extraction of oil from seeds and processed olive refuse; and Adriano Corcos’s deed-of-gift cession of part of his share in the business to his wife, Teresa Caloro (she thus became a partner holding 1/8 of the company).¹⁶⁶

2.5 THE *SOCIETÀ ANONIMA ALIMENTARIA* (SALA)

The firm of Roberto Nunes (son of the late Eugenio) figures at No. 831 in the c-category list (business register number: 10,563). It was a sole-proprietor business with four employees trading wholesale in overseas produce from premises at 72 Piazza dei Caprettari.¹⁶⁷

On 10 April 1941 the Rome Police Headquarters informed the Prefecture that in a private-treaty sale of 5 August 1940 Nunes had ceded his business to the *Società Anonima alimentaria*, whose sole administrator was Giulio Rubino, with Giordano Santarelli as procurator. Nunes’ son, Oscar, however figured as the real manager of the company, as Rubino was in the army.¹⁶⁸ Responding to a request from the Provincial Council, Police Headquarters would nevertheless confirm that Nunes had no actual legal involvement in the SALA.¹⁶⁹

On 19 June the SALA procurator, Bruno Santarelli, wrote to the Provincial Council to inform them that he had asked Oscar Nunes to temporarily replace Rubino, without however receiving a salary for so doing; he also pointed out that Oscar Nunes was a Catholic, married to an Aryan and with Aryan children – as well as being an ex-serviceman (a member of the PSF since 1925) and a former member of the Directorate of the Union of Shopkeepers.¹⁷⁰

On 26 June and the 2 July, the Provincial Council forwarded Santarelli’s letter to the Prefecture and stated that, from a legal point of view, the ‘Jew’ Oscar Nunes had no business interest in the SALA.¹⁷¹

2.6 *SOCIETÀ ANONIMA CASTELNUOVO & C.*

On 6 February 1939, Piraldo Simoni denounced the *Società Anonima Castlenuevo & Co.* of obscure manoeuvres to the detriment of the State. He pointed out that the entire management was of Jewish race and that in February 1938 the company had ceded its business activities to two other companies, which were subsequently split up into six new companies, with boards made up of Aryans.¹⁷²

On 27 August the Head Office of the State Police¹⁷³ informed the Head Office for Demography and Race of the results of the enquiries made by Police Headquarters in Rome. It had emerged that in February 1938 the *Società Anonima E. A. Castelnuovo & C* (12 Via Pellgrino Rossi) had ceded its business activities to two other companies: *Società Anonima E. Castelnuovo & C* (12 Via Pellegrino Rossi) and *Società Anonima A. Castelnuovo & C* (255 Via Nazionale).

The former of these two had been set up in Milan on 26 February 1938 and transferred to Rome on 25 October that year, becoming the *Soc. An. Magazzini generali abbigliamento* (MGA), with trading premises in Via dello Statuto and business headquarters at 12 Via Pellegrino Rossi. Its initial stock capital had been L. 10,000, subsequently increased to L. 1,000,000, and the board was made up of Aryans who were not resident in Rome. Along with this company had also come the *Soc. An. Magazzini all’Esquilino*, with sales premises at 39-40 Piazza Vittoria, and *Soc. An. Magazzinini allo Statuto* (MAS), with sales premises in Via dello Statuto and business headquarters at 12 Via Pellegrino Rossi. Both of these companies had been transferred from Milan to Rome on 30 January 1939; the stock capital of each was L. 1,000,000 and their boards were made up of Aryans.

¹⁶⁶ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 119 of 20 May 1942, p. 2059.

¹⁶⁷ See ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 31.

¹⁶⁸ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Ditte di ebrei-attività commerciale”: letter of 10 April 1941.

¹⁶⁹ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B: letter of Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to Police Headquarters on 26 May 1941 and letter from latter to the Council on 13 June 1941.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of Provincial Council of Corporations, 19 June 1941.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, letter of 26 June 1941; ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, B. 1515, fasc. “Ditte cit.”: letter of 2 July 1941.

¹⁷² ACS, *MI*, *Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32 “Società anonime e trasformazioni fittizie”: report of 6 February 1939; draft of 16 April 1939.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, report from the Head Office of State Police to the Head Office for Demography and Race, 27 August 1939.

As for *Soc. An. A. Castelnuovo* (255, Via Nazionale), it had been set up in Milan on 3 November 1938 and then transferred to Rome under the name *Soc. An. Prodotti Italiani Mode e Arredamenti* (PRIMA), which had increased its stock capital from L. 10,000 to L. 3,750,000; the board members were all Aryans. Then there was the *Soc. An. Vendite rateali e a credito* (VERA), which took over the original company with *Soc. An. A. Castelnuovo*; it had a stock capital of L. 1,000,000 and an all-Aryan board.

Furthermore, on 3 November 1938, the *Soc. An. Esercizi commerciali* (ECO) had also been set up in Milan; it transferred to Rome on 8 February 1939, with premises at 1-12 Via Arenula and a stock capital increased from L. 10,000 to L. 1,000,000; the board was made up entirely of Aryans. Also there was the *Soc. An. Romana Stabili* (ARS), with registered offices in 12 Via Pellegrino Rossi. It had been set up on 26 April 1920, with a stock capital of L. 5,000,000, and traded in (or managed) real estate; its board was made up entirely of Aryans.

The *Soc. An. Palazzine Economiche* (APE), registered offices at 6 Via Falminia, had been set up on 5 March 1936 to trade in real estate and to manage/rent property. Since June 1939 its sole administrator had been Conte Silvio Piccolomini, chairman of the board, a member of which was also his son, Conte Nicolò Piccolomini.

The *Società Podere Immobili Giardini Agricolture* (SPIGA) had its premises at 135 Via Trionfale. It had been set up on 18 May 1924 to trade in and lease land on temporary or emphyteutic contract, with the declared aim of reclaiming and improving agricultural land. Its board was made up of Aryans and the company was the owner of an uninhabited villa at 135 Via Trionfale.

Finally, there was the *Soc. An. Bonifiche Agrarie* (SBA), with premises at 8 Via Affogalasio; it was set up on 9 August 1922 and its board was all-Aryan.

The report concluded that it was not possible to identify the sums which the Castelnuovo brothers had invested in each of these companies; nor was it possible to ascertain if they were still shareholders in any of them.

2.7 SOCIETÀ ANONIMA TESSUTI ORIGINALI (SATOS)

The firm of Angelo Toscano figured at No. 1311 in the c-category list (business register number: 19,784). A family business located in Piazza SS. Apostoli, it had 15 employees and sold men's clothing. The partners were Rosina Toscano, daughter of the late Angelo; Enrico Navarro (manager) and Luigia, Adriana, Renata and Alfredo Menasci (the latter also a manager).¹⁷⁴

Subsequently, SATOS (*Soc. An. Tessuti Originali*), a limited company, was set up with Aryan shareholders.¹⁷⁵ Under a new business register number (105,240), that company in its new form again figured in the c-category list (No. 1391). The partners had not changed.¹⁷⁶

2.8 SOCIETÀ ANONIMA TESSUTI ABBIGLIAMENTO (SATA)

Enquiries regarding the *Società Anonima Tessuti Abbigliamento* began in November 1941.¹⁷⁷ They revealed that the company had been set up in Cortona in August 1941 by Giacomo Sonnino for the sale of textiles and ready-made clothes. The sole company director was the Aryan Carlo Nibbi. Subsequently, SATA had bought a building from *Soc. An. Tucci-Manni* for L. 910,000, thus increasing its stock capital. According to Police Headquarters the sum had been paid on behalf of the lawyer Silvio Ottolenghi, a Jew enjoying discriminatory exemption.

The sole director, Carlo Nibbi, lived in Cortona, with a Rome address in his wife's name; she was responsible for collecting the rents from the above-mentioned building's tenants and forwarding them to her husband, who then passed them on to Giacomo Sonnino di Camillo, a Jew enjoying discriminatory exemption who ran a tailor's shop at 31-33 Via Nomentana. His business, with three employees, figured at No. 1126 in the c-category list (business register number: 59,791).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ See 'Supplemento ordinario' to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 49.

¹⁷⁵ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. "Ditte di ebrei-attività commerciale": anonymous report also sent to the German command; undated but presumably from February 1944.

¹⁷⁶ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 14 of 18 January 1940, p. 215.

¹⁷⁷ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. "Ditte di ebrei-attività commerciale": copy of the statement made by Carlo Nibbi on 11 November 1941; report from Police Headquarters to Head Office of State Police on 21 November 1941.

¹⁷⁸ See 'Supplemento ordinario' to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 42.

2.9 SOCIETÀ ANONMIA ITALIANA TESSUTI ABBIGLIAMENTO (SAITA)

Acting upon information from the Trevi-Colonna police station, Rome Police Headquarters would, on 7 September 1938, inform the Head Office of State Police and the Prefecture that the firm of Pellegrino Coen located at 36 Via del Tritone (approximately 350 employees) appeared to have been sold to a signor Galtruccio of Novara for L. 38,000,000; and that negotiations were underway for the sale of the building for around L. 40,000,000.¹⁷⁹ Once again, the usual mechanism of enquiries and investigations was set in motion. On 17 September 1938, Police Headquarters informed the Prefect that there was no evidence that the reported sale had taken place.¹⁸⁰ Further investigation in October still failed to produce any.¹⁸¹

In November some SAITA employees sent a report to the National Fascist Party pointing out that an M.P., De Simone, was head of the board of directors and that the Consul General, Fermo Gatti, had been appointed head of personnel. Thus the authorities – the name of Adelchi Serena was mentioned – continued to look with favour upon the company; and the employees asked why the PNF supported such manoeuvring without any sort of appeal to the Union of Workers.¹⁸²

In a confidential communication, the Inspector for Zone VII (sub), Vittorio Gallo, asked the Federal Secretariat within Rome if he should accept the invitation to become part of the new board of SAITA, which took the place of the old “Jewish company S. di P. Coen”. He also reported the idea of changing the shares from nominative to negotiable.¹⁸³

On 15 December, Police Headquarters provided the Prefect with further information regarding the Coen firm. This was a limited company with its business headquarters at 36 Via del Tritone and a stock capital of L. 6,000,000 divided into 12,000 shares. The name of the company had subsequently been changed to *Società Anonima Italiana Tessuti Abbigliamento* and, with the exception of Pellegrino Enrico Coen, the new board members were Aryans: they included the lawyer Luigi De Simone Niquesa, Director of the National Fascist Union of Textile Traders, as well as Prof. Vittorio Gallo and Fermo Gatti.¹⁸⁴

In April 1939 the National Directorate of the PNF pointed out that SAITA was transforming the nominative shares made out in the name of members of the Coen family into negotiable bearer stock.¹⁸⁵ On 2 June Police Headquarters confirmed only that the Coen brothers had changed their firm into a limited company and that the stock capital had been divided into shares, a majority holding of which was in the name of the Coens.¹⁸⁶

2.10 THE COMPANY OF UGO DELLA SETTA

This figured at No. 298 in the c-category list (business register number: 46,064). Selling electrical goods from a shop at 68 Via di Pietra, it was a sole-proprietor business with two employees.¹⁸⁷

In 6 November 1940, the Ministry of Finance’s Tax Co-ordination Office asked the Provincial Council of Corporations to check if the business under the name “Ugo della Seta” had complied with the registration requirements in art. 47 *et seq.* of rdl 126/1939 (9 February 1939) and if it had listed all the real estate used by the firm.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendita di negozi e di immobili”: letter of 7 September 1938.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, confidential letter of 17 September 1938; letter from Prefect to the Minister’s Office at the Ministry of Interior, 18 September 1938; see also ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32 “Trasformazioni fittizie”.

¹⁸¹ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendita cit.”: prefectural communication of 28 September 1938; confidential letter from Police Headquarters on 9 October 1938 and draft of Prefect to the Minister’s Office at the Ministry of Interior on 11 October 1938; see also in ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32 “Trasformazioni fittizie”.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, anonymous petition, 25 November 1938; see also the confidential communication of 28 November 1938.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, confidential letter, 28 November 1938.

¹⁸⁴ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendita cit.”: prefectural letter of 15 December 1938; ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32 “Trasformazioni fittizie”; prefectural letter of 20 December 1938.

¹⁸⁵ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendita cit.”: confidential letter from the Head Office for Demography and Race to the Prefect, 29 April 1939; see also ACS, *MI, Demorazza*, b. 8, fasc. 32 “Trasformazioni fittizie”; information note from the National Directorate of the PNF to Buffarini, 2 January 1939.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, prefectural letter of 8 June 1939; ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendita cit.”; letter to the Prefect, 2 June 1939.

¹⁸⁷ See ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 13.

¹⁸⁸ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B.

The Council would point out that the firm figured in the c-category list without any list of real-estate assets.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, it appeared that the sole-proprietor firm had been wound up on 18 October 1939 and transformed into a partnership under the name “Ugo Della Seta”, comprising Ugo Della Seta, son of the late Gabriele, and Angela Valente, daughter of the late Alessandro.

In December, the Ministry of Finance against asked the Provincial Council if the firm was to be considered Jewish because Ugo Della Seta, sentenced to internal exile at Tricarico, had ordered the selling off of all his assets and real estate, which had been used in setting up the firm.¹⁹⁰ The Provincial Council replied that as, per art. 71 (para 2) of rdl 126/1939, the company had been reported as such it was to be considered Jewish. In fact it figured at No. 1388 in the c-category list (business register number: 105,106) and one of its partners was Aryan. The manager was Ugo Della Seta.¹⁹¹ Subsequently the firm was wound up on 25 March 1941 through cession to Angela Valente.¹⁹²

2.11 SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI COMMERCIO

Upon information from one Carlo Signorelli, the Rome Police Headquarters sent the Prefecture a report on *Soc. An. Italiana Di Commercio*,¹⁹³ which sold and installed flooring and wall-facing materials; its business premises were at 27 Via dei SS. Quattro. Enquiries revealed that the firm had been set up on 1 May 1933 with the name of *Soc. An. Fra Industriali e Commercianti*, and that it had taken its present name in 1939. The sole director had previously been Aristide Pacifico Scazzocchio di Settimio; however, the present board was made up solely of Aryans. Police Headquarters pointed out that some of the shares had been made out to Scazzocchio’s Aryan daughter-in-law; and that Aristide, Fernando and Elio Scazzocchio probably still had an interest in the firm as they figured amongst its clerical staff. The firm appeared to be largely inactive, only occasionally carrying out some work for Fabbriguerra.

Aristide Scazzocchio figured at No. 1012 in the c-category list (business register number: 8,630) as a self-employed commercial broker.¹⁹⁴

2.12 DITTA ‘FOTO BRENNER’

Yet another anonymous-letter writer pointed out that the German Jew Brenner, proprietor of ‘Foto Brenner’ at 61 Piazza Esedra, had made a phoney sale of his business to the Vasari firm, of 38 Via dei Condotti, with the intention of exporting the capital acquired.¹⁹⁵

Police Headquarters sent a report to the Prefect giving the personal details of Raffaele Brenner di Nathan, a resident of Rome who had left with his family for France. A notarial contract of sale emerged, in which he sold his business to the firm of Vasari & Son for L. 50,000, with the purchaser also agreeing to take over the Brenner firm’s debts of around L. 400,000.¹⁹⁶

2.13 DITTA ‘DANIELE DI VEROLI’

Together with his wife, Perla Zarfati, and their 13-year-old son, Leo, Daniele Di Veroli ran a textile and clothing shop in Largo dei Librai. His mother-in-law, the widowed Celeste Zarfati (née Pace), had run a textile and clothing stall at the Piazza San Cosimato market, working together with her daughter Rosa Di Cori (née Zarfati), who held a licence to trade in knitwear, stockings and clothing at the Campo Dei Fiori market. The two licences had been rescinded and the merchandise left in the stockroom had been sold to Daniele Di Veroli’s shop; the latter had been warned, upon pain of official sanctions, to ensure that his sister-in-law did not work in his shop. Police Headquarters did

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, letter from Rome Provincial Council of Corporations on 9 December 1940.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of 20 December 1940.

¹⁹¹ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 14 of 18 January 1940, p 215.

¹⁹² *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 1 of 2 January 1942 p. 15.

¹⁹³ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Ditte di ebrei-attività commerciale”: report from Police Headquarters on 20 March 1943.

¹⁹⁴ See ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 38.

¹⁹⁵ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Vendita negozi e immobili”: copy of 20 September 1938.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, report, 10 November 1938; this was sent to the Head Office for Demography and Race; see *ibid.*, letter of 17 November 1938.

however point out that such work was how Rosa Di Cori supported “a family which comprised her husband, Amadeo Di Cori, and 6 under-age children.”¹⁹⁷

The firm of Daniele Di Veroli figured at No. 539 in the c-category list (business register number: 84,037). It was a single-person concern for itinerant trade in textiles and clothing, with recognised places of business in Largo dei Librai and at the Piazza della Cancelleria and Via Portuense markets.¹⁹⁸

Celeste Zarfati (née Pace) figured at No. 839 in the c-category list (business register number : 31,151) as the holder of a licence for itinerant trading in clothing and stockings at the Campo dei Fiori and Via Portuense markets.¹⁹⁹

Rosa Di Cori (née Zarfati) figured at No. 1382 in the c-category list (business register number: 49,075) as the holder of a licence for itinerant trading in clothing, stockings and knitwear at the Piazza della Cancelleria market.²⁰⁰

Perla Di Veroli (née Zarfati) figured at No. 1381 in the c-category list (business register number: 85,244) as the holder of a licence for itinerant trading in textiles and clothing at the Piazza San Cosimato market.²⁰¹

2.14 *IMPRESA MORPURGO ALDO – TABEL ADOLFO*

On 9 May 1939 the lawyer Bracci applied to the Provincial Council of Corporations for a declaration on behalf of the constructors Morpurgo & Tabet, owners of a building in Via Mangili; this was to state that they had authorisation to sell the property even though they were of Jewish race.²⁰² Previously, the Council had been applied to for confirmation of appearance of the firm in the c-category list.²⁰³ In fact, it did figure at No. 1244 (business register number: 101,603) as an individual company concerned in building and selling apartments (employees: 7). The partners were Adolfo Tabet, son of the late Giuseppe, resident at 162 Via Po, and Aldo Morpurgo, son of the late Anselmo, resident at 23 Via Lima.²⁰⁴ In 1942, a third partner appeared: Alessandra Tabet (daughter of the late Isacco Segre) and Aldo Morpurgo withdrew from the business, which now became Adolfo Tabet and Wife, moving from the premises in Via Mangili to those in Via Po on 5 January of that year.²⁰⁵

2.15 *SOCIETÀ IMMOBILARE DUILIO*

A report from Police Headquarters shows that this was set up on 17 October 1938, under the chairmanship of A. Frascari, son-in-law of Angelo Cantoni (son of the late Vittorio), from whom two small buildings in Via Durazzo had been bought for L. 630,000.

Cantoni emerged as the owner of buildings in Rome and this measure had served as ‘cover’ for their sale.²⁰⁶

2.16 *SOCIETÀ ANONIMA “ALDINA”*

In September 1940 the Sabbadini brothers were reported to the Directorate of the PNF in Rome by Giuseppe Lelli. Owners of a print works in Via Castelfidardo, they were charged with evading the anti-Jewish laws by setting up of a limited company administered by an Aryan front man – or, rather, woman, Maria Balducci (née Boccia). Lelli said that the Sabbadini had also set up the *Tipografia Urbe Società Anonima* (TUSA) using another Aryan front man, Amadeo Migliorini. Hence, it was pointed out, they continued to receive public and state contracts: they had even

¹⁹⁷ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Di Veroli Daniele detto Salvatore, diffida”: report from Police Headquarters, 11 November 1940.

¹⁹⁸ See ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 21.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁰² CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B; letter of 19 May 1939.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, letters of 8 May, 11 May and 22 September 1939.

²⁰⁴ See ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 47.

²⁰⁵ *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 163 of 13 July 1942, p. 2915.

²⁰⁶ ASRm, *Prefettura*, cat. Ebrei, b. 1515, fasc. “Cantoni Angelo, ebreo, vendita di stabili”; report of 20 December 1938, subsequently sent to the Head Office for Demography and Race.

printed war propaganda posters and the “Military Regulations for Young Fascists and Fascist Scouts” issued by the GIL.²⁰⁷

Following Lelli’s complaint, the Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations asked the President of the Provincial Council of Corporations in Rome to undertake thorough investigation, which even involved Police Headquarters.²⁰⁸

The Business Register showed that TUSA had been set up on 22 August 1938, being registered (with number 99,174) on 18 October that year. *Società Anonima “Aldina”* (SATA) had been set up on 12 April 1934, being registered with number 73,692 on 15 June of that year. The sole director was Arnaldo Sabbadini di Umberto, with the procurator being Guglielmo Sabbadini. However, since 21 October 1938, the sole director had been Maria Balducci (née Boccia). Thus the Police Headquarters confirmed the substance of the complaint, also pointing out that Lelli had been employed as a worker at the Aldina works but subsequently dismissed. The Police Chief thus decided not to renew the firm’s police licence, which expired on 27 December.²⁰⁹

In June 1941 the Provincial Council informed the Special Office that Police Headquarters had asked for clarifications regarding a possible revocation of the police licence on the basis of the “ambiguity of the situation.”²¹⁰

2.17 DITTA “A. DI NOLA”

Angelo Di Nola appeared at No. 424 in the c-category list (business register number: 10,566) as a commercial broker with premises at 22 Piazza Margana. The firm was a partnership with Alfredo, son of the late Mosé, Di Nola and Mario, son of the late Angelo, Di Nola.²¹¹

In January 1942 General Mario Grosso of the public body for the distribution of scrap materials (*Endirot*) informed the Police Chief, Carmine Senise, that in spite of the bans in force, the Di Nola firm was still dealing in used wool, using Emanuele Tarantino was an Aryan front man; he proposed a five-year sentence of internal exile as an exemplary punishment to put an end to such abuses.²¹² In spite of the correction that what was in fact involved was not used wool but silk and rayon waste, the authorities attitude did not change.²¹³ Police Headquarters proposed a police sanction, as it was not considered advisable to introduce a penal measure in the courts.²¹⁴

On 19 January 1943, the Provincial Council for Internal Exile placed the partners of A. Di Nola – and Emanuele Tarantino – under a two-year warning. The appeals presented were rejected.²¹⁵

The “Di Nola-Tarantino” file closes with a brief note by the Rome Police Headquarters, commenting that Mario Di Nola, “recipient of a general warning” had disappeared without trace on 12 September 1943, so investigation was underway “to bring him under arrest.”²¹⁶

2.18 IMPRESA LAVORI PORTO DI CATANIA

This figured second in the b-category list (business register number: 5,156); a partnership business with registered premises at 17 Via Lucina in Rome and workyards within the port of Catania.

²⁰⁷ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B: letter of 23 September 1940 from Giuseppe Lelli to Pietro Capoferri, head of the Rome Directorate of the PNF. Lelli felt it “his duty as an Italian and a Fascist” to expose the Sabbadini brothers, “perfect examples of the abject Jewish race.”

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, letter of 11 October 1940.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, letter from Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to Police Headquarters, 16 October 1940; report from Police Headquarters to Head Office of State Police on 6 December 1940 and report from Police Headquarters to Rome Provincial Council of Corporations on 19 December 1940.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of 18 June 1941.

²¹¹ ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 17.

²¹² ACS, MI, DGPS, *div. Pol. amm.*, b. 4, fasc. “1943 Tarantino-Di Nola”; confidential letter of 19 January 1942. See also reports from Police Headquarters on 7 and 26 November 1942.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, copy of statement made by Mario Di Nola on 28 February 1942.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, note from Head Office of State Police to Mussolini, 20 November 1942.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, appeal by Alfredo and Mario Di Nola on 11 March 1943; statement made by Emanuele Tarantino to Police Chief on 1 May 1943; statement made by Mario Di Nola on 7 July 1943. See also report from Rome Police Headquarters to the Administrative Division at the Head Office of State Police on 20 May 1943.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, note of 1 May 1944.

Employing 386 people, the firm was a partnership of four, two of whom were Jews: Roberto and Edoardo Almagià.²¹⁷

The latter, together with Vittorio Almagià, also figured at No. 9 in the c-category list (business register number: 81,777) as the proprietor of a firm that hired hands for maritime work; this business had seven employees and was registered at 17 Via Lucina in Rome.²¹⁸

On 3 October 1939 Edoardo and Roberto Almagià submitted an appeal to the Ministry of Corporations, claiming that their firm had been included in the b-category list by mistake.²¹⁹ They pointed out that on 11 February 1939, when rdl 126/1939 was published, the Provincial Council of Corporation in Rome had included them in that list because during the course of 1939 their employees had numbered 360; however, art. 51 of that rdl pointed out that the lower number of employees should be the one taken into account when “the reduced personnel is sufficient for the adequate functioning of the company itself in relation its industrial plant or commercial organisation.”

The company had been set up to carry out work on the port of Catania, with the original contract of 22 January 1923 stating that it would continue in existence until the work was finished and then be wound up. Subsequent modifications to the scheme of work had extended the time necessary to complete it, even if *ipso iure* the company was still “to be wound up upon completion of the task.” With the exception of the construction of the fishing port, work had actually been concluded on 31 May 1939; then, as one could see from the report of conclusion, the whole scheme was completed by 31 August 1939. Hence on 11 February the size of the total workforce reflected the few parts of the work that remained to be completed. It was also pointed out that once wound up, the firm would not be re-formed; having achieved its purpose, it would be liquidated entirely. Even the existing equipment could not be taken as an indication that the company could employ more than one hundred men, as it no longer had any purpose. These were the motivations that the Almagià advanced for rescinding the inclusion of *Impresa “Lavori Porto di Catania”* in the b-category list. The appeal by the “Jews” Almagià was sent to the Rome Provincial Council and to the Ministry of Finance, which were to carry out a thorough investigation.²²⁰

On 30 November 1939, the Catania Provincial Council of Corporations confirmed to its Rome counterpart that, on 9 February 1939, the number of employees had totalled 84. In January 1940 the Rome Provincial Council forwarded the information which confirmed what had been stated by the appellants.²²¹ In February the Ministry of Corporations announced that the appeal had been granted, thus the company, “belonging to Italian citizens of Jewish race,” was removed from the b-category list.²²²

In June 1940 and in May 1941 the Almagià would be granted discriminatory exemption.²²³

The *Impresa Lavori Proto di Catania* (‘Impresa Almagià, Penna e Spotorno’) was subsequently wound up.²²⁴

²¹⁷ See *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 184 of 8 August 1939 p. 3742.

²¹⁸ ‘Supplemento ordinario’ to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 298 of 26 December 1939 p. 2.

²¹⁹ CCIAA, Rome, Archivio di riposo, *titolo XXIII (anagrafe)*, scat. 52, fasc. 3, sfasc. 6B; appeal lodged on 3 October 1939.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of 15 October 1939 from the Special Office to the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations and the Tax Coordination Office at the Ministry of Finance; letter from Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to the Catania Provincial Council of Corporations on 3 November 1939.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, various letters from the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to that in Catania; letter from Provincial Council of Corporations in Catania of 30 November 1939 and of the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations to the Ministry of Corporations on 8 January 1940.

²²² *Ibid.*, official note from the Special Office to the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations on 21 February 1940; also see *Gazzetta Ufficiale* No. 48 of 26 February 1940 p. 839.

²²³ *Ibid.*, No. 1 of 2 January 1942 p. 14.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

APPENDIX

Sources Consulted

CCIAA. CAMERA DI COMMERCIO INDUSTRIA ARTIGIANATO E AGRICOLTURA DI ROMA [Rome Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Trades and Agriculture]

A lot of documentation has been lost, either through accident or simply because it was thrown out. In fact, it emerged that – because of their very poor state of preservation – about 8,000 kilos of documents were thrown out in 1949. During the war, the cellars in which this material was stored were used as air-raid shelters, then fell victim to the flooding of 6 November 1946.

The collections of documents consulted belong to the *Sezione Storica, Carteggio riservato* (being catalogued at present) and the *Archivio di riposo* (this is not catalogued but, with some difficulty, can be consulted using a list of general contents). Also *Titolo X Industria; Titolo XXIII Registro delle ditte; Danni di guerra*.

a) Archivio di riposo

Titolo XXIII (Anagrafe), scatola 52

fasc. 3, sfasc. 6A “Registro delle ditte (Razzismo). Denunzie di aziende industriali e commerciali da parte di cittadini di razza ebraica. Posizione di massima”, April 1939 - April 1940.

Correspondence between the Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations, the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations and individual Jews.

This contains documentation regarding the preparation of the lists to be published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* and subsequent changes and up-dates thereto; queries regarding the applications of norms and regulations; instructions on the application of rdl 126/1939; queries regarding reports lodged after the official deadline; changes to such reports; documentation on agricultural concerns, itinerant-trader licences and Jewish real-estate companies; the modification regarding *ditta. A. Di Nola*. It also contains the DL of 4 January 1944 “Nuove disposizioni concernenti i beni posseduti dai cittadini di razza ebraica”.

fasc. 3 sfasc. 6B “Registro delle ditte (Razzismo). Denunzie di aziende industriali e commerciali da parte di cittadini di razza ebraica. Corrispondenza”, April 1944.

Correspondence between the Special Office at the Ministry of Corporations, the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations, the Head Office of the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* at the Ministry of Justice, the EGELI and individual Jews.

Chronological period: February 1939- May 1943.

Contains documentation concerning the ‘racial’ assessment of limited companies, individual firms, partnerships, etc; itinerant-trader-licences; stateless Jews resident in Rome who owned businesses or commercial activities; queries regarding the application of rdl 126/1939, certificates of registration in the c-category list; variations to b-category list; queries regarding the classification of firms.

Attention is drawn in particular to the documentation regarding the following:

- azienda agricola dei F.lli Sonnino;
- possessions of Guido and Marcella Zevi;
- property of Attilio Jesi, son of late Elia;
- possessions of Ada Bondi;
- azienda di Servi Calliope;
- business activities of the F.lli Sabadini (Società anonima Tipografica Sabbadini);
- Società anonima l’Alimentaria (SALA);
- azienda di Ugo Della Seta;
- azienda di Lamberto Pace;
- checks carried out on Adriano Uzzan;
- azienda di Marco e Letizia Di Consiglio e Rosa Perugia;
- checks carried out on Oliviero and Giorgio Corcos and their firm “Olea Romana”;
- checks carried out on the publisher Luciano Morpurgo;

- ditta Schostal dei F.lli Bloch;
- “Impresa Lavori Porto di Catania” (appeal by Edoardo and Roberto Almagià);
- aziende di Guido e Angelo Romanelli;
- ditta dei F.lli Piperno (Alberto, Attilio and Romeo);
- ditta Gino Paggi;
- classification of the azienda Leoni, Coen and azienda Pontecorvo, Bemporad;
- checks carried out on Compagnia Italiana Macchine Fornitura Aziendali (CIMFA);
- impresa Aldo Morpurgo-Adolfo Tabet;
- azienda di Marco Del Monte (Società Anonima dell’Arredamento);
- itinerant-trader licence held by Umberto Di Consiglio;
- ditta di Ettore Ziffer;
- Jewish businesses present in Subiaco (Rosina Funaro and Pellegrino Perugia).

Titolo XXIII (Anagrafe) scatola 53, fasc. 3 sfasc. 6C

“Registro delle ditte (Razzismo). Denuncie al pretore”

Correspondence between the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations and the courts regarding the late presentation of registration required by art. 47 of rdl 126/1939.

Chronological period: March-December 1941.

fasc. 3, sfasc. 6D

“Registro delle Ditte (Razzismo) Elenco trimestrale variazioni aziende ebraiche”

Correspondence between the Rome Provincial Council of Corporations and the Head Office of the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* at the Ministry of Justice regarding variations to the c-category list.

Titolo X (Industria) scatola 45, fasc. X, 16

“Denuncie di sinistri di guerra da parte di industriali di Roma 1943-1945”

sfasc. “Requisizioni autorità alleate”, November 1945-1946

Documentation regarding the payment of debts owed by the “Raffinerie Almagià” and the war damage suffered by ditta A. Funaro.

fasc. “Accertamento danni di guerra 1945”, September 1944- October 1945

sfasc. “Comuni” (Tivoli)

sfasc. “Denuncie e indagini sui danni di guerra”

Documentation regarding the payment of compensation and subsidies for war damage in compliance with circular 25 (9 September 1954) issued by the Treasury. In particular, contains the damage claims from commercial businesses in Rome and the surrounding area, including those from:

- ditta Giovanni Della Seta
- ditta Daniele Bemporad
- ditta Michele Amati
- ditta Alberto Mieli e Rosa Di Segni
- ditta F.lli Di Veroli
- ditta Cesare Todeschini
- ditta Abramo Funaro
- Soc. An. Modital
- ditta Aldo Finzi

Danni di guerra

b) Archivio storico

b. F2, fasc. XVIII, sfasc. 1, October 1938

Business statements of the firms active in import/export.

b. F5, fasc. XXIII, sfasc. 5-6

Correspondence on regulations regarding industrial plant:

ditta “Olea Romana” dei F.lli Corcos (March-July 1941);

S. A. “Fondiarina Insubria” di Milano (October-December 1941)

b. F7, fasc. XXXIII, sfasc. 1

Directives regarding the issue of itinerant-trade licences in the year 1941

b. I4, fasc. III, sfasc. 4

“Relazione mensile a S. E. il Prefetto anno 1938-1939”

b. R3, fasc. XI, “Agenti di Cambio”

Ugo Calabi (release of deposit: January-February 1939)

b. R4, fasc. XI, “Agenti di Cambio”

Bindo Hannau (release of deposit: February-March 1939)

Giorgio Coen (release of deposit: January-February 1939)

Guido Moisé Coen (release of deposit and re-admission: April 1939-September 1944)

Carteggio riservato

b. RIS1, fasc. 1, segn. IV, 1 “Censimento ebrei. Personale del Consiglio. Dispensa dal servizio personale di razza ebraica. Certificati di razza”, September 1938 - September 1939

Documentation regarding the presentation of resignations by Jewish personnel after the census

b. RIS4, fasc. 73, segn. IV, 73 “Esercizi ebraici”

Contains “elenco ditte razza ebraica che gestiscono negozi in Roma”, “elenco ditte industriali ebraiche” and various circulars:

‘circolare 50’ on foreigners’ report of their own business activities (October 1938);

‘circolare 28’ on deciding the race of the descendants of a mixed marriage (May 1940);

circular regarding the collection of scrap metal by Jews (July 1940).

ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA

Prefettura, cat. “Ebrei”, b. 1515

The uncatalogued documentation contains:

- “Divieto di rinnovo delle licenze di commercio ambulante” (March 1940-February 1942)
- “Vendite fittizie operate da ebrei a prestatori ariani” (August 1940-August 1943)
- “Divieto di esercitare il commercio di oggetti antichi e di arte” (September 1940-July 1942)
- “Divieto di eseguire la raccolta di stracci di lana” (July 1941-December 1942)
- “Intercettatori e accaparratori di rottami metallici” (October 1938-July 1940)
- “S. An. Rottami di ferro” (March-June 1942)
- “Ebrei internati trasferiti in altri comuni” (May 1942-March 1944)
- “Almagià Virginia, vedova Volterra. Requisizione villini in Ariccia” (December 1942-March 1943)
- “Denuncie di beni appartenenti a persone e ditte ebraiche” (empty)
- “Incaricati di direzione o gestione di aziende esercenti l’industria molitoria” (March-April 1941)
- “Impiegati ebrei nella ditta Adriano Levera” (June 1941-January 1942)
- “Il Tevere-Attività degli ebrei nelle industrie tessili” (August 1940)
- “Organizzazione assistenza agli ebrei” (January 1944)
- “Orieli Beniamino: ebreo internato” (August 1942)
- “Divieto di esercitare il commercio di oggetti preziosi” (May 1940-November 1941)
- “Divieto rilascio nuove licenze di polizia per il commercio stabile” (April-September 1941)
- “Negozi di ebrei-copertura delle scritte che hanno nomi di razza ebraica” (September 1939)
- “Precettazione civile a scopo di lavoro, elenchi” (April 1942-August 1943)
- “Rimpatrio di ebrei di origine italiana naturalizzati francesi” (August 1943)
- “Maestranze di razza ebraica” (August 1943)
- “Sfollamento dei grandi centri” (December 1942-January 1943)
- “Espatrio clandestino di ebrei dal Reich” (March 1942)
- “Ingresso nel Regno di ebrei stranieri” (February 1942)
- “Licenza per gestire uffici di copisteria” (October 1941)
- “Divieto di accesso alle biblioteche” (April 1942)
- “Ricostituzione delle commissioni distrettuali per i professionisti di razza ebraica” (January 1939-January 1943)

- “Vendita di negozi e di immobili: ditte Coen, Piperno Alcorso, Foto Brenner, Angelo Cantoni” (October 1938-August 1940)
- “Ditte di ebrei, attività commerciale” (November 1940-February 1944):
- Toscano S. An. Tessuti Originali
- Ditta Limentani Leone e Graziano
- S. An. Tessuti Abbigliamento
- Di Veroli Daniele (injunction)
- Sermoneta Eugenio
- Di Veroli, Del Monte, Anticoli (official report against)
- Marini Elvira
- Soc. Italiana di Commercio
- S. An. “L’Alimentaria”
- “Azionisti di Società Anonime esercenti servizi pubblici di piazza e di noleggio di rimessa con autoveicoli” (December 1941)
- Tribunale, Sezione fallimentare (1936-1951)*
- Bankruptcy of Soc. di fatto Terracina Davide fu Sabato (28 May 1941)
- Bankruptcy of Fiorentino Adele in Bemporad (24 January 1942)
- Bankruptcy of Funaro Attilio (2 March 1940)
- Bankruptcy of Tagliacozzo Giuditta (3 September 1940)
- Ufficio tecnico erariale (UTE), Catasto rustico di Roma e provincia (1871–1951)*
- 13 registers with title searches, cadastral maps and registers of owners

ARCHIVIO CENTRALE DELLO STATO

Ministero dell’interno, Direzione generale della demografia e razza, b. 8, fasc. 32 - 33

Ministero dell’interno, Direzione generale di pubblica sicurezza, Divisione polizia amministrativa (1928-1961),
b. 4, fasc. “Tarantino-Di Nola”.

ARCHIVIO STORICO CAPITOLINO

Governatorato, Gabinetto del sindaco

Research into the indices and official registers of documents over the period 1940-1943 produced nothing, not even regarding the individual division of documents, as the material had never been deposited in the archives.

Some numerical data

- 1939: 1.387 businesses reported
- 1940: 13 *costituzioni* (this term covers both the reporting of business activities only recently inscribed in the business register and those reports which were made after the official deadline)
- 43 variations, comprising: 26 closures/cessions
17 modifications
- 1941: 19 *costituzioni*
- 28 modifications
- 89 closures/cessions
- 1942: 27 *costituzioni*
- 46 modifications
- 170 closures/cessions
- 1943: 8 *costituzioni*
- 6 modifications
- 19 closures/cessions

Even though the last number given by the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* is 1,472, the total of businesses reported emerges as 1,454.

From 1940 to 1943 there were 67 *costituzioni*, 97 modifications and 304 closures/cessions.

An analysis of the closures/cessions and modifications reported in the *Gazzette Ufficiale* reveals:

Suppl. alla G.U. n. 298 del 26/12/39: 1.387 businesses reported

G.U. No. 14 del 18/01/40: 6 *costituzioni*

G.U. No. 201 del 28/08/40: 7 *costituzioni*

43 variations, comprising:

– granting of discriminatory exemption: 7

– cession to a Jew: 1

– closures: 26 (one due to death of proprietor)

– bankruptcies: 1

– transfer of ownership: 7

– transfer of ownership to limited company: 1

G.U. No. 63 del 14/03/41: 4 *costituzioni*

13 modifications, comprising:

– cession to a Jew: 2

– cession to an Aryan: 1

– closures: 4

– bankruptcies: 1

– transfer of ownership: 4

– transfer of ownership to limited company: 1

37 closures/cessions, comprising:

– cession to a Jew: 1

– cession to an Aryan: 9

– transfer of ownership to limited company: 6

– closures/cessions (no reason specified): 21

G.U. No. 122 del 26/05/41: 9 *costituzioni*

7 modifications, comprising:

– cession to a Jew: 1

– closures/cessions: 2

– bankruptcies: 2

– transfer of ownership: 2

24 closures/cessions, comprising:

– cession to a Jew: 2

– cession to an Aryan: 5 (one due to death of proprietor)

– bankruptcies: 1

– transformations into *de facto* companies: 1

– transfer of ownership to limited company: 1

– closures/cessions (no reason specified): 14

G.U. No. 222 del 19/09/41: 6 *costituzioni*

9 modifications, comprising:

– closures/cessions: 2

– bankruptcies: 2

– transfer of ownership: 1

– transformations into *de facto* companies, with Aryan: 1

– change of business activity: 3

(from trade in scrap metal to that in rags and second-hand objects)

28 closures/cessions, comprising:

– cession to a Jew: 2

- cession to an Aryan: 6
 - cession due to death: 1
 - transfer of ownership to limited company: 1
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 18
 - 2 costituzioni*
 - 4 modifications, comprising:
 - bankruptcies: 2
 - closure of business: 2
 - 24 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - granting of discriminatory exemption: 5
 - cession to a Jew: 2
 - cession to an Aryan: 2
 - transfer of ownership to limited company: 4
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 11
- G.U. No. 119 del 20/05/42:
- 3 costituzioni*
 - 8 modifications, comprising:
 - cession to an Aryan: 1
 - bankruptcies: 1
 - precise specification regarding wholesale/retail trade and the nature of business activity: 5
 - admission into the company of a Jew: 1
 - 20 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - granting of discriminatory exemption: 1
 - cession to a Jew: 3 (one due to death of proprietor)
 - cession to an Aryan: 2
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 14
- G.U. No. 163 del 13/07/42:
- 7 costituzioni*
 - 10 modifications, comprising:
 - granting of discriminatory exemption: 1
 - creation of a warehouse: 1
 - bankruptcies: 1
 - transfer of ownership: 2
 - precise specification regarding wholesale trade: 1
 - employment of sales representatives: 2
 - withdrawal of one of the Jewish partners: 2
 - 14 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - granting of discriminatory exemption: 2
 - cession to a Jew: 1
 - cession to an Aryan: 2 (one due to death of proprietor)
 - bankruptcies: 2
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 7
- G.U. No. 209 del 5/9/42:
- 7 costituzioni*
 - 12 modifications, comprising:
 - closures/cessions of one of two business activities: 2
 - bankruptcies: 2
 - transfer of ownership: 2
 - precise specification regarding wholesale/retail trade and the nature of business activity: 4

G.U. No. 250 del 22/10/42:

- appointment of Jewish procurator: 2
- 91 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - granting of discriminatory exemption: 2
 - cession to a Jew: 3
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 86
 - 8 *costituzioni*
 - 12 modifications, comprising:
 - closure/cession of one of two business activities: 1
 - bankruptcies: 1
 - cession to a Jew: 1
 - appointment of a Jewish procurator: 3
 - appointment of Jewish administrator: 1
 - death of one of business partners and change of company name: 1
 - precise specification regarding wholesale/retail trade and the nature of business activity: 4
 - 21 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - cession to a Jew: 2 (one due to death of proprietor)
 - closure due to death: 1
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 18

G.U. No. 59 del 12/03/43:

- 5 *costituzioni*
- 4 modifications, comprising:
 - precise specification regarding wholesale/retail trade: 2
 - re-starting of business activity: 1
 - transfer of ownership: 1

G.U. No. 208 del 7/9/43:

- 16 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - cession to a Jew: 1
 - closure due to death: 1
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 14
- 3 *costituzioni*
- 2 modifications, comprising:
 - cession to a Jew: 1
 - closure/cession of one of two business activities: 1
- 3 closures/cessions, comprising:
 - cession to a Jew: 1
 - closures/cessions (no reason specified): 2

An analysis of the general headings “modifications” and “closures/cessions”, gives the following breakdown of the 401 modifications/closures/cessions over a four-year period:

Granting of discriminatory exemption:

1940: 7 (1,74%)

1942: 10 (2,5%)

Total: 17 (4,2%)

Cession to Aryans:

1941: 22 (5,48%)

1942: 8 (2%)

1943: 1 (0,24%)

Total: 31 (7,7%)

Transfer of ownership to limited company:

1940: 1 (0,25%)

1941: 9 (2,24%)

1942: 4 (0,99%)

Total: 14 (3,5%)

Bankruptcies:

1940: 1 (0,25%)

1941: 6 (1,5%)

1942: 8 (2%)

Total: 15 (3,7%)

Closures/cessions due to death:

1941: 1 (0,25%)

1942: 1 (0,25%)

1943: 1 (0,25%)

Total: 3 (0,75%)