

**“Discriminate, but Do Not Persecute”: Mussolini’s
Urban Plan for the Jews of Rome**

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**Submitted to Professors Linda Gerstein and Andrew Friedman
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
History 400: Senior Thesis Seminar**

December 9, 2014

Abstract

During the early 1930s, Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini began his urban plan to reconstruct and rebuild Rome to its former ancient glory. Black-and-white photographs were taken to mark each momentous, groundbreaking occasion. These images depict Mussolini and his squads of Fascist youth and political goons traipsing across the ruins and remains of classical Rome. Through reconstruction, he wanted to uncover the great city that was once the capital of the leading empire of Western civilization and graft this legacy onto Fascist Rome. This urban project would create a nation that would be envied by all. While Mussolini sought to use these sites from ancient Rome as a bridge between classical antiquity and the modern capital of Italy, he also re-emphasized a relationship between the Romans and Jews that had lain dormant among these ruins, in which Roman Jews from antiquity were not seen as Roman, but as “others” living in a land amongst true Roman citizens.

The three sites that I focus on, Largo Argentina, the Roman Forum, and the Theater of Marcellus, are all within a mile of the Roman Jewish ghetto. Mussolini’s urban renewal project uses these sites to separate the revitalized center of Rome from the Jews, and attempts to marginalize them from Italian Fascist history. My thesis uses photographs of the three sites to demonstrate the revival of these ancient spaces and how they separate the Jews from the Roman architectural landscape, which acts as a precursor to the 1938 racial laws implemented to discriminate against the Jews of Italy. Many historians suspect that Mussolini enforced these laws to appease and follow the lead of Nazi Germany, but I claim that anti-Semitism has always been a part of Italian history and this relationship resurfaced in 1930 as a way to align Fascist Italy with its forefathers of classical Rome.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Andrew Friedman for pushing me to write my best work and what I hope to be the culmination of my time here at Haverford College.

I would also like to thank Professor Linda Gerstein for her insight and never-ending list of pertinent secondary sources.

I would like to acknowledge and show my appreciation for the Haverford College librarians, in particular Margaret Schaus, who helped me find valuable sources and provided helpful information.

I am grateful for Greg's constant support, editing skills and his continual motivation to help me complete my thesis.

Lastly, I would like to express gratitude to my parents and grandparents for supporting me throughout this entire process and my college career.

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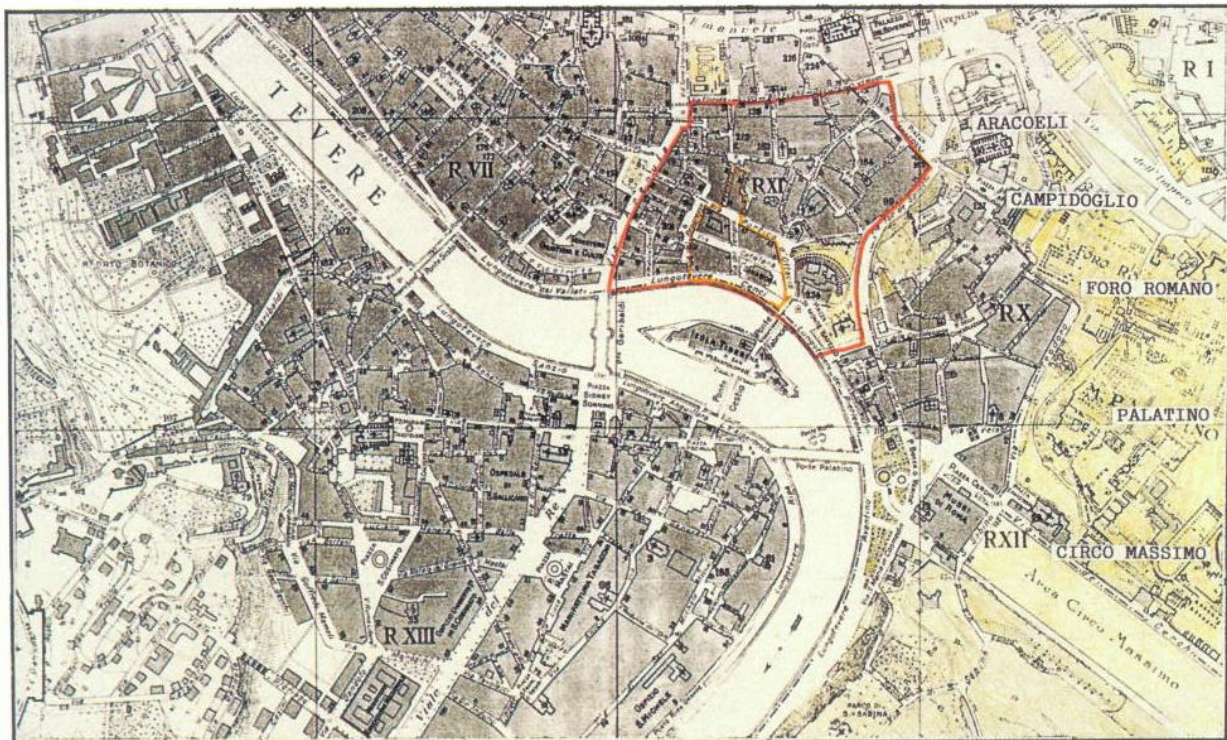
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Introduction –

“It was a cruel game of destiny: a sleepless Jew of the 20th century who imagined his ancestors forced in the ghetto, passing better days than those he was forced to live.”¹ This was the reality of Roman Jews living in the ghetto in 1943, a people whose ancestors inhabited the area since the Catholic Church established it in 1555 as a way to separate the Christians from the Jews. In the center of Rome, this area existed between Via Arenula, Via delle Botteghe Oscure, Via del Teatro Marcello, and the Tiber River (*Figure 1*) (demarcated in red on the map).



Oddly enough, this “ethnic minority” in Rome is still the “oldest, most living and firmly rooted neighbourhood in th[e] city.”²

¹ Luca Fiorentino. *Il Ghetto Racconta Roma*. Roma: Gangemi, 2005. p.117.

² *Ibid.*, p.106.

The history of Jews in Rome is mostly a story of alienation. Non-Jewish citizens blamed Italian Jews of having a double allegiance to Israel, and not Italy. This relationship persisted throughout the years from the Roman Empire, to the rule of Popes, and even until the creation of the Italian state in 1870. *Il Risorgimento*, the process of nation building in Italy, could not have been achieved without the opening of the ghetto, when Jews were made Italian citizens. Breaking the gates of the ghetto symbolized the freedom of all Italians, including the Italian Jews. The Jews kept this freedom for only 68 years before anti-Semitism and segregation resurfaced in Rome.

After World War I, the state of Italy was one of a defeated nation; they were mutilated victors. They were on the side of the Entente and did not receive territory they thought had been promised to them. With the highly accrued costs of fighting in a war, the country “faced...international economic instability” and “mass unemployment.”³ Italy, above all, had an immense political problem, which became apparent by the 1919 elections. The “pre-existing political and social tensions were significantly accentuated and wholly new ones were unleashed.”⁴ There was a strong division between the Socialists and the Catholics, both newborn parties of the Italian masses. There was also the old, Liberal, elite party. It was not possible for these three parties to come to an agreement in the liberal Italian state. The Italian government needed a political party that the majority of the population would agree on.

During this time of political uncertainty, Benito Mussolini founded the Fascist movement in 1919. This political party was heavily focused on recruiting Italian soldiers of World War I. Mussolini knew that they “were infected with a nationalist fervour born of

³ Nicholas Doumanis. *Italy*. London: Arnold, 2001. p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

their victory over a powerful enemy, and were envious of and bitter against the Allies, who seemed to have emerged from the war richer and stronger than before.”⁵ The party originally received little public or political recognition. Only when Fascism turned to squadristo, the creation of paramilitary and armed squads, did the nation begin to notice it. When this militaristic shift occurred in 1920-1921, many citizens, including Jews, devoted their political and social lives to Fascism, putting their faith and trust in Benito Mussolini, the political leader of the party and the Fascist Italian state. By October 28, 1922, Mussolini and his Fascist regime were marching on Rome, demanding the attention of the King of Italy, Vittorio Emanuele III, and the position of Prime Minister to Mussolini.

By 1925, Prime Minister Benito Mussolini declared himself *Il Duce* (The Leader) and became dictator of Italy. He began to make plans to transform the city of Rome through reconstruction and use of major monuments and streets in Italy’s capital. Mussolini used Piazza Venezia, a major square in close proximity to several tourist attractions, to represent “the center of Rome,the “heart” of the new fascist Italy.”⁶ He wanted to create an ideal connection with the Roman ruins of the Italian Forum and the Altar of the Fatherland, *Il Vittoriano*. He demolished neighborhoods that he dismissed as “unhealthy slum[s]” and added an open boulevard to connect Piazza Venezia to the Colosseum. Many of the sites he chose to rebuild are located in the center of Rome and in close proximity to the Jewish ghetto. By working around the ghetto, but totally ignoring it, Mussolini tried to exclude the Roman Jews from Fascist history. But the rebuilding of nearby ancient sites dredged up the past history of Jews as outsiders.

⁵ Paolo Monelli. *Mussolini: An Intimate Life*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1953. p.77.

⁶ Borden W. Painter Jr. *Mussolini’s Rome: Rebuilding the Eternal City*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. p.2.

In 1938, Fascism in Italy was at its peak. This year marked the implementation of racial laws against the Jews. The Royal Decree Law of November 17, 1938, gave Jews and other non-Aryan people restrictions in life, marriage, career, housing, and Italian citizenship. It even expelled Jewish students immediately “from all levels and types of Italian schools” as well as banning them from positions as teachers, professors, and staff.⁷ The belief that Jews were “others” in Rome had resurfaced from classical, ancient Rome and Fascism was the political party that enforced their restrictions and limitations as humans in Italy.

Over the course of their history in Rome, Jews had been viewed as slaves, a people to be invaded, and laborers. During Fascist rule, facets of this history began reemerging. The Italians were skeptical that the Jews had a double allegiance to Italy and Israel, and they were not considered true Italian citizens, but rather a people that had something the Italians needed. In classical Rome, they had the holy land of Jerusalem; Fascist Rome needed the Jews so they could have a group of “others” that the regime could blame for their problems. Without them, Italy could not solidify these racial laws. These urban projects provide a pre-history to the anti-Semitic racial laws of 1938.

Historiography –

The majority of historians writing about Jews in Rome during the Fascist era note the importance of the 1938 racial laws, but they do not discuss a law that was passed eight years before this one. The 1930 Italian law for Jewish citizens made them a union that was

⁷ Manola Ida Venzo. *The Racial Laws and the Jewish Community of Rome, 1938-1945*. Roma: Gangemi, 2007. p.12.

controlled by the state. It also appointed the rabbis as “spiritual directors of the Communities.”⁸ Fascism had many unions for different groups and occupations, but Fascist corporatism mandated that the unions be controlled by the Italian state. While the unions provided Italians from distinct social structures a niche to belong within the new Fascist state, it also provided a system for the government to control these groups. This initial law “invoked to achieve stiffer state control of the Jewish community” and set up a structure for the 1938 racial laws and the later genocide of Jews in German concentration camps.⁹

The history of Jews in Italy during this time began with Italian scholar Renzo De Felice in 1961. It was not until the fiftieth anniversary of the racial laws put in place by the Fascist government that English-speaking scholars began writing about this history. Joshua D. Zimmerman notes that the history of Jews in Italy was not heavily acknowledged because the number of Italian Jewish victims was relatively small compared to the persecution of Jews elsewhere; “about eight of every ten...survived the war.”¹⁰ These relatively good odds should not minimize the history of the human beings that did die in Italy and elsewhere, but they do explain the lack of English historical literature on the subject.

The works created by a postwar generation of scholars beginning in 1988 reevaluated and posed different questions than De Felice. Their works differ from Renzo De Felice in that they take his assessments and turn them into assertions. Michele Sarfatti works with the anti-Jewish policies in Italy and notes that, personally, “Mussolini

⁸ Renzo De Felice. *The Jews in Fascist Italy: A History*. New York: Enigma Books, 2001. p.96.

⁹ Fabio Levi. "Anti-Jewish Persecution and Italian Society." In *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. p.200.

¹⁰ Joshua D. Zimmerman. *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. p.1.

supported the biological-racial type of anti-Semitism” that he put into effect with these laws.¹¹ Iael Orvieto analyzes letters written by Italian Jews pleading with Mussolini to exempt them from the 1938 racial laws. A historian most notable today in the field of the Shoah in Italy is Susan Zuccotti; she focuses on the Holocaust’s arrival in Italy and analyzes the October 16, 1943, roundup of Roman Jews by the German Nazis. Finally, three essays written for a symposium in *Fifty Years after the Racial Laws in Italy*, delves into the question that most historians differ on: When did Fascist Italy and its dictator, Mussolini, begin enforcing anti-Semitic principles and ideals?

De Felice’s 1961 work *The Jews in Fascist Italy: A History*, notes that the Italian people believed that anti-Semitism was not Italian, but something enforced by Hitler and Nazi Germany. At the start of Fascism in Italy there were no anti-Semitic laws, until Mussolini enforced them in 1938. Even when this anti-Semitic campaign began, filled with strong propaganda and slogans, it did not receive positive reception from the public. Before the implementation of these laws, there was no sense of anti-Semitism in Italy during this time. Even Mussolini said in an interview with Emil Ludwig in 1932, “Antisemitism does not exist in Italy...Italians of Jewish birth have shown themselves good citizens, and they have fought bravely in the war.”¹² Mussolini changed his mind and enforced this racist legislation because he wanted to “re-energize Fascism,” display a friendship between Italy and Germany, and emphasize the difference between Nazism and Fascism.¹³ His saying

¹¹ Ibid., p.7.

¹² Michele Sarfatti. "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy: 1936 - 1943." In *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*. Ed. Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin. University Press of Maryland, 2000. 412-24. p.412.

¹³ De Felice, p.xvi.

was, “Discriminare, ma non perseguitare,”: “Discriminate, but do not persecute.”¹⁴

Mussolini hoped that by implementing these laws, his Fascist regime would fit the characteristics of the other Axis powers, but still separate itself from Germany because they did not persecute Jews.

De Felice briefly discusses the law of 1930 that created a Union for Italian Jews. The Italian Jews saw the new law as “elevat[ing]...all of Judaism to a new position of dignity and responsibility.”¹⁵ Groups elsewhere did not see this law as a positive step for Italian Jews, however. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that Fascism “had sought by the new law to catalogue even the Jews, creating a racial definition that had never before existed in Italy.”¹⁶ Filippo Turati, an Italian sociologist and poet, wrote to Rabbi Sacerdoti, the Rabbi of Rome, that the Italian Jews were giving up their autonomy as a religious group. He would be known as “Grand Rabbi, the Pope of Italian Jews with the government’s approval.”¹⁷ Although De Felice does not consider this law as the first sign of anti-Semitism in Italy under Fascism, outsiders saw the dangers of Judaism’s future in the hands of the Italian Fascist government.

Renzo De Felice says that the majority of the Italian public was initially against the racist laws of 1938 and many began to see Fascism and Mussolini in a different way as a result of their enactment. This “immorality of Fascism” caused “disgust, solidarity with the Jews, and loss of confidence in the state.”¹⁸ Even those who claimed to be Fascist were disgusted by the anti-Semitic stance of the party. The public’s attitude began to shift once

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.97.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.98.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.297.

war was declared on June 10, 1940, however, and “anti-Jewish propaganda became a convenient diversion from other more pressing problems affecting all Italians.”¹⁹ The defeats in war were blamed on the Jews. This shift in opinions was due to journalists using anti-Semitic writing to sway the population.²⁰ By 1940, it was highly believed by most Italians that Jews were responsible for the start of the war. De Felice notes that although many people were against anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy, people “ended up accepting it as just one more bizarre trait of the regime.”²¹ This acceptance made it easier for the Germans to deport the Jews from Italy in 1943.

When Italy was occupied by Germany in 1943, Mussolini’s men created the Repubblica Sociale Italiana (RSI) in the northern part of Italy. In the beginning of the RSI, “Fascist authorities gave anti-Semitic persecution more of an economic and financial character, while attempting to maintain a relatively humane attitude.”²² But soon after, the power of the regime was quite unstable and northern Italy was filled “with armed Germans...in total control” that could arrest the Jews and choose to exterminate them whenever they wanted.²³ The Italians lost control of their own country under the occupation of Germany and did not have the power to do anything about it.

Renzo De Felice writes almost five hundred pages pertaining to the history of Jews in Fascist Italy. He goes into great length and detail about the events that occurred and he works closely with legislation, magazine articles, and several other kinds of primary sources. He wrote *The Jews in Fascist Italy: A History* in order to increase the Italian

¹⁹ Ibid., p.367.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p.373.

²² Ibid., p.437.

²³ Ibid., p.433.

population's awareness of the Fascist regime's actions and behavior during the war. He wanted to outwardly criticize and bring to light everything that may have been forgotten after the war. He also notes solidarity between Italian Jews and non-Jewish Italians. They helped each other fight for the freedom and democracy of their homeland, Italy. It is important to note that the 2001 republishing of Renzo De Felice's work has "give[n] it a broader audience and...revised and expanded where certain previously neglected issues had been barely touched or only on the basis of limited documentation."²⁴ With this publication, De Felice discovered more documents and even references some authors who begin writing about this subject in the late '80s.

Another well known author in the field of the history of Jews in Fascist Italy, Michele Sarfatti, goes against De Felice's idea that Mussolini's slogan "discriminate, but do not persecute" was in line with his intentions in an essay in Zimmerman's book, *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule: 1922 - 1945*. Sarfatti boldly claims that Mussolini was in fact, racist. Whatever his reason, maybe "out of opportunism, or to give Fascism a clearly defined enemy, ...he did increase the severity in the draft of the racial laws which had been submitted to him."²⁵ This view goes against De Felice's idea that Mussolini did not want to persecute the Jews.

The persecution of Jews began on September 1 and 2, 1938, when the Council of Ministers of the Italian government approved "the expulsion of foreign Jews [Germans, Austrians, and Poles]; the Aryanzation of the public schools; the creation of the state

²⁴ Ibid., p.xxix.

²⁵ Zimmerman, p.71.

agencies that would be responsible for carrying out the oppression.”²⁶ These laws drove the Jews from Italy. Since Jewish children were not allowed to receive any kind of education, many Jewish families with children left the country. Fascism itself “evolved from the equality and autonomy of Italian Jewry to persecuting the rights of the Jews because...[they were] simply useless to the regime and its objectives.”²⁷ The Jews were persecuted in such a way that they could no longer interact in society because they could not receive education, could not marry non-Jews, and were eventually forced out of their homeland of Italy, so that Fascism could “‘aryanize’ Italian society.”²⁸

Michele Sarfatti does, however, agree with De Felice that Mussolini did act of his own accord when putting these race laws into practice, without the direct influence of Nazi Germany. He says, despite what Italian society thinks today, “Mussolini and his regime bear greater responsibility than is often asserted.”²⁹ Sarfatti writes that once Mussolini came to power, he “began to revert to the inequalities between religious cults” in Italy.³⁰ He also goes on to say that the majority of people in the Senate voted in favor of anti-Semitic laws. His overall statement in this regard is that it was fairly easy to accept the anti-Jewish laws due to “the Fascist dictatorship..., which by the way, some Jews had helped to set up.”³¹

“Letters to Mussolini: Italian Jews and Racial Laws” provides an insight into how the Italian Jews reacted to the racial laws of 1938. Author Iael Orvieto delves into an archive of

²⁶ Michele Sarfatti. *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*. Translated by John Tedeschi, and Anne C. Tedeschi. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006. p.129.

²⁷ Michele Sarfatti. "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy: 1936 - 1943." In *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*. p.416.

²⁸ Zimmerman, p.77.

²⁹ Michele Sarfatti. *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*. p.xi.

³⁰ Michele Sarfatti. "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy: 1936 - 1943." In *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*. p.414.

³¹ Zimmerman, p.78.

letters written from Italian Jews to Mussolini personally, civically and morally justifying why they should be exempt from these laws. This particular source provides a view on the racial laws by the same people that they were made for. Much like De Felice's argument, Orvieto states that Mussolini enforced the anti-Semitic laws "similar to the German Nuremberg laws for various reasons of internal and foreign policy."³² She also agrees with De Felice that "the Axis was very unpopular in Italy" and many Italians initially rejected the racial laws because they thought that there were only being implemented for the sake of politically aligning with the Germans Nazis.

Many of these letters were requests for *discriminazione*, which exempted Italian Jews who had proof that they served in World War I or were an early member of the Fascist party. One problematic aspect of this pardon was that women and young children were left out. Women could not serve in the military, nor were they members of any political party. They could only write to Mussolini "about their sentiments, or describe their work as volunteers during and after the war."³³

Most of these letters did not focus on disapproval of the racial laws. The men, women and children who wrote them focused on their families that were in danger from losing jobs, property, or access to education. They also felt the need to prove their morality to Mussolini, claiming they were "'good Jews' who served Italy with loyalty."³⁴ The authors of these letters did not address themselves as Italian citizens, but they let themselves be defined by what the state was discriminating against them for – being Jews. Sometimes the

³² Iael Orvieto. "Letters to Mussolini: Italian Jews and Racial Laws." In *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, edited by John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell, 466-480. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, N.Y.: Palgrave, 2001. p.467.

³³ Ibid., p.469.

³⁴ Ibid., p.470.

Italian Jews would criticize their own people by justifying the “racial legislation, [and would] attack Jews for a lack of loyalty to fascism and to Italy.”³⁵ Many did, however, show a strong sense of nationalism to Italy and *Il Duce*, and claimed that they were loyal and patriotic. Many used the superlative *italianissimi*, to justify their Italian-ness. Some even wrote to try to volunteer as soldiers in the Fascist Army during World War II because they thought it was their “civic duty” to do so.³⁶

From these letters, one can get a sense of how Fascist or pro-Mussolini Italian Jews perceived these racial laws. Many did not disagree with the law, but asked for exemption, hoping that their good behavior, morals, and pleas to Mussolini would be heard. Because the racial laws were “perceived as an alien imposition” to appease the Germans, many Jews did not believe that they would be strictly enforced.³⁷ What they did not know was that their “civil rights were nonexistent” and Mussolini would not answer their pleas.³⁸

By 1943, the German Nazis were occupying Italy. American historian, Susan Zuccotti discusses the events that occurred October 16, 1943 in Rome. The Germans raided the Jewish homes in Rome. They found paperwork of the “1938 government census of Italian Jews” with the addresses of Jews in the city.³⁹ The raid began at 5:30 AM in the area of the old Jewish ghetto and Trastevere. The German soldiers cut telephone wires and performed house-to-house searches. Jewish residents were given printed instructions saying they had 20 minutes to pack food for 8 days, two blankets, money, jewelry, and valuables. Zuccotti asks, “Why were so many people caught asleep in their own apartments in the sixth week

³⁵ Ibid., p.473.

³⁶ Ibid., p.475.

³⁷ Ibid., p.478.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Susan Zuccotti. *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue, and Survival*. New York: Basic Books, 1987. p.104.

of the German occupation of Rome?"⁴⁰ How much did the Roman Jews know of the fate of Jews in Germany, Poland, and even parts of Italy? The Jews that stayed in Italy until 1943 did not believe that what was happening to Jews in other countries would happen in Rome. Although they were discriminated against, most Italian Jews had never suffered physical persecution.

So when exactly did historians think discrimination and anti-Semitism was put in place in Fascist Italy? *Fascist Antisemitism and the Italian Jews*, published in 1995 in Jerusalem, presents three essays that were delivered as speeches at a symposium *Fifty Years after the Racial Laws in Italy*. All three essays focus on the timeline of events that occurred in Fascist history, especially in regard to when anti-Semitism was first seen in the regime and when Mussolini himself had anti-Semitic ideals. Italian Jews were "considered to be one of the most highly assimilated and successfully integrated Jewish communities in Europe" prior to Fascism.⁴¹ This was because Italian Jews had lived in Italy since Biblical times. By the 20th century, many Italian Jews could date their ancestry back to this time in history and most of these Jews saw themselves as Italian citizens.

When the Fascist party began its rise to power in 1922, Italian Jews were not a threat to the party. In fact, many Jews supported Fascism during this time. On the March on Rome, "230 Jews held cards attesting their participation" in the Fascist take over.⁴² Yet, Mussolini had growing fears of foreign Jews and where their loyalties lay. He relied on

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Robert S. Wistrich. "Fascism and the Jews of Italy." In *Fascist Antisemitism and the Italian Jews*, p.13-18, edited by Robert Wistrich and Sergio DellaPergola. Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1995. p.13.

⁴² Mario Sznajder. "The Fascist Regime, Antisemitism and the Racial Laws in Italy." In *Fascist Antisemitism and the Italian Jews*, p. 19-36, edited by Robert Wistrich and Sergio DellaPergola. Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1995. p.23.

Zionist Italian Jews, “namely ‘the Jews of the Livorno community’, as a means for Italian expansion in the countries of the Mediterranean.”⁴³ This area was particularly important because it is a port city located on the Ligurian Sea, and it allowed many Jewish communities to inhabit “Tripoli in Libya, Alexandria in Egypt, Saloniki and Rhodes in Greece,” which in turn gave Fascist Italy the chance to implant its own culture and policy onto these colonies.⁴⁴ But “with the outbreak of the Ethiopian campaign, Italy found itself in conflict with the British Empire” and the Italian Zionists were working with Britain for a Jewish state in Palestine.⁴⁵ Once this relationship fell apart, Mussolini did away with the Italian Jews.

One thing that becomes clear about Mussolini and his reign as dictator of Italy is that he was duplicitous in all of his actions and statements. In order to achieve the national objectives of Fascist Italy, he “oscillated between two positions.”⁴⁶ Sometimes he would claim that there was no “Jewish problem” as long as the Jews were first Italians and then Jews.⁴⁷ Other times, he would express political anti-Semitism in his beliefs and within the Fascist regime.

By July 1938, Mussolini attacked and harassed the Jews “probably believing that the adoption of an anti-Semitic policy – or at least its expression” would improve Italy’s alliance with Germany and better serve the Italian nation.⁴⁸ This same month, the

⁴³ Simonetta della Seta. “Italian Zionism Confronts Fascism and the Racial Laws.” In *Fascist Antisemitism and the Italian Jews*, p.37-48, edited by Robert Wistrich and Sergio DellaPergola. Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1995. p.40.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

⁴⁶ Sznajder, p.24.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.29.

Manifesto of Race, which was “intended as [a] propaganda tool to prepare public opinion” for the impending racial laws, was published.⁴⁹ Although it differed from Germany’s anti-Semitic laws in that it did not include “mythological ingredients,” it strived for mass political mobilization of the Italian nation against this new enemy of the Fascist state.⁵⁰

By 1938, many Roman Jews had a sense of safety within Fascist Italy because of the behavior of the Jewish community leaders. “Dante Almansi, national president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities” and “vice-chief of police under Mussolini,” lost his job when the 1938 racial laws went into effect in November, yet, Almansi preserved his faith in *Il Duce*.⁵¹ Even after the Germans occupied Rome, he refused to shut down the synagogue. Zuccotti argues that this reassuring attitude of Jewish leaders may have proved detrimental to the fate of the 1,020 Roman Jews who entered Auschwitz six days later.

My Contribution to This History –

Historians have written about the racial laws of 1938 as the crucial moment in determining the fate of Roman Jews and as a way of understanding the place of Jews in Fascist Italy. I am going to look at this history through a new lens. During the rebuilding and reconstruction of the city of Rome, Mussolini expanded Piazza Venezia, a popular city square, which is less than half a mile from the Jewish ghetto. By bringing Rome back to its classical glory, Mussolini revived the ghetto along with it. I will use photographs of the Jewish ghetto in Rome to show something that these authors did not. I want to connect the beginning of Mussolini’s reign and his ambitions for the city of Rome to see how these moments in and after 1938 relate to the racial laws and the persecution and discrimination

⁴⁹ De Felice, p.260.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.106.

against Roman Jews. I will analyze photographs of the Jewish ghetto from 1930-1936 for signs that point to the marginalization and also the centralization of the Jewish ghetto in Rome and how Mussolini's obsession with the classical Roman past symbolically dredges up an ancient relationship between Italians and Jews that re-triggered anti-Semitic aspects to Italian culture and law.

Primary Sources –

Where it All Began: Largo Argentina

A bird's eye view gives us a stark contrast between ancient and modern day Rome in this photograph shot in 1930 (*Figure 2*).



This view shows us the four ancient temples that were found underneath the area now known as Largo Argentina, located on the outskirts of the Jewish ghetto in Rome. Largo Argentina was Mussolini's first urban project that began in the late 1920's, and this site "demonstrated changes to historic areas that would give older sites a new fascist imprint."⁵²

Initial demolition of this area had begun in 1911, when two Republican temples were discovered. The new modern building being built on the site had to accommodate for the preservation of the two temples. But soon after, two more temples emerged from the grounds and work on the modern building came to a halt. The project lay dormant until 1926, when Mussolini realized what lay beneath the layers of stone, cement, and brick. It was an underworld of classical antiquity with sacred temples from centuries past that could be used to promote his Fascist state.

The site was preserved and finally "open to the public on April 21, 1929, Rome's traditional "birthday".⁵³ Mussolini carefully planned this first exhibit of these ancient ruins to coincide with Rome's original birthday, which was around 753 B.C.E. Rome dates back thousands of years to classical antiquity and to a time when the Roman Empire was one of the most powerful kingdoms in the world. Mussolini wanted to uncover this history from the ground below Largo Argentina on a day that would literally bring citizens of Fascist Rome back in time to classical Rome. This day commemorated the power and pride of the Italian nation, showcasing how this pride that dated back farther than the existence of most countries and made Italy a nation to be reckoned with. These temples were determined to

⁵² Painter, p. 7.

⁵³ Ibid.

be “among the oldest buildings in the city” and Mussolini used this as the beginning of his project to uncover the ancient Roman past to glorify the present day Rome of 1930. This project was Italy’s ticket to worldwide fame amongst the powerful nations of the twentieth century. Many Italians who had participated in World War I believed that the Allied Countries, especially the Big Three, America, Great Britain, and France, gave them less land than the Italians wanted in the Treaty of St. Germain. In this treaty, Italy was given land that Austria had lost during the war. They received Trentino, South Tyrol, Trieste and a part of Istria, a peninsula that is shared by Italy, Croatia and Slovenia. This was now Fascist Italy’s chance to show that they would not be ignored and that they may soon replace one of the Big Three countries.

When Mussolini personally visited the site on October 22, 1928, an archaeologist told him that the previous excavators and workers had disrespected the ancient ruins. Mussolini decided to make a point out of this and announced, “I would feel dishonored if [the land owner] is allowed to erect even one meter of new construction on this site.”⁵⁴ Thus began Mussolini’s desire to reconstruct Rome in a way that recreated classical Rome back to its architectural apex and wed this with a modern urban plan of Fascist Rome.

Not only did this site unearth a precious glimpse of ancient Rome, but it also allowed Mussolini to demonstrate that the Fascist regime sought to complete projects that past rulers had only talked about doing. This rebuilding, reconstructing and uncovering reshaped the city and attempted to fulfill the personal and political agenda of Benito Mussolini for the Fascist state.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Spiro Kostof. *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1973. p. 22.

⁵⁵ Painter, p.7.

Uncovering this site allowed for the state to create wide streets that went directly from Largo Argentina to the center of Rome. Corso Vittorio Emanuele II led to Palazzo Venezia, the building where *Il Duce's* offices were kept. The larger Piazza Venezia was where large Fascist ceremonies were held, and where the Altar of the Fatherland housed the famous Unknown Soldier. This street created a direct link from the ancient ruins to the modern piazza of Fascist Rome.

This pathway altogether avoided the Jewish ghetto of Rome. By creating this physical relationship between Largo Argentina and Piazza Venezia, the ghetto is removed from sight and is left an outlier in the center of the city. As Mussolini broke down every structural layer in Largo Argentina and gradually saw a city rise from the rubble, he also marginalized the Jewish ghetto nearby. Creating this bond between ancient Rome and Fascist Rome physically refocused attention away from the Jewish population, and it exhumed a relationship between Jews and Romans from classical antiquity. During the times of Constantine, Jews had limited rights as citizens of Rome, for they were seen as foreigners because Italians thought that the Jews' allegiance first belonged to their ancestral home of Jerusalem and because they worshipped a different god.⁵⁶ I will demonstrate in the next two photographs that Mussolini's urban plan for the city of Rome exposed this ancient history between Romans and Jews and how this was a precursor to the racial laws against Italian Jews in 1938.

⁵⁶ Timothy David Barnes. *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. p. 138.

The Key to the Future is in the Past

As Mussolini waits in the wings of the photograph, he sits atop his gallant white horse, viewing his army of Fascist Youth (*Figure 3*).



He has created his own Roman army in the famous Roman Forum, filled with ancient Roman monuments such as the Arch of Constantine, the Temple of Vespasian and Titus, and the Arch of Titus. Surrounded by memorials to the Emperors of Rome, Dictator Benito Mussolini is aligning his reign under Fascism to that of the classical Roman Empire.

The Fascist Youth face their Dictator and Commander, while their backs turn away from the Arch of Constantine. This triumphal arch was built three years after Emperor Constantine I defeated Maxentius, leading to him being the sole ruler of the Roman Empire

in 315 C.E. Not only was this a crucial moment that marked absolute rule in the Empire, but it also marked the first time that Roman Jews' rights as citizens were severely limited. Constantine dedicated his win over Maxentius to the Christian God and made Christianity the religion of the Roman Empire. He changed the "long-standing Roman policy of toleration of the Jewish religion" and "regarded the Jews of his time as purblind deniers of the truth of Christianity."⁵⁷ Here begins the religious struggle between the Catholic Church and the Italian Jews.

Another arch is mirrored in the background of the photograph. The Arch of Titus was built in 81 C.E., under Domitian; it serves as a memorial for his brother, Titus and his victory overtaking the temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. It was "built by the forced labor of the Jewish war captives" in a short period of time and was used as a symbol to denote the Empire's rule over the Jews.⁵⁸ It also served as a tool for conversion until 1846, where "a Jew was obliged to stand by the arch and swear loyalty to the Pope as his procession passed through it."⁵⁹ Both arches serve as a reminder that the Fascist Empire had control and domination over the Italian Jews.

The Roman Forum was used as a venue for inaugural ceremonies on October 28, 1933; the eleven-year anniversary of the infamous March on Rome, where Mussolini and the Fascist militia squad forced their way into the Italian government and had Mussolini made Prime Minister of the nation. This scene in the photograph echoes that exact day.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 139.

⁵⁸ Hermann Vogelstein and Moses Hadas. *Rome*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940. p. 65.

⁵⁹ David Watkin. *The Roman Forum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009. p.60.

The “Emperor” Mussolini returns to a mode of transit to that of the classical Emperors, as if he were Titus himself. He gathers his troops, under the travertine marble and lines them up for their triumphal march. Not only are they victorious over the Italian government, but they are also conquerors of the Italian Jews. The Jewish ghetto is less than a half-mile away from the Roman Forum. The fact that we cannot see the ghetto, yet it is located just to the left of the Arch of Titus, creates a haunted absence in this scene. The Fascist Youth and Mussolini are surrounded by this classical history of Jews, yet their procession tries to diminish them from the Fascist state.

Equipped with flags and muskets, the Fascist youth wait for their commands from *Il Duce*. The children are in the center of the photograph and are, more importantly, the center of the Fascist nation. Mussolini entrusts the future of the Fascist nation to this young mass. It was “compulsory for young Italians between the ages of four and eighteen to pass through three stages of Fascist indoctrination”: *Figli della lupa*, or Children of the She-Wolf, *Balilla*, a nickname given to Gian Battista Perasso, a youth who began the uprisings in Italy under Austrian soldiers in 1746, and the *Avanguardisti*.⁶⁰ He used children of the Italian nation in order to create a group of young and malleable minds that could easily be influenced to fight and die for Italy in the name of Mussolini and Fascism. Even a new facility for the *Balilla* group was built on the Aventine Hill, which looked out onto the Palatine Hill, where the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Constantine are located. This group could look out onto the Roman Forum and see the conquests of their forefathers from ancient Rome. Much like the young soldiers who came back from Jerusalem with treasures

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Wiskemann. *Fascism in Italy: Its Development and Influence*. London: Macmillan, 1969. p. 38.

from the Great Temple, these Fascist soldiers are ready at any moment to conquer another city in the name of *Il Duce*.

Mussolini used the Roman Forum and another monument in the background of the photograph, to the right of the Arch of Titus, the Altar of the Fatherland, to recreate classical Rome in the twentieth-century. Mussolini found this area crucial for his political agenda that he moved his office from the Palazzo Chigi, to the Palazzo Venezia, which is adjacent to the Altar of the Fatherland.⁶¹ Since the monument stands for nationality, an important trait in Italian Fascism, and held the Unknown Soldier, which referenced those that lost their lives during World War I and the Fascist revolts, this location was the perfect place for Mussolini's famous speeches to the Italian nation. Piazza Venezia was an open space used for Fascist celebrations and gatherings. Its proximity to the classical monuments in the Roman Forum added to this idea that Rome was going to once again be the leading city of civilization in the west, as it was in classical antiquity. But with this ancient Roman history, Mussolini dug up the memory of the Jews during classical times with these two triumphal arches. This act foreshadows Mussolini's racial laws of 1938 that further attempted to marginalize the Jews in Fascist Roman history.

⁶¹ Painter, p.2.

The Silent Synagogue

A crowd of men walks in on a photograph about to be taken. It is Mussolini at the head along with the current governor of Rome in 1930, Boncompagni Ludovico, and other members of the Partito Nazionale Fascista, or the National Fascist Party (*Figure 4*).



As if they are entering from the wings of the stage to give their grand performance, the men walk as one, metamorphosing into a human wrecking ball. The destroyed plane that they walk on, filled with rubble, dirt, and the remains of a Rome before Fascism, allows the wrecking ball to advance. This clearance provides the Fascist wrecking ball the propulsion to sweep into the photograph and view the demolition that has occurred.

They are at the Theater of Marcellus, a monument that has been in Rome since the time of Emperor Augustus in 12 BC. Where is the theater? Although there are remnants of destruction and the potential for rebuilding, why can't we see the monument itself?

The reconstruction of this site was one of many ancient sites that Mussolini revamped in the 1930's to rectify a new and improved Fascist Rome. This particular area was "lived in by poorer classes" and was rundown and unsanitary.⁶² The area needed to be revamped and reconstructed to allow for less congestion and to "bring light and air into all parts of the city."⁶³ Through this reconstruction and rebuilding of Rome, Mussolini compared himself and his Fascist empire to the ancient Roman Empire of Augustus and Julius Caesar, because he was now the modern emperor of the great Italian nation.

Although the caption under this photograph says that Mussolini visits the construction site of Theater Marcellus, the object of his attention is not in the photograph. Instead, there is a more compelling site that Mussolini himself seems to dismiss. It is the Tempio Maggiore, The Great Synagogue of Rome, located in the background of the photograph. Although their backs are turned against it, the Synagogue remains, the most central object around this heap of destruction, standing tall. The men turn their backs on the Synagogue, physically turning their backs on the Jews. One of the men points towards Piazza Venezia: the playground of Mussolini and his Fascists celebrations and gatherings. It is as if the man is pointing towards the future, well suited for Fascists, and in the process, denouncing the Jews. There is no place for them in this "new" Italy. This prophetic photograph points to the eventual anti-Semitic ideals of the Fascist state. Eight years later, the *Leggi razziali*, or the Italian Racial Laws were implemented on the Italian Jews. The

⁶² Kostof, p.16.

⁶³ Ibid.

laws removed them from education and public office, restricted who they could marry, and forbade foreign Jews from settling in Italy.

Decked in white pants, shoes, and hat, Mussolini lightly treads through the dirt and grime of the construction site, observing what this location will hold for Fascism. These men do not belong here. The stark contrast between the white shoes and the dark, dusty road says that they are not workmen or part of the construction crew. Instead, they are at the work site to judge the world around them. The men look down below and see a chasm of everyday life, filled with the hustle and bustle of the streets. These men are not down below with the cars and pedestrian citizens. The man in white and his army of pantsuit drones are crusaders of the Fascist regime. While they approve of the destruction at hand, they know they have the power to create more destruction for the cause. What is to stop them from turning around and pointing instead to the Great Synagogue? Mussolini would laugh and yell, "Watch out! You're next!" In the same way that this small Fascist mob was a wrecking ball for this particular site, they could easily change their sights on any other part of Rome that they considered to be "unhealthy slums".⁶⁴

Benito Mussolini founded the company, the *Instituto Luce*, which took this photograph. This photograph provides evidence of Jewish and Italian Fascist spaces interacting during the reconstruction of Rome. This implicit connection between Mussolini's reconstruction and the sheer proximity of the Roman Jewish community can only be expressed through photography. Viewing the foreground and background of the photograph allows one to see these micro-relations between the Jews and Fascist rulers. It shows an intimate relationship between the ghetto and Fascist Rome because both of these

⁶⁴ Painter, p. 10.

spaces interplay with one another in the physical landscape and social reality depicted in the photograph. However, this photograph can also be thought of as a weak source because it is difficult to determine who the other men are and what buildings are located in the middle ground.

This photograph depicts Mussolini's city planning and reconstruction on the city of Rome and shows how often his Fascist agenda overlapped with the Roman Jewish community as a physical space, metaphor and population. The Synagogue represents a silent reminder that the Jews were there in Rome, in such close proximity to *Il Duce*. It also shows that Mussolini could have turned on them at any time because he had all of the power. He does this only eight years after this picture was taken.

Conclusion –

Although historians of Jews in Fascist Italy write about the critical moment of the 1938 racial laws, Mussolini first divided Italian Jews from Rome earlier with his urban renewal project. This revitalization of the center city provided an urban template for the anti-Semitic laws eight years later. The three sites in the photographs symbolically hold 2,000 years of history that link Italians to Jews. Many considered the 1938 racial laws a product of Nazi influence, but no one can ignore this ancient pre-history of Italian anti-Semitism. The urban reconstruction of central Rome, which is exactly where the Jewish ghetto has existed for centuries, excluded the Jews from Fascist Italy. By erasing the Jews and centralizing them at the same time, Mussolini attempted to create a physical law that distinguished Jews as "others" in Italy.

It is necessary to view the Manifesto of Race, the first anti-Semitic published decree by the Fascist Italian state, to see how the photographs and the text coincide to achieve the same purpose of separating the Jews from Italian society (*Document 1*).

The Manifesto of Race

1. *Human races exist.* The existence of human races is not an abstraction of our spirit but corresponds to phenomenal, material reality. It is perceivable with our senses. This reality is embodied by impressive masses of millions of men who share similar physical and psychological characteristics that were inherited and continue to be passed on. To say that there are human races is not to imply a priori that there are superior and inferior races but imply that there are different races of men.
2. *There are "large" races [grandi razze] and "small" races [piccole razze].* It is not enough to acknowledge that there are major systematic groups, commonly called races and identified by a very limited set of characteristics. One must also admit that there exist minor systematic groups (for example, Nordics, Mediterraneans, Dinarics, etc.) distinguished by a greater number of common characteristics. From a biological point of view, the latter groups constitute true human races, and their existence is a self-evident truth.
3. *Race is a purely biological concept.* The concept of race is based on other concepts than those of a "people" or a "nation," both of which are primarily founded on historical, linguistic, and religious considerations. Underlying differences between peoples and nationalities, however, are differences of race. If Italians are different from Frenchmen, Germans, Turks, Greeks, and so on, it is not simply because each group has a different language and a different history. It is also because the racial constitution of each of these peoples is distinct. Since very ancient times, the proportions of different races that have gone into forming various peoples have themselves varied. They have varied to the point that sometimes one component race has exerted absolute dominion over the others; at other times they have all become harmoniously fused; while at other times still, the different component races have persisted in an unassimilated state.
4. *The population of Italy today is of Aryan origin, and its civilization is Aryan.* This population and its Aryan civilization have inhabited our peninsula for many millennia. Very little remains of pre-Aryan civilization. The origins of modern Italians may be principally traced back to components of those same races that made up and continue to make up the living fabric of Europe.
5. *The notion that, during the historical epoch, great hordes of men made a contribution to the formation of Italy is a legend.* After the invasion of the

Lombards, there were no other remarkable movements of populations in Italy capable of influencing the racial character of the nation. Thus, while the racial composition of other European nations has varied considerably even in modern times, the racial composition of Italy today is mostly the same as it was a thousand years ago. An absolute majority of today's 44 million Italians dates back to families that have lived in Italy for a millennium.

6. *A pure "Italian race" has by now come into existence.* This statement is not based on the confusion of the biological concept of race with the historico-linguistic concept of a people or a nation. Rather, it confirms that the purest of blood ties unite present-day Italians with the generations that for millennia have populated Italy. This ancient purity of blood is the greatest symbol of the Italian nation's nobility.

7. *The time has come for Italians to openly declare themselves racists.* All the regime's efforts up to this point have been founded upon racism. Appeals on the basis of race have always been a recurrent motif in the speeches of our leader. In Italy the question of racism must be approached from a purely biological point of view, without philosophical or religious preconceptions. Italian racism must be conceived of as essentially Italian and as tendentially Aryan-Nordic. In no way does such an assertion imply either that German racial theories can be introduced into Italy without modification or that Italians and Scandinavians are identical. It merely singles out for Italians a distinctively European physical and, above all, psychological model that stands entirely apart from all non-European races. All of which means infusing Italians with an ideal state of higher self-awareness and a deeper sense of responsibility.

8. *A clear distinction must be made between Mediterranean Europe (populated by Occidentals), on the one hand, and the Oriental and African Mediterranean, on the other.* We should be wary of dangerous theories that assert that some Europeans are of African origin and count the Semitic and Hamitic populations as part of a common Mediterranean race, claiming ideological relations and sympathies that are absolutely unacceptable.

9. *Jews do not belong to the Italian race.* Nothing substantial remains of the Semites who have landed on the fatherland's sacred soil over the course of centuries. Even the Arab occupation of Sicily left nothing apart from the memory of a few names. Besides which, the process of assimilation has always been very rapid in Italy. The Jews represent the only population that was never assimilated in Italy because it was comprised of non-European racial elements absolutely different from the elements that gave rise to Italians.

10. *Italians' purely European characteristics, both physical and psychological, must not be altered in any way.* Unions are allowable only within the

European racial fold. In such cases one cannot speak of a true hybridism because the races in question belong to a common body [corpo comune], differing only in a few characteristics while remaining equal in many others. The purely European character of Italians is altered by their crossbreeding with any non-European race that brings with it a civilization different from the Ancient civilization of the Aryans.

It was published in *Il Giornale d'Italia* on July 14, 1938, just two months after Adolf Hitler's visit to Rome. In their attempt to separate themselves from Jews, Mussolini and officials from the Ministry of Popular Culture used words such as "our" when referring to "pure-bred" Italians, and "some Europeans" when referring to Jews. This legal document focuses on "us" and the "others" in society. This provides the group writing the manifesto to have a political domination over the others. They are able to discriminate and single out the "other". The others are dominated because the group opposing them has the political power to write a legal document discriminating against the "others".

This historical document also depicts a larger history of the body of people writing it. They may use certain words to refer back to their past. In the Italian Manifesto of Race in 1938, the word "ancient" is used to refer back to classical antiquity in the Western Roman Empire. This link to a great past further enforces the domineering power of the Italian government. Not only do they refer to their past history, but they hint at how they expect their future to be as well. By saying that the "population of Italy today is of Aryan origin", they are politically and biologically aligning themselves with a foreign power, the German Nazis.⁶⁵

The Manifesto of Race corresponds to Mussolini's urban plan for Rome. The terms "large" and "small" used when referring to race, also relates to the various urban forms in

⁶⁵ Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Olivia E. Sears, and Maria G. Stampino. *A Primer of Italian Fascism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. p.173.

Rome. Mussolini's goal was to make the center of Rome larger and therefore, making the space inhabited by the Roman Jews smaller. The vocabulary used in the manifesto creates a correlation between race and city rebuilding. When the text says, "Nothing substantial remains," this idea relates back to the demolition and destruction of the sites.⁶⁶ Not only does this idea further alienate Italian Jews, but it also reinforces Mussolini's urban plan to marginalize and repress them.

Lastly, the document clearly states, under its ninth heading that "Jews do not belong to the Italian race."⁶⁷ Not only do they not belong, but as a people, "Semites" and the "Arab occupation" in Italy, never contributed anything substantial to Italian history.⁶⁸ Even the word choice of occupation, denotes that they were not welcome there. It is as if they conquered the land like barbarians and lived in Southern Italy, not as citizens, but as savage strangers. The manifesto goes as far to say that "the Jews represent the only population that was never assimilated in Italy because it was comprised of non-European racial elements absolutely different from the elements that gave rise to Italians."⁶⁹ Not only are Jews and Italians placed into two separate categories, them vs. us, this statement also confirms the discord between the two people that first existed in ancient times. If they never assimilated into Italian society, then there has always been a rift between Jews and Italians. These anti-Semitic feelings have always been present in Italian society and culture. They were repressed for decades, especially during the period of the Risorgimento, but were dug up again in 1930, when Mussolini began his project for urban renewal in Rome.

⁶⁶ Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Olivia E. Sears, and Maria G. Stampino. *A Primer of Italian Fascism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. p.174.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.174.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.174-175.

Through the lens of Mussolini's urban plan for Rome seen through these photographs, I have learned that anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy began at least eight years before the Manifesto of Race and the Racial Laws of 1938, which differs greatly from what all historians in this field have said. By viewing these photographs, I have also uncovered that there was always a particular "otherness" present in Italian culture and society. The Jewish slaves from the sacked city of Jerusalem that were sent to Rome, where they were made to work on the Arch of Titus, first marked this separation between the two groups. During the reign of the popes, the Jews worshipped a god that was different from the Christian god, thus separating them as others in Rome. They were finally put in the same position again when Mussolini uncovered this long relationship between the Jews and Italians in the ancient ruins of Rome. *Il Duce* did not necessarily enforce the 1938 laws to align the Fascist Italian state with the German Nazi state. He realized this trait of classical Rome and implemented it in his regime to further align Fascist Italy with its classical forefathers.

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Title: I <<luoghi-simbolo>>.

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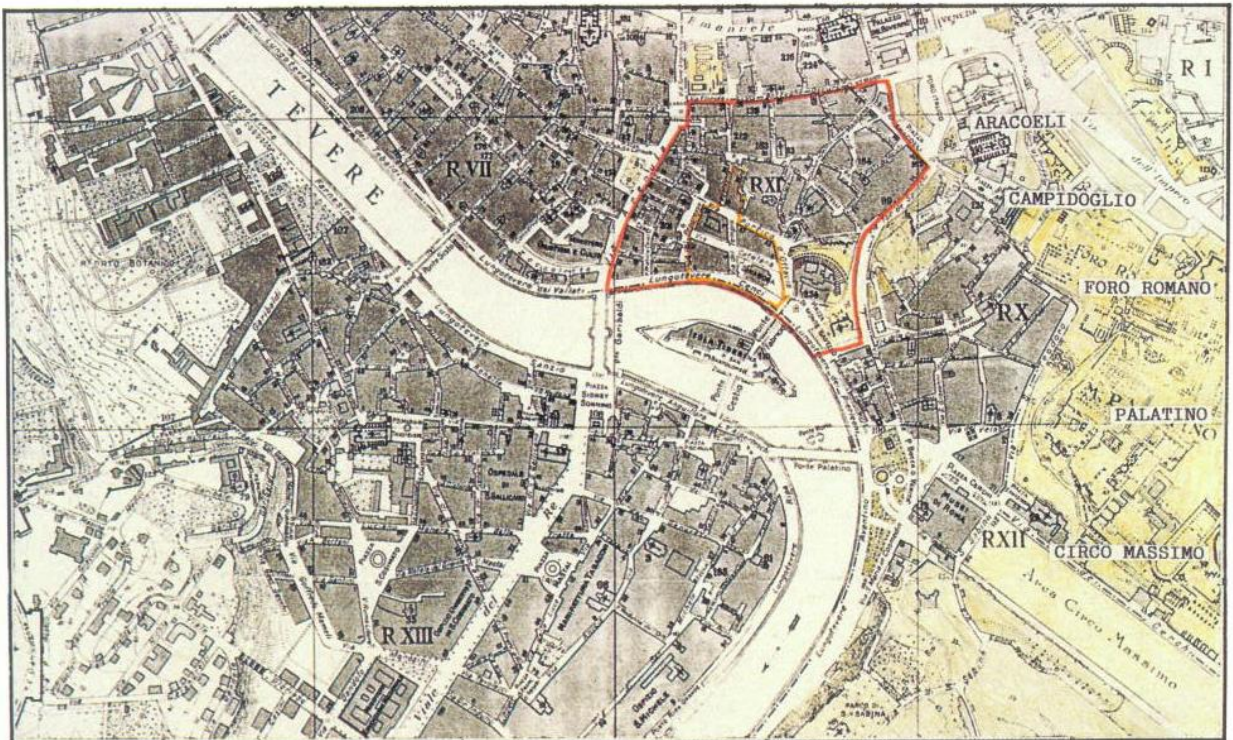


Figure 2:

Taken from: Kostof, Spiro. The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory. Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1973. p.23.

Title: View of the temples of Largo Argentina, ca. 1930. Museo di Roma, D/1046.

Date: ca. 1930



Figure 3:

Taken from: The Istituto Luce website.

Title: *Cerimonie de'VII Leva Fascista in via dell'Impero alla Presenza del duce.*

Date: 05/24/1934



Figure 4:

Taken from: The Istituto Luce website.

Title: Mussolini visita i lavori che verranno inaugurati il 28 Ottobre.

Date: 09/22/1930



Document 1:

Taken from: Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Olivia E. Sears, and Maria G. Stampino. *A Primer of Italian Fascism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. p.173-175.

Title: *The Manifest of Race*

Date: 07/14/1938

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