

# Racial Laws in the Italian Universities of Cagliari and Sassari. For an Archive Directory

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**Abstract.** By examining research published prior to this date and available archival documents, the aim of this contribution is to offer an up to date picture of the reality in Sardinian universities during the 1938 census of Jewish professors and, more generally, of the application of the racist policies. It aims to be the first step in the creation of an archival directory.

**Keywords:** Racial laws, suspended Jewish professors, University of Cagliari, University of Sassari, Archives.

## 1. Preliminary remarks

The conference *Sardegna e Mezzogiorno nel ventennio fascista* (Sardinia and Southern Italy during the fascist regime) was held in 1998 and it was organised in Cagliari by the Istituto sardo per la storia della resistenza e dell'autonomia (Sardinian institute for the history of the resistance and of the autonomy, ISSRA for its acronym in Italian)<sup>1</sup>. There, Eugenia Tognotti addressed a subject that until then had been "overlooked by historians studying fascism in Sardinia"<sup>2</sup>: The impact of racial laws on the two universities of the island. Tognotti, after recalling the steps that led to the proclamation of those laws, also presented the profiles of three professors from Cagliari and one from Sassari who were expelled (Teodoro Levi, Alberto Pincherle, Camillo Viterbo, and Michelangelo Ottolenghi), and delved into several events that marked the two universities during those years.

In 2001, thanks to the *Studi in onore di Manlio Brigaglia offerti dal Dipartimento di Storia dell'Università di Sassari* (Studies in honour of Manlio Brigaglia organised by the Department of History of the University of Sassari), Giuseppina Fois published an essay dedicated to Luigi Pinelli where she defined him as a "Jew by mistake"<sup>3</sup>. Due to an error he committed when filling in the form with his personal details, as requested by the Bottai circular letter dated 9 August 1938, for several months the Ministry of National Education considered Pinelli to be Jewish, a confusion that was nullified when it was discovered that he failed to register with the National Fascist Party (PNF for its acronym in Italian).

The investigation made by Tognotti and Fois was resumed in 2003 by Luciano Marrocu in his essay *Figure di intellettuali ebrei nel periodo delle Leggi Razziali* (Jewish intellectuals during the Racial Laws). Other examples of prosopographic studies are the essays by Martino Contu, *Dalla Sardegna all'Argentina per sfuggire alle leggi razziali del 1938. Breve profilo del giurista ed economista Camillo Viterbo* (From Sardinia to Argentina in order to escape the 1938 racial laws. A short profile of the lawyer and economist Camillo Viterbo), and by Simonetta Angiolillo, *Un ricordo*

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<sup>1</sup> The conference, organised by Luisa Maria Plaisant, Manlio Brigaglia, and Luciano Marrocu, took place on January 29-30, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Tognotti (2000, p. 185).

<sup>3</sup> Fois (2001).

*di Doro Levi nel settantesimo anniversario della promulgazione delle leggi razziali* (A remembrance of Doro Levi on the seventieth anniversary of the proclamation of the racial laws), both from 2009.

On 29 November 2018, from the initiative of *Rettore* Maria Del Zompo, during the opening of a documentary exhibition dedicated to the events of 1938, and in line with occasions organised by the *Conferenza dei rettori delle università italiane* (CRUI for its acronym in Italian) in 2018, the University of Cagliari officially apologised to the families of the professors who were suspended<sup>4</sup>.

This paper aims to contribute to a better knowledge and distribution of data related to the expulsion of Jewish professors, to the purge of fascist professors and their reinstatement in the universities of Cagliari and Sassari between 1938 and 1945, and to the racist policies in both universities. Eighty-two years after the racial laws and twenty-two years after the first lecture by Tognotti, we will try to consider what we know and how much can still be said about this subject. We will go back to all of the archival sources that have been analysed by scholars in the last decades and we will offer a short summary of collected data from several dossiers that still need to be analysed in depth, in the knowledge that compiling the list of sources will support and promote historical research. This task is nonetheless not an easy one. Even after the expiration of the non-consultation restraint<sup>5</sup>, the issue with Sardinian university archives is the inaccessibility of many sources which have not been organised or inventoried. Another problem that has been noticed, at least in regards to the Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari, is the absence of some documents, surely due to a decision to discard them that we cannot document at the moment, but we cannot exclude the possibility of manipulation of part of the dossiers related to those years. These doubts will be clarified only after the reorganisation of the series is complete.

This analysis is divided into three parts – one dedicated to Cagliari (§2); one to Sassari (§3); and one, more general, dedicated to the documents produced by both universities and by the Ministry of National Education (§4). The author has been allowed to consult part of the sources that are being reorganised in the Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari, quoted here pending provisional classification<sup>6</sup>. The University of Sassari, for its part, has a solid bibliographic background thanks to the documentary researches undertaken by the Interdisciplinary Centre on the History of the University of Sassari in cooperation with the Inter-University Centre on the History of Italian Universities (CISUI for its acronym in Italian).

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<sup>4</sup> The documentary exhibition *A 80 anni dalle leggi razziali. L'Università di Cagliari ricorda D. Levi, A. Pincherle, Camillo Viterbo* (80 years after the racial laws. The University of Cagliari remembers D. Levi, A. Pincherle, Camillo Viterbo), curated by Eleonora Todde, Gianluca Scroccu, and Mariangela Rapetti under the scientific supervision of Francesco Atzeni, was set up in Palazzo Belgrano, which hosts the office of the *Rettore*, and was open to visitors until 18 February 2019. "In memoriam of the Italian racial laws, established by the fascist dictatorship and signed by King Victor Emmanuel III on 5 September 1938, the *rettore*, on behalf of the University of Cagliari, recognises the responsibilities of the university within the passivity and complicity of the academic world towards the choices of the regime, which ended in the proclamation of the racial laws, and apologises officially to the families of the professors removed from university teaching in 1938: Doro Levi, Alberto Pincherle, and Camillo Viterbo". This is a translation of the text on the scroll given to Alberto Pincherle's children, Marcella and Giovanni Alberto, and delivered to Doro Levi's nephew, Roberto E. Kostoris.

<sup>5</sup> The time restraint is 40 years, but the documents relating to domestic (and foreign) policy of the State can be consulted 50 years after their date, while the non-consultation period for documents regarding sensitive data such as health conditions, sex life or private family relations is 70 years (art. 21 of the Presidential Decree (D.P.R. for its acronym in Italian) 30 September 1963, no 1409; art. 122 of the legislative decree (d.lgs.) 22 January 2004, no 42 and subsequent modifications and additions).

<sup>6</sup> We would like to thank Professor Cecilia Tasca, scientific director of the Historical Archive; Professor Francesco Atzeni, previously director of the Department of *Storia, Beni culturali e Territorio* of the University of Cagliari; and Eleonora Todde, *ricercatrice* of Archival Science in charge of reorganising the Archive who allowed us to mention here what is part of a wider project. A special thanks also goes to Nicola Tronci and Rossella Cuneo, *tirocinanti* who helped during the census and research phases, and to fellow colleagues Luca Lecis, Valeria Deplano, Gianluca Scroccu, and Tommaso Dell'Era for their bibliographical suggestions. We would also like to thank Emma Becciu for the translation of this article.

## 2. University of Cagliari

### 2.1. Racist policy

On 19 August 1938, in a confidential letter, the Royal Carabinieri provided the Prefect of Cagliari with a list of Jews counted in the census of the province. The list was extremely short, as was to be expected, since for many centuries there had not been a real Sardinian Jewish community<sup>7</sup>. Among the six people of "Jewish race", at the top of the list were Teodoro Levi and Camillo Viterbo, professors at the University of Cagliari. They were followed by Eugenio Lewin, a private teacher of German (born in Berlin in 1883 and resident in Cagliari since 1935); Giuliano Massarani, engineer (born in Milan in 1869 and resident in Cagliari); Aldo Beer, engineer (born in Ancona in 1897 and resident in Sant'Antioco); and Livio Massarini, engineer (born in Brescia in 1907 and resident in Oristano). The document also stated that two more professors of the Royal University of Cagliari were also considered of "Jewish race": Alberto Pincherle and Carlo Maiorca, but "about them it [had] not been possible to obtain more details of their belonging to the Jewish race or to determine what religion they profess"<sup>8</sup>.

The Prefect had already been aware about the university professors for three days: Giuseppe Brotzu, at that time *Rettore* of the University of Cagliari, had informed him that he believed Professors Teodoro Levi, *straordinario* of *Archeologia* at the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia*, and Camillo Viterbo, *straordinario* of *Diritto commerciale* at the Faculty of *Giurisprudenza*, belonged to the "Israelitic race". Brotzu also added: "(because of his surname) I am keen to believe that Professor Alberto Pincherle is also of Jewish race (...) albeit to the best of my knowledge he professes the Catholic religion. I haven't got clear information about Professor Carlo Maiorca (...) but I have nonetheless noticed some dubious details regarding his mother's name"<sup>9</sup>. Pincherle was *straordinario* of *Storia delle religioni* at the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia*, Carlo Maiorca was *straordinario* of *Istituzioni di Diritto privato* at the Faculty of *Giurisprudenza*.

As requested by the minister, on 22 August the *rettore* of Cagliari had sent the form for the census of staff of Jewish race to all members of the university. The form was complemented by a short note that said: "Following the orders of the Superior Ministry, I am sending You the attached form that will have to be filled in and signed under Your own responsibility, and returned to this Office no later than 5 September"<sup>10</sup>.

A few days later, on 25 August 1938, the Royal Prefecture had transmitted to the Ministry of Interior the data from the census of Jewish families who resided in the Cagliari province up to midnight of 22 August. Among them – 22 in total, some of them unclear due to lack of data – were the families of Professor Pincherle and Professor Maiorca, both resident in Rome. Of the latter, though, it said that he was "reported only as probably Jewish"<sup>11</sup>. During the following month, the police commissioner confirmed to the Prefect that "in the province, the Jews [were] very few and all of them from other places in the kingdom", while there was only one foreign Jew, the above mentioned Lewin. "No Jew [retained] political, administrative or union positions" and, moreover, it declared the presence of four Chinese working as hawkers, converted from Buddhism to Catholicism, and of two "Libyan niggers"<sup>12</sup>. A comparison between these and other notices brings to light the small number of Jews resident in the Cagliari province (49 in total, as confirmed by Sarfatti<sup>13</sup>), to which we

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<sup>7</sup> For more information about the Jewish communities that existed in Sardinia during the late Middle Ages, broken apart after the expulsion decrees were issued for the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae* by King Ferdinand of Aragon, please refer to the published studies by Cecilia Tasca (*Gli Ebrei in Sardegna nel XIV secolo: società, cultura, istituzioni*, Deputazione di storia patria per la Sardegna 1992; *Ebrei e società in Sardegna nel XV secolo*, Giuntina 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Cagliari, Archivio di Stato (ASCa). Prefettura, IV Versamento, Gabinetto 6-6 epurazioni, c. 374rv.

<sup>9</sup> ASCa. Prefettura, IV Versamento, Gabinetto 6-6 epurazioni, c. 375rv.

<sup>10</sup> Cagliari, Archivio Storico dell'Università (ASUCa). Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 299, n. 3089, c. 116.

<sup>11</sup> ASCa. Prefettura, IV Versamento, Gabinetto 6-6 epurazioni, cc. 339-340.

<sup>12</sup> ASCa. Prefettura, IV Versamento, Gabinetto 6-6 epurazioni, c. 140r, 1938 settembre 26.

<sup>13</sup> Sarfatti (2018), pp. 32-33, tab. 2.

need to also add a small number of non-resident Jews and, furthermore, the doubt about several "escaped", "particularly Jews who had abjured their faith and Jewish women married to Christians"<sup>14</sup>.

Even without a Jewish community, many Jews went to Sardinia – in particular to the capital – for professional reasons.

In the 1890s, the University of Cagliari listed among its professors Gino Segrè, who would be expelled from the learned societies and from the register of lawyers in 1938<sup>15</sup>; Alessandro Lattes and Beppo Levi, joint authors of *Cenni storici della Regia Università di Cagliari, compilati dal Prof. A. Lattes per il periodo che va dalla fondazione dello Studio al 1848 e dal Prof. B. Levi per il periodo che va dal 1848 ai nostri giorni* (Brief history of the Royal University of Cagliari, compiled by Professor A. Lattes for the period from its founding to 1848 and by Professor B. Levi for the period from 1848 to the present day), published in the yearbook for the year 1909-1910, their last academic year in Cagliari. Alessandro Lattes, law historian, moved to Modena, then Parma until 1914. He finished his career at the University of Genoa, retiring in 1933 and being appointed emeritus professor<sup>16</sup>. Levi, a mathematician, professor of *Geometria proiettiva e descrittiva* since 1906, moved to Parma in 1910 and then, in 1928, to Bologna, the university from which he would then be removed in the autumn of 1938. Due to the racial laws, Beppo Levi emigrated to Rosario in Argentina<sup>17</sup>.

Among the Jewish professors there was also pathologist Cesare Sacerdotti, who graduated with Camillo Golgi, in Pavia, in 1892. After teaching in Ferrara, he arrived in Cagliari. Between 1910 and 1912, he was *preside* of the Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia*, then *rettore* of the university between 1911-1913. He moved to Siena and then Pisa, where he worked until October 1938 and where, in 1946, he would be appointed emeritus professor<sup>18</sup>. Having been a *rettore*, his portrait, inventoried in 1914, was included in the painting collection of the University of Cagliari<sup>19</sup>. The painting was then removed at a date that is uncertain, probably in July 1939, after a confidential letter that Minister Bottai sent to the universities asking them to remove all dedications to Jewish professors<sup>20</sup>. To this date, the painting portraying Sacerdotti is missing from the collection in the antechamber to the office of the *rettore* in Cagliari – the only one missing among those who held the title in the 20th century.

Other professors who had previously worked in Cagliari, instead, where among those who, in 1938, signed the *Manifesto of Race* (it is the case of Lino Businco, *aiuto incaricato* at the *Istituto di Patologia generale* until 1937<sup>21</sup>) and the bill on the defence of the race (Senator Salvatore Di Marzo, who had been a professor of *Istituzioni di diritto romano* in Cagliari at the beginning of the century, had been one of the rapporteurs of the bill in November 1938<sup>22</sup>). Nonetheless, due to the mechanics behind the competitive examinations and the mobility of university professors – especially before the so called "alignment" of the University of Cagliari in 1902<sup>23</sup> – this piece of information is not significant.

Another aspect to be taken into consideration briefly is the presence of Jews among the students of the University of Cagliari, that included some foreigners among the students enrolled. Even before the racial laws, from 6 August 1938, the university had to follow rules that dictated a "ban on the enrolment of students of Jewish race", allowing those already enrolled to complete the exams of the autumn session of 1937-1938, with some other dispensations and temporary rules. The promise to

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<sup>14</sup> ASCa. Prefettura, IV Versamento, Gabinetto 6-6 epurazioni, c. 321r, 1938 agosto 24.

<sup>15</sup> Acerbi (2011), p. 215.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.accademiadelle scienze.it/accademia/soci/Alessandro-Lattes>.

<sup>17</sup> Coen (2005).

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-sacerdotti\\_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-sacerdotti_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/).

<sup>19</sup> Inventario n. 1003 del 6 aprile 1914, cit. Bullita (2005).

<sup>20</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 295, n. 3048, *Disposizioni di massima*, 1939 luglio 4.

<sup>21</sup> Stiglitz (2012); Tognotti (2000) p. 186.

<sup>22</sup> Gentile (2013) p. 146, n. 161.

<sup>23</sup> The law of 31 July 1862, no. 719 regarding university fees, known as Law Matteucci from the name of the minister who implemented it, recognised two categories of universities, called "A" and "B". Universities in category B had less financing from the ministry and lower salaries for all the staff. Cagliari was included in category B and, between 1882 and 1902, *rettori*, mayors, and local politicians were engaged in promoting the university to category A; this promotion – *alignment* – was obtained with the law 19 June 1902, no. 252, refer to Rapetti (2016).

comply from *rettore* Brotzu suggests the presence of Jewish students without confirming or providing objective data. The only dossier that has been located so far only includes letters and notices without any references to the actual number enrolled<sup>24</sup>.

After abiding to the fascist dictates, the University of Cagliari, as did all the other universities of the kingdom, adapted to the racial policy. Since the publication of the first issue of the journal *La Difesa della Razza* (The defence of race), several institutes and institutional libraries, following the invitation sent by the minister and shared by *rettore* Brotzu, signed up for the subscription. The *Biblioteca Universitaria* had to abide – as did all the others – to the circulation ban for works written or printed by Jews (but it had already been following the same orders for the lists of books inconsistent with the regime)<sup>25</sup>.

In Cagliari as well, the course of *Biologia delle razze umane* was added to the curriculum of the Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia* and of the newly created Faculty of *Magistero*. The course programme for the Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia*, taught by anatomist Luigi Castaldi, also included topics like «The defence of race, the improvement of race, related measures and results obtained»<sup>26</sup>. The course programme of the Faculty of *Magistero* taught by Giuseppe Fadda, which was more structured, included topics about «Colonising virtues of the Italian Race - The Libyans - The Abyssinians - The Somalis - The Jews and the Jewish issue in the world and in Italy - Setting, continuity, and development of the actions of the Regime in defence of the Race - Improvement of the Race - Measures and institutions of the Regime for the improvement of the physical and moral health of the Italian people - New aspects and new importance of the issue of Race after the conquering of the Empire - Conscience of the issue of Race related to the spiritual Autarky of the Nation - The issues of Race and Sardinia»<sup>27</sup>.

## 2.2. Suspensions

Staff	Jewish by both father and mother		Suspended	
228	3 Professori Straordinari	Members of the Israelite community	3	
		Teodoro (Doro) Levi		
				Alberto Pincherle
		Camillo Viterbo		

**Table 1: Census of Jewish professors at the University of Cagliari, 1938**

Having collected almost all the census forms, on 27 September 1938 Brotzu informed the minister that there were no *presidi* of faculty of "Jewish race"; he sent the list of professors – Doro Levi, Alberto Pincherle, and Camillo Viterbo – who would be suspended from 16 October; he also promised to replace, by 15 October, all persons of "Jewish race" already appointed to any roles in the University<sup>28</sup>. Pincherle and Viterbo, also, were married to Jewish women.

<sup>24</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 295, n. 3048, *Disposizioni di massima - studenti di razza ebraica*.

<sup>25</sup> Cagliari, Archivio della Biblioteca Universitaria. Fasc. R. I. *Divieto di diffusione*.

<sup>26</sup> Regia Università degli studi di Cagliari. *Annuario per l'anno scolastico 1938-1939*, p. 290. For Luigi Castaldi refer to Taccari (1978).

<sup>27</sup> Regia Università degli studi di Cagliari. *Annuario per l'anno scolastico 1938-1939*, p. 287. Giuseppe Fadda, with a degree in *Scienze Naturali*, held his position until the academic year 1941-42. He swore the oath on 10 May 1939. During those years, he was the royal superintendent of studies in Cagliari and, after the war, he became superintendent in Siena. ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Giuseppe Fadda.

<sup>28</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 299, n. 3089, c. 65.

Professor Teodoro Levi, known as Doro, was born in Trieste in 1898<sup>29</sup>. He studied in Florence and graduated in *Lettere* at the Royal Institute for Superior Studies in 1920 after serving in the First World War and having been part of the irredentist volunteers. In 1924 he specialised in Archaeology in Athens at the Italian School of Archaeology. After participating in several excavations in Greece, he returned to Italy, where he was appointed as Inspector and then Director of the Inspectorate for Antiquities in Etruria. In 1931, he was appointed *libero docente* of *Archeologia e storia dell'arte greca e romana*, and he enrolled in the PNF in 1933. In 1935, he won the competitive examination in Cagliari, was appointed *professore straordinario* on 16 November 1935, and swore his oath on 8 of February the following year<sup>30</sup>. Meanwhile, on 27 December, he was also appointed Interim Superintendent of Art and Antiquities in Sardinia. When the census of Jewish professors started, in 1938, Levi was close to becoming a *professore ordinario* and was contemplating a transfer to the University of Florence. When he received the notice of 19 October by which the *rettore* informed him he had been suspended from his duties with effect from the 16th of that month, Doro Levi replied to Brotzu by attaching a certified copy of the decree granting a "Medal of Merit for having been an irredentist volunteer in the Italian-Austrian War", asking him to forward it to the Ministry, "explaining the impoverished financial situation caused by the seizure of family assets by the former Austrian government (...), reminding them of the unpaid work done as a Superintendent (...) that could possibly support his reinstatement in the management of Arts and Antiquities"<sup>31</sup>. Brotzu did not hesitate to write to the minister to support Levi's request: "If these merits might help the reinstatement of Professor Levi in a position in the management of Arts and Antiquities, a position that he abandoned in 1935 when he obtained the professorship in this city, I would be glad for him to be reinstated as a Superintendent of Arts and Antiquities and to be granted the VI degree, a level he would have reached in November after completing three years of teaching if he had stayed in his position as a *professore straordinario* of *Archeologia e storia dell'arte antica*"<sup>32</sup>. This intent to obtain a non-applicability was in vain and Doro Levi was replaced in his duties by Bachisio Raimondo Motzo. He left Cagliari and headed to the United States, where he taught at the Institute for Advanced studies in Princeton<sup>33</sup> and, at the same time, he collaborated with the U.S. Department of Defence to map the Italian monuments that the air force would have had to spare during the bombings. He was allowed to move back to Italy in 1945 at the end of the war. He arrived in Florence in November, where he met Minister Arangio-Ruiz, and immediately informed the new *rettore* in Cagliari, Ernesto Puxeddu, of the results of the meeting: "Due to the uncertainty of my position and to my hard situation at the moment because of upheaval caused by the war, the minister decided to temporarily transfer me to the Arts and Antiquities Directorate of the Ministry in Rome with special duties. You will receive an official communication from the minister himself as soon as the legislative decree can be proclaimed. I wanted to inform you personally of this step, hoping that you will understand the reasons that pushed me to support it despite my strong desire to visit Sardinia again as soon as possible, as I am attached to it by strong personal and professional links"<sup>34</sup>. Since then and for several years, Levi worked for the Ministry "with inspection, technical, and liaison duties with the allied commission in order to recover the artistic and archaeological material that had been taken by the Germans". Levi kept his university position without actually carrying out any duties and returned to Cagliari only for a few days in order to prevent – with success – the demolition of the Roman Amphitheatre in the city<sup>35</sup>. From 1 July 1947 to 1977, he was the Director of the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens. After retiring, he moved to Rome and continued his collaboration with professors and students. He died in 1991. On the eightieth anniversary of the racial laws, the *rettore* of the University of Cagliari, Maria

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<sup>29</sup> For Teodoro Levi, refer to Angiolillo (2009); Marrocu (2003); Tognotti (2000); La Rosa (2005).

<sup>30</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Teodoro Levi.

<sup>31</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Teodoro Levi. Teodoro Levi to Giuseppe Brotzu, 26 October 1938.

<sup>32</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Teodoro Levi. Giuseppe Brotzu to Giuseppe Bottai, 29 October 1938.

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.ias.edu/scholars/doro-levi>.

<sup>34</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Teodoro Levi. Teodoro Levi to Ernesto Puxeddu, 22 November 1945.

<sup>35</sup> Letter written by Teodoro Levi to Paola Pala on 23 May 1986 and quoted in Angiolillo (2009).

Del Zompo, sent an official apology on behalf of the university to one of Doro Levi's nephews, his sister's son, Professor Roberto E. Kostoris.

Alberto Pincherle (1894-1979), from Milan, graduated in *Giurisprudenza* in Rome in 1912<sup>36</sup>. After that, he enrolled at the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia* and attended the courses of *Storia delle religioni* by Raffaele Pettazzoni and of *Storia del cristianesimo* by Ernesto Buonaiuti. After specialising at Harvard University, he dedicated himself to studying the New Testament. He became a *libero docente* in 1925 and, from the following year, he started teaching some courses by replacing Buonaiuti, who had had a confrontation with Agostino Gemelli that caused his excommunication and banned him from wearing the ecclesiastical robes<sup>37</sup>. A few years later, he was ordered to work as an editor of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, where he was appointed director of the section on *Storia delle religioni e folklore*. After Buonaiuti's final downfall when he failed to swear his allegiance to the fascist party as a professor in 1931, Pincherle obtained the role for *Storia del cristianesimo* at the University of Rome. The appointment of a Jew and a pupil of Ernesto Buonaiuti to teach *Storia del cristianesimo*, though, caused the discontent of the Apostolic See and a clash with the *rettore* of the university, a confrontation that included the then Minister for National Education, Francesco Ercole. Pincherle, a practicing Catholic, managed nonetheless to obtain the paid position<sup>38</sup>.

A member of the PNF since 1932, he was appointed *professore straordinario* of *Storia delle religioni* at the University of Cagliari on 29 October 1937 and swore his oath the following January. On 30 March 1938, in the auditorium of the university, "the fascist professor Alberto Pincherle" taught a lesson on the extra-European relationships and issues of the empire<sup>39</sup>. In August, as for everyone, he was requested to fill in the census form. His Jewish origins were known but, because Pincherle was not receiving his mail due to some misunderstandings, he was requested several times to fill in the form. He was not in Cagliari when the investigation took place and he received several telegrams requesting him to do so, which is the reason why the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Central State Archive, hereafter ACS) has two copies, both filled in and signed by him<sup>40</sup>. To one of them, Professor Pincherle attached a letter in which he wrote "that it is not correct to scientifically talk about a Jewish race; what is instead correct and should be said is that there is a Jewish nation which is formed by all those who profess Judaism, that is all those who converted to that religion, which is both national and proselytical (...); on the other hand, those who abandon said religion lose their belonging to the Jewish nation ipso facto". Despite both himself and his mother having converted to Catholicism, Pincherle did not manage to avoid dismissal. Moreover, despite having declared to the Ministry of Education that he was born from Jewish parents, he omitted to declare the same to the civil registry and was therefore to be reported to the concerning authority<sup>41</sup>. Following some inspections, Pincherle was therefore dismissed from service from 14 December 1938 and was replaced by Lorenzo Giusso, professor of *Filosofia teoretica*<sup>42</sup>.

Pincherle moved to Lima with his whole family and there he started teaching Latin Literature at the University of San Marcos. In April 1939, asking for his books and notes still stored in Cagliari to be sent to him, he wrote to the secretary of the university "I would be grateful if you could pass on

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<sup>36</sup> For Alberto Pincherle refer to Marrocu (2003); Tognotti (2000); Vian (2015).

<sup>37</sup> For this matter, we refer to the introduction by F. Margiotta Broglio to *Lettere di Ernesto Buonaiuti ad Arturo Carlo Jemolo, 1921-1941*, curated by C. Fantappiè, (Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato. Fonti XXIV), Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, Roma 1997, pp. 7-43.

<sup>38</sup> Vian (2015). Pincherle, in one of his letters to *rettore* Brotzu about the census of professors of "Jewish race", wrote "I am a Catholic as is all my family - and I would have not taught *Storia del Cristianesimo* for many years if I had not felt at peace with my conscience", ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio 1901-1946*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 299, n. 3089, c. 58.

<sup>39</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 293, n. 3036, *Congressi, commemorazioni conferenze inaugurazioni adesioni sottoscrizioni*.

<sup>40</sup> Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS). Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione generale istruzione superiore, *Miscellanea di divisioni diverse (I-II-III)*, Congressi, incarichi, fascicoli personali 1929-1945, b. 109, *Professori di ruolo: ebrei per parte di entrambi i genitori*.

<sup>41</sup> ASCa. Prefettura, IV Versamento, Gabinetto 6-6 epurazioni, c. 130, 1° dicembre 1939.

<sup>42</sup> Lorenzo Giusso maintained this role until 1942-43: ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Lorenzo Giusso. For Giusso, who moved to Naples but still maintained some teaching duties at the University of Cagliari, refer to Intonti (2001).

my greetings to all my friends, from the Magnificus to the Royal Superintendent and to several colleagues, at least those who are still there". The fondness of Pincherle for his colleagues in Cagliari and for the city never changed with time. After the war, he was officially recalled in his duties in 1945 with effective date from 1 January 1944 and a backdated appointment to *professore ordinario* from the initial date of 29 October 1940. Alberto Pincherle was appointed to "partake specific studies on the subject, specifically on 'Moral Theology of the Counter-reformation in relation to the culture of that period'" and was excused from teaching *Storia delle religioni*, a course that was given to Professor Bachisio Raimondo Motzo<sup>43</sup>. This exemption was prolonged in 1947-48 due to the task of reorganising the drafting of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. On 1 November 1948, the professor was transferred to the University of Rome, where he would stay until his retirement in 1969, with a professorship in *Storia del cristianesimo*, a position for which he then obtained the title of emeritus professor. Between 1954 and 1959 he had also directed the Italian Cultural Institute in Brussels. The letters with Cagliari dating from the end of the 1940s demonstrate how much Pincherle loved the city and how much his colleagues appreciated him. On 15 January 1947, Pincherle wrote to the secretary of the University, Pietro Leo: "Please forward my greetings and my best wishes to the *rettore*, Professor Puxeddu, and to my other friends and colleagues, if they still remember me as I still remember them and Cagliari, where I would already be back if I could simply let my feelings guide me, so much I enjoyed my stay there". While in November 1948 *rettore* D'Angelo, wrote: "By losing Your Excellency, the University of Cagliari lost one of its most valuable professors and we would like to thank you for your work here". On the occasion of the official ceremony of apologies that took place in November 2018, the *rettore* of Cagliari invited Alberto Pincherle's children to share a memory of their father.

Camillo Viterbo, from Trieste as was Doro Levi, was born in 1900<sup>44</sup>. After fighting in the Great War and having been a volunteer for the occupation of Fiume, he obtained a Degree in *Giurisprudenza* in Padua in 1922. His studies and his published work were soon added to the scientific debate about insurance law, which was in the process of being recognised as a subject of study. He was an eclectic student – he also took interest in criminal law and civil law – until he settled on economic law. After having been *assistente* in *Diritto commerciale* (1932-1935) and *incaricato* of *Diritto industriale* (1935-1936) at the University of Milan, in December 1936 he arrived in Cagliari as *professore straordinario* of *Diritto commerciale* and he swore his oath the following January. He was also appointed to teach *Storia e politica coloniale* for the first year of service, and *Diritto industriale* for the second year.

During the spring of 1938, Viterbo donated to the university a prize of 1.000 lire to be awarded to the best degree thesis in *Giurisprudenza*, but, in order not to favour his own students, he asked for the dissertations on *Diritto commerciale* to be excluded<sup>45</sup>. Shortly after receiving the thanks from the *rettore* for this generous initiative, he received the request to fill in the personal form. On 5 September, Brotzu urged him to return the form filled in<sup>46</sup>. On 23 September, the *rettore* asked the *preside* of the Faculty of *Giurisprudenza* to appoint another professor to teach *Diritto industriale*, despite having only recently appointed Viterbo<sup>47</sup>. The filled in form was received at the beginning of October but Viterbo's affiliation to the Jewish community was already known<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Alberto Pincherle, 1946 ottobre 22. Motzo had already obtained the replacement role "for the past years", probably from 1943, while Giusso had that role in 1942-43. This detail is not currently verifiable.

<sup>44</sup> For Camillo Viterbo refer to Contu (2009); Marrocu (2003); Tognotti (2000).

<sup>45</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 288, n. 2998, *Premio di lire 1000 del Prof. Camillo Viterbo per la migliore tesi di laurea (Facoltà di Giurisprudenza)*.

<sup>46</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio 1901-1946*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 299, n. 3089, c. 56.

<sup>47</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio 1901-1946*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 299, n. 3089, c. 2.

<sup>48</sup> ACS. Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione generale istruzione superiore, Miscellanea di divisioni diverse (I-II-III), Congressi, incarichi, fascicoli personali 1929-1945, b. 109, *Professori di ruolo: ebrei per parte di entrambi i genitori*.



After being notified that he had been excused from his work, Viterbo sent a petition to the minister including some attachments in order to demonstrate his own merit, his irredentism, that of his parents, and his love for the Homeland. As a war volunteer and as a volunteer in Fiume (*legionario fiumano*), he thought he could obtain non-applicability<sup>49</sup>. On that same day, he wrote to his colleague in Cagliari who was helping him, Professor Groppali, to tell him the news about the commitment of the minister and of other *rettori* in protecting the position of some of the Jewish professors. On 7 November, Brotzu wrote to the minister supporting Viterbo's requests and, referring to similar suggestions from other universities, he recommended him as a secretary at the university or as a librarian of the *Istituto giuridico*<sup>50</sup>. There were several attempts to keep him in Cagliari and, on 9 November, Camillo Viterbo thanked Brotzu and other colleagues for their support. In December of that year, though, he received a private letter from Brotzu informing him of the official suspension. Viterbo's reply is eloquent: "Magnificus Rettore, these lines want to express all my gratitude for the personal letter that preceded the official notice and for the tone of the letter itself. I will never forget those who, during this difficult time in my life, showed me some kindness"<sup>51</sup>. He was relieved on 14 December 1938 and his role in teaching *Diritto commerciale* was passed to Gino De Gennaro, while Mario Toscano took over for *Politica coloniale*<sup>52</sup>. Viterbo was reinstated and appointed *professore ordinario* after the end of the war starting retroactively on 1 January 1944.

Meanwhile, together with other exiled professors, he had moved to Brazil and then Argentina, where he worked in all major academies. In 1945, at the end of the war, he was working in Cordoba at the *Universidad Nacional*. In January 1947, while still away, he was appointed to the *Colegio libre de Estudios Superiores* in Buenos Aires but, following his request, he obtained a transfer to the University of Modena. He felt the need to apologise to *rettore* Puxeddu mentioning financial reasons to justify his petition to be transferred from Cagliari where he had not been back yet<sup>53</sup>. Despite this, he did not resume his academic activities in Italy; he fell ill and died in Buenos Aires in October 1948.

Brotzu, in his first correspondence with the Prefect about Jewish professors, affirmed he suspected Jewish ancestry for Professor Carlo Maiorca on his mother's side. Maiorca, a *professore straordinario* of *Istituzioni di diritto privato* at the University of Cagliari, resided in Rome during the census. He did prove to be not Jewish and, having already applied to be transferred, on 23 November 1938, he was called to the University of Siena to replace Professor Guido Tedeschi, who had been suspended because he was Jewish, and started on 1 January<sup>54</sup>. Maiorca, a pupil of Gino Segrè, dedicated an obituary to him in 1942 in the *Rivista di diritto privato*, despite the regime forbidding any remembrance for Jewish professors expelled from the academies<sup>55</sup>.

From the personal forms, Professor Riccardo Orestano (1909-1988), from Palermo, *straordinario* of *Istituzioni di diritto romano*, was married to a Jewish woman, Rosanna Morpurgo<sup>56</sup>. Orestano had won the competitive examination for the role in Cagliari in 1937 but in 1939 he had already moved to Siena, where he had been called in 1938 to replace Ugo Brasiello. He was the *preside* of the Faculty of *Giurisprudenza* in Siena and took part in the Second World War as an infantry lieutenant. He became a liaison officer with the South and, on 8 September, he was arrested and deported to Germany, where he was imprisoned in Wietendorf concentration camp until the end of the war. After the Liberation, he went back to university teaching and moved to the University of Rome for the rest of his career.

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<sup>49</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Camillo Viterbo, 1938 ottobre 31.

<sup>50</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Camillo Viterbo, 1938 novembre 7.

<sup>51</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Camillo Viterbo, 1938 dicembre 25.

<sup>52</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio 1901-1946*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 299, n. 3094, c. 1.

<sup>53</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Camillo Viterbo, 1947 aprile 23.

<sup>54</sup> ASUCa. Fascicolo personale di Carlo Maiorca.

<sup>55</sup> Acerbi (2011), pp. 182-183.

<sup>56</sup> Roma, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Questura di Roma - Ebrei (1938-1945), b. 20, fasc. 7, Morpurgo Rosanna di Elio (1943-1944); refer to Montanini (2014).

Another instance regards a professor from Sassari, Luigi Falchi, who had been a *libero docente* of *Letteratura italiana* since 1929 and, thanks to this title, taught several courses in Cagliari. A literary critic, he was known for his connection to Grazia Deledda, with Lussu and the Sardinian nationalist movement, and especially for his own work as a freelance journalist and editor. He was born in 1873. From 1935 onwards, he had three texts published, *Gli ebrei nella storia e nella poesia popolare dei sardi*, *La dominazione ebraica in Sardegna* and *Il popolo sardo* (The Jews in the history and popular poetry of Sardinia, Jewish domination in Sardinia, and The Sardinian people), in which he expressed an openly pro-Jewish position that led him to formulate a stretched theory about the Semitism of the Sardinian people (a concept that Emilio Lussu treated ironically in an article dating from 12 October 1938 – on this subject we refer to Marianna Piras's studies). Due to these publications, after the proclamation of the racial laws, Falchi was relocated from Sardinia to Perugia. He was able to return to Sassari in 1940 but he passed away soon after arriving<sup>57</sup>.

### 2.3. Reinstatements and purges

The war years had profoundly marked both the city and the University of Cagliari. The bombing, which intensified after 1943, killed dozens of people and destroyed most of the city's buildings. Professors, staff, books, and documents from the University of Cagliari had been relocated inland. The Faculties of *Lettere e Filosofia* and *Magistero*, for instance, had been moved to Oristano, where they tried to continue with lessons and exams. *Rettore* Brotzu had stayed in the city and welcomed with contained joy all the professors whom, despite the obvious difficulties, carried on with their duties and tried to stay as long as possible in Cagliari or to return to the city<sup>58</sup>. The government of Sardinia had been assigned to a High Commissioner with full powers, supported by a council formed by the representatives of the parties that were members of the National Liberation Committee, and contact with the rest of the kingdom was almost non-existent.

Giuseppe Brotzu concluded his mandate as *rettore* in the academic year 1944-1945. From the yearbooks and from his teaching files, there are no records of him ceasing his university activities. In the corresponding literature, nonetheless, it is often mentioned, as it is in the biographical dictionary *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (1988), that Brotzu "had been temporary suspended from teaching in 1945 for having cooperated – as the *rettore* of the university – with the fascist regime even after 8 September 1943", but "he had been fully reinstated after this suspension had been withdrawn". Mattia Flamigni's recent study, which analysed, among others, the series *Professori ordinari epurati* of the ACS<sup>59</sup> and the folder regarding education in Sardinia of the *Allied Control Commission*<sup>60</sup>, has not returned this result about Giuseppe Brotzu<sup>61</sup>.

The opening speech for the year 1945-1946, pronounced by the new *rettore*, Ernesto Puxeddu, despite the hope derived from the recently reconquered freedom ("A sick State cannot provide a healthy school"), painted a sad picture: Most of the buildings had been destroyed by the bombing, the construction sites for the new buildings had been abandoned at the beginning of the war, millions of lire were needed to face the educational needs of a university that, surprisingly, had at that point and for the first time, thousands of students enrolled. There were, nonetheless, the "premises for a return to normality": Laboratories and hospitals had been "restored according to the available means" and most of the professors had returned<sup>62</sup>. Puxeddu also took the chance to honour Professor Francesco Putzu, who was abandoning teaching due to health reasons, and to announce the preparation of a book as a tribute to him<sup>63</sup>. On the same occasion, after the customary farewell dedicated to Professor Alberto Serra, who was retiring, and the remembrance of Professors Castaldi and Vignocchi who had

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<sup>57</sup> <https://www.filologiasarda.eu/catalogo/autori/autore.php?sez=36&id=603>.

<sup>58</sup> Bullita (2005).

<sup>59</sup> ACS. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione generale istruzione superiore. Divis. I, Professori ordinari epurati (1944-1946); refer to Flamigni (2019).

<sup>60</sup> College Park (Maryland, USA), National Archives and Records Administration. 10600 Region VI, Sardinia, *Education*. Copy available for consultation on the ACS website: [http://90.147.68.248/ACC\\_user/index.html](http://90.147.68.248/ACC_user/index.html).

<sup>61</sup> Flamigni (2019).

<sup>62</sup> Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari. *Annuario per l'anno scolastico 1945-1946*, p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> Ivi, p. 12.

passed away, the *rettore* pronounced an emotional tribute to the students who had fallen during the war: Renzo Cherchi, Antonino Cadeddu, Gianfranco Desogus, Alfredo Gallistru, and Quintino Pitzalis<sup>64</sup>.

In 1947-1948, Alberto Serra and Francesco Putzu (and with them Ernesto Puxeddu, who had been retired) returned to the University as *professori fuori ruolo*, under the Legislative Decree of the temporary Head of State from 26 October 1947, no. 1251, "with all academic privileges" until their seventy-fifth year of age<sup>65</sup>. But Francesco Putzu's situation is more complex. Born in Tiana (near Nuoro) in 1875, Putzu dedicated himself immediately to university teaching, first in Sassari and then, from 1934, as a *professore straordinario* of *Clinica chirurgica generale e terapia chirurgica* at the University of Cagliari. A *professore ordinario* since 1937, he was a medical consul of the *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale* and received the *sciarpa littorio*, a distinction awarded to those who had participated in the March on Rome. In 1944, the *Commissione unica per l'epurazione* suspended him from teaching duties and sent him to the ministerial *Commissione per l'epurazione del personale universitario*, but Brotzu asked them to reinstate his colleague pending trial, declaring that the professor had never undertaken fascist activities. The Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia* in Cagliari had then voted for his reinstatement. The Ministerial Committee found him guilty "without factionalism or misconduct" and issued an official reprimand. According to Mattia Flamigni's research, "there are not any other records about this event but we can speculate with certitude that, after the proclamation of the new laws, the reprimand was not imposed"<sup>66</sup>. Under Legislative Decree 1251/1947, he retired in 1950 when he was 75 years old. His personal dossier within the Historical Archive at the University of Cagliari, at the moment, has been misplaced and it has not been possible to verify the details here mentioned<sup>67</sup>.

### 3. University of Sassari

#### 3.1. The racist policy

The impact of the racial laws in Sassari, apparently, was not significant. Or, at least, not as evident as in other Italian cities. The Police Commissioner in Sassari, in October 1939, wrote that "the Jewish element" was practically non-existent, which was the reason why public opinion did not pay too much attention to the racist policy (according to the census, there were only 11 Jews in the whole province of Sassari)<sup>68</sup>.

It was in the field of education that, due to ministerial circulars no. 12.336 of 9 August, no. 12.495 of 18 August (prohibition of appointment of Jewish teachers for full or temporary mandates and enrolment of Jewish students), and no. 12.380 of 12 August 1938 (removal of all school books by Jewish authors), the racial laws produced some effects, especially as reported by Marcella Garroni in her doctoral thesis in which she talks about the revision of teaching programmes that included books by Jewish authors. An illustrative case was that of Vittoria Zaira Coen Righi, from Mantua, who had been working in Sassari for about twenty years, first at the female only secondary school Regia Scuola Normale Femminile, then at the technical secondary school Lamarmora, and then, from 1935, at the classical secondary school Liceo Ginnasio Azuni where she was teaching Natural Sciences and Chemistry. She was married to a medical doctor from Sassari, Italo Giuseppe Righi, and she was

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<sup>64</sup> Ivi, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Ivi, pp. 7-8.

<sup>66</sup> Flamigni (2017), p. 410; Flamigni (2019), *ad vocem*.

<sup>67</sup> ACS. Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione generale istruzione superiore. Divis. I, Professori ordinari epurati (1944-1946), b. 28, fasc. Putzu Francesco; ACS. Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione generale istruzione superiore. Divis. I, Fascicoli personali professori ordinari (1940-1970), b. 389, fasc. Putzu Francesco; refer to Flamigni (2019).

<sup>68</sup> ACS. Ministero dell'Interno, P.S., Aa. Gg. Rr. (1920-1945), *relazione del questore di Sassari per gli anni 1938-1940* (b. 56); refer to Brigaglia (2002).

enrolled in the PNF. Due to the racial laws, she was exonerated from teaching, left the city, and joined her sister in Florence. They both fell victim to the Nazis in 1944<sup>69</sup>.

The University of Sassari had several Jewish students, both Italian and foreigners, who had arrived to study medicine. Some of them left the city in 1939, as was the case of Fernando Segre, son of Abramo, originally from Siena, who was enrolled for the fourth year in 1937-1938 and abandoned his studies in 1938<sup>70</sup>.

As had happened in Cagliari, the University of Sassari aligned itself with the other universities that has been celebrated by the Grand Council of Fascism: starting from the academic year 1937-38, as a matter of fact, as part of the course on *Istologia ed Embriologia generale*, taught in Sassari, a teaching on *Biologia e genetica delle razze* was added; a course on *Biologia delle razze umane* started in 1938-39<sup>71</sup> and it was assigned first to Eugenio Maurizio, director of the *Clinica di Ostetricia e ginecologia*, and then, for 1940-41, to Ettore Debiassi<sup>72</sup>. There are no records, though, about any degree theses on the subject. The *preside* of the Faculty of *Veterinaria*, Dino Monari, had published in the magazine *Gerarchia* an article titled 'Il miglioramento della razza e il fascismo'<sup>73</sup>.

Professor Carlo Gastaldi, *rettore* of the University of Sassari since 1935, as was to be expected, was zealous in complying with all the directives of the ministry. Once he had requested everyone to fill in the personal forms and had received the replies, he enquired what measures were to be adopted regarding the professors who would prove to be of Jewish race. At the same time, though, he had to intervene with a telegram to the minister in order to deny the rumours about Professors Antonio Segni and Sergio Costa belonging to the Jewish race and practicing the Jewish religion<sup>74</sup>.

After reorganising the *Carteggio* (Correspondence) of the University of Cagliari, two draft letters by Brotzu, *rettore* of Cagliari, to the *rettore* of Sassari emerged<sup>75</sup>. At the moment, the replies by *rettore* Gastaldi have not been located as they were missing from the dossier. By reading the two drafts, though, it is possible to speculate on what the reply by Carlo Gastaldi to the first letter by the *rettore* of Cagliari might have been.

Giuseppe Brotzu, at an unknown date – probably between the end of August and the beginning of September 1938 – wrote to *rettore* Gastaldi: "I would be glad if you could share your opinion about a matter that interests both universities. Most likely, the instructions about the Jewish professors will cause many relocations of *professori di ruolo* [i.e. *ordinari* and *straordinari*] and the teaching in our universities will be affected. Would it not be opportune to inform his Excellency the Minister about this and, potentially, request that, for instance, if too many *posti di ruolo* [i.e. *ordinari* and *straordinari* roles and positions] were uncovered, the relocations were suspended and the professors stayed comfortably in our locations until after having published and completed the competitive examinations for the vacant positions? We could potentially act together". The doubts of the *rettore* of Cagliari seem to focus merely on the teaching issue, that is the risk of not being able to offer the courses.

The following draft, dated 17 September 1938, allows us to guess the reply from *rettore* Gastaldi: "I am very glad to see that you agree: together, we could, maybe, obtain something more. It is obviously appropriate to wait to know the measures. I think we could profitably talk about it in Rome on the 7th. Do you agree?"

The result of this suggestion by Brotzu is unknown. What is known, as Eugenia Tognotti has already observed, is that when the time came to inform the *professore straordinario* Michelangelo

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<sup>69</sup> Sassari, Archivio del Liceo Ginnasio D.A. Azuni. *Fascicoli personale insegnante*, Fascicolo personale della professoressa Vittoria Zaira Coen Righi; refer to Garroni (2010).

<sup>70</sup> Brigaglia (2002) pp. 132-133 e n. 12.

<sup>71</sup> Tognotti (2000), p. 192.

<sup>72</sup> Obinu (2010), p. 349.

<sup>73</sup> Capristo (2011), pp. 245-246; D. Monari. *Il miglioramento della razza e il Fascismo*, «Gerarchia», 10 (1922), pp. 592-596.

<sup>74</sup> Sassari, Archivio generale dell'Università (AGUS). 1939, Pos. 2°, 1938-1939, telegram from the *rettore* to the minister, 13 September 1938; refer to Fois (2010).

<sup>75</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio 1901-1946*, s. 1.38 (1937), b. 286, n. 2976, *Trasferimenti di Professori*.

Ottolenghi about his suspension from duties, *rettore* Gastaldi omitted the "customary courtesy expressions"<sup>76</sup> and, on the occasion of his opening speech for the academic year 1938-1939, he briefly mentioned that Ottolenghi had interrupted his work at the Faculty of *Veterinaria* because he was Jewish, without adding anything else, neither as a farewell or as gratitude for the brief experience in his university; in the same way, nothing had been said by *rettore* Brotzu in Cagliari<sup>77</sup>.

The subject of the behaviour of the Italian *rettori* has been widely debated elsewhere by researchers; as an example, we can quote the essay by Giulio Cianferotti (published in the magazine *Le Carte e la Storia* 2, 2004). By examining the opening speeches pronounced for the beginning of the academic year by the *rettori* immediately after implementing the racial policies, Cianferotti has highlighted how "the acknowledgement words publicly pronounced [by the] *rettori* were the only expressions of respect and sensitivity towards the Jewish colleagues expelled from the Universities"<sup>78</sup>. Carlo Gastaldi and Giuseppe Brotzu were not among those who publicly declared their antisemitism, but they were among those who kept almost completely quiet, maybe only expressing in private their appreciation for the suspended colleagues – as we have seen in the case of the *rettore* of Cagliari.

Maybe, choosing to remain silent was exactly the attitude the regime preferred: In 1939, a *rettore* that has not been named had asked the Ministry if he had to indicate, in the yearbook, "details about the professors who belonged to the Jewish race and already retired". On 4 July, bluntly, the minister informed the *rettori* that Jewish emeriti professors and *professori onorari* should not be included in the list of names and that, in the case of Jewish professors passing away, no obituary should be published<sup>79</sup>.

### 3.2. Suspensions

Staff	Jews from their father's side			Suspended
128		Members of the Israelite community and professing the Jewish religion	Pertaining to Catholic religion	1
	1 <i>professore straordinario</i>	Michelangelo Ottolenghi		
	1 <i>professore incaricato</i>		Emilio Morpurgo	
	1 <i>assistente incaricato</i>		Franco Ottolenghi	

**Table 2: Census of Jewish professors at the University of Sassari, 1938**

The census of the University of Sassari reported, among 128 members of staff, 3 Jews "on their father's side": one "member of the Israelitic community and professing the Jewish religion" and two "Catholic"<sup>80</sup>: Michelangelo Ottolenghi, and Emilio Morpurgo and Franco Ottolenghi respectively. To them the case of a personal form wrongly filled in was added, a mistake made by Luigi Pinelli.

Michelangelo Ottolenghi was a *professore straordinario* of *Anatomia degli animali domestici, istologia ed embriologia*. He was born in Turin in 1904, where he also studied. He had taught in Messina and then he entered service at the Faculty of *Veterinaria* in Sassari for the academic year 1937-1938, only three years after its official opening. As the director of the *Istituto di Anatomia degli*

<sup>76</sup> Sassari, Archivio dell'Ufficio Personale docente dell'Università (APUS). *Cartelle personali*, n. 355, Ottolenghi Michelangelo; refer to Tognotti (2000).

<sup>77</sup> Università degli Studi di Sassari. *Annuario per l'anno accademico 1938-1939*; refer to Tognotti (2000), p. 191.

<sup>78</sup> Cianferotti (2004).

<sup>79</sup> ASUCa. Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Sezione II, *Carteggio parte 2*, s. 1.39 (1938), b. 295, n. 3048, *Disposizioni di massima. Disposizioni di massima*, 1939 luglio 4. *Il ministro Bottai ai rettori. Oggetto: annuario dell'università – professori di razza ebraica. Riservata*.

<sup>80</sup> AGUS. 1939, Pos. 2a, 1938-1939, *Disposizioni per la razza ebraica*; refer to Fois (2010); Tognotti (2000).

*animali domestici*, he was one of the four *professori di ruolo* of the faculty in Sassari, which he represented at the permanent council for the *Biblioteca Universitaria*.

Ottolenghi was a member of the Israelitic community and professed the Jewish religion, as did his wife, Edma Lea Livia Levi (Turin 1908-Ottawa 1994). He had been suspended with effect from 16 October 1938. After the expulsion, he was replaced in his duties by *libero docente* Emilio Morpurgo, who had already held that position before Ottolenghi's arrival.

In 1939, together with other Italian Jews, he sought refuge in Ecuador, where he worked as a veterinarian – one of few in the nation – and put aside teaching. He was reinstated under Legislative Decree 29 January 1944, no. 25 and was officially authorized to stay abroad until August 1949, moving from Ecuador to Colombia; he went to Peru for some research and then arrived in the United States. He then moved with his wife and some of their children to Quebec, where he passed away in 1967 in Montreal<sup>81</sup>.

Emilio Morpurgo, from Trieste, graduated in *Veterinaria* in Bologna in 1919<sup>82</sup>; from 1934-1935 he was *incaricato* of *Istologia, embriologia generale e anatomia descrittiva degli animali domestici* at the Faculty of *Veterinaria* in Sassari, and he had also been named Director of the *Istituto di Anatomia degli animali domestici*<sup>83</sup>. He was replaced by *professore straordinario* Ottolenghi; for the academic year 1938-1939 he was *professore incaricato* of *Anatomia topografica e chirurgia operativa*.

*Rettore* Gastaldi, on 19 September 1938, informed the minister of the results of the census: Professor Morpurgo, despite professing the Catholic religion, was Jewish on his father's side. He asked for his situation to be assessed and awaited instructions<sup>84</sup>. The result of the checks demonstrated that his father had already converted to Catholicism as early as 1870. Emilio Morpurgo was not expelled and, ironically, he obtained and kept the appointments that, from 1937-1938, had been assigned to *professore straordinario* Ottolenghi. He passed away in Trieste in 1959, and his obituary mentioned his brilliant career in Sassari<sup>85</sup>.

In 1938, Franco Ottolenghi was the *assistente incaricato* of *Clinica dermosifilopatica*. He was born in Milan in 1908 and there he graduated in *Medicina e Chirurgia*; he had just moved to Sassari after working for several years at the hospital in Novara. He was appointed under the supervision of Professor Giuseppe Sannicandro.

For Franco Ottolenghi as well, a Catholic but from a Jewish father, the *rettore* requested instructions from the minister in 1938<sup>86</sup>. It was highlighted that his paternal grandfather had already converted to Catholicism and the *assistente incaricato* was not removed. He continued his career in Sassari for several years obtaining a *libera docenza*. His young wife, Magda Szlezzynger, who in 1938 had graduated in *Medicina e Chirurgia* – one of the first ones in Sardinia - was Jewish. She had been counted in the census and was monitored weekly by the Carabinieri, while her family, still in Poland, did not escape deportation<sup>87</sup>.

In 1943, Franco followed Enea Giuseppe Scolari, his mentor, who meanwhile had become the director of the *Clinica dermosifilopatica* in Catania. He had to replace him for a while as director of the institute in Catania and then followed him to Palermo and then Florence, until he established himself as a dermatologist. He opened a *Scuola di specializzazione* at the *Clinica dermosifilopatica* in Siena and directed it until he retired. He passed away in Milan in 2000<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> The interview with his son Abramo for the Jewish community in Columbus (Ohio) talks about the *peregrinatio* of the family: [http://columbusjewishhistory.org/oral\\_histories/abramo-ottolenghi](http://columbusjewishhistory.org/oral_histories/abramo-ottolenghi). Refer to Contu (2009) p. 216 e n. 28, who collected the testimony of Luisella Mortara Ottolenghi, granddaughter of Michelangelo.

<sup>82</sup> <https://archivistorico.unibo.it/it/patrimonio-documentario/fascicolo-studenti/?record=52278>.

<sup>83</sup> *Annuario del Ministero dell' Educazione nazionale*, 1935, p. 288.

<sup>84</sup> AGUS. 1939, Pos. 2a, 1938-1939, *Disposizioni per la razza ebraica*; refer to Fois (2010); Tognotti (2000).

<sup>85</sup> *Nuova Veterinaria* 35 (1959): 24.

<sup>86</sup> AGUS. 1939, Pos. 2a, 1938-1939, *Disposizioni per la razza ebraica*; refer to Fois (2010); Tognotti (2000).

<sup>87</sup> A testimony about Magda and her parents has recently been provided by her daughter Ines: <https://www.mosaico-cem.it/cultura-e-societa/personaggi-e-storie/tanti-saluti-da-varsavia-le-cartoline-di-mamma-tirza>.

<sup>88</sup> Franco Ottolenghi (1908-2000). In: C. Gelmetti, editor (2015). *Storia della Dermatologia e della Venereologia in Italia*. Milano: Springer-Verlag, pp. 135-136.

Singular and more well-known thanks to the studies by Giuseppina Fois is the case of Luigi Pinelli, who was born in Sassari in 1899. Pinelli was an *aiuto* of *Clinica medica* and a *libero docente* waiting to be confirmed. In September 1938, he made a mistake when filling in the personal form: He did not read the note instructing to delete if not applicable and marked all boxes with a no, declaring himself “Jewish on his father's side”, “member of the Israelitic community”, “professing the Jewish religion”, “Jewish on the mother's side”, and “married to a Jewish woman”.

In the notice sent by *rettore* Gastaldi to the minister on 19 September, Pinelli was not mentioned at all and therefore, shortly after, on 24 October, the Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia* requested unanimously for him to be confirmed as *libero docente*. On 7 November, the Ministry of National Education rejected the definitive confirmation "of Doctor Luigi Pinelli because he belonged to the Jewish race". On 10 December, the Ministry asked for Pinelli's removal and excused him with effect from the 14th of that same month. *Rettore* Gastaldi asked him to fill in another form and he sent it to the minister proving that "Professor Luigi Pinelli did not [have] any connections with the Jewish race" adding several attachments: baptism and marriage certificate; baptism certificates of his parents and of his maternal grandmother, death certificate of his maternal grandfather, marriage certificate of his paternal grandparents.

The confirmation did not arrive: Pinelli was not enrolled in the PNF and, therefore, was being monitored. In March 1939, the Prefecture in Sassari informed the minister that, when he was a student, the professor had belonged to the Sardinian Action Party and that, in 1927, he had been conditionally sentenced to three months in jail because he omitted to declare a weapon. Despite that, Luigi Pinelli was now observing a "regular behaviour". The minister did not think that those details were sufficient and asked for new and more recent pieces of information, but the Prefect did not reply<sup>89</sup>. His non-enrolment to the PNF was considered sufficient to deny his confirmation as *libero docente*, a confirmation that he only received in 1944 but that he would carry out for only a short period as Pinelli tendered his voluntary resignation in March 1945.

Two more professors had been removed due to their political views: Gleb Wataghin and Vittorio Saba.

Gleb Wataghin, a Russian naturalised Italian, was born in Birzula in 1899 and was *professore ordinario* of *Fisica sperimentale*. Since 1939 he had been made available by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to teach at the University of São Paulo in Brazil. When he was invited to return to Italy, he refused and was compulsorily retired with effect from 22 August 1942. On 30 December 1944, by Ministerial Decree, he was reinstated as *professore ordinario* at the University of Sassari, "having considered that the measure that caused his compulsory retirement had been implemented purely for political reasons"<sup>90</sup>, but in 1949 he moved to the University of Turin and in that same city he passed away in 1986.

Vittorio Saba was born in Ossi in 1897 and in 1938 he was *assistente* at the *Clinica oculistica*, where he had been working for 15 years, starting as a *assistente volontario*, then *assistente incaricato*, and then, since 1928, as *assistente di ruolo*. Vittorio came from a well-known family of anti-fascist republicans. His brother Michele, a correspondent for Sardinia for the newspaper *Giornale d'Italia*, had been arrested in 1939 along with their other brother Stefano. Vittorio Saba had sworn the compulsory university oath only in 1934 and had never enrolled to the PNF. He was removed because

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<sup>89</sup> ACS. Pubblica Istruzione, div. I, Libere Docenze, Pinelli Luigi; ivi, *Miscellanea di divisioni diverse (I-II-III), Congressi, incarichi, fascicoli personali 1929-1945*, b. 109, pos. 23 B; refer to Fois (2001).

<sup>90</sup> The career of Gleb Wataghin among others was reconstituted on the occasion of the session of 13 May 1954 of the Senate of the Republic, 6th Commission (Public Education and Arts), dedicated to debating the government bill proposed by member of parliament Aldo Moro: "Proroga fino al 75° anno dei limiti di età per i professori universitari perseguitati per motivi politici e decorrenza dal 73° anno del quinquennio della posizione di fuori ruolo per i professori universitari perseguitati per ragioni razziali e politiche" (Postponement of the age limit for university professors until the 75th year of age for those persecuted for political reasons and effective date of the 73rd year for the five years for *fuori ruolo* position for those professors who had been persecuted for racial and political reasons): <http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/DF/260596.pdf>.

he was a republican<sup>91</sup>: The director of the Institute, Alfredo Santonastaso, did not renew his position for 1938-39<sup>92</sup> and Saba was reinstated only in 1944.

To them we can add the non-confirmation of Michele Orrù from Sassari, *libero docente* of *Clinica ostetrica e ginecologica* who, in 1932, followed his mentor and former *rettore* of Sassari Carlo Vercesi (1887-1954) to the University of Palermo and, since 1935, had already been persecuted for his anti-fascist ideas<sup>93</sup>.

### 3.3. Reinstatements and purges

During the war years, the University of Sassari – which back then had just over 500 students enrolled – had not suspended its activity at all and, as mentioned by Manlio Brigaglia, had welcomed students and professors from other universities. Among those professors were Pasquale Marginesu, professor of *Microbiologia* in Parma, and Luigi Piras, hygienist at the University of Genoa, stranded in Sardinia because of the war. After the downfall of fascism, Gastaldi was removed and the office of the *rettore* went into receivership. The role was entrusted to Antonio Segni, professor of *Diritto commerciale*, on 9 October 1943, and he fulfilled it until 10 April 1945, when he was appointed *rettore*.

On 9 March 1944, the Ministry asked Professor Segni to invite Luigi Pinelli and Vittorio Saba to present their papers in order to be reinstated under Royal Legislative Decree (R.D.L. for its acronym in Italian) 6 January 1944, no. 9, and they were both reinstated as *aiuti* at the Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia*, while on 10 June of that same year, under R.D.L. 29-B/1943, the *professore ordinario* of *Clinica oculistica* Giovanni Battista Bietti was expelled. Moreover, on the occasion of the opening session of the academic year 1946-47, in Sassari, two students who had fallen in the Liberation War were awarded honorary degrees – Pietro Borrotzu, first year of *Giurisprudenza*, a partisan captain killed by firing squad in Chiusola (La Spezia province), and Giovanni Lobina, in his fourth year of *Giurisprudenza*, who died in a German concentration camp<sup>94</sup>.

As for Professor Bietti, who was born in Padua in 1907 and had graduated in Bologna in 1930<sup>95</sup>, in 1939 he had taken part in the competitive examination at the University of Sassari, where he was appointed *professore straordinario* in 1940, and *ordinario* in 1942, when he was also named *preside* of the Faculty of *Medicina e Chirurgia*<sup>96</sup>. He was recalled for duty as a medical major in the Italian Air Force, on 8 September 1943 he stayed in the territory of the Italian Social Republic (RSI for its acronym in Italian). He joined the University of Rome and for this reason he was accused by the Omodeo Commission of collaborating with the enemy. The Ministerial Committee, instead, charged him with actively taking part of the Fascist political life because of his role as federal deputy secretary of the PNF in Sassari.

As Mattia Flamigni has already mentioned, Bietti was soon reinstated also thanks to Antonio Segni's intervention declaring him an anti-fascist and suggesting that he had been automatically appointed as federal deputy secretary<sup>97</sup>. He was called to the University of Pavia in 1946 but, in that same year, the *Commissione provinciale per le sanzioni contro il fascismo* deprived him of his electoral rights for five years. In 1950 he was called to Parma and, after five years, to Rome, where he worked as a director of the university *Clinica oculistica*, that he upgraded later with the Bioengineering Laboratory and the Department for Ocular Physio-Pharmacology. He died in Cairo, where he was attending a conference, in 1977.

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<sup>91</sup> Casellario Politico Centrale, b. 4506, fasc. 094939 (1931-1942): <http://dati.acs.beniculturali.it/oad/uodCPC/S00009>.

<sup>92</sup> APUS. *Cartelle personali*, n. 226, Saba Vittorio; refer to Tognotti (2000).

<sup>93</sup> APUS. *Cartelle personali*, n. 265, Orrù Michele; refer to Tognotti (2000).

<sup>94</sup> Brigaglia (2010) p. 135 referring to Sechi (1986) p. 181.

<sup>95</sup> <https://archivistorico.unibo.it/it/patrimonio-documentario/fascicolo-studenti/?record=44217>.

<sup>96</sup> AGUS. Fascicoli del personale, U.P. 55; refer to Flamigni (2017), p. 275 and Flamigni (2019), *ad vocem*.

<sup>97</sup> ACS. Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione generale istruzione superiore, Professori ordinari epurati (1944-46), b. 4, fasc. Bietti Gian Battista, lettera di deduzioni di G.B. Bietti, s.d.; ivi, sentenza della Commissione Ministeriale di epurazione, 1945 febbraio 23; refer to Flamigni (2017).



## 4. Documents

### 4.1. Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari

The Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari retains the documents deposited after the ‘reconstitution’ enacted in 1764 by Charles Emmanuel III of Savoy, King of Sardinia.

The oldest documents have undergone a preliminary process of restoration, conditioning, and partial description during the 2000s. After the changes in the scientific management of the Archive, new interventions have been undertaken since 2015: The documents dating up to 1900 – integrated by new findings – have been completely reorganised according to the functions and the rules of the body that produced them, and the related analytical inventories are currently being published.

Both the work of restoration of the documents that came from the storage facilities and the filing of the documents dated after 1900 are currently in progress<sup>98</sup>. The correspondence up to 1946 has been reorganised; the incomplete series of enrolment forms for the courses and the exams, and the related lists of admissions, of lessons logs, of general journals, and of ledgers have been inventoried. The series of degree dissertations is currently being reorganised and it will be added to a database<sup>99</sup>, while the staff dossiers that have been found in storage are in the first phase of the inventory process: They were previously organised in alphabetical order but they have then been interfered with and many folders are out of place. There has not been any intervention with the minutes of the *Senato Accademico* (Academic Senate), of the *Consiglio d'Amministrazione* (Governing Board), or of the faculty documents, which are scattered in several storage facilities and, in some cases, are still stored in the different faculties.

Regarding the reorganisation of the correspondence up to 1946, some dossiers about the application of the racial laws in the universities have been found. For the dossier *Difesa della razza nella scuola fascista. Divieto di ammissione di personale appartenente alla razza ebraica* (Defense of the race in the Fascist school. Prohibition of admitting staff belonging to the Jewish race) a documentary exhibition has been dedicated, which opened on 29 November 2018 during the public apology ceremony of the university to the families of the Jewish professors removed from the University of Cagliari in October and December 1938. After the first examination of the staff dossiers, those of Doro Levi, Alberto Pincherle, and Camillo Viterbo have been located immediately. As we have already mentioned, it is a series that has not been reorganised yet and therefore is not accessible. During our work, the dossiers have been examined by way of exemption with permission granted by Cecilia Tasca, who is in charge of the Archive. The dossier about Francesco Putzu, purged fascist professor, on the other hand, has not been located yet. The reason why the dossier is missing is not yet clear (and we cannot exclude that it will be found out of place). A different problem, on the other hand, has been observed about the correspondence, as it had already been highlighted by the cooperative of archivists who took part in the first restoration project: the dossiers regarding the twenty years of fascist regime have probably been tampered with immediately after the downfall of the regime<sup>100</sup>. In some cases there have been misappropriations and it seems that part of the documents have been eliminated willingly (and, therefore, not discarded according to the rules of the archives, as no trace of this operation has yet been found).

The following table (Table 3) represents the parts of the dossiers located and studied for this article, and so do the tables that follow it (nos. 4 and 5).

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<sup>98</sup> The institutional study helped in the creation of a general fond called *Università degli Studi di Cagliari*, and divided into several sub-fonds: *Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari* (1764-1946, which in turn is divided into *Sezione I* and *Sezione II*) and *Università degli Studi di Cagliari* (from 1946).

<sup>99</sup> The creation of the structure and of the contents is the focus of a research project by Valeria Zedda called, *Il portale dell'Archivio Storico dell'Università di Cagliari* (The portal of the Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari), included in the 23rd series (XXXIII ciclo) of the research doctorate in History, Cultural Heritage, and International Studies at the University of Cagliari.

<sup>100</sup> The archivists of the cooperative La Memoria Storica, who were in charge of the works in the storage facilities of the office of the *rettore* at the beginning of the 2000s, mentioned out that they had noticed some gaps in the consistency list *Carteggio (1900-1950)*.

<b>Archivio Storico dell'Università di Cagliari (Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari)</b>				
Università degli Studi di Cagliari (University of Cagliari)				
Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari (Royal University of Cagliari)				
Sezione II (Section II)				
Carteggio (Correspondence)				
Parte 2 (Part 2) (1901-1946)	1937-38	b. 286, n. 2976, pos. III	<i>Trasferimenti di professori</i> (Transfers of professors).	
	1938-39	b. 295, n. 3048, pos. I	<i>Disposizioni di massima.</i> <i>Studenti di razza ebraica</i> (General instructions. Students belonging to the Jewish race).	
		b. 299, n. 3089, pos. III	<i>Difesa della razza nella scuola fascista.</i> <i>Divieto di ammissione di personale</i> <i>appartenente alla razza ebraica</i> (Defence of the race in the Fascist school. Prohibition of admitting staff belonging to the Jewish race).	
		Serie omogenee (Homogeneous series)		
	Parte 2 (Part 2) (1901-1946)	Fascicoli personale docente (Teaching staff dossiers)	Levi Teodoro	
			Pincherle Alberto	
Viterbo Camillo				

**Table 3: Catalogue of the inventoried dossiers stored at the University of Cagliari.  
Progress of the reorganisation: July 2019**

#### 4.2. Historical Archive of the University of Sassari

Stored at the History Library<sup>101</sup>, the Historical Archive includes documents from the period 1765-1945<sup>102</sup>. As it is for the archive in Cagliari, therefore, it has deposited material starting from the restoration organised by the House of Savoy, which started one year later than in Cagliari.

The first recovery of the ancient documents was entrusted to Ginevra Zanetti in 1973 together with her assistants Giampiero Todini and Renato Pintus. The documents were gathered by type, in homogeneous, chronologically ordered series. Later, this first core was expanded with the addition of the documents from the faculties, causing the reorganisation of the staff and students dossiers up to 1945.

Considered as a unity despite the institutional breaks that marked the changes from one system of organisation to another, the archive presents itself in the following structure: University (which includes the documents produced in the offices of the *rettore*), Faculties, and Aggregated Fonds (private groups of documents with a particular historic relevance donated to the University of Sassari)<sup>103</sup>.

The documentary material has some gaps due to loss of material caused by water leaks and by arson which happened a few years ago. The storage archive is divided among different locations, different administrative offices, and storage facilities, and its size is unknown.

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.uniss.it/sistema-bibliotecario/biblioteche/biblioteca-di-storia/storia-e-collezioni>.

<sup>102</sup> <http://suisa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?TipoPag=comparc&Chiave=364701>.

<sup>103</sup> Ferrante (2010).

<b>Archivio Storico dell'Università di Sassari (Historical Archive of the University of Sassari)</b>				
Ateneo (University)				
Università di Sassari (University of Sassari)				
	1939			
		Pos. 2 A	1938-39	<i>Disposizioni per la razza ebraica</i> (Instructions about the Jewish race)
Ufficio Personale Docente (Teaching staff office)				
	<i>Cartelle personali</i> (Personal dossiers)			
		no. 228		Pinelli Luigi
		no. 355		Ottolenghi Michelangelo

**Table 4: Catalogue of dossiers from the University of Sassari and mentioned in literature**  
(Source: Tognotti, 2000)

### 4.3. Academic yearbooks

Academic yearbooks are an important and essential resource about the history of universities. They act as an official source – as they include the organisational chart of the universities, the programmes of courses, the lists of graduated students – and, at the same time, thanks to the prologues and the opening speeches pronounced by the *rettori*, they paint a more or less truthful picture of the academic situation. The case of suspensions from duty of Jewish professors following the 1938 instructions is emblematic from this point of view: as we have already mentioned, the Italian *rettori*, despite having followed orders from their superiors, behaved in different, often opposing ways during the public opening ceremonies. Some of them absolutely avoided mentioning the colleagues affected by the anti-Jew provisions. They did not lie but they omitted the truth.

#### “Annuari” of the University of Cagliari

The University of Cagliari published its first *Annuario* (Yearbook) in 1862 and then continued without interruption until 1946, with the title *Annuario della Regia Università degli Studi di Cagliari*<sup>104</sup> (Yearbook of the Royal University of Cagliari). Later, starting in 1948, the series started again and was titled *Annuario dell'Università degli Studi di Cagliari*<sup>105</sup> (Yearbook of the University of Cagliari). The *Biblioteca Universitaria* di Cagliari – which, as with the library in Sassari by the same name, keeps its historical name but is now a state conservation library that refers to the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities (MiBACT for its acronym in Italian) – does not own the whole series, however it keeps all the published issues for the period we analysed, those referring to the academic years 1937-38; 1938-39; 1939-40; 1940-41; 1941-42/1942-43; 1943-44/1944-45; 1945-46; 1946-47; 1947-48; 1948-49.

#### “Annuari” of the University of Sassari

The *Annuari* were published by the University of Sassari starting in 1850-1851. The title and the approach to the subjects changed several times during the years. Until 1875-1876 it is called *Calendario dell'anno scolastico per la R. Università degli Studi di Sassari e per le regie e pubbliche scuole del suo circondario* (Calendar of the academic year of the Royal University of Sassari and for the royal and public schools in its area); from 1877 it is published as *Annuario della Regia Università degli studi di Sassari per l'anno scolastico 1876-1877* (Yearbook of the Royal University of Sassari for the academic year 1876-1877); from 1879 to 1884 the *Discorso inaugurale e annuario accademico* (Opening speech and academic yearbook); from 1884-1885 to 1932-1933 the title is *Annuario per l'anno scolastico* (Yearbook for the school year) and, from 1933-34 to 1972-1973, *Annuario per l'anno accademico* (Yearbook for the academic year). After that, simply *Annuario*.

Regarding the academic years mentioned herein, the volumes available for consultation in the *Biblioteca Universitaria* di Sassari (and other Italian libraries<sup>106</sup>) refer to academic years: 1937-38; 1938-39; 1939-40; 1940-41; 1941-42/1942-43; 1943-44/1945-46/1946-47; 1947-48/1948-49.

<sup>104</sup> [http://acnp.unibo.it/cgi-ser/start/it/cnr/dc-p2.tcl?catno=2165248&language=ITALIANO&libr=&person=false&year\\_poss\\_from=&year\\_poss\\_to=](http://acnp.unibo.it/cgi-ser/start/it/cnr/dc-p2.tcl?catno=2165248&language=ITALIANO&libr=&person=false&year_poss_from=&year_poss_to=)

<sup>105</sup> <http://acnp.unibo.it/cgi-ser/start/it/cnr/dc-p2.tcl?catno=42140&person=false&language=ITALIANO&libr=>

<sup>106</sup> <http://acnp.unibo.it/cgi-ser/start/it/cnr/dc-p2.tcl?catno=13829&person=false&language=ITALIANO&libr=>

#### 4.4. Archivio Centrale dello Stato

The ACS in Rome is dedicated to the conservation of the historical archives of the State government and administrative bodies. Among them are the ministries and, therefore, also the Ministry of Education (in Italian *Ministero della Pubblica istruzione* and, during the fascist years, *Ministero dell'Educazione nazionale*).

The documents referring to the years that were the subject of this study are stored in the fonds of the *Divisione generale istruzione superiore* (1900-1955), which consists of 2660 folders, subdivided into four *Divisioni* plus a fifth group of miscellanea from *Divisioni* I, II and III. In particular, the careers of professors (from when they obtained the *libera docenza* and until they reached the role of *professore ordinario* through the competitive examinations and their possible involvement into the *Epurazione* - purge of Fascist professors from the Italian universities) can be retraced thanks to the dossiers kept in the category called *Divisione I*. The census forms filled in after the notice 9 August 1938, no. 12336 are in *Miscellanea Divisioni I, II and III*, series *Congressi, concorsi, incarichi, fascicoli personali di professori ordinari e liberi docenti* (1929-1945), in a single folder (no. 109), ordered by university, category, and academic degree.

The following table only mentions the series that are pertinent to this investigation; for a more detailed study, we refer to the respective guide (cf. *permalink* among the quoted sources).

<b>Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Central State Archive)</b>		
<i>Archivi degli organi di governo e amministrativi dello Stato</i> (Archives of the State government and administrative bodies)		
<i>Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (Ministry of Education)</i>		
<i>Direzione generale istruzione superiore (Higher Education Directorate)</i>		
<i>Divisione I</i> (Category I)	<i>Concorsi a cattedre nelle università</i> (Competitive examinations for professorships in universities)	
	<i>Seconda serie (Second series), 1924-1954</i>	
	Commissioni libere docenze (Commissions for <i>libere docenze</i> )	1924-1953
	<i>Incarichi di insegnamento, commissioni etc.</i> (Teaching appointments, commissions, etc.)	1935-1949
	<i>Concorsi per assistenti</i> (Competitive examinations for <i>assistenti</i> )	1937-1949
	<i>Fascicoli personali dei liberi docenti</i> (Personal dossiers of <i>liberi docenti</i> )	
	<i>Seconda serie (Second series), 1930-1950</i>	
	<i>Fascicoli personali dei professori ordinari</i> (Personal dossier of <i>professori ordinari</i> )	1900-1940
	<i>Professori universitari, epurazione</i> (University professors, purge)	1945-1947
	<i>Liberi docenti e incaricati, epurazione (purge)</i>	1945-1947
<i>Divisione II</i> (Category II)	<i>Legislazioni e statuti delle università</i> (Laws and statutes of the universities)	1923-1938
	<i>Leggi, regolamenti, statuti, esami, etc.</i> (Laws, regulations, statutes, exams, etc.)	1925-1945
<i>Miscellanea</i> <i>Divisioni I, II e III</i> (Miscellanea Categories I, II and III)		
	<i>Congressi, concorsi, incarichi fascicoli personali di professori ordinari e liberi docenti*</i> (Conferences, competitive examinations, appointments, personal files of <i>professori ordinari</i> and <i>liberi docenti</i> )	1929-1945
Folder 109 includes, divided by university, and by category and academic degree, all the personal forms filled in according to notice of 9 August 1938.		

**Table 5: Series of ACS for the study of careers, census, and suspension Of Jewish professors and for the study of purges and reinstatements**

Sources: <http://search.acs.beniculturali.it/OpacACS/guida/IT-ACS-AS0001-0002363>

(*permalink* to the related page *Guida ai fondi* of the ACS);

Ventura (1997); Tognotti (2000); Fois (2001); Rapetti, Scroccu & Todde (2018); Flamigni (2019)

A case study such as the one about the expulsions of Jewish professors in 1938, which affected, also with the *damnatio memoriae*, the whole Italian university network, shows the different ways in which the documents have been managed and stored in the university archives. To the issues of reorganisation and storage often we need to add those caused by possible interference and removal that happened immediately after the war, when the university archives were not subject to thorough checks<sup>107</sup>. From the Sardinian academic sources we have not yet obtained a full picture due to the difficulty in accessing, for instance, the decisions of the academic Senate in both universities. The current organisation of the Historical Archive of the University of Cagliari has nonetheless allowed us to access the dossiers regarding the *Carteggio* and the staff, which were not accessible until now.

At a time when reflection about history and memory, and about the distance between the two, is still (or maybe again) current, the role of the archive as a custodian of historical sources is key.

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<sup>107</sup> Universities are independent institutions according to public law and they have a legal personality benefitting from educational, scientific, organisational, financial, and accounting independence. Universities, therefore, produce, receive, and store documents regarding their activities, and their archives, which are independent from the State Archives, have been subject to checks from the archival authority since 1966.

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