

Pagina della Memoria: a project about the scientific and cultural impact of the Italian “Racial Laws”. To the memory of Fiorella and Leone Anticoli

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Abstract

In January 2022, the Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia (INGV, formerly ING) launched the website "Pagina della Memoria" (The Remembrance Page), <https://paginadellamemoria.ingv.it>, aimed at collecting and disseminating the documentation about the impact of the antisemitic "Racial Laws" on Italian culture. The "Racial Laws" were anticipated by the "Manifesto degli Scienziati Razzisti" (Manifesto of Racist Scientists) that, against any ethics, stated the biological concept of race. From 16 October 1938, the progressive removal of Jews from Italian universities, research institutions and academies caused irreversible damage to Italian culture, among which the exclusion of women, whose participation was at the forefront.

In 2023, the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), the Istituto Nazionale per le Analisi delle Politiche Pubbliche, the Union of the Italian Jewish Communities and the Jewish Community of Rome formally joined the project. The Association of Italian Scholars and Scientists in Israel, the University and the Jewish Museum of Bologna supported the project as well. Within this framework, in January 2024 CNR was the first Italian research institute to pose four Stolpersteine, dedicated to the family of Giacomo Anticoli, expelled from CNR and then deported and killed.

This paper traces the tragic family events of Leone Anticoli, who was expelled and then rehired at ING, a CNR institute at that time. His two-year old daughter Fiorella was deported to Auschwitz and killed. The discovery of Leone's employee file provided unissued documents that introduced key-elements about the application and the consequences of the "Racial Laws" at ING.

Keywords: Italian Racial Laws; Shoah; Fascism; Antisemitism; Discrimination in science



1. Historical background

1.1 From the "Manifesto degli Scienziati Razzisti" to the "Racial Laws"

The "Manifesto degli Scienziati Razzisti" (Manifesto of Racist Scientists), also known as "Manifesto della Razza" (Manifesto of Race) was anonymously published as "Il

Fascismo e i problemi della Razza” (Fascism and the Problems of Race) on 14 July 1938, in the newspaper “Il Giornale d’Italia”. The “Manifesto” was commissioned by Mussolini himself and was probably written by Guido Landra, a young assistant at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Rome.

On 17 July 1938, the Central Demographic Office of the Ministry of the Interior changed its name to “General Directorate for Demography and Race” (also known by the acronym of *Demorazza*).

On 25 July 1938, a press release by Achille Starace, the General Secretary of the National Fascist Party, attributed the elaboration of the “Manifesto” to ten scientists: Lino Businco, Lidio Cipriani, Arturo Donaggio, Leone Franzi, Guido Landra, Nicola Pende, Marcello Ricci, Franco Savorgnan, Sabato Visco and Edoardo Zavattari. On the following 5 August, the “Manifesto” was reprinted in the first issue of Telesio Interlandi’s magazine “La Difesa della Razza”. The “Manifesto” consisted of 10 theses (Figure 1) that supported the biological conception of racism, postulating the existence of a pure Italian race and the non-assimilability of the Jews, as a non-European “race”. It outlined a new concept of fascist racism under a pseudo-scientific basis. Here, the ten declarations are reported in capital letters, as they were originally conceived:

- HUMAN RACES EXIST
- LARGE RACES AND SMALL RACES EXIST
- THE CONCEPT OF RACE IS PURELY BIOLOGICAL
- AT PRESENT, ITALY’S POPULATION HAS MOSTLY AN ARYAN ORIGIN AND ITS CIVILIZATION IS ARYAN
- THE CONTRIBUTION OF LARGE MASSES OF PEOPLE IN HISTORICAL TIMES IS A MYTH
- TODAY, THERE EXISTS A PURE ‘ITALIAN RACE’
- IT IS TIME FOR THE ITALIANS TO PROCLAIM THEMSELVES OPENLY RACIST
- A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN WESTERN EUROPEAN AND THE ORIENTAL PEOPLE MUST BE MADE
- THE JEWS DO NOT BELONG TO THE ITALIAN RACE
- THE PURE EUROPEAN PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERS OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE MUST NOT BE ALTERED IN ANY WAY

Following the “Manifesto”, an extensive set of laws and decrees, collectively called “Racial Laws”, was adopted since the summer of 1938. King Vittorio Emanuele III, on proposal of Benito Mussolini as head of the Government, fully implemented the racist policy. These measures became the legal basis for the persecution of the Italian Jews. In August 1938, the Office for Studies on the Problem of Race was created within the Minister of Popular Culture. From 22 August 1938, a census of the Jews was carried out, with the aim of counting and cataloging the Jews living in Italy.

The Grand Council of Fascism established that was of Jewish race:

- who is born to parents who are both of Jewish race, even if they belong to a different religion;
- who is born to parents one of whom is a Jew and the other one is of foreign nationality;
- who is born to a Jewish mother if the father is unknown;
- who, despite being born to parents of Italian nationality, only one of whom is Jewish, professes the Jewish religion, or is registered in a Jewish Community, or has made, in any other way, manifestations of Judaism. Anyone who was born to parents of Italian nationality, only one of whom is of Jewish race, who on 1 October 1938 belonged to a religion other than the Jewish one, is not considered to be of Jewish race.



Figure 1. The first number of the magazine "La difesa della Razza" (In Defence of Race) was issued on 5 August 1938 and included the "Manifesto degli Scienziati Razzisti" (Manifesto of Racist Scientists).

Based on the results of the census and the above classification, the Jews liable to persecution in Italy were approximately 51100, of whom 46656 belonged to the Jewish religion or identity (equal to 0.1% of the Italian population) and approximately 4500 non-Jews (the anti-Jewish persecution therefore did not only concern Israelites). Among them, 41300 were Italian citizens and 9800 were foreigners, whose Italian citizenship granted after 1918 was revoked to nearly 1400 [Sarfatti, 2005].

On 18 September 1938, the fascist "Racial Laws" were announced in Trieste by Benito Mussolini. On 6 October 1938, the Declaration on Race was voted by the Grand Council of Fascism. An extensive legislative body was approved from 1938 to 1945 [1] (see also Caffaz [1988]). In particular, the following Royal Decrees pushed the Jews out of School, University and Public Administration:

- 5 September 1938: Royal Decree Law (R.D.L.) n. 1390 - Provisions for the defense of the race in fascist schools, converted into law without amendments as Law 99/1939.
- 15 November 1938: R.D.L. n. 1779 - Integration of the rules for the defense of race in Italian schools.
- 17 November 1938: R.D.L. n. 1728, containing the "Measures for the Defense of the Italian Race" converted into law without amendments as Law 274/1939. It included a series of laws that pushed Jewish citizens out of Italian public life.

As a summary, the racist measures forbade to Italian citizens of Jewish race:

- to marry people belonging to another race;
- to perform military service in peace or war;
- to exercise the office of guardian and curator of minors or incapacitated persons not belonging to the Jewish race;
- to be owners or managers of companies with more than 100 employees, owners of land with a valuation exceeding 5000 lire or buildings with a taxable income exceeding 20,000 lire;
- to employ Aryan citizens as domestic servants;
- to enroll in all public or private school levels attended by Italian students;
- to teach in state or para-state schools of any order or level and in universities;
- to practice the professions of notary and journalist (for other professionals it was obligatory to declare belonging to the Jewish "race" and to register in separate lists);
- to be employed in the civil and military Administrations of the State, in the National Fascist Party, in the Provinces, Municipalities and public bodies, in the Administrations of municipalized companies and companies connected to public institutions.

1.2 The application of the “Racial Laws” in the Italian universities: a short review

On 16 October 1938, a total of 96 [2] tenured Italian university professors were identified as Jews and suspended from service. On 14 December 1938, the dispensation from service became permanent. Only 28 of them were able to return to their academic roles, after the war. The Jewish presence within Italian academia was particularly relevant. As a rough estimate, while the Jewish population represented the 0.1% of the Italian society, the expelled full professors on average represented the 7% of the total, with peaks up to 30,76% at the University of Trieste [Vinci, 2009] and 12.79% at the University of Bologna [Salustri, 2004]. Moreover, about 200 Jewish researchers and scholars who exercised free teaching [3] were also expelled, for a total of about 300 professors excluded from Italian universities due to the application of the racial laws. The full number of academics expelled from the Italian universities was estimated to exceed 400 people [Ventura, 2013], including the research assistants and without counting emeritus and honorary professors, as well as technical and administrative staff. Capristo [2002] estimated that 676 members, including 61 foreigners, were expelled from academies and scientific, literary and artistic societies. The “Racial Laws” also had a devastating effect on the gender balance in the Italian universities, where a large percentage of female employees were of Jewish origin. Among them, the entomologist Anna Foà, one of the first women to become full professor, was expelled from the University of Naples. For a general review of the application and the consequences of the “Racial Laws” at universities and academies, see Meghnagi and Dell’Era [2023]; Finzi [2003]; Capristo [2001; 2007; 2010]; Antonucci and Piperno Beer [2015]. A list of dispensed tenured professors and qualified lecturer, as well as the statistics of Jews before and after the persecutions can be found in Zevi [1990], from the Proceedings of a seminal conference about the cultural consequences of the “Racial Laws”.

2. “Pagina della Memoria” - The Remembrance Page

2.1. The website and the project

January 27 is the International Holocaust Remembrance Day: the date was decided in the Resolution 60/7, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 1 November 2005. The Italian Republic, with the Law of July 20, 2000 n. 211, established the “Giorno della Memoria” (Day of Remembrance), in order to

remember the Shoah (extermination of the Jewish people), the “Racial Laws”, the Italian persecution of Jewish citizens, the Italians who have suffered deportation, imprisonment, death, as well as those who opposed to the extermination project, and at risk of their own lives they saved other lives and protected the persecuted. On the Day of Remembrance in 2022, the Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia (INGV) launched, under the patronage of the Union of the Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI), the Jewish Community of Rome (CER) and the Jewish Museum of Bologna, the website “Pagina della Memoria” (The Remembrance Page) - <https://paginadellamemoria.ingv.it> (accessed 16 November 2024) – with the aim of collecting and sharing the testimonies and the documents about who was expelled from research institutions, universities and academies due to the application of the “Racial Laws” (Figure 2). Among them, there were many women [4], whose participation in studies and academic life in Jewish society was ahead of their time [Simili, 2010].



Figure 2. The banner of the website <https://paginadellamemoria.ingv.it>, with the partnership logos.

The project was further open to the collection of testimonies related to the Righteous Among the Nations and to those who refused to comply with “Racial Laws”. Another aim was to involve people who are currently working in Italian research and cultural institutions and want to remember the tragic events experienced by their relatives [5; 6].

Liliana Segre, Senator for Life of the Italian Republic, Holocaust survivor and active witness of the Shoah, promoted the INGV website with these words: *“Dear Friends, I am grateful to you for having given life to this effective assumption of historical responsibility. Remembrance in places of culture has a double value. Remembrance means immunizing ourselves against the worst of the pandemics, the one that has*

plagued the world with hatred and intolerance. In 1938 I was eight years old, when I was expelled from public school in Milan. The promulgation of racist laws was a deep wound and a betrayal. Obedience is no longer a virtue, it would be said a few years later. At that time, everyone (or almost everyone) obeyed, with zeal. The academic world did not react. I can say that from an ideal place of promotion, meeting of culture, training, research education, the cathedral of inclusion par excellence has shamefully transformed into the factory of inequalities, elevating the betrayal of its founding mission into a system. This was the Italian university! As a woman of peace, I remind you and myself that we must always be vigilant. As Primo Levi said, be careful, because it has happened and can happen again. Best regards and good memories to everyone".

Soon after the launch of the website, the Presidents of Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) and Istituto Nazionale per le Analisi delle Politiche Pubbliche (INAPP) sent letters in support and patronage to the project.

2.2 Selected testimonies: the impact of “Racial Laws” on the academic emancipation of women

The main portal is divided into different menus: *Home, Presentation, Testimonies, News and Initiatives, Documents and Images, Publications and Other Resources*. The section “Publications” contains articles and reviews already published and granted for distribution on the site. Among them, Violini [2006] discusses the consequences of the “Racial Laws” in the Italian physics [7] (see also Amaldi [1990]). Ciliberto and Bini [2018] and the editorial therein, analyze their impact for the Italian Mathematical Union [8] (see also Visentini [1990]).

The documents that are listed in *Personal and Collective (concerning associations or societies) Testimonies* [9] are heterogeneous, spanning from degree thesis (about Aronne Rabbeno [10]), to autobiographies (Marcello Morpurgo [11]), or tragic destinies (Ettore Levi [12]), up to the memories of the relatives of preeminent physicists (Vito Camiz [13] and Angelo Di Castro [14]).

The impact of the “Racial Laws” on women is of relevance, as it severely hindered the ongoing process of progressive women empowerment within the cultural and academic world in Italy.

Lucia Bedarida was the youngest Jewish physician in Italy, as she obtained the title of Doctor of Medicine and Surgery with honors on 17 July 1922, the day of her twenty-second birthday. Through Cristina Bettin, president of the Association of

Italian Scholars and Scientists in Israel (AISSI), it was possible to contact Mirella Bedarida Shapiro, Lucia's daughter. Due to the "Racial Laws", Lucia had to leave for Morocco, where she took care of a large female clientele, particularly Muslim Bedouins, attracted by her gender. As she said at the "Women and Medicine" conference held in New York in 1989: "Muslim ethics prohibits women from exposing their nakedness to male sight. Then I happened to examine women who had come from distant villages on the back of donkeys, who declared to me that they had never been examined by a doctor and they only came to me because the word had spread that in Tangier there was a good *Tubiba* (tubib is the Arabic term for doctor)" [Servadio Bedarida, 1989; Bettin, 2018; 2023]. In this case, the testimony by Mirella [15] introduces the paper by Bettin et al. [2018].

Alda Levi is the subject of the next story of Jewish and female discrimination [16], as it was collected by Anna Ceresa Mori (see also Ceresa Mori [2022]; Pilutti Namer [2023]). Alda Levi was a pioneer Italian archaeologist: she was the first woman to become an official at a Superintendence (Sovrintendenza: local office of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage) in 1915, working in Naples, Milan, Mantua and Bergamo. In 1924, she was sent to Milan as an official in charge of the detached office of the Archaeological Superintendence. In 1931, she was responsible for the discovery of the first traces of the Roman Amphitheater in Milan, even if the announcement was made by the archaeologist Aristide Calderini, who did not mention her. On 7 April 1932, she married Vittorio Spinazzola, former Superintendent of the Excavations and Museums of Naples, suspended from office in 1924, being anti-fascist. Alda was also a pioneer of the analysis of materials to integrate and complete the stylistic investigation, in collaboration with her brother Giorgio Renato Levi, a professor of chemistry dispensed from service at the University of Pavia because of the "Racial Laws", who left Italy, towards Holland and subsequently Brazil. Alda Levi was dispensed due to the "Racial Laws" and was rescued under a false identity by the family of Salvatore Aurigemma, director of the Superintendency of Rome. She died in Rome in 1950.

Another female portrait is dedicated to Jone Foà [17], who was the second graduate in Naples in Chemistry. She was involved in the socialist party and in the women's emancipation movement. Due to the "Racial Laws", she was expelled from the Society of Naturalists, in which she had been active for thirty years. She moved to Agnone, her husband's city of origin, where they lived, managing a pharmacy. The last decades of her life were characterized by an obstinate silence and depression; she died in Naples on 19 November 1962 [Colella, 2018].

2.3. “Pagina della Memoria”: the Events

2.3.1. The Agreement between Research and Jewish institutions

On 10 January 2023, INGV, CNR, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, INAPP, UCEI and CER signed a formal Agreement for collaborating within the project (INGV Protocol n. 359, 22/12/2022). The Agreement was drawn up to promote and regulate archival, documentary, historical and bibliographic research, as well as to establish common rules for the data management and the creation of cultural, study and dissemination events about the project. The Agreement was officially signed during a ceremony at the Historical Archives of CER, at the presence of the Presidents, the General Directors and the delegates of the signatory institutions. After the signature, an official and evocative visit at the main Synagogue and at the Jewish Museum of Rome followed [18] (Figure 3).



Figure 3. The Presidents, General Directors and Delegates of INGV, CNR, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, UCEI and CER, signing the Agreement of “Pagina della Memoria” on 10 January 2023.

Moreover, the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna, the AISSI, the University Uninettuno and the Association Progetto Memoria joint the Jewish Museum of Bologna as promoters of the project.

2.3.2. The Stolpersteine at CNR: to the Memory of Giacomo, Gemma, Fiorella and Luciana Anticoli

The documental research at the Historical Archives of CNR led to the discovery of 10 employees expelled for the “Racial Laws”: Giulio Provenzal, Anita Provenzal, Frida Schuhmann, Elio Morpurgo, Ida Angelucci Bassi, Sonia Ferro Luzzi, Gino Sacerdote, Leone Anticoli, Giacomo Anticoli (commanded by the Ministry of National Education) and Mario Salvadori. The date of their dismissal, 4 March 1939 (1 March for Giacomo Anticoli), introduces a main difference with respect to the application of the “Racial Laws” at universities. On 10 January 2024, four *Stolpersteine* were installed at the headquarters of the CNR in Rome (Figure 4), dedicated to the memory of Giacomo Anticoli’s family. Because of his professional duties, Giacomo Anticoli lived at the CNR main building, together with his wife Gemma and their daughters Luciana and Fiorella, respectively 5 and 8 years old. He lost his job and home due to the application of the “Racial Laws”. After the Nazi occupation, he was deported with his family to Auschwitz, victims of the 16 October 1943 round-up of the Jews of Rome, never to return. Together with the representatives of the institutions signatory of the project agreement, the installation and a workshop [19] took place at CNR, in the presence of the Israeli Ambassador to Italy Alon Bar, the advisor to the University and Research Minister Alessandra Gallone, the Councilor for Culture of Rome Capital Miguel Gotor, the Chief Rabbi of Rome Riccardo Di Segni, the President of the “Arte in Memoria” association Adachiara Zevi, the Head of Secretariat of the Senate Anti-Discrimination Commission Maria Paola Gargiulo and the Head of the Secretary of the National coordinator for the fight against anti-Semitism Andrea Giovannelli. Giulia Simone presented the University of Padua, as the first university to pose *Stolpersteine* in Italy. Sonia Saltzman Ferro Luzzi, who was the editor of the Medicine bulletin of CNR, was represented by Anna Ferro Luzzi, her daughter. At the end of the event, the guided tour “Stories and Images” took place at the CNR Digital Gallery, where an historical exhibition about the Jews dismissed from service was installed.

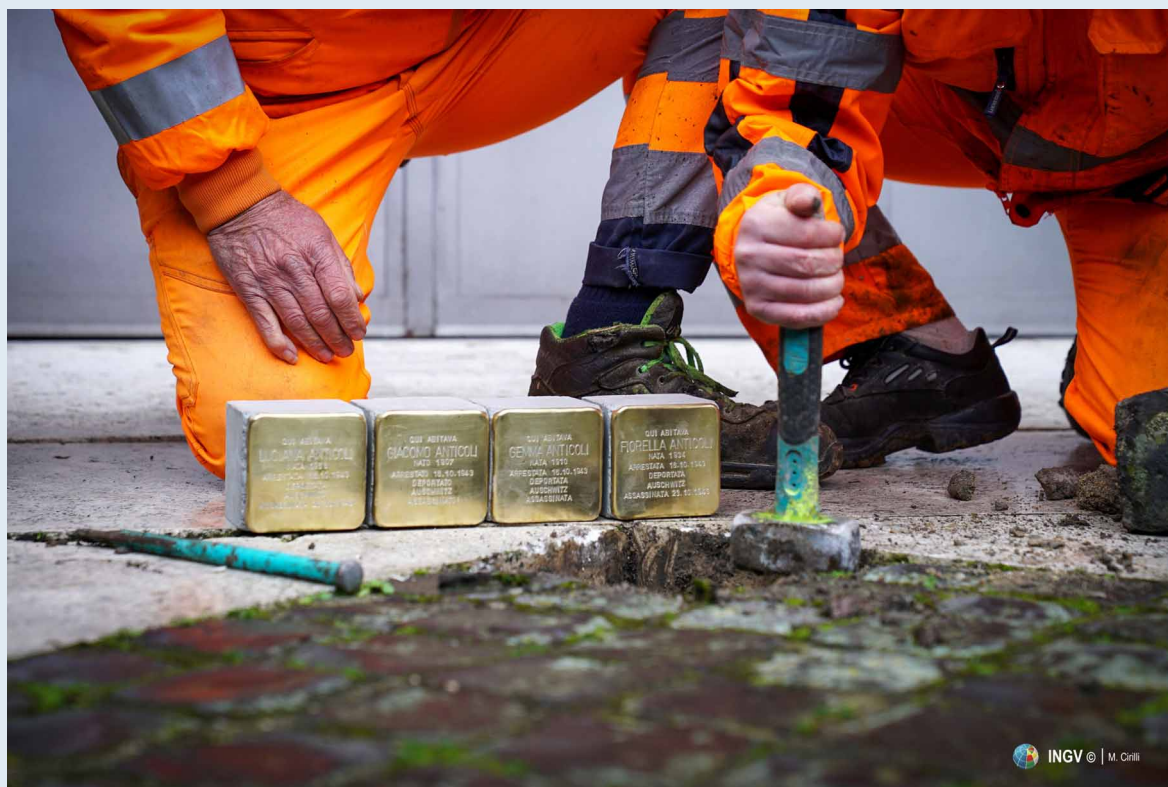


Figure 4. The installation of four Stolpersteine at the main entrance of CNR in Rome, dedicated to the family of Giacomo Anticoli.

3. The application and consequences of the “Racial Laws” at ING

3.1. Leone Anticoli: the dismissal and the reinstatement of a Jewish employee at ING

Leone Anticoli was born in Rome on 5 June 1913 (Figure 5a), son of Pacifico and Fiorina Spizzichino, and brother of Giacomo (the CNR employee), Angelo, Emma, Esterina, Fortunata, Italia and Rosa (data from the 1938 census). Leone married Letizia Di Segni on 5 February 1939 (Figure 5b). They had three daughters: Fiorella, born on 19 July 1941 (Figure 5c), Rossana, born on 22 November 1945, and Angiolina, known as Angiola, born on 28 June 1949. In November 2023, Leone’s employee file

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was found in the INGV archives: it allowed to expand the discussion in Calcara [2004] and Foresta Martin and Calcara [2010] on the application of the “Racial Laws” at Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica (ING; INGV after the Legislative Decree n. 381 of 29/9/1999) and the subsequent phases of “Epurazione” (purge), i.e. the removal of those who actively participated in fascism. In both works, there is only a short mention of a Jewish employee removed from the service and rehired at the end of the conflict. Even ING Director Antonino Lo Surdo and the secretary Pier Luigi Angelini were originally reported among the Jewish employees at CNR. The issue was then resolved, after demonstrating their Arian ancestry. Lo Surdo himself, at the end of the war, did not undergo the “Epurazione”, since Guido Castelnuovo, who managed the “de-fascistization” of the staff, made no objections to him. For a comprehensive discussion of “Epurazione” at ING, refer to Foresta Martin and Calcara [2010].

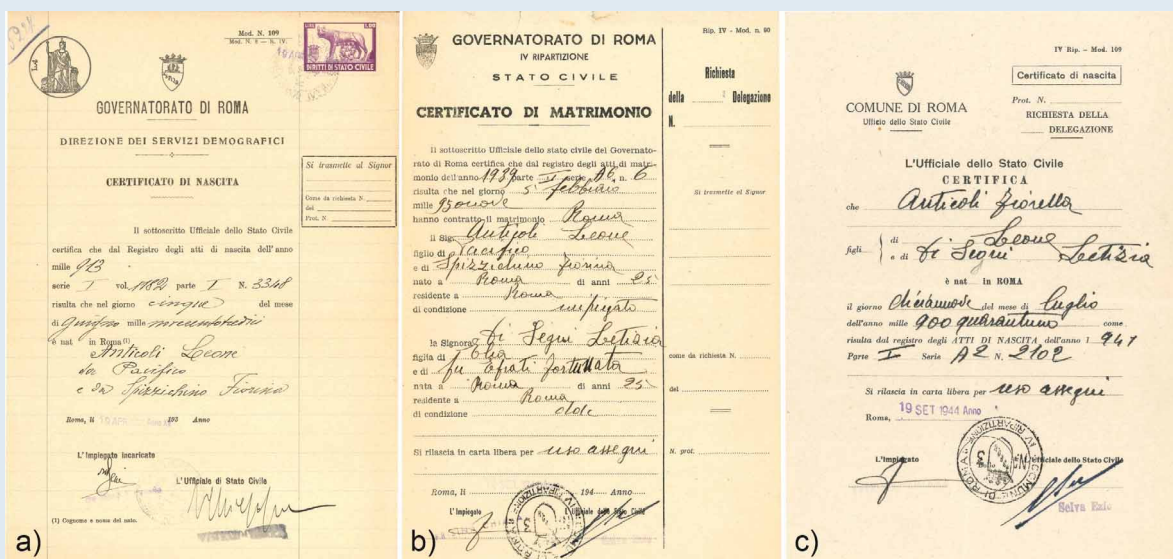


Figure 1. a) Birth certificate of Leone Anticoli; b) marriage certificate of Leone Anticoli and Letizia Di Segni; c) birth certificate of Fiorella Anticoli.

Leone Anticoli died on 13 February 1993; his employee file meticulously records his troubled and honorable career. The main documents are available at the “Pagina della Memoria” website [20]. Here, selected key-facts are summarized (Table 1).

Date and Protocol N.	Event
15 March 1937	Leone applies as probationary attendant at ING, as a CNR institute
1 April 1937 - Prot. 24	The probationary service starts, the net salary is 500 Italian lire per month.
12 September 1938	He fills and signs the "Declaration of Race" (Figure 6a)
27 February 1939	He is notified of his dismissal from service, starting from 4 March 1939, in accordance with the Article 20 of the Royal Decree Law of 17 November 1938, concerning the "Measures in Defense of the Race" (Figure 6b).
2 June 1939	The dismissal from service is submitted to the Board of Directors for the following deliberations. The names of 8 CNR employees and a consultant are reported as personnel belonging to the Jewish race (Figure 6c, d).
12 June 1944	Soon after the Liberation of Rome from the Nazi-Fascists (4 June 1944), Leone asks his reinstatement at the CNR (Figure 7a).
5 July 1944 - Prot. 3385; 12 July 1944 CNR Prot. 001350	Antonino Lo Surdo, as the Director of ING, notifies that Leone Anticoli has resumed service from 1 July 1944, after being interrupted due to racial measures.
9 September 1944 11 September 1944 Prot. 1350	Guido Castelnuovo, as Extraordinary Commissioner of the CNR, notifies that Leone Anticoli is admitted as a daytime usher at the ING. His provisional salary is initially established as a daily wage of 600 Italian Lire per month, in addition to the temporary war offense allowance, when due. (Figure 7b)
16 September 1944	Leone signs the "Epurazione" forms, declaring no active participation to fascism
23 December 1944 Prot. 3087	Guido Castelnuovo notifies the decisions by Amaldi, Lo Surdo and Rolli, as members of the committee for the classification of ING personnel. Leone is assigned as an usher, recovering his service seniority as of 1 April 1937.
12 November 1945	Leone is professionally included within ING, as a new standalone research institution established with the lieutenant decree-law of 1 March 1945 regarding the reorganization of the CNR. ING is elected as a legal entity, passing under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Public Education. Antonino Lo Surdo is the extraordinary commissioner. (Figure 7c)
1 February 1949 23 February 1949 Prot. 252/3	Leone is advanced to chief usher, following his diploma in stenography (11 November 1944), a certified training professional (19 October 1945), and a certification of English and French private lessons (16 September 1948)
1960-1961	ING management committed itself at the INA (Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni) House Commission, to ensure more dignified accommodation to Leone's family, compared to Via Carletti 8. These letters mention his "having been tested by so much tribulation" and bearing "the painful mark of tragic destiny". Leone obtained a new accommodation in Acilia, Via Venturini 17.
1 August 1973 - Prot. 760; 2 October 1975 - Prot. 1946; 15 September 1976	Leone's position advances to auxiliary staff, followed by Main Assistant, and finally Archivist Typist. He is acknowledged for his seismological and ionospheric duties.
21 May 1975 Prot. 1345/9	Leone benefits of the effects of the Legislative Decree 541 of 8 July 1971, that extended to political and racial persecution the effects of the Law 336 of 24 May 1970, which allowed the evaluation of two years for assigning the next class of salary, pay or remuneration for war campaigns and the period spent in captivity and internment.
26 June 1978 (Verbal no. 92 of the ING Board), 28 June 1978, 20 September 1978	The retirement of Leone is saluted by the moving notes by Pietro Dominici, President of ING and by the Board of Directors. The liquidation note is the closing act of Leone's career at ING. It recalls, once again, the racial persecution.

Table 1. The main documents and events associated to Leone Anticoli's career at ING.

3.2. Fiorella Anticoli: tracing Leone's two years old daughter

Fiorella Anticoli was born in Rome on 19 July 1941. She was captured together with her grandmother Fiorina Spizzichino on 16 October 1943. They were detained at the Collegio Militare in via della Lungara, Rome. On 18 October 1943 they were deported to Auschwitz in the convoy no. 02, that arrived on 23 October 1943, assumed as the date of their killing (see Picciotto [2002]; Fiorella is in the cover photo). The events listed in Table 2 refer to the attempt by Leone to trace and find her daughter after the dismissal of the concentration camps. They are reconstructed according to the documentation received and granted by the Arolsen Archives, the most comprehensive archive on the victims of National Socialism, formerly known as International Tracing Service archive (ITS). These documents were firstly published and discussed in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo [2012]. Here, they are reviewed in the new light of Fiorella as the daughter of an ING employee. The documents are available at the "Pagina della Memoria" website [21].

4. Conclusions and future developments

The Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia (INGV) originally conceived "Pagina della Memoria" as a website for the collection and the diffusion of documents and testimonies about the impact of the antisemitic "Racial Laws" against Italian culture and science. It evolved into a project regulated by formal agreements and patronages with Academies, Research and Jewish institutions. This project represents the first attempt to outline the specific features and consequences of the "Racial Laws" within the Italian research institution, with respect to the huge bibliography that already covers their catastrophic effects at universities. From the archival research at Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), it emerged that 10 employees were dismissed from service in March 1939. Among them, Giacomo Anticoli was deported to Auschwitz together with his wife Gemma and the daughters Luciana and Fiorella, 5 and 8 years old. CNR dedicated four *Stolpersteine* to their Memory, as the first research institute whose main entrance recalls the tragedy of the Shoah.

From the recent discovery of the employee file of Leone Anticoli, hired as an usher at Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica (ING, now INGV), many crucial documents emerged about his dismissal due to the "Racial Laws" and reinstatement in July 1944.

Despite suffering the "Racial Laws" and the Shoah, that exterminated most of his family, Leone had a long and admirable career at ING, that brought him up to the role of archivist.

The newfound documents, signed by preeminent scientists as Guido Castelnuovo, Edoardo Amaldi and Gustavo Colonnetti, outlined crucial elements in the history of CNR and ING during and after Nazifascism, in the phases that preceded the establishment of ING as a standalone research institute.

Noteworthy, Leone Anticoli was the father of Fiorella, who was deported and killed at the age of 2 years. Her tragedy was intensively traced before being connected to ING. The future development of the project, in addition to updating and improving the website, will include:

- to pose two Stolpersteine on 14 January 2025, dedicated to the memory of Fiorella and Leone's mother, Fiorina Spizzichino: they were captured, deported and killed together, at their arrival in Auschwitz;
- to study the application of the "Racial Laws" at research institutes, underlying the differences with respect to universities and involving those that were already active at the time;
- to emphasize the research about the dismissal of technical and administrative staff at universities and research institutions;
- to involve further Italian and international research partners: the association "Progetto Memoria", who transmits the memory of anti-Jewish persecutions and the Shoah, recently joined the project. Moreover, in the framework of the project, the Cultural Heritage and Activities Technological District of the Lazio Region is currently co-funding a project for the digitalization of the *Stolpersteine*.

The project "Pagina della Memoria" introduced INGV to a new and unexplored context of research lines and methodologies, deeply connected to historical, archival and human sciences. It became a vehicle of intense cooperation and common paths, for remembering that scientific research can never ignore ethics. When the first antisemitic measures were issued, in 1938, ethics was betrayed by all those Italians who claimed, for personal convenience and ignominy, to be superior with respect to others, condemning Italy to a cultural loss that will never be cured and still hinders our society.

a) **CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE**
SCHEDA PERSONALE

(Cognome e nome) Anticoli Leone
(Paternità) Anticoli (maternità) Leone
(Data e luogo di nascita) 18.6.1893
(Cognome e nome dei coniugi) Leone
(Se funzionario od insegnante, qualifica e grado gerarchico) ingegnere
(Luogo di residenza) Roma - Via Francesco Crispi 8. int. 1°

a) Se appartenga alla razza ebraica da parte di padre (1) si
b) Se sia iscritto alla comunità israelitica (1) si
c) Se professi la religione ebraica (1) si
d) Se professi altra religione e quale (1) si
e) Se la conversione ad altra religione sia stata effettuata da lui o dai propri ascendenti, e quali ed in quale data si

f) Se la madre sia di razza ebraica (1) si
g) Se il coniuge sia di razza ebraica (1) si

Leone addì 18.9.38 XX
FIRMA DEL TITOLARE DELLA SCHEDA
Anticoli Leone

(1) Indicare se sì o no.

b) **Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche**
IL PRESIDENTE

Veduto che da una scheda anagrafica depositata in atti risulta che l'inserviente Anticoli Leone, in servizio presso l'Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica dal 1° Aprile 1937 e con la retribuzione mensile attuale di lire 590,15, appartiene alla razza ebraica;

veduto l'art. 20 del R.D.L. 17 Novembre 1938-XVII, n. 1728 che dispone la dispensa dal servizio, nel termine di tre mesi dalla data di entrata in vigore di esso, dei dipendenti dagli Enti indicati all'art. 13 fra i quali è da comprendersi il C.N.R.;

considerato che l'art. 21 del citato R.D.L. dispone di concedere ai dipendenti dello Stato dispensati dal servizio e norma dell'art. 20, una indennità pari a tanti dodicesimi dell'ultimo stipendio quanti sono gli anni di servizio compiuti;

veduto che l'art. 22 del citato R.D.L. estende le disposizioni dell'art. 21, in quanto applicabili, agli enti di cui all'art. 13;

veduto che la legge sull'impiego privato, che ancora regola i rapporti del personale del C.N.R. e degli Istituti dipendenti, consente l'applicazione delle disposizioni contenute nel detto art. 22

D E C R E T A

con la data del 4 Marzo 1939-XVIII il Sig. Anticoli Leone è dispensato dal servizio e norma del R.D.L. 17 Novembre 1938-XVII. Ai sensi del citato R.D.L. verrà corrisposta al Signor Anticoli Leone una indennità pari a tanti dodicesimi dell'ultimo stipendio quanti sono gli anni di servizio compiuti.

IL PRESIDENTE
Grimaldi

27 FEB 1939

c) **CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE**
UFFICIO DEL PERSONALE
PRATICA DA SOTTOPORRE ALLE DELIBERAZIONI DEL DIRETTORIO
RIUNIONE DEL 2 FEBBRAIO 1939-ANNO XVII

ARGOMENTO: Notifica dei provvedimenti con i quali il personale di razza ebraica è stato dispensato dal servizio.

A sensi del R.D.L. 17 novembre 1938 n. 1728 concernente i provvedimenti sulla razza e della circolare della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri n. 4444 del 17 novembre 1938-XVII tutto il personale del Consiglio comunque appartenente alla razza ebraica, fu immediatamente allontanato dall'Ufficio e collocato in congedo.

A sensi del predetto R.D.L. ed in seguito alle precise istruzioni richieste alla Direzione Generale per la Demografia e la Razza, S.M.I. Presidente, con suoi provvedimenti, ha disposto la dispensa dal servizio del sottotenuto personale appartenente alla razza ebraica, con la data del 4 marzo 1939-XVIII

NOTE E COGNOME	UFFICIO DI APPARTENENZA
Provansal prof. Giulio	Redazione Rivista Ricerca Scientifica
Provansal Sig. ma Anita	id. id.
Schubmann dr. Frida	Biblioteca
Morgurgo Ing. Nilo	Centro Documentazione Tecnica
Angelucci Bassi Sig. ra Ida	Segreteria Generale
Ferre Lussai Dr. Sonia	Bibliografia Italiana
Sacerdote prof. Gino	Istituto di Elettroacustica
Anticoli Leone	Istituto di Geofisica

Per quanto riguarda l'ing. Salvadori Mario, che non era impiegato, ma aveva l'incarico di Consulente presso l'Istituto Naz. per le Appl. del Calcolo, si è cessato di corrispondergli il compenso che per tali funzioni percepiva, salvo a riprendere in essere la sua posizione al suo ritorno dall'America e se, dai documenti che gli sono stati ri-

d) **IL DIRETTORE GENERALE**
IL SEGRETARIO GENERALE
Fioravanti

chiesti, potrà, come sembra, comprovare la sua non appartenenza alla razza ebraica. Il Direttorio è invitato a prendere atto dei provvedimenti.

DELIBERAZIONE DEL DIRETTORIO: prende atto.

Figure 6. Leone Anticoli's dismissal from ING: a) the declaration of race; b) the notification of application of the "Racial Laws"; c, d) the list of CNR employees to be dispensed from the service.



Figure 7. Leone Anticoli rehired at ING: a) his request to resume the service after the Liberation of Rome; b) Guido Castelnuovo, as Extraordinary Commissioner of the CNR, notifies that Leone is admitted as a daytime usher at ING; c) Leone's inclusion at ING, as a standalone research institute; d) Leone in a laboratory coat, during a strike in 1968, asking to rejoin CNR; e) Leone, at the center of a photo from the 1970s, appearing elegant and smiling together with his colleagues at the Monte Porzio Catone INGV headquarters.

Date / Arolsen Ref. #	Event
5 December 1950 6.3.2.1/84145357 6.3.2.1/84145359 6.3.2.1/84145360	In a letter to UNESCO, Leone Anticoli qualifies as an employee of ING, asking to trace his daughter Fiorella, also on behalf of his wife, defined as: "the poor mother who still hopes". Noteworthy, there is a typo on the date of birth of Fiorella. In the letter, Leone included a picture of Fiorella (Figure 8a). In Figure 8b, the English version of the letter that was sent to UNESCO.
23 January 1951 6.3.2.1/84145362	Vera Samsonoff, as the head of the Child Tracing Branch of the ITS, asks Leone for further details, especially regarding his relationships with five other children, three of whom were called Fiorella Anticoli. Fiorella was already included in the list of 32 missing children, dating back to July 8, 1949.
1 February 1951 6.3.2.1/84145363	Leone explains that three children on the list were his nieces. Fiorella and Luciana were the daughters of Giacomo, and the other Fiorella was the daughter of Angelo, who was deported with his wife Celeste Zarfati, their four children, their mother-in-law and their sister-in-law, on 20 May 1944 (Figure 8c). The date is not confirmed by Picciotto, 2002, where they result arrested on 10 and 11 April 1944, to arrive in Auschwitz on 30 June 1944 after detention in Fossoli.
12 February 1951 6.3.2.1/84145365 6.3.2.1/84145366 9 May 1951 6.3.2.1/84145368 21 June 1951 6.3.2.1/84145373	ITS asks to the Jewish Agency for Palestine to verify the presence of Fiorella in their records. A negative answer was received on 9 May 1951 and forwarded to Leone on 21 June 1951.
14 February 1951 6.3.2.1/84145368	Vera Samsonoff writes back to Leone Anticoli to inform him about the start of research at the Committee of Liberated Jews in Poland. She also announces the return of Fiorella's photo, as it was the only one, he had. The letter to the Warsaw committee dates to the following 2 March 1951.
18 April 1951 6.3.2.1/84145371	Vera Samsonoff informs that their offices had come under the control of the Allied High Commission, and therefore she could not further investigate on Fiorella. She advises Leone to contact the Soviet Government Commission that supervises the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau, because some of the liberated children were transferred to children's sanatoriums in Crimea.
27 June 1951 6.3.2.1/84145374	Leone Anticoli thanks Vera Samsonoff for her efforts, declaring that he does not want to give up the idea of wanting to track down his daughter, still hoping to meet her again, one day (Figure 8d).
1963, June 10 th 6.3.3.2/89482795	The file ends with the new request to the International Committee of the Red Cross, obtaining, on 3 October 1963, the incomplete data contained in the List of Deportees from Italy in the years 1943-44.

Table 2. *The main documents and events associated with the tracing of Fiorella Anticoli.*

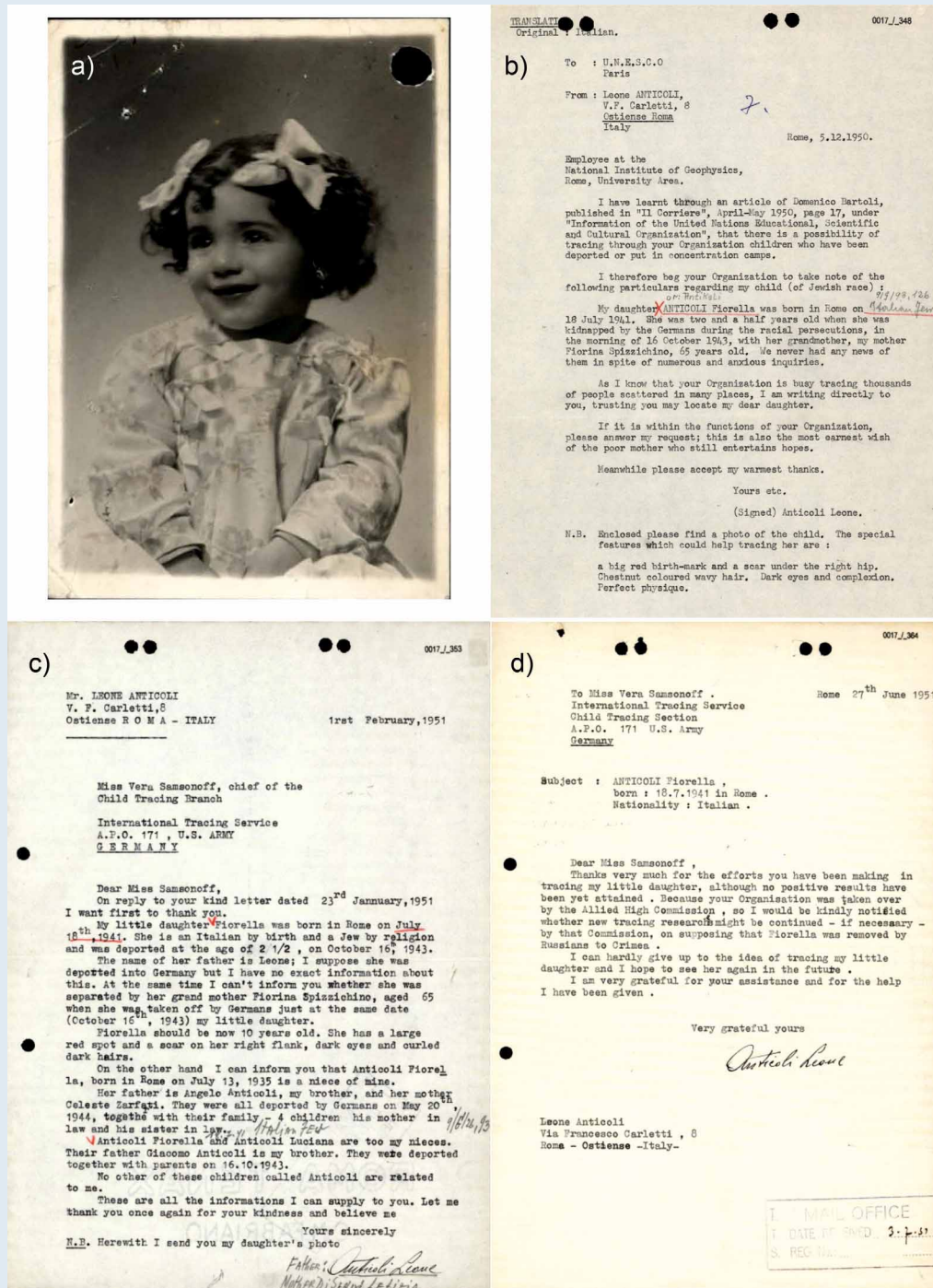


Figure 8. a) The picture of Fiorella, included in Leone's letter to UNESCO for tracing her; b) its translation to English; c) the letter to the ITS Child Tracing Branch for solving the homonyms, where Leone recalls the tragic deportations of his brothers Giacomo and Angelo; d) Leone thanks ITS despite the unsuccessful research, still hoping to meet Fiorella again in the future.

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