

The University of Padua and the Anti-Jewish Laws*

Giulia Simone**, Giovanni Focardi***

Abstract. The paper examines the impact of fascist racial laws on the University of Padua, focusing on their effects on professors, students, and administrative staff. Before 1938, the university was a hub of openness and integration for the Jewish community, with many Jewish professors and students. However, the introduction of racial laws led to the dismissal of 51 faculty members and the expulsion of around 70 students, causing significant damage to scientific research and the academic structure. The laws also introduced courses based on racist theories and banned educational materials authored by Jewish scholars. During the Italian Social Republic, persecution intensified, with some members of the academic community arrested and deported to extermination camps. After the war, the reintegration of Jewish professors was slow and partial, hindered by societal indifference and reluctance to address past injustices. Few professors returned to Padua, while others chose not to or were excluded. In recent years, the University of Padua has taken steps to commemorate these tragic events, including installing Stolpersteine (stumbling stones) and dedicating spaces to persecuted scholars, fostering remembrance and further research into its historical role during the fascist era.

Keywords: Fascism; Jews; Padua; Racism; University.

Riassunto. Il saggio esamina l'impatto delle leggi razziali fasciste sull'Università di Padova, e le loro conseguenze su professori, studenti e personale amministrativo. Prima del 1938, l'università era un centro di apertura e integrazione per la comunità ebraica, con molti professori e studenti ebrei. Tuttavia, l'introduzione delle leggi razziali portò al licenziamento di 51 membri della facoltà e all'espulsione di circa 70 studenti, causando danni significativi alla ricerca scientifica e alla struttura accademica. Le leggi introdussero anche corsi basati su teorie razziste e vietarono il materiale didattico scritto da studiosi ebrei. Durante la Repubblica Sociale Italiana, le persecuzioni si intensificarono, con alcuni membri della comunità accademica arrestati e deportati nei campi di sterminio. Dopo la guerra, la reintegrazione dei professori ebrei fu lenta e parziale, ostacolata dall'indifferenza della società e dalla riluttanza ad affrontare le ingiustizie del passato. Pochi professori tornarono a Padova, mentre altri scelsero di non farlo o furono esclusi. Negli ultimi anni, l'Università di Padova ha intrapreso iniziative per commemorare questi tragici eventi, tra cui l'installazione di Stolpersteine (pietre d'inciampo) e la dedizione di spazi agli studiosi perseguitati, promuovendo la memoria e ulteriori ricerche sul suo ruolo storico durante il periodo fascista.

Parole chiave: Fascismo; Ebrei; Padova; Razzismo; Università.

1. Introduction

Due to its unique historical and scientific circumstances, the University of Padua offers a very interesting case study, as it allows us to understand in detail how the racial laws were applied to a particularly well-defined academic and student context.

* This article has been jointly researched and written: paragraphs 1, 2, 4, 8 are by Giovanni Focardi; paragraphs 3, 5, 6, 7 by Giulia Simone. The tables were compiled by both. The differences between the Italian and British/US academic systems make it difficult to map job titles from Italian to English. We have adopted the following solutions: 1) *professore ordinario* = full professor; 2) *libero docente* = lecturer (with or without stipend); 3) *incaricato* = contract lecturer. The term *incaricato* describes the individual responsible for the delivery of classes and they could be at the level of full professor, lecturer, or assistant; 4) *Aiuti medici* = Junior consultants; 5); *assistente di ruolo* = paid assistant; 6) *assistente volontario* = voluntary assistant; 7) *borsista* = grant holder.

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** Ph.D., University of Padua. Address: *Centro per la Storia dell'Università di Padova*, Via VIII Febbraio 1848 n. 2, Palazzo del Bo, 35122 Padua, Italy, e-mail <giulia.simone@unipd.it>.

*** Associate Professor of History, University of Padua, Department of history. Via del Vescovado 30, 35141 Padua, Italy, e-mail <giovanni.focardi@unipd.it>.

After the unification of Italy, the city of Padua and its university promoted openness and an early attitude of emancipation towards the local Jewish community. This approach could be seen not only in the academic world (for instance, the University of Padua had two Jewish rectors: Emilio Morpurgo from 1880 to 1882 and Vittorio Polacco from 1905 to 1910)¹, but also in society. In 1904 Giacomo Levi Civita, a Jew, was elected mayor and was to become one of the most important figures in the history of the city². Padua was also home to the Rabbinical College, considered « the most important centre of Jewish "culture" in Italy in the nineteenth century»³.

Padua prospered culturally, economically, and socially thanks to the presence of the Jewish community, which provided the city with a dynamic political elite and avant-garde entrepreneurial role models⁴. The University of Padua, the only one in the *Tre Venezie* area until 1938, also experienced this vibrant openness which led to many Jews becoming professors and students there⁵.

The theme of the racial laws in connection with the University of Padua has already been studied from many different angles. Angelo Ventura, the author of numerous pioneering articles and fundamental essays, reconstructed how the academic administration managed events in 1938, particularly with respect to full professors⁶; subsequently, Giulia Simone analysed the anti-Jewish political practices of the Fascist regime within the University, especially with respect to non-permanent teaching staff and students who were known to have died in extermination camps⁷. The most recent work was published in 2018, eighty years after the enactment of the antisemitic legislation: the analysis strived to shed light on the process of replacing dismissed professors and on their reinstatement into the academic world⁸.

In addition to the aforementioned studies, two other publications of fundamental importance stand out: the personal diaries of Carlo Anti, who was rector from 1932 to 1943 and who took on the task of applying the racial laws within the University, and the autobiographical memoir of Giuseppe Gola, rector of the University of Padua during the Resistance⁹.

¹ Cf. *Clariores. Dizionario biografico dei docenti e degli studenti dell'Università di Padova*, by Piero Del Negro, Padua, Padova University Press, 2015, *ad vocem* and relative references; Giulia Simone, Adriano Mansi, *Alla prova della contemporaneità. Intellettuali e politica dall'800 a oggi*, by Carlo Fumian, in *Patavina Libertas. Una storia europea dell'Università di Padova (1222-2022)*, Padua-Rome, Padova University Press-Donzelli, 2021. Vittorio Polacco would later become senator in 1910.

² The Giacomo Levi Civita administration lasted 12 years. On Giacomo Levi Civita cf. *Giacomo Levi Civita e l'ebraismo veneto tra Otto e Novecento*, by Mariarosa Davi and Giulia Simone, Padua, Padova University Press, 2015. On the "bloccarda" administration cf. Margherita Carniello, *Padova democratica. Politica e amministrazione negli anni del blocco popolare (1900-1905)*, Padua, s.e., 1989.

³ Gadi Luzzatto Voghera, *Appunti sul Collegio rabbinico di Padova*, in *Giacomo Levi Civita e l'ebraismo veneto tra Otto e Novecento*, by Mariarosa Davi and Giulia Simone, Padua, Padova University Press, 2015, p. 35.

⁴ As for the Paduan and Veneto regional context where prominent figures such as Leone Wollemborg and Emilio Morpurgo worked, cf. Silvio Lanaro, *Società e ideologie nel Veneto rurale (1866-1898)*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1976; Ariel Viterbo, *Dall'Unità d'Italia alla Prima Guerra Mondiale*, in *Il cammino della speranza. Gli ebrei e Padova*, by Claudia De Benedetti, vol. II, Padua, Papergraf, 2000, p. 75-106.

⁵ Trieste became a «Regia Università» in 1938 whereas Venice was a University Institute with the only a Faculty of Economics and Commerce.

⁶ Angelo Ventura, *Carlo Anti rettore magnifico e la sua università*, in the Centre for the History of Padua University, *Carlo Anti. Giornate di studio nel centenario della nascita (Verona- Padova-Venezia 6-8 marzo 1990)*, Trieste, Lint, 1992, pp. 155-186, now republished in Angelo Ventura, *Intellettuali. Cultura e politica tra fascismo e antifascismo*, with introduction by Emilio Gentile, Rome, Donzelli, 2017, pp. 143-170; Id., *Le leggi razziali all'Università di Padova*, in *L'Università dalle leggi razziali alla Resistenza, Giornata dell'Università italiana nel 50° anniversario della Liberazione (Padova, 29 maggio 1995)*, Padua, Cleup, 1996, pp. 130-204 (re-published by Padua University Press, 2013, pp. 87-144; all references are made to this edition).

⁷ Giulia Simone, *Studenti e docenti ebrei espulsi dall'Università di Padova*, «Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova», 47 (2014), pp. 165-182.

⁸ Pompeo Volpe, Giulia Simone, «Posti liberi». *Leggi razziali e sostituzione dei docenti ebrei all'Università di Padova*, Padua, Padova University Press, 2018.

⁹ Accademia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere of Verona, *I diari di Carlo Anti, Rettore dell'Università di Padova e Direttore Generale delle Arti della Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, complete text, by Girolamo Zampieri, Verona, Accademia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere of Verona, 2011; Giuseppe Gola, *Il mio rettorato (1943-1945)*, introduction and notes by Chiara Saonara, Treviso, Antilia, 2015.

This article is an update on the history of the University of Padua during the period of the antisemitic laws and the years to follow. For this purpose, numerous sources and publications have been consulted. Those published by the University itself, such as Yearbooks, have proven to be quite unenlightening on the topic under discussion, due to the omissions and silence in the public domain, where the dismissal of Jewish lecturers and the expulsion of Jewish students were never a topic of interest. In addition to printed publications, the personal files of professors were also consulted. These documents can be found in the historical archives of the University of Padua and in the Central State Archive in Rome. Lastly, the minutes from the Academic Senate and Faculty Council meetings, which mention the dismissal of full professors, were also examined. As for the students, papers printed by the university student Fascist group (*Gruppo Universitario Fascista* [GUF]), entitled “The Bo”, were particularly interesting due to their hard-line antisemitic content.

2. Fascist Padua

While during the liberal era the local context was characterised by the successful integration of the Jewish community into city life, the rise of fascism put an end to it. An increasing number of instances of hostility against Jews was registered, so much so that in 1926, after the attack on the Duce, a handful of fascists devastated two synagogues in the city¹⁰.

Even when such hostility was not openly manifested with violence, anti-Semitic undercurrents were still alive: according to Ernesto Cianciolo, Prefect of Padua, one could feel «antisemitism brewing» in the city. Donato Donati, a distinguished jurist and professor at the University, former nationalist and then fascist, was to suffer the consequences of this situation. In September 1926 he was a frontrunner in the race to become the new rector, but was eventually rejected so as not to upset the «very Catholic Padua»¹¹. There were no doubts about Donati’s fascist beliefs seeing as, just two years earlier, in 1924, he had personally founded the School of Political and Social Sciences, which would become a faculty in 1933, with the aim of training Blackshirt officials for the fascist State¹². In the year when the government passed the decree that led to dictatorship, the fact that Donati was Jewish prevailed over his political beliefs, making him an outsider in society¹³. Instead, Emilio Bodrero, who was already a deputy and part of the fascist hierarchy and married to Nina Romanin Jacur, a converted Jew and member of one of the most important families of the Jewish community in Padua, was considered the preferred candidate¹⁴.

Consequently, the academic environment was completely immersed in this social and political context. Since we are referring to university professors and students, who were well educated and informed individuals, it is only natural to wonder how much they really knew about what the fascist regime was up to and about the planning of the racial campaign which followed the conquest of Ethiopia in 1936¹⁵. Historiography agrees that this was a turning point¹⁶: after that war, the first racist measures were conceived, planned and implemented. They were aimed at racial segregation and

¹⁰ Chiara Saonara, *Una città nel regime fascista. Padova 1922-1943*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2011, p. 179.

¹¹ The quotations are from the report sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs by the Prefect Cianciolo on the 26th September 1926: cf. Chiara Saonara, *Una città nel regime fascista*, quote, p. 243.

¹² Giulia Simone, *Fascismo in cattedra. La Facoltà di Scienze politiche di Padova dalle origini alla Liberazione (1924-1945)*, Padua, Padova University Press, 2015.

¹³ For the origins of fascist anti-Semitism refer to *La svolta antiebraica nella storia del fascismo italiano* by Angelo Ventura in «Rivista storica italiana», 2001, I, pp. 36-65, currently re-edited by Id., *Il fascismo e gli ebrei. Il razzismo antisemita nell’ideologia e nella politica del regime*, Rome, Donzelli, 2013, pp. 3-45.

¹⁴ With reference to Emilio Bodrero cf. *Clariores*, quote, p. 63. The University Centre for the history of Resistance and Contemporary Period (CASREC), houses the *Emilio Bodrero & Nina Romanin Jacur* papers.

¹⁵ Refer to Saverio Gentile, *La legalità del male: l’offensiva mussoliniana contro gli ebrei nella prospettiva storico-giuridica (1938-1945)*, Torino, Giappichelli, 2013; and Giuseppe Acerbi, *Le leggi antiebraiche e razziali italiane ed il ceto dei giuristi*, 2nd enlarged and revised edition, Milan, Giuffrè, 2014 (1^o ed. 2011).

¹⁶ On fascist racism in East Africa cf. *Nel nome della razza. Il razzismo nella storia d’Italia (1870-1945)*, by Alberto Burgio, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1999; Enzo Collotti, *Il razzismo negato*, in *Fascismo e antifascismo. Rimozioni, revisioni, negazioni*, by Id., Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2000, pp. 355-376. As for the introduction of racist notions into the academic world cf. Giulia Simone, *Razzismo in cattedra. Il caso dell’Università di Padova*, «Rivista di storia dell’educazione – Periodico del Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educative», 2, 2019, pp. 113-132.

separation – including physical segregation, which can be seen from the urbanisation projects and architectural planning of Addis Abeba, which segregated Italians from Ethiopians¹⁷.

As early as 1937, people spoke about «race» both inside and outside the Ministries, in the Duce's secretariat, even in the colonies themselves and in the rest of the Italian peninsula. Despite the fact that the transition to state anti-Semitism was neither obvious nor necessary, it was Mussolini himself who, on 18th of September 1938, declared that «the racial problem was a long time coming [...] And related to the conquest of the Empire»¹⁸.

Considering that in 1938 anti-Semitism was not unexpected, it is hard to imagine that professors and lecturers in the academic environment really did not notice the rising tide of anti-Judaism inside and outside of the university lecture halls. Perhaps this explains why in 1937, Donati, the Dean of Political Science, decided to address a meeting at the Academic Senate:

«Donati would like the University to take on a primary role in welcoming S.E. Badoglio. The Marshal should be received in the Aula Magna by Faculty Members, who have the right and the duty to welcome the leader of the victorious and conquering army of the Empire back to his homeland. In addition, the re-consecration of the Aula Magna, which was desecrated by De Monzie, former minister, freemason and demo-communist, must be a good enough reason for choosing this location».

The rector declared that the reasons set out by Donati spoke for themselves¹⁹.

Anatole de Monzie was a French politician belonging to the Republican Socialist Union, a party close to the radical sphere; several times a Minister, De Monzie was also a pacifist (and perhaps that is why Donati expressed himself in those terms). He became a minister of the government led by Eduard Daladier in 1938. By pronouncing these words, Donati seemed to be making a public confession. In the meantime, correspondence between two university professors, Carlo Arturo Jemolo and Mario Falco, initially expressed surprise, then bitterness and finally fear about the way the fascist mass media were orchestrating the campaign against the Italian Jews²⁰. It was almost as if Donati wanted to make his colleagues forget – or at least overlook – his belonging to the Jewish community.

3. Dismissed and Expelled

The racial laws affected all members of the University: professors, administration staff and students alike.

In 1996, by carefully piecing together facts from different biographies, Angelo Ventura managed to identify 49 members of the University's teaching staff who were dismissed for various reasons²¹; a later study of new documentation found in the archives and the simultaneous publication of new memoirs²² identified two additional members of staff who were dismissed: Felix Braun and Anita Cavidalli. Hence, there were 51 Jews out of 528 full or freelance [part-time, contract, assistant] professors (9.6%) working at the University. Not all were dismissed immediately and there were some special cases: Luigi Jacchia was registered in 1938 as a Jew, he appealed and was reinstated at University of Padua in 1940; Arturo Loria, son of a catholic mixed marriage was dismissed only in 1943. Then there was the case of Cesare Musatti, a real bureaucratic plot: he was reported, dismissed, declared as not being part of the Jewish race and, finally, not reinstated for political reasons²³.

¹⁷ For historiography references on establishing an apartheid regime in East Africa cf. Silvia Falconieri, *Razzismo e antisemitismo. Percorsi della storiografia giuridica*, «Studi storici», 1/2014, pp. 155-168.

¹⁸ Cf. *Opera omnia di Benito Mussolini* 29. *Dal viaggio in Germania all'intervento dell'Italia nella Seconda guerra mondiale 1° ottobre 1937-10 giugno 1940*, by Edoardo e Duilio Susmel, Florence, La Fenice, 1959, p. 144.

¹⁹ Padova. University General Archive (from now on AGAPd), *Senato accademico*, minutes from the sitting dated the 10th November 1937.

²⁰ Arturo Carlo Jemolo, *Lettere a Mario Falco*, t. II, (1928-1943), by M.V. Missiroli, Giuffrè, Milan, 2009, pp. 349-385 (from the 25th December 1937 to the 31st December 1938).

²¹ Cf. Angelo Ventura, *Le leggi razziali all'Università di Padova*, quote.

²² Cf. Giulia Simone, *Studenti e docenti ebrei espulsi*, quote, pp. 170-172 for the biographies. Anita Cavidalli wrote about her experience at the University of Padua and how she was forced to leave because of the racial laws in «*Tu ritorneresti in Italia?*», Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier, 2000.

²³ Cf. Angelo Ventura, *Le leggi razziali all'Università di Padova*, quote, pp. 129-132.

The scholars who were mostly affected by the racial laws can be divided into five different categories based on their qualification. These categories were identified by the dicastery and implemented by the Rector, Carlo Anti, who was not particularly interested in people's official roles, focusing on making sure that no Jewish professors remained at the University:

- Full University Professors: 5 out of 67 (7,4%), of which 3 from the Faculty of Law (Donato Donati, Adolfo Ravà, Marco Fanno);
- Professors Emeriti: 2 out of 9 (22,2%), one of them was appointed Senator of the Kingdom (Enrico Catellani): they were removed from the University Yearbook and were not allowed to participate in any form of academic life;
- Lecturers ("liberi docenti"): 29 out of 198 (14,6%), one was a woman (Gemma Barzilai);
- Assistant Professors: 12 out of 170 (7%), five were women (Costanza Sullam, Maria Romano, Ada Fano, Anita Cevidalli e Ninette Façon);
- Adjunct Lecturers: 3 out of 84 (3,5%): Felix Braun, Alberto Goldbacher, Armando Levi-Cases.

In some cases, members of the same family were dismissed: Anita Cevidalli, voluntary assistant professor at the Institute of Glottology was dismissed together with her husband, Renato Salmon who was, in autumn 1938, assistant Professor of Industrial Chemistry, a freelance lecturer in Applied Chemistry and a University Professor of Electrochemistry at the Faculty of Engineering. Costanza Sullam was in 1936 an Assistant at the Institute of Chemistry and her father Angelo was a freelance lecturer in Economics and Remediation Legislation.

Even Professors Emeriti were not spared from being expelled, one being Enrico Catellani, who had been Senator since 1920. From an age standpoint, evidence shows that some of the dismissed were two freelance lecturers over 70, 13 were under 60, 6 under 50 and 24 well under 40: this goes to show that Jewish scholars within the University (5 were women - 10% - a significant number for that time) not only were the youngest members of staff, but also that their presence was constant throughout the decades, the youngest being Anita Cevidalli, who was only 23 years old. Furthermore, we note that 11 scholars were under 30: another issue worth considering, since the University was depriving itself of young and brilliant minds, with an immediate and, probably even more insidious, long-lasting effect on its future. It is hard to imagine what might have come out of research based on Roberto Finzi's work had there been the possibility to compare the situation within other Universities and their Faculties, some more affected than others²⁴. Lastly, the Faculties that were most hit by these dismissals were Medicine and Surgery (22), Mathematical, Physical and Natural Sciences (13), Law & Arts (both with 7 expelled professors), Political Science (2 law university professors) and Engineering (3 dismissed)²⁵.

Only one person was dismissed from the University Administration staff: Daniele Calabi, an engineer and architect who worked for rector Anti to build the twentieth-century university: he developed several university buildings in the city and designed the astronomical observatory in Asiago²⁶.

A large number of students were also expelled: in the 1937-1938 academic year 139 enrolled students (both of Italian and foreign nationality) were Jewish out of a total of 3313; immediately after the introduction of the racial laws the number decreased to 74. The total number of foreign Jewish students in Padua was the same as the Italian Jewish students: in 1937-1938 there were 67 of them, 5 of which were German²⁷. Prior to the introduction of the racial laws, the fascist regime had

²⁴ On the concept of damage in this context, cf. Roberto Finzi, *L'università italiana e le leggi antiebraiche*, new, enlarged and revised edition, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 2003 (I ed. 1997).

²⁵ Giulia Simone, *Le leggi razziali e la sostituzione dei docenti ebrei all'Università di Padova*. In *Ebrei, medicina e Università di Padova*. Edited by Edward Reichman & Fabio Zampieri. Padua: Padova University Press, 2025, pp. 97-119.

²⁶ Cf. Angelo Ventura, *Le leggi razziali all'Università di Padova*, quote, p. 164; about Calabi refer to Maria Cecilia Gheti, *La nascita dell'osservatorio astrofisico di Asiago*, held at the *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Cento anni di astronomia in Italia 1860-1960*, Rome, Bardi, 2005, pp. 359-386.

²⁷ Simone, *Studenti e docenti ebrei espulsi dall'Università di Padova*, quote, p. 182.

encouraged foreign students to enrol into Italian universities. They were even exempt from paying university fees; the fact that Padua welcomed German students reflects the traditional relationship that Veneto universities had with the German world, in terms of historical ties and geographical vicinity²⁸.

The discriminatory policies undertaken by the regime, especially towards foreign Jews, were applied quickly²⁹: at the opening ceremony of academic year 1939-1940, Anti announced that the previous year

«about sixty Jewish students, especially foreign students [...] have dropped out or interrupted their studies without being replaced by other students. This has not influenced our University greatly because since I started as Rector I have gradually reduced the number of Jewish students who were, in fact, often undesirable. I opposed their demand on special treatment, not be too harsh on them, but I had to defend the honour of our University. Numbers have been reduced from 250 in year XI to 171 in year XVI before the introduction of the racial laws and this year they have dropped to 121³⁰».

4. Replacements

The question of replacements – we shall limit ourselves to the 5 ordinary professors – concerns the victims of racial persecution and all those who were involved due to their academic position.

Thanks to a recent study based on a vast bibliography, but also, on meticulous and thorough archive research, it is now possible to see in detail what forces were put into play in Padua – often without too much moral remorse – in order to fill the vacancies left by the dismissal of Jewish professors³¹.

Despite painting the picture of an arid academic environment, often fearful and sometimes unscrupulous, it is necessary to clarify the question of “damage”³². Padua differed from other Universities which, due to the racial laws, allowed less qualified lecturers to enter their teaching staff. The choices made by Faculty Councils, shared by Rector Anti and implemented by Minister Bonatti, were made on the basis of the scientific validity and capabilities of the candidates who were to replace the dismissed scholars. Indeed, in the aftermath of 1938, Antonio Rostagni, Giuseppe Capograssi, Norberto Bobbio, Francesco Rèpaci, all highly respected professors, came to lecture at the Bo in Padua. The political leanings of some of the then substitutes, such as Bobbio, were not totally in line with the fascist dictatorship, and they found themselves working alongside afascists [people who did not express any opinion about the Fascist regime] who in 1943 became antifascists, such as Manara Valgimigli and Concetto Marchesi³³.

The substitutes were, therefore, valid candidates on paper and, from the documents consulted in the archives, they maintained contact and relationships with the dismissed professors after 1938 and throughout the war. The only exception was the Faculty of Medicine, where Tullio Terni was replaced by Giovanni Bruno, who turned out to be a very negative person: as Anti wrote in his diary in 1945,

²⁸ The relative majority mechanism was in place in the faculty of Medicine, due to the restrictions imposed on Jews who practised the profession in several countries: Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario. Gli esuli italiani dal 1933 al 1945*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1993, pp. 220-228.

²⁹ On the discriminatory acts carried out in the University, such as «separating» Jews and non-Jews students during oral exams, cf. Simone, *Studenti e docenti ebrei espulsi dall'Università di Padova*, quote, pp. 175-176.

³⁰ The quote is found in *Le leggi razziali all'Università di Padova*, quote, pp. 115-116 by Ventura, which explains the difference between the numerical data proposed by the Rector and the data found in the documents produced by the students' offices: Anti ambiguously presented figures referring to foreign students without race distinction.

³¹ This refers to the work of Pompeo Volpe, Giulia Simone, “*Posti liberi*”, quote.

³² Roberto Finzi, *Le leggi «razziali» e l'Università italiana*, in *L'Università dalle leggi razziali alla Resistenza*, quote, pp. 31-85.

³³ Luciano Canfora, *Il sovversivo. Concetto Marchesi e il comunismo italiano*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2019.

Bruno was a «thief, fake and immoral»³⁴. He did not last very long though: while Anti did dismiss and replace the Jewish scholars, he also worked very hard to make sure that the University kept its excellent reputation. Anti, whenever necessary, as with Bruno, continued his crusade to ensure that the University of Padua remained at the forefront based on merit. The work carried out by Terni in previous years was at stake. If Bruno was not good enough to stay, he had to be removed; in 1941 he was replaced by Luigi Bucciante who was a much more suitable substitute for Terni.

Compared to the damage to scientific research on a national level, especially with regard to some specific fields (such as Physics), at that moment in time replacing ordinary professors did not seem to impact negatively the quality of the University³⁵; however, after a couple of years only, also due to the war, there was clear evidence of a decline with regard to both the teaching and the University structure. However, still today we are lacking studies that effectively “quantify” the damage caused by the 51 dismissals and subsequent replacements: the substitutes were able to apply for the “new” posts, not only thanks to a scientific curriculum appropriate to the tradition of Padua but also thanks to the pressures/influences of the ministerial authorities and the academic consortiums of which the substitutes themselves were members. All this allowed the regime to declare that nothing had been lost in terms of scientific progress and prestige and that there were valid Aryan substitutes for the Jews³⁶.

Anti chose to replace the dismissed scholars with qualified Aryan professors, thus confirming his strategy to lead a quality University, also in the face of the changes caused by the dictatorship³⁷.

5. 1938-1945: The racist years both inside and outside the University

The racial laws affected mainly one category of persons, leading to their expulsion. However, they also affected the organisation of the University itself. Scholarships were reclaimed, and grants named after people who were now defined as from the «Jewish race» were not renewed or accepted. Scholarships, such as those sponsored by the Elia Lattes Foundation, which awarded 450 lire to a Law student and an Arts student³⁸ were accessible to all students regardless of nationality or religion. In other circumstances, however, scholarships were awarded to Jewish students by Jewish cultural institutions: this was the case for the «Fasana Salomon Alhadeff» foundation which, for more than 10 years, offered scholarships of 3.500 lire a year to freshmen coming from the Jewish community in Rodi and later to freshmen coming from the «native Israelites from the Aegean Islands»³⁹.

Jewish financiers were no longer tolerated in the Paduan academic world, therefore, the way in which the Rector Anti and the Academic Senate managed the prize money offered that year by the «Elia Lattes Foundation» in memory of Abraham and Moisé Lattes, Oriental studies scholars philologists from Venice, was pretty unusual. The prize money was awarded to a graduate in «Lettere» (Arts graduate) whose dissertation focused on philology and history: the prize was coveted given that it consisted of 450 lire, and could amount to as much as 1,000 Lire, provided that the

³⁴ *I diari di Carlo Anti, Rettore dell'Università di Padova e Direttore Generale delle Arti della Repubblica Sociale Italiana. Trascrizione integrale*, by Girolamo Zampieri, Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere of Verona, 2011, pp. 186-187.

³⁵ On the story Bruno in Padua cf. “*Posti liberi*”, quote, pp. 59-62.

³⁶ Refer to the article *Come coprire i vuoti* by anonymous in the Journal *University Life*, dated the 5th October 1938, no. 1, p. 3 which Giuseppina Fois analysed, “*Vita universitaria*”, *una rivista per l'università italiana*, in *Università e formazione dei ceti dirigenti. Per Gian Paolo Brizzi, pellegrino dei saperi*, by Giancarlo Angelozzi, Maria Teresa Guerrini, Giuseppe Olmi, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2013, pp. 599-611.

³⁷ Cf. Mario Isnenghi, *Carlo Anti intellettuale militante*, in the History of the University of Padua Center, *Carlo Anti, Giornate di studio nel centenario della nascita (Verona-Padova-Venezia 6-8 marzo 1990)*, Trieste, Lint, 1992.

³⁸ If there were any restrictions, they were income-related: as was the case for the 400 Lire grant awarded by the «Evelina Melli Polacco» Foundation to students of the Faculty of Engineering. Where 2 or more candidates were assessed as being of equal merit, the «poorest» one was preferred. Cf. Scholarship Applications in AGAPd, *Atti del Rettorato*, b. 319.

³⁹ Call for entry for study grants found in the AGAPd, *Atti del Rettorato*, b. 319, «Fondazione Fasana Salom Alhadeff».

dissertation was published. Anti posted the notice with the competition rules on 23rd December 1937 and students were to apply by 30th November 1938. Meanwhile, a year had passed, the racial laws had been brought into force, university scholars were dismissed and freshmen from the «Jewish race» were no longer admitted. The Lattes prize, however, did not seem to be affected by these external events; two applications were received and sent by the rector to the Dean of the Arts Faculty who, in turn, appointed a commission to approve the content. This was on 9th December 1938. The commission decided that both topics were valid: indeed, they decided that it was possible to split the prize money in case of two noteworthy candidates. The proposal was also accepted by the Academic Senate who was called upon to confirm the decision made by the Arts Faculty. However, the scholarship selection process came to a sudden halt: on 23rd December the scholarship allocation process was suspended, and it was decided not to award the prize for the academic year 1938-1939⁴⁰. What to do with the winners who had participated in the selection process before the racial laws came into force? The Academic Senate was fully aware that the candidates did «not belong to the Jewish race» and decided that it was a pity for two young and promising Aryan students to lose the prize money⁴¹. The case was sent to the Ministry of National Education. The situation was resolved in the best way possible: the Academic Senate raised the prize money to 1.000 lire, and declared both Aryan candidates as winners. They were awarded 500 lire each to be collected after the publication of their dissertation. By the end of 1939 both had published their work: Arnaldo Momo, graduated with Natale Busetto and published *La Lirica di Torquato Tasso. Amor de Lohn* and as seen by the scholarship contest regulations indicated in the title page that the work had won «the ‘Abramo and Moisé Lattes’ prize, oriental philologists from Venice, of the [sic!] Elia Lattes Foundation»; whereas the other winner, Luisa Pietrogrande, graduated with Giuseppe Fiocco and also published her work on Girolamo dal Santo with Olschki, a Jewish publisher of Prussian origin.

The racial laws also influenced the courses that were made available and, therefore, also the entire student body. In 1938, new degree courses appeared in the Yearbook to study race and discrimination techniques: the statistician Gaetano Pietra took on the role of Professor of «General Demography and Comparative Demography of Races»⁴². This new subject matter was taught at the Faculty of Political Science where Pietra replaced Donati as Dean⁴³. In 1938 one of Pietra’s students, Giovanni Ferrari, taught «General anthropometry and comparative anthropometry of races» and «General Health statistics and Comparative Health Statistics of Races»⁴⁴. Even the anthropologist Raffaello Battaglia held a course relating to the racial laws called «Colonial Geography and Ethnography». He also taught «Biology of the Human Races» within the Faculty of Science.

These new courses were not very popular within the student body despite the fact that «Demography of Races» was relatively easy to pass, only 4 out of 103 failed during the academic year 1938-1939; numbers continued to drop in the following years (from 64 in 1940-1941 to 8 in 1942-1943)⁴⁵. Very few students, almost always less than 10, went on to take the other two exams in the race module, also because these subjects did not require a dissertation to be written. Students

⁴⁰ Since 1926 the Veneto Science, Art & Literature Institute also sponsored dialectology studies through a study grant named after the philologist Elia Lattes: contrary to what happened at the University of Padua, in 1939 the call for entry was still published. Cf. Carlo Urbani, *Tra scienza e coscienza. L’Istituto Veneto di fronte alle leggi razziali*, «Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti», Volume CLXXIII (2014-2015), Class of Moral Science, Art & Literature, p. 99.

⁴¹ AGAPd, *Atti del Rettorato*, b.325, «Premio Elia Lattes 1938-1939», memorandum for the Academic Senate, 9th March 1939.

⁴² On the contrary, in 1939-40 the «Hebrew and Comparative Semitic Languages» module was removed from the Arts curriculum, despite there being 9-10 participants in the previous two years. In the mid-thirties «Military Culture Studies» was introduced and from 1940-41 «Chemistry of War».

⁴³ Anna Treves, *Il nesso inscindibile tra demografia e razza e l’ambiguità dei demografi*, in *Antisemitismo in Europa negli anni trenta. Legislazioni a confronto*, by Anna Cappelli and Renata Broggin, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2001, pp. 252-260; and Carl Ipsen, *Demografia totalitaria: il problema della popolazione nell’Italia fascista*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1997.

⁴⁴ Giulia Simone, *Fascismo in cattedra*, pp. 66-68.

⁴⁵ The *Prospetto degli esami speciali di laurea e diploma* section of the Yearbook shows the number of exams passed or failed by subject.

graduated in subjects related to the colonies, but this was not the case for students studying topics of racism as they were complementary and not fundamental subjects.

However, these subjects did remain part of the university curriculum also in the years following 1945: indeed, more than 20 exams in «Biology of Human Races» and «Colonial Geography and Ethnography» were taken every year, while during the academic year 1946-1947 exams on «General and Comparative Anthropometry of Races»⁴⁶ were taken at the School of Statistics.

About fifty between professors and researchers were relieved of their duties, together with approximately 70 expelled students: considering that there were just over 500 members of the Paduan community, we can easily comprehend how the Jewish families in the area⁴⁷ were deeply affected by the situation. When we include University staff and freelance professors (on which there are still few studies⁴⁸) as well, it is easy to understand how the entire Paduan bourgeoisie became affected by the legislation. Like elsewhere in Italy, there were Aryan people in Padua who enjoyed speculating about how many properties would be sold off cheaply because the owners were forced to do so: a study carried out at that time, estimated that 40% of landowners were members of the Jewish community. The speculators also hoped that the new racial laws would change that percentage. The authors of the study were from the same university: Pietra, director of the scientific publication *La ricchezza privata delle Venezie [The Private Wealth of the Venetian Area]*, signed the introduction of the edition on wealth in the Padua province. The research was carried out by his pupil Alfredo De Polzer who would later become a professor at the University of Bologna as well as a member of the Resistance in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Both Pietra and Battaglia took it upon themselves to disseminate racism, even outside the lecture halls of the University; with the support of Rector Anti, the professors planned and organised the first racial exhibition in Italy in Padua (which was never inaugurated)⁴⁹.

Without a doubt, the University Student Fascist Group (GUF) amplified the situation: on 27th January 1938, when there was still no talk of racial laws, they posted a series of newspaper clippings with anti-Semitic undertones on the students' bulletin board⁵⁰. Anti removed the material, limiting the anti-Semitic tones of Gustavo Piva's academic year inauguration speech. Gustavo Piva was the GUF's secretary and had the task of speaking on behalf of the students at the ceremony⁵¹. One of the GUF's newsletters was «il Bo», renowned for its violent attacks on the Jewish community.

Several Jewish professors were also authors of books, handouts and manuals used by universities and schools; they were, therefore, greatly affected by the racial laws. Editors were prohibited from publishing and selling material written by Jews, even if partly written together with Aryan colleagues. This persecution was conducted very thoroughly under the direct control of the Minister of National Education, Giuseppe Bottai⁵².

⁴⁶ *Annuario 1946-47 [Yearbook 1946-47]*, pp. 131-132 and 141.

⁴⁷ Chiara Saonara, *Il fascismo padovano e gli ebrei*, in *Giacomo Levi Civita e l'ebraismo veneto tra Otto e Novecento*, quote, p. 98.

⁴⁸ On Jewish Lawyers in Padua and in the Veneto region cf. Giovanni Focardi, *Magistratura e fascismo. L'amministrazione della giustizia in Veneto (1920-1945)*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2012, pp. 182-194.

⁴⁹ On the organisation of the exhibition and material from the A.O.I., cf. Giulia Simone, *Fascismo in cattedra*, pp. 103-105.

⁵⁰ Simone Duranti, *Lo spirito gregario. I gruppi universitari fascisti tra politica e propaganda (1930-1940)*, introduction by Enzo Collotti, Rome, Donzelli, 2008; Luca La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista 1919-1943*, introduction by Bruno Bongiovanni, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2003.

⁵¹ Cf. Mario Isnenghi, *Carlo Anti intellettuale militante*, in the Centro per la Storia dell'Università di Padova, *Carlo Anti, Giornate di studio nel centenario della nascita (Verona-Padova-Venezia 6-8 marzo 1990)*, Trieste, Lint, 1992, p. 236. On the GUF cf. Federico Bernardinello, *Fra goliardia e inquadramento. Gli universitari padovani negli anni Trenta*, by Francesco Piovan, Luciana Sitran Rea, *Studenti, Università, città nella storia padovana*, Notes from the Conference (Padova, 6-8 febbraio 1998), Trieste, Lint, 2001, pp. 649-691.

⁵² Monica Galfré, *Il regime degli editori. Libri, scuola e fascismo*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2005, pp. 148-161.

6. The persecution of lives

Academic freedom was violated, and, during the Italian Social Republic, the persecution of rights went on to become the persecution of lives.

Professors and students belonging to the «Jewish race» and continuously referred to as such in all academic documentation after 8th September 1943, were persecuted: item 7 of the Verona manifesto claims that «those belonging to the Jewish race are foreigners» and, therefore, should be treated as enemies.

The Jewish professors at the University of Padua had very different fates: some of them, like Donato Donati, managed to flee to Switzerland and escape the concentration camps; others, like Marco Fanno, hid in the Abbey of Praglia near Padua and decided to be christened. Others were arrested and taken to a villa in Vo' Vecchio in the Euganean Hills (Colli Euganei), which was used to incarcerate Jews in 1943. Among the first group of Jews to be interned there on 3rd December 1943 was Professor Alberto Goldbacher, who was deported on 24th October 1944 and killed upon arrival in Auschwitz on 28th October⁵³.

There was another Professor from Padua who perished in the extermination camps: Augusto Levi, a Physics Assistant Professor at the University of Padua from 1907 to 1910, who later became a freelance lecturer in Experimental Physics and Head of Physics Applied to Medicine. He was arrested in Padua on 27th January 1944 together with his wife Giovannina D'Italia and their sixteen-year-old son, Alvise. The three were interned in Vo' Vecchio, where they began their last journey through the prisons in Padua and *Risiera di San Sabba* in Trieste, until their arrival in Auschwitz and Dachau from where they were never to return⁵⁴.

There are limited sources on the fate of Jewish students enrolled at the University of Padua, therefore, it is not possible to have a comprehensive list of the people who were expelled and persecuted. To date, research has identified five students from the University of Padua who were deported to extermination camps: Giorgio Arany (1919-1944) from the Faculty of Engineering; Giuseppe Kroò (1919-1945) from the Faculty of Science; Paolo Tolentino (1917-1944/45?), probably from the Arts Faculty; Nora Finzi (1909-1944/45?) and Desiderio Milch (1923-1944). Among them, only Arany and Finzi managed to graduate, respectively, from the Engineering Faculty and from the Arts Faculty (the latter with a dissertation on the History of Religions)⁵⁵.

7. The return to Padua: difficult, partial, non-existent

After the war, reintegrating Jewish survivors was generally perceived with irritation throughout Italy, even by the anti-fascist themselves. Repairing the damage inflicted on the Jews was not among the priorities of the first republican legislature of 1948: in fact, the fascist racial legislation was completely abrogated only in 1987, almost half a century after its introduction⁵⁶. Within the Italian Jewish communities itself, during the first years after the Liberation, people tended not want to know

⁵³ Francesco Selmin, *Nessun giusto per Eva. La Shoah a Padova e nel Padovano*, Sommacampagna, Cierre; Padua, Centro Studi Ettore Luccini, 2011.

⁵⁴ Augusto Levi taught Classical Studies for many years at the Tito Livio High School in Padua. After losing all his teaching jobs due to the racial laws, he set up and acted as Principal of the Jewish schools in Padua and Venice (in collaboration with Alberto Goldbacher, Vice President of the Community): cf. *“Alunni di razza ebraica”. Studenti del Liceo-Ginnasio “Tito Livio” sotto le leggi razziali*, by Mariarosa Davi, Padova, s.i.t., 2010; Daniel Fishman, *Le classi invisibili. Le scuole ebraiche in Italia dopo le leggi razziste (1938-1943)*, by Patrizia Baldi, CDEC, Milan, 2019, pp. 61-62.

⁵⁵ On the vicissitudes of the four students cf. *Studenti e docenti ebrei espulsi dall'Università di Padova*, quote, pp. 176-179 by Giulia Simone.

⁵⁶ Mario Toscano, *Dall'«antiriorismo» al postfascismo: l'abrogazione delle leggi razziali e il reinserimento degli ebrei nella società italiana*, in *L'abrogazione delle leggi razziali in Italia (1943-1987)*, Rome, Servizio studi del Senato della Repubblica, 1988, pp. 21-65.

the fate of those who disappeared in 1943-45; instead, they preferred not to remember what happened immediately after 1938.

On a legislative level, the first measures concerning the reintegration of ordinary professors dismissed for political and racial reasons date back to January 1944 and were issued right up until May 1946, before the election of the Constituent Assembly on 2nd June 1946. Legal provisions required that university professors be reinstated in the University they had belonged to in 1938. Therefore, the faculties that had expelled professors (all except for Pharmacy) were to be reorganised accordingly. It was, however, up to the dismissed professor to apply for reinstatement and they could be considered as “additional resources” if the position was already occupied by someone else. Fanno, Ravà and Donati managed to obtain the professorship they held in 1938⁵⁷, whereas Terni was awarded the post of Professor of Histology and Embryology in the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery and his substitute, Bucciante, taught Human Anatomy.

In truth, no-one returned to Padua apart from Fanno: Rossi did not even apply for reinstatement. He preferred to remain in the United States, the country that took him in 1938; Ravà stayed in Rome where he had fled during the persecution; Donati, after returning from Switzerland, decided to remain in Modena, his birth town, where he died in 1946; instead, Tullio Terni saw a tragic end: he was accused of perjury and expelled from the *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* [a prestigious Italian Science Academy] on charges of being a «fervent fascist». He committed suicide in Florence on 25th April 1946⁵⁸.

The sudden death of Terni provoked profound sadness among the Italian academic world and, in Padua, several commemorations were held in memory of the scholar⁵⁹. This was a stark contrast to the cold and indifferent climate of 1938 when he was dismissed⁶⁰. After the war, there was a great sense of unity: the academic corporation consoled and forgave itself for what had happened without questioning personal choices made by individuals on how they treated the dismissed scholars in 1938 and on their return. The racial laws were seen as an excursus, a divagation and the individuals who suffered the outrage, such as Marco Fanno, wanted to remove that particular chapter of their life. They preferred to return to their job without mentioning it. Others, however, did benefit greatly from the desire to not remember the racial laws. The statistician Pietra replaced Donati as the Dean of the Faculty but remained unscathed from the purging process and continued to teach in Padua. Like the rest of Italian society, all anti-Semitic professors quickly removed any trace of their political choices made at the turn of 1938: after the Second World War, Pietra became a Senator for the *Democrazia Cristiana* and was never accused of anti-Semitism. Similarly, Paolo Fortunati, one of Pietra’s pupils in the Thirties, and subsequently assistant to Balbo and Nello Quilici in Ferrara, took on the post Professor of Demography and Comparative demography of the Races in 1938, yet in the post war period he had no trouble in being elected into the ranks of the Italian Communist Party and becoming

⁵⁷ G. Focardi, *La Facoltà di Giurisprudenza (1945-68)*, in *Dall’università d’élite all’università di massa, L’Ateneo di Padova dal secondo dopoguerra alla contestazione sessantottesca*, by A. Lazzaretto and G. Simone, Padova, Padova University Press, 2017, pp. 147-48.

⁵⁸ On the fate of the dismissed scholars who did not go back to Padua, with the exception of Marco Fanno, who was reinstated at the Faculty of Law, cf. Pompeo Volpe, Giulia Simone, “*Posti liberi*”, quote. On the tragic fate of Tullio Terni cf. Angelo Ventura, *Tullio Terni, l’Università di Padova e l’epurazione all’Accademia dei Lincei*, in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, La memoria ritrovata. Giornata in ricordo di Tullio Terni e Mario Camis (Roma, 12 marzo 2004)*, Rome, Bardi («Minutes from Accademia dei Lincei conferences, 212»), 2005, pp. 13-61, now re-edited by Angelo Ventura in *Il fascismo e gli ebrei*, quote, pp. 179-235.

⁵⁹ Luigi Bucciante, *Tullio Terni (Commemorazione pronunciata nella seduta della Società Medico-Chirurgica di Padova il 14 novembre 1947)*, in *Università degli Studi di Padova, Annuario per l’anno accademico 1946-47. DCCXXV dalla fondazione*, Padova, s.i.t., 1947, pp. 193-202 and Alfredo Margreth, *Il nostro debito verso Tullio Terni, fondatore della cattedra di Istologia e Embriologia a Padova*, in *La memoria ritrovata*, quote, pp. 53-63.

⁶⁰ On the notice of service suspension, cf. Giulia Simone, *La sostituzione dei cinque ordinari ebrei*, in Pompeo Volpe, Giulia Simone, “*Posti liberi*”, quote, pp. 33-69.

a Senator⁶¹. Racism vanished into thin air, and university students, victims and persecutors all acquitting themselves was the general trend.

8. Remembrance and research

Eighty years after the promulgation of the racial laws the academic world felt the need to question itself, not only about the bureaucratic mechanisms that led to expelling Jewish university professors and students, but also about the participation of the entire academic body, who often played an active and acquiescent role in dismissing scholars and finding appropriate replacements. This behaviour did not reflect the motto of the University, which was developed – irony in history – during the fascist era (*Universa Universis Patavina Libertas*)⁶².

These events were extremely complex and varied, therefore, historical research and studies are still essential to get a better understanding of what exactly happened.

Furthermore, we all need to remember. While after the Second World War Universities tried to “clear their conscience” for decades, now the time has come for them to question their past and ask themselves just how much the cultural world succumbed to the will of the regime.

Today the University of Padua remembers those tragic events with complex and mixed feelings. The first tangible sign of a change in sentiment was when, on Holocaust Memorial Day in 2014, a plaque was placed in memory of the tragic events of 1938. Since then some rooms at the University have been named after the scholars who perished from the persecution: today the library for Economic studies is dedicated to Marco Fanno and, in 2017, the Faculty of Mathematics paid tribute to Tullio Levi Civita by naming itself after him. On 27th of January 2018, the University of Padua was the first University in Europe to dedicate six *Stolpersteine* (so called “stumbling stones”) to the memory of the two professors and four students mentioned above, who were killed in the extermination camps; an additional stumbling stone was dedicated to a fifth student, Desiderio Milch, on 27th January 2022⁶³.

Remembrance and research go hand in hand, and we hope that when the University celebrates its 800th anniversary in 2022, it will shed more light on those dark and dubious days. Indeed, there is a number of sources that are still not available to scholars, such as the State Police Fund in the State archives, where documents still need to be catalogued. Furthermore, not many memoirs or private papers of professors who worked in Padua during fascism have been made public yet.

Due to these limitations, the events described above mainly deal with the history of the University of Padua; only in a few cases – such as for the five expelled ordinary teachers – was it possible to depict the personal story of those who went through those events. Much is still to be studied, understood and discussed.

⁶¹ As regards Padua cf. Maurizio Reberschak, *Epurazioni? La commissione di epurazione dell'Università di Padova (1945-46)*, in *Europa e America nella storia della civiltà. Studi in onore di Aldo Stella*, by Paolo Pecorari, Treviso, Antilia, 2003, pp. 425-448; Pompeo Volpe, Giulia Simone, “*Posti liberi*”, quote. For a national overview, cf. Giovanni Montroni, *La continuità necessaria. Università e professori dal fascismo alla Repubblica*, Milan, Mondadori, 2016; Mattia Flamigni, *Professori e Università di fronte all'epurazione. Dalle ordinanze alleate alla pacificazione (1943-1948)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019, Giovanni Focardi, Adriano Mansi, *A proposito di università ed epurazioni dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale: storiografie a confronto*, in «Annali di Storia delle università italiane», n. 2, 2021, pp. 85-111.

⁶² Cf. Piero Del Negro, *La Facoltà di Giurisprudenza di Padova (1938-1950). I docenti, il quadro istituzionale, le scelte politiche*, in *Giuristi al bivio. Le Facoltà di Giurisprudenza tra regime fascista ed età repubblicana*, by Marco Cavina, Bologna, Clueb, 2014, p. 116.

⁶³ Mariarosa Davi, Giulia Simone, *Le pietre d'inciampo a Padova*, by Mimma De Gasperi, Padua, Padova University Press, 2024.

Appendix: List of dismissed scholars in 1938

According to age, job title and Faculty

2 Emeritus professors (*); 5 full professors

Catellani Enrico*	84	Law
Donati Donato	65	Law
Fanno Marco	58	Law
Ravà Adolfo	60	Law
Terni Tullio	59	Medicine
Rossi Bruno	33	Maths, Physics and Nat. Sciences (MPNS)
Levi-Civita Tullio*	50	MPNS

44 Junior consultants, lecturers, [*liberi docenti* = associate professor] contract lecturers, assistant professors, fellows
 [44 *Aiuti (medici), incaricati, liberi docenti, assistenti, borsisti*]

Law 3		Medicine & Surgery 21	
Ravà Paolo	27	Barzilai Gemma	43
Ravà Tito	28	Castiglioni Arturo	64
Sullam Angelo	57	Dalla Torre Giacomo	36
		Denes Giulio	37
Philosophy & Arts 7		Ercoli Nicolò	33
Braun Felix	53	Fano Ada	29
Cevidalli Anita	23	Jacchia Luigi	36
Façon Ninette (Nina)	29	Jacchia Paolo	55
Musatti Cesare	41	Jona Giuseppe	72
Reichenbach Giulio	52	Kock Carlo	45
Sabbadini Salvatore	65	Macchioro Gino	39
Zolli Israel	57	Morpurgo Edgardo	66
		Olper Leone	35
MPNS 9+1		Ravenna Arrigo	59
Bytinschi Salz Hans	35	Ravenna Ferruccio	57
Curiel Eugenio	26	Rimini Edmondo	71
De Benedetti Sergio	26	Sacerdote Gabriele	41
Levi Augusto	54	Saraval Umberto	45
Pincherle Leo	28	Seppilli Alessandro	36
Romano Maria	25	Supino Luciano	32
Schreiber Giorgio	33	Winternitz Leopoldo	39
Sullam Costanza	25		
Viterbi Emilio	47	Engineering 3	
Dismissed in 1943*		Goldbacher Alberto	55
Loria Arturo	29*	Levi-Cases Armando	59
		Salmoni Renato	32

According to position⁶⁴

Dismissed professor	Position in 1938	Replaced by (from 1938 to 1945)
Catellani E.	Professor Emeritus of Law	--
Levi-Civita T.	Professor Emeritus of MPNS	--
Donati D.	LAW a) Full Professor of Constitutional Law POLITICAL SCIENCE b) Dean c) Lecturer in Constitutional Law d) Lecturer in Political Philosophy	LAW a) -- ⁶⁵ ; Carlo Esposito (from 1939-40 to 1944-45) POLITICAL SCIENCE b) Gaetano Pietra (1938-39); Enrico Guicciardi (from 1939-40 to 1941-42); Mario Viora (January-October 1942); Lionello Rossi (from 1942-43 until July 1945) c) Carlo Esposito (from 1939-40 to 1940-41; then inactive) d) Giuseppe Capograssi (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); Norberto Bobbio (from 1940-41 to 1944-45)
Fanno M.	LAW a) Full Professor of Corporatist Economics (<i>Economia politica corporativa</i>) b) Director of the Department of Economics POLITICAL SCIENCE c) Lecturer in Corporatist Law d) Lecturer in Colonial Economics	LAW a) Francesco Antonio Rèpaci b) Francesco Antonio Rèpaci POLITICAL SCIENCE c) Francesco Antonio Rèpaci (from 1938-39 to 1942-43); b) Francesco Antonio Rèpaci (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); Gaetano Pietra (1940-41); Francesco Antonio Rèpaci (from 1941-42 to 1944-45)
Ravà A.	LAW a) Full Professor of Philosophy of Law b) Lecturer in Private Law c) Lecturer for the Civil Law workshop at the Post-Graduate Legal Training School d) Director of the Philosophy of Law and Comparative Law Department POLITICAL SCIENCE e) Lecturer in Principles of Private Law f) Lecturer in History of Political Thought ⁶⁶	LAW a) Giuseppe Capograssi (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); no one in 1940-41 ⁶⁷ ; Norberto Bobbio (from 1941-42 to 1944-45) b) Francesco Santoro Passarelli (from 1938-39 to 1941-42); Walter Bigiavi (1942-43); Alberto Trabucchi (from 1943-44 to 1944-45) c) Inactive d) Giuseppe Capograssi (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); Norberto Bobbio (from 1940-41 to 1944-45) POLITICAL SCIENCE e) Francesco Santoro Passarelli (from 1938-39 to 1941-42); Walter Bigiavi (1942-43); inactive f) Marino Gentile (from 1938-39 to 1944-45)
Rossi B.	a) Full Professor of Experimental Physics b) Director of the Physics Department	a) Antonio Rostagni (from 1938-39 to 1944-45) b) Antonio Rostagni (from 1938-39 to 1944-45)
Terni T.	a) Full Professor of Human Anatomy b) Director of the Human Anatomy Department	a) -- ⁶⁸ ; Giovanni Bruno (from 1939-40 to 1940-41); Luigi Bucciante (from 1941-42 to 1944-45) b) Giovanni Cagnetto (1938-39); Giovanni Bruno (from 1939-40 to 1940-41); Luigi Bucciante (from 1941-42 to 1944-45)

⁶⁴ Each person is identified *in primis* by the role mentioned by the rector Carlo Anti at the time of dismissal. Then, as many of the dismissed staff had more than one role in the University in 1938, these other roles are also mentioned.

⁶⁵ In the academic year 1938-39 Enrico Guicciardi was given the task of teaching Constitutional Law (unpaid).

⁶⁶ Appointed to the Political Science faculty.

⁶⁷ The course is held by Norberto Bobbio, as pro-tempore full professor.

⁶⁸ In 1938-39 Gaetano Ottavini was appointed as course professor.

Dismissed scholar	Position in 1938	Substituted by (from 1938 to 1945)
Barzilai G.	Lecturer in Obstetrics and Gynaecology	--
Braun F.	Lecturer in German Language and Literature	There were no lecturers in this subject in the academic year 1938-39; Bonaventura Tecchi (from 1939-40 to 1941-42) From 1942-43 to 1944-45 this subject was taught by Carlo Antoni, as pro-tempore full professor
Bytinski S. H.	Grant holder at the Institute of Comparative Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology (Umberto D'Ancona director)	-- ⁶⁹
Castiglioni A.	Lecturer in History of Medicine	--
Cevidalli A.	Voluntary assistant	--
Curiel E.	a) Assistant professor of Rational Mechanics to the Chair of Maths b) Paid assistant in Mathematics Education and History	a) Kotzan Ervino (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); then inactive b) Ugo Morin (from 1938-39 to 1942-43); then inactive
Dalla Torre G.	Lecturer in Special Pathology	--
De Benedetti S.	Paid assistant at the Physics Department (Bruno Rossi, director)	--
Denes G.	Lecturer in Bacteriology	--
Ercoli N.	Paid assistant at the Pharmacology Department (Egidio Meneghetti, director)	-- ⁷⁰
Façon N.	Assistant/teacher in Romanian language	Alexandrina Mititelu (from 1938-39 to 1944-45)
Fano A.	a) Voluntary assistant at the Hygiene Department (Oddo Casagrandi, director) b) Lecturer in Food Chemistry at the Public Hygiene School (Oddo Casagrandi, director)	a) -- b) Carmen Conti (1938-39); Mariano Rossi (from 1939-40 to 1940-41)
Goldbacher A.	Lecturer in Special technologies	Mario Mainardis (from 1938-39 to 1944-45)
Jacchia L.	a) Professor of Special Pathology b) Junior consultant at the General Clinical Medicine (Antonio Gasbarrini, director)	a) -- b) Giulio Sotgiu (1938-39). In academic year 1939-40 Luigi Jacchia returns to his post ⁷¹ .
Jacchia P.	Professor of Pediatrics	--
Jona G.	Professor of Special Pathology	--
Kock C.	Professor of Ophthalmology and Oculistics	--
Levi A.	Professor of Experimental Physics	--
Levi-Cases A.	Lecturer in Industrial Mechanical Plants	Igino Tessari (from 1938-39 to 1944-45)
Macchioro G.	Professor of Special Pathology	--
Morpurgo E.	Professor of Psychiatry	--
Musatti C.	a) Freelance professor of Experimental Psychology b) Appointed to the Experimental Psychology department c) Acting director of the Experimental Psychology department	a) -- b) Inactive in 1938-39; from 1939-40 with Carlo Berlucci the course is renamed Psychology c) Umberto D'Ancona (1938-39); Carlo Berlucci (from 1939-40) ⁷²
Olper L.	a) Professor of Surgical pathology b) Assistant professor of General Surgery (Gian Maria Fagiani, director)	a) -- b) Giovanni Austoni (from 1938-39 ⁷³ to 1941-42)

⁶⁹ The Fellowship was offered by the *Academic Assistance Council* of London. There were no winners for this scholarship, which originated from abroad.

⁷⁰ Not replaced by an assistant professor. Aldo Cestari and Lanfranco Zancan are there as pro-tempore assistants; Renato Santi is a special pro-tempore assistant.

⁷¹ After being declared «not a member of the Jewish race», in a note by the Ministry of the Interior of 23rd October 1939.

⁷² With Carlo Berlucci, the Department is transferred to the Clinic of nervous and mental diseases.

⁷³ The director of this Clinic changes in this year, with the appointment of Guido Oselladore.

Pincherle L.	a) Professor of Theoretical physics b) Appointed to the Theoretical Physics department c) Appointed to the Mathematical Physics department	a) -- b) -- ⁷⁴ c) Ernesto Laura
Ravà P.	Voluntary assistant	--
Ravà T.	Fellowship holder at the Private Law Institute (Francesco Santoro Passatelli, director)	--
Ravenna A.	Professor of Paediatrics	--
Ravenna F.	Professor of Special Pathology	--
Reichenbach G.	Professor of Italian Literature	--
Rimini E.	Professor of Otorhinolaryngology	--
Romano M.	Fellowship holder at the Comparative Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology Department (Umberto D'Ancona, director)	Anna Pasquali (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); Paola Gambaro (1940-41)
Sabbadini S.	Professor of Latin Language and Literature	--
Sacerdote G.	Professor of Special Surgical Pathology	--
Salmoni R.	a) Professor of Applied Chemistry b) Assistant Professor at the Applied and Industrial Chemistry Department and at the Sugars Experimental Section (Domenico Meneghini, director)	a) -- b) -- ⁷⁵ ; in 1939-40 Vittorio Muratori; in 1940-41 Andrea Scipioni
Saraval U.	Freelance professor of Dentistry and Prostodontics	--
Schreiber G.	a) Freelance professor of Comparative Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology b) Assistant professor at the Comparative Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology Department (Umberto D'Ancona, director) c) Appointed to the Comparative Anatomy Department (Sciences faculty)	a) -- b) -- ⁷⁶ ; Enrico Vannini (from 1940-41) c) Giacinto Ciaccio (from 1938-39 to 1939-40); Giulio Muratori (from 1940-41 to 1941-42); Enrico Vittorio Staudacher (from 1942-43 to 1944-45)
Seppilli A.	a) Freelance Professor of Hygiene b) Assistant Professor at the Hygiene Department (Oddo Casagrandi, director) c) Appointed to the Microscopy, Bacteriology and Immunology Department at the Public Hygiene School (Oddo Casagrandi, director)	a) -- b) -- ⁷⁷ ; Mario Franco (from 1939-40) c) Mario Franco (from 1938-39)
Sullam A.	Professor	--
Sullam C.	<i>Pro-tempore</i> assistant professor at the Chemistry Department (Carlo Sandonnini, director)	-- ⁷⁸ ; Mario Fioretti (1939-40); Mario Da Via (1940-41)
Supino L.	a) Professor of Anatomy and Pathologic Histology b) Voluntary assistant at the Medical Department (Antonio Gasparrini, director)	a) -- b) --
Viterbi E.	Professor of Chemistry	--
Winternitz L.	Professor of Special Pathology	--
Zolli I.	a) Contract/assistant Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature b) Appointed to the Hebrew and Comparative Semitic Languages Department	a) -- b) -- ⁷⁹

Also dismissed in 1943:

Loria A.	Junior consultant to the Physics Department (Antonio Rostagni, director)	--
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⁷⁴ The Theoretical Physics chair is given to Gian Carlo Wick, as pro-tem full professor, in 1938-39.

⁷⁵ In 1938-39 no one is appointed as assistant professor: there are a junior consultant (Enrico Crepaz), a pro-tem assistant professor (Andrea Scipioni), and a voluntary assistant (Marino Bertolini).

⁷⁶ In 1938-39 and in 1939-40 no one is appointed as assistant professor: There are a junior consultant (Giacinto Ciaccio), and a pro-tem assistant professor (Sigismondo Madeyski).

⁷⁷ In 1938-39 there are no junior consultants: there is an assistant professor (Mario Franco); and a pro-tem assistant professor (Carmen Conti).

⁷⁸ In 1938-39 there are no pro-tem assistant professors.

⁷⁹ In 1938-39 this course is no longer existing; however, examinations continue.